JOURNAL OF
THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOLUME VIII, Part 1.
(July 1933.)

Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

1933.

RAJAHMUNDRY.

Printed at the Razan Electric Press.
Published by the Andhra Historical Research Society.
Annual Subscription for Members: Indian 3 Rs. Foreign 6 Shillings.
" " " for Institutions: Indian 6 Rs. Foreign 12 Shillings.
" Price of Each Part Rs. 2 only. Postage Extra 8 Annas.
CONTENTS.

1. Geneology and Chronology of the Pallavas.
   (From Kalabhartri to Paramesvaravarma II.)
   M. Govinda Pai. 1–14

2. New Light on Tipu Sultan.
   A. Subbaraya Chetty, M.A., B.Ed. 15–24

3. Epigraphical Notes.
   M. Rama Rao, M.A., B.Ed. 25–40

4. The History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga.
   R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. 41–64

   Kuvalayananda. 65

6. Accounts for the Quarter. 66
CONTENTS.

1. *Decennial Celebrations.* 83—105
2. *A Note on Jayavarma of the Kondumudi Grant.* 106
   Dines Chandra Sircar, M. A.
3. *Source of the Early Andhra History.* 107—120
   V. R. Ramachandra Dikshit, M.A.
4. *The Historical Importance and the Economic Aspect of the South Indian Temple.* 121—122
   K. I. Dutt, B.A.
5. *History of the Gavaras.* 123—146
   P. Seetaramaih
6. *An Inscription of Sāryavirma of the Aśwapati Family.* 147—150
   L. P. Pandeya Sarma
7. *Telugu Numerals in the North-Indian Play of Gulli-Danda.* 151—152
   Jayachandra.
8. *The Kindoppa Copper-plate Inscription of Anantavarma of the Kalinga kingdom.* 153—160
   M. Narasimham B.A., L.T.
   A. F. Thyagaraju.
10. *Six New Eastern Ganga Copper-plates.* 163—194
    Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T., PH.D.
    Prof. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., M.A.U.S.
11. *Antiquities of Pādar.* 195—198
    M. Rama Rao, M.A., B.Ed.
12. *Notes of the Quarter.* 199
13. *Accounts.* 200—202
NOTE.

Owing to the change of press from the Razan Electric to the Sujanaranjani, it is regretted that this part could not be issued in time, as the new Press had to equip itself with several new requirements.

It is earnestly hoped that the July part (Vol. IX, Part I) will be issued to the Members and Subscribers before the end of the year and they will continue to extend their patronage and thus enable the Society to carry on its useful activities.

The cover and the first three formes were printed at the Rajan Electric and the rest at the Sujanaranjani Printing Works.

Members and Subscribers whose subscriptions close with this issue are requested to either remit their subscriptions for Volume IX by Money Order so as to reach the Treasurer before the end of November 1934 or intimate their desire to discontinue. If no communication is received by the aforesaid date, the July Number will be sent to them by V. P. P. which they are earnestly requested to accept, for refusal entails unnecessary expense to the Society.

It is much regretted that the several Books and Journals received for Review could not be noticed in this part as it is being issued already very late and they will be duly reviewed in the subsequent parts of the Journal.

The following articles among others are awaiting publication in Volume IX of the Journal.—

(1) Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas by M. Govind Pai.
    with An estimate on above by Mr. S. P. L. Narasimhaswami.

(2) Kalinga and Andhra in Inscriptions of Harihaya Princes of Ratnapur
    (Mahakosala) by L. P. Pandeya Sarma.

(3) The Dhavalapeta Copper-plate Grant of Umavarma by M. Narasimham.

(4) A C. P. Grant of Raghunadhan Jagadev II by L. H. Jaga Deb, Raja
    of Tekkali

(5) Thakurdiya C. P. Grant by L. P. Pandeya Sarma.

(6) Studies in the History of Vizianagar by V. Narasimham M. A., B. ED.

(7) A note on Srisuktam by Sirdar M. V. Kibe.


Editor.
CONTENTS.

1 Libraries in Ancient and Medieval India
   M. RAMARAO M. A., B. ED. 203-232

2 The Mandasa Plates of Dharmakhedi
   JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH. 233-237

3 Copper Plate of Raghunadh Jagadev I of Kadamba Dynasty-Tekkali
   SRI L. H. JAGADEB, BAHADUR. 238-239

4 Sambopakhyanamu and the Aravidu Dynasty
   K. RAGHAVACHARI M. A., B. L. 240-244

5 Fourteen Persian Firmans of the Period
   1172-1179 A. H. (1760-67 A. D.)

6 The Warsaw Conference
   FATHER HENRY HERAS S. J. M. A. 255-256

7 The Proceedings of the Annual General Body meeting 257-265

   (a) The Secretary’s Thirteenth Annual Raport.
   (b) The Treasurer’s Annual Statement of Accounts.
   (c) The Librarian’s Report.

8 Accounts of the Quarter. 266
GENEAOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.

(From Kalabhartri to Paramesvaravarma II)

GOVINDA PAI.

(Continued from page 183 of Volume VII, Part 3.)

The Pallava Chronology from Kalabhartri to Paramesvaravarma II would then be as follows:—

1 Kalabhartri 87-107 A.C.
2 Chuta-Pallava 107-127 A.C.
3 Virakurche 127-147 A.C.
4 Skandasishya 147-167 A.C.  
   (alias Skandavarma I)
5 Kumaravishnu 167-200 A.C.  
   (alias Sivaskandavarma)
6 Buddhavarma 200-228 A.C.  
   (alias Skandavarma II)
7 Viravarma 228-258 A.C.
8 Skandavarma III 258-296 A.C.
Before we close we should like to offer these few remarks.

(1) Kalabhartri has been identified with Kanagopa, and the identification seems to be correct enough in that the Skt. words 'Kāla' (काल) and 'Krishna' (कृष्ण) alike mean 'black', the Prakrit form 'Kaṇha' (कण्ह) or 'Kaṇṇa' (कण्ण) of the Skt. word 'Krishna' (कृष्ण) easily becomes 'Kaṇa' (कण) in common parlance by the elongation of the initial letter in compensation for the loss of its double sound and the latter halves of these compound names 'Bhartri' (भर्त्रि) and 'Goptri' (गोपत्रि) or U.-Skt. (उप) alike mean protector, preserver etc. and are thus more or less synonymous. The Skt. form of Kaṇagopa (कणगोप) therefore would be Krishnagopa (कृष्णगोप) and we know that an exactly synonymous name Vishnugopa was borne by two Pallava kings, viz. Vishnugopa I and Vishnugopa II.

(2) From the way in which the donor Yuva-maharaja Vishnugopa I speaks of himself in his Uruvapalli grant with reference to his ancestor Bappa, it is evident that Bappa could neither be the father nor the grand-father of the earliest person Skandavarma II mentioned in the said grant, but must be some remoter ancestor, whose degree up from that Skandavarma II was perhaps not known to the donor Vishnugopa I. This is further proved by the fact that in his Hirahadagalli plates the donor Sivaskandavarma alias Kumaravishnu, who is by the way the father of the earliest person Skandavarma II mentioned in the Uruvapalli plates, does not refer to any immediate relationship between himself and

75. I. A. (V. P. 60) 'बप्पमहारकम्मराज पाद्यकुश्य,..कर्तिकभुवापरकाच.'
76. E. I. (I. pp. 9-10)
Bappa, while he speaks of that Bappa as the great king that gave away many crores of gold pieces and a hundred-thousand ox-ploughs. Since thus the name of Bappa seems to have been singled out for a very respectful mention in both of these cases, I believe that he was more or less looked upon as the progenitor of the Pallava dynasty even from before the time of Kumaravishnu. Rev. Heras' identification therefore of Bappa with Kalabhartrī seems to be correct.

(3) The name 'Chūta-Pallava' (चूतपल्लव), as it is given in the Vayalur and the Velurpalaiyam inscriptions, means a 'Mango-Pallava' (or a 'mango-sprout' if both the component parts are taken as common nouns), and as such it cannot be said to be the original or correct form of the personal name of that king, or of any king for that matter. The latter part however seems to be a dynastic name and there can be no doubt about it. The fact that this latter part is found in fact in the king's name whereas the former part is found in the incongruous form 'Chūta' (चूत = mango), tends to the conclusion that it must have been such a peculiar or rare word that when some 600 years later than the time of the royal bearer of that name the Vayalur and the Velurpalaiyam inscriptions came to be composed, either because the meaning or significance of that word could not be made out by the respective authors of those inscriptions, or because it struck them as queer or absurd, they must have altered it (or sanskritized it so to say) giving it such a new form as was closest allied to it in sound though the new modification may have nothing to do with it in sense. What then could be the original word that must have been thus changed into 'Chūta' (चूत)? I think it is 'Chuṭu' (चुटू) or 'Chuṭa' (चुट); and I believe the whole name 'Chuṭa-Pallava' (चूतपल्लव) is a compound word made up of two dynastic names Chuṭa and Pallava, of which, as the latter component 'Pallava' is obviously a patronymic, the former is in all probability a metronymic. In that case it would evidently indicate his descent from a Pallava father and a Chuṭa (चुट) or a Chuṭu (चुटु) mother. Now there was a well-known dynasty of kings known as the 'Chuṭu-kula' (चुटुकुल), which ruled over the Banavasi country, extending perhaps as far as Chandravalli in Chitaldurga and originally known as Nagakhandha or Nagarakhandā, until the Kadamba king Mayurasarma conquered and drove them out of Banavasi and established his capital there. The fact that this Pallava king Chuṭa-Pallava preferred to call himself by the name also of his mother's family rather than by his own proper name or that of only his father's family.

77. H. P. G. (Notes pp. 12—14)
78. Where a coin of Chutukadananda has been dug up (M. A. R. 1909, p. 30), and a lithic inscription of Mayurasarma has been discovered (M. A. R. 1929, p. 50 ff.)
sufficiently proves that in his time the Pallavas must have regarded it a rare honour to have been connected with or derived from the Chutu family, wherefore the Chuta kings at that time must have been a much greater power than the Pallavas. His son Virakurcha is also said to have acquired all the emblems of royalty on marrying the daughter of the lord of Serpents—evidently a Naga princess, and she was in all probability a princess of the Chutu dynasty, as the Chutus seem also to have been known as Nagas. This statement of the Velurpalaiyam plates evidently seems to mean that after and on account of that marriage, Virakurcha became powerful enough, owing either to such a strong alliance itself or to the acquisition of some additional territory from his father-in-law, to rule as an independent king on equal terms with other kings around him; whence the natural presumption is that until then he as well as his ancestors were at most feudatory princes, or petty rulers of some tributary states. Now, as will be seen from our next article on the chronology of the early Kadambas of Banavasi, the date of the Banavasi inscription of Vinhukada (Vishnusanka) Chutukulânanda Satakanni falls very close to 200 A. C. He was the Chutu king from whom Mayurasarma conquered the Banavasi country, and he was thus perhaps the last king of that dynasty, at any rate the last Chutu king that ruled from Banavasi. The connections which Chuta-Pallava and Virakurcha had with the Chutu family must therefore be at least a century anterior to the downfall of the Chutus, in that those connections obviously point to a time when the Chutus were in the hey-day of their glory and power.

(4) Rev. Heras opines that 'the defeat of Vishnugopa at the hands of Samudragupta took place when the former was only a prince during the reign of his father Skandavarman II' (i.e. Skundavarman III in our list). This cannot be, for, in that case Vishnugopa would never have been called 'Vishnugopa of Kanchi' (काञ्चिक विष्णुगोप), as in those days when the kingdoms were named after their capitals, none else than the reigning king alone would be mentioned by a 'taddhita' (तद्धित) word like 'काञ्चिक'; nor would his name be mentioned along with the other names of the reigning kings in Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription. Where in that case we should have had the names of Vishnugopa's father instead of that of Vishnugopa in the list of the kings overcome by Samudragupta. Nor is there any reason to believe with the same scholar that perhaps after Vishnugopa's defeat at the hands of

79. M. E. R. 1911 (p. 56)
80. I. A. (XIV. p. 333)
81. H.P.G. (notes p. 19)
Samudragupta, Vishnugopa was deprived of the kingdom and the son of his elder brother Simhavarma was placed on the throne; but by whom? There is no historical evidence for any such suspicion, and the descent from Vishnugopa I to Skandavarma IV i.e. from uncle to nephew, is as quite natural and as usual as that from the elder brother Simhavarma I to the younger Vishnugopa I was. Nor can we bring ourselves to believe that the defeat of the Pallava family by the Northern Indian monarch (Samudragupta) naturally weakened the royal (Pallava) power, and that seems to have been the occasion when the old enemies of the Pallavas attacked them and drove them out of the capital; for, if such were the case, the help and the presence of Skandavarma IV, the nephew and the immediate successor of Vishnugopa I (who was the king defeated by Samudragupta) would not have been importuned to perform the installation of the Ganga king Madhava II, as has been so explicitly stated in the Pennukonda plates of the latter.

(5) Then there is the theory of the exile of the Pallava kings from Kanchi and the co-eval Chola interregnum, and this period is dated from about the time of Skandavarma III (i.e. Vijayaskandavarma the donor of Ongodu No. 1 plates) till about that of Simhavishnu. This seems to be quite untenable. For if the Uruvapalli plates of Yuvarajasa Vishnugopa were issued from his 'Sthana' at Palakkada, it does not mean that Palakkada was the 'sthana' or residence of Vishnugopa's elder brother, the then reigning king Simhavarma I, but it simply means that the court of the crown-prince Vishnugopa was at Palakkada, and the right significance of the word 'sthana' will be plain if it be compared with the much more respectable word 'adhisthana' used in the Darsi plates of the grandson of Virakuricha i.e. the king Kumaravishnu (as we have already seen) to indicate the then residence of that king at Dasavapura. Similarly if the Ongodu No. 1 plates of Skandavarma III (i.e. the father of Vishnugopa I) were issued from his victorious camp at Tambrapa, it also means that the king had then encamped at Tambrapa and not that he 'had been driven out of the

82 Ibid p. 15
83 Ibid p. 18
84 E. I. XIV p. 335.
85 H. P. G. notes 17—20.
86 'श्री विजय पत्त्वद स्थानन्' (I. A. V, p. 50)
87 E. I. (p. 397). We have this word 'Adhisthana' used in the sense of royal residence also in Kadamba records — 'पत्त्विधिथार्य' (I. A. VI, pp. 30-31);
88 M. E. R. 1916 (p. 113)
capital by the Cholas; for the word ‘vijaya’ (विजय) simply means a royal residence or a royal camp, and this word, it may also be said, is not restricted in its application, as it is also used to denote the residences or camps of royal as well as feudatory princes, as may be seen, for instance, from ‘श्री विजय पठक्कुरुक्तानान्’ occurring in the Uruvapalli grant of the crown-prince Vishnugopa, and we know that though Kanchi was the central capital of the Pallavas, where the king usually held his court, they had also other capitals besides, such as Dasanapura, Palakkada, Tambrapa and Menmattura, whither they would, ever and anon, go for a change, just as the Kadambas of Banavasi had also their capitals at Palasika (Halsi) and Ucchasingi otherwise also called Tripavata (Ucchangi in Chitaldurg District), though their chief capital was at Banavasi, as is amply proved by the fact that the Kadamba king Harivarma made a grant in his 4th regnal year from Ucchasingi, another in his 5th regnal year from his ‘adhisthana’ at Palasika, and a third in his 8th regnal year from Vijaya Vaijayanti i.e. Banavasi. According to the Velurpalaiyam plates, we know, Kumaravishnu is accredited with the capture of Kanchi, and we also know that his Darsi plates were issued not from Kanchi but from his ‘adhisthana’ at Dasanapura: shall we then conclude that Kanchi, had been lost to the Pallavas in the reign of Kumaravishnu in the interval between his Hirahadagalli plates issued from Kanchi and his Darsi plates issued from Dasanapura? Further there is the mention of Vishnugopa I as ऋक्षेयक विष्णुगोप in the Allahabad pillar inscription, which cannot mean otherwise than ‘Vishnugopa (the king) of Kanchi’ as we have already explained, and he would never have been so called in a far-off northern inscription, had he not been already well and widely known in South India as the king of Kanchi, i.e. the king whose kingdom had Kanchi for its capital and was known as such on that account. Similarly in the ‘Loka-vibhaga’ the contemporary Pallava king Simhavarma III (i.e. the father and predecessor of Simhavishnu) is called ऋक्षेयसिंहवर्म in i.e. Simhavarma, the king of Kanchi, and his capital therefore could be nowhere else than at Kanchi itself. Again, we have it from the Halsi plates of the Kadamba king Ravivarmon that he uprooted

89. H. P. G. (notes p. 19)  
90. I. A. (VI, pp. 30-31)  
91. Ibid.  
92. E. I. (XIV, p. 166)  
93. M. E. R. 1911 (p. 58)  
94. M. A. R. 1910 (p. 46)  
95. I. A. (VI, p. 29) — ‘उत्साध काश्यपर चण्डनपुर’
Chandadanda, the king of Kanchi, and we shall see in our next article on the Early Kadamba Chronology that this Chandadanda, the king of Kanchi, is the Pallava king Skandavarma IV. When thus at least these three kings Vishnugopa I, Skandavarma IV and Simhavarma III, whose reigns fall within the limits proposed to the alleged exile and interregnum, have been regularly called kings of Kanchi, the theory of the Pallava exile from Kanchi and the synchronous Chola interregnum will have to be given up as untenable.

(6) Which of the Pallavas then first took Kanchi and made it his capital? In the Velurpalaiyam plates we are told that it is Kumara-vishnu who took the town of Kanchi; and his Mayidavolu plates, we know, were issued from Kanchi in the 10th regnal year of his father, while he himself was a crown-prince. The natural inference is that the capture of Kanchi was achieved by the crown-prince Kumara-vishnu at the command of his father Skandasishya, who was then ruling as king. But it must be remembered that the Velurpalaiyam plates are nearly 700 years later than the time of Kumara-vishnu. In the same plates, moreover, it is said that Skandasishya i.e. the father of Kumara-vishnu received the burden of maintaining the Ghatika of the Brahmanas from king Satyasena. It will be conclusively proved in our next article on the chronology of the early Kadambas that Mayurasarma, the founder of that dynasty, was a contemporary of Kumara-vishnu and from the Talagunda pillar inscription, we know that, desirous of studying the sacred scriptures, he went in the company of his preceptor to the city of the Pallavas, who later on in the same inscription have been mentioned as the kings of Kanchi, and entered all the Ghatikas there, whence it is evident that already in Mayurasarma’s time Kanchi was the Pallava capital and a hive of Ghatikas. Read in this light, the statement made in the Velurpalaiyam plates with regard to Skandasishya tends to the conclusion that it was Skandasishya who acquired the possession of the city of Kanchi and first established his capital there, and he came into that possession from king Satyasena, but whether it was by conquest or in any way else (e.g. as a dowry to his wife, if he had married Satyasena’s daughter) we cannot yet decide.

It may be here objected that line 5—‘अस्तेष्ठे द्वानि अन्ध वेजाविष्क’ of the Mayidavolu grant, translated as ‘for conferring on ourselves

96. E. I. (VI. pp. 84–89)
97. E. C. (VII, 83. 176)
98. ‘अधिजागूऽ: प्रवचनमु’
99. ‘काश्यनरेन्द्रेधु’
100. ‘निकितमुट्टिकां विकेर्व’
victory would not warrant such a conclusion, as it seems to refer to a recent victory gained by the donor crown-prince Sivaskandadvarma alias Kumaravishnu, which in the light of the provenance of that grant may be rightly presumed to be the conquest of Kanchi. But that translation of the line is quite incorrect, and there is no reference in it to any victory; for it simply means—'by us now in our (glorious) year of reign, or place of residence' (अम्हे—by us; शाति—Skt. इत्यादिम्—now; अम्हे—our; वैजयिके—Skt. वैजयिके—in the reign or residence), and a glance at the very word 'Vaijayika' (loc. Sg. of the Skt. वैजयिका) occurring in so many ancient inscriptions, where it can never mean nor can ever refer to any victory, will convince that it means either the regnal period if it is construed with the immediate phrases indicating the date of the grant, or it means the then residence of the king if construed independently, just as the word 'Vijaya' (of which this form Skt. word 'Vaijayika' and its Prakrit from 'Vejayika' is but a variant) means the royal residence (as we have already seen) as well as the regnal period, as will be evident from the phrases ‘आत्मन, प्रवर्धानविजयसंवतस्तः’ in the Kadamba Hebbala plates or ‘सिद्धवर्धमानजयविजयसंवतसरै एकादशे’ in the Uruvapalli plates of Vishnugopa I, which are of very common occurrence in almost all the old inscriptions. In the Mayidavolu grant however this word ‘vejayaye’ cannot refer to its date of issue in that the said grant is already dated in the 10th regnal year of the then reigning king, and also there is no numeral following that word and indicating the regnal period of the donor, who moreover could have neither any separate rule nor any separate reckoning of it in his capacity as crown-prince; and thus the correct translation of the 5th line of this grant would be—'by us now in our royal residence', and that royal residence, we know, was Kanchi.

If, then, the statements made in the Veilurpalaiyam plates with regard to Skandasishtya and his son Kumaravishnu are authentic and at the same time seem to be so conflicting, they will have to be reconciled in such a way as will enable us to get at the truth lying behind the apparent paradox. One clear fact from those statements seems to be that Skandasishtya’s acquisition of the Ghatika of the Brahmans i.e. Kanchi (as we have seen) must have preceded his son Kumaravishnu’s capture of Kanchi. Evidently, therefore, Kanchi must have been twice captured, once by Skandasishtya and again by Kumaravishnu. From the

101. H. P. G. (Notes p. 12)
102. 'स्वैजयिके' in I. A. (VI, pp. 28, 24), E C. (V III. Sb. 83) &c.
103. M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98)
104. I. A. (V, p. 50)
Mayidavolu grant again two facts seem to be clear, (1) Kanchi was already the Pallava capital in the 10th regnal year of Skandashishya, and (2) his son Kumaravishnu, the crown prince, could have no share in its acquisition, as there is not a word to claim it for himself in that grant of his own. If, therefore, we would not disregard the claim to the capture of Kanchi made on behalf of Kumaravishnu in the Velurpalaiyam plates, we shall have to admit that Kanchi was twice captured, once by Skandashishya and then by Kumaravishnu; and thence it would follow as a matter of course that it was Skandashishya who first acquired the possession of Kanchi and established his capital there.

Now from the Hirahadagalli plates\(^{105}\) of the 8th regnal year of Sivaskandavarma alias Kumaravishnu we know that he performed several sacrifices including the Asvamedha before he had been 8 years on the throne. It goes without saying that the king engaged in the performance of the Asvamedha has to perform first a 'digvijaya', which is the sine qua non in its procedure, and in which he is required to carry on expeditions from place to place against king after king, and the expeditions which Samudragupta led about a hundred and fifty years later provide a typical example. Kumaravishnu also must have made a circuitous digvijaya preparatory to the consummation of his Asvamedha. Consequently he must have been long enough absent from his capital Kanchi, when the opportunity would be readily seized by his enemies (probably the successors of Satyasena, if Kanchi had been wrested from him by Skandashishya) to besiege and take that city, which may have even fallen into their hands and remained in their possession for some time pending his return home and successful recapture of it. The interval between these two captures could not be more than 20 years at most, and it is not surprising therefore if the fact of the first capture of the city was merged into that of its next capture, and the remote successor of Kumaravishnu regarded him as the sole capturer of Kanchi, especially if we remember that he was the greatest of the Pallava kings, the founder of the Pallava empire, and the only one among them who had performed the Asvamedha and several other sacrifices before he had been but 8 years on the throne.

### APPENDIX A.

The colophon of Sarvanandi in the copy he made of Simhasuri’s Loka-vibhaga\(^{106}\) contains these 2 verses:\(^{106}\)

```plaintext
१८४० निकै रंगिरुर निषेधेच च जीवे
राजोत्तेचु नित्यशुक्ष्य चन्द्रेऽ

... ... ... ॥ १ ॥
```

\(^{105}\) E. L. (I. pp. 2—10)  \(^{106}\) M. A. R. 1910 (p. 46)
The first gives the positions of Saturn, Jupiter and the Moon as they stood at the moment when he finished the copying work, and according to the next verse it was in the year S. S. 380 i. e. 458—459 A. C.

Now 'Vaishva' (वैश्व) is the name of the constellation of 'Uttarashadha' (उष्णाष्ठ), which is the 21st constellation and is so called after its presiding deity. It is 266° 40" to 280° in the ecliptic. Vrishabha is the 2nd zodiacal sign of Taurus, which is 30° to 60° of the ecliptic. 'Uttara' (उत्तर) applies equally to all the three constellations, the names of which begin with that prefix. (1) 'Uttara-Phalguni [उत्तरफल्गुणी] (2) Uttarakṣada (उष्णाष्ठ) and (3) Uttarakṣadapada (उष्णाष्ठपदा), which are respectively the 12th, 21st and 26th constellations. 'Rajottara, [राजोत्तर] is obviously, a compound word, which like similar compounds Bhrigu-Revati (भ्रीगुरेवती) which means a Friday combined with the constellation of Revati, or 'Suni-Kohini' (सूनि-कोहिनी), which is a Saturday under the constellation of Rohini, is expressive of the combination of any of the three constellations which are collectively called 'Uttara' and that week-day which is called so after the celestial body known as Raja (राज); and 'Raja' is the name of the moon as of no other heavenly body, wherefore it would mean a Monday on which there was any of the three constellations known as 'Uttara'. The moon is further said to have entered the bright fortnight [सप्तपुष्पिल] whence it would be an early lunar day of the bright fortnight.

Two equivalent dates have been proposed, viz:— (1) The date proposed by Prof. Sasipala Jha of Benares is S. S. 380 Chaitra Sukla Pratipat (i.e. the 1st lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra) by Samudragupta as a necessary antecedent to his Asvamedha, that

107. V. B. S. 'विष्णु'=विष्णुविणु उष्णाष्ठाया' (X. C. VII. 5); 'बैश्व'=उष्णाष्ठ दायाम्' (XIII. 8); 'बैश्वदीत'=उष्णाष्ठायाम्' (VI. 6)

108. Ibid— 'श्रीवरसपृष्टि'=उष्णाष्ठाय उष्णाष्ठादोषाधारायाम्' (X.C.VII. 6)

109. 'राजाविद्या रक्तस्त्री च चन्द्र' (Hemachandra's अभिप्रायाचेन्द्राप्रमणि: v. 105)

110. M. A. R. 1910 (p. 45)
after midnight. This is Saturday the 1st March 458 A.C. when the moon was in conjunction with Uttarabhadra; but this cannot be correct in that (a) Jupiter’s geocentric longitude was 15°2’ wherefore he was in Mesha [मेष] i.e. Aries, (b) the tortuous interpretation of the word Vrishabhha as meaning the constellation of Bharani is too inexpedient to be correct, and (c) the word ‘Raja’ (राजा) has been left quite out of account as perhaps a meaningless or superfluous word. (2) The other date proposed by Dr. Fleet is Monday, the 25th August 458 A.C., on which the Moon was in Uttara Phalguni. This too cannot be correct in that the geocentric longitude of Saturn was 262°0’ due to his retrograde motion, wherefore he was in the constellation of Purvashada, and not in that of Uttarashada as is clearly stated in the verse, and as the presiding deity of Purvashadha is the spirit of water, that constellation is named after the various names of water and is not known as ‘Vaishva’.

The correct day therefore seems to be Monday the 2nd lunar day of the Pausa (Pavsha Sukla 2), the 24th November 458 A.C., on which the geocentric longitude of Saturn was 267°9’, wherefore he was in Uttarashadha, that of Jupiter was 45°7’, wherefore he was in Vrishabhha, and the moon was in the constellation of Uttarashadha.

APPENDIX B.

The story of the disastrous end of the reign of Pulikesi II and the consequent abeyance of the Chalukya sovereignty at Vatapi from about 642 A.C. to 655 A.C. is solely based upon the supposed identity of the Pulikesi defeated by the Pallava king Narasimhavarma I with Pulikesi II, as well as on the absence of his own records and the non-mention of his name in the one or two others issued during that interval. We have already proved that the Pulikesi overcame by Narasimhavarma I could never be Pulikesi II.

Now the various progressive victories of Pulikesi II, which are recounted in detail in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.C., bear such a close and no less plausible resemblance to the systematic conquests made the conclusion that Pulikesi II too must have undertaken all those expeditions and made all those conquests with a view of performing an Aśvamādha exactly as Samudragupta had done would not be unjustified. But there is not a word in the Aihole inscription to say that Pulikesi II performed Aśvamādha, wherefore, if he did, it must be after 634 A.C.

111. E. I. (XIV, p. 334)
112. V. B. S.—‘तोथम्’=‘तोथ जले पूर्वाणाश्या’ (X. C. VII, 5); ‘आये सहिष्ठ आयी’=‘आये पूर्वाणाश्याम’ (IX. 33); ‘जलदेवे’=‘पूर्वाणाश्याम’ (XI. 59).
113. F. K. D. (pp. 358–61)
114. F. G. I. (No. 1)
In the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa issued in the reign of Pulikēsi II's son Vikramāditya I, it is said—

चायुक्त्यानं खुताध्वेष राजसूय पौष्ठकर यागो यात्रिकिष्कुल दुरितं नाविनं अवश्यक हनानि: शुचिपृविन्दकं शिरवशारं भुग नभुप भुनधरार वशवर्षादेश तत्तथिमानामेव धर्मसूतराराध्याचिति श्रीहर्षेकं पराजयोपल्लभोपरतप परमेश्वर: परम (माहेश्वर:) सत्याश्वय: श्री पुलिकेश्वर प्रत्यक्षाविक्ष्मः 115 महाराजः 116—

and as the conqueror of Sri Harsha could be none else than Pulikēsi II, 116 it follows that Pulikēsi II must have performed not only the Āsvamedha but also the other sacrifices known as Rājaśraya and Paundrākṣa.

Further in the Hosūr plates117 of Pulikēsi II himself it is said—

चायुक्त्यानं समुद्रमण्यि परम्परायत वंशाधिकारकं अग्रेष्ठवस्तत्स्तान परविताक्ताचार माण: पौष्ठकात्यमिलितात चामपेशो रणानिधिन द्वितीय नामपंछोः। 117 This refers to Pulikēsi II himself, who was the donor of the grant and cannot refer to his grand-father Pulikēsi I as Mr. Rice would have us believe;118 for in that case their mutual relationship would certainly have been mentioned clearly by the necessary word, which however is conspicuous by its absence and the intermediate name of Kirtivarman I (the son of Pulikēsi I and the father of Pulikēsi II) would never have been omitted in the grant of his own son, as the omission would mean that Pulikēsi II was the immediate successor of Pulikēsi I, (since the subsequent adverb 'तवस्तरम्' means 'thereafter', 'thereupon', 'immediately after', 'forthwith,' &c), which however, we know for certain was not the case. The next epithet of the donor which is introduced by that adverb — 'तवस्तरम्' हच्छवर्णित सत्याश्वयः। 117— which is by the way directly in apposition with the foregoing nominatives, and which means 'that' Satyāśraya, who was thereupon the conqueror of Harshavardhana' or in other words 'that Satyāśraya, who was also the conqueror of Harshavardhana', clinches the matter and conclusively proves that it is Pulikēsi II himself that is spoken of throughout in these plates. Therefore from these plates also we learn that Pulikēsi II did perform Āsvamedha.

115. E. I. (XIV. pp. 149—152). These plates mention a grant made on the occasion of a solar eclipse that occurred on the new moon day of Pausha [पौषमा सुय अवासायाः। आनिधिनन्द्वो] in the reign of Vikramāditya I, which corresponds to 18th January 660 A.C. on which new moon day of Pausha there was a total solar eclipse.

116. Vide Aihole inscription (v. 29)

117. E. C. (X. 43)

118. Ibid. (Int. p. XV); M. C. I. (p. 64)
The Hosur plates further state that, at the request of his daughter, Pulikēsi II made a grant on ‘महामाघ पौर्णमास्याया...समस्मह’ i.e. on Mahā Māgha Paurṇamāṣṭi (full-moon day) on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Here again Mr. Rice, whether believing with Dr. Fleet that the reign of Pulikēsi II ended in disaster in about 642 A. C., or because he knew not the distinctive significance of the words Mahā Māgha Paurṇamāṣṭi, has quite casually and no less injudiciously assigned the plates to about 640 A. C.,119 though between 12th January 632 A. C. and 31st January 641 A. C. there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Māgha.

What then does Mahā Māgha Paurṇamāṣṭi signify? It signifies that full-moon day of the month of Māgha of that particular year Mahā-Māgha of the Jovian 12-year cycle. It would be more correctly called Mahā-Māgha Māgha-Paurṇamāṣṭi, which however would be readily and conveniently shortened into Mahā Māgha Paurṇamāṣṭi, as has been done here, by the elision of one of the two successive words Māgha and this is quite inevitable in common parlance. Thus it is evident that the date of these plates is the full-moon day of Māgha of the Mahā Māgha Samvatsaras of the Jovian 12-year cycle on which there was a lunar eclipse. Now these Samvatsaras of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter are determined by the heliacal risings of that planet, and the Nakṣatra in which he is at the time of each of such risings;120 and the Mahā-Māgha year commences when he has his heliacal rising in either of the two nakṣatras called Aśleṣā and Māghā,121 which respectively are 106° to 120° and 120° to 133° in the ecliptic by the system of equal spaces, or in other words when the geocentric longitude of Jupiter at the time of his heliacal rising falls within 106° and 133°. In the 45 or 46 years from 609 A. C., which, according to Dr. Fleet, is the initial year of the reign of Pulikēsi II to 654 A. C., which, as we shall see, was that of the reign of his son Vikramādiṭya I, there were only six lunar eclipses on the full moon day of Māgha, and the corresponding dates of those six·eclipses, the geocentric longitudes of Jupiter on those respective dates, and the names of the Jovian samvatsaras current on those occasions are as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Geocentric longitude of Jupiter</th>
<th>Name of the Samvatsara in the Jovian 12-year cycle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>31 January 622</td>
<td>305°</td>
<td>Mahā Śrāvaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21 January 623</td>
<td>333°</td>
<td>Mahā Bhāḍrapada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

119. Ibid. 120. For detailed information vide F. G. I., (Int. pp. 161—176).
121. आश्लेषा मण्डलेऽ माण्डः। (V. B. 8. VIII. 2. Comm.)
Evidently therefore the last was the only one lunar eclipse that took place in the Mahā Māgha year in the course of those 45 or 46 years, and the correct date of the Hōṣūrī plates therefore is 12th January 651 A. C. It therefore goes without saying that Pulikēśi II must have performed his Āsvamedha between 634 A. C. and 650 A. C., and he was still living and ruling in January 651 A. C. Thus then the story of the disastrous end of his reign and the consequent interregnum in the Chalukya kingdom has to be rejected as quite baseless and simply impossible. His reign was throughout glorious, and its end, crowned as it was with the celebration of the Āsvamedha, must have been far more glorious.

The Haiderābād grant of Pulikēśi II is said to have been made in his 3rd regnal year on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the newmoon day of the month of Bhādrapada in S. S. 534 expired i. e. in S. S. 535 current. Taking it to mean the Amānta month (i. e. the month ending with the newmoon day) of Bhādrapada, Dr. Fleet has come to the conclusion that the corresponding English date is the 2nd August 612 A. C. on which day there was a total eclipse of the sun though it was not visible in India. This date does not seem to be correct, for the month is evidently the Pārṇimānta month (i. e. ending with the fullmoon day) of Bhādrapada, which however in the Amānta system would be the month of Srāvana; and on the newmoon day of Amānta Srāvana in S. S. 535 there was a total eclipse of the sun on the 23rd July 613 A. C. which was visible in India. Again a copper-plate grant from Sāṭāra is dated the fullmoon day of Kārtika in the 8th year of Pulikēśi II, and the equivalent English date is in all probability the 20th October 617 A. C., on which day there was a lunar eclipse though not mentioned in the grant. Thus it is evident that Pulikēśi II ascended the throne in 610—611 A. C. Then at last we have the Gadvāl plates which speak of a grant made in S. S. 596 on the fullmoon day of Pāiśākha in the 20th year of the reign of Vikrāmāditya I, whence it follows that Vikrāmāditya I must have succeeded his father in the latter part of 654 A. C. and Pulikēśi II therefore must have reigned from 610—611 A. C. to 654 A. C.

(To be continued.)

NEW LIGHT ON TIPU SULTAN.

A. SUBBARAYA CHETTY, M.A., B.ED.

This is my second article on this novel theory regarding Tipu and it is designed to dispel the redundant doubts concomitant of any new theory and corroborate thereby, the same. The evidence put forth herein is also of a varied nature and based on monuments, historical literature and popular hearsay.

Let me first give the evidence of monuments.¹ A Muslim tomb called Babayya Duiga, situated at Penukonda in Anantapur district was built by Tipu. Babayya after whom the name of the tomb goes was a Muslim saint cosmopolitan like Kabir of the North, and Sheik Mahammad of Maharasthra in his religious views. He endeavoured his best for the unity of the Muslims and the Hindus and it seems he was popular with both the communities, as a consequence of which many a votary representing both the faiths pays his homage every year to that tomb. Many Hindus name their children Babayya. Further the tomb stands to one side of a large porch and in the middle of an extensive courtyard both of which are clearly Hindu in architecture. This evidently knocks the old theory that he was a fanatic, out of its bottom and shows that Tipu was a cosmopolitan in his religious views that strove his best for the reconciliation of both the recalcitrant communities as a mark of which noble view he built this tomb for that great Muslim exponent of the same. Moreover no student of Indian History will for a moment believe that he was a fanatic when he learns the existence of the Hindu architecture there; for he must have already studied about the proverbial Muslim fanatic ruler Aurangzeb who drove out of his court all the Hindu architects that were entertained by his predecessors.² Then an inscription, Urdu in original language along with two others in English and Canarese (preserved now in the rest house built before the Kannambadi dam) shows that Tipu intended to build this dam long ago and laid its foundation on such an auspicious day when the Sun, the Moon and the Stars were in good position.

¹ Vide p. 198 Anantapur District Gazeteer.
² Vide pages Nos. 473 to 474 of the Telugu journal "Bharati" of March 1931 (Vol. VII No. 3)
This, besides showing that he was a believer in the efficacy of Hindu Astrology, combining with another monument of his beneficence in the Bellary district, where he constructed a big tank, across the valley through which flowed the Narihill river (which now irrigates 1170 acres of wet land and yields excellent fish—fetching an annual fishery rent of about Rs. 600) manifests that Tipu was one of the rare Indian rulers that strove for the good life of the citizens. Sultanpeta (a suburb of Kodikonda, a village in the present Anantapur district) which is called so after the name of Tipu Sultan is another monumental evidence of his love for the people. It was built for attracting the people to settle there when Tipu granted the remission of land tax.

In this connection a few lines on the evidence of inscriptions throwing light on this topic will not be out of place. In speaking of the rulers, in whose reigns a prominent temple in Coimbatore District flourished and its worship did not suffer, an inscription of 1785–86 mentions the names of Tipu and his father along with those of the great Vizianagara kings, of the Nayakas of Madura and other great Hindu sovereigns. This shows that Tipu was not a destroyer of Hindu temples like Aurangzeb but at least a ruler of religious toleration if not a supporter of Hindu worship like the Hindu kings. Another Maharatta inscription of Cuddapah district confirms this view recording the continuation of the villages of Obalapeta and Koppolu to Rangachariu and Sumati Srinivasacharlu of Thimmapuram, the descendants of whom are now said to be the pujarís of the local temples of that village.

Here a mention of numismatical evidence will find good place. Tipu followed the example of his father in not mentioning his own name on any of his coins though the initial letter of his father's name is frequently met with on gold and silver coins. But he differed from his father in mentioning the name of the mint regularly. From this we can clearly infer that he was true to his father's self-denying and prudent policy (evidently not to incur the displeasure of the adherents of the old Hindu sovereigns) and that to show his paternal love to a great extent he mentioned the initial letter of his father's name. We can also understand his superior intelligence and matured reasoning power from his regular mention of the names of the mint unlike his father. Besides

3. Vide pages No. 266 and 269 of the Bellary District Gazetteer
4. Vide page 172 of the Anantapur District Gazetteer
5. Vide Inscription, recorded as 352 A. B. (second plate) of Coimbatore District, by Mr. K. Jangachari, in his 'Inscriptions of Madras Presidency,'
6. Vide Inscription recorded as 364 of Cuddapah District by the above author.
his super-intelligence, we can learn from these coins his pro-Hindu feelings. The Mauladi Era which he adopted from the fifth year of his reign (evident from the coins on which he changed the Hijira Era followed by his father and other Muslim rulers especially fanatical rulers like Aurangzeb) bears affinities as concluded by the expert Indian chronologist, late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, with the Hindu Era of lunar months, occurring once in three years and other essentials of it. Curiously enough it is said that Mauladi years began regularly at the same time as the Indian Luni-solar year, that is, on Chaitrasuklaprapathipat and the serial numbers of Tippu’s cyclic years as recorded on many coins are exactly the same as those of the South Indian Cyclic years. Therefore we cannot but conclude that Tippu’s policy was greatly influenced by the Hindu Systems in existence.

Then the figures on the copper coins are not of less worth in supporting our new theory. They exhibit on the obverse the figure of an elephant, either advancing or standing with its head to right or to left of the field (in various positions) and trunk uplifted. The elephant being generally associated with loyalty appears on the Gajapathi Pagoda and has got its origin in the ancient Ganga dynasty of Mysore. The observance of this system of coinage by Tippu shows his unstinted respect for the traditions of the Mysore Kingdom, uninfluenced by any religious prejudices.

Now I shall cite the evidence of some historians about him. Meadows Taylor who is reputed for having pictured his writings with Hindu culture and customs, hails Tippu in his novel ‘Tippu Sultan’, as one of the greatest heroic rulers that India could have ever been prolific of. Though the writer, having the innate characteristic of Westerners, could not keep himself free from the sin of unnecessarily criticising the Indian Ruler, he must be given the credit of having given a graphic description of Tippu, which illustrates all traits of his character—religious, political, etc, in an excellent manner. According to this, the frequent defeats that Tippu sustained here and there, were attributed by his military officials Kasiunah and Rahim Khan to Tippu’s secret performance of Hindu rites like idol-worship. From this we find also how Tippu was at heart a pro-Hindu, how tactfully he thought of reconciling the Hindus to his Muslim rule avoiding at the same time the alienation of the feelings of his

8 Vide page 11 of ‘The coins of Haider Ali and Tippu’ by J. R. Henderson (Edition of 1921.)
11 Ibid.
Muslim subjects by open performance of such rites. It further leads to
the conclusion that he was well aware of the truth that the stability of
his rule must be broad-based on the loyalty of the people. Again the
fact, evident from the same source, that he disgraced a Muslim official
named Jemedhar who was accused with embezzlement of state finances in
the presence of a Hindu official named Krishna Rao whom Tippu consul-
ted about the punishment to be meted out to that dishonest Muslim
official, smacks of his intolerance of bad conduct even on the part of
Muslims and bears eloquent testimony to his unstinted faith in the integrity
and ability of the Hindus. Then, the fact that the two officials at the helm
of the state—the Finance Minister and the State Treasurer—were Hindus
namely, Purniah and Krishna Rao, shows the magnitude of the confidence
he reposed in the honesty of the Hindus. That, moreover, Tippu was a
great statesman that strove for the unity of Muslims and Hindus is obvious
to all unprejudiced eyes from the fact that he left the fort in the
joint custody of Sayyad Sahib and Purniah in 1799 during his final issue
with the English. Further the historical fact that Tippu introduced Repub-
lican Government formally in 1798 by the inducement of the French is
confirmed by Meadows Taylor in his statement that Tippu renounced all
his Royal Emblems when he announced the form of Republican Govern-
ment on 26th April 1798. This also confirms the statement in my
first article that Tippu thought of presenting in himself an ideal ruler
who is not a master of the people but a servant of the God on Earth
ordained for the welfare of the people. Mr. Taylor appreciates in
conclusion the rule of Tippu as one during which the Brahmins enjoyed
perfect peace and tranquility being endowed with Inam lands and
Agraharams and where every one including even Hindus could procure unfet-
tered and unstinted justice in every matter, and where commerce flourished and
agriculture advanced unhampered. This can be confirmed by the historical
fact that a large income was procured for the State Coffers every year.
It is said that the assessment of 1788 was a huge amount of 22,77,899
Country Pagodas, in spite of his introduction in his realm of
total prohibition which, on account of the financial reasons, is a sore
problem agitating the brains of the most prominent politicians and
conspicuous financiers of our present British Indian Government. This
shows how peaceful and prosperous his subjects were and how vigorous
and excellent his administration was. But it is a pity that this brilli-
ant writer (Meadows Taylor) tries now and then to foist the charges of

12 & 13 Ibid.
14, 15 & 16 Mr. Taylor's Tippu Sultan.
17 See p. 104 of Anantapur district Gazeteer and p. 158 of Belliary district
Gazeteer.
18 Mr. Taylor's Tippu Sultan.
oppressing Hindus upon such a ruler as Tippu who, according to Taylor himself, strove his utmost for the general well being and good life of all his subjects and exerted his best to bring about harmony and amity between the warring communities. But in spite of this characteristic prejudice he could not anyhow refrain from placing before us a good number of well amplifiable facts but for which our regard for Tippu could not have been high.

Then Mr. Bowring’s statement that, Tippu permitted one M. Lally to open a shop for vending liquors at Bangalore firmly restricting the use of it to the French soldiers in his service as an exception to his policy of total prohibition, shows that he was actuated in this policy not by orthodox muslim principles of religion but by motives of purely economic sanity and political prudence. This further bears an example to his flexible and elastic character exploding the theory that he was a too dogmatic or orthodox person. True he was dogmatic in his determination to fight with the English to the last for he rightly forecasted the doom that had to befall his kingdom. From the same source we can learn that he condemned his muslim brother Nizam for the latter’s frequent proclivities towards the English. True he was dogmatic to the very end in joining all hands against the English and unflinchingly bent upon their expulsion. But he was undoubtedly elastic and heterodox in his policy towards all others.

Colonel Miles states in his ‘Tippu Sultan’ that the Sultan purchased a Hindu Temple in Seringapatam from the worshippers of the image in it with their good-will, the brahmins having been allowed to take away their image and place it in the Deoreipeenth (which at present is called the Ganjam gate) and the temple was pulled down and a new Musjid named Sultan Musjidi-Ala was raised in that site as was promised by the Sultan in his boyhood to a Fakir. This distinctly confirms our view that Tippu was neither a destroyer of temples nor an idol-breaker as any other fanatic ruler was and that he was well sensible of the feeling of the Hindus even in carrying out his own religious motives. It is further said therein that he dispensed with the services of a Muhamma
dan Dewan named Mirsadik because the latter oppressed the people of Adoni, largely populated with Hindus, according to his caprice and will. From this we can know that he was in the habit of severely condemning every act of oppression of the people on the part of any of

19. Rulers of India series—‘Tippu Sultan’ by Bowring.
20. Ibid.
21. ‘The History of the reign of Tippu Sultan (translated from an original manuscript in Persian) by Col. Miles.— pages 100 and 101 and chap XI.
22. Ibid. page 102, Chap XI.
his officials regardless of their being Hindus or Muslims. From the same source we can learn that Tippu imposed restrictions upon the licentiousness of Muslims by compelling them not to pass in or out of the forts without due permission from the authorities in 1787. The same author tells us that the Sultan was, far from being repressive and inadaptible in his views, as essentially characteristic of the Muslim fanatics in general, very progressive and advanced in his views and introduced many innovations in various departments in different ways. Tippu is said therein to have conferred honours on all the professions and arts not excluding music and sculpture which according to orthodox principles ought to be forbidden and to have been very discriminating in estimating the character of learned men. The same source states further that the Sultan was enterprising in his nature and very fond of introducing novelties provided they could benefit the people and extended the state-aid to the industries manufacturing the fabrics and imitation cloths of all countries such as shawls and cloths of gold etc and expended thousands of pounds in those undertakings.

Not only such military, political and economic activities attracted his attention but also social needs of the people. The above quoted author tells us along with Bowring that he issued an ordinance forbidding the Hindu ladies of the territories of the Balaghat going about with their breasts and their heads uncovered like animals. He gave orders that none of these women should go out of their houses without a robe and veil for covering of the head. Further in his memoirs the Sultan is said to have very severely spoken of the custom of polyandry as a mean custom resulting in the growth of bastards. All these show that the Sultan was a sane and sensible social reformer bent upon righting both the blind superstitions and baneful customs of the Hindus on the one hand and licentious and capricious conduct of Muslims on the other.

Even his manners and customs as stated by various writers indicate that he was not a blind, unscrupulous, orthodox or fanatic muslim but a rational, sensible, scrupulous and exemplarily simple musalman. Mr Miles says that he used to witness dancing or

23. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
27. Rulers of India series—"Tippu Sultan" by Bowring and "The History of the reign of Tipu Sultan" by Col. Miles—pages 200 and 201.
28. Rulers of India series—Tippu Sultan by Bowring
29. The History of the reign of Tippu Sultan by Col. Miles.
performance of bayadeers for the sake of recreation though he forbade jests and ribaldry. He used to retain the hair of his eyebrows and eyelashes and moustaches contrary to the custom of the deceased Nawab. These customs are generally looked upon by bigoted musalmans as invidious to the orthodox principles of Islam. He shaved his beard also thinking it not becoming to him. But in observance of prayers, fasts and other religious duties the same writer says that he was very strict and set an example to the people of Islam. It is also said that he was mindful of the feelings of the dismissed officials whether Hindus or Muslims and accustomed to reappoint them after they were corrected of their faults or punished as it is manifest from an inscription of Kurnool District which records an order to one Chenniah of Hanumanthagundum (evidently a subordinate official) to restore the Karananship of Papayya and Perayya of Peddavanthula.

Now coming to the popular hearsay that speaks of Tippu, I desire to state a prominent tradition told about in Bellary District and which goes to say that Purniah, the Finance Minister of Tippu, got the Siva Temple now situated in the premises of the famous Rock Fort of Tippu Sultan at Bellary, built, the money for which being provided by Tippu himself. The Archakas (Priests) of that temple also say that the Inam lands they enjoy were originally granted by Tippu himself. Though this is to be historically tested by further research, I am sure the readers will find it undoubtedly reliable as it is free from unnecessary exaggerations superficial or superfluous in character.

Now having fairly sketched the evidence I have collected to positively confirm my new theory, I want to negatively corroborate it by exploding the distorted statements of the previous historians that Tippu was a bigoted muslim ruler. Before I take up the formal attack against these statements, I want to invite the attention of the scholars to a comparison that may be instituted between Tippu and the proverbial fanatic ruler of India, Aurangzeb, for further elucidation of my new theory.

Aurangzeb as everyone knows drove out the Hindu architects patronised by his predecessors whereas our hero allowed Hindu architecture to exist in and by the side of a Muslim tomb got built by himself. Aurangzeb not only discouraged this art because of

30 The History of the reign of Tipu Sultan by Col. Miles p. 200 and 201.
31 Ibid.
32 Inscriptions of Madras Presidency by Rangachariar recorded as 176 of Kurnoo District.
33 History of Aurangzeb by J. Sarkar Vol. III
34 Ibid page 92
his orthodox Muslim principles but also banished pure music from his court, and sent the music to the burial as said by J. Sarkar but Tipu used to patronise and be present at performances of Baydeers which is evidently dancing and music.\textsuperscript{35} Further our hero allowed the figures of elephants to flourish on his own coins whereas the fanatic Moghul ruler wanted to remove the two stone elephants placed by Jehangir on the two side pillars of the Hatipul Gate of Agra Fort in order to carry out the rules of canon law and to remove innovations.\textsuperscript{36} Then our hero evinced an enthusiastic fondness and sincere belief in the efficacy of Hindu Astrology whereas in Aurangzeb’s reign the astrologers all over the Empire were bound down in October 1675 and made to furnish securities for not drawing up alamanacs in the following year saying that it was savouring of Hindu Faith.\textsuperscript{37} Further Aurangzeb ordered, both during his Viceroyalty and Emperorship, a regular destruction of all the Hindu Temples throughout the Empire and made it a chief duty of his Censor to destroy the Hindu places of worship whereas Tipu retained undemolished the prominent Hindu Temple of Ranganatha in his very capital and whereas the former burdened the Hindus with heavy Jaziyya and discriminative customs duties, there is no evidence of such imposition in the reign of Tipu who even used to dismiss Muhammadan officials accused with misuse of state finances and oppression of the people in any way.\textsuperscript{38} Whereas Aurangzeb dismissed all the Hindu writers with a single stroke of his pen, Tipu had at the helm of the purse only Hindus.\textsuperscript{39} Then the former hated the Innovation of Illahi Era of Akbar and restored the traditional lunar Calendar of Muslims whereas Tipu gave up the traditional system of lunar Calendar as defective and brought in a drastic innovation by adopting therein Mauladi Era which largely bears affinities with the Hindu Era of South India. To sum up, Aurangzeb’s policy was static, purely orthodox, blind to reason, invidious of innovations, and insensible of the results of the policy pursued whereas Tipu’s was dynamic, in accordance with the dictates of reason and conscience, fond of innovations and well sensible of the results of his policy. It is a regrettable feature that such a broad-minded ruler, as we have seen him to be in the light of all kinds of evidence, is unwarrantedly accused with bigotry simply because of one or two overt actions on his part. The first charge levelled against him by previous writers\textsuperscript{40} is that he drove out of the coastal region thirty thousand christians and forcibly

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{36} Bernier;—161-163 and Manioc; 224.  
\textsuperscript{37} History of Auzrangiab by J. Sarkar Vol. III. p. 804  
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid p. 515.  
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid and also R. Mukherjee’s Indian History—Muhamadan Period.  
\textsuperscript{40} Bowring, Wilks etc.
deported them into Mysore. Tippu said that this action on his part was due to the mischief of the Portuguese who, having, on pretence of trade, obtained settlements on the West coast, had prohibited musalmans from practising their faith, expelled Hindus from their territories, those who remained being enrolled as christians. This account of Tippu himself is a sufficient reply to the above charge and it is well vindicative of his true motive in that the action being not religious as attributed to him by the western writers but one of punishing them for their religious persecutions. This further shows that Tippu felt intolerant of the religious persecutions and that he was well aware of the true motives of the western traders being expansion of christianity and territorial aggrandisement. Then the second charge lodged against him is that he forcibly deported and converted many Hindus of Coorg and Malabar to Islam. If we dive deep into the matter, sift, weigh and judge historical evidence available in this connection, we can say that he did this as a sheer political and social expediency but not as a gratification of his religious fanaticism. First we shall see what Tippu himself said about this: "It is a custom with you for the eldest of five brothers to marry and for the wife of such brothers to be common to all the five; hence there cannot be the slightest doubt of you all being bastards. This is about the seventh time you have acted treacherously towards the Government and plundered our armies. By transporting you to some other country your progeny becomes legitimate and the epithet 'sons of sinful mothers' will not be for you." This account of Tippu shows that he intended to rectify the social defects of polyandry and other iniquitous customs by such alleged deportation and conversion, for Islam does not give sanction to such iniquitous customs, and at the same time bind them to his rule by the religious bonds extirpating once for all their rebellious spirit.

Then, if you will have to doubt as some historians opine that he made use of the rebellious spirit in them as an excuse for such forcible conversion, that is also unwarranted, for there are various cases of rebellions during his regime wherein he never intended to gratify his selfish fanatic motive.

Basap Naik of Harphanahalle and others rose against Tippu's authority in 1792 A. D. and gave him much trouble for seven months after which he could subdue and punish them but he did not convert

41. Bowring's Tippu Sultan—Rulers of India series
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. The History of the reign of Tippu Sultan by Col. Miles pp. 35, 36, 49 and 100.
45. Ibid.
them to Islam.\textsuperscript{46} Again in 1783 the Polygars of Chittore, Madhurapalle, Punganur and Kaliadesya, Chief of Nargunda, rebelled against his authority and Tippu could only with great difficulty suppress them. But he did not even here think of converting them to Islam. Therefore we have to conclude that he did not necessarily make use of the rebellions as lame excuses for expansion of Islam or Hindu persecution and that the only instance of conversion of the Malabar Hindus was due to other than religious reasons.*

\textit{(To be continued.)}

\textsuperscript{46} Ibld.

*Mr. V. S. Tata writes as follows in the Hindu Illustrated Weekly dated 16-7-33 under the caption 'Moslem Rulers and a Hindu Guru'. "For more than a century and half History has regarded Hyder and Tippu Sultan, the two Muslim Rulers of Mysore as born haters of Hinduism. But a perusal of the 32 records in the possession of the Jagad Guru of Sringeri Mutt which are letters written by Hyder and Tippu ranging from 1781—1791 A.D., to the Jagad Guru, shows that they are not haters of Hinduism but lovers of it. When Parasuram Bahub raided the Mutt in 1790 A. D. and pulled out the Goddess Sharada, Tippu Sultan magnanimously helped the Guru with men and money for the reconsecration of the Goddess." Editor.
In my "Political history of the Kakatiyas" I had occasion to refer to some Kakatiya inscriptions recently discovered in the Nizam's dominions. A list of these inscriptions has been already published by me in this journal. I now propose to give the texts or extracts from some of the inscriptions and indicate their importance.

1. KAZIPET INSCRIPTION,

(Verse 1) Bēta is the lord of Kākatipura. He obtained much wealth and glory by churning the ocean of the Chōla king's armies. (Verse 2) His son was king Prōla whose history is pious to the whole world, who straightened the Chakrakātanavishaya, put to flight (the ruler of) Bhadranga, conquered Kōpakānamandala and attained much glory. (Verse 3)

He killed in battle Gonna the son of Koḍavartti Dugga, seized Purakūḍēśa and obtained from Trailōkyamalla through an edict, the Anuma-kondavishaya comprising their respective lands. (Verse 4) His son the lion to the elephants of the Chōla and Mālava kings, a very Vikrama in valour, and known as Parasu was famed as king Bēta. (Verse 5) He made a garden at Hanumakonda, a tīrtha called Sivapura and built there a temple after his own name.

2. KAZIPET INSCRIPTION.

North

1 तस्मात्सुयुतःशय
2 श्रीघर्घववहस्म महाराण
3 जाजिराज परमेश्वर
4 परमभट्टारक सखा
5 श्रीक्षेत्रक च
6 गुह्यामरणे श्रीम
7 [श्री] त्रियुवनमाङ्गेव
8 बिजयपार्व शार्च
9 इत्सारां सतसुभामे
10 रे। तत्प्रवधाशोपजीवि (बी
11 समथिगतं पंचमहा
12 शान्त महाधर्मेश्वरा
13 नमकुण्डा पुरवेश्वर
14 परसमाहेश्वर पाति
15 हितचरिते। विनयविभू
16 वर्गो श्रीमन्महामण्ड
17 शेषर कारतीय बेते
18 शान्त तत्त्र तन्वे महामण्ड
19 शेषर पोश्करस

West

20 ...संबत्सर मांगिति (वि)
21 र गुह्य ध्रुवोधुरू व्रहस्प
22 र वारङ्गुस्व वर्णमण्डिः
23 [का] गुह्यां निलितां माणगं

While the kingdom of Srīmat Tribhuvanamalladēva the ornament of the Chalukyas was flourishing as long as the sun, moon and the stars, his subordinate Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bētēśa, lord of the city of Anumakonda, set up this inscription while instituting god Varuṇa on a Friday the 12th day of the month of Mārgaśīra in the year (name lost) (for the merit of) his father Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Pōḷalarasa.2

3. HANUMAKONDA INSCRIPTION.

1 श्रीमान्तिकमचिद्रि श्रीवरम
2 गुह्यकोलम्। पादक्रा त्योहेश्वराय

2 See No. 2 of my ‘List of Kakatiya inscriptions’ in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VII pt. 2
The Maṇḍalika or feudatory of Vikrama (Vikramādiṭya) gave a perpetual lamp to god Prabhēśvara. In the Saka year 1201 on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the cyclic year Siddhārthi, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bētamayya ordained that every day 12 māṇikas of ghee should be supplied for the perpetual lamp to god Prabhēśvara at Bētēśvaram. Fifty. (eighty?) murtis of wet land free from all obligations and payments shall be devoted for this purpose.

NOTE:- See The Bharati I-9 where Mr. M. R. Kavi has published this inscription. This is the oldest dated record of the Kakaṭiyas. The Beteśvaram referred to in line 6 must be identified with the temple built by Beta after his own name as per line 24 of No. 1 above.

4. KAZIPET INSCRIPTION.
(Verse 2) Hail! prosperity to king Bêta alias Chalamartiganda, who is like the moon to the ocean of the Durjaya family, who is under the control of truth and whose arm is adorned by the goddess of victory in wars.
(Verse 3) His son was Prôla whose feet are brightened by the headdresses of other kings and whose glory, the result of many brave deeds in numerous battles has spread to the end of all directions and made them white.

5. PILLAMARRI INSCRIPTION.

In the great community born of the pair of Brahma’s feet holy for all the three worlds, was born Bamma the worthy among men, who having taken away the door of the city of Kânchi, uprooted the tree of honour of the Chola king, having sported with a terrific battle.

6. PALAMPET INSCRIPTION

“As soon as his musical instruments had pealed forth he swiftly flung open the doors of the city of Kânchi like a curtain and promptly brought there the marriage of the Kakati monarch with the fortune of heroes.”

NOTE: Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 4. Nos. 5 & 6 above treat of the exploits of Bamma founder of the Recherla family (See my ‘Recherla family’ in J.A.H.R.S. V-3) and confirm the identity of Prola I.

7. GANAPAVARAM INSCRIPTION.

No. 8 List of Kakatiya Inscriptions.
No. 4 List of Kakatiya Inscriptions.
(1) Having obtained Jagaddēva, king Hēmādri made him the commander of his armies. (2) His son was Dēvapāla who was governed by Jagaddēva. (3) Prōla the Kakatiya king ruled the earth after Jagaddēva.

LEMULAVADA INSCRIPTION.

Mahāmandalēśvara Jagaddēvarasa, resident of Lēmbālavāda who is adorned with the five musical instruments and is well-known and who is the ornament of the Polāvākula made a gift to God Hariśvaradēva on a Sunday the 14th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the cyclic year Sarvadhārin correspondent to S. S. 1031.

9. NAGUNUR INSCRIPTION.

1 खस्तश्री समस्तपश्चाति सहितं । 7 स [श] क बहुल चादिवेलु
2 श्रीमुनमहामूंडेक्ष [श] र । 8 पुष्पमु [श] कवर
3 त्राम्मराजु श्रीमष्णा । 9 गुणादु देवरु ज
4 बुक्क विकलपगा (श) । 10 गेम्बु पुष्प ।[श] स्थि
5 उत्तम विजय नान्कनेवद । 11 वेयरो पोडिची गेजिचे
6 प्रमादिविन्दस्तरद बै

5 No. 23 Kakatiya Inscriptions.
6 No. 13 Kakatiya Inscriptions.
In the Chalukyavikrama year 4 corresponding to Pramādi Mahāmanḍalēśvara Dommerāju won a victory over 80000 along with Mēderāju and Jagadēva.7

NOTE—Nos. 7, 8 and 9 help the identification of the Kakatiya rivals mentioned in the Hanumakonda inscription. The Jagadeva, who in verse 2 of that inscription is said to have run away at the very sight of Prola II, is I believe, identical with the Jagadeva of Nos. 7, 8 and 9 above. No. 9 is the only other record besides that of Hanumakonda which mentions Meda.

10. PALAMPET INSCRIPTION.

श्रीमलोकनायक सैन्यपतिना विख्यातविभक्तिनां
युध्दे येन महाबलेन निहते संयुक्तगुणाधिपे।
अन्ये बरिषत गुप्त। प्रतिदिष्ट प्राङ्गङ्गे स्वश्वम
सन्त्सदेन नियातिते जगसौ शेषा गजा: श्रुत्रकाष्ठे। verse 15

"When he, the commander of the blest king Prola's army renowned for great valour, great of strength, smote in battle king Manthanya Gupa, the other hostile monarchs fled away in every direction like the other lesser elephants when the chief elephant (of the herd) has been laid low by the lion.' 8

NOTE—Verse 11 of the Hanumakonda inscription mentions that Gunda was shaved, the Varāha or the Boar seal was impressed on his breast and that he fled to his city and never came to the field in spite of Prola's challenge. That Gunda must be identified with Gunda of No. 10 above. Evidently the exploit of this Kakatiya general was the sequel to Prola's fight.

11. JETCHERLA INSCRIPTION

3 वति संयोजितं प्रंजमहाश्वुन्स्तुए शष्यम् महा
4 मन्दिरेन वीरमाहेश्वर कोङ्गुरूलारेवर (सू)।
5 वैतस्नायकरुपमंगलोक कांक्षपणाद्ये।
6 तिकालवत्कनोमार्गि समस्तप्रभावितस।
7 हिंि मीभिर्विभाष्टिकान्तेक्षर कंडौरि उदय
5 त्योहाराराजुल सुणापिकाहु

... ... ...

7 The Bharati VII—6
8 Hyderabad Arch. series No. 3.
The tax-collectors of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kandūr Udayachōda Mahārāja, the lord of Kōdūr, born in the solar race and the Karikāla family (made a gift) on Tuesday the 2nd day of the dark half of the month of Paushya in the year Chitrabhānu, corresponding to S.S. 1084.

NOTE—Prola is said to have defeated Govindarāja and given his kingdom to Udayarāja. (Haum. ins. verse 9) we also know that a Chōdodaya died out of fear of Rudra’s valour and that Rudra burnt his city and married his daughter Padmā. (Haum. ins. verses 27, 28 & 29) I believe that Choda and Udayachoda are both one and the same person identical with the ruler of Kandūr mentioned in this inscription.

12. MAMILLAPALLI INSCRIPTION.

......
......
...... verse 2

वदमू दुधाविल रत्नसंध स्मुट स्ततः।
बोधस्थातिमयी वस्थ मयूःबितावति क्ष्िती॥ verse 3

अथ तंक्खतिन्त्रागगंग्रुणेतजसः।
भीमगोर्णेनमूपाली सुरीचन्द्राविबितति॥ verse 5

(2) In the solar race was born Gōkarna, the hero of the whole world. (3) To him was born Udayāditya the truthful. (4) To him were born Bhima and Gōkarna 10

NOTE—Bhima and his brother Gokarna are known to us from many inscriptions from the Nizam’s dominions. The Hanumakonda inscription tells us that Bhima killed Gokarna while at meals, had illicit dealings, and aspired for sovereignty on the death of Taila (III). Kakti Rudra is said to have destroyed the capital of Bhima and driven him to the woods. (Haum. ins. verses 16, 18, 21, 25, & 28). There is another inscription at Māmilla-palli which is dated in the reign of Gokarna. (Sujata, I—ii.) I believe that this Bhima and his ancestors belong to the Vardhamanapura branch of the Telugu Cholas hitherto unknown.

9 The Bharati VII—6, 10 The Sujata I-2,
13. MADIREDDI KUNTA INSCRIPTION.

The moonlight rays of his fame have spread to all directions as "this is Rāmēśvaradikṣita." He is the mount Mē·u for noble qualities; the leader of Māhēśvaras; kind hearted: the giver of food to the defectives, sufferers, poor-folk, saints and brahmmins: and widely known for his charities. (2) Here he made the abodes of gods He gave the name Śīvapura to the village of (vai) Janapalle which was given to him by the father of Tribhuvanamalla with great devotion. He also constructed Tripurushatīrtha. (3) He is the knower of the nectar-essence of the philosophy of Lakulēśvarāgama an proclaimed dharma on this earth. His best disciple king, Prola alias Chalamartiganda, instituted a pillar of victory as if his own untarnished glory was made into that pillar.

NOTE—This record is of paramount importance. It solves clearly and un-equivocally the problem as to the religious persuasion of the early Kakatiya rulers. It can now be definitely said that these were Saivas. Ramesvara Dikshita seems to have been a great Saivite divine and the religious preceptor of Prola I. (cf. Visvesvarasva the Rajaguru and the Dikshaguru of Kakatiya Ganapatideva mentioned in lines 97 and 163 of the Malikapuram inscription in J. A. H. R. S IV, 3 and 4 p. 147—162.) The Tribhuvanamalla-vanisa-janaka of No. 13 above must be Prola I (see my "Political History of the Kakatiyas" in J. A. H. R. S VI-II, p. 22. the geneological table.) and we now come to know that this monarch also had the title Chalamaratiganda like his son Beta II. (see No. 4 above). Another interesting fact brought to light by the record under consideration is that the Pasupata form of Saiva flourished in the Andhra country in the 11th century.

11 See No. 8. Kakatiya inscriptions.
14. HANUMAKONDA INSCRIPTION.

भारदातिष्ठिति परिधुर्ण: श्रीसतिस्यस्मैतः
श्रीरामसहस्रविष्टो जनयिता यथा शिवताशिरणि:
सो किंतु दृश्यनं द्रव्यस्यतन्ते हि शिवाय (भयो) यथव श्रीवा
श्रीमहादीनं श्रवणस्य समते बैषाखः कथ्ये॥ lines 16—20 ||

I, Chintendravara, the disciple of Advaśāmbāśīta yati and whose father is Rāmēśvaradikshita of the Bhūrādvajukula, reknowned for orthodoxy, describe the genealogy of king Rūdra lord of men.

NOTE—Chintendravara the composer of this inscription is one of the Sanskrit poets of the Kakatiya age hitherto unknown.

15 PILLALAMARRI INSCRIPTION.

नानावननिधि निरीक्षूर्त राजाधिम श्रवणःतपस्यार्थे:
निन्दुष्ट मंगलनिविष्टां तां विरंभरां श्रास्ति रहस्ये॥ (verse 2 lines 3-6) 1
तथा प्रसादः श्रास्ती [1] श्रीमतो रहस्ये:|
नामं कामाल्य स्ववेयुभामा छवी छवः॥ (verse 5 lines 14—16) 2
शाकाण्विशेषतः भवगैयो वस्तिम राशसालये
बैशाखे शुद्धपरे कुसमसरथिवं बासरे मात्रकर्कैः (केश)।
हिंगमति श्रीणि सोऽथ मनुष्य सिद्धायतिभिः [3] संपत्तिद्वायु नृत्व: [ति]
पादजलसत्तवेऽ युक्ताषतवेऽस्य कथः मातु: पितुष्य॥

(verse 6 lines 16—20) 3

(1) While Rudradēva whose foot-rest is kissed by the gleams of gems set in the headresses of kings was ruling this earth surrounded by the sea, (2) Nāma who got his wealth by his (Rudra's) grace and who was the son of Kāma and who ... an embodiment of virtues, and the giver of all desires (3) instituted three lingas of Śiva for the merit of himself, his father and mother, on a Sunday the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākhā in the year Rākshasa, corresponding to the Saka year, counted by the hills, moon and Śiva (1117). 18

12 L. A. XL p. 272
13 See No. 10 Kakatiya Inscriptions
NOTE—This record shows that Rudra was ruling in S. S. 117 or 1195 A. D. We hear no more of this monarch after this date. His younger brother Mahadeva is known to have succeeded him and ruled for a very short time viz., three or four years and his son Ganapati ascended the Kakatiya throne in 1199 A. D. Apparently this inscription supplies the last regnal year of Rudra.

16 BURUGUGADDA INSCRIPTION.

1 ॐ जयंति जगद्घात (त) समस्मितमिर भास्करः
2 रामाजुज पदांभोज मूर्णां धर्षो
3 चम || खलित श्रीमन्महानंदेश्वर काकतीय
4 रूद्रेशमहराजाजुजु प्रश्योराज्यु
5 सेवुंगारु वारिष्ठाणि सत्त्रु बो
6 हमराजुंगारी तस्यु देवकीपुरवा
7 सुरु खलित श्रीलव्यक्षवेगसुल १९८० उ
8 यु विभवसंतस्तर ज्येष सुदु १० गुहवा
9 रुगुमाणु वृहुगुणामामस्यमु
10 नंदु सकलराजाहितांथमगानु उ
11 भय नकरांसहितमैं चेक्रापीनायथो
12 प्रातिष्ठ सेतो अंगरंगभोगालकु इ
13 विन विचि... ... ...

Om Hail prosperity, to Purushottama who is the adornment to the feet of Rāmanuja and the sun in dispersing the darkness of the world’s ignorance. While Kakatiya Rudrādēvamahārāja was ruling, Dēvakāputradāsa the brother of the king’s minister Satramu Bollamarājā instituted in the middle of the village of Būrugugadda god Gōpīnātha for the merit of all people, on Thursday the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in the cycle year Vībhava corresponding to the Saka year 1180.14

NOTE—Rudramba is known in her inscriptions as Rudrādevamahāraja and may be therefore identified with the Rudrādēva of this record. She is supposed to have come to the throne after the death of her father Ganapati in 1260 A. D. The Malkapuram pillar inscription shows that Ganapati was alive in 1261 A. D. and his daughter figures as a full sovereign even from 1260. No. 16 above shows that this queen was reigning even from 1258. As has been shown elsewhere (cf. ch. IV. p. 164 of my “Political History of the Kakatiyas” in J. A. H. R. S. VI—3 and 4) this inscription proves that Ganapati and his daughter Rudramba ruled conjointly for many years.

14 See No. 34 Kakatiya Inscriptions.
17  PAMMI INSCRIPTION

1 स्वाति श्रीसङ्कर्मुखः १९५६
2 अंकु दृष्टिविसंबतत
3 र बैशाखः [श] द ११ ग खलिश्वी
4 मन्महामण्डलेश्वर काकति
5 ध गण्डरेवमहाराजुङ्
6 पुश्करायं संसुचुंगवाल
7 स्वाति ओमतुः पम्भ पच (स) ब्रह्म
8 शुनि विक्राण्तिव द्वेसमहाद शे
9 विरंगातु स्वाति श्रीमन्महासा
10 मन्न विराणि न्गसानम्मगा
11 धु आ मलाजुङ मुम्मडराजुङ
12 रङ्गतिविदिप परमाणि बाब्बि आ देव
13 रकु दण्डेपेटि ग्राग माका महा
14 संतोषिं सीतिरि...........

While Mahamandalævara Ganam Rudradēvamahāraja was ruling the earth Devi Nāgaravādī instituted god Prasannavallabha at Pammi on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Vaisākhā in the cycle year Durmukhi, corresponding to the Saka year 1156. Then Vīryāla Nāgaranammā Mallaṅu, and Mummāḍrājāu came to Pammi from Rēmbharti and paid their respects to the god

NOTE- The date of this record is of paramount importance. It antedates the commencement of the joint rule of Ganapati and Rudramba by twenty-four years. It also tells us for the first time that Rudramba was also known as Ganam Rudradevamaharaja besides the male appellation Rudradevamaharaja which is common to all her inscriptions. It looks as though she had a very long period of training in state-craft under her far-sighted father Ganapati.

18  KOLANUPAKA INSCRIPTION

First side

9 श्रव्य ग्रहः जुवेदम यदासो
10 गंगारायवाः पदि औदा
11 येश्व निकेतन ग्राममणिश्री
12 श्री मंदिरं कश्थ्या स्तब्ध
13 राजसंहः [III] तस्मथो

Second side.

14 राजसंहः [III] तस्मथो
15 धवलदेवि वि
16 अभो चर्याः (४) तस्था
17 सीतिरिमाथित बैरिद्वादः [१]
चतुर्वृत्त काठो [कौ]

दू (घो) बादाखां राजाके य

ध्यान स्थितनुपत

यो जोगके झलाभार: II (१) बके

ए आदुख्यवेशाण्ने

Third side

... ...
हो सवो जात भीमहा
देवराजः।। नागेनुदो

खरो राजकुमार विषययो

रिभ।। [०] इत्युतिस्वरूपः

नंदने नंदति विय म
शेषनन्दने।। जगुण्डः बिभ

रण हण मुहु व्यथ

तथ विदुषां विशाम

पि।। [९] .... ...

...॥ बीरेंदुख्य पदां

बुजेश्वरेण भीमोतिनाय

प्रति प्रचि।। तेन तेन तेन।। या बंध

वर्षन समाहः विग्रहता

सा कुल्या कुता पवुचिरा कौँि

पाकपुष्काः।। [१०] अस्तां काकीि

संतति विषितित्वं शुक्या (क्रि)

रायेचरार दक्षी लक्ष्मण मा (न)

सत्कुलुनख्यातैक बीरा... [११]

... ... ...

... ...

बांधके लिये कुण्ड पंचम्या मकर

... ...
(1) From the shoulders of Him who was born out of the navel-lotus of the abode of the scriptures came the Durjaya kings. In this lineage were born the Kakatiya kings who guarded the earth with the rampart of their shoulders (2) Prōla the abode of kindness, glory, serenity, tolerance and virtue, and the sporting house of wealth and good conduct, was a source of light for this family. (3) His son was Mahādeva who churned the haughtiness of his enemy-elephants and whom men took to be Mahādeva himself. (4) To him was born Ganapatideva who made this earth surrounded by the sea an oval of gems to his shoulder, a veritable pillar of victory. (5) To him was born Rudrādēvi, like the goddess Lakshmi from the ocean. Her feet glow with the gems set in the diadems of kings and she defies the trees of heaven in charity, the ten directions in fame, Kubera in wealth, and Vijaya in strength. (6) Owing to the good fortune of the world, Virabhadra became her husband, he that defied the moon in beauty and the sun in greatness. His learning is known to the learned, the needy know his charity, the subordinates his commands and the enemy kings his valour. (7) The first-born of the Chalukyan ocean ... (8) The prince Induśēkhara was born to Lakkāmba and Mahādevarāja as if from the two Śivas (Śiva and Pārvati). (9) As the son of Induśēkhara the giver of pleasures to all was himself pleased and as the learned obtained bounty and the enemies war ... (10) At Kollipāka a canal was made by name Vamśāvardhana by Pōtināyaka the servant of the feet of Induśēkhara, (11) In this he the servant of the kings that are the descendants of Kākati and the hero reknowned in the three worlds (made)...17

NOTE—This again is a very important inscription. It is stated here-in that Rudramba was the daughter of Ganapati. For the first time this record reveals the name of the husband of the Kakatiya queen who has till now been unknown. (E R. 740 of 1920 also mentions his name) We are given besides, many details about the family of Chalukya Virabhadra. He seems to have been the eldest son of Mahadeva. From the mention of the Kakatiyas in lines 85-87 I am inclined to believe that the family of Virabhadra was subordinate to the Kakatiyas. It looks as though these scions of the Eastern Chalukyan family were ruling over the Kollipāka region as vassals of the Kakatiyas. Ganapati might have gone in for this alliance with the idea of retaining his only daughter with himself and giving her the training necessary for the future Kakatiya ruler. Accordingly Virabhadra might have lived at the Kakatiya capital as Prince-consort. The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it describes the geneologies of both the husband and the father of Rudramba.

17. See No. 89, Kakatiya Inscriptions.
19. GUDUR INSCRIPTION

verse 1 lines 1—7

verse 2; lines 1—13

verse 3; lines 13—16

verse 4; lines 20—26.

(t) After many kings have gone in the Duryaya family, was born Venna like Venna (Vishnu) to the rival feudatories; as if he was Vishnu himself; to him was born Erīrt the mighty with great glory.

(2) To him was born Viryāla Bhima the slayer of kings as if he was Bhima the middle-born among the Pāṇḍavas; to him was born Erīrt the ornament of Mandakikus; one who was known for his great wealth and was attended upon by his relatives.

(3) In war he took up the cause of Boṭṭa Bēta, killed his enemy and instituted him in the Koṛavi country.

(4) Erīrt's wife Kāmasāni made Bēta the Rākativallabha, took him by the hand and sought the protection of Pallavārāya. Is it not a great thing to have delivered Chakravarti (emperor) like the very sun and maintained Kākati (continued the Kakatiya line).18

NOTE—This inscription is important for many reasons. I have read the second line of Verse 2 as "viryala-Bhima nripaghasmarudai" meaning "Bhima of the Viryala family, the slayer of kings". This line conveys no meaning if the whole expression is read as a single compound. On the basis of this reading this inscription has to be taken to be a record of the Viryala family. A Mahasamanta Viryala Nagasanambahmagaru figures in No. 17 above and is said to have come to Pammi from Dambarti which I believe was her headquarters. The pillar that contains this record bears another inscription of the Viryala family in the Canarese language. (See No. 53: Ep. Ins.) This seems to have been engraved in the time of Malas son of Beta and grandson of Sura. It is not known if and how these chieftains were related to the family of Era mentioned in No. 19 above. Another inscription from Inugurti mentions a Bayambika of the Viryala family. Gudur, Pammi, and Inugurti are places in the Warangal District of the Nizam's dominions. It is likely that Dambarti also was in the vicinity of these places and probably this was the headquarters of the Viryala family. Koravi is a village in the Warangal district: An Eastern Chalukyan inscription of about the tenth century A. D. found at this place mentions Koravi. Beta the Kakatiwallabha is said to have been established over the Koravi country. The last line of Verse 4 of the inscription under consideration tells that Kamasani wife of Era II of the Viryala family issued a Chakravarti and maintained the Kakatiya line. This is rather startling. The context indicates that this son of Kamasani is identical with Beta the Kakatiya king. There were two Kakatiya rulers of this name Beta I and Beta II as No. 1 above shows. It is definitely known that Beta II was the son of Prola I. This Gudur inscription must therefore be assigned to the time of Beta I, whom I have assigned to the period 1020-1050 A. D. (See J. A. H. R. S. VII—3 p. 175.) This Viryala family origin of the Kakatiyas needs further investigation.

20. BUDAPUR INSCRIPTION

चल्वरा जगति स्थायत सतो वर्णस्त्मत्तत: ॥

व्यापकोकन्योन्ननम समविषयेंज्ञास: ॥ १ ।

तेषां महावस्तूवं महिं र्तुरीयो

वर्णदिशयः प्रस्ववृम्भि रतिविविदः ॥

... सत स्माचिकं च गुणाण्वतानां

दुर्वाणिवश तुरुषसङ्गणेन रूपेत् ॥

पशुल माति ताल्लुपि काकतीयकुलं महतू ॥

(1) From him (Brahma) were known four castes, all over the world and from him also were formed the duties and doings of these four castes. (2) Out of them the fourth caste, which is the birth place of wealth, excelled all others like the ocean of milk, being accompanied by the virtues of its men. (3) Within it the Kakatiya family was praiseworthy.
21. UPPARAPALLI INSCRIPTION

... सकरजनविनवनानान्यवेशं...  
24 नकु विन्दुण्वीण वनुंसंकोंद वनु पुरव  
25 रंदु निजराजधानिगी नोषुषुष्म काकात्मुणा  
26 उकरमुण जनविनुतययोविलांडु वि  
27 जयचक्ष्मीविलांडु नैन कबनरेंद्र सु  
28 उतंदु ... ... ... ...  
35 विभवामरेंउंडु नैन गणपतिदेव म  
36 हीनाधाकुञ्ज प्रधानियं। ... ...  

...... The minister of king Gaṇpatidēva who is the Indra in wealth, and who is the son of king Rudradēva who sports with the goddess of victory, whose fame is extolled by men and who in the order of succession of the Kākatiya kings has become the ruler with Anumakonda, the ornament of the Āndhradēśa as his capital.19

NOTE—While all other sources of Kakatiya History tell us that Gaṇapati was the son of Mahadeva, this record mentions him as the son of Rudra. It is unique in this respect. Since it is a record made in the reign of Gaṇapati himself there cannot be the possibility of a mistake of the later times creeping into it. If this inscription is relied upon, the version that Rudra died child-less and was succeeded by his brother Mahadeva and his son Gaṇapati has to be given up as untrue.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINDA.

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

Chapter VII.
The Later Eastern Gaṅga Kings.
(Continued from page 246 of Vol. VII, Part 4)


Bhāṇudēva I or Vira Bhāṇudēva I was the son of Narasimha I and his wife Seetādēvi, who was the daughter of Mālachandra, king of Malwa. As stated in several of his own inscriptions, he came to the throne in Śaka year 1186 or A.D. 1264 and ruled for 18 anku years, i.e. 15 regnal years. He married Jākalladēvi who belonged to the Chalukya Dynasty and the son, born to them, called Nṛsimha II succeeded to the Gaṅga throne in A.D. 1278–1279.

From the C.P. inscription of Nṛsimhadēva II, published by N N. Vasu, we learn that this king gave prosperity to the realm by destroying enemies and fully subduing the power of 'other kings'. He had 16 ministers, well-versed in Rāja neets (Politics) and "capable of destroying enemies by feats of strategy of virtuous character and of unfailing resolution", with whose advice he always governed the kingdom. He is described as a Nirbhara-dāta (Donor of boundless gifts) and Krṣṇaśārtra (Possessor of blue body). Having obtained the wealth of other kings by conquest, and being liberal-hearted, he made several gifts of gold articles such as Kanakāchala (gold hill), Kāma-dhēnu (cow fulfilling desires) and Kolpadruma (cefalial tree) to his ministers. He also gave to learned Śrātriya (Vedic) Brahmins "one hundred pieces of land highly decorated with large and beautiful edifices, shaded by numerous gardens of mango, cocoanut, planatian, and several other trees, after having the gifts inscribed on copper-plates." These accounts show what a mighty, constitutional, liberal-hearted and charitable king Bhāṇudēva was. Several inscriptions of his time, incised on stone slabs, have been recently published and they throw considerable new light on the social and religious conditions of the times. Drākshārāmam Ins. No. 1084 records that, in Śaka year 1196 or A. D. 1274, the Patta-mahāsi or royal consort of Gajoghaṭapati Vira Bhāṇudēva constructed a Mundapam or Hall in the temple of Bhimēśvara. No. 1106 records the gifts of a Pandaya Raja who was the Viceroy or Mahāmanḍalesvara of Parischōdi country near Chilka Lake. Srikūrmam inscription No. 1233, dated Ś. 1193 or A. D. 1271, records the fact that

205 Two inscriptions, found in the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharamam in East Godavari District, were published in 1924 in S.I. inscriptions Vol. IV as Nos. 1084 and 1106 and five found in Srikurman temple in S.I. inscriptions Vol. V in 1926 as Nos. 1233, 1235, 1286, 1251 and 1252 and five found in Simhachalam temple in S. I. inscriptions Vol. VI in 1928 as Nos. 712, 719, 720, 845 and 1318.
Bhānudēva's Minister granted the village of Konna (modern Korni in Ganjam District) for the welfare of the king and for Nivedyam (offering) to God of Srikūrūmam. It is also stated that the same gift was made, by order of the king's protege, the Sage Narahari Tirtha, to 15 Brahmins (Vaishnava Nāyakās). Some of them were holding offices like Sthānāpati (Head of the Temple), Upādhyāya (Teacher), Purāṇopāthakā (Reciter of Purāṇas), Śasanādhikāri (Keeper of royal orders) and Śrenādhīsvara (Head of the army). The Sage himself presented into the Treasury of God the village of Kudupi which was once given but lost. No. 1235 records that a ḍāṃanta (Vassal of the king) named Rāma Pasāyati endowed God with a perpetual lamp in Ś. 1197 or A.D. 1275. No. 1236, dated Ś. 1199, records the gift, by a certain Sisṭūdēva Rauta of certain lands and cash for the God. Nos. 1251 and 1252 dated Ś. 1186 or A.D. 1264 record the gift of 3 Māḍus or Nīshkas by Narahari Tirtha for feeding Vaishnava Brahmins, on the occasion of Śrījyanti festival for the happy delivery of Srikrishṇa by Dēvakidēvi. We learn from these inscriptions that the coin ḍāḍa is the Telugu form of the Sanskrit word Nīshka. Similarly, we learn that Gaṇḍamāḍa is the Telugu form of Kurshapana.

Simhāchellam Inscription No. 712 records the important fact that a prince of the Matsya Dynasty of Odādi called Ananta Jiyanna possessed several titles of which the most significant one is Gaṅga vamśa niḍroha dhavula Maṇḍalika (Governor who is pure by his non-treacherly to the Gaṅga Dynasty). In Śaka year 1196 or A.D. 1274, he gave, towards certain offerings to God Narasimhanātha, a village in Jambiya nādu. No. 719 is also a very important record. It is dated in Śaka year 1200 or A.D. 1278 which is mentioned, in the same record, as equal to 18th anka year or 15th ruling year of the king who is styled Anantavarma Pratāpāvira Śrī Bhānudēva. It mentions that, during the Kalinga pariksha (inspection) of Vijayadēvapadi Raya and on the occasion of Deepaṇa i festival, a certain Allāla Nāyaka, being devoted to God Nṛsimha gave towards the burning of a perpetual lamp in honour of him, 47 cows to Errabōya and Lakshmana Kōnāri who should enjoy the same and feed the lamp with ghee. He also gave, towards the cost of a metal lamp and other articles 12 Gaṇḍamāḍas and it appears that a Gaṇḍamāḍa was a gold coin worth about half a Pagoda. No. 720 belongs probably to the same king. It is dated in the 8th Samastia or anka or 6th regnal year of Vīra Śrī Bhānudēva. It is an Oriya inscription written in Telugu tipi. It records the endowment to God Nṛsimha of various articles for his worship. made during the regimes of Bhuvanānanda and Parīharānanda, who are styled Kalingadanḍopāta parikshas, Mahāpātras and Sandhivigrahikas. Evidently, these two donors were high military officers serving under the king in Odărēsa. No. 845 dated Ś. 1195 belongs also to the reign of this
king and very interesting facts. Two ministers called Dāru Pradhāni and Purushottire Pradhāni (minister) of the village of Peddarinda in Chōdanādu raṭu vishaya confirmed the grant of a village, made already by their grandfathers in the time of Rāja Rājadēva, for the offerings and worship of God Nṛsimha. Chingamanēya was named the executor of the grant and he and others were given certain prasādams (gifts) daily for their services to God. It is not exactly known as to which Rāja Rāja is referred to here but probably it is Rāja Rāja III who ruled from A.D. 1211 to 1238 who would be the contemporay of their grand-fathers. No. 1213 is dated in Śaka year 1187 which is said to be equal to the 3rd anka or 2nd ruling year of Anantavarma Śrī Vīra Bhānudēva I. From this, it is clear that he came to the throne in S. 1186 or A.D. 1264. It is a record of the illustrious Vallabha, son of Komma Pradhāni (minister). He is styled Sāhosa mahāmalla (the bold and the great fist-fighter) and Lord of Kemdidēta. (Kimidi). He made the gift of the village of Poram along with its forest region situated in Bobbili-varadārupu vishaya to God Nṛsimha for the success and long life of the king and appointed Chiṅgama Nāyaka as the executor of the grant and gave him two purīs of land (16 acres) in the same village for his services. He ordained that the daily offerings, worship and other services to the God should be conducted regularly and fixed the items for the same such as sandal, camphor, ghee, fruits, flowers and puddings of various sorts and desired that after worship, they should all be divided among all the Nāyaks for their use.

Narhari Tirtha and Kalinga Country.

Several stone inscriptions relating to this great religious Teacher as well as his followers have been discovered in the Sreekūrma and Simhāchalam Temples and long ago noticed in the Ann. Reports of the Ep. Dept. and recently published in S.I. Inscriptions Vols. V and VI. From these, we learn that Narahari Tirtha was the disciple of Ananda Tirtha who was the disciple of Purushottama Mahā Tirtha and that he lived from the Saka year 1186 to 1215 in Kalingadesa. It would appear that he had a disciple called Jagannādha Tirtha who lived in the Śaka year 1295 or A.D. 1373 in Kalingadesa and who spread the Madhwa faith.

Kalinga country was ruled by the Eastern Gaṅga king Bhānudēva I from A.D. 1264 to 1278 and then by his son Nṛsimha II from A.D. 1278-79 to 1305-06 and during their reigns Narahari Tirtha lived and preached in Kalinga. Inscription No. 1233 (S.I.I. Vol. 1) states that the village of Khonna (Korni), mentioned in Anantavarma Chodaganga's C.P. grants dated Ś 1034 and 1040, was granted to 15 Vaishnavite Brahmins by order of Narahari Muni (sage), the protege of king Bhānudēva. Inscription No. 1252, dated Śaka 1186 or A.D. 1264, states that Narahari
Tirtha granted for his good luck to God Sreekurmanātha, on the occasion of Jayanti celebrations and for the happy delivery of Devaki Dēvi certain valuable gifts. He seems to have enjoyed the special favour of king Bhāṇudēva of Kalinga. The names, Bhānu or Sūrya and Narasimha taken up by the kings of Kalinga from the middle of 13th century, suggest vaishnavite influence and while the kings who ruled over Kalingadesa before Narasimha I and Bhāṇudēva I were ardent Saivites, they and their successors, till the end of the dynasty in 1434, were ardent Vaishnavites and so became the Royal Patrons of Narahari Tirtha and his disciples as well as other Madhwa Gurus. This religious change came about in the 13th and 14th centuries and it would appear from tradition as well as the temple inscriptions that Narahari Tirtha was greatly responsible for the spread of this faith in Kalingadesa. No.1288, dated Śaka 1204 and belonging to the 7th anka or 5th actual ruling year of Nṛsimha II, states that Narahari Tirtha was employed as a Maṇḍilika or Provincial Governor and that, in his presence, certain gifts were made for Sreekurmanātha. This statement is supported by literature also. An inscription No. 1172, dated Śaka 1215 or A.D. 1293, records that Narahari, the disciple of Ananda, set up the images of ŚrīRāmanātha, SeetāParameśvari and Śri-Lakshmanaḍēvara in Sreekurman and endowed for the God's worship (towards flowers and sandal) in Srikurmanātha's treasury 51 Ganda mādas 16 Kalaśāpaṇas and other utensils and 19 Śarees. No. 1249, dated Ś. 1215 or A.D. 1293, records certain gifts of the sage to Srikurmanātha.

Several inscriptions relating to this great religious Teacher are also found in the Simhachalam temple and they are all published recently in S. I. I. Vol. VI. An inscription No. 965 belonging to the year 1291 A.D. records a gift of the sage to Simhādrinātha, the God of Simhagiri. Another, No. 943 dated A. D. 1292, records that Oddādi Jayanti Rāja of Matsya dynasty gave a gift to the God in the presence of the great sage. An inscription No. 1025 dated A. D. 1373 refers to the existence of a Naraharimatham and certain gifts being made to it by Jagannadha Tirtha, a disciple of Narahari. Commenting on the Sreekurman inscription of Narahari Tirtha, Viz, No. 1171 dated Ś. 1203, the late H. Krishnaśastry has stated in Ep. Indica Vol. VI, pp. 280 - 68:—“Purushottama Mahā Tirtha compiled Bhāshyam. His disciple, Ananda Tirtha who had the titles of Bhogavat Pāda (Holy Feet of Vishnu) and Acharya (Teacher) compiled in accordance with the principles of Dwaita Philosophy a commentary on Vyāsa Sūtras according to Dwaitamata Siddhāntam. His disciple, Narahari Tirtha was the Governor of Kalinga and protected it against the invasion of the Sabaras or Śāvaras. In A.D. 1281, he got constructed a temple for Yogānanda Nṛsimha opposite to Sreekurman Temple.” All these learned Teachers spread the Dwaita School of Philosophy in Kalinga and Andhra countries.
The Madhva Vijaya Kavya of Narayan Pandit and the Narahariyati Stotram give the facts contained in the following account:—Narahari yuti, before he professed the Madhwa cult, was known as Śāma-śastry. After being initiated by Madhwaśhārya Purnaprajñā, which is another name for Ananda Tirtha, he was instructed by him to go to the Gajapati Emperor of Kalinga and obtain from him the images of Sita and Rama. Hence, he reached the Kalinga capital and acted as Regent to the boy-king Narasimha II for 12 years and after re-instating him on the throne, obtained as his reward the images he desired and placed them in the hands of his Guru. It is said that Ananda Tirtha and after him, Padmanabha Tirtha and after him, Narahari worshipped these images. Narahari toured throughout the country spreading the Madhwa cult and finally died on the banks of the River Tungabhadra where a Chakra Tirtha Matham or Monastery was built by him. He was succeeded by Madhwa Tirtha. His Kalinga Regency evidently came to an end long before A.D. 1324 when he actually became the Head of the Monastery and his death took place nine years after it in 1333 A.D.

There is no doubt that he lived in the reigns of Narasimhadeva I, Bhāṇudēva I and Narasimhadeva II and took the leading part in introducing the Madhwa cult into Kalinga and Andhra countries,

Summing up, it is clear, from the Srikurram inscription No. 1290 that Narasimha Mahānunī (the great Sage) reached Kalingam before Saka year 1152 or A.D. 1130 during the reign of Anaṅga Bhimadeva III (A.D. 1211—1238) and converted the king and the people into his faith. Several Nāyaks in the Ganjam District swore in the presence of the king and the Sage that they would confer the enjoyment of Ponnadiya and Bontalakota villages on the god of Srikurram No. 1291 dated 8. 1168 records a gift of the same sage. As a result of the introduction of this new faith, we find most of the inscriptions of the dynasty, from this time onwards, inscribed on the walls of vaishnavite temples such as Simhāchēllam and Sīkūrman and most of the grants of lands and cash being made over to the Vaishnavite Gods and Brahmins unlike before. Further, it is interesting to note that the kings who followed Anaṅga Bhimadeva III came to be called after Vaishnavite Gods like Nṛsimha and Bhānu and actually temples came to be built for these Gods. We have got two Bhānu or Arka or Surya temples at Arasavilli near Sīkūrman and Konarka in Cuttack Division. It is known that the Simhāchēllam and other temples were built for the god of Nṛsimha. A Simhāchēllam Inscription No. 1142 dated 8. 1190 states that, by order of Nṛsimha I, several structures of stone (still standing in the Simhāchēllam Temple) were constructed by his Commander Akhtaye. Till the end of the Gaṅga Line, we get a Nṛsimha followed by a Bhānu and both are names of Vishṇu. This change is known to have taken
place on account of the advent of Narasimha Yati, from A. D. 1230. A certain Vāsudeva Yati succeeded him and after him, Narahari Tirtha entered Kalingadesa and conferred various gifts on the Gods of Srikūr̟am and Simhāchalam Temples and this example was followed by the royal house, the princes and the people. Thus, during the 13th and 14th centuries, the Madhwa cult spread in Kalinga. From the Sreekūr̟am and Simhāchalam Temple inscriptions, it is also clear that a certain Narasimha Bhārati muni endowed certain grants during the Saka years 1278 to 1287 and his disciple Vāsudēva Bhārati endowed a grant in Śaka year 1310 and his disciple, Rāghava Bhārati made a grant in Śaka year 1312. These religious Teachers really continued the work of Narahari in Kalinga country and Narahari himself, as stated already, continued the work first begun by Narasimha Uṭāmuṇi (a great sage) in Śaka year 1152 or A. D. 1230. Thus, for over 60 years, the several Teachers preached the Madhwa cult and converted princes and people to it. What Rāmānuja was to South India in the 11th century, these Madhwa-chāryas were to the Kalinga and Andhra countries in the 13th and 14th centuries and their work was continued by Rāmānanda and Kabir in Northern India in the 14th and 15th centuries and later on by Chaitanya in Bengal and Orissa in the 16th century.

9. Narasimhadeva II A.D. 1278-79—1305-06

The history of this reign is known to us from Sreekūr̟am and Simhachalam Temple inscriptions, several C. P. Grants and the Muhammadan work Tu'rikh-i-Firuz Shāhī. Sreekūr̟am Inscription No. 1150 belongs to Śaka year 1212 which is said to be equal to the king's 14th anka or 12th actual ruling year. So, the king must be regarded as having come to the throne in Ś. 1202-1 or A. D. 1278-79. It records the gift, by Mahāpātra Brāhmaṇa Das Pandit or Pandit Das, the best of the Brahmins and the first among the Ministers, on the occasion of Brahma Veena Svasti to the God, of some Mādas for making puddings to be offered to God and 8 Mādas for feeding two people who recite Svasti. The coins were deposited in the Treasury of the God - a custom followed in all the Temples by all the Donors. No. 1151 is dated Ś. 1227 and belongs to

206. No. 1313 in S. I. I. Vol. V.
207. Nos. 859, 860, 861, 889, 892, 894 in S. I. I. Vol VI.
208. Nos. 1150, 1151, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1185, 1190, 1204, 1217 1238, 1244, 1245, 1249 and 1288 in S.I.I. Vol. V.
211 Translated in Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. III.
the 33rd anka or 27th actual ruling year of the king who is styled Anantravarma Pratāpavirā Siñi Nara Nārasimha Dēva. It records the gift, by Mahāpātra Siñi Vāsudēva Jiyyana, for the benefit of his long life, of land measuring three Tūmus for a flower garden and three Panduns for the gardeners for their upkeep, so that they might daily present a flower-garden to God Kūrmēśvara. Nos. 1171 and 1172, as stated already refer to the gifts of Narahari Tirtha who is described as the disciple of the Holy Feet of Ananda Tirtha. No. 1172 expressly states that in Śaka year 1215 or A.D. 1293, Narahari set up the images of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in Srikūrman and endowed 51 Gaṇḍa Mādhas for their daily worship, flowers and sandal. The money was deposited in the Temple Treasury. Further, several articles required for the daily worship of God Siñi Rama were also supplied. No. 1171 gives the list of the religious Teachers or Gurus.

According to Narahari Yuti Stōtra, Narahari acted as Regent of the Gajapati king for 12 years and then retired taking with him the images of Rama, and Sita. It was already shown how Narahari lived in Kalinga from the first year of Bhānu’s reign if not earlier. It is clear from the present inscription that he remained in Kalinga till Ś. 1215. It is also definitely known from Srikūrman insc. No. 1288 dated Ś. 1204 or A. D. 1282 that he was the Governor of Kalinga in the 5th reigning year of Narasima II. It therefore follows that the Sage spent nearly 30 years in Kalinga and not 12 years as stated in the work quoted above. But there can be no doubt either about his acting as Governor of Kalinga during the minority of Narasimha II or taking away the images of Rama and Sita when he finally left the country for his own. No. 1173 belongs to the king’s 34 anka or 28th actual ruling year which is really his last year of rule. It corresponds to A. D. 1306. In that year, the king’s official, Śriśēkhari Jiyya who had the titles of Kalinga Parīksha Eriyakara Paṭṭanāyudu and Pātra endowed God Kūrmēśvara with two white Chāmaras (fans). No. 1177, dated Ś. 1205, records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍa Mādhas for the burning of a perpetual lamp by the wife of Narasimha Mahābhātta, a teacher. The grant is to be protected by Srivishnu of Tirupati showing that by the 15th century, Tirupati already became a famous Vaishṇavite centre which provided religious teachers and worshippers to the temples in Kalingadēsa, No. 1178 dated Ś. 1211 belongs to the king’s 14th anka or 12th actual ruling year and records the gift of a certain Nārāyana manchi of Oddādi for a perpetual lamp in the Temple. No. 1179 dated Ś. 1205 also records the gift of 5 Mādhas for a perpetual lamp by Narasimha
for the increase of his devotion and knowledge. He is said to have performed all kinds of sacrifices and enjoyed utmost regard at the hands of Ananga Bhimadēva III, the great grand-father of this king. No. 1185, dated Ś. 1214 and equal to the 14th ruling year of the king, records the gifts of a certain Perminundai Peggada of 15 Modalu (cows) and 30 sheep for a perpetual lamp to be burnt before God. No. 1190, dated Ś. 1214, records several gifts of Gaṅgamba, the wife of king Nṛsimha, which consist of 15 cows for offering milk to God and several kinds of articles for offering light, worship, puddings, etc and 36 Malla Mādas for offering prasādam to 3 people. No. 1204 dated Ś. 1219 belongs to the king’s 23rd anka or 19th actual ruling year and records various gifts to the God by Bhujobula Bhima Garuda Narayana Dēva Paḍi Rāya. To meet the cost of the offerings, a sum of 40 Gaṅḍa Mādas was endowed and a field was set apart for the same. In addition to preparing pāyasam and burning a perpetual lamp, 50 Modus (cows) were also given. It was ordained that God’s Prasādam (gift) should be distributed to these Officers:-Vaishpava Nāyaks, Local Heads, Nambiyars, Gaṅgādhara Pāndit, Kālinga Nāyaks, Srikaranaś, Scholars and Pātros. No. 1217 dated Ś. 1212 belongs to the king’s 15th anka or 13th actual ruling year and records certain gifts to the God by Prolu Jiyanna, son of the Governor of Chikati. No. 1238 dated Ś. 1207 belongs to the 3rd anka or 2nd actual ruling year of the king and this proves that he ascended the throne in Ś. 1200 or A.D. 1278. It records the gift of 4 Tūmus of garden land to the God by Babbī, the great commander of the king and 1½ Pultis of land to the gardeners so that they might enjoy the same and supply flowers to the God daily. No. 1244 is an Oriya inscription written in Telugu characters. It belongs to the 33rd anka or 27th actual ruling year i.e., the last but one year of the king’s rule. It records the gifts of certain lands and 12 Padmanidhi Gaṅḍa Mādas by Kalingamaṇju Gaṅda Śahasamundalika to the God during the regime of Kalingaparikṣha Mahāpātra Gaṅgādhara dāsa. No. 1245 dated Ś. 1215 belongs to the 18th anka or 15th actual ruling year of the king. It records the gift of 50 sheep for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple by a certain Kalingadaśawāgu Mahāmunda- lika. No.1249 dated Ś.1215 belongs to the king’s 18th anka or 15th actual ruling year and records the gifts of 5 Gaṅḍa mādas for various kinds of offerings and puddings to be presented to the God. No. 1288 dated Ś. 1204 belongs to the king’s 7th anka or 5th actual ruling year and this also confirms the fact that he ascended the throne in Śaka year 1200 or A.D. 1278. Since the Simhachalam inscription No. 719 states that Śaka year 1200 is equal to the 18th anka or 15th actual ruling year of Bhānudēva I and since he is known from the C.P. Grants of later kings to have ruled for 15 years, we learn that that year was the last of Bhānu- dēva I and first of Nṛsimha II. It records certain gifts of Narasimha Mundalika (Governor) to the God in the presence of Narahari Tīrtha.
Coming now to Simhāchalam inscriptions, we get No. 713, dated Ś. 1207, which refers to a certain Gaṅga Rāja of Jantarunādu who belonged to Surabhi kula (clan) and who made the gift of 5 Mādas for the increase of his Rājyam or kingdom. It is not exactly known whether he was a subordinate of this Gaṅga Emperor of Kalinga but from the fact that he made the gift for Narahari Bhavanam and ruled over a part of Kalinga, we may presume that he was a vassal of the Gaṅga king Nṛsimha II. Several inscriptions of this family have come to light and will be described separately.

Inscription No. 924, is dated Śaka year 1213, which is said to be equal to the 15th anka or 13th actual ruling year of the king who is styled Anantavarma and Pratāpavattra. It is an important inscription containing 33 lines of matter, of which 18 contain 15 Sanskrit slokas or verses and 15 the Telugu versions of the same. It records the following gifts by a certain Nārāyana Senāpati who was the son of Gōpāla mahāśeṅāpati and who was Kalingadēsa partiksha:— 140 Gaṅda Mādas for a Gold necklace set with diamonds for the God; 70 Mādas (cows) for two perpetual lamps; 3 Nibhandas for two Brahmmins to recite Vēdic hymns; 5 Nibhandas for three Brahmmins to recite Purāṇa Vyākaranam Kāvyam Nātakabhiḍhānas; 2 Nibhandas for the heads of the Choultry and Maṭham; 2 Nibhandas for two Brahmmins who offer Nivedyam of food to God; 5 Nibhandas for 2 songsters and 4 songstresses; and 4 Nibhandas for two gardeners who supply flowers daily to God from the garden purchased for the purpose; and 3 Nibhandas for other services; in all 24 Nibhandas. The value of a Nibandha of land is not known but it must be more than that of a Gaṅda-Māda or Gaṅda-Nishka. In addition to the above, the Donor purchased a field behind the temple for 4 Mādas and built a Maṭham or Bhūjyasatāra sadanam (House to serve as feeding-choultry) for feeding daily 30 Brahmmins and gave several Mādas for its up-keep.

The Grants were made by the great Commander of the king on Vaisākha Paurṇami day, when the Nijasvarāpam or true image of the God will be exposed to the public, for the increase of his long life, health and wealth. The grant was made for the increased safety of the royal power established in Kalinga viṣhyā. In the first verse itself, the several good qualities of the king are described. King Nṛsimha is said to possess very great fame, prowess and grandeur, toleration and sympathy omniscience based on profound learning, bold and victorious career and charitable disposition. In the second verse, the Donor is described as the fittest person to bear the burden of ruling the whole kingdom and as the lord of the earth. The fact that he donated such liberal gifts shows that he was rich, powerful and learned. The rich and varied gifts made to the God show his extreme devotion. Similarly, the distribution of costly
treasure among the several learned Pandits shows his patronising spirit and taste for learning. His institution of a free feeding-choultry shows his charitable disposition. His praise of the king and his making the grants for the increased safety of the realm show his devotion and loyalty to the throne. In fact, the Donor is imbued with true feelings of adoration towards God, devotion to the Crown and patriotism for the Country. There were several such Donors in the Kalinga Empire at that time as proved by the several inscriptions found in the Temples.

No. 928, dated Ś. 1213, belongs to the king's 15th anka or 13th actual ruling year and records the gift of 100 sheep to two Bōyas (shepherds) for burning perpetually two lamps in the temple by a certain Nāgu, who was the Kalinga Dala (Commander) and Mahāmandalika (Great Governor), on the occasion of Karkāṭaka Samkrānti (Summer solstice). The king has the titles of Anantavarma and Pratāpavīra.

No. 935, dated Ś. 1289, belongs to the king's 23rd anka or 19th actual ruling year and records the gifts of 25 Mōdas each by Dharmāyi Āṇrapati, who had the title of Nīrbhaya mallā (One who is fearless in fist battles) and who was the son of Babbi Mahāāṇapati and by his wife Pārvati Nāyakāni for the burning of two perpetual lights. The gifts were made on the occasion of Karkāṭaka Samkrānti (Summer solstice) for his merit, health, wealth and increase of progeny. The king is styled Anantavarma and Pratāpavītra Sri Narasimha.

No. 936 is dated Ś. 1202. It records a grant of Pratirājya or pādirāya (viceroy) Vāsudēva, son of Rāyavallabha Mahāāṇapati (Commander-in-chief) which consists of 32 Mallas or Chinnams for 2 Nibandhas to God. No. 937 dated Ś. 1214 records the gift, for a perpetual lamp, of Arjunadēva Mahārāja of Oddādi Matsya family which seems to be a subordinate ruling power under the control of the Gaṅga kings. The grant was made for the merit of his deceased brother Annama Rāja.

No. 940 is an Oriya inscription written in Telugu characters. It belongs to the 15th anka or 11th actual ruling year of the king and records the gifts of two villages to the God by Kalinga partiksha and Mahāmandalika Jōgēśwaradēva.

No. 941, dated Ś. 1221, belongs to the king's 25th anka or 21st actual ruling year and records the gifts of a Sage called Varadagiri on Karkāṭaka Samkrānti day. They consist of 6 Nibandhas for dancing girls to sing at the time of the morning and evening services to God and 4 Nibandhas for supplying flower garlands to the God. The inscription mentions the usual titles of the king, Viz, Anantavarma and Pratāpavīra. It also mentions that Jñānānanda Bhāṭṭāraka was the prasishyū of the Sage Varadagiri.
No. 943, dated Ś. 1214, belongs to Jayanta-Rāja, son of Oddādi. Matsya Chief Arjuna and records the gift of a flower garden to the God for supplying daily flowers to him. It was made in the presence of Narahari Tirtha, the Governor of Kalinga and the religious Guru of the King.

No. 949, dated Ś. 1208, records the grant on the occasion of Nāga Panchami, of a lamp-stand and 80 sheep for a perpetual lamp to God by a certain Dappa Bhujanga. No. 957 dated Ś. 1219 belongs to the king's 23rd anka or 19th actual ruling year and records the grant of 25 Mōdas for the burning of a perpetual lamp and one Gandamāda or Nishka for a lamp-stand by Kāmādi Amma, a Dravida woman of Kaluvachēru in Tālādi vishaya or nālu (District). No. 965, dated Ś. 1223, records a grant by Narahari Tirtha, on the occasion of Ārihālaya Amāvāsyā (New Moon) and solar eclipse, for the increase of his long life, fame and merit. The grant consisted of 25 cows and 150 sheep for the burning of 4 perpetual lamps in the presence of the God. No. 975 records the gifts of certain lands on the occasion of Mesha Samkrānti by the Matsya king of Oddādi named Mānkāditya Dēvarāja alias Srīrangavardhana, younger brother of Arjuna alias Nṛsimhavarṇa who was the son of Jayanta Rāja. These Matsya kings of Oddāli ruled in the Agency parts of the Visag District subordinate to the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga. A detailed account of them will be given separately. No. 976, dated Ś. 1220, records the gifts of some lands by Jayantika, son of Mānkāditya of Oddadi Matsyavartasa to God Nṛsimha for the welfare of his kingdom. Several of these Matsya Princes were also devoted to the holy feet of Narahari Tirtha and his disciples. No. 982, dated Ś. 1218, belongs to the king's 22nd anka or 18th actual ruling year and records a grant of Narāyan Pradhāṇi (Minister) who was also the royal Treasurer (Bhāndākāri) on the occasion of Vишu Samkrānti. The grant consists of two flower-gardens to the God and four Gandamadas for the offerings. These grants were supplemented by an additional grant of land bought for 2 Mādus. The grant of a Niḥbhandam (land) for reciting Purusha. sāktām before God by the father-in-law of the Donor named Surepeddi is also recorded in the end. The usual titles of the king, viz., Anantavarma and Pratāpavattra are also mentioned. In the two opening slokas (verses) King Nṛsimha is praised as one, whose feet are resplendent with the lustre shed by the precious stones set in the crowns of all vassal kings, who is born in the illustrious Gaṅga family, who is styled the powerful Nṛsimha, who is the crest-jewel of all kings and who is lofty by the grandeur caused by prowess, magnanimity and peerless and profound learning.

No. 1118, dated Ś. 1203, belongs to the king's 3rd anka or 2nd actual ruling year. This shows that he ascended the throne in Ś.
The king has the titles of Anantavarma and Vira sri Naranarasihma Rautadévara. The present grant is a confirmation of an old one, made by Pótmakušadéva consisting of 2 villages viz. Kodur and Jammu in the District of Pāratalagam. It was made by several officers of the king, on the occasion of Akṣhatriya, for the welfare of the kingdom of the Gaṅgavamśa kings and for God’s worship. The Donors were (1) Chikati Deśādhikāri or Lord of Chikati (in Ganjam District) who was styled Chalamettugandhi (2) Anamtha Jiyana, the Gaṅga- vamśa amātya (Minister) (3) Madhusūdana pudirāya (Vice-gerent) (4) Nārāyana Senāpati (Commander) (3 and 4 were both called Narasimhapura Majjis.) (5) Vaidu Senāpati (6) Jinnayi Mondalika (Governor) and (7) Kōstakaraṇa Mandala Nayakas. In addition to the two villages in Chikati or Pāratalagam District, three more villages in Bobbili Estate, Viz, Madhupāda, Pōram and Kindanapalli, were also given to the God. Considering that the grant was made in the very second ruling year of the king and several ruling chiefs and highly placed officials took part in the same, we must note that devotion and loyalty were truly shown to the Gaṅga Emperor in a practical way and religion also played most prominent part in shaping the same.

No. 1137, dated Ś. 1212, belongs also to king Nṛsimha’s reign. The king is called Narahari Nṛpati. His great qualities are extolled in the first verse. He is compared to Dēvendra for fame, lustre, prowess and greatness. He is said to shine by bringing out Nector from the Ocean of Gaṅga family. He is the blessed and illustrious Narahari Nṛpati or king Nṛsimha of bright fame. He is the Mountain, piled up by knowledge, good qualities etc. The second and third verses state that the best of Brahmins was Antaranga Mahāpātra who bore the heavy burden of ruling the Eastern Rājyam, who was courageous, learned and full of good qualities; who was the good son of Rāmadēva Aṛya and who was born in Vatsa Gōtra, who was the servant of learned pandits and the very moon to the lotuses of learning. He gave, for his own good fortune, health, fame, brightness and increase of progeny, in Śaka year 1212, into the Treasury of the God, 20 Gaṇḍa Nishkas (Mādas) for the sake of singing verses in praise of God by 4 dancing girls. 12 ladies also granted to Puttis of land for giving a Tāmbulum (Betel-offering) daily to God.

No. 1140, dated Śaka 1215, belongs to the king’s 18th anka or 15th actual ruling year and records the grant, by Vallalha Nambiar for the merit of his parents, of 2 Gaṇḍamādas, on the occasion of Akṣhaya Tritiya, to God for his puddings and 1 Māda for offering Sandal and camphor to God. No. 1179, dated Ś. 1228, belongs to the king’s son’s 3rd anka or 2nd actual ruling year showing thereby that Śaka year 1227 or A. D. 1305 is the last of Nṛsimha’s and first of his son’s. No. 1197
dated Ś. 1218, records the gifts of a fan and a lamp to burn perpetually in honour of the God, by 100 ladies for the increase of king’s life and fame. It is the only record of the kind where such a large number of women gave gifts in honour of the king. They seem to be the servants of the king. No. 1199, dated Ś. 1129, records the gift of a lamp to be burnt perpetually and a Puṭṭī of land to support the same by Ballu Pradhāni (Minister), on the occasion of Karkaṇṭa Samkrānti for the welfare of his parents.

Three C. P. Grants of this king, called The Kēndupatna Plates, were published by N. N. Vasu, two dated Ś. 1217 and 1218 in Vīsvakaṇa, Vol. V, p. 321 and the third dated Ś. 1217 in J.A.S. Beng No. 8 for 1896. These three Plates differ in some respects from the two Puri Plates of Nṛsimha IV, dated Śaka years 1305 and 1316, published in J.A.S.B. for 1895, part I, pp. 133-144. While the two latter Plates give 33 and 17 years respectively to Nṛsimhadēva I and Virabhāṇudēva I, the three former give 34 and 18 years. There are also other minor differences but otherwise, there is close agreement between the verses found in the first 4 Puri Plates of Nṛsimhadēva IV and the first 4½ Kēndupatna Plates of Nṛsimhadēva II. From the Plates published in J.A.S.B. (1896), we learn that he was the valorous and illustrious son of Bhāṇudēva and Jākalladēvi of Chalukya family. He is called the Saviour of the Gaṅga dynasty. He was skilful in handling weapons of war and gave 100 Grants to learned Brahmins in obedience to his mother. The vassal kings paid homage while the enemies took refuge in the hills. His rule was so strong and successful that peace and plenty reigned everywhere. He fought several battles with the help of his elephants and gained success by dispersing the enemy with his sword. “He was fierce by reason of his sword and violently robbing the hostile kings of their immense wealth equal to that of the Kalpataru, presented them to Brahmanas, with his sprout-like hands which were as ornaments of the earth, and shone beautifully wetted by the water of charity. He placed his lotus feet upon the heads of all kings of his time.............Being resolute, his prowess never received any check.”

In Śaka year 1217 or A.D. 1295, equal to his 21st anka or 17th regnal year, this lord of the 14 worlds (Chaturdāśa Bhuvanādhipati) camping in the city of Rāmuguṇa, at the merry time of a new conquest, in order to grant 50 vāṭikas of land, out of several pieces of land set apart by Hali Prahlāda Mudala for granting to pious Brahmanas, gave to Kumāra Mahāpātra Bhimadēva Šarman, a reader of Kāṇa branch of Yajurveda, the two villages of Elāra (modern Aimdare near Telanga) and Sūnnila (near Kēndupatna).

The first village was in Dērā Vishaya (modern Darabee) and the second in Svāṅga Vishaya (modern Sovang). The boundaries
of both the villages are given according to Nala measurement of Srikarana Sivadasa. Out of the 42 Vāṭikas, 16 mānas and 12 gunṭas of land within the specified limits of the first village deducting 8 Vāṭikas and 9 mānas of land, as already granted to Gods and Brahmanas or comprising cow-grazing fields, ponds, etc., the balance alone was granted. Similarly, out of the 33 vāṭikas, 13 mānas and 6 gunṭas of the second village, deducting 10 vāṭikas and 12 mānas as already granted to Gods, Brahmaṇas and cows and deducting further 7 vāṭikas, 8 mānas and 18 gunṭas for other purposes, the balance, alone was given. Thus, the 2 villages, together made up of 50 vāṭikas were granted tax-free and constituted into Gaṅga Narasimhapura Agrahāram.

The last portion of the Plates is devoted for the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. The king concludes by saying: "Of the future kings of this world, whether born in the dynasty of my own or any other king, whoever with mind unstained by vice maintains this my religious act, I bow before them with my palm held side by side and raised to the forehead."

The three sets of C. P. Grants of this king, discovered by N. N. Vasu in Kėndupaṭṇa in Cuttack District, consist of 7 plates each and contain on their seal lotus (paṁmāsana), the figure of an ox (Nandi) a tri-dent (Tri-fiḷa), an elephant-goad (Gaṇāṅkuṭa), a sound box (Dāmaru), a crescent and a solar orb. The Characters of the grants are Bengali of Kuṭila type but some are said to resemble the early form of Utkalakshara. According to Mr. Beans, they are the earliest Oriya characters originating from the Kuṭila characters of Central India. The language is Sanskrit.

The importance of these three Kėndupaṭṇa Plates as well as the two Puri Plates lies in the fact that the whole Genealogy of the E. Gaṅga Line from Vishnu and Moon, Gaṅgėya and Parikshit, Kōḷāhala-Anantavarma and Kāmārnavā up to the Donors of these Plates is given and detailed accounts of the kings from Vajrahasta III add significance. The Grants of Nṛsimha II were made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in A. D. 1295 from the royal camp at Remunā in Balasore District, while he was merry with a new conquest on the enemy (probably the Mahamadans) near the Ganges. The donee was a Brahmin Vedic Scholar who was then holding the official rank of Kumāra Mahāpātra. The gift was probably made for religious as well as military purposes. The king made, to this same Brahmin Officer, Bhīmadēva Sarma, another grant of a village in A. D. 1296 from the royal camp at Ranhatt.213

It is thus clear, both from the C.P. Grants and the Stone inscriptions, that this king was one of the most powerful kings of the Gaṅga Dynasty who held several titles like Vīra Nyāsinha, Vīra Śrī Nyāsinha, Pratāpa Vīra Śrī Nyāsinhu, Anantavarma Pratāpa Vīra Śrī Nyāsinha, Anantavarma Pratāpa Vīra Śrī Nārasinhu and Chaturdusa Bhuvanādhipati and who made innumerable rich grants to Gods, Temples, Scholars, Ministers and Religious Gurus. The Empire reached its zenith in his reign.

Some account of his relations with the Moslems of Bengal is known to us. Fifteen or sixteen years after Balban’s succession to the throne of Dehli, i.e., in A. D. 1281-82, Tughril Khan, the Viceroy of Lakhnauti and Bengal rebelled. Soon after his appointment in 1274, he increased his power by attacking Jānjagar or Tippera lying to the east of the River Brahmaputra and carrying away several elephants and valuables, he kept them for his own use. When he rebelled, Sultan Balban marched against him and so he left Lakhnauti and took the road to Jānjagar (Tippera) promising his followers that he would plunder the city after staying there for some time and return to Lakhnauti, rich and safe, after the Sultan retires. After taking Lakhnauti, Balban marched towards Jānjagar and on the way at Sunār-gānwh, on a branch of the river Brahmaputra, entered into a treaty with the Raja of the place named Danuj Rai with a view to arrest Tughril. Soon after this event an advance party of soldiers, learning that he was close by and intending next day to march into Jānjagar, succeeded in arresting and beheading him.

These wars between the Sultans of Dehli and their Governors of Bengal gave freedom and peace to Orissa in the time of this king. It is probable that the Hindu Rulers of Lower Bengal appealed to the king for help against the invading Moslems and so he marched in A. D. 1296 to the River Ganges, as stated in the Kēndupatna Plates already described, and made the grants of two villages on the viśaya samaye (time of victory or conquest). This would suggest his following up the path of victory against the Moslems of Bengal which was already chalked out so successfully by his father and grand-father.

214 Ziauddin Barni’s Ta‘rikh-i-Firos Shāhī translated in Elliot and Dowson’s History of India, Vol. III, pp. 112-113 and 116-17. Briggs, following Dow, identified it as the capital of Orissa and R. D. Banerji followed it. But Elliot and Dowson identified it rightly with Tippera. Evidently, there are 2 Jānjagarams. The late R. D. Banerji quite wrongly stated on p. 273 of his History of Orissa Vol. I that Tughril Khan invaded Orissa firstly in 1275 and secondly in 1283. But both these invasions were against Jānjagar or Tippera as stated correctly by Elliot and Dowson.
10. Bhānudeva II. (1306-7—1328)

An account of his reign is known to us from the Pūri Plates of Nṛsimha dēva IIV\textsuperscript{215}, his own Pūri Plates newly discovered,\textsuperscript{216} four Stone Inscriptions found in Srikūrmam Temple\textsuperscript{217} and five in Simhāchalam Temple\textsuperscript{218} and Tārikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī translated in Elliot and Dowson’s History of India, Vol III, pp. 234 and 236.

He was the son and successor of Nṛsimha dēva II being born to his wife Chōḍa Mahādēvi. He ruled for 24 years according to the Pūri Plates of Nṛsimha IV. His own Pūri plates contain his grant of two villages, made in his presence at Purushottama Kaṭaka or Pūri on the bank of the Southern Ocean to his Foreign Secretary Rangadāsa Sarma. They give the full Genealogy of E. Gaṅga Line from the Moon to the Donor and resemble those of Kēṇḍupatna of Nṛsimha II. The grant is dated Śaka year 1234 or A. D. 1312 which is said to be equal to the 7th anka or 5th actual ruling year of Purushottamadēva.

Vīra Srimat Bhānu Dēva Rauta is also mentioned as the reigning king. Because two different names of the same king are mentioned in the same Plates, both B. C. Muzumdar\textsuperscript{219} and R. D. Banerji\textsuperscript{220} went wrong in their Chronology of this reign. While the former scholar stated that Purushottama Dēva, coming between Nṛsimha II and Bhānu II, ruled from A.D. 1305 to 1312, the latter regarded him as a usurper “who kept Bhānudēva II virtually a prisoner in the interior of his palace at Pūri,” and also stated that the usurpation did not last beyond his 7th anka i.e., A. D. 1312.

Now, if we examine carefully the several stone inscriptions of the time of this king, written in Telugu characters and mostly found in the temples of Sreekūrmam and Simhāchalam, we clearly learn that the king Bhānudāva or Pratapa Vīra Bhānudēva possessed several titles like Dēvādidēva, Purushottamadēva, Jagannādēva and Anantavarma all synonymous being the names of Vishnu, and so the genealogical and chronological accounts, given by both the scholars regarding this king, are far from correct.

\textsuperscript{215} J. A. S. B. No. 2, 1805, pp. 132 and 136.
\textsuperscript{217} Nos. 1169, 1183, 1213 and 1214 in S. I. Insccrr. Vol. V.
\textsuperscript{218} Nos. 714, 938, 1000, 1002, and 1179 in S. I. Insccrr. Vol VI.
\textsuperscript{220} Vide Pp. 278—280 of his book History of Orissa, Vol I.
Srikurumam inscription No. 1169 was published in Ep. Ind. Vol. V pp. 31 ff. under the title *Four pillar inscriptions of Eastern Chalukya Chiefs at Srikurumam*. It is dated Saka year 1240 or A.D. 1318. The Eastern Chalukya Chief, Purushottama gave a necklace made of 7 Nishkas or Madas of gold to God. He also gave 40 half-pagodas (Nishkas or Gandamadas) for providing offerings to God. He was the brother of Vijayaditya II and son of Raja Raja, who was minister of Narasimha II and who descended from the great Raja Raja Narendra, the Eastern Chalukya Emperor. Purushottama’s son, Jagannatha or Visvanatha was a vassal of Virabhannudeva II. No. 1214 also records his gifts. In Saka year 1231 or A.D. 1309, he gave 40 Nishkas or Gandamadas to God for the burning of a perpetual lamp. It would appear that these Eastern Chalukya Chiefs at Srikurumam lived as Sumanas or feudatories of the Eastern Gaunga Emperors. We learnt already that Bhannudeva I, father of Nrsimha II and grand-father of this king, married Jakalladavi of the Chalukya race and probably she was related to these Chalukya Chiefs. From these inscriptions, we get the following genealogy of the Gaungas and the Chalukyas who were contemporaries:

Raja Raja Narendra

His descendant, Vijayaditya I

Raja Raja

Vijayaditya II

Purushottama

Visvanatha

or Jagannatha.

Bhanudeva I

Nrsimhadeva II

Virabhannudeva II

It is noteworthy that two of Bhanudeva II’s titles are held by the last two kings of the Chalukya Line and this fact led some scholars into much confusion in fixing the chronology of this reign.

No. 1183, dated S. 1243 or A.D. 1321, records the gift of 50 sheep, for burning a lamp in perpetuity in the presence of God, by Sri Rama Senapati (Commander) for the merit of his father. He is said to be the true servant and minister (Nijabhrtymalya) of Sriviradhivara (the illustrious and the most powerful among powerful) Sri Bhanudeva. He is also styled Kalinga-raksapala (the Protector of Kalinga), Kumeli-bhanjana (Breaker of Kumeli), Kandavala siraschidanu (Slayer of Kanda) Kondumardana (Reducer of Kondu), Gandradamu kodamasinha (Young Lion to Gandradam) and Tamaracheruvu Purumaji (Townhead of Tamaracheruvu). The first and the last titles refer to places and offices, while the rest relate to persons and the treatment given to them by this powerful servant of the crown.
No. 1213, dated Ś. 1252 or A.D. 1330, belongs to the 4th anka or 3rd regnal year of Nṛsimha III, the son of Bhānu II and this proves that Bhānu’s last year and his son’s first year fall in Ś. 1250 or A.D. 1328.

No. 1214, as stated already, is an important inscription, partly published in Ep.Ind. Vol.V. It is a record of the Eastern Chalukya Chief Visvanātha, son of Purushōttama, dated Ś. 1231 or A.D. 1309 which is said to be equal to the 3rd regnal year of Śrī Jagannāthadēva. This would give A.D. 1306-07 as the initial year of Bhānudēva II. The gift, consisting of 40 Gaṇḍamādas, was given into Vīrabhānudēva’s Treas-ury at Srikūrmam for providing several kinds of offerings to God and prasādams (food, etc.) to the several dependants of the Donor.

Simhāchalam inscription No. 714 confirms still further the date of the initial year of the reign of this king. It is dated in Śaka 1241 or A.D. 1319 which is said to be equal to the 13th regnal year of this king, who is styled as Śrī Dēvādīdeva and Śrī Jagannāthadēva. This would also give A.D. 1306-7 as the initial year of his reign. This record mentions that, during the regime of Saṁkaradas, the great Commandēr, Lakṣhmīdevi the wife of Pratāpa Gāmgaraṇa of Jāmatarunādu, endowed 50 cows for burning a lamp in perpetuity before God Nṛsimha of Simhāchalam.

No. 938 is dated Śaka 1236 or A. D. 1314 which is said to be equal to the 9th anka year of Śrī Dēvādīdeva Śrī Purushōttamadēva. This would also give A.D. 1306-7 as the initial year of this reign. The inscription records the gifts of (1) Eru Mahāsināpati (Commander-in-chief) who gave 7 Mādas, (2) his wife Umādēvi Nāyakānī who presented 25 cows and (3) their Sīṣṭu Sivadāsū Nāyaka, who also gave 25 cows. All these gifts were intended for burning lamps before God so that their merit might increase. It is significant that the king had the titles of Dēvādīdeva and Purushōttama dēva, both synonymous with Anantavarma, Jagannāthadēva and Bhānudēva. All these are different names of Vishṇu.

No. 1000 is dated Śaka 1229 which is said to be equal to the 3rd anka year of the king. In other words, the king ascended the throne in Śaka 1228 or A.D. 1306-07. He has the full title of Anantavarma Pratāpavītra Śrī Bhānudēva. The inscription records the gift of 100 cows by the E. Chalukya Chief, Śrī Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja Śrī Viswanātha gāna Kalinga-paṛtksa Śrī Vijayadēva padirāya for his own good luck, at the time of the amṛtamani or milk-offering to God. The executor of the grant called Gopi-khillar was given two Puttis of land to be purchased with 17 Paḍagandamādas. For the increase of the Donor’s prowess or Bhujabala, several Nibhandas of land were also given for providing different offerings to God.
No. 1002 also belongs to the Chalukya Chief Viswanātha. It is also dated Śaka 1229 and it gives the same titles of the king that are mentioned above. It is also clear that Śaka 1229 corresponds to the king’s 3rd anka year, or the date of his accession is Śaka year 1228 or A.D. 1306. The Donor has the same titles mentioned above. His name is given as Viswanātha. He made a gift of two Nibhandas of garden-land so that a flower-garland might be supplied to God daily. The Donor also gave one puṭṭi of land to a certain Narasimha for raising every year the Dhūra-mandapam (Hall) built already by him. The gifts were made for the Donor’s good luck.

No. 1179 is dated Śaka 1228 which is also said to correspond to the king’s 3rd anka year. This means that, in Śaka 1227 or A.D. 1305—6, the accession of the king took place though apparently his coronation was held in 1306-07. Kalinga-pariksha Sri Vijayadēva padiraya and others made a gift of 150 Mallamās for providing several offerings to God.

If now we examine the king’s own Pūri plates,221 we learn that they are a true copy of the Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II, giving the full genealogy of the Dynasty from the Moon to the Donor. The date of the grant is Śaka 1234 or A.D. 1312. The name of the king is Purushottama and the year Śaka 1234 is said to be equal to his 7th anka or 5th actual ruling year. In other words, his reign must have commenced in Śaka 1229—30 or A.D. 1307—8. But, from the stone inscriptions, mentioned above, we learn that he came to the throne in Śaka 1227—28 or A. D. 1305—6. In other words, Bhāṇudēva came to kingly power in Śaka 1227—28 but his actual coronation took place two years later. It would thus appear that, while the Pūri plates give the coronation date as the beginning of his reign, several of the stone inscriptions give the accession date. Since an inscription (No. 1173 in S. I. I. Vol. V) of Nṛsimha II is found dated Śaka year 1228 or A. D. 1306-07, we might regard that year for historical purposes, as the last of Nṛsimha’s and the first of Bhāṇudēva’s reign.

The Pūri plates state that, from the camp of Purushottama, on the bank of the southern ocean, Rangadāsa śarma, the Secretary for peace and war, obtained a grant of two villages, viz., Padmapāga-Sugala-pura and Sōmanāthapadā and the order was communicated to Vīra Sīr Bhāṇudēva Rauta.222

222. The late R. D Banerji, while stating that in Śaka 1234 a king named Purushottama ruled at Purushottama-kataka or Puri and that his 2nd anka or 1st regnal year was A.D. 1306, failed to identify him with Jagannāthadēva and
Bhanudeva II was a great warrior who fought with the Moslems successfully. It is learnt\(^{223}\) that ‘the king's (Bhanudeva II's) war with Ghayasuddin beginning, the blood flowing from the necks of the many big chiefs wounded by his valour filled the world. The blood stream gushing up profusely from the then wounded breasts of the (enemy's) elephants was such that still shines in the sky in the disguise of sun-set glow.’ M. M. Chakravarti first thought\(^{224}\) that this war was probably fought with Ulugh Khan in 1323 A.D. after his capture of Warrangal but later on correctly held that it was against his father Ghiyasuddin Tughlak.\(^{225}\) He also stated that Ulugh Khan having captured Warrangal invaded Jajnagar. These events are thus described\(^{226}\):—

"The name of Arangal was changed to Sultanpur and all the country of Tilang was conquered. Officers were appointed to manage the country and one year's tribute was taken. The prince then marched towards Jajnagar (the Jajnagar on the Mahanadi in Cuttack) and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilang. These he sent on to his father. At the time when Arangal was taken and the elephants arrived from Jajnagar, several Mughal armies attacked the frontiers. ...................." About this time, complaints came from Lakhnauti against its cruel ruler. So the Sultan Ghiyasuddin, after summoning Ulugh Khan from Warrangal and making him vice-gerent, marched against Lakhnauti. Nasiruddin met him and paid homage and got back Lakhnauti. It was probably at this time, when the Sultan tried to invade Jajnagar, that Bhanudeva defeated him and drove him out. Shortly after, he was killed by the evil design of his son. Ulugh Khan's capture of 40 elephants from Jajnagar cannot be considered as its conquest, for, in the list of Provinces under the control of Ulugh Khan, it

Vira Bhanudeva. He also failed to identify the last two names as one and the same, though he stated that the year of accession of all of them was A.D. 1306. He finally stated that "Purushottama was a usurper who kept Bhanudeva II virtually a prisoner in the interior of his palace at Puri!" This lasted, it seems, till 1309 when Bhanudeva came to the throne but the usurpation of Purushottama did not last beyond 1312 A.D.!!

Mr. B. C. Muzumdar writes that "in dating the plates of the charter it has been distinctly recorded that Bhanudeva II when making the grant of two villages did not become a ruler and it was in the 7th year of the reign of Purushottamadeva falling in Saka Era 1234, i.e. 1312 A.D. that the charter was executed. According to this statement, Purushottamadeva, coming between Nrisimha and Bhanu II, begins his reign in 1306 A.D. for, his 7th regnal year is Saka 1234=1312 A.D. Bhanudeva II in that case reigned from 1313 or thereabouts to 1327 A.D." This writer also fails to identify Purushottama with Bhanudeva.

\(^{224}\) Ibid.
\(^{225}\) J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXII, p. 130.
\(^{226}\) Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi translated in Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. III, p. 234. Also, p. 609.
is omitted. However, a certain Shahabuddin, in his Work of Travels stated, on the information given by a native of Oudh, that the dominions of Muhamad Tughlak (Ulugh Khan) consisted of 23 provinces and the 22nd was Jāñagar. This was probably comprised in the Empire on the ground of the capture of 40 elephants which must be due to a mere raid and not a conquest. Still, it shows the beginning of the decline of E. Gaṅga Empire. Ulugh Khan or Mahmad Bin Tughlak, after capturing finally Warrangal, invaded and took Rajahmundry and converted a Hindu Temple into a Mosque, which still stands on the main road of the city near the market with a Persian inscription at the top of the front-gate. It states that, when Ghiyāsuddin was the Emperor of Dehli and when his son Ulugh Khan was the Nawab of Telingāna, a certain Sālar Ulvi built the Mosque in Hijri 724 or A. D. 1324. This proves that the raid into Orissa took place in A. D. 1323.

II. Nṛsimhadēva III. A. D. 1328–1352.

Bhānudēva II was succeeded to the throne by his son Nṛsimha who ruled for 24 years like his father, according to the Pūri plates of his grand-son Nṛsimha IV. He was born to Lakshmīdevi and his own wife was called Kamaladēvi. From the stone inscriptions of this king, found in the Temples of Srikūrmam and Simhāchalām, we learn that he had also other queens called Gaṅgādēvi or Gaṅgāmbika and Kommidēvi who had a daughter named Sitādēvi. His son, Bhānu III, presented the images of Nṛsimha and Gaṅgāmba holding lamps to God of Srikūrmam and probably Kamala and Gangāmba are both one and the same.

A fuller account of his reign is known from the following inscriptions found in Srikūrmam and Simhāchalām temples and the history of the reign is constructed from them.

No. 1181, dated Śaka year 1263, records the gifts of Nārāyana Daḷapati (Head of cavalry). Śaka year 1263 is said to be equal to the 18th anka or 15th regnal year of Pratāpa (Powerful) Śri (Illustrious) Vira Nara Nārasimhadēva. This shows that Śaka 1249 or A. D. 1327–28 was the first year of his reign. Since A. D. 1328 was found to be the last year of his father, that may be regarded as the first year of his accession to the throne. The Donor gave 12 gold Nishkas for burning Dhāpam (Incense) daily twice to God.

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227. Ibid. p. 286. This account of Ziauddin Barni should be considered true in preference to others.
228. Ibid p. 575.
No. 1189 is an important record, dated Śaka. 1265 or A.D. 1345, mentioning very valuable gifts of Gaṅga Mahādevi (the Great Queen) made for the increase of her sons and grandsons, long life and fulfilment of all her desires and king Nṛsimhadēva Mahārāja’s long life, good sons and prosperity of the kingdom. She seems to be the chief queen who probably is called Kamaladēvi in the C. P. Grants. Her rich gifts to God comprised 1. Chandeliér (Dīpahasta-pratima or Image with hands which is used for burning lights). 2. Crown made of the nine precious stones (Vaṭrā, Vaiḍūrya, Gōmēdika, Nila, Mauktika, Puṣṭyarāga, Padma-rāga, Markata, Pravāla). 3. Seven garlands of pearls 4. Gold Vessel 5. Chōli Māla 6. Two Pumāraṁ (Holy marks on the fore-head).

No. 1190 is also a record of Gangāmba, the Queen-consort who describes herself as Ārdhhaṅgi (Better-half) of king Nṛsimha. It is dated Śaka 1274 or A.D. 1352, the last year of the king’s reign. The gifts consisted of cows, gold ornaments and cash (36 Mādas) for burning incense to God. These were all made for the fulfilment of all her desires.

No. 1191, dated Ś. 1271 or A.D. 1349-50 belongs to the king’s (Veeradiveera Nara Nārasimha’s) 28th anka or 23rd regnal year, proving again that the king came to rule in A.D. 1327-28. It records the grant of 38 Gaṇḍamādaś, for providing various kinds of offerings to God, by Kommidēvamma, perhaps another queen as suggested by inscriptions. (Nos. 1195 and 1227.)

No. 1193, dated Ś. 1253 or A.D. 1331, records the gift of a garden to God during the regime (Bhoga-pariṣkha or Examiner of offerings to God) of Narasimhadēsa Pandit. No. 1195 is dated in the 7th anka or 5th regnal year of the king and records the gift of 25 cows for a lamp during the regime of the same Bhoga-pariṣkha. We learn that Srikūrāmm was also called Nārasimha-puram.

No. 1200 is dated Ś. 1267 which is said to correspond to the king’s 23rd anka or 19th regnal year. This also proves that Ś. 1249 or A.D. 1327-28 was the first year of the king’s reign. It records the gift of 25 sheep for a lamp by Anantama of Poṭṭunuruvidu, a town in Visag Dīt.

No. 1213 is a Sanskrit—Oriya inscription in Telugu characters. It is dated Ś. 1252 or A.D. 1330 which is said to be equal to the king’s 4th anka or 3rd regnal year, showing that A.D. 1327-28 was his first ruling year. During the Bhoga-pariṣkha of Narasimhadēsa, a certain Kuppi Sāhaśamallā (the brave fist-fighter) gave an endowment of 40 Gaṇḍamādaś for burning a lamp and for providing various kinds of puddings to God.

No. 1219 is an interesting record which belongs to the king’s (Sri Pratāpa Virādivra Naranārasimha Deva’s) 7th anka or 5th regnal year. It records the gift of 10 Gaṇḍamādaś, during the regime of Narasimhadēsa Pandit, by Kumāra Purushottamadēva of Kimidi, for the realisation of Pur的带领下 (Heaven) by his son Indradēva who died.
No. 1225 is dated 1. 1271 which is said to be equal to the king’s 28th anka or 23rd regnal year. This also proves that the king’s accession took place in 1. 1249 or A. D. 1327. The inscription records the gift of a Nibandha of land by Gangâdevi Mahâdevi, the Queen-consort and of two Châmaras (Fans) by Sitadêvi, (the daughter of Kommidêvi). The services to God should be rendered by three dancing girls who would receive prasàdam of God. To meet the cost of the same, the royal princesses endowed the treasury of God with 30 Paidi Malla Mâdas and gave a salary of one Gandâmâda to each of the dancing girls who should fan God at both the times of burning incense.

No. 1226, dated 1. 1267 or A.D. 1345, records the gift of gold equal to 10 Nishkas by king Nrsimha’s wife Gaṅga Mahâdevi, for blowing a conch-shell always in the temple for the prosperity of her progeny and for the increase of the kingdom.

No. 1227, dated 1. 1263, records the gifts of Gaṅga Mahâdevi and Kommidêvi. The latter gave, for the merit of her daughter Sitadêvi a chandelier and gold Prâtima (Image) and also 3 garlands of pearls and 50 cows for feeding the lamp with ghee. The former queen gave 8 Nishkas for reciting music in praise of God at both the times of burning incense. The exact relationship between the two queens is not given anywhere but from the mention of both names together in some inscriptions, it is inferred that they were both wives of king Nrsimha III.

No. 1237 is dated 1. 1270 which is said to be equal to the king’s 29th anka or 24th regnal year. This is really the last year of the king’s rule and the Puri Plates of Nrsimha IV support this conclusion. The inscription records the gift of 50 cows for a lamp by a certain Amaru Paḍirâya for the complete fulfilment of his desires. Krishnam, the executor of the grant, was required to feed the lamp daily with half a measure (Addâ) of ghee.

Lastly, No. 1240 is dated 1. 1267 which is said to be equal to the king’s 22nd anka or 18th regnal year. This would also give 1. 1250 or A.D. 1328 as the initial year of his reign. The inscription records the gift of Achyuta Prâdhani (Minister) who was the Sishtu of Dharma Marâja of Chikati (Modern Chikati Zamindary in the Ganjam District) for the increase of his progeny and life. The gift consisted of the endowment of the necessary amount, for buying a garden for supplying flowers to God daily, in God’s treasury and also 16 Gandaparakamâdas and 34 Mâdas for the maintenance of two gardeners.

The Simhâchalam inscriptions also throw much new light on the history of this reign. For instance, No. 932 states that the king’s feet became resplendent with the lustre shed by the precious stones set in the Crowns of subordinate kings. His wife or Pattamahishti, Gangadêvi
Mahādevi, endowed for the fulfilment of her desires, 14½ Nibandhas of land, acquired at a cost of 6 Mallā Mādas each, for providing various kinds of offerings to God. More money was provided for those who rendered the services. In all, 120 Gaṅa Nishkas were deposited for all the services in the Treasury—House of God Nṛsimha. The date of this record is Ś. 1272 or A.D. 1350, which is the last ruling year of the king. It is significant that the services consisted in supplying water for God’s bath and sacred-strings for God’s wear and flower-garlands and other offerings.

No. 933 also describes the good qualities of the king. It also records several gifts of the king’s wife Ganga Mahādevi. It is dated Ś. 1271 or A.D. 1349. The gifts consisted of two gold lamp-stands, 2 gold Holy-feet of God, one lotus garland and several ornaments made of gold. A sum of 36 Malla Nishkas or Mādas was paid into the Treasury of God for them and a further sum of 15 Mallamādas was given for providing ghee for burning a lamp and 20 more for other services. The gifts were made for the long life, welfare, children and increase of kingdom.

No. 1003 is dated Śaka 1262 or A.D. 1340. It is an important record because it is the only one so far discovered that mentions the gifts of the king made by himself for his health, wealth and children. He styles himself as one whose feet were served by all the kings conquered by him. The gift consisted of 200 cows which were secured for the king’s gift by Sankaradāsa, the Kalinga-pariksha. The gift was placed in charge of 4 Bhūgas who should supply every month 45 measures (Kunchams) of ghee, evidently for feeding a lamp to be burnt before God.

No. 1052 is also an important inscription. It belongs to Śaka 1272 or A.D. 1350, the last year of the king’s reign. It records the gifts of Ganga-Mahādevi for the increase of the great kingdom and for her own welfare and for the fame of her children. Six villages in Eradi vishaya (District) and two in Pārvati Bhogam (District), both situated in Kalingadeśa, were granted for God’s Bhogam (Enjoyment) called Ganga-Narasimha Bhogam. Several articles, made of gold, were also offered for providing various kinds of services to God. Janārdana Mahāśīnāpati (Commander-in-chief) was appointed as Bhoga-pariksha to look after the offerings. 18 ladies were named to conduct the various services to God such as singing music, playing instruments, blowing conch, fanning God, etc.

It is thus clear that Gaṅgādevī Mahādevī is the only Queen-consort mentioned as such in the inscriptions. It is doubtful whether even Kommidēvi can be regarded as the king’s wife. There is no mention of the name of Kamaladevi at all in the stone inscriptions though she alone is mentioned in Puri plates and hence it must be regarded as another name for Gaṅgādevi. Bhāṇudeva III should therefore be regarded as the son of Kamaladevi alias Gaṅgādevi and an inscription, (No. 1205) of Bhāṇu III actually states that Chandeliers of Vira Narasimha and Gaṅgāmbika were presented by him to God of SirKūrmam in Śaka 1275 which is said to be his 3rd anka or 2nd regnal year. This also proves how Śaka 1274 or A. D. 1352 was the last year of Nṛsimha III’s reign and the first of Bhāṇu III’s.
Chapter VIII.

The Last of the Eastern Ganga Kings.


Bhānu III was the son of Nṛśimha III and Kamalādēvi or Gagadēvi. He ruled for 26 years according to the Puri Plates of his son. The history of his reign is known to us from several stone inscriptions.²³²

No. 1011 is found in the Saivite Temple at Mukhalingam or Kalinga-nagaram, the old capital of the E. Ganga Line. It has a special interest for us, because, among the inscriptions of the Later Ganga kings, it alone is found in the famous Saivite temple at Mukhalingam wherein many inscriptions of Earlier Ganga kings and their subordinates, that ruled over Kalinga in the 11th and 12th centuries, are found. Since the removal of the capital to Cuttack and specially after the Later Ganga kings became converts to the cult of Vishnu, all patronage was removed from the God of Mukhalingam.

This inscription is dated Śaka year 1289 which is said to be equal to the king’s (Sri Virāḍhi Vira Pratāpa Sṛi Bhānuḍeṇa’s) 18th anka or 15th regnal year. This shows that Bhānu III ascended the throne in Ś. 1274-75 or A.D. 1352-53. It records the gift of a certain field (in Nagarapuvāda?) to God Madhukēśvara by the son of Kalinga Mahārāyaṇa Sāhasamalla, who was the son of Sṛi Dakṣhinadāṇḍa Kalingamāji Sāhasamalla. It is noteworthy how the official titles had become personal.

No. 1154 is dated Ś. 1279 or A.D. 1357 and records the gift of King Purushottama of 50 cows for burning two lamps before the God of Sṛikūrmam. No. 1155 also belongs to the same date but records the gift of 50 Gaṇḍamāḍas for 50 cows for supplying ghee for two lamps by Lakṣmīdevi, wife of Nṛśimharāja of Vīrakoṭṭam. This is a place in VisagDt. The king is evidently a feudatory of Bhānu III. One interesting point we learn from this inscription is that the price of a cow was one Gaṇḍamāḍa during the middle of the 14th century. Granting that, at that time, a cow was, on the average, costing Rs. 20 or half of what it costs now, a Gaṇḍamāḍa would have the value of 1£ or 20 shillings, or a Sovereign.

No. 1156 is an Oriya inscription in Telugu characters. It belongs to this king’s (?) 12th anka or 10th regnal year. A certain Nārāyaṇa who was the Māji or Head of the village of Tulasi gave a gift of 50 Gaṇḍamāḍas into the Treasury of God for burning a lamp.

²³² Nos. 1011, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1196, 1205 and 1218 in S.I. Inscriptions Vol. V. Also, Nos. 742, 751, 772, 795, 802, 813, 819, 860, 876, 1046, 1049 and 1053 in S.I, Inscriptions Vol. VI.
No. 1157, dated Śaka 1281 or A.D. 1359, belonging to the king's reign records a gift of 100 cows for 2 lamps by Nārāyana Śhāsa-mallu of Tulaśi village, the same that is mentioned in the record above.

No. 1196 is dated Śaka 1276 which is said to be equal to the king's 3rd anka or 2nd regnal year. This shows that Śaka 1275 or A.D. 1353 was the first year of the king's accession.

No. 1205 is an important inscription as it records certain gifts by the Emperor himself. It is dated Śaka 1275 which is also said to be equal to the king's 3rd anka or 2nd regnal year. This results in Śaka 1274 or A.D. 1352 being the first year of the king's accession. But since, in the record noted above, Śaka 1275 is mentioned as the first year of accession, it will be best to regard Śaka 1274-75 or, A.D. 1352-53 as the correct date of the king's accession. It records the grant of the Chāyas or images of Nṛsimha and his wife Gangāmbika, holding lamps in hand and offering lights to God, by their son Bhānu III. The king also endowed for the fulfilment of all his desires a lamp to be fed in perpetuity by the ghee of two cows of Bhūgapura. He also gave land in Thōti village in Erada vishaya and secured it by a stone inscription. The royal donation was made at the hands of the Door-keeper (Dvāra-nāyaka) Kēśavanātha Pandita, during the regimes of Nārāyana Mahāsenapati, the Bhūga-parikṣha and Purushottama Jiyyana, the Kalinga-parikṣha. It was ordained that the Kalinga Nāyakas should look after the burning of the lights.

No. 1208 is a record of Nṛsimha IV, dated Śaka 1301, which is said to be equal to his 3rd anka or 2nd regnal year. This shows that Śaka 1300 or A.D. 1378 was the last year of Bhānu III and the first of Nṛsimha IV. Similarly, No. 1211 is dated Śaka 1302 which is said to be equal to the king’s (Nṛsimha IV's) 4th anka or 3rd regnal year. This confirms that Śaka 1300 or A.D. 1378 was the last year of the king.

No. 1218 is dated Śaka 1275 which is said to be equal to the king’s 3rd anka or 2nd regnal year. It proves that Śaka 1274 or A.D. 1352-53 was the first year of the king’s reign. He ruled till 1378 i.e., for 26 years, as stated in the Puri Plates of his son. The inscription records the gift of 100 sheep by Gangu-Nāyaka of Kodur, son of Gōpi-Mahāmanḍalika. (Provincial Governor-in-chief).

The Simhāchalam inscriptions of the time of this king are also useful and interesting as they throw more light on this reign. For example, No. 742, dated Śaka 1294 or A.D. 1372, records the gift of 5 Mādas for offering flowers to God by Srivatsa Nāyadu, the son of Hēramma Mahāsenapati. (Commander-in-chief).

No. 751 is dated Śaka 1298 or A.D. 1376-77 which is said to be equal to the king’s 31st anka or 25th regnal year. During the regime of Dharmadāsa, who was the Bhūga-parikṣha, Kalinga-parikṣha and
Pātra, a certain Sishtukavu Mahāśēnāpati gave, for the long life of the king, two Puṭṭis of land in the village of Lakumāvaram or Lakshmi-varam in Oḍḍādideśa for the maintenance of Tantrasāni so that she might enjoy the land and do the service of holding Chānarams (Fans) at the time of Chandanamolupu or removal of sandal from the image of God, which still comes off every year once in the month of May.

No. 752 is an important record. It is dated Śaka 1305 or A.D. 1383-84. It records the gifts of Gaṇapati Peda Narasimharāju’s wife Birujādevi and Bhānudēva III’s wife Tārādēvi.

No. 772 is dated Śaka 1293 or A.D. 1371-72 which is said to be equal to the king’s 2nd anka or 1st regnal year. But this date in the inscription, being doubted, is clearly wrong. It must be the 24th anka or 20th regnal year. It records the grant of 4 Puṭṭis of land in the village of Mrēmpada to a lady called Mudunarēkha by a certain Chillama Śāhasamalla so that she might render certain services to God.

No. 795, dated Śaka 1278, records the gift of 50 cows by Madanarēkha, the queen of Śrī Purushottamadēva of Virakoṭṭam. He was evidently a feudatory of the Ganga kings. The place is still found in Visagapatam District and is said to contain ancient historical relics.

No. 802 belongs to Śaka year 1281 or A D. 1359. It records the gift of 50 cows for burning one lamp to God by Hanuma Angēsvara who was the Rātinga-pārīksha and Sandhi-vigrāhi. These were two important quasi-military offices under the Crown corresponding to the Commissioner and Foreign-Secretary respectively.

No. 813 is dated Śaka 1288 or A.D. 1366. It records certain gifts of lands and cash for two ladies to render services to God by a certain Gangādhara. He is called Rātinga-pārīksha or Rātinga-dhipati which shows that he ruled over a part of it with both civil and military powers subject, of course, to the control of the Ganga Emperors.

No. 819, dated Śaka 1295, records the gift of 5 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamādās by a certain Kanchi, who was the Rātinga-Vyēpāri and Mahāśēnāpati. The former office resembles a similar one which came into existence some time later at Golconda and was called Golkonda-Vyēpāri. A sect of people called by the same name is still to be found in Andhradēṣa. Evidently, the name indicated at first a royal office referring to conduct of business in the country.

No. 860, dated Ś. 1283, records gifts of Narasimha Bhāraṭi Muni which consisted of two Puṭṭis of land, which he got from purohitis and which lay in Chōḍavaram in Oḍḍādideśa, and 16 Gaṇḍamādās. These were given into the Treasury of God for His services. He gave 6 more Mādas to be enjoyed by two Donees who should supply two Sacred-strings to God daily after the Dhūpa (Incense-burning) ceremony.
No. 876, dated Ś. 1299, records gifts in Amkakapalli by Arjuna dēva of Oddādi during the regime of Dharmadāsa who was the *Kalinga-pariksha* and *Pātra*. It was ordained that, after the Prasādam was offered to God, it should be distributed, according to measurements given in the record itself among all the royal dependents and temple servants. It is significant that even high officials had a share in it.

No. 1046 is an interesting record of the King himself. It belongs to Ś. 1275 or A.D. 1353. He resumed or deposited in his name certain gifts, made already in Ś. 1272 or A.D. 1350 by his mother Ganga-mahādēvi as per No. 1052 Simhāchalam Inscription, for what is called *Ganga-Narasimha Bhogam* and ordered that the *Prasādam* should be distributed among the Tirupati Vaishnavas and *Sthānapatis* (Temple-priests) as it was done previously among the 5 Nāyakas. And these 5 Nāyakas were compensated by a grant of 3 *pandums* of land in the village of Tāmdrangi. It may be recalled that this was one of the 8 villages granted by the Queen Gangadēvi in her record noted above. It is significant that while she made the previous grant, Bhānu III states in this record that his father made it. Having deprived the 5 Nāyakas of their existing rights, he compensated them by substituting salaries to be raised out of the lands given in Tāmdrangi village. It looks as though he utilised the proceeds of the villages resumed, by depositing them in his name for God's festivals and celebrations at Simhāchalam.

No. 1047, dated Śaka 1281, mentions Maujanna as the *Kalingapariksha* and Mahāṣēnapati and Narasimha bhāratī as the *Bhogaparikshā* of the Temple. This Sage Narasimha was evidently continuing the work of Narahari Tirtha by spreading the faith of Mādhwa in Kalingadēśa.

No. 1049 belongs to the king’s 3rd anka or 2nd regnal year and records the gift of 4 *puṭṭis* of land in the village of Mrōmpāda for Ganga-Narasimha Bhogam so that the king’s merit might increase.

No. 1053, dated Śaka 1275, records the gift of 52 Gaṇḍamādas into the treasury of God, by Nyśimha’s wife Gangadēvi for reciting *Purāṇam* daily at the time of Ganga-Narasimha Bhogam.

The inscriptions examined so far show how the Kalinga Empire was divided into *Mahāmaṇḍalas* (Great Provinces), *Maṇḍalas* (Provinces) *Vishayas* (Districts), *Nādus* (Taluqs), *Grāmas* (Villages) and *Pallis* (Hamlets). There were various kinds of offices like Mahāṣēnapati, *Sthānapati*, Mahāpaśāyati, Paśāyati, Mahāmaṇḍalika, Maṇḍalika, Mahāpātra, Pātra, Kalinga-pariksha, Daḷapati, Daṇḍapati, Sundhivigrahi, Amāty, Nāyaka, Srikanṭa and Puravāri. These gradations and varieties of offices show how the administrative machinery was highly organised in the Later Ganga period (11th to 15 centuries).
Relations with the Moslems.

Already, during the time of this king’s grandfather, the country was attacked by the Tughlaks, Ghiyasuddin Tughlak attempting to invade from the north and his son Mahammad Bin Tughlak invading from the south and capturing 40 elephants. After the fall of the Kakatiya Empire, two States, one Hindu and the other Muhamadan arose on its ruins, viz., Vijayanagaram and Bhāmani. According to Sewell,233 Kampana's son, Sangama II was ruling over Nellore and the East-coast in A.D. 1356. He was the nephew of Bukka I, Emperor of Vijayanagaram. In A.D. 1357, he is said to have led a raid into Kalinga and defeated the Gajapathi king, Bhānu III. Ģärīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī234 gives a detailed account of the relations between Sultan Firoz Tughlak of Delhi who succeeded Muhammad Bin Tughlak in A.D. 1353 and Jāṅagar, then under Vira Bhāṇudēva III.

Briefly stated, it is thus:—After a campaign against Bengal, Sultan Firoz reached Jaunpur and resolved to march against Jāṅagar and his officials made all preparations. Leaving his baggage at Karra, he made forced marches through Bihar and finally reached Jāṅagar. It was a very rich and happy place being full of corn and fruit. The Sultan rested at Banarasi, an ancient capital of the Rajas. At that time, the Raja of Jāṅagar was Adāya who quitted Banarasi which had 2 forts. The Rajas were Brahmans and successive Rais had added to the forts making them large and populous. The then Raja fled and took refuge in the water. The country was in confusion and some people fled to hills and some were taken captives. Their cattle, horses and property fell into the enemy’s hand. The people had spacious houses and fine gardens with fruit trees, flowers etc. showing the prosperity of the country. The Sultan, on hearing that the Raja took refuge in an island in the river, pursued him and on the way spent some time in hunting wild elephants. He then entered the palace of the king and found many fine buildings and within his fort a stone idol of Jagannath which was taken to Dehlī and put to disgrace. When the Sultan next prepared to pursue the Rai into his island, he sent five of his Brahman Pātors or Pātros to wait upon the Sultan. In the country of Jāṅagar, the Mahtas or Mahants are called Pātars or Pātros and the Raja had 20 such officers under whose advice he conducted all affairs of his State. When the 5 Pātros respectfully submitted that their Rāja was already a dependent and subject of the Sultan, the latter replied that his intentions were friendly and that he came hither to hunt for elephants. The Raja gave 20 mighty elephants as an offering and agreed to furnish a certain number yearly in payment of revenue. The Sultan then sent robes and

233 Sewell’s Forgotten Empire, p. 300.
234 Translated in Elliot and Dowson’s History of India, Vol. III, pp. 312-16.
insignia by the Mahants or Pâtros to the Raja and returned home after much difficulty with the 73 elephants he obtained from Lakhnauti and Jâijnagar.

This account differs in important points from the one translated by Major Raverty. According to it, (1) Banarasi is given as Banâras which he reached after crossing the river Mahânandi. (2) The Rai fled towards Talingâna (3) The Rai sought for peace sending 3 elephants besides rarities and precious things. (4) The Sultan reached the country of Rai Bhânu Diw or Bir Bhân Dév (5) He returned from thence to Padmâvati or South Bihar for hunting purposes and captured 33 elephants and killed 2 (6) He then returned to Karah.

It is not possible to know which account is true. It is doubtful whether either account is wholly true particularly in the material respect of the submission of Bhânudéva III. It is inconceivable how a mighty king with such a large Empire and such great resources could so easily submit to a hunting excursion-party of Firoz Tughlak. This so-called invasion of Firoz should be treated as a mere hunting-raid like the one led by the Bengal Sultan Hâji Ilyâs, in A. D. 1353, or the one led by Sangâma, the nephew of Bukka I in A. D. 1356–57. The Gaṅga Empire lasted with full vigour for nearly a century more when it was succeeded by a yet more powerful Dynasty known as the Gajapati, a Title which was inherited along with the Empire by the Solar Line of kings from their Sûzeréins, the Gaṅga Emperors. The late R D. Banerji has rightly held:

"Jâijnagar lay at the extremity of Gaḍha-Kataṅkâ or Jubbalpur. Hâving crossed the Mahânandi, he (Firoz) reached the town of Banarsi. The Hâihaya king of Jâijnagar fled into Telingana. After passing through Jâijnagar territories, Firoz Tughlak entered the kingdom of Bhânudéva III while hunting. Bhânudéva sent him some elephants and Firoz Tughlak returned to Karah. This expedition took place in 1361 A. D."


He was the son of Bhânudēva III by his wife Hîrâdēvi, a princess of the Châlukya race. It was already learnt how Bhânudēva I married Jâkalladēvi of the same dynasty. It would appear that these marriage alliances with the E. Châlukyas, who were the strongest feudatories under the Gangas, strengthened their position. Two of his own Pâri Plates style him as the Lord of Fourteen Worlds (Chaturdasa Bhuvanâdhipati) and the Stone inscriptions, found in Siikûrmam and

Simhāchalam Temples call him "the powerful and illustrious," (Vīra Śri) Nārasimhadēva. The language in the Plates is Sanskrit and the līpi is a mixture of Dēvanāgari and Kūṭiya characters. They give the complete Geneology of the Dynasty. They begin with salutation to Sīva and blessing of Vīshnu whose son Brahma created Atri, the father of Moon. As the Gaṅga Dynasty is Lunar, being descended from Moon, he is praised. As it is not possible to "sing the exploits of the Moon-descended kings," a mere list of 25 names only of the early kings, from Moon to Kolāhala or, Anantavarma, is given.

After stating that 5 Kāmārṇavas had preceeded, the historical list begins with a Kāmārṇava and closes with the Donor (Nṛsimha IV).

1. Kāmārṇava

2. Vajrahasta = Naṅgama

3. Rāja Rāja = Rājasundari

4. Chōdagāṅga = Kasturikāmōdini
   (Acc. Ś. 999)

5. Kāmārṇava (10 years)
   (Acc. Ś. 1064) = Indira

6. Rāghava (15 years)
   = Chandralēkha

7. Rāja Rāja II (25 years)

8. Aniyaṅga Bhīma (10 years)
   = Bhāgalladēvi

9. Rāja Rāja III = Sadgūpa
    (17 years)

10. Anaṅgabhīma = Kasturadēvi
    (33 years)

11. Nārasimhadēva I = Sitadēvi
    (33 years)

12. Vīra Bhānudēva I = Jākkalladēvi
    (17 years)

13. Nārasimhadēva II = Chōdādēvi
    (34 years)

14. Vīrabhānudēva II = Lakshmīdēvi
    (34 years)

15. Nṛsimhadēva III = Kamaladēvi
    (24 years)

16. Bhānudēva III = Hīradēvi
    (26 years)

17. Nṛsimhadēva IV

The Donor, Nṛsimhadēva IV made the first Grant in his 8th anka or 6th regnal year and the second Grant in his 22nd anka or 18 regnal year. The first Grant was made in Ś. 1305 or A. D. 1384 and the second in
The gifts mentioned in the second Grant were actually made from Dēvakūta and Nārāyanapura camps in November 1396 and February 1397 respectively.

Both the Grants are said to be made from Cuttack (Vāraṇāsi-Kataka), on the occasion of victory, in the presence of several officials, some of whose designations are the same as those already mentioned in the several stone inscriptions. For instance, Mahāpātra, Sandhivigrāhi, Pātra, Dvārāpariksha, Sēnādhyaksha, Śrīkaraṇa, Mahāsenāpati, Bhāṇḍāra Pūrāṇapātra, Purāṇapātra, Budhālenka, and Bhāṇḍāarādhikari were already mentioned, as high officers of State who surrounded the king on important occasions and particularly at the time of making Grants.

According to the first Grant, the village of Kinnari in Uttarakhaṇḍa-vishaya was given to Mahāpātra Naraharidāsa Prahārāja. The gift yielded 900 Mādas of Gold per year. According to the second Grant, the villages of Saiso and Rādaso in Madanakhandaviśaya in Kōṣṭhadēśa were given to a Brahmin Scholar named Dēvarathāchārya, a priest in the temple of Ugrēśvarādēva. They yielded 449 Mādas of Gold. These two Grants were made for the king’s long life, prosperity and increase of the Empire. The portions describing gifts in both the inscriptions are mostly in Oriya, and “in words and syntax the old Oriya of 500 years ago was the same as now.” The first and the second Grants were inscribed by Durgadāsa and Gurudāsa respectively.

Several Stone Inscriptions of the time of this king were already published in S, I, Inscrr. Vols. V, and VI in 1925 and 1928 respectively and referred to in my Telugu work Kalingadēśacharitra (1930). In point of number, information and importance, they excel those of any in the preceding reigns except Chōḍaṅgaṅga. Several Officers, named in the two Pūri Plates of this king, donated gifts for providing offerings to the Gods of Srikūrām and Simhāchalam.

No. 1160, dated Ś. 1314, records the gift of 50 cows by Māka Šṭnāpati of Enamadala, a place in Visag District. No. 1180 belongs to Ś. 1324 or A. D. 1403 and records the gift of 100 sheep, for burning a lamp in the Temple, by Rāṣṭidēsa Nāyōḍu for his long life, prosperity and progeny.

289. Nos. 1158, 1160, 1180, 1208 and 1211 in S, I, I. Vol. V.

Vol. VIII. P. 1] The History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga. 75

No. 774 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1302 and records the gifts of Tārēśvara Sāhasamalla, son of Kapilēśvara Sāhasamalla of Vāraṇāsi-Kataka (Cuttack).

No. 776, dated Ś. 1307 or A.D. 1385, records the gift of 50 cows for supplying pāyamas (Milk-food) to God by Aytradēva, son of Annamadēva Rāja of Orugallu (Warrangal). This is an important record showing that the Hindu Line of kings at Warrangal did not cease to exist. Though their fort was taken in A.D. 1323 and their Empire destroyed, still the Kakatiya scions continued to rule there.

No. 786 is a very important record of the King Pratāpa Virā Narasimhadēva Rāja. It is dated Ś. 1312 or A.D. 1390. It states that, when Bhaṁkr-Madana Rājulu (King himself?) was camping at Potţnūru-Kaṭakam in Visagapatam District, Pātra Gōpinātha Sandhivigrahi (Secretary for peace and war) and Bhudayilēnkhā (Commander-in-chief) Gōpala Jiyanna were waiting in his presence. The king ordered Pātra Saṭidāsa Jiyanna to render certain services such as fanning the God for which he endowed 4 Pūtīs of land in the village of Naruva.

No. 787, dated Ś. 1312, records certain gifts of gold articles by Gōpaladēsa Jiyanna mentioned in the record above.

No. 789, dated Ś. 1303, records the gift of 300 cows and 40 Mādas for supplying sugar and other articles by Oḍḍādi Arjunadēva, a subordinate chief of the Gaṅga Emperor.

No. 790, dated Ś. 1312 or A.D. 1390, is a record of the King himself like No. 786 above. It states that (vāmkya?) Madanarāja (Nṛsimha IV?) was camping in Potunuri-Kaṭakam and Pātra Gōpinātha Sandhivigrahi and Budalēnkhā Gopala Jiyanna were waiting in his presence. The king ordered Pātra Sajidāsa (Saṭidasal) to provide certain offerings to God, and endowed for the same 4 Pūtīs of land in the villages of Panchadhārla and Dimila, in Dimili Vishaya. Both these villages are existing even now. Pātra Gōpinātha Sandhivigrahi, mentioned in this record and in No. 786 above, is the same officer who is mentioned in this King’s Puri Plates (Second Grant) as being present when 2 villages were granted to a Brahmin Scholar. At that time, A.D. 1395-97, this officer (Pātra) was raised to the position of a Mahāpatra.

No. 801, dated Ś. 1313 or A.D. 1391 records the gift of a Donḍa Vanamāla (Garland) by Visvanātha Mahāsenāpati, who was the Srikarana (Writer of Accounts) and Pattaṇāyaka (Alderman) of Vāraṇāsi-Kataka. He endowed the Treasury of the God with 10 Padmanidhi-Gaḍamādas for giving prasadam to those who render the services. Also, a garden-land was purchased and set apart for the purpose of supplying flower-garlands to God. The Donor named here is the same as the one who was present when the Second Grant mentioned in this King’s Pur
Plates was made in A.D. 1395-97. He was also present in the King's room of worship on the occasion of his Japusamaya (Meditation).

No. 812, dated Ś. 1312, records the gift of a Mango-garden purchased in Poṭṭururu for 60 Mādas by Bhudoyilenka (Commander-in-chief) Sri Dharā Senāpati. It was ordained that the annual rent of 4 Mādas due from the garden should be utilised for providing offerings to God.

No. 817, dated Ś. 1325, records the gift of 40 Mādas for a lamp by Kalinga—parikkha Kēśavadāsa Jivyana.

No. 829, dated Ś. 1334, records gifts of cows and lands for certain services to God by Pratāpārjunadēva, son of Virājrjunadēva of Oddādi. He is styled Mahāmandalēśvara (Great Governor-in-chief). Oddādi is still existing as an important village and it was the home of Matsya-Vamsa Chiefs whose inscriptions are also found in Simhāchalam Temple.

No. 845, dated Ś. 1313, refers to the gifts of the wife of a Kalinga-Parikkha and Mahāpātra.

No. 846, dated Ś. 1336 or A.D. 1414, records the gift of 10 Mādas by a Mahāsenāpati of Pottnur. No. 847, dated Ś. 1313, records the gift of a daughter of As'āna Mahāpaśāyī and Budhālēnkha of Katak.

Nos. 848 and 849, dated Ś. 1335 and 1336 respectively, record the gifts of Kalinga-pāṭṭa-nāyadu Guhi Mahā-senāpati, son of Padma Mahā-senāpati of Poṭṭānuruvīḍu. The gifts consisted of cash, lands and sheep.

No. 851 dated Ś. 1300 records the gifts of Komaraguru Mahāpātra of Vāranāsi-Kaṭakam. No. 853, dated Ś. 1304, records the gift of Gurudāsa Mahāsenāpati of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 856, dated Ś. 1304 records the endowment of 15 Mādas for Gods' services (fanning and flower-garlands) by Muktādevi, the wife of Jalēśwara Mahāpātra of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam, who was a Chālukya Chief.

No. 859 is an important inscription. It is dated Ś. 1312 or A.D. 1390. It records the gift of the King himself, who is called Vīrapratāpa-Narasimhadēvarāya. The gift, consisting of God's prasādam, should be enjoyed by Rāghāva Bhārati, disciple of Vāsudēva Bhārati, who should in return serve God at both the times of burning incense for the king's long life. Vāsudēva and Rāghāva seem to have advanced the teachings of Ananda Tirtha by remaining in charge of important Maṭhams like Simhāchalam and Srikūrām.

No. 861, dated Ś. 1310, records certain gifts for two temple-maids for rendering fanning services to God by Vāsudēva Bhārati, the disciple of Narasimha Bhārati. for his Guru's (Teacher's) merit.

No. 862, dated Ś. 1304, records the gifts of Aptanahari Mahāsenāpati of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam,
Srikūrṇam inscription No. 1158, dated Śaka 1316 or A. D. 1394, records the gifts of an oil-maker called Talla. The king's (Nṛsimha IV's) lotus-feet are said to receive the praise of all kings.

No. 1208 is dated Śaka 1301 which is said to be the 3rd anka or 2nd regnal year. This proves that Śaka 1300 or A. D. 1378 was the first year of the king's accession to the throne. It is a record of Durga, the wife of Svapnēśvara, who was the Kalinga-parikṣha, Mahā-pātra and Jenāmka, and who gave 8 Malla-mādas of gold for burning a lamp in perpetuity before God, and 18 more Mādas for supplying oil daily for the lamps. He must be the same as the Svapnēśvara who is mentioned as a Commander in the Pūri Plates of this king (First Grant).

No. 1211 is also very important. It is dated Ś. 1302 which is said to correspond to the king's 4th anka or 3rd regnal year, proving again thereby that the king came to the throne in Śaka 1300 or A. D. 1378. The inscription records the gift of one lamp, with an endowment of 20 Gaṇḍamādas for feeding the lamp daily with half a measure (Aḍā) of oil, by Sitādēvi, another wife of Sri Svapnēśvara, who was the Kalinga-parikṣha and Mahā-pātra and who was also mentioned as Mahā-sēnapati in the Pūri Plates of this king. (First Grant).

Simhāchalam Inscriptions are really more important as they are more numerous and as they throw more new light on the social, religious and political conditions of the Gaṅga Empire in the 14th and 15th centuries.

No. 730, dated Śaka 1301, records the gift of the King which consisted of 5 puṭṭis of land in the village of Merapāndu for Gangaḥṣogam.

No. 731 is dated Ś. 1328 or A. D. 1406. It records the grants of Pārvati Mahādēvi (Daughter of Vijjina or Vijjala) who was the wife of Gujapati Pratāpa Vira Narasimhadēva Mahārāja for a Bhogam to God. The grants consisted of 300 Malla Mādas which were deposited in Katakha Bhāṇḍāram (Treasury at Cuttack) and also the village of Mummaḍi-vāḍa lying between 4 villages, Viz. Anakāpalli, Nāvulapalli, Pisinkavāḍa and Eduvaka, in Kalingadēśa, into the custody of the King's Sṛt Hasta Pātra. The Bhogam consisted of the offerings of various kinds of puddings to God. The title of Gujapathi for the king is significant.

No. 741, dated Ś. 1302, is a record of the King himself. He appointed Narana Jiyana, the Kalingamajji and Karahatramalla to render certain services to God by giving him a salary of 4 Mādas per year. It was made on the occasion of exposing God's true form (Nija-svarapam) on Vaiśākha Suddha Trītya (3rd day in the month of May).

No. 750, dated Ś. 1313, records the gift of 5 Mādas, for supplying daily a garland of Tulasī leaves to God, by Pōlu Mahāsēnapati, son of Mādhava Mahāsēnapati who was the Kalinga-vyāpāri of Poṭṭunūru.
No. 752, dated Ś. 1305, records the gifts of Birujādēvi, the Mahādevī or Great Queen of Gajapati Pedda (Elder) Nṛsimhadēva IV and Tārādēvi, the Mahādevī of ViraBhānudēva III, consisting of two Vemjāmaralu (Fans to fan the back portion of God). They endowed the Treasury of God with 8 Mallamādas so that the two Temple-maidens (Gudisānīs) might enjoy the prasādam of God and render the prescribed services to Him.

No. 753 is a very important record. It is dated Ś. 1305 or A. D. 1383. It records the gift of one gold Vemjāmaram (Fan) to God and 8 Mallamādas into His Treasury for giving prasādam to a Temple-maid for rendering services to Him by Tārādēvi, the Paṭṭa Mahādevī or Queen-consort of Vīra Nṛsimhadēva who is styled Gajapati or Gajani-vahapati (Lord of Groups of elephants) and who is said to be the destroyer of all enemies. Evidently, she is different from her name-sake mentioned in the inscription above. She must be her daughter-in-law. It is also clear that the king had several wives, viz, Birujādēvi, Tārādēvi and Pārvatidēvi. Tārādēvi claims to be the Queen-consort.

No. 755, dated Ś. 1302, records certain gifts of Kalingamoji and Chaḷukyaṇavaṇa Bhima Raja’s son, Dharmadāsa. The Cāhlukya Princes, on account of their important positions in the country and marriage alliances with the Gaṅga kings, occupied places of trust and power.

No. 757, dated Ś. 1302, records the grants of a Kalingamoji’s son, Arava Sāhasamalla. No. 758, dated Ś. 1305, records the gifts of a Daḍyana, related to Somanatha the Kalinga-pariksha and Sundhi-vigrāhi.

No. 763, dated Ś. 1314, records certain gifts of Vijñāna Sāgara Mavani Sripāḍalu who seems to be a religious teacher that continued the work of Ananda Tirtha in Kalinga Country.

No. 769 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1304 which is said to correspond to the king’s 5th anka or 4th regnal year. This would also give Ś. 1300 or A. D. 1378 as the initial year of this king’s reign. A certain Sōpum Mahāsenāpati granted one puṭṭi of land for providing offerings to God during the regime of Sōmasra, who was Bhōja-pariksha, Bīḷara Budhāyaḷena and Pātra. Of these titles, the first means the Examiner of offerings to God, the second—an Oriya title—means Commander of the inner or reserve force, and the third means Military Chief in charge of Hill-forts.

No. 770, dated Ś. 1325 or A. D. 1403, records the gift of 10 Mādas for a Donḍavanamāla (Garland) for God by a son of Meḍarāja who was Pākanadu Chōla Mahāmanḍaleśvara (The Governor-in-chief belonging to Pākanadu (Nellore) Chōla Line) and Asika Dandapatharā (Commander of Aska Region in Ganjam District.)

No. 771, dated Ś. 1316, records the gifts of another commander-in-chief named Gabiru, who gave lands and cash for providing offerings to God and maintaining those who render services to God.
No. 1016 is a very important record because it is dated S. 1324 or A.D. 1402 which is said to correspond to the king’s 31st anka or 25th regnal year. This would give S. 1300 or A.D. 1378 as the initial year of this King’s reign. A gift for God’s services, consisting of 5 Gold Mādas, was made for the fulfilment of the King’s desires.

No. 1017 is also an important record, dated S’. 1316 or A.D. 1394. It mentions the gift of five Gaṇḍamādas for God’s feeding-service by the Great Queen (Mahādēvi), wife of Pratapavira Nṛsimhadēva Rāja.

No. 1018 dated S’. 1236 or A.D. 1314 records the gift of Umādēvi, the wife of Eru Senāpati, for the burning of a lamp before God.

No. 1022, dated S’. 1318 or A.D. 1396 mentions the gift of 5 Mādas, for reciting Vishnustotram (Verses in praise of God Vishnu), by Kachu Sandhi-vigrahi, the son of Kṛṣṇānanda Mahāpātra of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam. The latter is mentioned in the second Grant of Nṛsimha’s Puri Plates as being present, along with other officers, at the time when the gift of 2 villages was made to a Brahmin by the King in A.D. 1395-97.

No. 1023, dated S’. 1317, records the gift of Maduki Nāyaṇu who was the Veharana and Sīṣṭu of Poṭṭnūruvīḍu.

No. 1027, dated S’aka 1337 or A. D. 1415 records the gift of 3 Gaṇḍamādas and 2 Pūltis of land for a lamp by Gōpināthadēva styled Pejgōḍi and Rāyapātra. He is also mentioned in the Puri Plates of the King as being present when the First Grant was made.

No. 1030, dated S’aka 1302 records the gift a Pūlti of land in Jantaru-Nāḍu by Siva Sōma of Dharmmapura who is styled Mahānāyaṇu and Kalinga-dandapāṇa.

No. 1031, dated S’aka 1324, records the gift of 5 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamādas by Madiki Jiyanā who had the titles of Mukhalīnāṇātha deva gana and Kalinga-dālavara and who was the son of Dasi Ēāhasama-mallu of Poṭṭnūru-vidu.

No. 1033, dated S’. 1318 or A. D. 1396, records the gift of Bhoga-parīkṣha Arjuna Jiyanā for providing services to God at the time of the Bhogam of Uttamadēvi Mahādēvi, a wife of King Nṛsimhadēva.

No. 1034, dated S’. 1323 or A. D. 1401, records gifts of cash and lands by the mother of Uttamadēvi for providing offerings to God on the occasion of the Bhogam provided by herself.

No. 1035, dated S’. 1316 or A. D. 1394, is an interesting inscription. It records that the king’s wife, Uttamadēvi gave for the fulfilment of all her desires for God’s Bhogam a part of the village of Pina-gāndi which was purchased from Vijāna-Sāgara (Ocean of learning) Mavani Sripāḍālu who got the same already as a gift from the King himself and his wife Nilādēvi—Mahādēvi.
Those who rendered the different services to God were ordained to get praśādam according to certain measurements. It was stated that the village Bhogam would enter the Nagari-Bhandārāma (Town-Bank). The Treasury or Bank of God also received 53 Madas for oil for burning a lamp in perpetuity.

No. 1036, dated S'. 1315 or A. D. 1393, records a gift of the King himself during the regime of Kalinga-pariksha and Pātra Gopāla dāsa Jiyana. The village of Gōranta was granted to Baya Sāhasa-malla for Khandadharā service to God.

No. 1038, dated S'. 1324 or A. D. 1402, records the gift of a village called Pratāpārjunapuram in Oḍḍādideśa for God's Bhogam. It was ordained that, at the time of Dhūpam (Burning incense), purusha-sūktam (Vedic Hymns) should be recited.

No. 1041, dated S'. 1315 or A. D. 1393 records the gift of 10 Gaṇḍamādas, for supplying water for God's bath and for fanning Him at the time of burning incense by Satidāsa Sundhi-vigrāhi, the son of Nāgēśvara Mahā-senāpati of Vāraṇāsi Kaṭakam.

- No. 1042, dated S'. 1314 or A. D. 1392, records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍamādas into God's Treasury for presenting a garland daily to God by Yesōda Nāyakāpi, the wife of Kalinga-pariksha, Mahā-pātra Sivananda Mahā-senāpati. Evidently, this officer enjoyed great powers.

No. 1043, dated S'. 1336 or A. D. 1414, records the gifts of Sripati Mahāsenāpati, the son of Purushottama Mahāsenāpati of Varaṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 1054, dated S'aka 1313, records the gift of two puttis of land in the village of Khōnna by the King for conducting music before God. It was made for the king's long life during the regime of Kalinga-pariksha, patuṣani, Mahāpātra Bhamputaladu's son.

No. 1072, dated S'aka 1335 or A. D. 1413, records the gifts of Niladēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of the King and her mother Hiradevi.

No. 1087, dated S'aka 1309, records the grant of 10 Madas for services to God by Narasimha Mahā-senāpati, who was Poṭṭuṇuruviḍu Mandala-koṇam.

No. 1096, dated S'aka 1305 records gifts to recite Vēdas before God by Chambu Mahā-senāpati of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 1098, dated S'aka 1324, records the gift of 10 Silver Tankas into God's Treasury for fanning and an endowment for providing Him with garlands by Kalinga-pariksha Sankara Jiyana, son of Kalingamoji Jagannatha Jiyana.

No. 1105 dated S'aka 1336 or A. D. 1414 records gift of 20 Madas for supplying garlands to God by Jadēśvara Śri Chandana Mahā pātra and his brother.
No. 865, dated Ś. 1325, is a record of Kūnapa Rāja consisting of rich gifts (cows, cash and lands) for God’s services. Among the executors of the services are two Commanders.

No. 871, dated Ś. 1321, records the gift of 25 Padmanidhi Gaṇḍa māḍas by Sūrya pregada, the Minister of Oḍḍādi Kingdom.

No. 872, dated also Ś. 1321, records the gift of 55 cows and 2 puṭṭis of land by a sister of Pratāpārjunadēva, the Chief of Oḍḍādi.

No. 902, dated Ś. 1300, records the gifts of Kalingamajī Kṛṣṇāditya Sāhasamalla. No. 907, dated Ś. 1307 records the gift of Lakuvādēvi, the wife of Kṛṣṇānanda Sandhivigrāhi.

No. 916, dated Ś. 1310, records the gifts of lands by Ambika-dēvi, daughter of the King of Elamanchili. Probably, she was an Eastern Chālukya Princess. The lands were purchased from Kēsava Bhārati.

No. 918, dated Ś. 1303 records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍamāḍas by Jivudāsa Mahāsenapati, son of Bhāṇḍu Sāhasamalla of Vāraṇāsi-Katakan.

No. 919 is a very interesting record. It is dated Ś. 1323 or A.D. 1401. It records the gift of 20 Sāsukāpi (Silver) Ṭankas for purchasing iron for a pillar having the Capital of a Garuḍa bird. It was made by Viśveśvaradēva Chokravarti of Elamanchili (Visag District), who had also the titles of Sarvālokaśraya Śrī Viṣṇuwardhana Mahārāja. His titles indicate that his power was almost independent. The gift was made for the fulfilment of his desires and for the increase of his kingdom. It must be noted that, at that time, the Eastern Chālukya Chiefs of Śrīkūrmam, Elamanchili and Piṭṭapur were all subordinate to the Gaṅgas.

No. 922, dated Ś. 1300, records the gift of 25 Gaṇḍamāḍas by Mādhava Sēnāpati, son of Chelleśvara Mahāsenapati.

No. 923, dated Ś. 1300, records the gift of 10 Paḍmanidhi Gaṇḍamāḍas by Kalinga Behāramādhi Mahāsenapati.

No. 929 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1309. A certain Lakhumādēvi, daughter of Śrī Rāmadēva of the Cuttack—Gaṅga Line, endowed for a garland, 5 Paḍmanidhi Gaṇḍamāḍas. On account of this endowment, one measure of prasādam would be given to two maids who would enjoy the same and supply daily a garland to God. As was the custom at that time, the various Donors endowed cash or lands or cows or sheep by enjoying which the services were to be rendered to God.

No. 958, dated Ś. 1324 or A. D. 1402, records a gift of 5 Māḍas for God’s offering by Bhog-parikśha Nārāyana Mahāsenapati, son of Saṅkharaśēsa Mahāsenapati of Vāraṇāsi-Katakan.

No 959, dated Ś. 1324, records a gift of 20 Gaṇḍamāḍas by Śrīkūrana Pāṭānāyānādū Purushottamatadēsa Mahāsenapati, son of Nārāyaṇadēsa Pādirāya of Vāraṇāsi-Katakan. He is the same as the one mentioned in the Pūri Plates of A. D. 1395—97.
No. 961, dated Ś. 1322, records gifts of Saubhāgya Rāju of Virakottam who was a subordinate Chief in the Kalinga Gāṅga Empire.

No. 971, dated Ś. 1310, records gifts of Kūmrāyi Jiyyana of Bobbiliśū Ḍu which was also comprised in the Gāṅga Empire.

No. 972, dated Ś. 1305, records gifts of Malla Pregada who is the Minister of Oḍḍādi Kingdom in the Visagapatam District.

No. 985, dated Ś. 1326, records gifts of Pātra Nārayana Sāmantarāya and his brother, Mānu Sāhasamalla.

No. 1004 is an important record, dated Ś. 1301, mentioning the gift of one Putfi of land in the village of Nāraḍupalli, by Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja Sarvalokāśraya Chakravarti Jalēśvara Mahāpātra. These titles indicate, as stated already, that he was an Eastern Chalukya Chief, probably of Elamanchili Line, who rose to great power under the Gangas.

No. 1006 is also an important inscription, dated Ś. 1311, mentioning the gift of a Bhogam to God, by Birujādevi, wife of King Nṛsimhadēva. She endowed God's Treasury with the third part of the moiety in the village of Pinagaṇḍi, named after her husband Vijayanarasimhapura. Two Commanders were appointed to look after the conduct of Bhogam.

No. 1008, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhogam, similar to the one noted above, by Tārādevi, the mother of the King.

No. 1008, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhogam by Niladēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of King Nṛsimhadēva.

No. 1009, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhogam by Uttama Mahāpātra, the Raja-Guru (Royal teacher and priest).

Nos. 1006-9 indicate that, in Ś. 1311 or A.D. 1389, the King's two wives Biraja and Nila and his mother and Priest visited the God of Simhāchalam and rendered one Bhogam each to God and set apart for the offerings parts of the village of Pinagaṇḍi (Rāya Nṛsimhapuram). The various servants, rendering services, were provided with food and salaries.

It is clear that the king had several wives, viz, Pārvti, Tāra, Biruja and Nila. Another wife, Uttamadēvi, is also mentioned in Nos. 1017 and 1035 dated Ś. 1316 or A. D. 1394.

No. 1014 is also an important inscription. It is dated S'. 1323 or A.D. 1401. A certain Pōtajju's sons, natives of Munagapāka village endowed 5 Mādas for fanning services to God in order to increase the King's merit. The gift was made in the name of the King himself during the camp of Kalinga-paṇiksha Gaṇḍēva Jiyyanna and in the regime of Kalinga-veharana Jōgēḷēsvara.

No. 1015, dated S'. 1314 or A.D. 1392, records a gift of a Kola (Torch-light) by the king, who is styled Sṛtvirādhivētra Narasimhadēva.
No. 774 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1302 and records the gifts of Tārēśvara Sāhasamalla, son of Kapilēśvara Sāhasamalla of Vāraṇāsi-Kataka (Cuttaok).

No. 776, dated Ś. 1307 or A. D. 1385, records the gift of 50 cows for supplying pāyasam (Milk-food) to God by Ayyadēva, son of Annamadēva Rāja of Orugallu (Warrangal). This is an important record showing that the Hindu Line of kings at Warrangal did not cease to exist. Though their fort was taken in A. D. 1323 and their Empire destroyed, still the Kakatiya scions continued to rule there.

No. 786 is a very important record of the King Pratāpa Vīra Narasimhadeva Rāja. It is dated Ś.1312 or A.D. 1390. It states that, when Bhemkr-Madana Rājulu (King himself?) was camping at Potnūru-Kātakam in Visagapatam District, Pātra Gopinātha Sandhi-vigrahi (Secretary for peace and war) and Bhadralokena (Commander-in-chief) Gopala Jiyanna were waiting in his presence. The king ordered Pātra Saṭidāsa Jiyanna to render certain services such as fanning the God for which he endowed 4 Puṭṭis of land in the village of Naruva.

No. 787, dated Ś. 1312, records certain gifts of gold articles by Gopalamśa Jiyanna mentioned in the record above.

No. 789, dated Ś. 1303, records the gift of 300 cows and 40 Mādas for supplying sugar and other articles by Oḍḍādi Arjunadēva, a subordinate chief of the Gaṅga Emperor.

No. 790, dated Ś. 1312 or A. D. 1390, is a record of the King himself like No. 786 above. It states that (vamkya?) Madanarāja (Nrsimha IV?) was camping in Potunuri-Kātakam and Pātra Gopinātha Sandhi-vigrahi and Budalenka Gopala Jiyanna were waiting in his presence. The king ordered Pātra Saṭidāsa (Saṭidasa?) to provide certain offerings to God, and endowed for the same 4 Puṭṭis of land in the villages of Panchadrāla and Dimila, in Dimili Vishaya. Both these villages are existing even now. Pātra Gopinātha Sandhi-vigrahi, mentioned in this record and in No. 786 above, is the same officer who is mentioned in this King's Puri Plates (Second Grant) as being present when 2 villages were granted to a Brahmin Scholar. At that time, A. D. 1395-97, this officer (Pātra) was raised to the position of a Mahāpatra.

No. 801, dated Ś. 1313 or A. D. 1391 records the gift of a Donḍa Vanamāla (Garland) by Visvanātha Mahāsenāpati, who was the Srikarana (Writer of Accounts) and Paṭṭanāyaka (Alderman) of Vāraṇāsi-Kataka. He endowed the Treasury of the God with 10 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamādas for giving prasadam to those who render the services. Also, a garden-land was purchased and set apart for the purpose of supplying flower-garlands to God. The Donor named here is the same as the one who was present when the Second Grant mentioned in this King's Pur
Plates was made in A.D. 1395-97. He was also present in the King’s room of worship on the occasion of his Japusamaya (Meditation).

No. 812, dated S. 1312, records the gift of a Mango-garden purchased in Poṭṭnurru for 60 Mādas by Bhudoyilenka (Commander-in-chief) Sri Dhara Senāpati. It was ordained that the annual rent of 4 Mādas due from the garden should be utilised for providing offerings to God.

No. 817, dated S. 1325, records the gift of 40 Mādas for a lamp by Kalinga-parikṣa Kēśavadāsa Jiyana.

No. 829, dated S. 1334, records gifts of cows and lands for certain services to God by Pratāpārjunadēva, son of Virārjunadēva of Oddādi. He is styled Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara (Great Governor-in-chief). Oddādi is still existing as an important village and it was the home of Matsya-Vamśa Chiefs whose inscriptions are also found in Simhāchalam Temple.

No. 835, dated S. 1313, refers to the gifts of the wife of a Kalinga-Parikṣa and Mahāpātra.

No 846, dated S. 1336 or A. D. 1414, records the gift of 10 Mādas by a Mahāsenāpati of Poṭtnur. No. 847, dated S. 1313, records the gift of a daughter of As’āna Mahāpasāyi and Budhālenkha of Katak.

Nos. 848 and 849, dated S. 1335 and 1336 respectively, record the gifts of Kalinga-patī-nāyadu Guhi Mahā-senāpati, son of Padma Mahā-senāpati of Poṭṭnuruvitūḍu. The gifts consisted of cash, lands and sheep.

No. 851 dated S. 1300 records the gifts of Komaraguru Mahāpātra of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam. No. 853, dated S. 1304, records the gift of Gurudāsa Mahāsenāpati of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 856, dated S. 1304 records the endowment of 15 Mādas for Gods’ services (fanning and flower-garlands) by Muktadēvi, the wife of Jalēśwara Mahāpātra of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam, who was a Chālukya Chief.

No. 859 is an important inscription. It is dated S. 1312 or A.D. 1300. It records the gift of the King himself, who is called Virapratāpa-Narasimhadēvarāya. The gift, consisting of God’s prasādam, should be enjoyed by Rāghāva Bhārati, disciple of Vāsudēva Bhārati, who should in return serve God at both the times of burning incense for the king’s long life. Vāsudēva and Rāghava seem to have advanced the teachings of Ananda Tirtha by remaining in charge of important Mathams like Simhāchalam and Srikurmam.

No. 861, dated S. 1310, records certain gifts for two temple-maids for rendering fanning services to God by Vāsudēva Bhārati, the disciple of Narasimha Bhārati, for his Guru’s (Teacher’s) merit.

No. 862, dated S. 1304, records the gifts of Aptanahari Mahāsenāpati of Vārapāsi-Kaṭakam.
Srikūrīmam inscription No. 1158, dated Śaka 1316 or A. D. 1394, records the gifts of an oil-maker called Tālla. The king’s (Nṛsimha 1V’s) lotus-feet are said to receive the praise of all kings.

No. 1208 is dated Śaka 1301 which is said to be the 3rd anka or 2nd regnal year. This proves that Śaka 1300 or A. D. 1378 was the first year of the king’s accession to the throne. It is a record of Durga, the wife of Svapnēśvara, who was the Kalinga-parikshā, Mahā-pātra and Jenāmkā, and who gave 8 Malla-mādās of gold for burning a lamp in perpetuity before God, and 18 more Mādās for supplying oil daily for the lamps. He must be the same as the Svapnēśvara who is mentioned as a Commander in the Pūri Plates of this king (First Grant).

No. 1211 is also very important. It is dated Ś. 1307 which is said to correspond to the king’s 4th anka or 3rd regnal year, proving again thereby that the king came to the throne in Śaka 1300 or A. D. 1378. The inscription records the gift of one lamp, with an endowment of 20 Gaṇḍamādās for feeding the lamp daily with half a measure (Aḍḍu) of oil, by Sitādevī, another wife of Śrī Svapnēśvara, who was the Kalinga-parikshā and Mahā-pātra and who was also mentioned as Mahā-senapati in the Pūri Plates of this king. (First Grant).

Simhāchalam Inscriptions are really more important as they are more numerous and as they throw more new light on the social, religious and political conditions of the Gaṅga Empire in the 14th and 15th centuries.

No. 730, dated Śaka 1301, records the gift of the King which consisted of 5 pottis of land in the village of Merapāndu for Gangābhogam.

No. 731 is dated Ś. 1328 or A. D. 1406. It records the grants of Pārvati Mahādevī (Daughter of Vijjina or Vijjala) who was the wife of Gajapati Pratāpa Vira Narasimhadēva Maharāja for a Bhogam to God. The grants consisted of 300 Malla Mādās which were deposited in Kataka Bhāngāram (Treasury at Cuttack) and also the village of Mummaḍīvaḍa lying between 4 villages, Viz. Anakāpalli, Nāvulaḍa, Pisinikavāḍa and Eduvaka, in Kalingadēsa, into the custody of the King’s Śrī Husta Pātra. The Bhogam consisted of the offerings of various kinds of puddings to God. The title of Gajapathi for the king is significant.

No. 741, dated Ś. 1302, is a record of the King himself. He appointed Narana Jiyana, the Kalingamajji and Karahatramalla to render certain services to God by giving him a salary of 4 Mādās per year. It was made on the occasion of exposing God’s true form (Nīja-svarāpam) on Vaisākha Suddha Tritiya (3rd day in the month of May).

No. 750, dated Ś. 1313, records the gift of 5 Mādās, for supplying daily a garland of Tulasī leaves to God, by Pōlu Mahāsenāpati, son of Mādhava Mahāsenāpati who was the Kalinga-vyāpāri of Poṭṭunūru.
No. 752, dated Ś. 1305, records the gifts of Birujādevī, the Mahādevī or Great Queen of Gajapati Pedda (Elder) Nṛsimhadēva IV and Tārādevi, the Mahādevī of Vira Bhānudēva III, consisting of two Vemjāmaralu (Fans to fan the back portion of God). They endowed the Treasury of God with 8 Mallamādas so that the two Temple-maids (Gudisānis) might enjoy the prasādam of God and render the prescribed services to Him.

No. 753 is a very important record. It is dated Ś. 1305 or A. D. 1383. It records the gift of one gold Vemjāmaram (Fan) to God and 8 Mallamādas into His Treasury for giving prasādam to a Temple-maid for rendering services to Him by Tārādevi, the Pāṭṭa Mahādevi or Queen-consort of Vira Nṛsimhadēva who is styled Gajapati or Gajani-vahapati (Lord of Groups of elephants) and who is said to be the destroyer of all enemies. Evidently, she is different from her name-sake mentioned in the inscription above. She must be her daughter-in-law. It is also clear that the king had several wives, viz, Birujādevī, Tārādevi and Pārvatīdevī. Tārādevi claims to be the Queen-consort.

No. 755, dated Ś. 1302, records certain gifts of Kalingamōji and Chālukyānvaśya Bhima Raja's son, Dharmadēsa. The Cāghukya Princes, on account of their important positions in the country and marriage alliances with the Gaṅga kings, occupied places of trust and power.

No. 757, dated Ś. 1302, records the grants of a Kalingamōji's son, Arava Sāhasamallu. No. 758, dated Ś. 1305, records the gifts of a Daḍyāna, related to Somanatha the Kaling u-pariksha and Sandhi-vigrāhi.

No. 763, dated Ś. 1314, records certain gifts of Vijñāna Sāgara Mavani Sripāḍālu who seems to be a religious teacher that continued the work of Ananda Tīrtha in Kalinga Country.

No. 769 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1304 which is said to correspond to the king's 5th anka or 4th regnal year. This would also give Ś. 1300 or A. D. 1378 as the initial year of this king's reign. A certain Sōpum Mahāsenāpati granted one pufti of land for providing offerings to God during the regime of Sōmasra, who was Bhōja-pariksha, Bitāra Budhāyilenka and Patra. Of these titles, the first means the Examiner of offerings to God, the second—an Oriya title—means Commander of the inner or reserve force, and the third means Military Chief in charge of Hill-forts.

No. 770, dated Ś. 1325 or A. D. 1403, records the gift of 10 Mādas for a Donḍavanamāla (Garland) for God by a son of Meḍarāju who was Pākanadū Chōla Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara (The Governor-in-chief belonging to Pākanadū (Nellore) Chōla Line) and Asika Donḍapathara (Commander of Aska Region in Ganjam District.)

No. 771, dated Ś. 1316, records the gifts of another commander-in-chief named Gabiru, who gave lands and cash for providing offerings to God and maintaining those who render services to God.
No. 1016 is a very important record because it is dated S' 1324 or A.D. 1402 which is said to correspond to the king's 31st anka or 25th regnal year. This would give S' 1300 or A.D. 1378 as the initial year of this King's reign. A gift for God's services, consisting of 5 Gold Māḍas, was made for the fulfilment of the King's desires.

No. 1017 is also an important record, dated S'. 1316 or A.D. 1394. It mentions the gift of five Gaṇḍamāḍas for God's feeding-service by the Great Queen (Mahādēvi), wife of Pratāpavira Nṛsimhadēva Rāja.

No. 1018 dated S'. 1326 or A.D. 1314 records the gift of Umādēvi, the wife of Eru Senāpati, for the burning of a lamp before God.

No. 1022, dated S'. 1318 or A.D. 1396 mentions the gift of 5 Mādas, for reciting Vīṣṇusūttotram (Verses in praise of God Vīṣṇu), by Kachu Sandhi-vigrāhī, the son of Kṛṣṇānanda Mahāpātra of Vāraṇasi-Kaṭakam. The latter is mentioned in the second Grant of Nṛsimha's Puri Plates as being present, along with other officers, at the time when the gift of 2 villages was made to a Brahmin by the King in A.D. 1395-97.

No. 1023, dated S'. 1317, records the gift of Maduki Nāyaḍu who was the Veharaṇa and Dīśṭu of Poṭṭnūruviḍu.

No. 1027, dated S'aka 1337 or A.D. 1415 records the gift of 3 Gaṇḍamāḍas and 2 Puṭṭis of land for a lamp by Gōpināthadēva styled Pejgaḍa and Rāyapātra. He is also mentioned in the Puri Plates of the King as being present when the First Grant was made.

No. 1030, dated S'aka 1302 records the gift a Puṭṭi of land in Jantaru-Nāḍu by Siva Sōma of Dharmmapura who is styled Mahānāyaḍu and Kalinga-danḍapāṭa.

No. 1031, dated S'aka 1324, records the gift of 5 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamāḍas by Madiki Jiyana who had the titles of Mukhalinganāṭha deva gana and Kalinga-doloru and who was the son of Dasi Ėāhasamalla of Poṭṭnūru-vidu.

No. 1033, dated S'. 1318 or A. D. 1396, records the gift of Bhoga-partksha Arjuna Jiyana for providing services to God at the time of the Bhogam of Uttamadēvi Mahādēvi, a wife of King Nṛsimhadēva.

No. 1034, dated S'. 1323 or A. D. 1401, records gifts of cash and lands by the mother of Uttamadēvi for providing offerings to God on the occasion of the Bhogam provided by herself.

No. 1035, dated S'. 1316 or A. D. 1394, is an interesting inscription. It records that the king's wife, Uttamadēvi gave for the fulfilment of all her desires for God's Bhogam a part of the village of Pina-gāndi which was purchased from Vījñāna-Sāgara (Ocean of learning) Mavani Srīpāḍālu who got the same already as a gift from the King himself and his wife Nilādēvi—Mahādēvi.
Those who rendered the different services to God were ordained to get prosādam according to certain measurements. It was stated that the village Bhogam would enter the Naguri-Bhandāram (Town-Bank). The Treasury or Bank of God also received 53 Madas for oil for burning a lamp in perpetuity.

No. 1036, dated S'. 1315 or A. D. 1393, records a gift of the King himself during the regime of Kalinga-parīkṣha and Pātra Gōpāla dāsa Jiyyana. The village of Gōranī was granted to Baya Sāhasa-malla for Khandadhara service to God.

No. 1038, dated S'. 1324 or A. D. 1402, records the gift of a village called Pratāpārjunapuram in Oḍḍādideśa for God's Bhogam. It was ordained that, at the time of Dhāpum (Burning incense), purusha-sūktam (Vedic Hymns) should be recited.

No. 1041, dated S'. 1315 or A. D. 1393 records the gift of 10 Gaṇḍamādas, for supplying water for God's bath and for fanning Him at the time of burning incense by Satidāsa Sundhi-vigrāhi, the son of Nāgēśvara Mahā-senāpati of Vāraṇāsi Kaṭakam.

No. 1042, dated S'. 1314 or A. D. 1392, records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍamādas into God's Treasury for presenting a garland daily to God by Yesōda Nāyakāṇi, the wife of Kalinga-parīkṣha, Mahā-pātra Sivananda Mahā-senāpati. Evidently, this officer enjoyed great powers.

No. 1043, dated S'. 1336 or A. D. 1414, records the gifts of Sripati Mahāsenāpati, the son of Purushottama Mahāsenāpati of Varaṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 1055, dated S'aka 1313, records the gift of two puitis of land in the village of Khōnna by the King for conducting music before God. It was made for the king's long life during the regime of Kalinga-parīkṣha, patusani, Mahā-pātra Bhamputaladu's son.

No. 1072, dated S'aka 1335 or A. D. 1413, records the gifts of Niladhēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of the King and her mother Hiradēvi.

No. 1087, dated S'aka 1309, records the grant of 10 Maṇḍas for services to God by Narasimha Mahā-senāpati, who was Poṭṭūruvīdu Maṇḍulas-karāṇam.

No. 1096, dated S'aka 1305 records gifts to recite Vēdas before God by Chambu Mahā-senāpati of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 1098, dated S'aka 1324, records the gift of 10 Silver Tankas into God's Treasury for fanning and an endowment for providing Him with garlands by Kalinga-parīkṣha Sankara Jiyyana, son of Kalingamōji Jagannatha Jiyyana.

No. 1105 dated S'aka 1336 or A. D. 1414 records gift of 20 Madas for supplying garlands to God by Jādēśvara Śrī Chandana Mahā-pātra and his brother.
Vol. VIII. P. 1 | THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA. 77

No. 865, dated Ś. 1325, is a record of Kūnapa Rāja consisting of rich gifts (cows, cash and lands) for God’s services. Among the executors of the services are two Commanders.

No. 871, dated Ś. 1321, records the gift of 25 Padmanidhi Gandāmādas by Sūrya pregoda, the Minister of Oḍḍādi Kingdom.

No. 872, dated also Ś. 1321, records the gift of 55 cows and 2 putūris of land by a sister of Pratāpārjunadēva, the Chief of Oḍḍādi.

No. 902, dated Ś. 1300, records the gifts of Kalingamati Kṛṣṇāditya Sāhasamalla. No. 907, dated Ś. 1307 records the gift of Lakuvādēvi, the wife of Kṛṣṇānanda Sandhitvigr añi.

No. 916, dated Ś. 1310, records the gifts of lands by Ambikādēvi, daughter of the King of Elamanchili. Probably, she was an Eastern Chāluksya Princess. The lands were purchased from Kēśava Bhārati.

No. 918, dated Ś. 1303 records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍamādas by Jivudāsa Mahāsēnapati, son of Bhamīdu Sāhasamalla of Vāraṇāsi-Katākam.

No. 919 is a very interesting record. It is dated Ś. 1323 or A.D. 1401. It records the gift of 20 Sāsukāni (Silver) Ṭankas for purchasing iron for a pillar having the Capital of a Garuḍa bird. It was made by Viśvēśvaradēva Chakravarti of Elamanchili (Visag District), who had also the titles of Sarvalokāsraya Śri Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja. His titles indicate that his power was almost independent. The gift was made for the fulfilment of his desires and for the increase of his kingdom. It must be noted that, at that time, the Eastern Chāluksya Chiefs of Srikūrmam, Elamanchili and Piṭṭapur were all subordinate to the Gaṅgas.

No. 922, dated Ś. 1300, records the gift of 25 Gaṇḍamādas by Mādhava Sēnāpati, son of Chellēśvara Mahāsēnapati.

No. 923, dated Ś. 1300, records the gift of 10 Padmanidhi Gandamādas by Kalinga Bebarāmādēhi Mahāsēnapati.

No. 929 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1309. A certain Lakhumādēvi, daughter of Śrī Rāmadēva of the Cuttack—Gaṅga Line, endowed for a garland, 5 Padmanidhi Gandamādas. On account of this endowment, one measure of prasādam would be given to two maids who would enjoy the same and supply daily a garland to God. As was the custom at that time, the various Donors endowed cash or lands or cows or sheep by enjoying which the services were to be rendered to God.

No. 958, dated Ś. 1324 or A.D. 1402, records a gift of 5 Mādas for God’s offering by Bhogā-pariksha Nārāyana Mahāsēnapati, son of Sāhrkaradēsa Mahāsēnapati of Vāraṇāsi-Katākam.

No 960, dated Ś. 1324, records a gift of 20 Gandamādas by Srikuruma Paṭānaṇāṇaḍu Purushottamadēsa Mahāsēnapati, son of Nārāyaṇadēsa Padirāya of Vāraṇāsi-Katākam. He is the same as the one mentioned in the Pūri Plates of A. D. 1395—97.
No. 961, dated Ś. 1322, records gifts of Saubhāgya Rāju of Virakoṭṭam who was a subordinate Chief in the Kalinga Gaṅga Empire.

No. 971, dated Ś. 1310, records gifts of Kūrmāyi Jīyyana of Bobbiliṇḍu which was also comprised in the Gaṅga Empire.

No. 972, dated Ś. 1305, records gifts of Malla Pregāda who is the Minister of Oḍḍādi Kingdom in the Visagapatam District.

No. 985, dated Ś. 1326, records gifts of Pātra Nārāyaṇa Sāmantarāya and his brother, Māṇku Sāhasamalla.

No. 1004 is an important record, dated Ś. 1301, mentioning the gift of one Putṭi of land in the village of Nēraḍupalli, by Vishnuvardhāna Mahārāja Sarvalokārāya Chakruvartī Jaleśvara Mahāpātra. These titles indicate, as stated already, that he was an Eastern Chalukya Chief, probably of Elamanchili Line, who rose to great power under the Gangas.

No. 1006 is also an important inscription, dated Ś. 1311, mentioning the gift of a Bhogam to God, by Birujādevī, wife of King Nṛsimhadēva. She endowed God’s Treasury with the third part of the moiety in the village of Pinagaṇḍi, named after her husband Vijayanarasimhapura. Two Commanders were appointed to look after the conduct of Bhogam.

No. 1007, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhogam, similar to the one noted above, by Tārādevī, the mother of the King.

No. 1008, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhogam by Niladēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of King Nṛsimhadēva.

No. 1009, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhogam by Uttama Mahāpātra, the Raja-Guru (Royal teacher and priest).

Nos. 1006–9 indicate that, in Ś. 1311 or A.D. 1389, the King’s two wives Biraja and Nila and his mother and Priest visited the God of Simhāchalam and rendered one Bhogam each to God and set apart for the offerings parts of the village of Pinagaṇḍi (Rāya Nṛsimhapuram). The various servants, rendering services, were provided with food and salaries.

It is clear that the king had several wives, viz, Pārvti, Tāra, Biruja and Nila. Another wife, Uttamadēvi, is also mentioned in Nos. 1017 and 1035 dated Ś. 1316 or A. D. 1394.

No. 1014 is also an important inscription. It is dated S’. 1323 or A.D. 1401. A certain Pōtaju’s sons, natives of Munagapāka village endowed 5 Mādas for fanning services to God in order to increase the King’s merit. The gift was made in the name of the King himself during the camp of Kalinga-pariksha Gaṭudēva Jīyyana and in the regime of Kalinga-veharaṇa Jōgēḷēsvara.

No. 1015, dated S’. 1314 or A.D. 1392, records a gift of a Kōla (Torch-light) by the king, who is styled Srīvīrādhivṛtra Narasimhadēva.
REVIEW.

POPULAR YOGA Vol. I—ASANAS Part I.
BY KUVALAYANANDA.

‘Yoga’ has as its aim self development and perfection. In its higher stages it is purely a discipline of the mind for the attainment of spiritual perfection. Text books on Hatha Yoga such as Sivasamhita, Gheranda Samhita, Hatha Yoga Pradipika, portions of certain puranas and some minor yoga upanishads teach various yoga practices such as regulation of inhalation and exhalation, complete suspension or stoppage of them called ‘Pranayana’ and physiological postures called ‘Asanas’ which are intended to lead on to the higher mental exercises such as Dhyana and Samadhi. These Asanas or physical exercises have their influence on the mind. In the books above mentioned, the description of the Asanas is not so explicit as to permit a lay reader to practise them. Hence during the last 10 years several efforts have been made to explain the usefulness of these yogic exercises for physical culture. Foremost among these attempts is what the splendid institution called Kaivalyadhama which was established in 1924 at Lonavala, has been doing—very useful and original research work in yogic physical and spiritual culture. It has been publishing the results in its quarterly magazine ‘yoga mimansa’. Its editor Srimat Kuvalayananda (J.G. Gune) has now issued the small manual—Asanas Part I. It contains abstract of the information regarding the Asanas already published in Yoga Mimansa. Though an abstract, it contains full information regarding the Asanas so as to enable any one to faithfully perform the Asanas and derive the benefit thereof. The author has selected only 20 out of the reputed 84 Asanas, as these only are well suited for general use. He rightly divides them into two kinds, cultural and meditative, the former being intended for those who seek only physiological advantage such as physical culture and general health, and the latter intended for those who are anxious to secure spiritual advantages also. It is claimed that the cultural poses aim at giving best organic vigour to the whole body. When properly performed they ensure an effective automatic massage of the digestive and abdominal organs, proper elimination of the waste products and keep the nervous mechanism in an efficient condition, whereas the spiritual or meditative aim at training the spinal cord and the brain for the interaction of kundalini. These yogic Asanas or poses have been from time immemorial regarded as the preliminary steps for the spiritual culture of all shades of the Hindu and Buddhist sects. The old and new Upnishads refer to them. Patanjali (350 B.C.) in his famous ‘yoga sutras’ includes ‘Asanas’ as item No. 3 of his yogic curriculum. In sutra or aphorism No, 46 he states:—‘Stable and easy Asana or Posture is an aid to attainment of yoga method of concentration.’ Our author gives clear instructions for the performance of these Asanas, explains their technique, notes the cultural advantages and gives warning where necessary regarding the dangers that lie in the path of the novice, who is practising these Asanas. In the two Appendices, the author gives a full course and a short course in yogic physical culture for an average man of health. There is not the slightest doubt that the author has succeeded in the short compass of this Volume in presenting an illuminating and instructive account of Asanas.

P.R.
Accounts for the Quarter.

Subscriptions received during the quarter ending with 30—6—33.

1. Members.

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Total Rs. 88 3 0

2. Subscribers.

The Allahabad University
Government Sanskrit College, Benares.

Total Rs. 13 0 0

Grand Total Rs. 101 3 0

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.
Treasurer.
Organisers of the Rāja Rāja Day Celebration
The Society was started in 1922 and the publication of the Quarterly Journal commenced in July 1926. It was registered in 1927 under Act XXI of 1860. The aims and objects of the Society have been as follows:

1. To promote historical research in Andhra Desa and record the results of such research.
2. To organise meetings for imparting historical knowledge to the people.
3. To celebrate historical occasions and hold exhibitions.
4. To publish a journal of historical research and special books if any.
5. To organise a research library.
6. To co-operate with other learned societies engaged in similar work as well as with individual scholars.

In pursuance of the objects mentioned above, the Society has been able to publish Seven Volumes of the Journal, celebrate three Historical Events and bring out two Commemoration Volumes in Telugu. The Society has all along been the only Research Society for the whole of the Andhradesa. Since it completed ten years of useful existence, the Honorary Secretary Mr. R Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. and the Editor of Kakatiya Sanchika Mr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., B.Ed. and the Treasurer
Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L. thought it desirable to celebrate the Decennium in order to review the work of the Society in the past and devise means for further improvement in the future. The idea was approved by the Managing Council in its Meeting held on 25th December, 32. Accordingly, an appeal was issued to the Public towards the close of 1932 and received warm welcome from many scholars all over India. It was resolved to request Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar M.A., PH.D M.R.A.S. F.A.S.B. Retired Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University to preside over the celebrations and the learned Doctor kindly accepted the invitation. Several scholars responded to the appeal and sent valuable Papers to be published in the *Commemoration Volume*.

The Decennial celebrations began in the early morning of the 14th of April 1933 with a procession of the Members of the Society and the public along with the President. It started from the Society's Office in Nyapati Buildings and reached the Government Training College, Rajahmundry where the Conference was opened by M. R. Ry. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Garu B.A., B.L., the veteran Andhra Scholar and the Honorary President of the Society.

In declaring the celebrations open, he gave the following address:

*Gentlemen,*

I thank you very much for the honour you have done me by asking me to open this conference. The conference is intended to mark the close of ten years of work of the Andhra Historical Research Society. All honour is due to the little band of young men who conceived the idea of starting the Society and some of them are here today. It is a great honour to them that they should have conceived the idea of starting an Association of this sort, and have given effect to it. That Association has gradually risen and has just now completed the first ten years of its life. Of course ten years is nothing in the life of an Association like this. During these ten years the Association has done a good amount of work and it has shown signs of very vigorous youth and promises to do much better work in the coming years. I was closely connected with the Association and was President for a number of years. I gave it up because I found I could not do much useful work as President consistently with my other engagements and in consequence of the fact that I could not live in Rajahmundry in virtue of my office. I, therefore, suggested that one who is in a position to do better work should be chosen in my place. Nevertheless, I continue to take interest in this Association not only because it is the only association of its kind in this country but also as it concerns a subject in which I have been taking interest from my early age.
This association ought to do research work. I will say it from first hand experience, of the work of this and similar associations that the first great requisite which conduces to the success of all associations of this kind is that it should be the business of one or two individuals who feel so zealous in the work of the association that they are prepared to work for it, and to die for it so as to be said to be fully mad. Dr. Hultchz, the pioneer of Archaeological work in India referring to which he used to ask his assistants Messrs. Venkiah and Krishnasastry, "Have you come across any man who is mad enough to take interest in Epigraphy?"

It was my practice, wherever I went and wherever I served to collect epigraphs. I am going to exhibit them. It was my almost invariable practice to take down inscriptions. They were found mostly in temples. Some of the people thought that the Inscriptions they gave to me were the proofs of the hoards of money buried under the idol. They wanted to get these hoards of wealth. Nothing better than this was known about the inscriptions. Those first men who began to take interest in this were led on to work. Now the movement has spread to a large extent and you find many young men taking interest in it and distinguishing themselves in this work. Nevertheless, an association of this sort, whether it be this association or any other association, must be run by one or two people who are very enthusiastic of it, and fully mad of it. About this, you cannot distribute the responsibility of running the institution. This must be done by one man to whom you must give the responsibility. I feel that this responsibility is sometimes not visible especially in these young men. They are in a hurry to rush to conclusions, they want to rush into print to proclaim a new discovery. Well, that is not a very desirable state of mind. Whether you publish it, or another man publishes it, don't rush into the public, don't announce the discovery until you are sure of it and until you have established to your own satisfaction and cannot be assailed of it. Darwin and Russel Wallace were such people. Russel did not want to publish his work until he was sure of his facts. If you publish a false theory, simply for your glorification, before long it will be demolished. I warn all young men who are working in the field, (Take it from an old man) not to be guided by the consideration that you have to be the first to pronounce about any theory. Take it, test it by all ways and then, when you are quite satisfied about it, publish it. In this respect Dr. Hultchz set a good example to all of us. He is a typical great scholar. He is a very cautious man. He won't come to the conclusion until he is quite sure that it is correct. I never came in personal contact with him. But there was a good deal of correspondence between us and I was trained by him in this respect. He advised me like that. I owe a great deal of gratitude for his advice. I advise all of you and request you not to be very hasty in your conclusions but wait to test
them, that is the way in which you have to tackle the subject. So far as our Society is concerned, the Journal is being regularly published. The tone of the Journal leaves some room for improvement. Those that contribute articles to the Journal must realise that their prestige as well as that of the Journal and of the Society depends greatly upon the statements that they make. So I hope the writers who will contribute their articles to the journal hereafter will take care that they will only suggest those conclusions which are mature and well considered. If we proceed on these lines our Society is bound to have a very long and prosperous future before it; and I believe this is the only Society of its sort in South India. It has been concentrating all its energies upon Historical Research. With these few remarks, I open the Conference and wish the Andhra Historical Research Society a long and prosperous career and request Dr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar to preside over the further proceedings of the conference. I now declare the Conference open.

Dr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, the President, then spoke as follows:

*Gentlemen,*

I thank you for the great interest taken by you in listening to the remarks of our veteran scholar and my old friend, Mr. Ramiah Pantulu garu. These remarks came apt from a veteran in the field whose acquaintance with the society itself was far more intimate than that of mine. They have come from one who has been connected with the work of the association from the very beginning. Some of the Copper-plates that he has edited have shown the wide knowledge of the gentleman and I had the chance of acquaintance with him ever since he came to Madras. The Society worked all these ten years though it has had its own vicissitudes. You will see how it struggled against all infantile ailments and survived its natural troubles and after surviving them published a Journal which is entering on its eighth year, completing 7 volumes of the journal having produced already 28 quarterly numbers. I wish you God speed and I join in the good wish of my friend that the society may have a bright future before it and call upon the Secretary to proceed with the further agenda.

Then, the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao read the following report of the work of the Society during the Decennium:

**INTRODUCTORY.**

**THE ORIGIN, ACHIEVEMENTS AND ASPIRATIONS.**

Mandali" (Andhradesa Historical Research Society) with Mr. C. Narayana Rao as President and Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao as Secretary.

It does not appear either from the records of the Society or from information got from those who first started it that it had a habitation or constitution or that it had any members in it till the middle of January 1923. However, on 13th June 1922, one of its members late Mr. I. Kanakachellam M.A., L.T. Headmaster of the Rajah's High School, Parlakimidi, suggested, as a result of his perusal of the Government Epigraphical Reports, that the centenary celebration of the Coronation of Raja Raja Narendra of Rajahmundry should be celebrated and so the idea was at once taken up and translated into action, chiefly by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao.

In the editorial preface to the work, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, the first Secretary of the Society states how they resolved to hold the centenary celebrations on 8th September 1922 and conduct a Historical Exhibition and bring out a Raja Raja Saanchika in memory of the event and how they sent appeals to all scholars to contribute papers and give pecuniary aid. It is interesting to note that when they approached the Andhra Bhishma Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, they got the first big donation of Rs. 50 from him. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao then traces his work for the society, how he went about collecting donations and articles for the work and how finally he selected Mr. C. R. Reddi to be the President and was in turn selected by him to be the Editor of the work.

The minutes of the first ordinary meeting of the Mandali held on 16-1-1923 with only 3 members viz. C. Narayana Rao (President), B. V. Krishna Rao (Secretary) and C. Veerabhadrara Rao show that the accounts submitted by the Secretary from 13-6-1922 (the date of the starting of the Society), to 13-1-1923, the date of the first meeting of the Mandali whose Minutes are on record for the first time were passed. The accounts show that by 6-1-23, a sum of Rs. 971 was collected by way of donations and Rs. 904-1-3 spent leaving a balance of Rs. 66-14-9 with the Secretary.

The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Mandali held on 7-10-23 with Mr. J. Ganganna in the chair show that there was a draft constitution, that he was elected as President and Mr. D. Rammohanarao as Secretary and three more members, Messrs. C. Virabhadraraao, C. Narayanarao and D. Venkatarao as councillors and that the Secretary was "empowered to take charge of all the accounts, records, money, books, blocks and other property of the Mandali at once from Mr. B. V. Krishnarao the Secretary."

Mr. D. Rammohanarao having resigned his Secretaryship on 10-10-24 the present Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao M.A., L.T. was elected,
He found the first ex-secretary's resignation letter in the papers taken charge of. He persuaded him to withdraw the same and to work with him in close co-operation so that his devout and sincere wish of having a society with a Reading Room, Library, Museum and a quarterly journal in English for Andhra Desa might be realised. According to the minutes of a General body meeting held on 30-11-24 it was resolved to celebrate the Kalinga Day and to bring out a Kalinga Sanchika in Telugu. Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao and R. Subbarao were requested to report to the society about the practicability of starting a Quarterly Journal. At the same time Messrs. C. Veerabhadrarao, C. Narayanarao, M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. Somasekhara Sarma and R. Subbarao were deputed to attend the Third All India Oriental Conference held at Madras where their contributions were read and subsequently published in the Society's Journal. Several new members were enrolled. The Secretary was also empowered to do every thing necessary for the production of the Kalinga Sanchika. In July 1925, Mr. D. Venkatarao, the treasurer, having resigned Mr. A. Sankararao was elected in his place. With his help and co-operation, the Secretary was able to rent two almyahs i.e. the Sarada Reading Room where the society's work was transacted for two years. Early in 1925, the Secretary met Mr. J. Ramiah Pantulu at Pittapur and after much pursuasion induced him to be the President of the society—a position which he filled with great distinction for 7 years. At the same time, the Maharajah of Pittapur gave his consent to be the Patron of the society and later on made a donation of Rs. 300 in addition to Rs. 200 which he had already paid for the Raja Raja Sanchika.

The present Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao who has been holding the office continuously for the past nine years may be rightly said to have re-organized the society and infused fresh life and vigour into it. At the Annual meeting held on 30-8-25 in the Arts College Hall the fourth Annual Report—the first record to contain the early history of the society with a list of members and a statement of accounts by the treasurer, Mr. A. Sankararao—was adopted and a Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. V. Rangachari, B. V. Krishnarao, A. Sankararao, and R. Subbarao as the convener was appointed to revise the existing rules of the society and to submit a report. It was also resolved to register the society under Act XXI of 1860 and the following office-bearers were elected:

Messrs. J. Ramiah Pantulu President.
J. Ganganna Vice President.
R. Subba Rao and B. V. Krishnarao Joint Secretaries.
A. Sankararao Treasurer.
V, Rangachari
D. Venkataramo
C. Narayananargo
V. Jagannadharao

Members of the Council.

The society's books were still in an almyrah in the Sarada Reading Room where the council meetings were held, the Vice President, Mr. J. Ganganna always taking the chair and evincing keen interest. Owing to the untiring efforts of the Secretaries the membership increased from 18 to 51 by August 1925 and to 90 in 1926. The finances also improved.

At a meeting of the General body held on 14-6-26, it was resolved to register the society, to start a Quarterly Journal in English and adopt the draft rules prepared by the Sub Committee with certain changes, one of which was that instead of two Joint Secretaries there should be only a Secretary and an assistant Secretary. In the Managing Council meeting held on 10-3-26, Mr. R. Subbarao was elected as the Secretary and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao as the assistant Secretary. The latter was also elected as the Editor of the Journal and Messrs. J. Ramiah Pantulu, M. R. Kavi and M. S. Sarma as members of the Editorial Council.

In the Annual General Meeting held on 26-3-26, Messrs. J. Ramayya Pantulu and V. Rangachari were elected as President and Vice-President respectively, Mr. R. Subba Rao as Secretary and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao as Asst. Secretary and Mr. N. Kameswararao as Treasurer. At the same time the following Editorial Committee was constituted for Kalinga Sanchika.

Mr. R. Subbarao
" C. Narayananargo
" V. Apparao
" B. V. Krishnarao
" I. Kanakachalam

Members of Editorial Council.

On 2-7-26 Mr. B. V. Krishnarao resigned his Asst. Secretaryship and on 5-9-26 the Vice-President Mr. V. Rangachari resigned owing to his transfer to Madras, and Mr. D. S. Reddi, B.A. (Oxon) was elected in his place on 27-10-26. In the General Body meeting held on 5-9-26 the rule as to Secretary and Assistant Secretary was changed and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao was again made a Joint Secretary.

By 5-9-26, the printing of the Quarterly Journal was begun in the Saraswati Power Press under the editorship of Mr. B. V. Krishna rao and published by 26-10-26, the Treasurer advancing a sum of Rs. 140 to the Printer. Messrs. M. R. Kavi, J. Ramayya Pantulu and R. Subbarao were deputed to attend the Fourth All India Oriental Con- ference at Allahabad in November 1926. The Society resolved to celebrate the Kalinga day at Mukhalingam and requested the Kalinga Sanchika Editorial Committee to interview the Raja Sahib of Parlakimidi
and solicit his patronage. The Raja Sahib was pleased to become a Patron of the Society and thanks to the arrangements made by him the Kalinga day, celebrated at Mukhalingam on the 16th and 18th June 1927 was a complete success. Several scholars attended the function and many valuable papers were read at the Conference, which was presided over by Sir A. P. Patro. Sri Raja Vikrama Deva Varma Garu was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.


By April 1927 the membership rose from 70 to 150 and the number of Subscribers to 19. The Society published four quarterly parts and exchanged its journals with the publications of 33 Associations. (Indian and Foreign.) The Director of Public Construction, Madras issued proceedings recommending the Journal to all the First grade colleges in the presidency, besides ordering them for the Government institutions under his control.

As Mr. B. V. Krishnaraao resigned his Editorship on 27-1-27 the Council elected Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., in his place.

The Society continued its activities by holding periodical meetings in which several topics of Historical and Literary importance were discussed. Just about this time the Society received many books and journals through purchase, presentation and exchange and steps were taken to organise a regular Library and Reading Room.

In April 1928 the two Joint Secretaries were replaced by a single Secretary. The membership increased from 150 to 197 and the subscribers from 19 to 25 and the exchanges from 35 to 55—a indication of the widespread appreciation of the Society’s activities. This year showed an increase in the finances of the Society and the total receipts rose from Rs. 1214 to 2316. Further additions were made to the Library
which was formally opened by Dr. Kalidas Nag M.A., PH.D. of the Calcutta University, on 5-11-27, and located in the Kaky upstairs on the Main Road. The Secretary obtained three sets of new copper-plates and many rare Andhra Coins and presented them to the Society, as the nucleus of the Society's Museum. During the year, at the request of the Andhra University, the Society organised the first series of University lectures named after Sir R. Venkataratnam in the Veeresalingam High School Hall and Dr. Kalidas Nag delivered three lectures on "Hindu temple Architecture in Indo-China," "Hindu Art and Culture in the East Indies, and Hindu ritual and ceremonies in the Bali-illes. The learned Doctor also gave an address on "Research work in Andhradesa" under the auspices of the society. Periodical meetings and discussions of several Historical and Literary subjects continued to be a very important feature of the Society’s activity.

1928—1929.

There were 193 members, 36 subscribers and 66 Exchanges for the Society. The Journal continued to be edited by Mr. C. Atmaram and elicited favourable opinions from eminent scholars like Sir R. C. Temple, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Dr. Williams Printz, and Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal, F. J. Richards and others.

Work on the Kalinga Sanchika was continued and 400 pages printed. Mr. M. R. Kavi edited the "Kaumudi Mahotsava" a rare Sanscrit drama in the Society’s Journal as the first of the Andhra Oriental Series published by the Society. The Society deputed Messrs R. Subba Rao and B. V. Krishna Rao to visit the excavations at Gummididurruru and the former made the journey and published a paper on the ruins in Vol. III part I of the Journal. Mr. Subbarao was also deputed by the Andhra University to represent it at the Indian Historical Records Commission at Nagpur in December 1928 and an account thereof appeared in the journal, Vol. III parts 2, 3, 4. Many improvements were also made in the Library and the Reading room. Messrs. S. Narasimharao B.A. (Cantab) L.L.B. Bar-at-law and J. Ramayya Pantulu B.A., B.L. presented many valuable books and journals. Many more books and furniture were acquired from out of the Madras Government grant of Rs. 250. The Director of the Gaekwad’s Oriental Institute Baroda was pleased to give all the Sanscrit publications in Exchange for the Society’s Journal. Mr. Subbarao also presented one more set of copper-plates and many Andhra coins.

1929—1930.

33 new members were enrolled and the first life member in the Raja of Dharakota was admitted. The number of subscribers and exchanges also increased.
Mr. B. V. Krishnarao was elected as Editor and the printing work of the Society was changed from the Saraswati to the Razan Press. Nearly 300 more pages of the Kalinga Sanchika were printed. Mr. Subba Rao, the Secretary was deputed to the XII Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Gwalior and the Government of India made him a coopted and corresponding member of the Commission.

The Government gave a Library grant of Rs. 100 which was devoted for the purchase of new books and furniture. 25 Gold Coins, were purchased by the Society from Mr. S. Gopalakrishnamurtty. The impressions of two copper plates were also added to the Museum.

During the year the finances increased from Rs. 2226 to Rs. 2669

1930—31.

Membership increased from 226 to 242, subscribers from 29 to 40, and Exchanges from 72 to 80. Many Indian Universities, all the Colleges in the Andhra desa and some of the Government Libraries subscribed for the Society's Journal. Several new copper plates and coins of the Ganga and Chalukyan dynasties were published in the Journal.

The Kalinga Sanchika numbering 830 pages was completed and published and the Society recorded its cordial thanks to all the donors and Sir A. P. Patro and the Raja of Parlakimidi in particular and to the Editor and the Editorial Board as well.

Messrs. R, Subbarao and M. Ramarao were deputed to attend the All India Oriental Conference and the Indian Historical Records Commission at Patna. Thanks to Sir Frank Noyce, the Government of India were pleased to supply the Archaeological Survey Reports, and Memoirs, Epigraphical Reports, and South Indian Inscriptions freely to the Society. The Madras Government gave Rs. 400 and the Municipal Council, Rajahmundry, sanctioned Rs. 100. The Library now contained nearly 600 volumes and 30 volumes of the Indian Antiquary were purchased from the above grants. The Secretary added many Kushan, Gupta and Andhra Coins and fresh impressions of more copper plates to the Museum.

1931—32.

Owing to the general financial depression the number of members fell to 187 but the same number of subscribers continued and the exchanges rose to 92.

Mr. N. Kameswararao B.A., B.L. was elected as the Editor of the Journal. Many valuable papers relating to the Eastern Ganga Eastern Chalukyan and Vizianagar and the Kakatiya dynasties were contributed to the journal by Messers. R. Subbarao, B. V. Krishnarao, K.
Iswara Dutt and M. Ramarao respectively. "The Revenue Administration of the Northern Sinhars" submitted as a thesis to the London University, by Dr. L. Sundaram M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S. is also being published in the pages of the Journal. Dr. C. Narayana Rao and Messrs. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyangar and A. S. Thayagaraju contributed valuable papers on Philology while Messrs. G. Ramadas, L. H. Jagadeb Raja Bahadur and R. Subbarao wrote articles on Epigraphy. Numismatics and Anthropology received Mr. Subbarao's attention.

THE KAKATIYA DAY CELEBRATIONS.

The Managing Council at its meeting held on 8—1—32 decided to celebrate the Kakatiya Day at Warangal in the Nizam's dominions in the month of March and requested Messrs R. Subba Rao and M. Rama Rao to arrange for the same. Mr. M. Ramarao, B.A., (Hons) B.Ed., was elected as Editor of the Kakatiya Sanchika to be published by the Society and Messrs J. Ramiah Pantulu, R. Subbarao, B. V. Krishnarao and T. Achyutarao to form the Editorial Board. The actual Celebrations were held on the 25th, 26th and 27th April 1932. Prof. S. Hanumantarao, M. A. (Hons) L.T. Professor Nizam's College, presided. Mr. R. Subbarao opened the Conference. Mr. P. Venkatarama Reddi Desmukh was the chairman of the Reception Committee and Dharavir Vaman Naik, Jagirdar opened the Historical Exhibition. Many scholars assembled at the Conference and contributed valuable papers. One noteworthy feature of the Conference was the excursions to the Ramappa lake and temples, the Hanumakonda hill and temples and the Fortress of Warrangal. The Society's best thanks are due to H. E. H. The Nizam's Government for permitting the conference, the Archaeological Department for lending many exhibits, the Educational Department for lending the Osmania College hall, and hostel and the local officials for help and co-operation. The Lakshmanaraya Parisodhaka Mandal and the Reddi Boarding House of Hyderabad helped the Society immensely by lending many exhibits.

The number of books in the Library increased from 591 to 700 and the Museum received impressions of three new copper-plate grants and a stone inscription and several Vizayanagar, Kakatiya and Ganga gold coins. Towards the close of the year the Library was shifted from the rented rooms in the Kaki upstairs to the Theosophical Lodge, thanks to the kindness of the President of the Lodge.

Sri Raja K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur was elected Vice-President in place of Mr. V. Jagannadha Rao.

Another new feature of the year was the addition of four life Patrons to the Society, viz, the Rajas of Puri, Kallikota, Chemudu and Jeypore.
There was improvement in the finances and the total receipts amounted to Rs. 2752.

1932—33.

There was a decline in the number of members from 189 to 169. But the number of Life Members increased by two. The subscribers increased from 39 to 43 and the Raja of Bobbili became a Life Patron of the Society. 11 more exchanges were admitted and Messrs S. V. Ramanacharyulu and K. Appanna Sastry of Hanumakonda were made corresponding members.

The Journal continued to maintain its high level under the Editorship of Mr. N. Kameswarao, B. A., B. L. assisted by an Editorial Committee consisting of Messrs R. Subbarao, B. V. Krishnaraao C. Atmaram and M. Ramaraao. During the year parts 3 and 4 of Volume 6 and 1, 2 and 3 of Volume VII were published. Messrs. M. GovindaPai, R. Subbarao and M. Ramaraao worked on the Pallava, E. Ganga and Kakatiya dynasties and published the results of their researches in the Journal. A table of 52 unpublished Kakatiya inscriptions and the text of one important stone inscription of Beta II were also published in the Journal and an illustrated paper on the recent Archaeological discoveries at Rajahmundry was contributed by Mr. R. Subbarao.

175 pages of the Kakatiya Sanchika have been printed so far. The best thanks of the Society are due to the Maharani Saheba of Gadwal who gave a munificent donation of Rs. 500, Raja Bahadur Kotwal Venkatarama Reddi O. B. E. of Hyderabad who gave a gift of Rs. 200, Dharmavir Yamana Naik Jagirdar and P. Venkatrama Reddi Desmukh, who gave donations of Rs. 100 and 50 respectively.

There was a remarkable improvement in the Library and the Reading Room. The number of Books and Journals increased by over 300. A Catalogue is almost ready and the Librarian Mr. M. Ramaraao and the Library Committee consisting of Messrs D. Venkataraao, B. V. Krishnaraao, R. Subbarao and B. Sambasivarao deserve the best thanks of the Society.

Mr. R. Subbarao added 8 estampages and Mr. M. Ramaraao 4 impressions of new stone inscriptions and the society purchased four gold coins from Mr. S. T. S. Gopalachari for the Museum. The receipts of the Society during the year amounted to Rs. 2728. Though there was a decline in membership, the generous gifts of Patrons enabled the Society to clear off a debt of Rs. 600 and meet the expenses of the year.

To sum up, the Society which was started by four friends to celebrate the centenary of a great Emperor whose name is a household word in Andhra Desa and to produce a Commemoration Volume in Telugu has gradually developed into one of the most useful associations in the country
All the objects of the new organization after its registration in May 1926 are being fulfilled. Twenty seven parts of the Journal are published, three commemoration celebrations were held and two Telugu Commemoration Volumes are published and one is shortly to come out. A free Reading Room and Library is maintained since 1927 in this town and it has received grants from the local Government and Municipality and others. A Museum is being formed and members can see several of the articles acquired in the Historical Exhibition to be opened by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. It is estimated that the Library, Museum articles and Society furniture in all cost about Rs. 10,000. The Society collected about Rs. 25 to 30 thousand Rupees from the Donors, Patrons, Subscribers and Members, and spent as much on its activities during the past decennium. It now aspires to have a building of its own and it behoves the rich and generous people of Andhra Desa to extend their support to this useful Association.

There is no doubt that the moving spirit of this institution is its Honorary Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao who has worked during the last ten years with increasing energy and ardour. He was helped by Messers B. V. Krishnarao, C. Narayana Rao, A. Sankararao, J. Ramiah Pantulu D. Venkatarama Rao, N. Kameswararao, M. Ramarao and other Members without whose support the Society would not have reached its present high level.

After the reading and adoption of the Report the Secretary read messages received from the following scholars:—
1 Dr. C. Narayana Rao (Anantapur),
2 B. Seshagirirao (Vizianagaram),
3 Prof. T. R. Thakkar (Sangli),
4 " G. S. Sardesi (Poona)
5 " K. Zachariah (Calcutta)
6 " S. Hanumantarao (Hyderabad)
7 " N. K. Bhagavat (Bombay)
8 " A. F. Thyagaraju (Guntur)
9 " D. C. Sarkar (Calcutta)
10 " V. R. R. Dikshitar (Madras)
11 " N. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta)
12 " Pandit Hiralal (Jubbulpur)
13 Mr. P. Seetaramayya (Khargpur)

It is interesting to note in particular the following appreciations of the Society’s work:—

Anantapur,
12—4—1933.

My Dear Subba Rao Garu,

Let me convey to the Society my warm felicitations on its decennial celebrations. You cannot understand how extremely sorry I am
that I have not been able to be present there physically on this happy occasion owing to causes beyond my control. Be sure, I am there in spirit and visualizing to myself the great future that is in store for our Society. Little did I think that when four of us thought of starting this Society ten years ago, it will grow so steadily and so well. I am proud as President-Founder of the Society, to have left the fortunes of the Society in your able and enthusiastic hands and you, in your turn, have filled my heart with joy by your untiring work. It is also so lucky that you have caught hold of a gentleman in the person of M. R. Ry N. Kameswararao garu, who, though always doubting about the Society’s future (I am sure it was only to goad you on) has stood by you like a rock and worked as your right-hand man with single-minded devotion and simple faith. I cannot also withhold my praise in this difficult task of building the Society to all our friends both in and outside Rajahmundry who have stood by the Society in its difficulties and its triumphs. The rise of this institution for once falsifies the self-condemnation of the Andhraas that they are not sure builders of institutions.

I pray to God that our Society may grow from strength to strength and avoiding the faults that generally beset all such enterprises rise to yet greater importance in the world of scholarship.

Yours affectionately,
C. NARAYANA RAO

Mayo Hospital
Nagpur
1-4-33.

Dear Mr. Subba Rao,

I received your letter inviting me to contribute something on any aspect of Andhra History on the happy occasion of the Decennial celebrations of your Society. I should have been extremely glad to do it had I anything to write on that subject, but I fear I have none at present.

 Permit me, however, to congratulate your Society on its achievements during the past decade and for having won a place of honour among the Historical Societies. The dynastic celebrations in the seats of their prosperity have been a great feature of your Society and must have been a source of great pleasure to those who had the good fortune to attend them. May it prosper and be a source of still greater pride to its founders and members,

Yours Sincerely,
HIRALAL,
Dear Sir,

Received your kind invitation for the decennial celebration of your Society. I am unable to present myself owing to some unavoidable reasons. I am quite aware of the work done by the society in the field of History of India specially Andhra country. The success of the society lies in the constant and ardent labour of the committee as well as the members and contributors. I hope that the society will have a prosperous future. I appreciate the work from the bottom of my heart and pray to the Almighty to bestow His Heavenly Blessings upon it.

I remain,
Yours Sincerely,
T. R. THAKKAR.

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.-F.R. Hist.S., F.A.S.B. then delivered the following Presidential address:—

Members of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am thoroughly sensible of the honour you have done me by inviting me to preside over the decennial celebrations of your Society. Where so many illustrious and distinguished gentlemen have presided before, I can only flatter myself in the belief that this is honour done not so much to me personally as to the work to which I have devoted practically the whole of a lifetime. Much rather I take it that this is merely recognition by a learned body, like the Andhra Historical Research Society, of the 32 years of work that I have been engaged in in the field of Indian Historical Research. My first publication in this sphere dated some time about May 1900, and I have since been carrying out loyally the wish of a disinterested friend of historical research in India by using my leisure hours when I was otherwise occupied before, and practically all my time, ever since I came into the occupation of the Chair of Indian History and Archaeology at the University of Madras, which I relinquished after fifteen years of tenancy just three years since. This perhaps gives me some claim to occupy the chair this evening; but I do certainly feel that I owe it to the kindness of so many whose personal good feeling to me is so plain.
At this time more than in any other, the importance of Indian historical research can hardly be overestimated. India is on the threshold of a great change in her administration and we are on the eve of the establishment of a Government, which is expected to be more in tune with the wishes and feelings of the great mass of Indians, whose destinies are going to be committed to a Government which we may presume to call our own. With such a magnificent change of character in our Government in prospect, the need for the possession of accurate knowledge of our past in all its multifarious branches becomes not merely a useful accomplishment, but a matter of the first necessity. With a more popular Government, the sphere of Governmental activities is bound to widen, and, as it widens, it requires firm statesmanship and guidance to avoid the shoals and rocks that might bring about disintegration of society, and all the evils that follow in consequence of an unexpected upsetting of the existing social order. While a correct knowledge of the past and the actual lines along which we have developed, at least these three thousand years, should be invaluable knowledge worth acquiring for any enlightened son of India as a merely liberally educated man, it becomes all the more important now, with the changes in prospect, that our knowledge should be as complete and accurate as possible. We may therefore say that the time is come for historical research to enter on its own and make the best contribution that it can, to bring out the much needed improvement in our knowledge of our own selves.

While we may congratulate ourselves upon this position, we ought to realise the great responsibility that it throws upon all those engaged in research. Research work as such calls for qualities which are not of the most common among people. If the dictum Nāsti sotyāt parādharmah is of valid application anywhere, it is of the highest validity here. A votary of research has to set his eye upon discovering the truth and nothing but the truth. The most prominent qualities that the work demands are those of the judge who has to carry a clear head, an open mind and a faculty for penetrating to the truth amidst the conflicting arguments of advocates, swayed each one by the motive to present his client's case in the best manner and the greatest advantage possible. It is not unoften that one comes upon a worker in research who shows himself very much more of the advocate than of the judge. This is a reversal of position that ought to be deprecated. The eager zeal and the enthusiasm to present the case of his client to the best advantage is a commendable function of the advocate. The enthusiasm in a research worker ought rather to be applied to test a hypothesis that he may have formulated on an honest investigation. He may exercise the skill of the advocate, if he has it in abundance, just to find out all that he could
possibly say against his own thesis and in favour of an alternative one, merely to test whether his thesis stands that examination. But his normal training ought to be that of the impartial judge, not of the most skilful advocate, because his function is to penetrate through the skilful arguments of advocates to the truth of the matter, and it is the faculty of sensing the truth through all that may cover it efficiently. That is not the kind of research that is likely to help the honest social reformer, or the disinterested administrator, or the wellwisher devoted to the improvement of the lot of humanity in any capacity whatever. The one and the only object ought to be to find out the truth, and, as far as may be possible for one, nothing less than the whole truth. It need not be imagined I am stating a merely hypothetical case, and putting it as badly exaggerated as I could. Far from it. It is a sober report on the teaching of history issued by the London Country Council in 1911 that presents the following extract:— "In France the teacher is told to preach national republicanism, as against monarchy and internationalism. In Prussia, still more definitely, he is told to preach the advantage of monarchy as exemplified by the reigning house of Hohenzollern and the dangers of modern socialism. On the other hand, in Queensland, he is to found history teaching upon the doctrine of the sanctity of state property......... In Hungary, the teaching of loyalty to the Magyar kingdom as distinct from the Austrian Empire pervades the whole system......... In Italy no opportunity is lost of emphasising the great advantage of union, fraternity, freedom and independence..." This quotation may be slightly out of date, and those of us that are readers of current newspapers can make the necessary corrections to this finding in its application to present conditions, and one that sees all that is taking place around him in our own country can find equally important illustration for this perverted application of the genius that one may have for doing research work. One has to be very cautious that he is as thoroughly honest and objective in his work as he can possibly be, and it is only then that he has any chance of really understanding the past and appreciating it in its true perspective; and, without that, the reading of the past would be worse than useless. It would instead of providing us sure guidance, mislead us on the contrary into pernicious courses. The responsibility therefore of workers in the field of research is very great, and nobody needs more the admonition with which we began, Nasti Satyat Parodharma, in the conduct of his regular work.

It is commonly recognised that a knowledge of the past is absolutely essential to the understanding of the present and ordered progress for the future. We owe the knowledge that we possess of ourselves so far to the labours of a body of workers who began their labours
under very unpromising conditions just a century and a half since. The optimism of those who laid the foundations of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the mother of all Asiatic Societies, under the administration of the first Governor-General of India, has perhaps been fully realised by the outturn of work during the period of a century and a half which has very nearly elapsed. We are indebted for this start to the labours of disinterested, cultured individuals who began the movement as a private body, though enjoying official support and sympathy. After a little more than a century of work, research work received a new organisation by the direct intervention of Government in the organisation of an Archaeological Department by the Government of India, which has been in existence, doing active work for just about as long as my own self. This very organisation had to be revised and reinvigorated for Southern India by a very recent organisation, which was brought into existence in the eighties of the last century, and this last organisation is fast reaching its golden jubilee of fifty years of active existence. It is as a result of this last organisation that work in regions beyond the Aryavarta of the Hindus, and in languages other than Sanskrit, received special stimulus and the output for the half century is as creditable to the organisers as to those who have successively laboured to garner as much of the fast disappearing historical material of value as came within their purview. The number of inscriptions, to take but one example, collected since the organisation of the Department of Epigraphy, is very large. What is more than the merely large number, the value of these for the reconstruction of the history of this part of India is something immeasurable. It is not merely the collection of inscriptions, but the study went on simultaneously in other branches as well, such as numismatics nearest akin to epigraphy, archaeology proper, although the work done in this sphere is hardly commensurate to its importance, and what is more, the historical study of the literature of the country which ought really to supply us the flesh and blood in the reconstruction of the history of our own country and culture. While in the field of archaeology, and, to some considerable extent in the field of epigraphy itself, the aid of governmental organisation and even large public support is essential, the other branches of study admit of the work of private agency to a very large extent. It is an organised co-operation of various agencies, governmental, institutional and individual that must ultimately contribute each its own quota to the completion of the picture that has to present to us the birth and growth of the life of India that has brought us to this stage of our growth as a people.

It will be clear from this very brief conspectus that there is much room for single individuals as well as groups of people to apply themselves to particular departments of work, each according to his own
capacity and taste if individuals, and each institution, according to its opportunities where local institutions are concerned, are to make important contributions towards the progress of historical research. The fixing of the date of a piece of composition, its analysis to separate the historical from the un-historical material that it may contain, the collection of the mere details of sidelight that these incidentally and perhaps without intention, throw upon the life of the people are all of them of immense value when viewed in the proper perspective, if not as mere disjecta membra. It is here more than in any other field that it is possible for any educated individual to make his own special contribution. The more well-placed may contribute their quota by donations, gifts of money, by presentations of books and by aids of various kinds. It is the less well-to-do that might make his contributions by actual labour in the field, and then in the prosecution of research itself according to his opportunities. The one thing essential in this latter case is that one laboured not exactly to make definite achievements, but it must in the sense of the Gita merely to discharge one's duty by doing what he can, leaving the particular assessment of the contribution to, it may be further-work, or it may be even to other work.

Our past history when it widens out broadly into history, culture and civilization and all that went into the work of building up the nation, calls for a vast volume of work in detail before all the details could be analysed, tested, sorted out and are put in their proper perspective. One ought not to be impatient of result, nor be anxious for the credit of achievement. These will come in their turn and in due course. But what is wanted is the doing of the work with honesty and with loyalty, and with nothing more than a single eye to the attainment of truth. Therein lay the great importance of research, and the more loyally the ideal is carried out, the nearer the actual achievement, the humblest contribution leads. In the collection of these details and the working out of these details very large or single organised bodies alone will not suffice. It is there that there is plenty of room for local research, and it is there that associations devoting themselves to the work of a locality, like the Andhra Historical Research Society, have their place. Within very recent times, perhaps during the last score of years or just a little more, we have witnessed a phenomenon of local agencies taking up this work. A stimulus had been given to this by the bringing into existence of new Universities, several of which have now become centres of research, each according to its opportunities and in particular branches of knowledge. There again the oldest of our Universities, the Calcutta University led the way, followed very soon by the Madras, Allahabad, Punjab and other Universities. Let us hope the
newer Universities, among them the Andhra University, will not lag behind their sister institutions in this particular field of work.

Apart from the Universities, local societies for purposes of research have been brought into existence. Among these may be mentioned prominently the Mythic Society, Bangalore, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, the United Provinces Historical Society, now the University Historical Society, and the latest and perhaps in some respects more active than the several others, the Bombay Historical Research Society. Each one of these has contributed its own substantial quota of work, and the prospect before them of making still more valuable contributions in larger quantity lies before them. The Andhra Historical Research Society which came into existence ten years ago, and has had its own share of the ailments of its babyhood, has, during the last six years and more, shown a steadiness and a capacity for work which gives indication of its having survived the afflictions of its babyhood, and exhibits already the vigour of a growing boyhood. The circumstances are favourable for success. Rajahmundry is a place hallowed by memories of a distinguished past going down more than a millennium into the History of India. Till recently it was the literary centre of the Andhra country. It enjoys the support of a landed aristocracy with a large genuine feeling of patriotism for their country, and its literature and civilisation. It has already brought to the fore a small but devoted band of enthusiastic workers. The work that it had so far done during the comparatively short period of its existence gives promise of much more useful work that they could do. They held three important celebrations already, namely, the Raja Raja Narendra Jubilee, naturally, the first and foremost, in Rajahmundry itself. They next celebrated the Kalinga day in Mukhalingam afterwards and last year they celebrated the Kakatiya Day in the former capital of the Kakatiyas, now in the territory of H. E. H. the Nizam. The two volumes the Raja Raja Narendra Sanchika and the Kakatiya Sanchika exhibit a considerable volume of honest work, and I have no doubt that the Kakatiya volume would certainly take rank along with its predecessors, not only in point of quality, but also in point of quantity and its output.

Ladies and gentlemen, notwithstanding the rather discouraging report of the Treasurer that he is threatened with a deficit, let us hope that it will merely cease with being a threat, and will not become an actuality. The possibility is before you for good work and the promise of results is there. The patronage and support that you need, I am sure, will be forthcoming in spite of bad times, and will be forthcoming amply, I am almost certain, the moment that the financial cloud that sits over the world lifts would come. Let me conclude, ladies and gentlemen, with the wish that the Andhra Historical Research Society may have before it a long, prosperous and useful career,
In connection with the Celebrations, the Society got up a Historical Exhibition in the Hall of the Government Training College. The Exhibition was the work of Messrs R. Subba Rao and M. Rama Rao. It was opened by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar and the public appreciated it during the two days it was kept open. A Photo of the Exhibition is printed separately.

LIST OF ARTICLES EXHIBITED.

A. ARCHAEOLOGY.

1. A circular grinding stone from Gurindagunta, containing an old Telugu inscription.
2. A stone pillar from Nellore bearing a Telugu Chola inscription.
3. A broken sculpture from Dendatur, containing the hand of a Vaishnavite deity.
4. A Large size brick from the ancient caves of Korukonda.
5. Floating bricks from the Ramappa temple.

B. EPIGRAPHY.

1-3 A set of three C. Ps. of Devendravarman, the E. Ganga king.
4-6 Do of Indravarman.
7-11 A set of five C. Ps. of Vijayaditya VII the E. Chalukyan king
12-14 A set of three C. Ps. of Vijaditya II.
15-16 Impressions of two sets of C. Ps. of Vijayaditya I.
17-18 Do of two sets of the Korni plates of Anantavarman Choda Ganga:
19. Do of a C. P. of Salankayana Nandivarman.
20. Do Vishnukundin Madhavavarman.
21. Rubbings of the Kazipet inscription of Beta II.
22. Do of Prola II.
23. Do of Madireddikunta inscription.
25. Do of Kakatiya Ganapatideva in the District Judge’s bungalow, Rajahmundry.
27-30 Do inscriptions from a ruined mantapam in the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

1. The Ramireddipalli stupa
2. Amaravati
3 Sri Kurram temple
4 Simhachalam ,,  
5 Mahendragiri ,,  
6 Draksharama ,,  
7 The Rajahmundry mosque  
8 Do Museum sculptures  
9 The Savaras  
10 The Koyas  
11 The Chenchus  
12 The Lambadies

C. COINS.

1—4 Gold Coins of the Kakatiya and the Yadavas
5—8 Do of Vijayanagar kings
9—26 Do of the Eastern Gangas
27—37 Andhra Lead Coins
38—41 Kushan Copper Coins
42—46 Mahomadan ,,  
47—50 Mogul Silver Coins

MANUSCRIPT.

1 Palm leaf Ms. of the History of the Padmanayakas  
2 Do of Šivayōgasāramu  
3 Paper Ms. of Pratapacharitramu  
4 Do of Sambopakhyanamu

D. PAINTINGS.

1—8 Paintings by the late D. Rama Rao from the Damerla Art Studio.

With this, the morning's programme came to an end.

After a Group Photo of the Members and President was taken a Public meeting was held in the evening in the Government Training College Hall at 5—30 P.M. under the presidency of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar.

After the opening remarks of the President, the following Papers were read:

(1) South Indian Jainism by Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M.A.
(2) The Historical Importance and the Economic aspect of the South Indian Temple. by K. Iswar Dutt B.A.
(3) Satavahanas by M. Rama Rao M.A., B.Ed.
The President concluded the Meeting with the following remarks:

Mr. Ramayya Pantulu and Gentlemen,

After listening to the Report of the life of the Society during the last ten years, I think I might with an easy conscience congratulate the Society on the steady progress that it has shown during these years. There is nothing like one uniform progress. The beginnings are small as the source of the Ganges itself as the ultimate progress comes from small beginnings. We are likely to show similar progress in our institution and I congratulate the society with a certain amount of natural pride. The Bangalore Mythic Society owes its origin to myself and Mr. Richards. We desired to select one man to preside over our Society. We found that in a Roman Catholic Bishop. He did very valuable service to the Society till the day of his death. There were some journals written almost by me alone. I wrote to the Yuvaraja to take some interest and he gave a cheque for Rs. 1500 and we could take up the active work of the Society. My work in Madras would not have been possible but for the fact that Madras has some library facilities for this kind of work. What I earned in my services is the same and I am as rich as I was at the beginning some 35 years back. The only earnings that I may boast of as belonging to me is the library I gathered. I had the satisfaction of work which I was able to do as our friend here remarks.

Contemporary prejudices are hardly of any value in history. The causes which led to the French Revolution are all written in one way. That is the value of those histories. It all depends, in each case, upon the knowledge that you have got and what you know of contemporary things and how much sense you must have to pick up what is correct and what is not correct. That is the difficulty with Research work. Gentlemen, judged, therefore, by the life of other Societies of a similar character, the Andhra Historical Research Society has not done badly during its ten years' struggle and on its entrance upon the eleventh year, it has a prosperous career.

The Honorary Secretary then proposed a hearty vote of thanks on behalf of the Society to the President of the Celebrations for having come from Madras and conducted the proceedings to a successful termination, to Mr. Ramayya Pantulu for his presence in spite of his ill-health to open the conference, to the Principal of the Government Training College for having allowed the use of the Hall and the furniture, to the several scholars who sent Papers and Messages and the Public for evincing keen interest in the function. With this, the Decennial Celebrations came to a close.
A NOTE ON JAYAVAMMA OF THE KONDA-MUDI GRANT.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M. A.

In his recently published work, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (University of Madras, 1932), page 17, the late Mr. Robert Sewell has made the following remarks under A. D. c. 234:

"Another copper-plate record was found at Konḍamūḍi, on the north-bank of the Krishna near its mouth which is reported to be in characters closely resembling those of the Mayidavolu plates. It purports to have been issued in the tenth regnal year of Jayavarman Mahārāja, who was in his 'camp of Victory' at Gūḍur, near by, at the time. It is not known who this Jayavarman was, but it is just possible that it may have been a name adopted by Bappa'. And we have the following foot-note on the last word of the above quotation:

"The word 'Bappa' merely means 'father'. It would not be surprising if on his acquisition of real power this ruler adopted a more high-sounding name."

It is thus evident that the late Mr. Sewell was inclined to identify King Jayavamma (=Jayavarman) of Kondamudi grant with the father (name as yet unknown) of the famous Pallava ruler Śivakhaṁḍavaṁma (=Śivaskandavarman) of the Mayidavolu and the Hirahadagali plates. (Ep. Ind., VI. 84 ff; I. 2 ff.) There are, however, at least two reasons for which it is impossible for us to accept Sewell's suggestion.

Firstly, not only in the Mayidavolu and the Hirahadagali plates, but in all early Pallava epigraphs, Pallava kings are specifically mentioned as belonging to the family of the Pallavas (Omgodu grants, Ep. Ind., XV, 246 ff. Udayendiram grant, Ib., III, 142 ff; Guntur plates of Cārudevi, Ib. VIII, 43 ff; etc. etc.) The term Pallava is however conspicuous by its absence in the Kondamudi grant of Jayavarna. (Ib. VI, 315.)

Secondly, in the Kondamudi grant king Jayavarna is said to have belonged to the Brhatphalāyana gotra; all the Pallava epigraphs on the other hand clearly say that the Pallava kings belonged to the gotra of Bharadvaja. It is therefore impossible that king Jayavarman of the Brhatphalāyana gotra mentioned in the Kondamudi grant was the father of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman belonging to the Bhārada-dvāja gotra mentioned in the Mayidavolu and the Hirahadagali grants.
SOURCES OF THE EARLY ANDHRA HISTORY.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M. A.

The history of the early Andhras deserves a monograph, and it is a pity that scanty attention has been paid to this important dynasty which played a glorious part in the history of ancient India for four centuries and a half as an imperial power, sometimes ruling from the Dekhan capital and sometimes from the Magadhan. The view is generally taken that they were a Dravidian people, used to the prakrit script and did not know much of Sanskrit. It is also believed to a large extent that their political activities were confined to the Dakshinapitha, and that the Andhras reigned from the capital in Magadha is a mere theory. It is also contended that the Andhras could not have succeeded the Kanvas as the Puranas seem to hold but that they were ruling-chieftains contemporaneous with the Sunga and Kanka kings, having re-established their independence after the strong hand of the great Mauryan emperor Asoka had been removed. Last but not least is the important question that deals with the religion of the Andhras. Some hold them to be Brahminical Hindus and others Buddhists. The late V. A. Smith made an attempt to reconstruct the history of the early Andhras from the materials then available to him (see his Early History of India, 4th edition, pp. 217 ff. and also Z.D. M. G. 1902, pp. 649 ff. and 1903, pp. 605 ff.) Many are the doubtful and controversial points raised and discussed by the scholar-historian in the course of his examination, especially the political history of the Andhras, who are known also by other names such as Satavahanas and Satakarnis, in both literature and epigraphy. In this connection, a doubtful point is raised as to the identification of Saliwahana with whose name is connected the well known Saliwahana Era, according to which dates are calculated even today. It is difficult to say why this ruling dynasty came to be known as Satavahanas or Satakarnis. A literal translation of these terms throws little light. One of the Puranas, the Visha mahapurana, styles all the thirty kings of the dynasty as Andhrabhrtyas, a term which again baffles any enquiry. It is capable of a two-fold interpretation — the servants of Andhras or the Andhras as servants. The appended term bhrtyas is still a mystery for

students of Andhra history. The early Andhra history can be conveniently divided into different periods (1) from the early times down to the end of the period of Aśoka (2) the epoch of the Sungas and the Kaṇavas (3) the imperial overlordship (4) Andhras and Kshaharatatas (5) Andhras and Śakas (6) The last period of early Andhra history.

In this paper, we propose to examine the chief sources of information for this epoch of ancient Indian history, as a preliminary to a full and critical study of the Andhra history proper. The sources of information may be classified under four heads (1) tradition as transmitted in Indian literature—Sanskrit, Tamil and Pāli (2) accounts of foreign travellers in India (3) archaeology and epigraphy (4) numismatics.

Let us take up each of these sources and discuss briefly the material contained in them. Tradition, as preserved in literature, may be history, legend or myth. It is for the historian to get at the kernel of truth lying buried underneath the mythical husk. The earliest known reference to the Andhras is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Rigveda school, a composition not later than 500 B.C. This Brāhmaṇa text has the following legend. That Rājaṛṣi, who became Brahmaṛṣi by austerities, Viśvāmitra had a hundred sons, fifty of whom were not pleased with the installation of Sunahṣeṇa to the primogeniture. This enraged the sage who cursed them to become progenitors of mlecchas and lose their caste. These sons—most of whom—settled in the Dekhan and the far south, were in their turn originators of tribes, some of which attained the status of ruling chieftains. One such tribe was the early Andhras who settled in the ancient Dekhan and built up in course of time a position, equal to any imperial power of ancient India like the Nandas or the Mauryas. The Mānavadharmāṇa śāstra refers to Andhras as one of the niśāda castes who dwell outside the villages and live by killing animals of the forest (X 36 and 48, S.B.E. XXV). It is difficult to decide whether the Andhra dynasty has anything to do with these tribes.

The next class of Sanskrit works which make a clear reference to the Andhras are Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The Kāmasūtra whose date is still a bone of contention refers to the social customs and practices of the Andhras in a number of places and what is more interesting is that it mentions an incident where king Kuntala Śātakarni śātavāhana killed the queen Malayavati with a Kartari.3

This legend is generally identified with the king No. 13 of the list, and on this assumption the date of the composition is fixed. There are others who believe that the Kāmasūtra was a much earlier work and

3. For a similar name see the Kavyamimamsa p. 50. Any cutting weapon is a Kartari.
that this legend mentioned in a line is an interpolation at the best. Whatever this may be, the fact remains that the Kāmasūtra forms an invaluable source of information for a study of the social life of the Andhras of the early Christian era. In the Šābhāyapravas (Ch. 27, 51) of the epic Mahābhārata it is said that in the course of his conquest in the south of India, among the tribes which Sahadeva had to encounter were the Andhras. These were subdued along with the Odras identified with the modern Uriyas.

This is not all. Among the ancient lawgivers, the Andhradeśa claims the honour of having given birth to Āpastamba and Bandhāyana. They are our early lawgivers of not later than fourth century B.C., whose injunctions are being strictly followed even today. These and other references will justify a re-examination of the theory of the Andhras being a Dravidian people. The Āpastamba tradition is of value in showing that the Andhra country had become Aryanised by the fifth century B.C. if not earlier. But the most valuable information is yielded by some of what we may call the historical Purānas. Much matter is scattered in the pages of the Vāyu, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Mahāpurāṇas. Of these, the texts in the Brahmāṇḍa have been much tampered with and consequently we have in that Purāṇa, matter which is confusing for purposes of historical investigation. But the texts are best preserved by the older Purāṇas like the Vāyu and the Matsya. While these two Purāṇas speak of these kings collectively as the Andhras, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa alone singles them out as the Andhrabhṛtyas, a term much misunderstood as was already pointed out. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa speaks of thirty kings of the dynasty and assigns to them a period of 156½ years. This is corroborated by the Bhāgavata and the Brahmāṇḍa. The version, as contained in the Vāyu Purāṇa, on the other hand, assigns a period of 300 years and names 21 kings. In spite of their seeming discrepancy of the accounts of both the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas there is a substantial agreement. The period of 156 years is divided among the nine kings out of the total number of thirty kings of the early Andhra dynasty. (For a list of these kings, see Pargiter—Purāṇa dynasties of Kali Age, p. 36. V. A. Smith—Early History of India, pp. 229 ff. R. Sewell—Historical Inscriptions of S. India, pp. 321—5.) The Matsya account brings the historical narrative down to the end of the Andhras who declined as a ruling power about A. D. 236, and furnishes excellent astronomical material to construct a chronological scheme of ancient Indian dynasties commencing with Parikṣit. Here we are furnished with a calculation of 1050 years between Parikṣit and Mahāpada Mahā Nanda, and 836 between the Nandas and the Andhras according to the Saptarṣi cycle, the cycle of the Great Bear of 2700 years. It is remarkable to note that this calculation is corroborated by other lines of
evidence. On a doubtful line, _nava varṣāni yajñāsri kurute sātakarnikah_ as contained in five MSS copies of the Matsya Purāṇa, Pargiter seemed to find an apparent indication that a compilation of the Purāṇa was begun in the reign of Yajñaśri who is said to be reigning in his ninth or tenth year. (Ibid _intro_. p. xiii n. 1). This reading has not been adopted by the editor of the Ānandāśrama edition, and we feel that it has been correctly ignored. For, the compilation of this part must have been only after the fall of the Andhras and before the rise of the Guptas to power. The following is the list of names arranged by Pargiter and adopted by others on the subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Simuka B. C. 220</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇa 197</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mantalaka (Paṭṭalaka) 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Śrī Śātakarṇi 179 (Sri Malleha)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Purindrasena 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pūrnottsāṅga, 169</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sundara Śātakarṇi 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Skandhastambhi 151</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cakra (Vilvīyikura I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Śātakarṇi 151</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vasiṣṭhiputra) 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lambōdana 111</td>
<td></td>
<td>Śivasvāti 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Āpiḷaka (Dīvīlaka) 93</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gautamīputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(Sangha) or Meghasvāti 81</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Vilvīyikura II) 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Svāti 63</td>
<td></td>
<td>Puloma (Pulumāyi II) 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Skandavāti 45</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Śātakarṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mṛgendra 38</td>
<td></td>
<td>Śivaśri 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kuntala 35</td>
<td></td>
<td>Śivaskanda 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Svāti varṇa 27</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yajñaśri 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Pulomāvi (Pulumāyi I) (Padumān) 26</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vijaya 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ariṣṭa karna (Nemi krisṇa)A. 1. 44</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vedaśri or Candaśri 219</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Dr. Barnett assigns A. D. 106 to the accession of No. 23, A. D. 131 to No. 24 and A. D. 163 to No. 25 (See _Antiquities of India_, pp. 44—45).

A comparison of the lists drawn up by Pargiter and lately by Sewell shows a small difference. No. 5 of Pargiter’s list Skandhastambhi is omitted in the list of Sewell. But one Megha Śātakarṇi is found in Sewell’s list (No. 15), thus making up the number to thirty. The 24 (a) of Pargiter’s list is only in one manuscript and cannot therefore be taken seriously. From this list one thing emerges, and that is that there were thirty kings of the Andhra dynasty. All the names in the order arranged are not furnished by all the Purāṇas, and it is only a few manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa that furnish completely the names of all the thirty. There are a number of variants in the names. Sometimes one king is known by three or four different names, so much so that the historian V. A. Smith ignores certain kings as mere names. Absence of records to corroborate the Purāṇa tradition cannot be seriously advanced as an
argument to show that these kings did not exist, or that the Purāṇa writer simply invented them. It may be that someday we light on some firmer and surer ground by some important archaeological discovery. Thus the primary source of information for this dynasty is the Purāṇa literature, and luckily for us, we have the evidence of epigraphy and numismatics to show that after all most of these names refer to historical persons. In the paucity of reliable data, it will be unhistorical to dub others, whose achievements are not supported by known documents, as mere names. Added to these pieces of literary evidence are the three works attributed to Häla or Häleya, the seventeenth king of the Andhra dynasty. There is nothing extraordinary in this fact as we can cite a number of instances of princes who have been reputed scholars also. This undoubtedly is a sufficient indication as to the peace and quiet that prevailed in the period. The inference is that there was no menace of foreign aggression and the home policy was vigorous and popular. Only then the kings could have found time to devote to arts and literature. If Häla was the author of three good books which evoked the attention of the Kāsmerian Pāṇḍits centuries later, who felt called upon to translate them from original Sanskrit, his was a peaceful and otherwise uneventful reign. The first work is entitled Saptāṣataka, also Saptāṣati, an anthology of erotic verses written in the ancient dialect of Mahārāṣṭra. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar opined that Häla was either the author or to him the work was dedicated (Early History of the Dekhan, New Ed. p. 68) The reference to Rādhā in this work is particularly interesting. (see Ind. Ant. III, p. 25 n.) Of the other two works one is the Brhat Katha rendered into Sanskrit by Kṣemendra (1050 A. D.) and Sōmadēva (1120 A. D.), attributed to Gupādhya, a minister of Śatavāhana. The original was in Prākrit in the so-called Paisāci dialect. The other is the Kātantra grammar which is again attributed to a minister of Śatavāhana, Sarvavarman. The Śatavāhana under reference is Häla. The peculiarity of this grammatical treatise which is popular in Kāśmir is its relation by its terminology to the Pāli grammar of Kacchāyana Sāg. Kātyāyana. (See Weber, History of Sanskrit Literature pp. 226 -7 n). It will be interesting to know how these works had reached the distant Kāśmir, and attained popularity there. Dr. Smith remarks "other traditions also associate literature written in prākrit with kings of the Andhra dynasty." In their time and territory, Sanskrit apparently was not (Op. cit. p. 220) in ordinary use as the language of polite literature." This is not quite justifiable in the light of known data. It has been pointed out that at least five centuries before Häla’s time the

4. Ep. Ind. XII p. 820
Āpastamba Dharmasūtra and Śrauta Sūtra had been composed in the Andhradēśa. Secondly, there is the theory that the Śātavāhanas were Brāhmans. Thirdly even granting that they were Kṣatriyās, they were followers of the orthodox religion in as much as they had performed a number of Vedic sacrifices. This means that the Vedic literature flourished during their epoch. In these circumstances it is reasonable to hold the view that Sanskrit must have been the language of polite literature. Then perhaps the language spoken by the people was Prakrit, and this then explains why the inscriptions of the period, as we shall see, are written in Prakrit and not in Sanskrit. Besides these, Tamil Literature of the Sangam epoch affords demonstrable evidence as to the political and other activities of the Andhras. The Andhras were known as Vaḍugar in the Sangam works and hence the Andhra country was the Vaḍukadēśa. Perhaps the Vaḍugu is a variant of Vaḍagu literally 'north' in Tamil. The Vaḍugar country formed the neighbouring kingdom in the north of the Tamilāgam. (Turam, 378 Aham 213, 295). But in this epoch the term Vaḍugar stood also for Kanarese people. In fact in those days there was not much of a distinction between the Andhras and the Kanarese (Aham 115, 253) cp. Kanakasabhai, Tamils 1800 years Ago. p. 29). But it is a fact that by the time of the epoch of the Silappadhikāram the Kaṇṭṭār (Canto XXV 156 and Canto XXVI, 1, 106) are distinctly mentioned and this shows that they were a separate people as distinct from the Vaḍugar who are the Andhras proper. This means that this distinction came to stay by the time of the middle of the second century A.D. The terms Baḍahavāru, Baḍakanāṭṭivāru even now in modern usage are only variants of the ancient Tamil term Vaḍugu. There is an informing stanza in the Ahanānāru (253) which mentions by name an Andhra king, Erumaiyan who is referred to as the chief of Kuṇāṇādu possibly the territory comprising of the modern districts of Bellary and Anantapur (See the excellent paper of Paṇḍit M. Rāghava Aiyangar entitled Tamilarum and Andhra-rum.) This is supported by Hirahadagalli copper-plate inscription. (See also Annals of Bhandarkar Res. Inst. 1918-1919 p. 2; J.R.A.Ś. 1923, pp. 89 f)

An interesting stanza in the Kuruṇtogai, another sangam classic, further goes to fix the territorial limits of the Vaḍugar country definitely. The kingdom of Kaṭṭiyar was the neutral zone, as it were, between the Tamil country proper and the country of the Kanarese or the Andhras, representing the northern half of the modern Salem district. (See Gazetteer of Salem District Pt. I p. 69 Pt. II p. 262-9). There are numerous references in the Tevāram and other later literature to which we refrain from referring for the reason that our survey is only of the early Audhras whose power fell with the first half of the third century A.D. The terms telugu
and teluṅgar came into use after the lapse of considerable time, and the extant Telugu literature can be dated from 10th century A.D. From a stanza attributed to the Śangam poet Māmūlanār (See Aham 251) it is seen that in the course of their invasion of the south by the imperial Mauryas the Vaḍugar led the vanguard, skilled in flying through swift arrows, as also the Kośar who enlisted themselves in the imperial forces. (See author's Mauryan Polity, pp. 58 ff.) (Again there is a significant expression Nūrruvar-Kappar in the Śilapadikārām, and it is said to be a translation of Śatakarpis. Here again the Śatakarnis who aided the Cera king Śenguttuvan in his onward march to the Ganges and beyond, can be no other than a member of the early Andhra dynasty (XXVI, 11. 164 ff). From the evident gusto with which the Nūrruvar kappar are referred to in the Śangam classic, it is safe to surmise that the Śatakarni was an imperial monarch ruling from the Māgadhan capital. If it were not so, and if the interpretation is other than what we have taken, then i. is difficult to explain the fact that this Śatakarni helped Śenguttuvan in fording the distant Ganges. This evidence shows that Śatakarni had already settled himself in a capital near the Ganges, and need it be told that it was the Māgadhan capital.) Thus the evidence of Tamil literature throws welcome light on the relations between the early Andhras and Tamils, and shows that their relationship was more in the nature of a mitra or an ally than of an ari, or an enemy, The Buddhist literature has several references to the Andhras and their territory. For instance, the Vinaya Texts (S.B.E., XVII, 38) refer to a town called Satakannika to the south of the Majjihimadeśa (Madhyadeśa), thus pointing out that the early home of the Andhra dynasty lay somewhere in the northern Dekhan and Central India. The Servāṇiṇī Jātaka (Cowell I p. 12) has a reference to the city of Andhapura to which the Bodhisatta who dealt in pots and pans, came across the river Telavāha and set about hawking his wares round the streets. Possibly this Andhapura stands for the capital of ancient Andhradeśa, and Telavāha is the modern Tel or Teliṅgiri, both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central provinces (See Ind. Ant. 1918, p. 71). In the Kathanāthu (P. T. S. 1915. 104. 108, et seq. J. P. T. S. 1889-90 pp. 57, 78–79 etc) mention is made of Andhaka monks, probably a reference to Andhra Bhikṣus of Buddhism. Again the reference to the relic stūpas of Majerika in early Buddhist tales is the territory possessing the lower valley of the river Kṛṣṇa. (See Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Cal., (1924) pp. 612 ff). The Mahāvagga (Trubner, London) speaks of Andhakavinda near Rājağrha and Andhavana near Śravasti, and if the term Andha stands for Andhra, here are explicit evidences of Andhra expansion as far as the Magadha country. Beyond these doubtful references there is an explicit reference to the Andhra country to which the Bodhisatta as a Brahman went leaving Takṣāsila
after his Vedic studies, to gain practical experience. (See Bhīmasena jātaka, Cowell p. 203) Almost towards the end of the Andhra dynasty flourished Nāgarjuna, a Buddhist monk and philosopher who lived in Nāgarjunakonda, patronised by Jintaka (śetaka) Śātavāhana (Takakusu, pp. 158—162). It may be noted in passing that he wrote all his works in Sanskrit.

THE EVIDENCE OF CLASSICAL WRITERS.

The Fragments of Megasthenes which are valuable as supplementing the primary authorities of the Mauryan epoch, are also valuable in throwing fresh light on the Andhra power in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya when Megasthenes visited India as an ambassador of Seleukus. According to this authority, and Arrian who closely follows his account, the Andhras were an independent power in the Dekhan. Megasthenes remarks: "Next come the Andhra a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants." (Mc Crindle, Ancient India, Cal. 1926; pp. 140—41). The evidence of Megasthenes further shows that the Andhras who were originally inhabitants of the territory between the Godāvari and Kṛiṣṇa rivers, had spread their sway towards the north up to the Narmada (vide Ina. Ant. V, p. 176). If the Setae of Megasthenes are the Sāta or Sātaka as noted by Pliny, then the Andhra country was famous for its silver and its neighbouring kingdom of the Daradas for its gold. There is a significant statement in Arrian's Indika that as many as 118 different nations occupied the Andhra country about 300 B.C. According to Pliny, the Roman encyclopaedist, (Hist. Nat. Bk. VI, 21—3) south of the Ganges was the Kalinga kingdom extending to Cape Colingon, the northern part of the Godāvari delta. He further mentions Modogalingae which Sir Walter Elliot interpreted as MuduGalingas or three Kalingas — the Tri-Kalinga to which Ptolemy refers as Trilingon and Triglypton (See Ind. Ant. XIII, pp. 381—2; Elliot Coins of S. India, p. 11) While on this topic, we can examine the geography of the Greek author Ptolemy who died after A. D. 161. In this highly interesting and valuable work, Ujjain (ozene) is mentioned as the capital of Tiastanes, identified conclusively with Chastana as also Siro Polemaisos reigning at Baithana, Ptolemy again mentions a certain Baleokouros, probably Andhra king No. 23, Gautamiputra Śātakarni, as ruling at Hippokoura, which, according to V. A. Smith, may mean Nasik. To me Baleokouros of Ptolemy may be identified with Bālakumāra whose sons Vijaya and Kanaka were defeated and imprisoned by the Cera king Śeṅgūṭtuvan. That Vijaya may be the Andhra king No. 28. If the identification of Vijaya is correct the Baleokouros must
be the Andhra king No. 27 whose full name according to inscriptions is Rāja Gautamiputra svāmi Śrī Yājña Śātakarṇī, whose reign extended from Cir. 165 to 195 A. D. Ptolemy again mentions a number of sea-
ports belonging to the Andhradēśa. Some of these already noticed by
Smith are Senulla (Chaul), Mandagora (?) Mandangad to the South of
Bāṅkot, Palaipatmai, Melizeigara (?) Jayagad or Janjira) and Buzantion.
By the very number the geography of Ptolemy seems to testify to a
flourishing state of international trade. (For other details the reader’s
attention is directed to Warminster’s *CommerSe* pp. 112-3, 115-6, 288-9
e tc). This demonstrates beyond doubt that the heyday of the Andhra
empire was in the first half of the second century A. D.

**THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHY.**

While there are a number of monuments which are ascribed to
Āsoka, though only a few of them were really erected by him, there are
not many which could point to the greatness and glory of the early
Andhras. No doubt their successors in the South, the Pallavas, had a
good number of monuments to their credit. But we are not concerned in
this essay about these monuments as our survey is confined to the history
of the early Andhras. The stūpas of Amarāvati can be prominently
mentioned as one of the remains of the Andhra architectural activity.
(See Burgess *Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta*, Ch. III ff.) Situated at a
distance of 18 miles from Guntur and Bezwada, on the bank of the
Kṛṣṇa, Amarāvati excels in a rich variety of art displayed in her sculpt-
tures, which are truly Indian in style. (See Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in
India*, p. 157) Closely on the heels of this ancient city on the western side are the ruins of Dharanikōta, the Dhānyakaṭaka which Hiuen-Tsang
describes in glowing terms in his Records. From the fact that many
coins of the early Andhras were discovered at this place it is inferrable
that that was a place of much importance in the days of the Śātavāhanas.
Here is an inscription of Pulumāyi Vasistha Putra of the Second century
A.D. The stūpa constructed in Pre-Andhra days was embellished by the
early Andhras and their successors. Besides these wonderful monuments,
there are equally striking ones which belong to the epoch of the early
Andhras. There is the stūpa of Bhaṭṭiprolu with an inscribed relic casket
in Āsokan script and on palaeographical considerations we can assign it
to the third century B.C. (Ep. Ind. II p. 323). The same considerations
weigh with the stūpa of Jaggayyapeta, and the characters of inscriptions
being in the later Mauryan script, it can be assigned at least to the
second century B.C. (Burgess, op. cit. p. 108). To the same period may
be assigned the monuments of Guntapalle where there is an inscription
in Pāli recording the construction of steps by a nun to a certain monu-
ment. (M.A.R., 1888 pp. 11-12; 1916-17, 30-36) Mr. Rea holds that the
stūpas of Guḍivāḍa and Ḡaṇḍaśāla are of the same type as those of
Gunātapalle (South Ind. Bud. Antiquities: M.A.R, 1892 p. 1 & 2). In these places Śātavāhana coins were found in plenty. Among other important archaeological discoveries may be mentioned a clay seal found at Rāmatīrtham bearing the figure of a caitya and inscribed thus: Śailasaṅgha of Śrī Śiva Vijaya rāja. Of course this Rāja is a Śātavāhana. Generally adjoining the Buddhist stūpas were erected the Caitya and the vihāra or monasteries. Despite the eloquent testimony of the Chinese pilgrim, Hsien Tsang, one is at a loss to find not even a trace of such monasteries near the famous and old stūpas of Bhaṭṭi-prolu and Amarāvati. Again among the symbols of the period is found the unfailing Triśūla which is foreign to the Buddhist conception but which is twisted by some as representing the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. There is no warrant to this interpretation to our knowledge in the early Buddhist books. Further in the earliest inscriptions at Bhaṭṭi-prolu the terms śiva and vigrapha occur. In these circumstances it is difficult to venture a theory of predominating Buddhist style of architecture with an individuality of its own, flourishing in the epoch under our survey. It runs counter to the spirit of the age when the Brahminical Hindus were imperial rulers and steeped themselves in rituals of the ātvamēdha type as authenticated inscriptive records prove.

The history of the early Andhras would have been poorer and perhaps unintelligible if epigraphy had not come to our aid with such wealth of details. The most important inscriptions of the period are Nānāghat inscriptions which include records of the first and second Andhra kings — Simukha and Kṛṣṇa (edited by Bühler in Ar. S. W. India Vols. IV, and V — Lüder's List, Ep. Ind. X, No. 1113-18, 1144). Before we proceed to examine these inscriptions as sources of information, it is well to begin with the earliest references to the Andhras in inscriptions. In the Rock Edict III of Aśoka (256 B. C.) the Andhras like the Yonas and Pulindas are included as living in the king's dominions, perhaps conquered by Bindusāra, and their kingdoms added to the Mauryan Empire. But by 171 B. C. the Andhras had regained their independence, as we see from a reference in the Udayagiri or Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela of Kalinga (ed. by K. P. Jayaswal in J. B. O. R. S. III, pp. 425—507). The Andhra king alluded to here is Śatakarni, possibly No. 3 of the Purānic list commemorated by a rather defaced relief image at Nānāghat, a pass leading from the Konkan to the ancient town of Junnār in the Poona district. (See Early History, p. 219 n. and Ar. S. W. I. Vol. V, p. 59). Khāravela is said to have challenged Śatakarni by despatching an army to the west in the second year of his reign. The Hathigumpha inscription

8 Arasi, 1910-11 pp. 78-87.
shows the Andhras to have become an independent power after Asoka, and establishes the synchronism of the Andhras with the Sūṅgas, and not as successors of the Kaṇvas as the Purāṇas would have it.7

For the sake of convenience the inscriptions of the dynasty may be classified as follows:

1. Inscriptions of Nānāghat: These refer to one Śātakarṇi, son of Simuka entering into a matrimonial alliance with the Angira family of Maharāthi. He performed the asvamētiha sacrifice. After his death his wife Nāganiṅka acted as regent during the minority of the princes Vēda śrī and Śaktiśrī (also Hakuśrī). (Bühler, *A. S. W. I.* V., p. 60). In an inscription relating to a private dedication, the name of Vaśiṣṭha putra catarapāṇo Śātakarṇi occurs (J. B. B. R., *A. S.* XV, p. 313).

2. Inscriptions of Nāsik: One of these mentions the name of Kṛṣṇa of the Śātavāhana family. (Ep. In. VIII, p. 93). Another contains the name of Śaktiśrī (Ibid p. 91). There is another dated in the 18th year of Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi (Ibid p. 71). In continuation of this, there is another inscription of this king with two different dates in the year 24. This records a communication to his master Śyāmaka in Govardhana in the name of the king and his queen mother, (Balaśrī). (Ibid p. 73). Another inscription of Nāsik refers to Vaśiṣṭhaputra (Ibid p. 94) Śvāmi Śrī Pulumāvi while three more refer to Vaśiṣṭhaputra Sṛi Pulumāvi. (Ibid pp. 59—60, and 65.) There is another inscription which records the donation of a cave to monks in the seventh year of Gautamiputra svāmi Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi (Ibid p. 94). (For other references see Bühler, *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV) Lüder’s list, 1123, 1147). The Nāsik-prasasti of Gautamiputra shows the king to be a Brahman. The place-names give the clue as to the extent of the empire.

3. Inscriptions of Sānchi (Bhilsa Topes): No. 1 mentions the names of Vaśiṣṭhaputra Sṛi Śātakarṇi (Ep. Ind. II, p. 88) who is credited with the conquest of E. Maiva. Prof. Dubreuil assigns 72—58 B.C. to this king basing his theory on the authority of the Palæography of the inscription and the style of the sculpture (O. p. cit. p. 15).

4. Inscriptions of Kaṅheri: In two inscriptions the name of Māthariputra svāmi-śakasena figures (Bühler, *A. S. W. I.* pp 79 and 82). A fragmentary inscription has a reference to the queen of Vaśiṣṭhaputra Sṛi Pulumāvi (See Ind. Ant. XII, p. 273). Two inscriptions of Kaṅheri again refer to Gautamiputra svāmi Sṛi Yajña Śātakarṇi and one of these is an endowment of a money gift probably to monks (A. S. W. I. V, pp. 79 and 75). Another inscription where the king’s name is not mentioned is probably a reference to Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍa cūtu śātakarṇi, (Ibid, p. 86) but not to the reign of Pulumāvi as conjectured.

5. Inscriptions of Kārle: One inscription records an order sent to one minister at Māmāda or Māmala. The names of both the king and minister are missing. But internal evidence attributes it to Gautamiputra Śātakarnī (Ep. Ina., VII, p. 64 and A.S.W.I. IV., p. 112). Two other inscriptions with names Vasiṣṭhaputraswāmi Śrī pulumāvi and Vasiṣṭhaputra Śrī pulumāvi are also extant. (Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 61-71: A.S.W.I. IV. pp. 107 & 113).

6. Inscriptions of Amaravati refer to Vasiṣṭha putraswāmi Śrī Pulumāvi (A.S.S.I. I.p. 100) and to king Śrī Śiva mahā śata (Ibid, p.61). The latter is fragmentary and the name is a variant of Śiva Śrī Śātakarnī. The others are (1) inscription of Cinna (Cina) in the Kistna district referring to the 27th year of Śrī Yaṅga Śātakarnī Gautamiputra; (2) of Bānavāsi (Ep. Ind., I, p. 96) issued in the year 12 of Hāritiputra Viṣṇu kaṭa cutu kulānanda śātakarnī (Ind. Ant., 1885, p. 331); and (3) of Malavalli in the Shimoga district of Mysore celebrating the above king (Ibid, 1896, p. 28). Here is a reference to the Cutu dynasty reigning at Bānavāsi before the Kadambas.

In order to make this study complete so as to enable us to understand the political and foreign relations of the Andhras with the Ksharatas and Ksatrapas we must examine the inscriptions relating to these dynasties. At Nasika, there are four inscriptions three of which are attributed to Rṣabhadatta (Uṣavadāta), Dakṣamitra (See Ep. Ind., VIII., pp. 78, 82, 85 and 81). At Kärle there are two inscriptions, of which one refers to a grant of a village to ascetics and the other attributed to Mitradevanaka (Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 56 and 57) recording the gift of a pillar. An inscription at Junnār records gift made by Ayama, mother of Nahapāna, dated in the year 46. These give the indication that while Nahapāna was reigning, Rṣabhadatta was viceroys over S. Gujarath and the northern Konkan and over the Nāsik and Poona districts (A.S.W.I., IV, p. 103).

Turning to the inscriptions of Western Ksatrapas we have at Jūnagādhī, one of Rudradāman (Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 36), and the other of Rudrasimha I (A.S.W.I., II., p.140). At Gunda there is an inscription of Rudrasimha I (Ind. Ant., X, p. 15). In these inscriptions there is on record a marriage of a Śātakarnī with a daughter of Rudradāman and the defeat of a Śātakarnī by Rudradāman. (For details the reader is directed to Luder's list, 965, 994, 1132, 1134, 1174 etc, and also Ep.Ind. Vol. XIV, 1917 where V. S. Sukthankar has edited an inscription of Śrī Pulumāvi. Also the valuable Introduction by Rapson in the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc. especially pp. XLV ff). We can conclude this section with the remark that all the inscriptions of the Andhra dynasty, with the single exception of that executed on behalf of the queen of Pulumāvi which is in Sanskrit, are in prākrit (See also S. Levi J.A., 1902, p. 16). The age of the script of the Nānāghāt record of Nāyanikā, daughter-in-law of Simuka, the first king of the dynasty, has been a matter
for controversy among scholars. The late Bühler observed that a com-
parative study of the characters of the Nānākhāt record with the edict of
Gautamīputra S'ātakarṇi and his son Pulumāyi shows that at least a
hundred years should have elapsed between the period of the two records
(A.S.W.I., Vol. V., p. 65). Professor Chanda remarked that the Nānā-
ghāt inscription was much later than the Besnagar record of Bhāgavata,
of the inscriptions at Nānagāhāt Professor J. Dubreuil assigned them to the
same epoch as that of the Khāravela inscription (History of the Deccan p.13).
The same characters are again noticeable in a Nāsik inscription which
records the construction of a cave by an official of Kṛṣṇa '(Kāṇha) No 2
of the list (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 93 A. S W. I. IV, p. 98) V. A.
Smith who has compared the alphabetical characters in the above records
with those of Aśoka does not find much difference, and the palaeogra-
phical considerations weigh with him to fix the date of Simuka, the
founder of the dynasty not far from 200 B. C. (Z, D. M. G., 1902, p.
655). Considering the differences of opinion to which the evidence of
palaeography has led, we cannot rely upon it as positive evidence to
fix conclusively the chronological scheme of the Andhras.

THE EVIDENCE OF NUMISMATIC RECORDS.

Let us now proceed to briefly notice the numismatic evidence
which helps us conclusively in indentifying certain kings of the Andhra
dynasty. In this respect the coins of the Andhras call for special notice.
These are the earliest die struck coins found in good numbers in the
deltas of the Kṛṣṇa and the Godāvari. "The most common are of lead,
rudely executed, more or less coated with white oxide; others are of
copper mostly alloyed" resembling the type of Indo-Scythian coins.
(Elliot: Coins of Southern India, p. 14) The legends are not quite
legible but still some of them furnish names which occur in the Purāṇa
list of the dynasty. A find of coins in Mahārāṣṭra districts of a
different type has been discovered, and these are of a coarse alloy. (Ibid)
The coins are generally round, though some of them are square in shape.
Some are struck on one side and some are stamped on both sides with
symbolical representations of animals like the lion, horse or elephant
together with the name of the king. Some coins have the effigy of a bow
and arrow on the obverse and caityas with arches on the reverse. In
weight again they vary (Ibid pp. 22—23) from 35 grains to 560. The
hoard of coins discovered in considerable numbers were presumably of lead
and copper and this led to the presumption that the Andhra monetary
system did not put gold or silver to use. But a silver coin with the
name of Yajña S'ātakarni discovered by B. L. Indraji (B. B. R. A. S.,
Vol. XV, p. 273) has falsified this presumption. Coins which bear caitya
types come under the classification of 'Ujjain symbol.' The caitya is
sometimes of three and sometimes of six arches. Coins of this type bear the names of five kings Vasiṣṭhaputra śri pulumāvi, Vasiṣṭhaputra śiva śri śātakanni, Vasiṣṭhaputra S’ri Yajña S’ātakarni, and S’ri Rudra śātakanni. Coins with the 'ship' type, in one specimen of which Pulu-
māvi has been made out, have been found along the Coromandel coast between Cuddalore and Madras, attesting to the maritime activity in South India which is corroborated by a large find of Roman coins in the same place (See J. R. A. S 1904, p. 636). The Bow and Arrow types of coins furnish the evidence of restruck coins. The names of kings in this order are three: Raño Vasiṣṭhi putasa Vilivāyakuras, Raño Mādhari putasa S’ivalakuras; Raño Gôtamiputasa Vilivāyakuras. The second king re-
strikes the coins of the first and the third restrikes the coins of the first and the second. (Rapson: Coins of the Andhra dynasty. Intro, p. i xxxvii). The terms Vilivāyakura and S’iva-
lakura seem to be peculiar local titles and it is still an open question whether such titles were conferred on the imperial monarchs or on local chiefs. The oldest known coins of the Andhra dynasty are those with the legend Raño S’iri S’atasa in both lead and potin dating about 150 B.C. There is a lead coin in Brāhmi characters doubtfully attributed to Apilava or Apitaka No. 8 of the list. (Ibid pp. xcii—xciii).

We have to include in this survey the coins struck by kings who went by the name of Western Kṣatrapas. Of these the great find of 13250 coins bearing the name of Nahepone’at Joghalemphi must be prominently mentioned. The condition of the coins bearing effigies of ‘extraordinary diversity’ indicates that they must have been long in circulation. (See Rev. H. R. Scott’s remarks in J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXII p. 224). Its value to the Andhra historians lies in the fact that as many as 9270 of the above find have been restruck by Gautamiputra, thus attesting to the signal defeat of Kṣatrapas. The coins were of both silver and copper. Like Nāhapāṇa, Castana issued silver coins. On the obverse of these coins the legends were in Greek characters and on the reverse in Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhi. His son Jayadāman struck coins perhaps in copper only, while his son Rudradāman has silver coins to his credit, as also his son Damajādāsri. There is again evidence of Rudrasimha I issuing both silver and potin coins. Rapson remarks: ‘the degradation of Rudrasimha I to the subordinate position in the year 110 is accom-
panied by a slight change in the reverse type of his silver coins.’ (Ibid p. cxxvi). His son Rudrasena issued dated coins in both silver and potin. The potin coinage of this dynasty came to be discontinued by A.D. 236. Thus much historical materials lie buried in the coin legends of the Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas, and needless to say that these form an invaluable source to the early history of the Andhras.
THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE AND THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE.

K. I. Dutt, B.A.

A determination on the part of an impatient idealist to fast unto death on the temple-entry issue of the Harijans, made the South Indian Temple to float recently on the main stream of political events in India. This dramatized a public issue. Mr. Gandhi says why an existence of a temple, if the Harijan is not permitted to worship the God in it?. An equally great idealist declares that he does not want divinity enshrined in brick and mortar. Whatever their views may be, the Harijan is in a pitiable plight. His saviours want to insist, first, on the salvation of his soul, while his stomach is starving for want of a morsel of food.

But the Historian and the Economist find in the existence of the temple an immense importance from their own matter of fact views and appraise a new type of value altogether for it. In spite of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, the temple persisted to exist and in a Carlylean expression 'The temple is'.

HISTORICAL VALUE.

In the beginning of History man is not only not conscious of his individuality but has also no idea of God at all. He is conscious only of powers inherent in forces of Nature. Later on, the idea of his own personality grew and with it, he ascribed a personal existence to the forces of Nature and personified them. The conception of God, as civilisation advanced, as Omnipotent and Omnicent and his personification coupled with that conception gave him an abode. The Hindu Religion, its ritual and superstition and Vishnava mysticism, gave that divinity a grandeur and a habitation befitting that grandeur. Thus the temple came into existence. The king in the ancient Hindu Polity was also ascribed a divine origin. He was not only to protect the person and property of man, but also his religion as laid down in Smritis and Shrutis. Temple is one of the Saptasantanams, the construction of which perpetuated the name of the benefactor and contributed to his religious salvation. Hence the king and the public constructed the temple.

INSCRIPTION AND TEMPLES.

Various benefactions were made for the maintenance of the temple, and they were mostly in the shape of lands. Then there will be a permanent record of all these benefactions. They were in the shape of documents engraved on pillars, walls and steps of the temple stating clearly the purpose, the nature, of the gift and also giving the genealogy of the donor, whether he is a king or a commander. From these inscriptions only, the History of South India is now written and the South Indian Historian, owes a deep debt of gratitude to the ancient Hindu monarch, to have enabled him to write the
History of South India, from the permanent records thus created and preserved. The South Indian monarch could not have foreseen the visibilities of the future social and political history of his subjects, but he unintentionally, placed the Historian under a great obligation. From the inscriptions only we know that the past pulsed with life of varied activities. They present the History of the various dynasties, and portray the social and economic condition of the society and also growth of religious thought: Rightly the Epigraphist said, "One of the several subjects that usually draws our attention in the course of our study, is the ancient South Indian Temple, with its life and polity. It was a powerful social and economic entity, besides being a source of religious inspiration to the people. The temple in the South moreover, appears very much like a modern Registry office, but with greater chances of its records lasting for a longer time than at the present time. This must have been the spirit under which the inscriptions previously engraved were scrupulously reengraved, when the structure is rebuilt, (Pāla 66 of A.R. for 1921-22). Prof. Seeley in his 'Expansion of England, gave us a short story. Thackeray, the great Novelist, being asked why Queen Anne lived and the English under the Duke of Marlborough fought the French, answers candidly: it was that I might write my delightful novel of Esmond. So, we think, that the constructing temples with the inscriptions engraved on them, was to enable us to write the History of our forefathers.

AN ORGANIZED INDUSTRY OF ANCIENT SOUTH INDIA.

The construction of temples, in those days gone by, was an organized industry. Such an industry on a large scale was a not new thing in the History of the world. The canal system of Babylonia, the pyramids of Egypt, the aqueduct of Roman cities and the mediaeval cathedrals of Europe were achievements in construction, comparable with any but the greatest works of modern times. So was the case with the South Indian temple. It is a wonderful example of a great work, on a large scale, demanding great supply of labour and a combination of engineering knowledge and skill. It is the religion and Superstition of the people, and conception of God as the greatest personality, that engendered such majestic constructional designs, which are a wonder to the modern Engineer and a marvel to the foreign traveller. The problem of so called 'unemployment' which is taxing the brains of modern statesmen was solved, by the South Indian monarch, with greater ease and with better results than at present by the statesmen of the twentieth century.

Thus, we find that the South Indian Temple is a political, social, economic and religious History of south India written with chisel, on stone and brick, well preserved under the grip of lime and mortar and is a great organized relief work, though primarily a religious institution.
HISTORY OF THE GAVARAS.

P. SEALRAMIAH.

The Gavaras are, in the present times, an agricultural caste, mainly inhabiting the Vizagapatam District in the Madras presidency. According to the census of 1901, they number 55,531. As in the case of many other castes in India, it is not possible to fix the ethnographic data of these people, owing to heavy inter-mixture of blood. They do not appear to have been the original inhabitants of the place, but have come from some other parts of India and have colonised there. They have no history of their own. It has not yet been clearly defined by historians to what caste or tribe they belonged originally, what their tribal avocation was, and the date and reason of their migration. The name by which they are at present known does not appear to be one of their caste or tribe, but one given to them by the natives where they colonised. Records, scant though they are, go to show that two different peoples, the Gavaras and the Kōmaṭis, migrated from two different but adjacent parts of North-Eastern India, having probably political and social affinities, at almost the same time, and settled and merged together, and eventually formed into a big group. Socially, as they stand now, they rank next to the Vaiśyas (Kōmaṭis).

Mr. Thurston, in Volume II of his Castes and Tribes of Southern India, states that they are probably Gavara-Kōmaṭis and that they are so called after their patron deity, Gauri. This theory has no foundation, because there are several other castes also, who worship the Goddess Gauri, but are not called Gavaras, or by a name derivable from Gauri.

Another theory is that they are Kauravas. It is difficult to accept this theory, for it is extremely doubtful whether so ancient a race as the Kauravas could retain the name of their race and the traditions of the times, while events of the last one or two centuries could not be related by the people. Instead of entering into the details of these presumptions, which have in reality no foundation, we shall turn our attention to the history of the other parts of India, in order to trace the original home of this caste and how the name Gavara came to be applied to them.

1 Apart from this, philosophers of Mr. Narain Iyer's school of thought are strongly denouncing the historical aspect of the ancient epics like the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. According to them, some of the persons, places and events of the times related in these works refer only to the body, the soul and the God.
The term Gaura or Gavara must have been derived from Gauda, which was also known as Gaura, Gaur and Gōr. It is a well known philological fact that the consonants ‘r’ and ‘d’ are very often interchangeable. The Gavaras migrated from this country, and after settling in the south, they came to be known as Gauras or Gavaras or Gavuras, after the name of the country they came from i.e., Gaur. This term (Gaur) took the shape of Gaura, according to the pronunciation in the south, and then Gavura and lastly Gavara. These settlers seem to have originally comprised of several castes and tribes and had names of their own castes and tribes; but their migration gave them, in common, the name of their country, as in the case of the Kalingas, who also derive the name of their caste from the name of their country, Kalinga. In course of time this new name became their permanent appellation and the old ones were neglected, The Jaunpūrias, Tīrhūtas and the Vareṇdras and similar other sects are also distinguished by territorial names, as were given to them respectively by the natives, ignoring the names of the castes to which they originally belonged.

2 If members of a caste leave their original habitat and settle permanently in another part of India, the tendency is for them to be separated from the parent group and to develop into a distinct caste. The stages of the process are readily traced. In the first instance it is assumed that people who go and live in foreign parts must of necessity eat forbidden food, worship alien Gods and enter into relations with strange women. Consequently when they wish to take wives from among their own people, they find that their social status has been lowered and that they have to pay for the privilege of marrying within the parent group. This luxury grows more and more expensive and in course of time the emigrants marry only among themselves and thus become a sub-caste usually distinguished by a territorial name such as Jaunpuria, Tīrhūtia, Barendra and the like. If the process of differentiation is carried a step further (as usually happened before the potent influence of Railways had made itself felt), and the settlers assume a distinctive caste name, all traces of their original affinities disappear and there remains only a dim tradition of their migration. Owing to this loss of identity the number of instances in which we can point with certainty to the formation of caste by migration is comparatively small, (Risley’s People of India pp. 86-87).

A good illustration of the formation of a caste by migration is that of the Nambudrī or Namputiri Brahmins of Malabar, who claim to have come from various sacred localities in Kāthiawar and northern Deccan and who are now an entirely separate caste differing from the Brahmins of the other parts of India, (Ibid pp. 86).

Another instance of the same process is furnished from the Rāthi Brahmins of Bengal. The tradition maintains that in the 8th century A.D Adiṣūr, finding the Brahmins then settled in his dominions too ignorant to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies, applied to the Raja of Manauj for priests conversant with the sacred ritual of the Aryans. In compliance with his request, there were sent to him five Brahmins of Manauj, who brought with them their wives, their sacred fire, and their sacrificial implements. It is said of these Brahmin
But there were two kingdoms known by the name of Gaur. One was in Bengal and the other in Assam below the Gāro hills. The history of Gauḍa (Bengal) and its capital Gaur, prior to the rise of the Pālas, is obscure. Tradition ascribes the foundation of the city of Gaur to one Shankal or Shangaldib, (by about 393 B.C.), who came from Koch (Behār), conquered Bang (Bengal) and Bihar and vanquished Kidar Brāhmaṇa, a powerful king of Northern India. Sir E. A. Gait observes that if this story of the founding of Gaur by an aboriginal tribe of Koch or Gāro affinities could be relied upon, it would suggest the query whether the name of Gaur is not in some way connected with Gāro. The Gāros are one of the hill tribes of Assam. With regard to the other Gaur, Sir E. A: Gait states:— The tract North of the Kushihāra river was at one time divided into three petty kingdoms—Jaintia, Laura and Gaura∗ or Sylhet proper. The latter word perhaps survives in the “Goārār Jangal” the name of two old embankments, which run from the Ghogra to a former bed of the Barāk river in the Rājnagar pargana of Cachar. The more westerly of these embankments is in places a hundred feet broad at the base and ten feet in height, and there is a buried brick wall 140 feet long by six feet broad. There is a tradition that they were erected by some invaders called Goārs.

As we shall see further on, the Gavaras came to the south from Gauḍa (Bengal) and the Kōmatis and other tribes from Kāmarūpa (Assam). The migrations took place in different periods and under varied circumstances; and before we discuss in this connection, we shall take a brief note of the political and religious conditions prevalent in the northeastern India of the period concerned.

The kingdom of Gauḍa prior to the 7th century was under the Gupta kings. Śri Harsha’s campaign against Nārāṇāra Gupta of Gauḍa appears to have been the earliest historical event concerning Gauḍa, which he undertook to revenge the murder of his brother at the hands of immigrants and their progeny that they have married local women, eaten forbidden food, adopted strange customs, and forgotten the endless details of the elaborate ritual which they set forth to teach. In course of time they came to be regarded with suspicion by the Brahmans of their original stock; and they had to pay high for brides from among their own people and eventually they were cut off altogether from the parent group. Thus to all intents and purposes they have become a separate caste retaining the generic name of Brahmin, but forming a new species and presenting a distinctive type. This great change has been brought about by their leaving their original habitat. (Ibid pp. 88-89).

3. Dawson’s Elliot’s History of India, Vol. 6, pp. 533.
5. This Gaur seems to have been, comparatively, of recent origin.
6. Ibid. pp. 274.
the latter. Sašānka, the king of Karnasuvravā, was also implicated in
this act of assassination. Having gained the friendship of Bhāskarvar-
man, the king of Kāmarūpa, Śri Harsha could defeat and kill Nāsendra-Gupta, the king of Gauḍa and conquer Karnasuvravā. Sašānka, how-
ever, managed to save his life by taking shelter in the hilly regions of
southern Rāḍha. A short time after, while Śri Harsha was engaged
in the conquest of Northern India and the removal of his capital to
Kanauj, Sašānkaśēva collected a vast army from southern Rāḍha, Orissa
and Kalinga invaded Pāṭaliputra and annexed Magadha to his kingdom.
He was a Śaiva and hated Buddhism. He burnt the holy Böḍhi tree
at Gaya and destroyed several other ancient artistic works of the
Buddhists. Although Sašānka conquered the country from Magadha to
Karnasuvravā and Kalinga, he could not retain them for a long period;
for, Śri Harsha, with the help of Bhāskaravarman, again marched
against him, defeated him and annexed his dominions to his empire.
After Śri Harsha’s death in 648 A. D., there arose some trouble over
the succession to his empire and we have no clear account of the country
of Gauḍa till the beginning of the 8th century A. D.8 Some historians
mention Ādityasēna of the later Gupta dynasty as the ruler of Gauḍa of
this period. By about 725 A. D., Śri Harsha of Bhagadatta’s line of
Kāmarūpa is said to have ruled Gauḍa, Udra, Kālinga, Kōsala and
other countries.7 He was overthrown and killed by Yaśo varman of
Kanauj by about 750 A. D.8 Later we find Kāshmirian king Lalitaditya,
the Gūṛjara-Pratihāra king, Vatsarāja and the Rāṣṭrakūta king, Dhuvara
invaded Bengal one after another.9 Bengal was anxiously thirsting for a
strong and able ruler; and the troubled populace eventually elected
Gōpāla, son of Vappatā, a military adventurer and grandson of Dayita
Vishnu, to the throne of Gauḍa. Gōpāla consolidated his dominions from
the Himālayas to the sea, and brought peace and prosperity after the anar-
chy and misrule of a century and a half.10 He ruled for a short period,
during the last decade of the 8th century; and from his reign Bengal
was in a peaceful condition, although exceptions took place now and
then. These were occasioned by the domination by the Kambōjas during
the second half of the 9th century and by the Kaivartas during the reign
of Mahīpāla II, but peace was soon restored by Mahīpāla I and Rāma-
pāla respectively.11 Again there arose trouble with the rise of the Śenās
and lastly with the Mohammedan invasion.

6. Smith’s Early History of India. pp. 850—860. N. N. Vasu’s Social His-
and 574.
MIGRATIONS FROM GAUDA.

We can attribute several reasons for the migration of a people from one part of India and colonising in another in ancient times. Soldiers, merchant guilds, and groups of pilgrims were constantly moving from their native countries to other parts. It was with great difficulty that they could reach their destinations, owing to insufficient means of communication, dangers and obstacles—natural and physical. Anarchies, foreign invasions and religious movements too sometimes prompted the people to leave their homes. Natural calamities such as famines, floods etc. were also not uncommon. The Śrāvaṇa Belgōla epitaph of Prabhachandra gives us an instance of an entire Sangha or community migrating to the south, as a result of an astrological forecast by Bhadrabāhu about a difficult period of 12 years' famine.12

Adverting to the subject under discussion, namely the migration of the Gavaras, we might state that almost all the north-eastern half of India was at one time called Gauda with probably five great divisions and the inhabitants of all of them were broadly spoken of as Gaudas. The following Śloka from the Skānda Purāṇa will explain this fact:—

'Sārasvatāh Kānyakujāh-Gaura Mithiōtkaḷāh,
Pancha Gaura iti khyātāh-Vindhyōttaravāsinah.'13

From this we may naturally conclude that the people of these divisions frequented the other parts and it was probable that men less inclined to undertake hardships and adventures attending a return journey or being tempted to a resourceful business stuck to the foreign land, leaving their own homes and men. The date of the earliest migration, as we shall see presently, may be assigned to the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

In his Social History of Kāmarūpa (pp. 195), Mr. N. N. Vasu states that in the 7th century A. D., when Śaśāṅkadēva, the king of Karnasuvrāṇa, extended his rule up to the far off Kalinga and southern Kōsala, many Kāyasthas of his country migrated to those places and held high posts there under the state. Sūrya Ghōśa of the Ghōsha dynasty established his rule in Central India about this time and assumed the title of Mahārāja. A stone inscription of his time discovered at Ratnapura (Bilāspur District-C.P.) is now in the Nāgpur museum. It is a Buddhist inscription and was recorded to express the grief of the king at the death of his son, due to a fall from the terrace of his palace.14


13 'We might refer here to the fact that some of the sovereigns of ancient Bengal had the title of Pancha Gaureswar. Even petty chieftains used to assume this title in later times, to exhibit a show of power and eminence.'

Rev. M. A. Sherring, in Volume I of his Hindu Tribes and Castes (pp. 172-173), gives a lengthy account of the Gaur Rajputs of Northern India. According to him, they seem to have occupied the Etawah territory from a remote epoch and migrated from Sopar in the west as early as 650 A.D., and took up their head-quarters at Parsu, reclaiming much of the surrounding country. In about 1000 A.D., the Gaur Thakurs were, they assert, in great force in that tract of the country now known as Phapund, Akbarpur, Oraiyyah, Bidhuna, Rasulabad, and Dera Mangalpur Parganas, having their head-quarters at Mahhousi and founding Bawan Garhis or fifty-two forts.

According to Sir H. Elliot, the strongest clan of the Gours is in the Central Doab. They say that they came from Narnal, from which place Nar in Rasulabad, the residence of a Gaur Raj, derives its name. The Rajas of Saket, Kishtawar, Mandi and Keonthal in the Himalayas between Simla and Kashmir are all Gaur Rajputs. They all state that their families came originally from Bengal.

The 'Gor' is one of the thirty-six royal tribes of Rajputana, of whom Col. Tod gives the following account:— The Gor tribe was once respected in Rajasthan, though it never there attained any considerable eminence. The ancient kings of Bengal were of this race and gave their name to their capital, Luknowti. We have every reason to believe that they were possessors of the land afterwards conquered by the Chohans, as they are styled in all the old chronicles 'The Gor of Ajmer'. Repeated mention is made of them in the wars of Prithviraja as leaders of considerable eminence.

Of the Gours of Ajmere and Mawar, tradition maintains that they came originally from Bengal, while performing a pilgrimage to the famous Dwarka shrine, under Raj Bucharaj and Raj Bawn, in the time of Prithviraja. The former with his followers settled in Ajmere, and the latter at Kuchaman in Mawar. Gradually the tribe gained possession of Junia Deolia and Srinagar.

The Gours also exist in the Central Provinces and they also trace their origin to Gauda. They are subdivided into two clans, namely Gours and Chamarr Gours, but most of them are said to belong to a group known as Gorai, who are considered to be the descendants of widows or kept women in the Gaur clan and marry among themselves.

In the United Provinces the Gours rank with the good Rajput clans, and there are four sub-divisions of them — the Bhat Gaur, the

Bhāman Gaur, the Chatmār Gaur and the Katheriya Gaur. These are also supposed to take their name from the kingdom of Gauḍa in Bengal.  

In connection with Ferishta’s statement in connection with the conversion of the tribes of Ghilij, of Ghōr and Caubul to Islam, Col. Tod states as follows:—This is a very important admission of Ferishta, concerning the proselytism of all these tribes, and confirms my hypothesis that the Afghans are converted Jadoons or Yadoons, not Yāhūdīs or Jews. The Gōr is also a well known Rajput tribe and they had only to convert it into Ghōr. He again adds (pp. 370):—The Gōr was a celebrated tribe and amongst the most illustrious of the Chōhān feudatories; a branch until a few years ago held Sooe-Soopoor and about nine lakhs of territory. I have no doubt the Gōr appanage was west of Indus and that this tribe, on conversion, became the Ghōr.

From the facts and traditions, narrated before, we learn that people from Gauḍa were migrating since the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Mr. N. N. Vasu, quoting an extract from a Kula-Pānji of the Uttara-Rāḍhīya Kāyasthas, states that some members of the line of Sūrya Ghoṣa, referred to in the Katnapura inscription, gradually spread over many countries and one of them occupied the throne of Chandrahāsa Giri, (modern Chandragiri) in the Malabar coast. After Śaśānka’s defeat at the hands of Śrī Harsha, the latter seems to have given the former’s territories to his friend Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. During the turmoil that followed the deaths of Śrī Harsha and Bhāskaravarman, the kingdom of Gauḍa turned, as it were, into a veritable playground of faction, misrule and anarchy; and there was no peace in the country of the Pālas. About this time a large group of people left Gauḍa in quest of a country where they could lead a actually settled in the south.
A second migration seems to have taken place in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D. About this period the country had again fallen into the same anarchical state as it was before the accession of Gopala I. The Chandela king Yasovarman and the Kâmbhôjas successively occupied the throne of Gauḍa; and the weak king Vîgrahapâla II fled to Vikrampur. It was a period of great unrest in Gauḍa. A large group consisting of merchants and people of other occupations seems to have migrated from Gauḍa at this stage and settled probably in the Karnâta country, for we find mention of the word 'Gavare' in two Kanarese inscriptions, discovered at Nōlapalli of the Punganûr Zamindari in the Chittore district. The dates of these inscriptions are unfortunately lost. They refer to a certain Mummaḍî Gavareśeṭṭi of Kōyatūru, a Baligāra merchant, and to his younger brother Sundara Chōḷa Dahrmaśeṭṭi. The ruler Iriva Nōlambâ Ghaṭeyankakāra Pallavādiya of the Nōlambâ Pallava dynasty is said to have conferred the title of Mummaḍî Gavare Pallavādiya Nōlambaśeṭṭi on this merchant and gave for his perpetual enjoyment as Kadage (gift) the village of Koḻatūru in Pulinaḍu (Chittore District). The king mentioned in these inscriptions is identified by Mr. Rangacharya, as the grandson of Vīrāmahēndra, who appears to have been a contemporary of the Rāṣṭraṅkūṭa king Krishṇa III. We might therefore, assign these to the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. They also refer to 'the 48,000 people of the mercantile community'. This figure appears to represent the number of the people, who migrated at this period, and is, therefore, important and worth mentioning here. We have similar instances of collections of people such as 'āruvēla' (of the Telugu Niyōgi Brāhmīns) etc. in inscriptions and literary works.

27. Inscriptions speak of collections of men settling in Dekhan. The Tiruvellarai inscription of Dantivarman family (E.I. Vol. X.) says that the 8700 of that time recorded in it. Other inscriptions refer to other later members living 3 or 4 centuries to 8700, 8000 and 8000 more or less. A strong impression is given by the terms, numbers in the collection and. In course of years, they were at first or else to preserve some other collections appear to have their first settlement and to have given up mention persons with these place names, besides giving also the village where they further (E. v. S lyer's Historical sketches of ancient Dekhan,
We shall now discuss the point as to when the Gavaras spread into the Telugu country. It appears that communal migrations into the Telugu country were taking place from the 5th century A.D. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, in his 'Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōla' (pp. 22-23), has proved that Trilōchana Pallava allowed to settle 108 families of Brāhmans of Benares in his kingdom and granted them 'agrahāras' and it is said that some Śūdra families also were induced to migrate along with the Brāhmans. He has given instances of other migrations from northern India to the south. The Chalukyas and the Chōlas are said to have come from the north. Karikāla Chōla, the contemporary of Trilōchanā Pallava, was an over-lord of Vajra and Magadha; and he also brought a number of Śūdra families from the Gangetic valley, settled them in the 24 districts of Tonḍai-mandalam, and bestowed on them rich gifts. We find mention, in the Vaiśya Purāṇa, of the Kōmaṭīs having migrated into the Telugu country and settled near Penugonda in the Godavari district. The Telki Seṭṭis, who are styled as Manu-Varāṇśodbhavas in the Manuvarśa Purāṇa and in two inscriptions in the Mallēśvara temple of Bezwāḍa, state that they were originally Kshatriyas but by a curse of a sage, they had to take up the profession of oil-monging. They are further said to have belonged to Hēmapura or Kanakapura, Gajapura, and Ayōdhya. Thus they were also immigrants into the Telugu country. There are traditions of a few other communities also, having migrated into the Telugu country and settled therein.

The date of the migration of the people from Gauḍa to the Telugu country cannot be fixed definitely. It is probable that there were a number of migrations during the periods of anarchy and invasions prevailing in their countries as stated before. There are evidences also to show that people from Bengal were settling in the Telugu and Kalinga countries, probably during Sasanka's rule in Southern Kōsala and Kongōda in the first half of the 7th century A. D. and also in subsequent periods.

The Cheediivalasa copper-plate inscriptions of the Kalinga king Dēvendravarma V, son of Bhūpāndravarma, dated in the Gāṅgēya Era 397 or 891 A. D. are a grant made to Āditya Bhaṭṭa, Yaju Bhaṭṭa, Šeṅgīdēśvara Bhaṭṭa and others who were Vanga or Bengal Brāhmans. The inscriptions record the grant of Siviḍi in the Kandaliḍa village in Kōluvartani Vishaya (Ganjam district). We may infer from these that

28 The writer is highly grateful to Mr. M. Ramarat, B.A., (Hons.) B.Ed, for help in this connection.
29 K. V. S. Aiyar's Historical Sketches of ancient Dakhán pp. 190 and 199.
31 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. 2 pp. 150 and 152.
people from Bengal, including Brāhmans, were settling in the Kalinga Deśa before the 9th century A.D.

The Mālkapuram stone-pillar inscription of the Kākatiya queen Rudrāmba makes mention of the Chōlas, the Draviḍas and the Gauḍas. It is stated therein that Visvēśvara Śiva, the spiritual Guru of Ganaḍa and the founder of the ‘agrahāra’ known as Visvēśvara Gōḷaki, was a native of Pūrvaṅgaṇa in the Gauḍa-Rādha country. It is also stated that he had with him some Brāhmans who were well versed in Śāma Vēda and who were the natives of the village, Pūrvaṅgaṇa, in southern Rādha (of Gauḍa), to recite the Śāma Vēda (Gauḍa-dakṣiṇa Kādhiya Pūrvaṅgaṇa samudbhāvāḥ Śrī Vatsa Gōtra subrahmaṇāḥ Śāma Vēdināḥ). He is further stated to have pleased and fulfilled the desires of several kings, the Chōlas of the four Varṇas, the Draviḍas of several Gōtras as well as the Gauḍas (Gauḍaḥ pūrṇa manorathāḥ), and all of them are said to have been his disciples. It is, thus, evident that, besides the earlier migrations of people from Gauḍa referred to before, a group of them spread into the Telugu country in the 13th century also, probably during the Muhammadan invasion of Bengal in 1202 A.D.

THE ORIGINAL OCCUPATION OR CASTE OF THE GAVARAS.

It is practically impossible to trace out the caste or tribe to which the Gavaras owe their origin. During the vicissitudes that followed their emigration and colonisation in the South, they completely lost sight of their caste, or their original occupation. There are several reasons for this. At the time of their migration, the Gavaras had amongst themselves, as may be naturally supposed, people of several castes and classes high and low. After they peacefully settled down in life in their new homes, natural necessities soon presented themselves. As generally the females form a minority in a home in such circumstances, the immigrants probably had less number of the fairer sex amongst them and this was a great drawback for them as a distinct group in a foreign land. The natives could not so easily get familiarised with these foreigners, and as not unnatural, looked upon them with a feeling of contempt or fear, and were not, probably, willing to enter into social relations with them. The result was that they had to contract matrimonial relations amongst themselves in the same social order. But, handful as they were in number, they could not hold fast to this principle for a long time. It was then considered expedient to relax the rigidity of caste and to introduce inter-caste marriages.

33. Ibid. Lines 63 and 63 of the second side of the inscription.
Inter-caste marriage was, it appears, followed by another social reform, namely widow re-marriage, as the problem of the minority of females could not yet be solved. The females were allowed to marry as many as seven times in the event their husbands died. Due to the prevalence of this practice amongst them, their caste is known as ‘ēdu manuvula jāti’, which means a caste in which marriage for seven times is allowed. The females of this caste, even to this day, wear silver bangles, on which there are seven distinct lines. Tradition also points to the fact that these indicate that the females are allowed to marry seven times successively. Though widow-marriage is not forbidden, this practice is obsolete now. The custom of ‘mēnarikam’, i.e. marrying sister’s, or maternal uncle’s daughter, seems to have been adopted in later times, in imitation of the other castes in the south. The result of these social reforms was that, within a short space of time, caste and pedigree were forgotten and the whole people formed into one distinct group.

According to the Telugu dictionary — Šabdārdha Chandrika of Mr. Mahākāli Subbā Rao, the word Gaura or Gavura means a trader, the geographical significance of which we have already traced. The Gavaras appear to have been connected with the Kōmaṭis some time back, for there are several family names amongst them, ending with the term — Šetti, i.e., modern Šēth, a Bania or merchant; and this indicates that at least a section of them were merchants. The traditions of both the castes agree, in the main, with each other Gavara Kōmaṭi is one of the sects of the Kōmaṭis at present. We have found that the Mummadi Gavara Šetti of the Nēlapalli inscriptions belonged to the mercantile community. He was evidently a man of considerable wealth and influence; and all the immigrants, including the Kōmaṭis, came under his influence, accepted his leadership and adopted trade and commerce as their main occupation. Another Gavara merchant, by name, Gavara Muddama Šetti Ganga-Malli Šetti of Rājamahēndravaramu figures prominently in two inscriptions on two images in the eastern courtyard of the Mallikārjuna Temple at Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District. One of them states that the image of Bhairava was set up by him and the other states that the image of Bhringinātha was also set up by him. The latter states that he was the son of Gavare-Muddama Šetti Malli-Šetti. The name of this Ganga-Malli Šetti of Rājamahēndravaramu also occurs in an inscription on the ‘bali-pīta’ in the northern court-yard of the same temple. It would thus appear that he was also a wealthy merchant. Probably the Gavaras and the Kōmaṭis combined into one group and had a monopoly.

of trade in the Andhra and Karnāṭa countries for some centuries after their settlement in these countries. The two words ‘Gavara’ and Kōmaţi’, therefore, became synonymous terms, meaning a merchant. But some time after, the two groups separated owing, probably, to some dispute. The wealthier people amongst them were traders and the rest were probably agriculturists; and later on they served in armies too.

But the immigrants or a section of them do not appear to have continued in the occupation of trading for any length of time. After some time they betook themselves to other callings. Owing to the paucity of historical evidence bearing on the subject, we shall take up some other source e.g., Gōtras, in order that we may get a clue to the original caste of these people. The Gōtras are, generally, traceable to place-names and names of ancestors and are a good source of information.

The Gavaras have, at present, three Gōtras, viz; Paidipāla Dhānyapāla, and Nāgapāli (evidently derived from Nāgapāla). The first embraces a vast majority of them while the other two are claimed by the Pentakōṭa and Bhīṣeṭṭi families. The suffix ‘Pāla’ in these Gōtras suggests some connection, near or remote, with the Pāla kings of Gauḍa. The Vaiśya and the Manuvāṁśa Purāṇas mention several Gōtras, ending with the term ‘Pāla’. The Manuvāṁśa Purāṇa mentions the ‘Madanapāla Gōtra’. Madanapāla was a king of Gauḍa and it is possible that some of his descendants left their country in times of trouble and settled in the south. Of the three Gōtras of the Gavaras, ‘Paidipāla’ is the most prominent. The Manuvāṁśa Purāṇa and the Vaiśya Purāṇa mention the Kānkapāla and the Paiḍikula Gōtras, which are evidently variant forms of ‘Paidipāla’. According to the Velugōṭīvāri Varṇāvali (a manuscript in the Govt. Oriental Mss: Library, Madras. Book No. 15:5:32. pp.145), Paidipāla is one of the family names of the members of the Velugōṭi family. It appears that this Paiḍipāla was an eminent personality, and gained prominence amongst these castes, which were allied to one another, when conditions of caste were not so rigid as at present. Another point to be considered is that the ‘Paidipāla’, mentioned in the Chronicle of the Velugoṭī family, is a surname, but it is a Gōtra amongst the Gavaras. It seems likely that Paiḍipāla, Dhānyapāla, and Nāgapāla were born in

38 38 खल्लि कमल संदिपधलवंशोधन सुखनन्दकक्क || 7वेत षष्ठ लांशन || चन्द्र नार्मकरण ग्रंथ राज्य स्थानवार्ती वाडियंकुमळ अर्थ जन्मातामणि वाडियंकुमळ सर्व नाम बिमाई || खल्लि कारण दुरंधर खामि कारण वंशिनि तल्लुगुंद गंगु परमन्य मर्यकर तेष्म भाष्यां धीपाट पदाराणबंकलेन पाइपाठल नार्मक्कल स्थयविदुव विजयम्यमति विजेतस्वा. ||

(पूर्वलिमात्र विदुतु.)
the south and were named with the title 'Pāla', in imitation of their ancestors, the 'Pālas of Gauḍa'. 37 Of them, Pā dpi pāla rose to eminence and was, somehow, allied to the Velugōti family. When the country was conquered by the Mohammedans, the petty ruling chiefs and their followers who could not gain possession of the country took themselves to agriculture, as is the case with the Reḍdis, the Velamas and the Kammas etc. today. At the time of separation from the parent group, the Gavaras had this Paiḍipāla as their surname, but as families multiplied, they adopted the modern surnames among their respective families and Paiḍipāla as their Gotra. A few families, who did not retain or forgot their own Gotras, adopted 'Paiḍipāla as their Gotra, in view of his being their leader in the past. This probably accounts for the fact that the majority of the Gavaras claim to belong to this Gotra.

It would, thus, appear that the Gavaras comprised mostly of merchants and Kāyasthas. For, the families in Bengal who have the surnames of Pāl, Sēn, and Sūr are at present considered to be Kāyasthas. The Pāla kings of Gauḍa were Buddhists, and the inference, naturally, is that the Gavaras were also Buddhists who recognised no caste distinctions at least to the extent that Manu and other law-givers did. This was another reason why they have been able to introduce liberal social reforms and thus meet the growing needs of society.

Another curious fact is that the principal crop of cultivation of the Gavaras, at present, is that of sugar-cane. From this also we may conclude that they had some connection with Bengal, which, according to some antiquarians, originally denoted the land of sugar-cane. In the Amara-Kōśa, one of the names mentioned to mean sugar-cane is 'qundrah' (Rasāla ikshus tad bēdhah pundrah kāntārakādayah.) The ancient Bhakti, Paundravadhana (Bengal), therefore, derived its name from 'pundrah'. Anakāpalli Taluk in the Vizagapatam district, which is now the central abode of these people, is noted for its sugar-cane cultivation and manufacture of a good quality of jaggery.

Before closing this topic we shall refer to a jocular saying 'Seema-Nēpaḷam', by which the Gavaras are addressed by other castes on occasions of joking. It is curious why they are so addressed and why some of them resent. 'Seemanēpaḷam, as we understand at present, is the

37. It is also possible that the ancestors of the Gavaras might have been junior members of the families of the Pala kings of Gauda or petty ruling chiefs subordinate to the Pala kings. The surname 'Pala' was, in those days, adopted by several ruling chiefs in Bengal and its dependencies, as it was then considered to be more respectable.
name of a medicinal plant, and the joke would have no significance if the term refers to a plant. It must, therefore, indicate something derogatory rather than meaning a mere herb, as otherwise the term would not have given pleasure or pain to the speaker or to the people spoken to respectively; and a meaningless saying could not have spread among the people and survived for such a long time. 38 The meaning of this term can easily be interpreted if we would turn our attention towards Gauda.

In our opinion, Nēpāl had something to do with these people. Some of the Pāla kings of Gauḍa, notably Dharma Pāla and Dēva Pāla, are credited with very wide conquests. Dēvapāla is said to have ruled over India, Ceylon and other islands, the Kāmbōjas of the north-west Himālayas, the Huns, and a part of Tibet also. 39 When the immigrants from Gauḍa were questioned by the natives of the south, as to the location of their country, the former must have been mentioning, among others, Nēpāl as the northern-most boundary of their kingdom. The Gavaras went from the eastern India, and the natives of the south wanted only to know the western and northern boundaries; and as the natives were probably conversant with the kingdoms of the west of India, they had only to take note of the northern boundary. As usual the Gavaras maintained a fair standard of exaggeration in describing events as others of their times, and mentioned Nēpāl as the northern boundary of their kingdom, bearing in mind the territories acquired by some of the Pāla kings, although few or none of these territories were left undisturbed by the invaders, during the period they left their mother-land. Ever since that time, the term Seema (boundary)- Nēpālam (Nēpāl) came to be applied to them. This, as was done in the past, is at present being used with an element of contempt and ridicule, as is natural in the case of all foreigners, and hence the people have cause to resent.

THE KŌMATIS.

The Kōmaṭis are a trading caste of the Āndhra Dēsa. They do not appear to be the original inhabitants of the country, but like the

38 Proverbs have peculiar meanings and they express a truth rooted in experience, but the experience is that of a particular people or of a particular country, and the sayings in which it is summed up are coloured by the spirit of the time when they were coined and of the nation which produced them. No one, indeed, can fail to be struck by the intensely popular character of Indian proverbial philosophy and by its freedom from the note of pedantry which is so conspicuous in Indian literature. These quaint sayings have dropped-fresh from the lips of the Indian rustic and convey a vivid impression of the anxieties, the troubles, the annoyances and the humours of his daily life. Sir H. H. Risley's People of India. pp 125-126

39 Mazumdar's Hindu History pp 695 & 700
Gavaras, have come to this part of India from a distant country by migration and settled permanently. Although migrations involved great hardships and lowered the status of the migrating people, the unsettled condition of the country that usually followed religious and political disturbances left no other alternative for the more scrupulous and peace loving section of the people, than to leave their mother-land and to settle in a foreign country. As a natural effect, the Komatis also lost the name, the customs and manners of their own caste and acquired the name of their native country with which they used to be associated by the local people.

The Kōmaṭis are vegetarians\(^{40}\) and unlike the Gavaras, wear the Yagnopavitam or the sacred thread like the Brāhmans. They trace their origin to the Vaiśyas of the Āryan period. The latter, however, were not only traders but also agriculturists and cattle-herds. Of late, it has been the practice of several castes in India to link up the origin of their castes to some mythical hero of the Purāṇas and thus claim an Āryan origin. We have occasional references in the Purāṇas themselves, of inter-marriages between the Āryan and the non-Āryan people; and later, as history would tell us, during the Buddhist period, this inter-mingling of blood was carried on a larger scale. And Āryan, non-Āryan and other races freely mixed with one another in this country. Persian, Greek, Scythian, Yue-chi, Hun, Mongol and other foreign races came to India, horde after horde, settled and mixed up with the Indians and were absorbed into the all-embracing Hinduism. It is on account of this great inter-mixture of races that the modern ethnographists fail to trace out the exact origin of most of the castes and tribes of India today. While the other trading communities in India are styled as Baniya or Vanija, Baṇik, Vaṇik, Sēṭh or Mahājan, one fails to understand why the merchants of the Telugu country alone should be known as Kōmaṭi, when there are several general terms for them. The Telugu dictionaries mention the terms Bachchu, Bēri and Kōmaṭi as referring to the Vaiśyas, which afford no clue to their origin. The term Kōmaṭi is the only name applied generally to the merchants in the Telugu country at present.

- One of the theories advanced is that the term Kōmaṭi is derived from Gōmati, which refers to the traditional cow-herding of the Vaiśyas. This is hardly probable, for, the Vaiśyas have long since given up their traditional occupations of cattle-herding and agriculture; and the same

\(^{40}\) It appears that some time after the Komatis settled in the south, they seem to have embraced Jainism; and this most probably accounts for their having given up meat diet. The Kalinga Komatis, however, are not vegetarians in the present times.
have been taken up by other castes. Some state that it is a variant of the Sanskrit word Ku-mati or baseminded, referring to the exacting practices of the members of this caste as money-lenders and village grocers. Gōmaṭha is, according to the Śloka quoted below from the Kanyaka Purāṇa, one of the names of the Vaiśyas:—

'Arya Ĭruja Vaśyaścha—Gōmāṭho dvija ēvacha,
ētannāmāni Vaiśyānām—Samjnitānicha paursūḥāt'.

Rao Bahadur T. Bhagavantam Gupta states that the word Gōmaṭha referred to in the above Śloka is identical with Gōmaṭhi or one belonging to Gōmaṭha, a Jain monastery founded by Chandra-Gupta Maurya near Sṛavaṇa Belgōla in the Mysore state alluded to in the previous chapter and that the term Kōmaṭi is derived from Gō-maṭhi. This view does not seem to be probable, as no reason can be found why the merchants alone should have been known by that name, and others left over; we shall discuss further this point later on.

There are several sects amongst the Kōmaṭis such as Yajna-Kōmaṭi, Gavara-Kōmaṭi, Kaḷinga Kōmaṭi, Arava-Kōmaṭi, Nēti-Kōmaṭi, Vidura-Kōmaṭi, Rāipāk-Kōmaṭi etc. Of these, the first two seem to be the most ancient, and the rest formed at some later periods. The names of these sects indicate that those of the original stock of the Kōmaṭi that migrated and settled in different parts of Southern India and elsewhere acquired the name of the country they settled in. The Nēti-Kōmaṭis are said to have separated from the main stock, owing to a dispute in connection with the serving of ghee at a feast, and the Vidura-Kōmaṭis are said to have originated from the illegitimate offspring amongst the Kōmaṭis. As we are now mostly concerned with the Gavara-Kōmaṭis, we shall turn our attention to that part of India to which we have traced the history of the Gavaras, viz; Gauḍa.

The Kōmaṭis seem to have migrated from Kāmatā Mandala, which was one of the divisions of the ancient kingdom of Kānarūpa. Both Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa were neighbouring kingdoms and at times one was a dependency of the other. Under these circumstances there was every possibility of the people from one country going to the other.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF KĀMATĀ

The history of Kāmatā, as a political seat, begins from about the middle of the 6th century; and prior to that period, it was a 'mandala' or division within the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. According to Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, the name Kāmatā or Kāmtā may have been derived from Kāmadā, Kāntā, or Kāma which were the various names of
the deity Kāmākshya as stated in the Kālikā Purāṇa. We have no reliable account of Kāmatā till the rise of the Ghōsha dynasty in the 8th century A.D., during which period it developed into a small principality. Kāmatāpur or the town of Kāmatā lay on the eastern bank of the Dhārā river, which flows south-west of the town of Koch-Behār and joins the Brahmaputra. The kingdom is prominently marked as ‘Reino de Cōmotāh’ or ‘Cōmotāy’ in the maps of De Barros and Blaeu. Dr. Francis Buchanan, who made a survey of eastern India, visited the ruins of Kāmatāpur, estimated its circumference at nineteen miles. The palace, as in the case of Burmese and Chinese towns, stood in the centre. The details of the ruins of Kāmatāpur are described in Buchanan’s Eastern India (edited by Montgomery Martin), Vol. III. (pp. 426–438). The Mohammadan historians, in Riyaz-us-salatin and Ain-i-Akbari, sometimes speak as if the terms Kāmarūpa and Kāmatā were synonymous and applicable to one and the same country, but on other occasions as two distinct countries. Cunningham tried to identify the capital of Kāmarūpa, which the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang visited, with Kāmatīpur or Kāmatāpur. But his identification of Paundravardhana with Pābna or Pubna does not seem to be correct. According to some scholars Paundravardhana is identical with Panḍua 215 miles from Calcutta in Eastern Bengal, while others identify it with Mahāsthān Garh 226 miles from Calcutta in Eastern Bengal. Inscriptions so far discovered do not mention the names of Kāmatā and Kāmatāpur.

In his Social History of Kāmarūpa, Mr. N. N. Vasu has given an English translation of a copper-plate grant of Īśvara Ghōsha of the Ghōsha dynasty, which gives a short account of Dhūrta Ghōsha (Cir. 950–975). During the period, when Koch-Behār was under the feudatory chiefs of the Dāsa dynasty and North Bengal under the Kāmbājā rulers, who had forcibly taken this part of the country from the Pāla kings, Dhūrta Ghōsha made himself master of Dhekkāri, a small principality corresponding to the eastern part of Koch-Behār modern Goālpāra and part of Kāmarūpa. The grant goes on to say that Bāla Ghōsha, son of Dhūrta Ghōsha was a great military genius and was the boast of his

42. H. Blochmann’s Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal pp. 32.
43. Ibid. Plate IV.
44. Ibid. pp. 31 and 32.
45. Gait’s History of Assam, pp. 42–43.
46. Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India edited by S. N. Majumdar. pp. 572–574.
caste people. His son Dhavala Ghōsha, also known as Dhavala Rāya or Dhal Ray according to the Dharma-mangalas⁴⁸ of Rāḍha, was a powerful ruler of the kingdom of Dhekkāri under the suzerainty of the king of Gauḍa. He is said to have had his capital at a place called Kāmṭā-Gaḍa or fort of Kāmṭā. As he stopped payment of tribute to his suzerain, the latter is stated to have sent his general, Lausēṇa, or Lavasēṇa to subdue him; and a terrible battle took place at Kāmṭā-Gaḍa and Dhal Ray was defeated and captured. He afterwards paid tribute for 21 years and gave his daughter in marriage to Lausēṇa.⁴⁹

Mr. Vasu has assigned Dhavala Ghōsa to the period 1000-1026 A. D.,⁵⁰ and states that Kāmṭā-Gaḍa was founded by Dhūrta Ghōsha or his son Bāla Ghōsha. He further said that, according to the Dharma-mangalas, the king of Gauḍa referred to here has been called the son of Dharmapāla; and that this Dharmapāla of the Dharma-mangala has been elsewhere described as the king of Daṇḍabhuṣṭi, who was defeated and killed by Rājendra Chōla. The king of Gauḍa is identified by Mr. Vasu as Mahīpāla I (Cir. 975-1025 A. D.)⁵¹ We can, therefore, assume that the fort of Kāmṭā was founded some time in the 10th century A. D., and before this Kāmṭā was, as stated before, a division in the kingdom of Kāmarūpa.

MIGRATIONS FROM KĀMARŪPA AND KĀMATĀ.

We have stated before that Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa ruled over the territories of Śaśānka till about 650 A. D. After the death of the latter, Śrī Harsha seems to have given the sovereignty of Udra and Kongōda countries to his friend Bhāskaravarman. It was probably about this period that a migration of people from Kāmarūpa took place. The Dharmaṅgōśvara C. P. Grant of the Kaṅga king Asantavarma mentions the name of a certain Vishnu Sōmāchārya of Parāśaragōtra, a native of Śrīṅgāṭikāgrahāra, in the district of Kāmarūpa (Assam).⁵² This inscription is dated in the Gāṅgāya Era 204 or 698 A. D. From this it would appear the people from Kāmarūpa were settling in Kaṅgaṇadēśa since the 7th century A. D.

Śrī Harisāla alias Śrī Harshavarma Dēva of the Bhagadatta's line of Kāmarūpa, who flourished in the 2nd half of the 8th century A.D., is

⁴⁸ The Dharma-mangalas are books dealing with the worship and spread of Dharma on earth, and contain stories concerning ethics.
⁴⁹ Social History of Kamarupa pp. 206—207.
⁵⁰ Ibid. pp 228.
said to have been the lord of Gauda, Udra, Kalinga and Kosala etc. (Gaudogradi-Kalinga-Kosalapati). Although this is a largely exaggerated statement, there is no doubt that he was a powerful ruler, and had under his sway some outlying portion of the Kalinga country; and it is possible that some people settled in Kalingadesa, having gone there on mercantile, state and other business, about this period also.

Mr. N. N. Vasu, quoting from a book 'Karanavartha', states that Harilhara, one of the descendants of Kirtinaga a feudatory chief under Asisur, went to the kingdom of Kuvacha or Koch (Behar) and acquired eminence in the service of the state. Heruka and Vasuki Nagas were his sons. Both of them conquered the land of Koti. Vasuki settled in Kalinga, while Heruka ruled at Banaakota (Pargana of Deokot in the modern district of Dinajpur). This place came to be called Nagakota on account of the ascendency of the Nagas.

It has been narrated before that Dhurta Ghosha of the Ghosha dynasty acquired the territory of Dhekkari during the anarchical state of the country of Gauda, owing to the intrusion of the Kambojas during the 2nd half of the 10th century. This dynasty seems to have belonged to Raigha in Bengal. Most likely some people of Kamata settled in Gauda during his reign. About this period, the kingdom of Kamarupa seems to have been in an anarchical state. In the chronology of the kings of Kamarupa, there is a gap of about 100 years after Balavarman III (Cir. 875—890); the names of the kings are also not yet discovered. For a better understanding of the subject, we quote below the relevant portion of the Bargaon copper-plate inscription of Ratnapala Deva (1000—1030):

"After thus, for several generations, kings of Naraka's dynasty had ruled the whole country, a great chief of the Melchhas, owing to a turn of (adverse) fate, took possession of the kingdom. (This was) Salarstamba. In succession to him also there were chiefs, altogether twice ten (i.e., twenty) in number, who are well known as Vigrahastamba and the rest. Seeing that the twenty-first of them, the illustrious chief Tyaga Sinha by name, had departed to heaven without (leaving) any of his race to succeed him, his subjects, thinking it well that a Bhauma (i.e., one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, choose Brahmapala, from among his kindred, to be their king on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country."

From this it is clear that there had been nineteen kings between Salarstamba and Tyaga Sinha; but according to the latest researches,

there had only been eleven kings between Sālastamba and Tyāga Sinha, and twenty-four kings between Pushyavarman, the first king of the Varman dynasty and Tyāga Sinha. It would therefore, appear that the number of kings given in Ratnapāla’s inscription is not correct; and the inconsistency has, rightly, been explained by Mr. N. N. Vasu, when he states that during the rule of the Varma dynasty, the Sinha dynasty had been reigning elsewhere in a subordinate capacity, and that Tyāga Sinha of this line was the twenty-first of his (Sinha) dynasty, and that he made himself master of Prāgjōtisha after the death of Balavarma III.56

During this period, the country was ruled over by weaklings; and some of the people of Kāmata, probably, settled in Gauḍā, some time in the 10th century, from where they migrated to the south along with the Gavaras, under the leadership of Mummaḍi Gavaraśeṭṭi, as already stated. The term ‘Kōmaṭi’ might have been derived from Kāmata, which was also known as Kōmotā. The vowel ‘a’ is often pronounced as ‘o’ in these parts of India. De Barros and Blaeu have recorded the name Kāmata as ‘Cōmotāh or Cōmotāy’, according to popular pronunciation. The kings of Kāmata bore the title ‘Kōmotē śvara’. The ‘t’ in the word ‘Kamata’ is dental, but it is cerebral in ‘Kōmaṭi’. This change in the pronunciation, probably, took place in the south; and Kōmotā changed into Kōmotā, as in the case of some of the words, e. g., Śukti (Sansk.) Śuttru (Tamil) Śuttu (Canarese) is pronounced in Telugu as Chuṭṭu (meaning round, as a ring, a coil, a round about way), Gita (line) Gitu, Bhakta (devotee) Bhaṭṭa etc. The adjectival form of Kōmotā is Kōmoṭi as for instance, illu (house) inṭi, nudur (forehead) nuduti, vākili (a door-way) vākiṭi etc. Kōmaṭi had, thus, been derived from Kōmoṭa and signifies its people, just as Mārwādis, Mahrāṭhis, Bengālees and others are called after their respective countries. In course of time, the term ‘Kōmoṭi’ came to be pronounced as Kōmaṭi, and in the early stages, used as an adjective, probably along with the pronoun ‘vāḍu’ (singular) or vāru’ or ‘vāṇḍru’ (plural), which, however, seem to have been soon dropped the word ‘Kōmaṭi’ came into general use i. e., one belonging to Kōmoṭa or Kāmata. These people came to be known as ‘Gavara-kōmaṭi’ owing to the fact of their having migrated to Gauḍa or Gaur from their native country Kāmata or Kōmotā. The rest of the Kōmaṭiṣ, who happened to migrate to Kaḷing and other countries came to be known as Kaḷinga-Kōmaṭiṣ etc.

The Kōmaṭiṣ seem to have spread into the Āndhra Deśa in the beginning of the 11th century, for, we find the term ‘Kōmaṭi’ mentioned

in an inscription of Śaka year 990 or 1068 A. D., discovered in the Drāksahārāma Bhimēśvara temple (Godavari district). This inscription states that Pāpaya, a son of Kamma Kōmaṭi Mēdiasqēṭṭi made an endowment of 50 bull's, promising to supply ghee for a light which he offered to God Bhimēśvara, during the victorious reign of king Vishnuvardhana.

THE ORIGINAL CASTE OR OCCUPATION OF THE KŌMAṬIS.

It is difficult to definitely trace the caste to which the Kōmaṭis originally belonged. It is probable that they comprised several castes and tribes, like the Gavaras. We find strange terms in the Vaiśya and the Kanyakā Purānas. A śloka from the Kanyakā Purāṇa has been quoted before, from which we find that Gōmaṭha is one of the terms, by which the Vaiśyas are known. We shall discuss the subject.

According to Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, the capital of Kāmarūpa was shifted from Gauhati to Kāmatāpūr in the 1st half of the 13th century, which was found necessary owing to the extension of the power of the Kacharis, who by this time advanced towards the west up to the boundary of the modern district of Kāmrūp, which was then the western boundary of the kingdom of Kāmatā. The Ahōms, from whom Assam derived its name, entered Assam from the north-east, and firmly established themselves under their leader Sukāphā by about 1253 A.D. Sukhāṅgpha, the great grand-son of Sukāphā, pushed so far to the west as to come into conflict with the Rāja of Kāmatā (1293-1332 A.D.). On the north bank of the Brahmaṇputra, the country seems to have been ruled by a line of Chuṭia kings and also by some Bhuyans, who were ultimately subdued by the Ahōms.

The Chuṭias and later the Khen kings ruled the kingdom of Kāmatā for a period of about 250 years, ending with Nīlāmber during whose reign Kāmatā was invaded by Hussein Shah, the Sultan of Gaur and Kāmatāpūr sacked in 1498 A. D. The Bhūyāns came into power after this event, and occupying small tracts, continued to rule the country independently of one another. But they used to combine into a confederacy under one leader, whenever a common enemy such as a Muslim invader appeared. The leader of such a confederacy was known as Gāmathā, the Kāmarūpi equivalent of the Persian word 'Gōmastā' meaning an agent. According to the Gāmathā Vamsāval, these Bhūyāns

59. Gait’s History of Assam pp. 43.
were originally in Kanauj, but migrated to Gaur, when the Muslims occupied their country and began to kill cows and Brahmans. The Muslims followed them there too and committed atrocities on the Hindus. The Bhūyānīs then removed themselves to Kāmatā and settled therein. They all combined here and successfully resisted the Muslims. They elected a Śirōmaṇī Bhūyān among themselves and followed his lead in war. The Bhūyānīs were, as has been stated above, petty rulers, but the Gāmathā was the chief of all. 61 Most of these Bhūyānīs are said to have been Kāyasthas by caste. When the Muslims were trying to establish their rule in Rādhā and Varēndra (in Bengal), the local Buddhistic population had a good fight with the Muslims, who defeated the petty chiefs amongst the former. The Buddhist Śramans, therefore, fled to Nepal, Mithila, Eastern Bengal and Kaṅlinga. About this period, the Rāḍha and Varēndra Brahmans were being patronised by the Muslim rulers. The Muslims and the Brahmans disliked the Buddhists and managed to drive them away completely from the country. 62 The Muhammadan historian, Minhajuddin also states that a migration of the people of Bengal took place, during the invasion of that country by Mahammad, son of Bukhtiyan, when a considerable number of Brahmans and other Hindus fled into Kamrūd (Kāmarūpa), Bang (Bengal), and Sankanat (Jagannath or Orissa). 63 About this period, some Gāmathās who settled in Gaur probably migrated to Kaṅlingadēśa; and the Gōmaṭha referred to in the Kanyakā Purāṇa is probably the same as the Gāmathā mentioned before.

Another name by which the Vaiśyas (the Kōmaṭis) are known is Nagara. The temple of Nagarēśvara was constructed by and named after them. Rao Bahadur T. Bhagavantham Gupta states that they were so called due to the fact that they live in Nagaras or cities; but people of other castes also live in cities and there is no reason why they should also not be known as Nagaras. We are of opinion that the Nagaras originally seem to have been called as Nagas: and that the term 'Naga' seems to have been changed into Nagara as in the case of words such as Śāstri Śāstriṛ, Dēva Dēvār, Śwāmi Śwāmīṛ etc. The Nāgas are one of the tribes of Assam, on whose origin Sir E. A. Gait observes as follows; 'The people whom we call Nāgas are known to the Assamese as Nāga, they belong to a diversity of tribes, each speaking its own language and calling itself by a distinctive name. The collective designation by which they are known to the Assameses seems to be derived, as suggested by

Holcombe and Peal, from 'nok'† which means 'folk' in some of the tribal dialects. The Nagas also appear to have migrated from Kāmarūpa; and the change of the term 'Naga' into 'Nagara' took place after they settled in southern India.

It is curious to find the Kakatis in the history of Assam. The Kākatīyas were a famous dynasty, who ruled the Āndhradēśa for about four centuries, from their capitals Hanumakonda and Warangal in the Nizam's dominions (Hyderabad). Sir E. A. Gait, while mentioning some of the designations of the state officials of the Ahōm kings, states that the Kākatis were the writers of the Ahōm kings. As this is an important subject requiring careful consideration, we shall defer further discussion on this point for a later occasion. For our present purpose, it is enough to say that the Kākatīs of Assam are considered to be Kayasthas.

It would, thus, appear that the Kōmaṭīs also originally comprised several castes and tribes like the Gavaras; but by the influence of Mummaḍi Gavaraśeṭṭi, they adopted trade as their main occupation. Some of them seem to have later on risen to the position of Rashṭrakūṭas, Rāṭṭas or Reddis, and appear to have been somehow connected with the foundation of the Kondaviḍu kingdom of the Reddi rulers, as several of these rulers had the appellation 'Kōmaṭi', viz; Kōmaṭi Prōla, Kōmaṭindra Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Kōmaṭi Reddi, Śrigiri Kōmaṭi Reddi etc. The term Reddi, was, in those days, applied to rulers and petty chiefs, and not indicating the name of a caste as at present. Mr. C. Virabhadra Rao has discredited the tradition relating to the foundation of the kingdom by the help of a Kōmaṭi, but there is some truth in the story.

It is not known when the Kōmaṭīs separated from the Gavaras; and the circumstances under which the various sects amongst them were formed. According to a tradition of the Kalinga Kōmaṭīs, it appears that the sect was formed in the 18th century. Prior to this period, the members of this sect and those of the Gavara Kōmaṭī were a single group, as some of the family names of the Gavara Kōmaṭīs are current among the Kalinga-Kōmaṭī also. Their tradition maintains that a dispute occurred between them and the Gavara-Kōmaṭīs in 1794 A. D., near the shrine of Padmanābha, as a result of which they separated from the Gavara-Kōmaṭīs; and visiting the hill or shrine of Padmanābha is, still, a taboo amongst them.66

† 'Nok' is, apparently, a degenerate provincial pronunciation of 'lok', which means 'folk'. The consonants 'n' and 'l' are inter-changeable.

64. Gait's History of Assam pp. 313-314.
65 Gait's History of Assam pp 238-239.
66 Kaliningadesa Charitramu pp. 28.
CONCLUSION.

The foregoing lines are an attempt at bringing out a brief account of the Gavaras and the Kōmaṭis, within the domain of historical literature. In doing this, a few epigraphical, literary and other sources have been consulted and referred to in these pages. There was a series of migrations of a people from north-eastern India to southern India, but the fact has rarely been touched upon or discussed by scholars of Indian history at any great length.

We have mentioned several instances in which the people from Gaṇḍa migrated to and settled in various parts of India, from the beginning of the 7th century till the 13th century A.D. The Nēlapalli inscriptions enable us to fix, at best, a probable date of one of these migrations. Another instance of migration is proved by the Malkapuram stone-pillar inscription. A few stray evidences such as the Cheēdivalasā plates of Dēvēndravarma have also been given. The facts that the immigrants had to face critical problems and that they had to adopt peculiar social customs have been admitted at certain points; and it has been observed that the Gavaras had amongst them wealthy merchants and Kāyasthas.

With regard to the Kōmaṭis, we have, unfortunately no epigraphical evidence in support of our view. But it should be remembered that the history of Kāmatā, as a seat of central government commences only from the 13th century A.D., when the capital was shifted from Gauhati to Kāmatāpura. In fact, the inscriptions relating to the history of Kāmarūpa itself are very limited in number. Nevertheless, a few stray evidences have been given, from which we find that people from Kāmarūpa and Kāmatā were settling in Southern India from the 7th century A.D. The Cheēdivalasā plates of Dēvēndravarma mention the name of a village Kandalivāḍa, which seems to have been founded by a family of Kandalis. We might, incidentally, state that these Kandalis belonged originally to Kamarupa, for, we find the names of a few celebrated poets of this family who flourished in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries in the courts of the kings of Kāmatā and Kāmarūpa; and the works of Mādhavo Kandali, Rudra Kandali, Śrīdhara Kandali, and Ananta Kandali are still extant in Assam. The existence of the Kākatis, who were writers in the past, is also curious, and raises important issues with regard to the origin of the Kākatiyas of Telingāna. We may, thus, conclude that there occurred a few migrations from Kāmarūpa and Kāmatā also; and these require further research and it is hoped that this aspect of our history will receive the attention of scholars and a more detailed and exact account of these people will sooner or later be brought into existence.
AN INSCRIPTION OF SURYA VARMAN OF THE ASWAPATI FAMILY

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA.

When I was looking into the pages of the Hindi Journal "Saraswati" Vol. 17 part I, I came across an article heading सूर्यवर्मा का शिलालेख. The word सूर्यवर्मा being familiar to me, it struck me that this inscription might be helpful in indentifying king सूर्यवर्मा father-in-law of king Harsha Gupta of Mahākōsala. सूर्यवर्मा, a king of the Magadha वर्मा line finds a mention in the Lakshman temple inscription (now in the Raipur Museum) found at Sirpur (old Sripur) on the Mahānadi. सूर्यवर्मा’s daughter by name बासटा was married to Harsh Gupta, whose son was Mahā Shiva Gupta otherwise known as बास्त्रे. During the reign of her son, Mahā Shiva Gupta, queen Vāṣaṭā got a beautiful temple constructed in memory of her worthy husband and to this temple the inscription was affixed. The characters of the Sripur inscription closely resemble those of the inscription belonging to Sūryavarma a fac-simile of which is published in the ‘Saraswati’. The original inscription of सूर्यवर्मा is deposited in the Lucknow museum. It was discovered in a village in the Harāhā Taluq of Bārābanki District, in Oudh. It is in Sanskrit Verse which number 23. The प्रशस्तिकार: कवित्रि was one विकाशीति. It was engraved by Mihir Varman. It is dated in the Vikram era 611 or 554 A. D. This date is of special interest to us for the fact that it will enable us to fix the dates of Harsha Gupta and his son Mahā Śiva Gupta with certainty.

With a view to introduce king सूर्यवर्मा a short summary of the inscription in question is needed. The inscription begins with स्वति to God Śiva, which covers the first two Slokas. The third sloka runs as follows:—

युद्धवर्तम इति महापतिन्यायक्षविवाहयुगाधिवेदितम
तत्त्वसूत्तादिवृत्ताः पुरुषर: निश्चित: ष्ठताःः॥

From Asvapati sprang the मुल्लर or भोलरी dynasty. The geneology begins with इरिक्तम्या who assumed the title of श्यामायुक्त. His son was
famous for performing यहू (slokas 8, 9, 10). He had as his son ईशानवर्मा (sloka 11 to 16) who conquered the Andhra king possessing 1000 war elephants and the Mulikās who had 10000 horses. He defeated the Gaudās living on the Sea-coast. He had a very great army. He was a very pious and religious man. The son of this powerful king was सूर्यवर्मन ।

One day when this prince सूर्यवर्मन was out on a hunting excursion, he came across a delapidated old temple of Śiva of very fine make. Under his orders the old temple was repaired and reconstructed and the stone inscription was set up there to commemorate the ‘glorious deed’ of the pious prince. The repairing of the temple was done in the Vikram year 611 when king Ishāna Vermah, after vanquishing his enemies was reigning. One thing of great historical importance, which this inscription lays before us, is about the origin of the सूर्खर kings. It was unknown to us where the सूर्खर kings originated. Our present inscription is explicit on this point. The originator of this family was Asvapati the worthy father of the adorable सावित्री of Purānic fame, whose sacred name is a household word in every Hindu home. We learn from the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, that सावित्री owing to her unflinching devotion to her husband सत्यवान not only succeeded in undoing the death of her husband but also was successful in securing the grant of a boon for the bestowal of one hundred sons upon his father together with the restoration of his lost eye-sight. Let me quote here a passage from the “Mahābhārata”

Savitri said (to Yama):—

“O bestower of honour, as you have not condescended to grant me my other desire without my good fortune acquired by my holy and pious deeds, so in this case also I see you are ready to grant me my desire; hence my desire is that Satyavana may be alive again as I am almost dead without my husband. Without him I do not desire to be happy, I do not wish to go to heaven. I do not want to enjoy wealth and riches, not even do I care to live without my husband. Just consider, you have already granted that I may give birth to a hundred sons, yet you are taking away my husband; So my prayer is that Satyavana may get his life back by which alone your words may be proved true.”

Markandeya said,—Then, Yama, the son of the Sun, being much pleased with her said, “Be it so”, and setting Satyavāna free, again said to Savitri. “O auspicious one! see, I release your husband. O daughter of a respectable family you are at liberty to take him along with you, he will be free from diseases and be always successful in his attempts. Your father too will beget hundred sons in your
mother Mālavī and your god-like brothers with their sons and grandsons will become famous by the name of Mālavāśi.

Father of Susūtrī was the ruler of a country called Madra (mudra) Satyavana’s father Dyumatiśena was the king of Śalva (śalva).

In the country of Madra, there was a noble, pious, continent and skilful king named Akṣyapati (Aśwpati). From this king Akṣyapati who was the ruler of Mudra, the Mukhars (mukha:) trace their descent. The genealogy of Śīry Varmā is as follows:

In the family of king Akṣyapati, there was born king Harivarmā whose son was Ādityavarmā his son was Ikṣvantivarman father of Ikṣvantivarman whose son was Sūryavarmā of our inscription.

These Varmā kings occupied the major portion of Mālavā and the Asiragarh (Dist. Nimar C. P.) seal lends support to this theory. The seal belongs to Śarva Varman, son of Īśāna Varman whose father was Adityavarman, the son of Mahāraja Harivarman.

The Mukhar dynasty, it appears had many branches and they were simultaneously ruling over Maṇḍāra, Kāntakuru, and Matēra. Īśāna Varma one of the powerful Mukhar Rulers had conquered the Lord of Āndhra Dēśa—who had an army of 1000 war-elephants, had defeated the Multiṣas who had 10000 horses (cavalry), had compelled the Gaudás to leave the sea-border country as is apparent from the following śloka:—

जित्वाधिशीतिमत्रं सहस्रगणित श्राध्याध्यार्गरम्
व्यागताधिशीतिनित्रं संवेश्वरां भूक्त्वरणे मुलिकान्।
कुला चाचन्ति सोचित्त स्थलान्यमुर्गाश्च गौदानामयी
नात्प्रसिद्ध नतक्रियापरं सिंहासनं यो जि́त्ति।

13th śloka of inscription.

1. Pitruḥante pūjyaṁ mābhita tathā maṭārī.
Mālavāṁ māṭvānanāṁ āśātha: pūrṇapati: ||

2. Does the epithet Akṣyapati of Akṣyapati Gajapati Narapati Rajātraśāthipati of several inscriptions owe its origin to this line of kings one of whom had conquered Ānubhādeśa.
The Mahākōsala country seems to be very powerful during this period of Iśāna Varman's reign and thereabout. The lords of कोसल were styled as प्राच्य परमेश्वर the Supreme Lord of the eastern region.

From the Lakshman temple inscriptions of Bālārjuna Śiva Gupta, it is clear that Sūrya Varman had his capital and kingdom somewhere to the west of the Kōsala, apparently Mahākōsala kingdom.

Sūryavarman—the father in-law of king Harsh Gupta of Kōsala and the father of queen Vāsaṭā to whom is attributed the erection of the superb brick temple at Sirpur (old Šripur) in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces, is in all probability the same Sūryavarman of Mukhar Line—the son of Iśana Varman of our inscription.

I close my paper with the following quotations from the Lakshman temple inscription referred to above:

क्षानं चित्रादुपत्तं दुःश्रम्भमेति लक्ष्य: प्रसूतिसमये यजुवाहसंपुर।
तेनान्तु: सततेयं चामान्य: श्रीहस्पुर्दु हृति नाम ततो [यवह] 
...
...
...
...
तत्सम्भ जायत महाशिवमुराराजो धर्मावतार हृति निर्बिद्धं प्रतीतः।
भोमेन य: सुतं इत्यथां: पुरुषायुष्यं विहाय रणकेसरिणातुलेन।

१२
...
...
...
...
तस्योंतन्त्य जायनो जननी जनानामु ईशाय शैठनयेन समु是中国ोऽव:।
विस्मयनी विनेय लोकपियांभूमं श्री वास्तेति नरसिंहनामः सतेव।
२५
निष्पक्षे मनंधारिपतः जात: खुले भर्मणां
पुष्पाभिः: कृतिम: हृति कृतमन: कन्यापुष्पाभिज्ञनासु।
यामासायुष्मात: हिमाचल हव: श्री सूर्यस्वत्तुलात्मक:।
प्रप प्राच्च परमेश्वर चहरुतागाभिनिक्षर्न पद्मु।

Born in the unblemished family of the Varnmans, great on account of (their) supremacy over Magadha, the illustrious (and) pious king Sūrya Varmana who had caused trembling in the hearts of the gods by his virtuous acts, having got this daughter (Vāsaṭā), obtained the very proud honour of being the father-in-law of the great lord (परमेश्वर) of the East, like Himālaya (who obtained before a similar honour by marrying his daughter Pārvati to the great god (परमेश्वर) Śiva. 3

The word प्राच्च परमेश्वर to denote the lordship of vast and extensive kingdom of Kōsala in the east is sufficient to prove the importance and greatness of महाकोसल or वर्षिकोसल by which two names our Kōsala is better known.

TELUGU NUMERALS IN THE NORTH-INDIAN PLAY OF GULLI-DANDA

JAYACHANDRA.

Kabaḍḍi and Gulli-Ḍañḍā are the two truly national games of India. They are played throughout the length and breadth of India from the interior of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and perhaps further. Their origin and history remain unknown. So far as I am aware, no scholar has yet given his attention to the subject. I do not pretend that I have done it, or am able to trace them to their source, but I beg to record here an observation of mine, which may offer, to persons more competent than myself, a clue to the origin of the play of Gulli-Ḍañḍā. The observation was made twelve years ago, and I have been guilty of keeping it to myself all throughout this period. The reader will not like to bother himself with my explanations.

I had played Gulli-Ḍañḍā in my own childhood, but then I did not know Telugu, nor had the ability to observe such facts. From 1919 or 1920 a young gentleman named Vēṅkataramayya came to the Gurukula at Kangeri, Hardwar, where I used to live then, with the intention of learning Hindi. He readily consented to teach me Telugu, while learning Hindi himself. I made some progress in the language at the time. My present knowledge of it is practically nil. I have followed the time-honoured maxim—कपिलिके चड़है निजिष्ठितम्! But in 1921, I had still not parted with it. I was living then in the fine Gujarati city of Surat. And one fine August evening, as I amused myself seeing my young companions in the garden-house play at Gulli-Ḍañḍā (or Gulli-Ḍañḍā as it is styled in Gujarati), I marked that while the Ḍañḍā-player hit Gulli (or Gilli) to a distance, and the field party could not strike the Ḍañḍā in centre with Gulli, and the distance of the Gulli from the centre was being measured with Ḍañḍā, they uttered words in such measuring which sounded like Telugu numerals.

I asked the boys to repeat to me the words and I noted them down. They are these: बकट, रेड, मूड, नाड, अफी, बागि, गड़र. They stop with गड़र, and again count बकट, रेड etc. Now it will be observed that the first four of these are Telugu Numerals: बकटि, रेड, मूड, नाडगु.

1. Called Hudu-ḍudu in certain provinces.
I cannot explain the last three. I asked the players what they meant by वकङ, रेङ etc; and why they counted that way instead of counting in Gujerati Numerals: एक, बे, ढण etc. Of course, they could not give me any explanation. All that they knew was that it was the traditional way of counting in the play of Gilli-Ḍandā.

Some four or five years later I observed similar numerals being repeated in the game as it is played at Lahore. I could not record their exact forms. But I am sure that the first numeral in the Punjab also was वकङ, and the second and the third resembled those current in Gujrat. My impression is that while in Gujrat, the numerals वकङ, रेङ etc., are invariably used in the game, in Panjab sometimes these and sometimes the ordinary Panjabi numerals are repeated.

I need not say that it may be useful to observe the game as it is played in the different provinces of India, and record the observations. They may perhaps lead us to the result that the game of Gilli-Ḍandā is Telugu in origin.
THE KINDOPPA COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMA
OF THE KALINGA KINGDOM.

M. NARASIMHAM.

1. History of the plates: This is a set consisting of three copper plates which was secured by my friend Dr. C. Narayanarao, M.A. Ph D. He procured it from a cultivator through one of his friends of Sringavarapukotta (in the district of Vizagapatam) where the plates were at first discovered. Thinking that the set was made of gold, he broke the last plate into two halves and got one piece melted by a goldsmith who found it to be copper. Hence the remaining set was left intact.

Dr. C. Narayanarao gave this set to me to decipher and edit it in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. I am therefore highly grateful to my friend Dr. Narayanarao Pantulu Garu M.A. Ph.D. for giving me an opportunity to edit these plates and express my views thereon.

These plates are three in number and rectangular in shape with the rims not well formed. In spite of this fact, the writing is in a very good state of preservation. Each plate measures 8½ inches by 2 inches and they are secured by a strong solid copper ring of about one inch in diametre. The ends of this ring are soldered into a circular copper Seal of the royal family. On the counter sunk surface of the seal are impressed in bold relief the figure of a conch shell. No legend is to be seen on the seal. The first plate and the third plate contain no writing on their outer faces which are purposely meant to serve as covers only. Each face contains five lines of writing matter and thus the grant contains in all twenty lines of written matter. The third plate as already mentioned is broken into two pieces and the piece away from the ring is lost to us forever by the ignorance of the cultivator. It is a matter of keen disappointment to find that this piece of the plate thus destroyed contained the most valuable portion of the grant viz. the date of the inscription.

2. Alphabet and Language: Though the plates lay buried in the earth for a very long time, and though the rims are not well raised, the letters, being inscribed deep, the writing is very well preserved. In one or two places, the plates have become rusty but the letters in these places are clear from the context. The letters are well formed and the scribe seems to possess a good settled hand. The whole inscription is written in the Telugu-kannada script.
The Śrīpuram copper plate grant of this king edited by me in the 'Bharati' of September 1931 was also engraved in the same script. From the style of writing and from the formation of the letters, I am tempted to believe that these two sets were engraved by one and the same scribe who did not even mention his name in any one of the two grants. In the inscriptions of the later Ganga kings, the scribe's name is generally to be seen.

A few orthographical remarks on the writing are not out of place: 'varma', 'ārīta', 'durlabhā' in such words the letter 'r' is invariably doubled. In certain places the 'bindu' is indicated by a dot over the letter preceding. In the words 'putrāh', 'pauṭrāh' etc., the 'ī' is doubled. This doubling is in strict conformity with the rules of grammar. Of the vowels 'a', 'ā' and 'ē' are used. Numerals are not used anywhere. The final consonantal sound 'm' in the word 'uṣṇaṭāvṛyam' is indicated by the 'ē'.

Errors of writing are not many. The word 'Brāhmaṇa' is written correctly in one place and in another place is spelt as 'Brāhmaṇa'. The words in the inscription, 'теляевали', kindōppa and 'achanta' are pure Telugu words. Since these are proper nouns, there is no objection for their use in a sanskrit composition. In spite of this, these words did not lose their Andhra character. Though we cannot at present enter here into their etymological origin, certain it is they have a pure Andhra sound to our ears. The village 'Āchanta' can be identified with the modern village of 'Āchanta'.

The whole text of the grant is written in Sanskrit. The main body of the inscription is written in prose and 'vyāsagītās' in poetry. Grants and endowments to temples are generally written in the spoken language of the land, for they are meant for the people. Such grants are generally written on stone which serve the purpose of a notice board in our modern offices. Asoka inscribed his inscriptions on stone in 'pali' for the same reason. The numerous inscriptions at Śrīkurumam, and Mukhalingam and in many other places belong to the same category. But inscriptions on metal are of a different nature. They are meant for the learned Brahmins and Scholars who are generally versed in the 'Vēdas' and their 'Angās'. The donees can very well understand Sanskrit, the language of the pandits. Hence inscriptions on copper are generally in Sanskrit. Sometimes they take the form of poetry. In the records of very early times prose only was used. Later on came poetry and still later, vernacular poetry also came to be used in copper plate grants. Copper plate inscriptions in the language of the country are therefore rare. The language of our grant is chaste, simple in style, free from myths and strictly conforms to the rules of grammar.
3. Genealogy of the kings: The names of three successive kings ending with the donor are mentioned in this grant. Each one of them is termed a Mahārājāh. The first of them is Guṇavarma. He is spoken of as the Lord of ‘Dēvarāśtra.’

Regarding Guṇavarma, the following adjuncts are used in the present inscription:

1. His character is pure like the rays of the Śāraḍa moon.
2. He is the lord of Dēvarāśtra.
3. He is famous for victories won in many fierce battles.

Guṇavarma’s son is Prabhanjana Varma. He is spoken of as expanding the riches of his country by skilful administration. We cannot therefore think that Prabhanjana Varma had acquired Kalingam.

His son is Anantavarma. He is the donor of the present grant. The following attributes are recorded of him:

1. He acquires land by the strength of his arms.
2. He is learned and strong.
3. He is obedient to God and to his Gurus.
4. He is a devout follower of Śiva.
5. He is a dutiful son of his parents.
6. He is the Lord of Kalingam.

The three kings mentioned in the plates have the word ‘Varma’ as their title. Hence they are no doubt Kshatriyas. Of these kings Prabhanjana Varma is styled as the ‘moon of the family of Vāsishta’. So they belong to the Gōtra of Vāsishta.

4. Pishṭapura: Anantavarma, the king of Kalinga, is the donor of the present plates. It is not known from where and how far was his kingdom extending. The extent of the kingdom must be different in different times. The present plates are issued from Pishṭapura which is the modern Pithapur. The plates say: ‘Pishṭapurādhishṭhānāt’. Instead of saying ‘Pishṭapurāt’, it is said Pishṭapurādhishṭhānāt. There is some difference. From the use of the word ‘aḍhishṭhānāt’ we can judge that Pithapur was not the royal capital but that the king had camped at that place in his royal circuit and had granted the gift from that camping place. We can infer that Pithapur formed part of the kingdom of Kalinga in those days. Perhaps the river Tīdavari formed the Southern limit of the Kalinga kingdom. If Pithapur was only a royal camping place, what then is the capital? It is not clear from these plates. The Siripuram plates of this same king Anantavarma clearly tell us that ‘Dēvapuram’ was his capital. There it is stated as ‘Vijiadēvapurāt.’ Though this town is not mentioned in the plates under review, since it
is expressly mentioned in his Siripuram plates, we may conclude that Dēvapuram was the head-quarters of the king. Only two inscriptions of this king Anantavarman have come to light so far. The first was discovered at Siripuram and the present one is the second. No other inscription, either on stone or metal, has been forthcoming.

5. **Comparison of the two Inscriptions of Anantavarman:**
The Siripuram plate mentions the grant of the village of Kharapuri to the Brahmins and it was issued from the royal capital of 'Dēvapuram'. The king assembled the householders at 'Nandapuram' and published the contents of the grant. The present plate mentions the gift of the village Kīndōppa to a Brahmin and is issued from Pithapur, the royal camping place. The king assembled the householders at Kīndōppa in the district of Tēllavalli and made known to the people the conditions of the grant.

The two C. P. inscriptions of this king are discovered in the Vizagapatam District. (The Siripuram plates near Chipurupalli and the present plates near Spingavarpukota). Though we cannot identify and locate ‘Dēvapuram’ of the Siripuram plates, we can identify 'Pishtapuram' as the modern Pithapur of the Godavari District. Nanḍāpuram of the Siripuram plates is also identified with the village of Nandāpuram in the Jayapur Estate of the Vizag District. Kīndōppa of this grant cannot be identified; but Nanḍāpuram and Kīndōppa must be fairly big villages, for the king Anantavarman had camped in those villages and made known to the public the gifts and contents of the two grants. Kharapuri is described as very near Dēvapuram.

6. **Dēvarāśṭram:** Anantavarman’s grandfather Guṇavarman is described in this grant as the Lord of Dēvarāśtra. In the Siripuram plates, he is not spoken of as such. Though the two inscriptions were issued by one and the same king, it is not known why, in the Siripuram plates, Guṇavarman was not stated to be the king of Jēvarāśtra. Guṇa Varma could not have acquired Dēvarāśtra subsequent to the Siripuram grant for, the two grants were given by his grandson Anantavarman.

This country is to be identified with modern Yalamanchili Taluq in Vizagapatam District. Elamanchi-Kalingam is mentioned as lying in the same region Dēvarāśtra in the Kasimkota Plates of Chalukya Bhima (A. D. 888—918) (Vide Professor Dubreuil’s *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60).

We know for certain that Dēvapuram was the capital of Ananta-Varma. Perhaps this Dēvanapuram gave the name to the kingdom of Dēvarāśtra. But Anantavarma was the king of Kalingam. Therefore Dēvarāśtra must have been a district in the kingdom of Kalinga. The kingdom of Kalinga consisted of a number of 'Vishayās' or districts of
which Dēvarāṣṭra must be one such. Then Guṇavarma must have been the ruler of only Dēvarāṣṭra. His grandson Anantavarma must have extended his kingdom by his prowess and became lord of Kalinga. This argument seems probable.

7 Ťēlāvalli Vishaya: In the modern Zamindary of Jeypore flows a river by name 'Tel'. In the early times, it used to be called the 'Telivāhi'. This river joins the Mahānadi which flows through Orissa and joins the sea away from Cuttack. In the present record, the village of Kindōppa is stated to be in the Vishaya of Ţēlāvalli. We know that rivers give their names to the tract of the country around them. The modern Jayapore must have been called Ţēlāvalli Vishaya on account of the river Telivāhi which flows across it. Hence the village of Kindōppa must also be located in the modern Jeypore Zamindary. The village of Nandāpuram mentioned in the Siripuram plates is also situated in the Jeypore Estate. We also hear that the Zamindars of Jayapore have the custom of performing the coronation ceremony only at Nandāpuram. It is at this Nandāpuram that Anantavarma assembled the people and made known to them the contents of the Siripuram inscription. Kharapuri must also be not far off from Nandāpuram. This is the village that was given to the Brahmans by Anantavarma. There is at present a village called Khoraput in that estate. Perhaps it used to be called Kharapuri in those times.

8. The Donee: His name is Maṭṛī Sarma. He is described as enjoying the village of Achanta. There are at present two villages of this name. One is near Bobbili in the Vizag District and the other in the West Godavari District. Anantavarma must have granted the village of Kindōppa to Maṭṛī Sarma of the Achanta village in the Vizag District. He is described as coming from the Gōtra of Kauśika and belonging to the branch of Tāṭṭirīya. He is therefore a follower of the Yajurveda School. King Anantavarma bestowed the village of Kindōppa on this Brahmin at Uttarāyana punyatāla as an Agrahāra free of all taxes.

9. The time of the king's two inscriptions: Of the two inscriptions of this king, it is very difficult to determine which of them was first issued. It would have been very easy if the second half of the third plate of this inscription which bears the date was not destroyed by the ignorance of the cultivator who first unearthed it. Since this portion is lost to us for ever, we will have to depend upon the internal evidence of the two plates themselves. The Siripuram plates were issued, according to my view in the year 86 A. D. 1. The present plates

1. For a detailed discussion of this date the readers are requested to peruse my article on those plates in the Telugu Journal 'Bharati' of September 1931.
were issued on the 13th day when the Sun entered the sign of 'Makara'. This Uttarāyana time generally falls on or about the 12th of January every year. It is stated in the Siripuram plates that, with the consent of his mother, the king Anantavarma had granted the village of Kharapuri to the Brahmins. It is further stated that his mother had set apart a portion of the capital town of Dēvapuram to be included in the Agrahāram of Kharapuri. Hence we conclude that the mother of Anantavarma was alive at the time of the Siripuram grant. The village of Kindoppa was given to Mātri Śarma at the Uttarāyana auspicious time. No mention of his mother was at all made in his grant. Hence we will have to think that his mother was dead and that, according to the Hindu conception of religious merit, the king, gave away as ‘dānam’ or gift the village of Kindoppa to a Brahmin on the Uttarāyana auspicious day. Hence the Kindoppa grant must be subsequent to that of Siripuram.

10. The date of the plates: Though this part of the subject is the most important one for the historian, he is sorely disappointed for want of accurate data. The time and the date portion given in the plates are lost to us. Hence the Siripuram grant must be our chief guide to determine once more this important subject. I therefore propose to review my own article published in the ‘Bhārati’ of September 31. The date as given in the Siripuram grant is as follows:—“ashtāśaka Samkhyaabhyaḥ mahāśwayujē samwatchare māgha māśa puruṣāmāsyaḥ”. What remains in the Kindoppa plates of the date of the grant is as follows:—“Pravardhāmānaya rājya śriyā rājaka... (fra) yodasāyām uttarāyone dharma” etc. From the above data we find that the Siripuram grant was issued in the year of mahāśwayuja on the fullmoon day in the month of Māgha in the eighth year of the Śaka Era. The calculation as we see from the wording, is done according to the ‘Gurüdaya’ bda māṇa’ style. I therefore fixed the date of the Siripuram grant as 86 A.D. In the present plates the number of the year in the Śaka Era and the name of the year are not found. What is left is ‘triyodasāyāmuttārāyanē’ which means the 13th day when the Uttarāyana commenced. Though this fragment of the date is not enough for fixing the exact date of this grant, certain it is that the two plates were issued by one and the same king and hence the date of the plates will be, say, about ten years or so after 86 A.D.

A certain Śaktivarman appears to be a ruler of Kalinga subsequent to our Anantavarma. The Ganga Era ‘Pravarddhamāna vijayarājya Śaka’ must have come into vogue after the departure of Samudragupta from the

2. This is the only inscription in South India, so far known, where the date is given in this style.
Deccan., Prof. Dubrieul in his *Ancient History of the Deccan* has written on page 93 that this Šaktivarma belonged to the Māgadhnikula and that he ruled over Pithapur. He says that the Gupta Emperor, having overthrown the king of Pithapur, had installed this man, a relation of his, on the throne of Pishtapura. Šaktivarma is described as 'Vāsishtiputra' and bears the title of Varma and hence it is probable that he belonged to the family of our Anantavarma.

The kingdom of Kalinga was for some time under the rule of the kings of *Vasishtha Gotra*. Then followed the Gāṅga line comprising Hastivarma, Indravarma, Dēvendravarma etc. Though these kings of Kalinga also bear the title of Varma, since they belong to a different Gōtra they cannot be considered to have come from the family of our Anantavarma. This line was succeeded by another line of kings of Ganga dynasty comprising Vajrahasta, Kāmārnava, Rājaraja, Anantavarma Chōdāgangadēva etc. These kings came from the *Ātreyā Gōtra*. The two latter dynasties of kings were the worshippers of the Lord Gōkarnēśvaraswāmi on the top of the mountain Mahēndragiri. They clearly state that they owed their kingdom to the favour of this God on the mountain peak. Anantavarma of our plates, though a devout worshipper of Siva, never mentions this God and the mountain peak over which the temple exists. Perhaps the temple of Gokārnēśvara was not established at that time.

11. The Substance of the Grant: Gunavarma, in character pure as the autumnal rays of the full moon, was the lord of Dēvarāśtra. He was famous for many victories won in fierce battles. His son was Prabhanjanavarma. He enriched the wealth of his kingdom by wise and careful administration. He was like the moon of the family of Vaśishta, Prabhanjana's son was Anantavarma. Anantavarma issued these plates from his royal camp of Pishtapuram. He secured the land by the strength of his arm. He was strong at arms, learned, obedient, worshipped Devās and Brahmins and was very famous. He was also a Paramamāhēśvara and a worshipper of the feet of his parents. He was the Mahārāja of Kalinga. He assembled the householders at the village of Kīnḍoppa in the 'Tellavalli Vishaya' and proclaimed as follows.— "I constitute this village as an 'agrahāram' free of all taxes and bestow it on Matriśarma of Achanta village on the auspicious 'Uttarāyana' time for the increase of my religious merit. May this 'agrahāram' exist as long as the moon, sun and the stars endure. May this Brahmin enjoy the fruit of this village for posterity. None should steal even a small part of the land. The future kings should see my gift perpetuated for ever without any break.' Then follows the Vyāsa śṛṣṭi in three slōkās. The date of the grant was then given (A piece of the plate is here broken and lost). What is left of the date is 'Trayodasi' and Uttarāyana.
1. ‘Om’ is indicated by a spiral mark. 2. Read ‘nanda’. 3. Read ‘Eshma’. 4. Read ‘pautra’. 5. Perhaps it should be read as “alpabahalabairnapahartavyah”. 6. ‘Dhasmaryate’ would mean something. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11: The last two lines indicate the date of the grant. The plate is broken and the last part of it is lost.
PHOTO-PRINTS OF KINDOPPA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA.

First plate, second side.

Second plate, first side.

Second plate, second side.

Third plate, first side.
THE SEMANTICS OF DRAVIDIAN *KEI

A. F. THYAGARAJU.

The primitive Dravidian root *kei= to do has been preserved with the appropriate phonetic changes in all the languages of the family. It appears both in the palatalised and unpalatalised forms in the various branches.¹ I propose in this article to discuss the semantics of this root and draw attention to the different applications to which it has been put in Telugu, referring incidentally to its semasiological functions in the cognate dialects.

The verb "to do" appears in the palatalised form in Telugu as "chēyu". Kanarese has the original but subsequently voiced gē, geyi, geyu=to do,² whereas Tamil has the palatalised and softened sei=to do. The word for hand in Telugu is cheyyi. We may note, however, that the literary language has the following forms also: kai, kayi, kēlu, cheṭṭa. Tamil and Malayalam have kai for hand (Kui has kēyu) but the palatalised forms for the verb.

Whether the nominal form is derived from the verbal root or the verb from the nominal root is hard to decide. If the primitive speaker developed words for concrete ideas before he did so for abstract conceptions, kei=had must be older than kei=to do.⁴

¹. See my note on Palatalisation in the Dravidian Language in the Indian Antiquary, August 1922.
². But Kanarese has preserved the semantically related forms where the primitive consonant is retained unvoiced: kela=side, kelasa=work, (Tulu, kolasa; Badaga, gelasa) kelasi=sa barber (It is curious why "work" should come to mean preeminently "shaving and hairdressing" e.g. in the colloquial Telugu of certain districts pani (work)—shaving. Cf. Malayalam: panikkara—barber). Kan also has gēme=work; gaita, gaima a deed.
³. Further, Kan. geyi which—to work also means to till the work of the typical Dravidian. From this i.e. original *keyi, I believe we have keyi a field (cf. Tel. chēnu), also kēra—a tank (cf. Telugu cheruvu).
⁴. The forms given above suggest that "l" is an integral part of the root, which is preserved in Telugu kēlu. Our pandits derive this from Skr. kuli. Is this correct?
⁵. Vide also my Footnote 4. Perhaps original Dravidian k-l—limb.
⁶. Kanarese has kāi—hand.
⁷. It is interesting to note that most of the words for the important organs of the body begin with k. (a) kāi-hand, (kēlu), (b) kāl—foot, (c) kevi-ear (kādu), (d) kān-eye, (e) kārusu—neck, (f) kādunu—stomach, (g) kenne—cheek (chempa, kankula—sempit (chankili)). Is it possible that these have all radiated from a common root "k"? We are already discussing the derivatives of (a). From (c) we have the simple verbs: kēl, kē=to hear; from (d) kān (kanu) =to see; from (e) kāru =to shout, kural—voice, kērulu—to shout, and possibly kudi—to eat or drink, koruku, karobu—to bite.
⁸. Many striking verbal themes are derived from k. These have to be carefully studied and classified. Tulu has korpe—makes, koru—to give (kwēp)
Though the k-forms are found in written Telugu, they are not as common as the ch-forms. We shall therefore discuss the latter first.

From chē=to do are derived chēta, sēta work.\(^5\) (Kanarese kelasa, Badaga gelasa are the corresponding derivatives).

Chēyi not only means hand but also a beam of light, a side, a hold, a length of two cubits. (Cf the semantics of English hand). From this are derived chē or chēta, the ending of the instrumental case, meaning literally "by the hand of" the compounds chēkuru, chēkūdu, chēkūru, chēkūru, chētavulu, chēpaḍu, choppaḍu=to come into possession, chēkonu=to reach, to patronise, to triumph (for the last meaning of Kanarese geli, gelu, gelu, Telugu geluchu and vide footnote 2) have this chē as their first element;\(^6\) chendu=to receive; chēta=a winnowing fan is probably from the same root, since it is a useful utensil used with the hand.\(^7\)

Another idea developed from the hand meaning is proximity (cf English "at hand"). This has given rise to chenta, chengali, chengata= near, chēdu=to draw water, chēda=a vessel for drawing water, (older *chendu, chenda), chēpu=milk collecting in the udder (in Kanarese this also means to pour water with a bucket) chērupu, chērika=nearness.

A related idea is that of joining. Chēru=to reach, to approach, chērika=joining. As a noun chēru=link, a chain, closeness. (The connection is quite clear). The causative derived from this root is chēruchu=to join. Ghērugondi=a woman who has lived with a man. From the concept of joining we get chēruva=an army, a multitude.

Chērēdu=two handfuls, chēru=to sift rice and chēruḍulu=a variety of rice are from chēyi=hand. Chēvāḍi=robbery (cf English sleight of hand.)

The k-forms found in Telugu are as follows: Kayi=hand, kayi-konu=to receive, to mind; kayikatā=opportunity; kayikānūka=a ceremonial offering; kayikōlu=acceptance; kayikōla=a caste of weavers; kayi-chāpulu (literally extending of the hand) a salute; kayyamu=struggle (a picturesque reminder of the part played by the hands in fighting); kaisēyu=to adorn. There are many more; I have mentioned only the most interesting.

kēriya—killed (kol). Note the following Kanarese forms: Kakkā—to vomit, Kangī—ear of corn, kanatāl—the temples, kangedu—to be blinded or vexed, kangāru—displeasure, kani—sight. The cognates in other languages can be easily perceived.

There is no doubt that all these forms are connected with the terms for the bodily organs.

5. Since the arasan can or ardhabinduvu is very important and indicates the original presence of a nasal which has since disappeared, I mark it in the transliteration of Telugu by the diacritical over the macron.

6. One of the Tel. words for elephant: chēgalamekamu=the beast with the hand, is perhaps a translation of Skr. hasti=elephant, lit. the animal with the hand, < hasta=hand. Tel. chēyi also means trunk. Cf. Mal. tumbi kal.

7. What is the etymology of Tel. chēpa=fish? The form implies an older *chēmpa.
SIX NEW EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

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Introduction.

Nearly twenty years ago, these Six Copper-Plate Inscriptions were discovered near Chicacole, Ganjam District and sent in 1918 to the Superintendent, Government Epigraphical Department, Madras for examination. He noticed them in his Annual Report for the year 1918-19 and returned them to the owner, Mr. C. Narayanarao. It was originally intended that they should be published in the Epigraphica Indica by Messrs. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu and C. Narayanarao, but in vain. However, the latter, who was one of the Founders of this Society and its first President, decided to publish the same in this journal at the suggestion of Mr. R. Subbarao and under the joint editorship. These six Plates which were originally intended for publication in this Journal have recently been printed in Telugu with the permission of the Managing Council, with photo prints except for one, in the Commemoration Volume published in honour of Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu, B.A. by Mr. R. Subbarao. We have decided to publish them in the J.A.H.R.S. which has already been widely recognised to have contained several original contributions that advanced the knowledge of scholars specially in regard to one hitherto little-known dynasty that ruled over Kalinga for nearly ten centuries and about which several inscriptions, (both copper-plate and stone) and contributions bearing upon them have already appeared in the pages of the journal. We are thankful to our learned friends, Messrs. C. Atmaram B.A., B L. and V. Apparao, B.A., B L., the present Joint-Secretaries of the Society, for kindly helping us with their suggestions with regard to readings in the Texts of the Inscriptions.

The Texts of the six Inscriptions which are given below are prepared by us with the help of the original Copper-Plates which are still in our possession. The details for the first three Plates are given before the Texts and those for the remaining three after them.

(1) THE COPPER-PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA, (C.P. No. 3 of 1918-19.)

(a) Description of the Plates.

These are six in number weighing 160 tolas. They are all strung together on a ring containing a seal which, weighs 70 tolas. Thus, the total weight of the whole set is 230 tolas. The first plate has no writing on its first side which therefore acts merely as a cover to the set. The second side of fifth plate has got only five letters and a sixth plate is ...
added probably to protect the set. It is not fully blank but contains traces of writing here and there. Evidently, a defaced plate is used as a cover. Each plate measures $8\frac{1}{2}\times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The ring which holds together the six plates is 4 inches in diameter. The hole through which the ring passes is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. The seal on the ring whose two ends are soldered into it is 2 inches in diameter. It has in high relief a couchant Bull or Nandi in the centre of the disc and the image is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in height. In front of it is carved out a Crescent and behind it a Drum. To its right side are found figures of a Conch shell or Śankha and a Plough-share or Nāgoli and to its left side are found a Trident or Trisāla and an Elephant-goad or Ankuṣa, both with long handles. All these figures are found in good relief. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing which is in an excellent state of preservation.

(b) Alphabet and Language,

The characters are old Nāgari differing from the modern script particularly in certain letters like i, ē, ṅ, cha and kha. The points which are peculiar for orthography are the following:

1. *v* is used for *b*; e.g., *sūda* for śabda (line 7 in Plate I, second face); *aṇḍa* for abda (line 7 in Plate II, first face; and lines 3 and 9 in the same); *lūṅthu* for lubhā (line 1 in Plate II, second face); and so on. This is the method adopted in northern usage.

2. The consonantal dental *n* sound as in nivāṇā and abdakāṇ (lines 4 and 7, Plate II, first face) is expressed by a small stroke drawn underneath the letter.

3. The Anusvāra is represented by a small Bindu or dot placed sometimes on the top of the letter and sometimes between the letters.

4. There is a slight difference between la and ṇa.

5. The palatal śa is used for dental sa as in Śalīla (line 3, Plate I, second face) and sa is used for śa as in satru (line 4, Plate II, first face) and mahīśā (line 7, Plate II, second face).

6. The labial m sound as in gōtrānām and mashīṇām (lines 3 and 4 respectively in Plate I, second face) is formed by a Bindu with the stroke of an inverted crescent underneath it.

7. The ī is formed by a crescent-like stroke from the top-centre of the letter to the left bottom while ī is formed by a similar stroke to the right bottom. (Cf. i and ī in Svastiśrī in line I of Plate I, second face).

8. The use of prithvīm (line 3 in Plate II, second face) and pītri (line 5 Plate V, first face) for prthvīm and pīrī is peculiar.

The Language of the whole inscription is Sanskrit. Both prose and poetry are found. The Sandhi rules are not observed in several cases. The whole of Plate i, second face and the first two lines nearly of Plate II, first face are in prose. From the words pārvvām ḍhapati, at the end of second line, we get poetry, the vṛtta being śārālm. There are several mistakes committed by the Scribe and the necessary readings or corrections are given by us in the footnotes.
(c) Subject-matter of the Plates.

The Donor of the Plates is the Eastern Gaṅga Emperor Vajrahausta III surnamed Anantavarma. Several of his Plates have already been published, and this set closely resembles them in all respects except the grant-portion where gifts are made and the concluding portion.

Plate I (second face) gives the usual description of the early history of this king's Line—how the Gangas, purified by several precious virtues, belong to Atrīya Gōtra, how they possess universal sovereignty resplendent with Pancha mahāsabdas, conch-shell, drum, parasol, cowrie and bull-crest which were obtained through favour of Gokarṇāswāmi established on Mt. Mahēndra and how they get Lordship of Three-Kalingas.

Plate II (both faces) gives the genealogy and chronology of the Dynasty of the Donor-King Vajrahausta. It is stated that Guṇamaḥāravā, who possessed Earth like Vishṇu and who adorned the race of the Gaṅgas, had a son Vajrahausta who ruled for 44 years. He united the Earth which was already divided into 5 parts. His son, Guṇḍama ruled for 3 years and his Y. brother Vinayāditya for 3 years. Then, Kāmravā's son, Vajrahausta, surnamed Aniyanka Bhīma, who presented a thousand elephants to applicants ruled for 35 years. Then, his eldest son, Kāmravā ruled for 1/2 year. His younger brother, Guṇḍa ruled for 3 years. Then, his maternal half-brother Madhukāmravā ruled for 19 years.

Plate III (both faces) gives details about the donor—king himself. Vajrahausta III, born to Kāmravā and Vinayamahādēvi of Vaiḍumbara family, who struck down with his sword the thunderbolt falling from Heaven, came to the throne in Ś. 960 when the Sun was in the house of Bull and the Moon in Kohini during Dhanurāṅga. The several good qualities of the king are then described. From the city of Kalinga-Nagara, the illustrious Vajrahausta Deva, the devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara, the devout Bhāṭṭaraka, the great King of kings, the Lord of Three Kalingas, being in good health and having assembled all the people headed by the Ministers, commanded and intimated:

Plate IV (first face) gives details of the gift made. For the merit and fame of his parents and himself, the whole village of Sattivāda, lying in the district of Brada, was granted by the king, free from all taxes and obstacles and with all water rights in the land, in the Śaka year 971, on Sunday, the 13th day in the bright fortnight of Karkaṭaka month, to Gaṇapati Nāyaka, the son of Sridēvi and Kūṭādi Nāyaka and the grandson of Gaṇapati. He was a native of Valutavūru in Kanchi country.

1. The exact time of coronation is calculated to be 8—27 P. M. on Sunday night, 3rd May 1037 A. D. Vide L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai's Ephemeris.
Plate IV (second face) urges future kings to protect this grant and gives the boundaries of the village granted in all the 8 directions. Only one village called Kröppali is mentioned as lying to the east of the village granted. All other boundaries consist of tamarind trees or ant-hills or tank-bunds.

Plate V (first face) gives four imprecatory verses (the usual ones) so that the grant might not be disturbed and states that the coper-plates were written (composed) by Sandhivigrahi (Secretary for peace and war) Dämôdara who was the son of Mahâkhâyastha (the great Alderman) Sandhivigrahi Mâvûraya and inscribed by Akshaâlî (Goldsmith) Vâllemôju.

(d) Remarks.

It is really interesting to note that these same two people, father and son, lived on to the time of this king’s grandson Anantavarma Chôdagañga to render the same services to his Korni Copper-Plate Grant dated Śr. 1003.² It must also be remarked that the alphabet, language and subject-matter up to Vajrahasta III’s accession in both these sets resemble closely each other. All the copper-plates of this king including this one give the same genealogy and chronology which must therefore be accepted as giving the only true history.³ The Donee, Gaṇapati Nâyaka of Valutavur in Kanchi country reveals to us that the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga had already established close relationship with the Chôla country which had Kanchi as its capital then. The king’s son was called Râja Râja and this fact suggests that the Chôla name was adopted into Kalinga Gaṅga family just as it was already done into Eastern Châlukya family. It is learnt⁴ that a certain Paṅgu Sâmaya, son of Srîkanṭha Nâyaka was the son-in-law and commander of this king. Probably, the Donee Gaṇapati Nâyaka was also a commander under the king who rewarded him for his military services.

(2) THE COPPER-PLATES OF RÂJARÂJA I. (C.P. No. 4 of 1918-19.)

(a) Description of the Plates.

For the first time in the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas, we are able to discover and publish one copper-plate inscription of this king though several of his father Vajrahasta III and of his son Anantavarma Chôdagañga have been published. It is therefore to be welcomed as an important record. The matter contained in C. P. No. 3 noted above

³ The present plates resemble very closely in all respects except the grant and concluding portions the Chikkalavalasa and other Plates of this King.
upto plate III, second face, line 6 is common with that of the present inscription upto plate III, second face, line 5

It consists of 5 plates weighing 102 tolas and a ring and a seal weighing 50½ tolas. Each plate measures $8\frac{3}{4}\times 3\frac{3}{4}$. The ring is 4" in diameter and the seal 2". The seal has in the centre of its disc a Bull or Nandi in high relief in a couchant posture. It is 1" in height and 2" in length. It has in front of it the figures of Sun, Moon and Sun, carved out clearly. Behind is a Damaru (hand-drum). To its left side are found figures of Trisulam (tri-dent), Amkusam (elephant-goad) and Khadgam (sword). To the right side are found Lingam in Pamuvati (Phallus in a snake's head) and a Lampstand. All the figures are carved out in excellent clear relief and represent various symbols which indicate that the Dynasty was Lunar and its Kings were Saivites.

The first plate has no writing on its first side which merely acts as a cover. The fifth plate has faint remains of writing but the inscription it contained was erased, it being used as a cover to the record.

(b) Alphabet and Language.

They are the same as those of the one noted above. The characters are old Nagari written clearly and boldly and the language is Sanskrit. Plate I (second face), Plate II (both faces) and Plate III (upto line 6 of second face) are almost the same in all respects in this as well as in the previous record.

(c) Subject-matter.

It is the same as that noted in the previous record upto line 6 of second face of Plate III. From line 6 to the end of it, we learn about the good qualities of Vajrahasta III, and his rule of 33 years. Plate IV, first face states how to his wife Anaṅgamahādevī and himself was born Rāja Rāja just as Kārtikēya was born to Gaurī and Hara. He came to the throne in 5. 992 on Thursday, the eight day in the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha month, during Uttara phalguni Lagnam. The year corresponds to 1070 A. D. and the month to June. He was the Crest-jewel of Kalinga Rājas and called the illustrious Rāja Rāja. From Kalinganagaram, the glorious Dēvēndravarmā Rāja Rāja Dēva, the devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara, the devout Bhaṭṭāraka, the great King of kings, the Lord of Three Kalingas, being in good health and having assembled all janapadas (rural subjects), headed by Ministers, ordered and informed them thus:

Plate IV (second face) records the details of the actual gift. "For the increase of the merit of my parents and myself, the village of Bhātkodiila in the District of Varāhavartani (Chicacoale Taluq where these plates were discovered) along with the hamlet of Bhinnala Vāṭṭaka,
enclosed by four limits, has been granted by us along with all the water
rights in it, and free of all taxes and obstacles, in the Śaka year 999
in the month of Chaitra (April) on the occasion of Ṵiṣṇu Ṣamkrānti
(summer solstice) in 6 shares of which 4 would go to Vāsudēvaśarma of
the Vatsa götra, and 2 to Nārāyaṇāśarma of the Kāsyaya götra, who
were both residents of the village of Kalipura”.

(d) Remarks.

The genealogy and the chronology given in these Plates confirm
those given in Vajrahasta’s. The importance of this record lies in the
fact that it gives the coronation date of Kīnḍa Rāja Rāja as June 992
Śaka year which corresponds to June 1070 A. D. This gives the dates
for his father’s reign, as Ś. 960 to Ś. 992 or A. D. 1038 to 1070. It
gives 33 years as the duration of his reign.

(3) THE COPPER-PLATES OF THE TIME OF
MADHUKĀMĀRṆĀVADĒVA. (C. P. No. 5 of 1918-19.)

(a) Description of the Plates.

Though these plates have been in our possession for several years,
we failed to publish them much earlier as our hands were otherwise fully
engaged and so our enterprising and learned friend Mr. G. Ramadas, B. A.,
set an example by publishing this set of plates in J. B. O. R. S.,
Vol. XVIII, part III, pp. 272-295. Though we cannot agree with all the
views expressed therein, particularly the portions dealing with the initial
year of the Gaṅga Era, we must congratulate our learned friend on the
able way in which he edited the plates.

It is a set of 3 plates strung in a ring whose two ends are
soldered into a bracket containing a seal of the king. The 3 plates
alone weigh 145 tolas and the ring and the seal together weigh 35 tolas.
The 3 plates are very thick and their rims are raised so as to protect the
writing. The first and the third plates contain no writing on their first
and second sides respectively which therefore act as covers to the record
contained therein. Each plate measures 7 1/2" x 2 3/4". Each has a hole
5/8" in diameter near the left central part. The ring has a diameter of 4"
early and the seal 1". The surface of the seal contains in hollow (i.e.,
countersunk in it) the figures of sun, crescent and dagger in a slanting
position at the top and below these a couchant Bull or Nāndi on a stand
facing right with an Ankuṣa or Elephant-goad in its front.

(b) Alphabet and Language.

The characters are old Nagari and the language is Sanskrit. In
the use of both lipi and bhāṣa, we get a mixture of Oriya and this is
really significant. Probably, the composer of the record was an Oriya.
The scribe was either new to his work or careless and this belief is
strengthened by three facts:—
The rules of Sandhi are not properly observed in several places. (Vide footnotes for corrections.)

(2) Several letters and whole expressions are omitted.

(3) There are several incorrect readings in the original text which necessitated the insertion of many footnotes by us.

A few points of orthographical interest are:

(1) The odd use of Try for Tri and vice versa (Vide footnotes 24, 25 and 30, 31 for corrections).

(2) The omission of Bindu or Parṇāṇusvāra in several places (Vide footnotes 34, 35, 36, 38, 32, 42 and 44 for corrections).

(3) The omission of the consonantal dental n in the word Śrīmān wherever it occurs. (Vide footnotes 8, 11 and 13 for corrections.)

(c) Subject matter of the Plates.

Residing in victorious Kalinganagara which resembles Amarapura, the son of Anantabrama (varma)deva, the jewel of the Gaṅga family, the Mahārājādhirāja Mahshīkāmārṇavaḍēva who was free from the sins of Kali age by worshipping the holy feet of God Gōkarnaśvāmi, the architect of the Universe having the Moon as his crest-jewel and Mā. Mahendra as his abode and whose feet were made resplendent with the luster shed by the precious stones set in the crowns of vassal kings and who subdued all enemies by the help of the fine great sounds being in good health, —in his Reign, the Lord of Chinchali Pātṛyāpura lying in the west of the prosperous Trikhali in the province of Kalinga, who was the devout worshipper of Īśvara, who obtained the five great sounds, who was the very Bhairava in causing faintness to the Tamil enemy, and who was the jewel of the illustrious Kudālavāna family, the glorious Lakshmana Rāmadēva, having made into a Vaiṣyāgrahāra (gift of village to vaiśyas or traders) the three villages of Paṇḍugrāma, Hōndaравādo and Mőrakhino granted the same to the illustrious Īrapa Nāyaka who was the devout worshipper of the feet of his parents and of God Mahēśvara and who was the son of the illustrious Māfchi Nāyaka who belonged to the family of Vaiśyas or traders and who was originally a native of Paṇḍugrāma but who was then residing at Dantapura.

Plate II, second face and the first two lines of Plate III (a) record that the grant was made in perpetuity along with all water and land rights within its four limits, free from all molestations of Rānakaś (Ruling chiefs), Rājaputras (Crown princes), Vishayapattis (Heads of districts) and Rājapāṭapaiśvinas (Royal dependents) and from the exacting entries of the irregular and regular Soldiers.

The boundaries of the grant are then described in great detail in all the eight directions and they consist mostly of trees, hills and lands.

Lines 3 and 4 of Plate III, first face, indicate that "200 Murayas

5. Muraya like Patti is a measure. Both the words are used for measurement of land as well as yield (grain) from it. Here, it is used as Bhumi Muraya (land measurement). The words Mura and Muraka are also found in Vajrahasta's plates. In this record 200 Murayas of land was set apart for a charitable inscription and 40 Murayas of land was given to the writer. It looks probable that land yielding 200 Murayas of grain was set apart for the charity and land yielding 40 Murayas was given to the writer of the Plates.
of land was set apart for Margastram or high-way choultry and Doli mrgaventa was left out as waste-land and Āpachivāda was reserved as a parade-ground for Rēvana Rauta (Head of the cavalry). Lines 5—7 contain two usual imprecatory verses. The second half of line 7 states that 150 Rupyas or silver pieces were paid. Probably, the sum was paid to the Donee as Dakshana or cash which should usually accompany any gift in kind. Lines 8 and 9 give the date of the grant as the 528 year of the prosperous and victorious Gaṅga Ėra, and state that the writer of the grant was Madhusūdana, son of Mādhava of Kalinga-Nagara, who was given 40 Murayās of land and the engraver was the Akshaṭāli (goldsmith) Rāṇama.

(d) Remarks.

This inscription, unlike the two previous ones, begins in the same way in which the Grants of the early Gaṅga kings begin, but instead of recording the king’s gifts mentions those of his vassal Śri Lakṣmaṇa Rāmadēva. It is peculiar that the Donor’s father is called Ananta brahma instead of Ananta varma, and the Donor—king, like the Sun, is said to worship with a pure mind and to meditate with a fully raised face and to belong to the spotless family of the river of the gods i.e., of Gaṅga family. The title Mahārājadhīraṇi shows that, by G. E. 528 or A.D. 1024, the king conquered the whole of the Kaling country extending from the river Godavari in the south to the river Vaitarini in the north and had several powerful vassals under him. One of them was Śri Lakṣmaṇa Rāmadēva of Kuḍālavaṇa family who obtained the five great Sounds as a token of his prowess and who defeated a Tamil enemy. It is not known who the enemy was but probably in a Tamil invasion of Kalinga, Rāmadēva helped the king in defeating and driving out the enemy. The Donee Ėrapa Nāyaka who received 3 villages probably for helping Rāmadēva in a signal manner, was a Vaiśya of Dantapura. This is the earliest inscription which records the gift of a Vaiśyāgrahāra. Brāhmaṇaṇaḷaḥrāsaḥ and Devāgrahāras were usually granted by all the kings for patronising learning and religion. In a similar manner, the king’s successor, Vajrahasta also gave a Vaiśyāgrahāra (the village of Kuddama) to a certain Mallapa Śreṣṭhi.6

The date of the grant is very important. Though it was read as 526 Gaṅga Ėra, both by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras and Mr. G. Ramadas, it would appear to be 528. The last numeral resembles the same found in the C. P. Grant dated Gaṅga Ėra 138 of Dāmārṇava’s son, Indravarma and since it was read there as 8. We have also taken it to be 8 here. A C.P. Grant of a Dēvendravarma of 397 G. E. was already published.7 No C. P. Inscription subsequent to that date has been published so far and this present one dated 528 G. E. would suggest that the kings intervening used the years of the Gaṅga Ėra only. We identify the king mentioned in this record with Madhukāmārnava, the immediate predecessor of Vajrahasta III. In all his records as well as in the one of his son Rāja Rāja and in some of his grandson Chodāgaṅga, only one king named Madhukāmārnava is mentioned and so the king mentioned in this record must be identified with him only.

1. Ṣrīmatām-akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya vinaya-dayā-dāna-
2. dākṣiṇya-satyā-saucha-sauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇḍam-ātrey
3. ya-gōtrāṇāṁ vimala-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-salila1-prakshālita-Kali-kāla-kalma
4. sha-maṁśināṁ mahā-Mahendrāchala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya scharācha
5. ra-gurōḥ sakalā2-bhuvana-nirmāṇaika-sūtradhārasya śāśāṅka-chū-
6. dāmaṇeṛ-bbhagavatō Gōkarnaśvāminaḥ prasādaḥ-samāsaditaś-
7. ka-śankha-bhēri-paṁcha-mahā-sabda-dhavala-cchatra-hēma-chāmara-vara-vṛshabha-lāṅcha-
8. na-samujvala-samasta-sāmrājya mahimnāṁ-anēka-samara-satghatta-
samupa
9. labdha-Vijaya-Lakshmi-samālingit-ōttunga-bhujadaṁda-manḍitānāṁ
   Trikali

1. Read salila. 2. Ṣakala
Plate II (First face.)

1. ṇīga-maḥībhujāṁ Gaṅgānāṁ-anvayam-alāṁkarishnōṛ-Vishnōṛ-iva-vikrama-
   ākrā-

2. ma-pta-dharā-manḍalasya Guṇamahārṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ pūrvvam
   bhūpati

3. bhir-vibhajya vasudhāyā paṇḍabhibhpaṇḍhadhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramo

4. lāt-tām-ṅa-ṅa svayaṁ ēkikṛtya vijītya satriṣṇi nivahān Śrī-Vajra-

5. hastas chatuschatvārimśatam-ary-udāra-charitaḥ sarvām arakṣitaḥ

6. māṁ tasya tanaṁy Śuṇḍama rājā varṣa-trayaṁ-apālayaṁ mahīṁ

7. tāt-anuṣṭhān Śrīmān-vṛttha-vāṁ paṇčha-tīṁśatamabdakāṇāṁ tasya-āyuṁ

8. yāditya samās-tīśra tataḥ Śrīmāṇavāj-jātō pada-yi-kalpa-bhūruhāṁ

9. yō rāja-dājāta-cchāyō Vajrahast-śvānipatiḥ praśchyōdan-mādaga-

Plate II (Second face.)

3 Read satriṣ ... yatra 5 ... trim 6 ... kṣṇa
1. ndha-lubhda-madhupa-vyāhāsa-gandān gajān̄-arthibhyāḥ samadāt-
    sahasram-atulā
2. yas-tāyāginām-agraṇi saḥ Śrīmān Aniyanka-Bhima-nṛpatir Gaṅgānvayō
3. tat-prakāh paścma-trimśatam-abda kān sam-abhunak-prīthvih stutah
    pārthivaiḥ
4. tad-agra-sūnuḥ sura-rāja- sūnā samas-saṃsātām samitā-āri- 
    maṇḍa
5. āh ssa pāti Kāmārṇaṇa bhūpatiḥ-bhuvaṃ samāddhisam-anrd̃hā-sa
6. mān̄ sam-vuvalaḥ tad-anu tad-anu samam̄ōchitajannoāpānāḥ guna-
    ni
7. dhir-anavadyo Guṇḍamākhyā mahīsaḥ sakalamidamarakshat-triṇi-
    varśāṇi
8. dhātri-valayam-alaghuvījō nirjit-ārātī-chakraḥ tatō dvai-mātura
    sta
9. -sya Madhu-Kāmārṇaṇa nṛpaḥ avatīṃ-āvanti-ādām-Śkāna

Plate III (First face.)

1. vīśatīn̄ atha Vajrahasta-nṛpatir- agra-sutād-akhila-guṇi-janāgra-
2. ṇya Kāmāṛṇavāt kavindra-pragīyanām-anvadāt-tubha-kirttiḥ Śriya i-
3. va Vaidumb ānvaya-payah-pāyōnidhi-sam-udbhavāpāḥ cha yaḥ sam-ajani
4. Vinaya-mahādevyāḥ Śri Vajrahasta iti tanayaḥ viyad-ṛtu-
5. niḥdi-sahkhyaṃ-yāti śākābdasaṅghē Dina-kṛta Vṛshabha-sthē
6. Rōhiniḥbh-su-lagnē Dhanushi cha Śita-pakṣē Śūrya-vārē trī-
7. yān yauj sakala dharitrim rakshitum y-ōbhishikaḥ nyāyēna
8. yatra samam-ācharitum tri-varga-mārggōṇa rakshati mahīm-ma-
    hiṣa; pratāpē nir-vyāḥhayas-cha nirayās-cha nir-āpadas-cha śāvā

7 Reč 8 " samit 9 " mahīṣah 10 " Ekōna
1. -prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūti-matyah vyāpiś Gaṅga-kulottamasyaya-
2. śasā dik-chakravāle śaśi-pradyōt-āmalinēṇa yasya bhuvanaḥ pra-
3. hlāda-sarṇvādinā saīndūrāir-atī11-pāndra-panka-paṭalai kumbhasthali-pē12
4. ṭṭakeśvīś-ālimpanti punah punaś-cha haritām-ādhōraṣṭā vā
5. raṇān anurāgēṇa guṇinī yasya vakṣḥō- mukh-ābjayōḥ 14
6. rāśinē15 Śri-Sarasvatīav-anukūlē virājita Kaliṅga-naga-
7. rāt-Parama-māhēśvara16 Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Tri
8. Kaliṅga-ādhipati Śrīmad-Vajrahasta-Dēva kūṣali samast-āmātya-pra-
9. mukha-janapadān samāhūya sam-ājnāpayati viditam-astu bhavate-

Plate IV (First face).

11 Read śandra 12 "pa" 13 "ṣuv" 14 "yē 15 Rāsinē 16 śvara
1. Pradha-praputely ti tasya grama ti
2. Dharmatmya锧ya ti tasya vriksham
3. Daksitasya ti tiki-
4. Shamsiyah di ti tri-
5. Ta-ambra vriksha-
6. Pachhimaya di ti tri-
7. Kripalita-
8. Uttaraya di ti tri-
9. Kripalita-

Plate IV (Second face)
Plate V (First face.)

1. ni Svargge mödati bhūmidaḥ ākśheptā ch-ānumantā cha tānyēva Na-
2. rakē vasēt dattam-ishṭan-tapas-taptam ĥutam ch-āiva Yudhisthīra a-
3. rddhāngulēna simā yaharaṇēna praṇasyati sva-dattēm para-dattē-
4. śrāvā yo harēta vasundharān sa vishtēśyēṁ kṛmrībhūtvā
5. pitri20 bhis-saha pachyati bhūmīṁ yah pratigṛhṇāti ya-
6. śca bhūmīṁ prayāśchati21 ubhau tau punya-karmaṇān ĭniyataṁ
7. svargga-gāminau Mahē-Kāyastha-Sandhivigrahi Māvuraya-sūnunā
8. Sandhivigrahi-śrī-Damōdarēṇa likhitāṁ utkiltāṁ-Ākshasāli-Vallē-

Plate V (Second face)

1. Mōjunā iti.

(2) THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF RĀJARĀJA I.
(C. P. No. 4 of 1918—1919.)
Plate I, (Second face.)

1. Ōm Svasti śrīmatāṁ-akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinayadayā-dāna-
   dākshanyā-satyāśau- [vimalā-vichārā]
   cha śauryya-dhairyādi guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām-Ātrēya-gōtrāṇāṁ
2. -chāra-punya-śailīla-prakshālīta-Kali-kāla kalmasha-maśiṇāṁ mahā-
   Mahēndrā- [nirmā]
3. chalā-tīrthā-pratishthitāāya sa-char-āchara-guroḥ sakala-bhuvana-
4. -naike-sūtradhārasya śasānka-chūḍāmaṇēr-bbhagavatō Gōkarpṇa-
   svāmināh [cchatra-hēma-
5. prasādāt-samāśādit-naike-sankha-bhēri-pavitra-mahā-śabda dhavala-
6. chēmara-vara-vṛshhabha-lāṅchana-sam-ujjvala-samastra-sāmājya-mahīṁnā
7. m-anēka-samara-sāṅghaṭa-sam-upa-labdha Vijaya-Lakṣmī-samālingītō

20 Read pitṛ 21 ,, prayacchati 1. ,, sa 2. ,, la
Plate II, (First face.)

1. tuṅga-bhuja-danda-maṇḍitānāṁ Tri-Kaliṅga-mahībhujaṁ Gaṅgānām-anvayam-a

2. laṅkarishnōr-Vishnōr-iva vikram-ākrānta-dharāṃdalandasya Guṇamāhā-ś�nava-māhā-

3. rājasya putraḥ pürvvaṁ bhūpatibhir-vibhajya vasudhāya paṅchabhiḥ paṅchadhā

4. bhuktā bhūri-paiṅkramā bhuja-balāt-tām-ēka ēva svayaṁ ēkī-kṛtya viji

5. tyaśatru-nivāhān Śrī-Vajrahasta-śchatuschatvārīṃśatam aty-udāra-

6. charitaḥ sarvām-arakshīt-saṁāḥ tasya tanayo Guṇḍama-rājā varsha-

7. layad4-mahiṁ tad-anuḥ Kāmāṅṇava-dēvah paṅcha-trīṃśatam abdakān tasyā

8. nujō Vinayādityas-saṁs-sisraḥ tataḥ Kāmāṅṇavāj-jātō jagati-

Plate II, (Second face).

1. kalpa-bhūruhaḥ yō rājad-rājitac-chāyō Vajrahast-ōvanipatiḥ prāschōda-

2. n-mada-gandha-lubdha-madhupa-vyāliḍha-gaṅḍān gajāṅn-artthibhyas-

3. -sam-adāt sahasram-a

4. -tulō-yas-tyāginām-agraṇī-s-saḥ śrīman-Aniyaṅka-Bhima nṛpatir-Gaṅ-

5. gāṅnvāyō

7. tad agra sūnuḥ surarāja sūnunā samas samast āstamit āri maṇḍa

6. laḥ saś pāti Kāmāṅṇava bhūpatir bhuvāṅ samṛdhimān ardha

7. samāṅ samuṣṭivala

8. Kāmāṅṇava dhātri valayam alaghū tōjō

Plate III, (First face).

1. nirjīt ārāti chakraḥ tatō dvaimāturas tasya Madhu Kāmāṅṇavō nṛ paḥ avatism ā

2. -vanīm ēṭam abdān ēkānna vimsatīṁ atha Vajrahasta nṛpatir agra

3. sutād akhila

3. Read mahā  4. „, layan  5. „, pt  6. „, sa  7. „, tōk
3. guṇī janāgra gāṇyaḥ Kaśmārṇavāt kavinda pragiyamān āvadāta subha, kirtitiḥ Śrī
d 4. yah iva Vaidumbānvaya payaḥ payōnidhi sam udbhāvyāś cha vaḥśam
ajani Vi
5. naya mahā dhēvyāḥ Śrī Vajrahasta iti tanayaḥ Viyad ṛtu nidhi san
khām yāti
6. Śākābda saṁghē dina kṛti vrshabhasṭhē Rōhinībhē sulagnē Dhanushi
cha sīta pakṣhē Śūryya vārē
7. trīyā yuji sakala dharitrīṁ rakshitum yōbhishiktah nyāyēna yatra
samam ēchāri
8. turī tri vargge mārggeṇa rakshati mahī mahita pratāpē nirv vyādha
yas cha nirayāś cha ni

Plate III, (Second face).

1. r āpadaś cha. śāsavat prajā bhuvantī vibhūti mattyāḥ vyāptē
Gaṅga, kulottamasya. yaśa
2. sā dik chakravālē śasi pradyōt āmalinēṇa yasya bhuvanaḥ prahlāda
samyādinē saindi
3. raś sātāṃ sandra paṇka paṭalāh kumbha sthalā paṭṭakēśhv állimpantī
punah punaḥ cha hariṣā
4. m atīḥāvali vāratiṇaś anurāgaṇa gūnimō yasya vakṣhō mukh ābjayō
5. h āśī Śrī Sarṣasyatī Śrī Sarasvatī Śrī Sarṣasyatī Śrī Sarasvatī
dvanukāle virājataḥ āgacchann āru vikramē nīra
6. na sahasā śastrābhīyātād divō yēn śvāhata viśva, vṛttī mahīṁābēlē
7. stōṣāṃ kāri nikāma, kāmyaṣṭanunē rājyaṁ mahī-mañjāle
trīṇādēvaṁsaraś 
[Vajrahasta-mahī-
8. m-abhra-subhra-yaśas varsha-trayēn-ādhikam tat-Oaṅga-Mahādēvyēm

9. vikramē 10. tattī
1. pātih Gauryām iva Harasyābhūt Kārttikēya iv ātmajāḥ Lakṣmī
dadhū vadana- [cha guṇinām cha durā-
2. pankaja-māka11randa sandōha parichumbana chaṁcharikaḥ yō mānināṁ
3. tmanāṁ' cha sāntimcha mōdam atula12 cha bhayaṁ cha dattē śākābdg
Nayanābja garbbha nidhhī
dh
4. Jēshṭhēṣṭhāmī śē13jēkē lagnēchōttaraPāṅguṇīGurudīnē pakṣēsu subhē
dh
5. subhē lōkālōka mahā mahīdhra valayālankāravatyā bhuvas sanēśikta14
dh
6. ssa Kaliṅga rāja tilakaḥ Śrī Rājarājō nṛpaḥ Kaliṅga nagarāt ParamaMā
dh
7. hēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Tri KaliṅgadhipatiśēŚrimad
Dēvēndra Va-
dh
8. rmmā Rājarāja Dēvaḥ kuṣalī samast āmātya pramukha janapadān sauna

Plate IV (Second face).

13
1. jñāpayati viditam astu bhavatām Varāhavarttanyāṁ Bṛhatkōḍilagrāmaḥ bhi-
2. nnāla vāṭṭakēṇa saha grāma grāsaṁ kṛtva chatus simāvacchinnassajala sthalas sa-
3. rvva piḍā vyvarjitam āchandr ārka sthiti sama kālāṁ yāvat mātāpirtṛ r ā
4. tmanāścha punyayaśōbhivṛddhayaē shaḍbhāgān kṛtva Vasu Nidhi Nanda
5. gaṇite Śākābdē Chaitre māsi Vishuvati Samkrāntyāṁ Kalipura Grāma
6. nivāsī Vatsa gōṭra Vāsudēva Śarmmanē chatvāro bhāgāḥ Kāsyapa gōtra
7. Nārāyana Śarmmanē dvau bhāgau cha asmābhiḥ pra dattā iti.

(3) THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF MADHU-KĀMĀRNṆAVA DĒVA.
(C. P. No. 5 of 1918—1919.)
Plate 1, (Second face)
Plate II. (First face).

rit kulāmala Mahārājādhirāja Śrī 11 Madhu Kāvārṇa Dēva12 kuṣa li Kali

1 ṉa mandala prati vadhā Trikhali praṇchātyāstasti chiṅchali Pāṭṭyā pura Paramē

2 śvara samadhīgata Pāṇchamahāśabha śrīmūla parāśōshēṇa pratyanta Bhairava Śrimā13

3 Kuḍālavena kulāṅkā Śrī lākṣaṇa14 Rāma Dēva Padunē grāmē
yasa15 Dantapura vastavya Vaiśya kula Vaṅśa Śrī Maṅcha Nāyaka ta sya sūnu Parama Māhēśvara Mātā pitṛ pad ānuḍhyāta Ėrapa Nāyaka sya Padūgrāma Hōṅḍaravaṇḍō Mōrākhinō trayaṅgrā16 samēta Vaiśya a

4 grahāra kṛītvā17 sapradatta18 miti Rānaka rāja putra viśayapati sama

Plate II. (Second face).

16. grāma 17. kṛītvā 18. sapradatta.
Plate III, (First face).

1. vālmika rōpita śila tintṛṇi gartā vālmika tata rōpita śilā.
2. dvaya tintṛṇiś1 iśāna diśāyā rājaya vrksha vālmika gartā parvvata tala-
3. mārgā satrasya bhūmi muraya śata dvaya 200 Dōlimgavēnta
4. Pōḍā Bhōi Rēvānārūtau gōlupatālē āpachivaḍā bahubhi-
5. rvasudhā datāś2 rājāna Sagarādi bhiś3 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi ta
6. -sya tasya tadā phalaś4 sva dataś5 para datamś6 vā yōharētiś7 sudharāś8
shashṭhir
7. varsha sahasrāṇi vishtḥā yāś9 jāyatēkṛmih dātu dēḍa śata ṛuṣya 150
8. Gaṅga pravardhānā vijayarāja samvatsara aṅkēṇāpi 528 Kaliṅga nagara
vāstavya Mādhava sunuś40Ma
9. dhusudaś41mēna likhitāś2 lēkhakasya bhumiś43 muraya 40 Akshaśāli
Raṃśēna utkiritā.ś44

19. Read chatusiś
d20. vivarjitah
d21. pravēśā
d22. kālah
23. kathayante
d24. trī
d25. vrksha
d26. Nairṛtya
d27. Uttara
d28. parvata
d29. garthā
d30. tintṛṇi
d31. tintṛṇi
d32. datā
d33. bhīh
d34. phalam
35. datamś
d36. datamś
d37. rōṭā
d38. vanumdharkāṃ
d39. yēma
d40. ṛuṣu
41. sūdaś
d42. likhitamś
d43. bhūmiś
d44. utkiritam.
(4) THE EASTERN GÄNGA COPPER-PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA CHÖDA GANGLA DÉWA.
(C. P. No. 6 of 1918 -1919.)

Plate I, (Second face.)
1 Om Svasti śrīmatām akhilabhuvana vinuta naya vinaya dayā dāna dākshiṇāya
2 satya śaucha śauryya dhairyyadīgunaṇaratna pavitrakaṇām Ātrēya goṭrā
3 nāṁ vimala vichārāchāra puṇyasalīa prakshālita Kalikāla kalmasha ma
4 shīnāṁ mahā Mahēndrāchala śikhara pratisīhitasya scharāchara gurō
5 h sakalabhuvana nirmāṇaika sūtradhārasya śāśānka chūḍāmanēṛbbha
6 gavatō Gōkārnāvāmināḥ prasādāt samāsādaitaika sāṅkha bhērī pa
7 āchamahāśabdamūtavalcchitra hēmachāmara varavṛshabhālāṅchana samu
8 jvala samasta sāmrājya mahīśāmanēka samara saṅghatṭa samupalabdha

Plate II, (First face.)
1 Vijaya Lakṣmī samālingitōttunga bhujada ṣṇa maṇḍitānāṁ Tri
   Kaliṅga mahībhu       [ maṇḍalasya
2 jāṁ Gaṅgāmanvayamalankarishṇo Vishnūriva vikramaṁkrānta dharā
3 Guna Māhārṇava² Mahārṇajasya putraḥ Śrī Vajrahastra Dēva śchatu
   schatvārim
4 śatamabdakān kṣhitimarakshit tat tanayō Guṇḍmarājā varshatraya
5 mapālayat tadanuḥ tadanuḥaḥ Kāmārṇava Dēvaḥ paṅcātrīnīśa
6 dvarshāṇi tasyānūjō Vinayādityaḥ smāstisraḥ tataḥ Kāmārṇa
7 va tanayō Vajrahastraḥ yō madagajita gaṇḍāngajān sahasramarīthibhyāḥ
8 samadātṛa paṅcātrīm śatamabdakān tatadadagraśūnḥ Kāmā

1. Read Vikraṃa  2. ,, Mahārṇava.
रष्णवा देवोर्द्ध दमांकं ततस्तदनुजो गुण्डामहीपति स्रष्ण वर्षानि ता
दानतस्या द्वामीतुरो मद्धु कांमर्ष्णवा शको विष्णु वर्षापि ततात् कः
[श्री वज्र]
मर्ष्णपवद वाईदुङ्गावया शुमद्ध्ववायथि विनयामहीदेव्यथि जाताः
हास्ते देवो दिवर्ग दधंतम अतिभीष्णाम्सास्निम शस्त्याभिरजाधानासा
त्रया त्रिम्शताद मद्धकानान्वि मपालयत तता सुतास्यात्माभावोः
मर्ददानां राजराजे श्रिापि श्रिीमधं दमांकं श्रिाक्षादशात वरुपाणा
यामरङ्ण निधिर्गुणानि निधिपाणा सणीबहाः ततो राज्यान्द्राचोः
यास् तनयाः राजसुंदराद राज्यान्द्रस्याग्रे महिषी सति सुतास्याणि

Plate III, (First face.)

1 साकाब्दे नंदरांध्रह्राणां गापा गानिते कुम्भा सान्त्स्ये दिनेे शे सुक्लेपक्षेः
2 तत्तिया युजि रविजा दीने रेवटिभे नर्युमे लग्ने गंगानवायाम्बु
3 जा वाहा दिनक्र्विस्वा विस्वा श्वभारयाः शचक्राः सामरक्षितम साद्गुः
4 निध्रिद्धिपाः शोद्गागोभिशिक्ताः कार्याः नागरास पराः
5 माहेश्वराः परमबाह्य्यराकाः महाराजाधिराजा त्रिकालिगाद्धी
6 पति ह्रियस्मां अनान्तार्मु चोद्गान्गा देवा कुपल समास्मात्य अग्रम्
7 यहा जनपदां समाहुयाः समाज्यापयति विदितामस्य भवताः रुपुवा
8 ऐतनिविशये सीलान्ध्यग्रामाः चतुस्मिमाः चचांनाथ साज्याः

Plate III. (Second face.)

1. sthāt sarvavapiḥāvivarjita mahāchandrārkakshhitisamakālāṃ yavannatā pī
2. trōrātmanāscha pūnya yaśobhivrddhayē Ṛtu Gagana Viyat Chandra
3. ganitē Śākābde tadgrāmāsthā Bhagavatyai pūjā naivēdya dipādi karaṇāya
   Dēvadṛgra ha gana kṛ
4. shrudita saṁ thāraya Chātalāgraṇa nivāṣi Vallanapāṅgustasya pu
5. trāḥ Nannipāṅgustasya pūrṇāya Komarachandrāya mādara manava
6. rtti kāśmābhīraṃ dañcīteh.9

(5) THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF DĒVENDRAVARMA.

(C. P. No. 7 of 1918–1919).

Plate I. (Second face)

1. Om Svasti Amarapurāṇukāriṇa sukha ramanīyādvijayavata Kālīṅga
2. nagara¹ dhivāsaka mahēndrāchalamala śikhara pratishṭhitasya sa charā
   chara gu
3. rō sakala¹-a bhuvana nirmāṇaika sūtradhārasya Śaṅkā chuḍā manēr²
   bhaga
4. vato Gōkūrṇaśvāmināschaṇa kamalārādhanaika tatparasyānekāha
5. va samkshobha janita jayaśabda pratāpavanata samasta sāṁanta chakra
6. chuḍāmanēprabhāmaṇjari puṇha ranjita vara charaṇa yugalō Śrī Māhā
7. rjanuvarma sūnu Mahārājādhiraṇa Śrī Dēvēndravarmā Pushkariṇī
   vishayē Virī
8. nika grāmavāstavya kūṭuminā¹ samājāpayati viditamastu vō

Plate II, (Fra: fa-).
ni ślokā mābhūda phalaśaṅkava\textsuperscript{10(a)} parādaeti pā
rthivā svadānām paramānanta\textsuperscript{10(b)} parādānānu pāla
nē iti kamaladālambu bindulōla śriyām anuchintya
manuṣya\textsuperscript{11} jīvitāncha sakala mida mudāhṛtaṁ hi
buddhvā na hi purushai parakīrtaye vilōpyā bahubhi
rvasudhā dattā rāja bhi\textsuperscript{12} sagarādi bhi\textsuperscript{13} yasya ya

\textit{Plate III, (First face).}

\textbf{10(a)} Read \textit{volk 10(b) "tyām 11. manushya 12\&13 "bhih 14. "stasya
18-b}
THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF ANANTAVARMADÉVA.

(C. P. No. 8 of 1918—1919.)

Plate I (Second face.)

1 Ōm SvastyAmarapurāṇaśāriṅā sarvvardhu sukharamanīyā
dvijayavat Kalirnaganagarādhi vāsatat Mahēndrācha
3 lā mala śikharapratishthitasya2 sacharāchara gurōssaka
4 la bhuvanaika2 śūtradhārasya śasamka chūḍāma
5 nēr Bhagavatī3 Gōkarna śvāminā4 charañkamala yu
gala prabhāmā5 dviga6 kalikāṅkō ṅē7kāhava samkshōbha
7 janita jayaśavdā8 pratēpa9 nata samasta sā10 manjarīpunja ra
8 njita varachara11 kamala sītta11 kumuda kundēndvāvadāta
9 vinirgata yaśśdhwastārāti kulačalō naya vinaya

1 Read purāṇu 2 pratishthitasya 2(a) bhuvana 3 vato
4 Śvāminā 5 prāṇāmā 6 dvigaśa 7 nē 8 sabda 9 pratēpa
10 sāmanta chakrachādanērprabhā 11 sīta.
Plate II (First face).

dayā dāna kshinya\textsuperscript{12} sauryaudārya satya tyāgādi guna
sampadādhārabhūtō parama Māheśvara parama Bhāgu paramaṭṭā\textsuperscript{13}
Rājādhirāja Gaṅgāmalakula tilakah Dēndrávarma\textsuperscript{14} sūnu
Śrī Anantavarma dēva kuśali Kaṁṭhakavarttani Vishaya Rā
shtra kūta Nājekeśaraḍāḍārā ṭyāsā vāstavyā dina Janā padā\textsuperscript{15}
sarvva samājnāpayati viditaṃ astam bhavatām pradattām
dvishatā maddhirpaṇā bhavatā māmanḍa | atra punya śatēka
rshā śaṇapoddha chibhadritālachānṵri hīḍarōmavāha
chchāḍnagōṭrōma bhabhāṛāṇvāḍādva mānapa bhattarpi
ta | bhatṭa Nāradasagōṭrāya | Kanvasākhāya\textsuperscript{16} | Vēdyanaśa

Plate II, (Second face).

\textsuperscript{12} Kead dākshinya  \textsuperscript{13} paraṃ Bhaṭṭa  \textsuperscript{14} Devendraṭarma
\textsuperscript{15} janāpada  \textsuperscript{16} Kanvasākhāya
Plate III (First face).

1. mānāya śaṭkarmābhiritāya sōgraḥaṇa parāga kā
2. lēna dhārā pūrvakēna mātāpitrōrātmanscha puṇyābhi
3. vṛddhayē āchāmdrārkakālaṁ tāmraśāsamā kṛtvā dđhā
tre pradata vūrasānāmnā nakēnachi paripaṁtināsasvē
tadhāṁ samuchita prachayā daśāmāsakā midā
samasta pariḥārakēna bhōktavya ātra sīmā liṅgā
ni likhyantē chaturbhidīśā-prayānaisvādhyaśāralah kṛta
grhavṛtistadhaiva chābhūmi yahah parigrñāti ēchabhūmi
prayachchatī ubhautau puṇya karmāṇau nāyatau pāśa
gāmina||Svadātāṁ parādattāmvā yōharētiṁ vasundharā
savishṭhāyam kṛmi

1. rdbhūtvā | pitṛbhisaha pachyatē | Hiranyamakāṁ gāmēkāṁ
2. bhūmi mapyēka māṅgulatī haranaraka mēyāti | yāva
dābhūta saṁplavatī | itikamaladalamvū vindulāśrī
yamanuchintya manuṣya jitaṁcha sakala mi
hamupāgataṁchaavudhvā nahi purushai varaki
6. rtayē vilōpyatī | likhitāṁ Sandhivigrahi Vi
7. njakēnaiti | Vēlugrēma vāstavya Vinjanasu
ta | Mahindapāka’māra visthirnnavṛddhi

17 Read sōma 18 vṛddhayē 19 pradattatī 20 midatī 21 Svadattatī 22 yōharētra 23 mēkāṁ 24 haramaraka 25 dalambu 26 bināulāśrī 27 manuṣya jītatamcha 29 budhvā 30 netī 31 vṛddhi.
(4) THE COPPER-PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA
CHÔDA GÀNGA DÈVA. (C. P. No. 6 of 1918-19)*

(a) Description of the Plates.

It is a set of 3 plates $\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3''$ each, strung in a circular ring $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter whose ends are soldered into a seal $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. The whole set weighs 120 Tolas. In the surface of the disc of the seal are found, countersunk, a couchant Bull facing left in the middle of it, a Sun, a Crescent and a Sun and a Lampstand at the top of it, an Ankuśa or Elephant-goad in front of it and a Lotus-creeper below it. Except the first side of the first plate, all other sides contain writing. The plates are broader at the ends than in the middle and their rims are raised so as to protect the writing.

(b) Alphabet and Language.

The alphabet consists of clearly and nicely written Sanskrit characters of the 11th century. The language is in Sanskrit prose throughout. The contents of this record resemble those of C. P. No. 3 and C. P. No. 4 up to plate III, first face, excepting for omissions of qualifying attributes of kings. It is less free from mistakes than those two sets of plates. However, the use of s for ś as in Dinēśē and Visva (Vide footnotes 3, 4 and 5) and the shortening of the vowel where the long one should be used, as shown in footnotes 1 and 8, must be noted.

(c) Subject-matter.

It is the same as that found in C.P. No. 3 and C.P. No. 4 up to plate III, first face. At the end of plate II, second face, it is stated that Rāja Rāja ruled for 8 years and his eldest wife or Queen-consort was Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājendra-chōla.

Plate III, first face, records that in Ś. 999, denoted by Nandas (9) Apertures (9) and Planets (9) when the Sun was in the Kumbha (Aquarius), on Sunday, the third lunar day of the bright fortnight under the Rēvati star and during Nṛyugma (Mithuna) īga, Chōḍagaṅga, who was the Sun to the Lotus-flower of the Gāṅga family and who was the Mine of several good qualities, was appointed king for protecting the Wheel of Earth. From Kalinganagara, the illustrious Anantavarman Chōḍa Gāṅga, the devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara, the devout Bhaṭṭāraka, the great King of kings, the

* In this article, we have adopted the same numbers, found in the List of Copper-plates examined during 1918-19 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras and followed the same order in the publication of the texts of the several Plates as well as the body of the article. We find the same numbers being referred to often in the several articles published by scholars regarding this subject,
Lord of Tri-Kalinga, being in good health and having assembled all rural subjects headed by all the Ministers, commanded and informed them that the village of Sëlala, lying in Rûpavartani District (Modern Tekkali Taluq) and enclosed within 4 limits and with all water rights, Plate III, second face records—was granted in perpetuity, for the merit of fame of his parents and himself, freed from all molestations, in the Śaka year 1006, denoted by Chandra or Moon (r), Viyat or Air (o), Gagana or Sky (o) and Rtu or Seasons (6), it being constituted as a Devägrahaṇa for worship, offerings and lamps to the Goddess Bhagavati, of the same village, to Komarachandra, son of Nannipāṃgu and grandson of Vallanapāṃgu, a resident of the village of Chāṭala towards his Mātura* maintenance.

Remarks.


The genealogy and chronology given in these Plates resemble those given in them and in the Vizag Plates dated Śaka years 1003 and 1057 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII pp. 161-165 and 172–176 respectively) and in all the Plates of his father and grand-father published so far and differ from those given in this king's Korni Plates dated Śaka 1034 (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I, pp. 106-124) and Visag Plates dated Śaka 1040 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172). The latter cannot therefore be believed to be correct and true. Vide for fuller discussion Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, Nādagam Plates of Vajrahasta III edited by Mr.G.V. Ramamurty Pantulu.

(5) THE COPPER-PLATES OF DĒVENDRAVARMA.

(C. P. No. 7 of 1918–19).

(a) Description of the Plates.

It is a set of 3 plates strung in a ring containing a seal. The whole set weighs 110½ tolas. The seal and the ring alone weigh 32½ tolas. The first and the last plates contain no writing on their first and second sides respectively which act as covers. Each plate measures 7½" x 3½" and contains writing in clear and bold old Telugu-Kannada characters of the 9th century. The circular ring which holds the plates is 3½" in diameter and the seal into which the two ends of the ring are soldered is 1½" in diameter. On the disc of the Seal is a bull in a sitting posture facing left. The Bull has a hump and a garland of bells round its neck. To its left side is carved a crescent and below it a fish. To its right is an ankuṣa (elephant-goad). The Bull is 1" high near its head which is raised and 1" long from the tip of the mouth to the tail. All the figures are very artistically carved out in bold relief.

*The meaning of this term "Mādara maintenance", is not clear. Such a term occurs also in the Bodapädu Plates of Vajrahasta III (Bharati, Vol. III, pp. 82-94). The Editor, Mr. M. S. Sarma opined that the term is the same as Mādari, a low caste-man engaged in making bamboo baskets. We cannot agree, however, with this opinion. We wonder whether an Emperor should endow a whole village for such low services such as supplying baskets and get Plates inscribed to commemorate the great event!!
(b) Alphabet and Language.

The characters are old Telugu-kannada of the 9th century. The language is Sanskrit. The alphabet belongs to the old Kufi type. The scribe prepared the grant very carelessly as shown by the several omissions of letters and words (Vide footnotes for corrections). These plates resemble those of Rājēndravarma’s son, Dēvēndravarma of G. E. 310 published in Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, pp. 311—313. Another set, not dated, was published in Ep. Car. Bangalore Vol. as Insc. No. 140. They were both engraved by Khaṇḍimala who also engraved these plates. The name of the king’s father happens to be Rājēndravarma as in these plates also* and so we identify this king with the one whose plates are dated G. E. 310. The grant, dated 310 G. E., was written by Sarva chandra like the present one and so, we hold that, though these plates contain no date, they also belong to the same time (310 G. E. = 806 A. D.) The identity in the names of the king’s father, the scribe and the engraver as well as the style of the inscriptions would all support this view.

(c) Subject-matter.

Plate I, second face and Plate II, first face state that, from Kalinga-Nagara, which resembles Amarapura, the King Dēvēndravarma, who was a devout worshipper of Gōkarnaśwāmi residing on Mt. Mahēndra, who was styled the great King of kings and who was the son of the illustrious Rājēndravarma, commanded and informed the families of the village of Virinika in the District of Pūshkarani thus:—‘‘I have granted the village in perpetuity, free from all taxes and molestations, to Hētilōka, son of Vilachi, a resident of the same village.’’ The boundaries of the gift are then described. The villages of Mārada, Pūshkarani and Kumārikābhaṭa are mentioned. Pūshkarani is identified by some scholars with Śrīkūrmam.

Plate II, second face and plate III, first face, (first 4 lines) give the usual imprecatory verses (Vyāsa ślokas). They are five in number. The last two lines of the inscription state that it was written by the vassal Sarvachandra and engraved by the vassal Khaṇḍimala.

(6) THE COPPER-PLATES OF ANANTAVARMADĒVA

(C. P. No. 8 of 1918—19)

(a) Description of the Plates

It is a set of 3 plates weighing 72 tolas along with ring and seal also. The 3 plates are 6" × 3" each. The first and the third plates do not contain any writing on their first and second sides which are blank and which therefore serve as covers to the record. The ring which is circular is 1½" in diameter and the seal 1½". The Seal contains in its disc a crescent at top and a standing bull facing right below it.

* We regret that in the Texts (which were printed beforehand) two misreadings have appeared on pages 186 and 187. Please read “Sīrman Rājēndra” for Sīr Mahārjanu, (lines 6 and 7 above the block on p. 186) and “Khaṇḍi” for Vindī, at the end of the 6th line in plate III (first face).
(b) Alphabet and Language.

The *lipi* is old Telugu-kannada and the letters are of *Kutila* type and belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. There are several Prākritisms and the use of different forms for the same letter is a special peculiarity. The scribe has done his work very carelessly (Vide footnote No. 10 which is typical). The adoption of v for b and ś for s and vice versa shows the local usages of the times. The *Bindu* in several places is wrongly omitted (Vide footnotes 19, 20 and 21 for corrections).

(c) Subject-matter.

Plate I, (second face), gives the usual description of the Dynasty found in the C. P. No. 7 noted above.

Plate II, (first face), states that king Anantavarmaidēva, the son of Dēvēndravarmaidēva who was the Crest-jewel of Gaṅga family, who was King of kings, who was the devout Bhaftāraka, the devout Bhāgavata and the devout worshipper of God Iṣvara, being in good health, assembled and commanded the country subjects of the village of Nājekaraḍa and the Rāṣhtrakūta chiefs of the district of Kāṁṭakavartani thus—“I have granted the village, free from all taxes, to Mānapa Bhartṭa who belonged to Bhartṭa Nārada gōtra and Kaṇva sākha and who was well-versed in Vēdas and the six Karmas.”

Plate II, (second face), states that, on the occasion of a Lunar eclipse, for the merit of himself and his parents, the gift of the village was made in perpetuity. The boundaries of the grant are then given.

Plate III, (first face) gives the usual Vṛṛṣa śīkas and states that the Copper-plates were composed by Sanitiṣvigrāhī Vinija and executed by Mahinda, son of Vinija, a resident of the village of Vēlu.

(d) Remarks.

Dēvēndravarma, the father of the Donor-king Anantavarma, may be identified with the one mentioned in C. P. No. 7 above, for the following three reasons:

1. The plates of both these Kings were found together.
2. Both resemble each other in alphabet, language and style.
3. Both begin in the same way and both are undated.

If this identification cannot hold good, then this King Anantavarma may be identified with the one of G. E. 204. (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, pp. 271—274).

It is interesting to learn from all these Plates about some of the official titles of the times. Thus, a Rāṇaka was a military Governor of a Province. A Rājaputra or prince of royal blood occupied a minister’s position. A Vishayapati was head of a District. A Rājapādopajtvinia was a royal dependent in charge of civil duties. An Achaṭa was an irregular soldier resembling a C. I. D. Officer. A Bhata was a regular soldier, who was a member of the army. A Rauta was a cavalry officer. A Lekhaka was a clerk in charge of composing official documents. An Akṣhafalā was an inscriber of records. A Nāyaka was a captain of a small military force. A Mahākāyastha was an Alderman. A Sanitiṣvigrāhī was Secretary for peace and war. An Amāṭya was a Minister. A Sāmanṭa was a vassal. A Jānapada was a rural corporation.
THE ANTIQUITIES OF PUDUR*

M. RAMA RAO, M. A., B. Ed.

Of the many places of antiquarian interest that H. F. H. the Nizam's Dominions abound in, Pūdür is perhaps the most curious. It is an unknown little village in the Gadwal Samstan on the Secunderabad-Dronachalam railway. The sculptures and epigraphs of this place reveal a very remarkable and interesting aspect of the religious history of the Andhra country. It is the object of this paper to explain this aspect and point out the importance of the antiquities of Pūdür.

There are three localities of interest in this place—the Keśava-swāmi temple, the shrine known as the Mallikārjuna guḍī and most important of all, the temple of Virabhadra. The Keśava temple is situated in a small compound towards the North-Eastern end of the village and looks comparatively recent. It consists of a rectangular pillared hall and the main shrine behind it. One notable feature is that this temple has no Śikhara at the top but has instead a low parapet wall around. The deity in this temple is mentioned frequently in the Telugu literature of the 15th and 16th centuries, produced under the patronage of the rulers of Gadwal.1 About two furlongs to the North of this temple is a low mud-wall about 8 feet thick, encircling the village and the railway station. A little farther is a small shrine known as Mallikārjuna guḍi. The most important of the antiquities of this shrine are a number of broken sculptures laid against a wall to the right side of the guḍi. Among them are to be found the idols of a female and a male deity, a Jina sitting in the dhyāna posture with a seven-hooded cobra above his head, a broken Jina figure exquisitely carved and a third Jina image without the cobra-hood above the head. There are besides, the images of dwārapālakas and Nāgis in plenty. About two are three furlongs away from this place is the Virabhadra temple which is the centre of our interest at Pūdür. The temple consists of an entrance porch, a small pillared hall and the main shrine behind it. Above this structure is a stepped conical sikhara with an inverted kalaśa at the top. The main shrine contains a Śivalinga while to the Southern wall of the hall is set up an image of Virabhadra. To the North of this temple is a small shrine containing a slab on which is carved in relief a figure with folded hands and the tail curving above the head, resembling the figure of Hanuman. Parallal to these structures and to the further North

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*Paper read before the Indian Oriental Conference, Baroda, December 1933,
1. The Yathā-sūkṣma tātparya rāmāyaṇa;
is a choultry of recent construction, with a Northern wing. A mud-wall recently built starts before the entrance to the Virabhadra temple and joins the Eastern wall of the choultry. This wall and the exterior of the Western wall of the choultry are important from the sculptural point of view. Being recent erections they contain a number of beautifully sculptured slabs and beams. Below is a list of some of the important slabs built into the former.

1. Four figures of Nāgis each with a sword and a shield in the hand.
2. A man and a woman on horseback below a seated Jina figure with a woman holding chamara on either side.
3. Two men on horseback one piercing the other.
4. A seated Jina with two warriors fighting with swords below.
5. Many slabs with single and many-haired cobras.

On the exterior of the Western wall of the choultry are found the following sculptures:

1. The cross-beam of a doorway with Gajalakshmi in the centre.
2. Another beam containing Śiva in the dancing posture.
3. A pillar on which are carved in relief the scenes of Rama and Sita going to the forest and Rama cutting the nose of Śūrpaṇakhā.
4. A peculiar slab containing a Jina with chamara-bearers on either side and a Linga on a pedestal in the first row; a horseman below the Jina fighting with a sword and an infantry man piercing the former’s horse with a spear, in the second row; a man in the falling posture and below him a dead body, both in the centre of the slab below the second row.

Besides the temples and sculptures described above, Pūdūr contains no less than six inscriptions which belong to three successive centuries, and throw much light on the religious history of this part of the country during early medieval times.

I am giving below summaries of the inscriptions found at this place...

1. On a slab by the road side near the Mallikārjuna guḍi, a canarese inscription dated 12th year of the Chalukyavikrama era, records that in the time of Tribhuvanamalla his subordinate Pūndūra Hallakarasā made several gifts of land in and round Pūdūr to his guru Kanakasēna-bhaṭṭāraka of the Pallavajinālāya, which belonged to the Dravīṭa sāṃgha. The last five lines of the first side of the inscription contain the following sanskrit verse which gives the key for the interpretation of the sculptures.
2. A canarese fragment on a broken slab in the road very near
the above which mentions Mahamandalesvara Rajaśekhara, a Telugu Chola
chief with the usual dynastic titles. This record is dated in the Chālukya
vikrama era though the actual figure is lost.

3. In the Keśavasvami temple a worn out record of a chieftain
who calls himself “Kandūr-pura-varā-dhīśvara”.

4. On the cross-beam bearing Gajalakshmi, carved in the upper
and lower margins are the following two lines—

“Śrī Pōravāna gāvundapa mādisida”

“Svasti Šaka-varisa Entana...nālvattentaneya Sarvajit-saññvatsara
pravattise”

5. On a pillar in the interior of the Northern wing of the
choultry and half built into the wall is a Telugu record on which the words
शक्तरूप, प्रजापतिसंवल्लस, जगदालि and इंद्रसत्वि are prominent.

6. Towards the Southern end of the village on a slab near the
Hanuman shrine, is a long canarese inscription dated Chālukya Vikrama
Era 13 which registers a gift of Pūndūra Hallakarasa.

These inscriptions reveals many interesting facts. The sanskrit
verse tells us that the ancient name of Pūdūr was Pundrapura and that
it had a fortress. Evidently the low mud wall to the North of the Keśava
temple to which we have already referred formed part of the ancient
fortress of Pūdūr. At the beginning of inscription No. 1 there is a figure
of a Jina sitting in dhyāna posture. The inscription records a gift to
the Pallavavinālaya whose prosperity is hailed in the first two lines
thereof. The second and third sides of the record are descriptions of
the temple which the sanskrit verse tells us, was situated in a beautiful
mango grove. Pūdūr seems to have been ruled over by Hallakarasa in
the last quarter of the 12th century. Later on probably the Telugu
cholas held this place as inscription no. 2 above indicates. The letters in
inscription No, 5 are distinctly Telugu characters of the early 13th
century and resemble those of the Kakatiya inscriptions. The occurrence
of the word “Jagadāla” and the mention of the erection of a Śiva
temple in the visible part of this record afford the clue for determining
the date of this inscription. Jagadāla a subordinate of Kakatiya Gana-
patidēva appears in the Pākhāl inscription. Further the reign of that
monarch also witnessed a strong Saivite reaction against the Jainas.
Hence I would ascribe this inscription to Jagadāla a general of Ganapati-
dēva and assign it to the cyclic year Prajāpati 'corresponding to 1211
A. D. This fragment indicates how Pūdūr became a part of the Kakatiya
empire and a Saivite centre. Telugu literature of the 18th century
gives us the political history of Pudur in subsequent times. The "Yathā-
śīṅk-tātparya-Rāmāyṇamu" dedicated to Rāja China Sōmabhūpāl of
Gadwal mentions that about the middle of the 17th century a certain
Virāreṇḍrī was the ruler of Pudur and that his only daughter Bakkamma
was married to Rāja Pedrā Sōmabhūpāl the Nāḍagāṇḍu of Ieeza. Later
this chieftain founded the fortress of Gadwal and transferred his head-
quarters to it. Since then Pudur formed part of the Gadwal
sainasthan. Continued neglect reduced the fort and other fortifications
into ruins. Only the mud-wall remains today as the pitiable survivor of
the past glory of Pudur.

The antiquities of this place give us a glimpse into religious
history. In the Andhra country as well as in the Karnatak both Jainism
and Brahminism flourished without any hitch till the close of the 11th
century. With the advent of Vīra Saiva in the middle of the next century
the situation changed. A strong movement of merciless persecution was
started by the Vīra Saivas against the Jainas. Telugu and Kanarese
literatures of this period contain harrowing tales of the wholesale de-
struction of the Jainas, their books and temples. This wave of destruction
swept the nooks and corners of the Western Chalukyan empire. The
Jaina settlement at Pudur also seems to have suffered in this connection.
But for the images of Virabhadra and the linga in the main shrine, the
Virabhadra temple is a compact little Jaina shrine. Of the broken
sculptures in the Mallikārjuna guṇḍi, the male and the female deity and the
Jina figure with the cobra-hood above its head may be taken to consti-
tute a triad representing Pārśvanātha and his attendant Yaksha and
Yakshini. I believe that the Virabhadra temple of today enshrined this
triad besides a number of allied deities and went by the name of "Sri
Pallava Jīnālaya" in the 12th century as inscription No. 1 mentioned in
this paper would indicate. It is likely that in the middle of the 13th
century, when Pudur was conquered by the Kākatiyas, the champions of
Saivism, set in the reaction against the local Jainas. Sculpture
No. 4 on the exterior of the Western wall of the choultry is symbolic of
this reaction. The representation of a Jina over one and of a Linga
over another of the two fighters on this slab indicates that of these two
warriors each championed one of the two rival faiths and fought out the
issue. The result, as the presence of the Saivite idols in what was origi-
nally a Jaina temple would indicate, was victory to the Saivas. As a
further consequence of the victory, the Saivas must have set up
many temples here of their own type. Probably the cross-beam contain-
ing the image of Śiva in the dancing posture adorned one of the main
temples of the Saivas. On questioning the old men of the place, I came
to know that all the sculptured pieces in the Virabhadra temple were
recovered from the ground while ploughing or sinking wells. It is likely
therefore that the neighbourhood of the temple contains many temples
and inscriptions in its bosom.

Thus Pudur and its antiquities are of very great interest to the
archaeologist and the student of history. In the broken sculptures and
the half-buried inscriptions of this place we find the echoes of the general
progress of the political and religious history of the Deccan.

4. See for instance the "Basavapurāṇam"
NOTES OF THE QUARTERS.

At the meeting of the Managing Council held on 23—11—33, it was resolved to publish important minutes of the Managing Council meetings as decided by the Council from time to time.

The following are such resolutions passed since then:—

1 Resolved to depute Messrs. R. Subba Rao, M. Rama Rao and B. V. Krishna Rao as delegates of the A. H. R. Society to the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Baroda in December 1933.

2 This Council places on record its profound sense of loss sustained on account of the demise of Dewan Bahadur C. Venkatachalam Pantulu Garu who was one of the earliest members of the Society and who took a great interest in the progress of the Society.

3 Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri Raja Vikrama Deo Varma Maharaja Garu for his generous donation of Rs. 500 to the Society.

Books received for Review.

The following books have been received for Review during the two quarters ending with 30—9—33 and 31—12—33.

1 History of the Sanskrit Literature, part 1 (Telugu) by Malladi Suryanarayana Sastri.
2 Short History of Kashmir.
3 Banks and Money market. Dr. B. Ramachandra Rao, M.A., Ph.D.
4 The Formation of Madras. (A. C. Butterworth, M.A., I.C.S. Retd)
5 Sarada Ashrama Varshika.
6 Rigveda Samhita, part 1
7 Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.
8 Kasika Vivarna Panchika (Fasc Nos. 1—3)
9 Vedic Women (Telugu) J. Purushottam
10 Uttaramara charitam (Telugu Translation) J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
11 Rayavachakam. Edited by J. Ramayya Pantulu, R.A., B.L.
12 Rigveda Samhita, part 2.
13 Some Aspects of Vayu Purana. V. R. Dikshitar.
Subscriptions received during the Quarter ending with 30—9—33.

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Treasurer.
LIBRARIES IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA.

M. Rama Rao, M.A., B.Ed.

Chapter 1. Writing and writing material.

"A true University" said Carlyle, "is a collection of books". India was famous even in ancient days as a great centre of learning. Many foreign travellers who visited this country both for curiosity and in quest of learning have written that in this land numerous Universities existed and flourished. It is also known from the same source that the numerous collections of rare and important works preserved in this land were a source of great attraction for the other nations in those days. The popular presence of libraries implies that the art of writing was very well-known to the Indians even in those early times. The twin arts of writing and book-making are the essential factors for the rise and growth of libraries. It is necessary therefore to notice briefly the antiquity of writing in India and the various material used for that purpose.

There has been a large divergence of opinion regarding the antiquity of writing in this country. Scholars like Weeber and Bothlingk believed that the inscriptions of Ashoka are the earliest evidences of writing in India. Princep, Alfred and Senart generally agree with this view but hold that the Indian alphabet was derived from the Greeks. Sir William Jones ascribes the origin of the Indian alphabet to the Semitic nations while Dickey and Taylor trace its origin from Southern Arabia, and Bühler connects it with the Pheonicians. Other European

I. Issac Taylor—The alphabet II, p. 804.
scholars advocate a theory of indigenous origin. Thomas thinks that
the Indian alphabet had its origin in the Dravidian races of the South.\(^3\) Cunningham derives it from the Pictographic script\(^4\) and Dawson contends that it had an origin of its own. But there are two defects in
these theories of foreign origin viz. they neglect the numerous reliable
references to the existence of writing in this country found in the Hindu
and Buddhist literatures and in the second place their advocates are not
able to tell us when and in what manner India came into contact with
these foreign nations. There are, on the other hand, many Indian scholars
like R. G. Bhandarkar and Vishnu Sarup who argue that this country
developed a system of writing all by herself.\(^5\) There are, as we have
already stated, copious references in native literatures to the prevalence
of writing in this country from times far earlier than the time of the so-
called borrowing from foreign nations.

Nārada,\(^6\) Brīhaspati and Manu\(^7\) mention that the ancient script
known as the Brāhmi was created by Brahma. This is confirmed by
Buddhist works like the Samavāyānga Sūtra etc.,\(^8\) a Chinese work known
as the Fuan-Shulin\(^9\) and the writings of Hieun Tsang and Beruni.\(^10\)
A Jaina work known as the Drīṣṭi-vāda\(^11\) tells us that in the Brāhmi
there were only 4\(x\) letters, and the Lalitavistāra bears it out.\(^12\) The
sacred books of the Buddhists are most copious in their references to
the art of writing in India. The Bikkupāsitya speaks of "Lēkha" (letter)\(^13\)
and Lēkhaka (writer). From the Jātakas it is evident that in those days royal
edicts, important family matters and moral and religious precepts were being
engraved on plates of silver.\(^14\) The Vinayapiṭaka alludes to the practice
of Buddhist monks engraving religious precepts and instructions to their
lay disciples on wooden boards.\(^15\) From the Mahāvagga it is known that
the Phalaka or the slate and the Varṇaka or the pencil were the first
equipment of a school-boy.\(^16\) Instances of this kind are many and
varied. It is evident, from the examples referred to, that in the Buddhist
age the art of writing was popularly known. Eminent scholars like
Bühler and Rhys Davids ascribe the Buddhist literature to the 6th
century B. C. at the earliest.

\(^2\) Bühler—Indian Paleography, p. 19.
\(^3\) J. R. A. S. (N. S) V, 1420—27.
\(^4\) Catalogue II, 59.
\(^5\) Austosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee volume, p. 539.
\(^6\) SBE 23, 58 ff.
\(^7\) Ibid 23, 504.
\(^8\) WIS 16, 280.
\(^9\) BOR I, 59.
\(^10\) Siyuki I, 77 and Beruni—India I, 171.
\(^11\) WIS 16, 281.
\(^12\) Bib. Ind. 145.
\(^13\) Ch. II—11.
\(^14\) Bühler—Indian Studies III, 7 f. 10, 18.
\(^15\) Ibid III, 4, 4.
\(^16\) Ibid 15 ff.
Ancient Sanskrit literature too contains valuable information regarding the prevalence of writing in ancient India. The work of Pāṇini, for example, is a source of useful information for the student of Indian antiquities. The grammar deals with all the words that were in current usage and incidentally explains their significance. A pertinent question arises here as to whether Pāṇini makes mention of the art of writing. Fortunately his grammar contains some valuable references to "Lipi" (writing) and "Lipikara" (one who writes). Mention is also made of a kind of writing called "Yavanāni". There is, however, a difference of views regarding the date of this great grammarian. Maxmüler and Goldstücker believed that he belonged to the 4th century B.C. but Bhandarkar has shown conclusively that Pāṇini could not have flourished later than the 8th century B.C. This shows that writing was familiarly known in India more than two centuries before the birth of Buddha.

A close examination of the Vedic literature indicates for writing in India a date by far anterior to even the age of Pāṇini. The Vedas abound in references to Akshara, Paṭaḷa, Kāndā, Grantha etc., which indicate a close familiarity with the system of writing and arrangement. Further the use of metrical and prose compositions in these sacred works, their indexing and the evolution of separate branches of study dealing with Philology, Phonetics and Grammar testify to the knowledge of writing in the Vedic age. This literature is assigned generally to the 15th century B.C.

Recent excavations in the Punjab and Sind have brought to light interesting antiquities which throw fresh light on the problem of the antiquity of writing in India. At Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in the Indus valley several seals bearing writing in a peculiar script have been discovered. According to Rai Bahadur Vishnu Sarup these finds exhibit the kind of writing that preceded the Brāhmi and was in fact its originator. It is generally agreed among scholars that the civilisation of the Indus valley belongs to the Chalcolithic age and is as such ascribed to the third millennium B.C. This shows that writing in India is as old as its civilisation.

Having discussed the antiquity of writing in India we shall proceed to see what kind of material was used in this country for purposes of writing, for, the nature of a library is determined by the material of which its books are made. Archaeology, Epigraphy and Literature throw valuable light on this point. Here and there the writings of foreigners help us considerably.

18. Das Mahābhārata 188 ff; SBE XXV; Hāmadri—Dānākandā Ch. 7 p. 544.
BIRCH-BARK:—Q. Curtius, the Roman historian of the 4th century, alludes to the use of the inner bark of the Bhūrja tree as a writing material by the Hindus at the time of Alexander’s invasion. In later times it is frequently referred to in Northern Buddhist and Brahminical works. From Beruni’s account the manner of preparing this bark into useful writing material is known. Pieces one ell in length and one span in breadth were cut out and then rubbed with oil in order to give them polish. A number of such leaves were placed one over the other and pierced in the middle in order to pass strings through them. A considerable number of birch-bark MSS exists to-day in the libraries of the Kashmiri pandits, in Orissa and many other parts of India.

COTTON CLOTH:—The use of well-beaten cotton cloth for purposes of writing is mentioned by Nearchus and some of the Smīrtis. Inscriptions of the Andhra period state that official and private documents were written on Pravata, Patika or Karpāsapaṭa. The way in which the cloth was prepared for use is known from the still-persisting custom among Kanarese traders of making their business-books out of this material. The cloth is covered with a kind of paste of the tamarind-seed and afterwards blackened with charcoal. The letters are written with chalk or steatite pencil. MSS written on such cloth were found at Jesalmir, Anhilvāḍapattan and other places.

WOODEN BOARDS:—A passage from the Vinayapitaka tells us that the Buddhist monks used to write precepts to their lay disciples on wooden boards. An inscription of the Śaka king Nahapāna speaks of the wooden boards in the Guild-hall on which agreements regarding loans were written. Kātyāyana prescribes that plaints should be written on boards of wood with the Pāṇḍūlēka or chalk and the famous Sanskrit poet Daṇḍin gives an instance of a royal declaration written on a varnished board. A MSS on such material was discovered in Assam and is now kept in the Bodleian library. It is known that even to this day poor people in the N. W. Frontier Province copy religious works with chalk on wooden boards.

20. Bothlingk and Roth—Sanskrit Wörterbuch, see under “Bhūrja”
21. India I, 171.
22. Gough’s Papers 17; Kashmir Rept 29 n2.
24. ASWI IV, p. 104, ins. No. 11.
25. Mysore and Coorg gazetteer 1877, i, 408.
26. Rept. on Sanskrit MSS. V. 118.
29. Daśakumāra charita Ucchvāsa 2.
30. Buhler—Ind. pal. p. 94.
LEAVES:—Leaves known as Paṇṇa (Parna) were the most common writing material in ancient times. These were mostly of the palmyra tree which grows in abundance mostly in the Dekkan. MSS recently discovered in India and Central Asia prove the use of these leaves as early as the 4th century A. D. A tradition recorded in the life of Hieun Tsang mentions that the Buddhist cannon was written on palm-leaves at the first Buddhist council held after Buddha’s death. In order to be fit for use, the leaves were first dried, next boiled or soaked in water, then again dried and finally polished with stone or conch-shells. After this they were cut to the proper size. Generally their length varied from 1’ to 3’ and the breadth from 1½” to 4”. The practice was either to write on these leaves with ink or inscribe on them with a stilus. In the latter case they were afterwards blackened with soot or charcoal. Such leaves were placed one over the other and pierced either in the middle or on the sides in order to pass strings through them. The bundle of leaves was then placed between two wooden boards and then the strings were tied round them.

SKIN AND IVORY:—Allusions to the use of skin for writing are many in ancient India. MSS of this description have been actually discovered in Central Asia. Owing to its impurity skin was not very popular. Ivory has been used in rare cases as writing material. One specimen found in Burma is now preserved in the British Museum.

METALS:—Metals as writing material seem to have been very popular in ancient times. The Jātakas show that important domestic affairs and royal grants were recorded on them. A specimen of this type was discovered at Taxila. During the excavation of the Stūpa of Bhaṭṭiprōḷu a MS written on plates of silver has been found. In the British Museum there are MSS written on gilded and silver-plated palm-leaves. Copper plates were the most common writing material in ancient days. During Mauryan times official decrees were committed to copper. Hieun Tsang tells us that the famous Buddhist emperor Kanishka caused the sacred books to be engraved on sheets of copper. There are reliable evidences to prove that even valuable literary works were engraved on such plates and preserved. Such for example are the religious and literary works of the Tāḷḷapāka family now preserved in the Tirupati temple. Other specimens found in Burma and Ceylon are preserved in the British Museum. The writing on these plates was done in two ways, either they were cast into a mould of sand into which the

38 Buhler—Ind. Pal. p. 31.
33 Buhler—Indian studies III, 10 f
letters have been previously engraved or the letters were inscribed on them with the help of the chisel and the hammer. Several of the plates were joined together by a copper-ring passing through a whole on one side of each plate. In order to protect the writing, the rims of the plates were thickened and slightly raised.

STONE AND BRICK:—Among other kinds of writing material used in India from very early times may be mentioned stone and brick. Stones of various kinds are easily and cheaply available in this country. These were used to inscribe grants and donations and such inscriptions are found all over the country in large numbers. Even Asoka has said that in inscribing his edicts on stone he was following an old custom. But one remarkable feature about this writing material is that even literary works of a high standard were engraved on stones for the sake of better and longer preservation. Many instances of this type have survived to this day. Thus, for example, a large fragment of a play composed by the Chahamāna king Vimagra IV and his poet-laureate Sūmadēva has been engraved at Ajmer. A large Jain Sthalapurāṇa in several sargas exists at Bihāli in Rajputana. Kālidāsa’s Ṛtusamhāra has likewise been engraved on a rock in Vidiśa. A number of bricks on which Buddhist satras were engraved have been discovered in the N. W. Frontier.

PAPER:—Paper was rarely used in ancient India, the earliest evidence of its use being in the 11th century. Malva, Gujarat and Aṅhilkādpatṭan have yielded specimens of paper MSS belonging to the 14th century.

INK:—Ink was extensively used in ancient India for writing purposes. It was known as Mashi and the Purāṇas frequently mention Mashi Pātra, Mashi Bhānda and Mashi Kapa or the ink-stand. Nearcuss of the 4th century B.C. refers to the practice of the Hindus of writing on birch-bark leaves and cloth with ink. From the dots on some of the Asoka inscriptions, the relics from the Andhēri Sūpa and some of the antiquities from the Sūpas of Afghanistan it is known that ink was widely used in India even before the Christian Era. The Purāṇas contain several references to this practice. Many kinds of charcoal, gum sugar etc were used for preparing the inks in ancient India.

This brief discussion of the antiquity of writing in India and the description of the various writing material used even from very early times shows how the art of writing was popularly known in this country. This naturally leads us on to enquire when and how books came to be written and preserved in this country. This question we shall answer in the next chapter.

Chapter II. Origin and Evolution.

Having discussed the antiquity of writing in India and described the various kinds of material used for purposes of writing, we shall now proceed to discuss the origin and evolution of the Library in this country. The art of writing was known to the ancient Indians even from the third millennium B.C and writing was popularly used at least from the 7th or 6th centuries B.C. This does not however prove the existence of libraries in this country in those remote times, unless we suppose that the family collections of metallic plates on which were engraved important domestic affairs constituted the nucleus of a family library. Whatever might have been the case in prehistoric times, the library was not a necessity in the Vedic age. Learning in those days was mainly religious and strictly confined to the priestly class. Technical and professional education was transmitted through the hereditary medium. The priestly class which constituted the intelligentsia of the time spread learning by word of mouth and confined it to its own members. When in course of time the caste system became rigid, all learning became the monopoly of the Brahman, while the other communities were admitted to a graded system of secular learning. This continued for a long time. Meanwhile the Vedic and the post-Vedic literature grew in great abundance and soon the arts and the sciences were developed. The literary output was too voluminous to be mastered by single individuals as before. Thus the zealous scholar had to face two evils, he had either to commit the knowledge of the times to writing, taking the risk of its thus being accessible even to the forbidden classes, or allow that part of it which could not be mastered by a single individual or a generation to lapse into the oblivion. Luckily the former evil seems to have been chosen. The art of writing being familiarly known, the Hindus began to record the wisdom of the ages on suitable material. What these were and how they were used we have shown in the previous chapter. There soon was such a thorough change in the attitude of the intellectual aristocrats that the writing of the scriptures came to be considered a religious duty. It is not possible to say when this change came about but it had immense consequences. This in fact may be taken to be the origin of book-making and libraries in ancient India. As the number of books copied increased, the problem of their preservation came to the forefront. Some definite place, probably the sanctuary in the first instance, was set apart for this purpose and the name Sarasvati Bhāndāra given to it. There are reliable evidences to show that the library was a common institution in the time of the Buddha.
The movement for the copying and collection of ancient books must have received considerable stimulus at different periods in the ancient history of this country and helped the progressive evolution of the library. The age of Kanishka is memorable in this respect. By his time there was a schism in the Buddhist church and many different schools grew up. The emperor held a council and as the result of its labours the sacred lore was written down for the benefit of the faithful. These authorised copies must have circulated throughout the country and found their way into the collections of monks and kings. The rise of the Mahāyāna also must have helped the cause of the libraries through its literary activity. Then came the glorious epoch of the Guptas of Magadha when there was a Hindu renaissance accompanied by an unprecedented literary activity. This was the time when the Purāṇas and the Social and Legal codes were committed to writing. Innumerable copies must have been made of these works and the famous compositions of eminent literary men like Kālidāsa. The age of Harsha again must have given a fresh impetus to the library movement through the immense literary activity of the time under royal patronage. The 8th and 10th centuries were a period of unstinted growth for the Indian libraries as they were for the nation as a whole. With the advent of the Mahomadans the situation changed. In the North the attention of the Hindus was directed not only towards the preservation of their lives and property but also of their ancient books which were consigned to flames wherever available by the foreign invaders. But in the Dekkan and South India the library continued to flourish unimpaired till the beginning of the 14th century when the Mahomadans invaded this part of the country and destroyed numbers of Hindu kingdoms. Even then there was a revival of Hinduism under the lead of the Padmanāyakas of Rājkonda, the Reddis of Kondavidu and the rulers of Vijayanagara. These chieftains protected Hinduism and Hindu culture and gave a fresh impetus to learning and literature. This period of two centuries must have witnessed the ancient Indian library at its highest.

As in modern times various types of libraries existed in ancient India. All the famous universities like Nālanda, Vikramaśila and Uddanḍapura and the other educational institutions like the Ghatikā and the Sālmagam had well-equipped libraries. There were also the libraries attached to the quasi-religious bodies like the Parishad; while the monastery, the Matha, the temple and the royal court each had its own library. There were besides individual collections.

The nature of the ancient Indian library varied considerably. All the institutions mentioned above must have contained the sacred lore and the elementary works on different branches of learning though each had its own bias. Thus for example, the university of Nālanda taught
all branches though it specialised in Hētuvidya or Logic. Taxila was noted for the teaching of the medical sciences and it is likely that the libraries in such places were specially strong in the subjects they taught. Vikramaśila was noted for Tavtha and Kashmir for Grammar and Rhetoric. The Vihāras preserved valuable books on Buddhism while the Upāśraya and the temple did the same for Jainism and Hinduism. The case with the royal courts seems to have been different. They were rendezvous mostly of literary men and obviously the collections of the kings who patronised these men must have been rich in works of literature.

The scope and the use of the ancient Indian library seems to have been limited to the educated classes. There was nothing like a popular library. The temple and other agencies looked after the education of the masses which consisted of the rudiments of religion. The caste system included in its fold every individual and prescribed for him a compulsory and hereditary education. Hence the absence of a system of popular education so-called and of popular libraries. Elementary education was in the hands of individual teachers while education of the advanced type was concentrated in the universities and other centres of learning. All those that chose a literary career flocked to these places while the others took to their respective callings. The library therefore served the needs of the advanced student and the investigator.

We may also consider here the way in which the libraries were formed. Printing was unknown in those days and the libraries all contained written MSS. The copying of sacred books was considered a religious duty. A number of foreigners came to India with the object of copying valuable MSS. In some places there seem to have been professional copyists who did the work for remuneration. An inscription at Nālanda mentions that a copy of the Prajñā Pāramitā Sātra was prepared by a Sthavira and that the cost was meted out by another individual who wanted the book for his own use. Besides the works of the old masters, there were the compositions of contemporary scholars in each generation which also were copied in numbers. Several copies of important works circulated not only within the country but also in her cultural colonies overseas. Recent archaeological discoveries in Central Asia and the Far East have brought to light the important fact that libraries of Indian origin existed all along the ancient routes of communication between India and the other Asiatic countries. It seems to have been a practice with the ancient Indian colonists and missionaries to carry their sacred books along with them and establish monasteries and libraries in foreign lands and induce the natives to copy these MSS. Thus was the ancient Indian library formed, maintained and developed as an agency not only for the preservation but also the propagation of ancient Indian Culture.
Chapter III. Location and Organisation.

We have so far discussed the origin and evolution of the library in ancient India. The question now arises as to where it was generally located and how it was organised. Some special places however seem to have been chosen for housing large collections of books. Such for example were the university, the temple, the monastery, the upasraya, the matha and the royal court.

THE UNIVERSITY:—The great Indian universities of ancient and medieval times were the most popular centres for the diffusion of education. The greatest scholars of the times lived in them teaching hundreds and thousands of students. The rarity and uniqueness of their learning, the provisions made in these places for the undisturbed prosecution of studies and above all, the vast collections of rare works there attracted large numbers of people from far and near. The incessant educational activity of these universities naturally created an imperative need for well equipped libraries. Especially in the Buddhist age the number of subjects studied was many and varied and with the advent of Mahayana the literature itself grew by leaps and bounds. Further the tenets of other religions were also taught in these institutions for purposes of comparative study. Very soon therefore the leading universities like those of Nalanda Vikramaśila, Odantapuri etc. formed splendid collections. That good libraries existed in these places is shown by the accounts of Mahomadan writers of the 12th and 13th centuries when all these famous places of learning in North India were held by the Sultans of Delhi.49

THE PARISHAD:—Even from the pre-Buddhist times various educational bodies flourished in this country. Such for example, were the Parishads. According to Vasishtha, Gautama, Bodhāyana and other ancient law-givers, these were periodical assemblies of men learned in various branches. Their sole objective was to lay down the law, and settle disputes in regard to its observance. These assemblies generally met in certain towns. The scope of their work and the places of their assemblage indicate the necessity for the existence of well-equipped libraries within easy reach. One reason for their meeting in towns was perhaps the presence in them of good libraries. It is known that kings and wealthy individuals were in the habit of making donations to these Parishads. We do not know if the members were remunerated being periodical assemblies they involved no recurring expenditure. The only way in which the gifts could be utilised by the Parishads seems to be the maintenance of good libraries.50

49 Tajul-Ma‘asir by Hasan Nisami in Elliot II, pp 222, 223; Tabaqati-Nasiri by Siraj p. 562; Tarikh-i-Mansuri of Bilgrami p. 96.
50 For fuller details see my Bhāratyavidya charitramu. p. 70.
THE GHAṬIKA:—During the early centuries of the Christian era the Ghaṭiška was a renowned centre of learning. While the Parishad considered many kinds of problems, this institution confined itself to work of a technical and educational type. We have numerous instances of the existence of Ghaṭikas. Mayūraśarman the founder of the Kadamba royal family is said to have visited several Ghaṭikas in order to become a master of logic. An Eastern Chalukyan inscription mentions the Ghaṭiška of Asanapura in the Andhra country. Narasimhavarman II the Pallava king founded a Ghaṭiška at Kānchi. These were learned bodies where discussions were held in the secular and religious lore. A member of the Ghaṭiška was known as Ghaṭiśka ṛāmāṇya while those that came out victorious in the discussions were rewarded with the title Ghaṭiśka Sāhāsa. As in the case of the Parishads the Ghaṭikas also received grants and donations. These must have been spent for the up-keep of libreries, for, like the Parishad the Ghaṭiška also was the seat of active discussions and disputations which necessitate constant reference to authorities for the arguments on either side. This conjecture regarding the presence of a library in the Ghaṭiška is supported by the recent discoveries at Nāgai near Wadi in the Nizam’s Dominions. Two Chalukyan inscriptions of this place belonging to the 11th century A.D. record the institution of a Ghaṭiškāśālā or a college at this place. It is interesting to note that this college was provided with a good library managed by six librarians. Even the very building that housed the library has been discovered and preserved, thanks to H. E. H. the Nizam’s Government.

THE SAMGAM:—While the Ghaṭiška devoted itself to general education, the Samgam encouraged literary activity in South India. It was a gathering of poets and men of letters, which decided the worth of literary compositions and set the seal of its approval on them. The Pāndyan kings of Madura were its patrons. Renowned Tamil works like the ‘Maṇimēkhalai’ and the ‘Peṭiya purāṇam’ were the productions of the Samgam age. It is said that at one time over 400 literary works were sent to the Samgam for approval. Naturally all the works thus acquired must have constituted a good library. Under the discerning encouragement of the Samgam and the zealous royal patronage behind it, there must have been a tremendous output of literary works which in turn effected the size and quality of the Samgam’s library. In Mahomadan times we hear of a number of literary societies in Delhi and Agra, each of which possessed a fine library. It is not unreasonable therefore to suppose that the Samgam which was likewise the leading literary society of the day in South India, also had a library of its own.

51 Ibid. 52 Ibid. 53 Ibid. 54 Hyd. Arch. Ser. No 8. p. 7. 55 Venkatesvara— Indian culture through the ages. p. 40.
THE BUDDHIST MONASTERY:— The Vihāras and the Samgārāmas of the Buddhists played a prominent part in the development of the library in ancient India. Numerous monasteries were built in places remote from the bustle and confusion of the towns by pious and munificent followers of the Dharma. The monks resorted to these places and spent their time in peaceful devotion and propagation of the Buddhist faith. As we stated already, writing was popularly known and used in these times and many of the sacred books were recorded in writing. The monks seem to have frequently used these books for study and propagation. A record of a Valabhi prince of W. India, for example, of the 6th century A.D. records a donation (Pustakāpakraya) in order to enable the monks of the Buddhist monastery at Duḍḍa to buy books of the Saddharma.\(^{56}\) This is a clear indication of the presence of libraries in the monasteries. Besides the books thus acquired through purchase, the monastic libraries must have had numerous MSS copied by devout monks who considered the work part of their religious duty.

THE UPAŚRAYA:— The Jainas also built numerous monasteries for the residence of the monks of their religion. These places were used as in the case of Buddhism to propagate the religion. Donations were equally obligatory on the part of Jaina and Buddhist lay men and the prasasti\(^s\) of several old MSS prove that this obligation was fulfilled in the most liberal manner. Even to this day many pious Jainas donate large sums of money to their monasteries for the copying of books. This coupled with the religious zeal with which the monks copied the sacred books resulted in the rapid multiplication of the MSS in the monastic libraries. To this day in some of the Upaśrayas of W. India there are hundreds of copies of important works, the library at Ahmedabad alone containing 400 copies of the Jaina Āsyaṅka sūtra.\(^{57}\)

THE TEMPLE:— The temple was to Hinduism what the Vihāra and the Upaśraya were to the Buddhist and Jaina faiths. It was the centre of all activity, the agent of popular education, the pulpit from which the scholars expounded the Purāṇas and the sacred lore, the national picture gallery wherein were erected the statues of the mythical and historical heroes of the land, the university which educated hundreds of young men and above all, the great public library of the locality. This wonderful and all-pervading institution attained much popularity during the Gupta times and has continued since then to be one of the main-stays of Hinduism. When the whole of Āryāvarta was overrun by the Mahomadans, Hindu culture fled to the borders and sought refuge in the temples and royal courts of the Dekkan and South India. That the

\(^{56}\) Buhler- Indian Palaeography p. 99.
\(^{57}\) Rept. on Sanskrit Mas for 1872—73 in Gough’s papers.
temple guarded this culture and disseminated it widely is shown by many evidences. In the first place there are hundreds of inscriptions which refer to its educational activity. In several places, especially in South India temples have been built on a gigantic scale with, numerous halls and enclosures, e. g. the Nātyamanṭapa, the Dōlamanṭapa, the Purāṇa manṭapa etc. Inscriptions show how these various halls were frequently used. The Vyākaraṇa manṭapa served as a grammar-school while the Purāṇamanṭapa must have been the place where the Purāṇas were expounded to the gathered devotees every day. More important from our point of view is the educational activity of the temple. Inscriptions also tell us about the number of students and teachers in each temple, the provisions made for their boarding and lodging and above all, the various subjects taught. An inscription from Tribhuvani, for example, tells us that in the college attached to the local temple there were three teachers of theṚgveda, three for the Vajus, two for Sāma and one each for Vaiṣṇaviya, Bōdhāyanīya etc. Vēdānta, Kūpāvatāra, Vyākaraṇa, Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Vaikhānaṇa and Manu were some of the other subjects taught here. It seems that there were in all 360 students in this institution. At Eppāyiram and Tirumukkuḍal in South India similar institutions flourished. Inscriptions mention that in the latter place there was a college, a hostel and a hospital. In the Andhradeśa itself such temples and temple-colleges existed at centres like Śrīśailam, Drākshārāma, Mandaram, and Tripurāntakam. That these temples contained well-equipped libraries as adjuncts to the educational institutions is proved by the typical instance of the temple of Nāgai which contained a Ghaṭikāśāla and a library managed by six librarians. Further the Purāṇa declare it to be the sacred duty of the wealthy to make donations of books to the temples. Another instance of a temple-library is that of Nagarkōt where in the Jvāḷāmukhi temple Sultan Firoz Shah found a valuable collection of 1300 ancient Hindu works. It may be supposed therefore that most of the Hindu temples contained extensive libraries.

THE MATHA:—While the temple stood as an institution for the spread of general education, the mutts founded by the heads of various religions like Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva became centres of sectarian learning. To these were added the institutions founded by the followers of other teachers like Basava and Chaitanya. Śrī Sankara is said to have established mutts at Śrīngēri, Dvāraka, Pūri, Kāśi,

58. See my "Bhāratīya Vidyā Charitamu" p. 74.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
62. Hemadri, Danakanda 544 ff.
63. Tarikhi-Ferishta in Elliot VI, p. 227.
Haridwār and Badari.\textsuperscript{64} Monasteries of the Ramanuja school exist at Mēlkkōṭ, Mannārkool, Ahōbilam etc.\textsuperscript{65} Šrī Madhva set up eight Ānārakṣita and another with an all-India jurisdiction. In subsequent times some of his followers established other branches. Similarly the followers of Bhāṣāva built many Mutts in Karnātaka. In the 12th and 13th centuries teachers of the Gōlagi Mutt in the Dāhala country came to the South, obtained influence with the Chōla and Kerala kings and the Kakatiyas of Āndhradēśa and propagated the Kālāmukha form of Īśavism.\textsuperscript{66} Numerous Mutts were built by these teachers at places like Mandaram, Pushpagiri and Tripurāntakam in the Āndhradēśa and Tirupparankūlam, Madhura, Seyyūr and Devikāpuram in the Tamil country.\textsuperscript{67} That these Mutts must have had good libraries is proved by the fact that even to-day they contain many rare and valuable MSS relating to Vedanta. Many of them are great educational agencies. Thus, for example, in the Kōdiya Mutt at Belagāmvi the Vedas, the grammars of Kumāra, Pāṇini and Ākārāyana, the Darśanas, Yōga, the Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Dharmaśāstras and literature were taught.\textsuperscript{68} It is likely that these Mutts like the colleges possessed fine libraries.

**THE ROYAL COURTS:**—From very early times the Indian princes distinguished themselves as zealous patrons of learning. It was in fact one of their duties to do so. Even Buddhist rulers like Kanishka and Harsha continued this tradition. In the wake of the religious and literary renaissance under the Guptas, this royal patronage of learned men became extensive. Almost every alternate inscription discovered so far records a royal gift to some scholar or other. The reputation of a prince depended not so much on the extent of his empire or his material wealth as upon the number of learned men that adorned his court. Thus the literary history of medieval India is the history of royal patronage of learning. When the Mahomadans occupied the whole of N. India, Hindu culture and learning fled to the remote corners of the country like the Dekkan, Kashmir and Nēpal. It may be rightly said that hence-forward the Dekkan became the chief seat of Hindu learning which was ardently supported and some times defended at the cost of life and state by the medieval Hindu rulers. Many of these kings were great scholars themselves and maintained many learned men at their respective courts. This led to an unprecedented literary activity both in sanskrit and in the vernaculars. Many names stand preeminently before us in this connection, e.g. Bhōja of Dhāra, Chalukya Viśāladēva of Anhilvāḍpaṭṭan, Ḫāja Rāja the

\textsuperscript{64} The Bharati X, No. 8 p. 142.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{66} The Mānkāpuram inscription in J.A.H.R.S. 1Y-3 & 4.
\textsuperscript{67} Annl. Rep. S. Ind. Ep. for 1926 'the Gōlagi Matha'.
\textsuperscript{68} See my Bhāratīya Vidyā Charitraṃu in Bharati for Sep. 1933.
Eastern Chalukyan prince of Rajahmundry, Manumasiddhi, the Telugu Chōda ruler of Nellore, Pratāparudrādēva the famous Kakatiya king of Warangal, Anavēma and Kumāragiri of the Reḍdis of Kōṇḍavīḍu, Sarva- jnāsingama of the Padmanāyaka family of Rajakonda, and last but not least Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara. The period between 1000-1500 A.D. was the golden age of Dekkan history. All the princes mentioned above and their subordinates and subjects patronised a number of poets and learned men and helped the production of many standard works on art, literature, poetry and sciences. That all the royal courts of the time contained good libraries is proved by the typical example of the royal library of king Bhōja of Dhāra and the Imperial library of the Chalukyas of Anhilvaḍpaṭṭan. Another fact also points to the same conclusion. In many of these royal courts academic discussions were held and the merit of poets and men of letters tested. Pratāparudra of Warangal is said to have lavished gifts on victors in such discussions. The famous Telugu poet Śrīnātha was bathed in coins of gold (Svarnābhisēka) at the Vija- yanagar court. Good and well-equipped libraries are indispensable in cases of such academīc controversies. It may be concluded therefore that every one of the Hindu rulers had their own libraries in which were preserved along with others, the works written by themselves and their favourite scholars.

So much for the location of the library in ancient and medieval India. We shall now consider how it was organised in those times. The material at our disposal for this investigation is very scanty. In fact there are only two references to library management in epigraphy and literature. Many institutions and the very evidences of their existence must have been lost as a result of the vandalism of the followers of Islam. It is said that one of the Mugal Emperors ordered that the books of the infidels should be utilised for boiling water with which his daily bath should be conducted. It is certain that the Hindus who had the genius for reducing everything into a science and improving it into a distinct branch of learning, should have devoted their attention to the library and devised an excellent system of organisation and management for this very important institution. The wisdom and reputation of ancient India depended upon her unique culture and learning and the library was the repository of all her literary treasures. We may conclude therefore that several treatises on this subject were written but are now lost to us. The Bhāskara Samhita however is the only work of this kind which has escaped the ruthless destruction by the Mahomedans and survived to our times. This treatise tells us that the library should be located in a building of stone finely built. The books were first rolled in a piece of cloth and bound with strings. Then they were placed alongside

of each other on iron racks. The library thus formed was in the charge of a librarian. He had not only to look after the books and preserve them carefully but also to guide the students in their advanced studies and enable them to reap the full benefits from the library. It is obvious from this that the office of the librarian carried much responsibility with it. The association of tutorial functions with it shows that the librarians were great scholars well acquainted with the existing literature on several branches of learning. The inscription of Nāgai to which we have often referred is of paramount importance in this connection. It refers to the erection of a Ghaṭikāśāla or college. Among the ruins of the place there is a "big building with an outer courtyard, with rooms on either side, with a big doorway which leads into a spacious hall with a number of stone benches serving as pials and seven niches in the back wall."70 Evidently this ruined building is a part of the Ghaṭikāśāla referred to in the inscription. The same epigraph tells us that there were six librarians in the college obviously in charge of the library. The seven niches in the back wall of the ruined building must have been part of the college library. Thus we find at Nāgai the dictum of the Bhāskara samhita that the library should be located in a strong building of stone, carried into actual practice. A consideration of the staff of this Ghaṭi-kāśāla implies that the six librarians of this place had to attend to tutorial work besides looking after the library for, the inscription records gifts to "two hundred scholars studying the Vēdas, and fifty-two studying the Śāstras. The institute was manned by three Vēdic scholars, three Śastra-teachers and the six librarians (Sarastott bhāṇḍārikas)." Here were six teachers educating a batch of two hundred and fifty-two students. Besides the four Vēdas, we are told that Bhāṭṭadārśana, Nyāya, and Prābhākara were also taught in this college. A staff of six teachers could not have been sufficient to coach such a large number of students in not less than seven subjects. We have already shown how the librarians in those days were teaching advanced students. It is likely that in the college of Nāgai also they discharged the same function. The presence of six librarians in this comparatively small institution confirms this supposition. Each of these officers was given the same allowance as the teachers. From this it is clear that the Bhāṇḍārika or the librarian was reckoned as an equal to the scholars and teachers of various branches of learning.

Thus in ancient and medieval India the library was a very popular institution found all over the country. Its nature often varied with the kind of institution to which it was attached. It was a well organised institution often in charge of some of the leading scholars of the time.

Chapter IV. Hindu Libraries.

As we have stated in the first chapter the arts of writing and book-making were known to the Hindus from very early times. Many Hindu Universities and other educational centres existed in the Hindu India of the pre-Buddhist age and they all had libraries of their own.

TAXILA:—One of the great Universities that flourished in pre-Buddhist India was the famous university of Taxila. The world renowned sage Gautama Buddha and the illustrious Jivaka and Charaka were some of the alumni of this ancient seat of learning. Kautilya, the famous author of Arthaśāstra, also is said to have studied at the university of Taxila. A number of foreign students even from distant countries like Korea and Japan besides many Greeks resorted to this university in order to reap the benefits of the expert tuition given here by the great masters and the rare and valuable collection of books at this university. Here pupils and teachers handled books beautifully bound. The main object of the foreign students at this place seems to have been the university’s library and its books which they copied as in the case of the Buddhist university of Nalanda of later times. This university and its library flourished between 600 B. C. and 400 A. D.

BENARES:—Next in importance was Benares. As the holy of holies it was the seat of many learned scholars and their discipies. To this day the student of Benares is held in high esteem all over the country. Each scholar must have had his own collection of ancient works which the students copied for their own use. Such MSS brought from Benares are still to be found in the families of many Pandits in the Andhra country. It is said that a student at Benares has to spend twelve years before he can become acquainted with all the literature on a single branch of learning.

KASHMIR:—Like Benares, Kashmir was also a renowned seat of learning. It was the home of a number of literary luminaries like Kalhaṇa, Malhaṇa, Kshēmendra, Bhāmaha, Mummaṭa etc. A Śāradāpittha flourished at Kashmir and the scholar that won the admiration of the learned men of the ptthas was recognised and honoured throughout the country. Evidently this was a gathering of scholars like the Samgam of the Tamil country which likewise judged the merit of each literary composition referred to it and set the seal of approval on it. Kashmir possesses to-day one of the finest MSS collections of this country and

71 S. Pratapreddi-Granthalayamulu p. 10.
72 C. Narayana Rao—Prachina Vidyapithamulu, "Kasi"
many of the MSS are of ancient times. Obviously the famous Sāradāpitha of this place had an extensive library.  

LOCAL LIBRARIES:—Besides the educational centres and individual scholars many towns and temples had collections of books. Bijapur is an instance to the point. Under the name of Vidyāpura it was a great centre of literary activity in the pre-Mahomadan times. The Western Chalukyan kings of Kalyān erected here a beautiful building, ruins of which are still to be seen and which housed a good collection of books, as the inscriptions of the place show. Nāgarkot is another instance. Firoz Tuglaq besiezed and pillaged this place. He was then informed that in the local temple of Jvālāmukhi there was a large collection of Hindu MSS. The Sultan had the library examined, selected a few important books and had them translated into Persian. The Dalīl-e-Firozshāhi is one of the MSS thus translated.  

ROYAL COURTS:—Next to the educational institutions, the royal courts furthered the cause of education and libraries in this country. Patronising literary men was one of the duties and hobbies of the Hindu kings. Ancient traditional works and the biographies of poets and scholars show how the royal courts were the centres where important discussions were held and the winners honoured. Several works were produced under the zealous patronage of the rulers. Some of the rulers themselves like Harsha, Vikramādiya, Prataparudra, Anavēna, Kumāragiri, Sarvajñāsingama and Krishnaraya were men of high literary talents and the patrons of many learned men. These rulers must have had their own palace collections in which were preserved the works of the past as well as contemporary productions. We have very few examples of ancient and medieval royal libraries, the reason for the paucity being the probable destruction of these collections along with the kingdoms by the Mahomadans. A famous Hindu royal library of the middle ages was that of king Bhōja of Dhāra who flourished in the 11th century. When in the middle of the 12th century this kingdom was conquered by Siddhārāja Jayasimha, the royal library of Dhāra was amalgamated with the imperial library of the Chalukyas at Anhilvādpattan. The Bhārattthāndāra of Chalukya Viṣālādēva of the 13th century is another famous example. This collection furnished the MSS of the Naishadhiya and that of the Kāmasūtra on which was based the Jayamangalatika of Yaśōdhara. A copy of the Ramayana now in the library of the University of Bonn was obtained from this ancient collection of Viṣālādēva.  

73 Ibid “Kasmiramu”  
74 Fergusson Architecture at Bijapur p. 12.  
75 Law—Promotion of learning in Mahomadan times p. 112.  
76 Buhler-Ind. pale p. 99
to later times we find many interesting examples of royal collections. In the Andhradesa itself, the collections of the feudatory rulers of Gadwal and Vanaparthi deserve special mention. Thousands of rare and valuable MSS are preserved in these states being the result of the literary zeal of generations of enlightened rulers.

The search for ancient MSS instituted by the Government of India has shown that there are still many good libraries in India at the courts of ruling princes, coming down from generations. Such for example are the royal libraries of Alwar, Bikaner, Jammu, Mysore, Tanjore, Jaipur and Nepal. Maharaja Sawai Jaising of Jaipur who was a zealous patron of learning improved the state library to a great extent. Unfortunately this famous library which was the finest collection in Rajasthān was partly disposed off by one of Jaising’s descendants who partitioned his empire with a prostitute. The remnants are still preserved at Jaipur with great care. Among the other collections, the library of the Maharaja of Jodpur contains over 1800 MSS and a large number of printed books in Sanskrit and the vernaculars. The library at Bikaner contains 2000 MSS in Sanskrit while that of Alwar has a choice collection of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic MSS. Outside Rajasthan the library of Kashmir deserves special consideration. Kashmir was from time immemorial a noted centre of learning in many subjects. The rulers of this famous country, past and present, have evinced good care towards the preservation of ancient MSS. A great part of the royal collection is now in Jammu and has been catalogued by Dr. Buhler. One special feature of the MSS of Kashmir is that they usually are of a better get up and the Sanskrit works are finely illustrated. They are also bound in leather and kept in shelves in the modern fashion. The oldest and the most important MSS collection in India is the Durbar library of Nepal. Some of the MSS in this collections are as old as the Gupta period. It contains works on palm-leaf as well as paper numbering over 5000. They are the result of the collecting zeal of the rulers of Nepal from the remotest times, each successive ruler adding to the number inherited by him. The climate of Kashmir is favourable for the preservation of MSS and what little decay has set in has been set right by the library staff. In South India the court library of Tanjore supplies a parallel to that of Kashmir, though comparatively recent. Dr. Burnell who was deputed by the Government of India to catalogue this collection of the Naik kings has reported that it is “the largest and most important in the world.” The library dates from the end of the 16th century when Tanjore was under the Telugu Naiks. For full one hundred years these rulers who were great patrons of learning collected thousands of rare MSS and preserved them with great care in their palace. The Maharaja Rajas who conquered this part of the country continued the activity and made many additions to the royal library. The total
number of MSS is now upwards of 18000 gathered from all parts of India, written in eleven alphabets. Regarding the value of the collection Dr. Burnell has said, "It is now a recognised fact that nearly all the Sanskrit works of importance exist in different recensions. The Tanjore library is unrivalled in this respect; it contains several good MSS of the most important ones known as yet including a few that are new... As far as I can judge it would not be possible to form a collection like that at Tanjore at a less cost than £50000" (i.e. seven lakhs and a half of rupees).

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS:— There must have been a very large number of private collections in ancient and medieval India. The reports on the search for MSS reveal to us quite a good number of such collections. Kashmir is famous in this respect. In the Nizam's Dominions there exist to-day numerous individual libraries coming down from generations. A few literary references are however available which show that the libraries were a common feature in those times. Peddana, the poet laureate of Krishnadēvarāya the famous Vijayanagar emperor, refers in his immortal work the Manucharitra, to the Kukavi (pseudo-poet) who spends a busy time in the midst of palm-leaf books stealing the writings of the ancients in order to pass them off as his own. Tenali Ramakrishna, another famous Telugu poet of about the same time mentions four chief sources of danger for a library—fire, rotting, (owing to the action of insects or the weather), mislaying and thieves. Corresponding to the request made at the end of every stone and copper plate inscription to preserve the grant made in it, we find at the end of old MSS a request made by the writer in the following words: "Oh reader! I have written this book with a great amount of strain for the hips, waist, neck and eyes. Please therefore preserve this book with great care." These three references indicate how popular the private library was in ancient and medieval times. It is also evident that the copying of MSS was the chief leisure time occupation of the educated classes. Many such collections are still to be seen in the villages where the palm-leaf book continues to hold the ground in spite of the modern bound volumes of paper and print.

We have some interesting examples of private collections in modern times coming down from remote years. Mr. Padmaraja Pandit of the Mysore Archaeological Department owns a large library consisting of MSS collected by his ancestors together with those recently collected by himself in the Southern Districts of the Madras presidency as well as Ceylon. There are besides many Jaina pandits in the Mysore state who possess more or less large collections. Messrs Veerasangappa, Karibasava Sastry and Mallappa of Mysore city and Mr. Huchavirappa of Devanagore possess collections of MSS bearing on Viśāva. Dalvoy Devaraj Urs, Mr. Namjaraja Bahadur and Lingaraja Urs all related to the royal family of Mysore have valuable collections of rare MSS.
Chapter V. Buddhist Libraries.

Education and educational institutions received a strong impetus during the Buddhistic age. The spread of the Buddha’s Gospel in many foreign lands made India the place of pilgrimage to thousands of devout followers of the faith. The elaborate educational system, the high esteem in which scholars were held and the great honour shown to them even in far off lands enhanced the value of higher education. This in turn accelerated the rise of important universities and libraries. About the Buddhistic age, fortunately, we have plenty of information. Inscriptions and the writings of foreigners contain many details about the great educational centres of the time.

As stated in a previous section, writing was very popular in these times. Buddhist monks used to write religious and moral precepts on wooden boards for the benefit of their lay disciples. Important family affairs of wealthy individuals are said to have been recorded in books. Obviously these must have formed the nucleus of private collections in this age.

But the strength of Buddhism lay in its educational centres and libraries. Foreign travellers have left us elaborate descriptions of both kinds of institutions. As Geotthe the famous German poet has said about the Sākuntala, one might remark “I say ‘Nālanda’ and everything is said” of the Buddhistic age. The site of this rendezvous of religious controversialists, the never-failing fountain from which Tibet, China and a great many countries of the far East imbibed a good deal of their civilisation and learning”77 is identified with Baragon about eight miles from Rajgir in Bihar. We may refer here to the fine description of Hiuen Tsang who says, “The richly adorned towers and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning) and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the Sun and the Moon may be observed. How the deep and translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus, inter-mingled with the Kanaka flower of deep red colour; and at intervals the Amra groves spread their shade over all. All the outside courts, in which are the priest’s chambers are of four stages. The stages have dragoon-projections and coloured eaves; the pearl-red pillars carved and ornamented, richly adorned balustrades and roofs covered with tiles that reflect light in a thousand shades—all these

things add to the beauty of the scene". 78 This seat of learning was largely the result of royal patronage. The later Guptas like Śakrāditya, Budha Gupta, and Bālāditya added to the buildings of the monastery besides making munificent donations for its maintenance. 79 In Hiuen Tsang's time a king endowed it with the revenue of a hundred villages. In Itsing's time the lands in possession of the university exceeded two hundred villages. 80 Thus the house-holders supplied several hundred piculs (1 picul equalled 138½ lbs) of rice, seven hundred cutties (1 cutty equalled 160 lbs) of milk and butter day by day. 81 Thus the monks were relieved of all anxiety regarding their material needs and the finance of the university. The curriculum of studies in this university included a large variety of subjects like Vēda, Hētuvidyā, Īṣabdavidya, Chikitsāvidya, Tantra, Sāmkhya, Vyākaraṇa etc. 82 Tibetan sources tell us that this great university so firmly established, so beautifully built, and so famous for its educational excellence had a splendid library situated in the quarter known as 'Dharmagāna' (the piety mart). It consisted of three grand buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnadadhi, and Ratnaranjaka all being associated with the three jewels of Buddhism - Buddha, Dharma and Samgha. Ratnadadhi was a nine-storied building in which were kept the sacred works, especially the Prajñāpāramitā Sātra. 83 Epigraphy and the account of foreigners tell us how this huge library was built and utilised. Itsingh stayed at Nālanda for a considerable time and collected some four hundred sanskrit texts. Hiuen Tsang carried home with him 650 MSS. 84 A copper plate discovered during the excavation of the ruins of this university mentions the grant in the time of Dēvapāla the Pala king of Bengal, of some villages for the writing of the Dharmaratna or religious books besides other works. It looks as though regular copyists were employed in the university for copying books. The expenses were borne out by those that required the copies. Besides these professional copyists there were other devout souls who made the copying of the sacred works part of their duty. The students also must have made their own copies. The magnitude of the Nālanda library implies that there were many well-versed teachers in charge of this library and their office must have involved considerable responsibility and tact. It is said that several thousands of monks lived in this monastery, and the copying

78. Ibíd. p. 120.
79. Real-Records of the Western countries II p. 168. and Samaddar p. 134
81. Ibíd.
82. A record of the Buddhist religion p. 177.
84. Smith-Early History of India. p. 325.
activity of all these must have made numerous and very frequent additions to the library. A few of the MSS copied at this place have fortunately survived to the present day. In the 15th regnal year of Mahipāla the *Ashta sāhasrika prajña paramita Sūtra* was copied and this MSS is now preserved in the library at Cambridge.\(^{86}\) Another copy of the same work, made nine years earlier is to be found in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.\(^{87}\)

**VIKRAMASILA:**—The royal university of Vikramasila deserves our consideration after Nālanda. "If Nālanda fulfilled the dictum of Newman that a university is a place of learning implying the assemblage of strangers from various places in one spot, the royal university of Vikramasila satisfied the dictum of Carlyle that a true university is a collection of books."\(^{88}\) Vikramasila was not only created by a king but had one for its chancellor bestowing titles on scholars. The Tibetan chronicles give us many details about this university. The site of this famous institution is identified with Patharaghat near Colgong and Bhagalpur.\(^{89}\) The foundation of the monastery was first laid by Dharmapala in the 9th century.\(^{90}\) It flourished for about four hundred years being under the management of a board of six presided over by the High priest and enjoying royal patronage. There were six colleges each with a staff of 108 teachers. The fortified enclosure was capable of holding 8000 people at one time. A splendid and well-equipped library formed an important adjunct to this university. It contained many rare works on Tantra, Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic for the teaching of which this university was famous.\(^{91}\) Here also pupils and teachers occupied themselves with the copying of MSS. One of them copied in the time of Gopala II is now to be found in the British Museum.

**UDDANĀPURA:**—Another important Buddhist university of North India about which we have definite information is that of Uddanāpura or Odantapura. Tārānath the Tibetan historian ascribes the foundation of this university to Gopala the Pala king of Bengal.\(^{92}\) Epigraphic evidence shows that many kings of this dynasty evinced keen interest in this institution. Here also a well equipped library must have flourished till the close of the 12th century when the monastery fell a prey to the Mahomadans.

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86. See Bendall's Catalogue
88 Samaddar p. 145.
89 J. A. S. B. V No. 1 p. 7.
90 Schiefner Taranath p. 220.
92 Smith-Early Hist. Ind. p. 473.
Many more centres of education existed in North India during the Buddhistic age. Only their names are preserved for us in the writings of foreign travellers. Fahien mentions, among others, Udyāna, Purushapura, Mathura, Samkāśya, Kānyakubja, Śrāvasti, Sākēta, Ramagrama, Kapilavastu, Vaisaki, Pātaliputra, Rajagriha, Vāraṇāsi, Gaya Champa and Tāmralipti. Hiuen Tsang saw Simhapura, Urasa, Kāsmira, Punacha, Rajapura Vrijji, Hiranyaparvata, Pundra, Vardhana Kāmarūpa, Samatata, Mankūyata Bharukaccha, Valla, Ujjayini and Mūlasthāna. In the time of Itsing Tamralipti Harika and Kusanagara were the other seats of learning. Obviously all the places contained good monasteries and educational institutions with libraries as their adjuncts.

DHĀNYAKAṬAKA:— As in North India famous centres of learning flourished in the Dekkan and South India also. Śri Dhānyaakaṭaka was the most noted of them all. It is identical with Dharanikota in the modern Kistna District. Of the once extensive university with hundreds of stāpas and colleges there now remain a number of mounds extending over a few furlongs. Many monasteries flourished here and Nāgārjuna, the founder of Mahāyāna, is said to have improved this place considerably. A part of this great saint's educational programme here as at Śrisailam, then was the creation of a good library. It is likely, that this ancient Andhra university contained a good collection of books.

VĒNGI:— Next in importance was the Vihara of Vēngi, near Kolliēru lake on the east coast. A beautiful monastery of five stories existed at this place probably along with a library. This was at one time under the care of Dinnāga.

ŚRĪŚAILAM:— This famous centre of Saivite pilgrimage in modern times was once a great Buddhistic centre with an extensive monastery. This place is associated with Nāgārjuna who is said to have built here a famous library, gathered monks from all places and taught them the sacred lore.

KĀNCI:— As at Dhānyaakaṭaka both Brahmanism and Buddhism flourished at this famous South Indian centre of learning. From this place the monks left for Ceylon. In all probability many Hindu and Buddhist libraries existed here.

93 For the lists of educational centres see my Bharatiya vidya charitamu at p. 267 of the Bharati Vol. X August number.
94 Ibid. p. 270.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
Such was the Buddhistic age. The doleful tale of the ruthless
destruction of these splendid universities and their libraries by the
Mahomadans may be briefly considered here. The year 1199 marks
an important epoch in the history of medieval India. In that year
Magadha fell into the hands of the Mahomadans.22 Both Tibetan
and Muslim historians describe at length23 the devastation of the
Buddhist universities of Nalanda, Vikramasila, and Odantapuri.
These institutions were, as we have stated before, well-fortified
places. During the days of Khilji rule, the king of Magadha is
said to have stationed garrisons in these universities. In 1199
Mahomad son of Bhaktiar invested these places one by one. Minhaz,
a Muslim historian describes this event thus - "Mahomad threw
himself at the postern - gateway and gained possession of the place.
Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmns with shaven
heads. They were all slain. There were a great number of books
which came under the observation of the Mussalmans. They sum-
moned a number of Hindus that they might give them information
respecting the import of these books, but all the Hindus had been
killed. On becoming acquainted, it was found that the whole of
the fortress and city was a college and in the Hindi tongue they
called a college "Bihar." This passage from the Tabakat-i-Naziri24
gives a typical description of the fate that befell the famous
universities of Bihar. An attempt seems to have been made at
Nalanda to restore the buildings and the educational activity but
Taranath the Tibetan historian tells us that for a second time the
place was destroyed by fire. Archaeological evidence confirms this
version. Thus by the end of the 12th century the Buddhist
universities and with them the famous libraries received a death-
blow at the hands of the Mahomadans.

LIBRARIES IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA.

Ch. VI. JAINA LIBRARIES.

Jainism like Buddhism was a protestant creed that arose
in revolt against sacrificial Hinduism. Both the faiths were
popular in character unlike the Vedic religion which was the
monopoly of the intellectual aristocrat. Tradition has it that in
the time of Chandragupta Maurya a large body of Jainas migrated

23. Schieffner - Taranath p. 94.
to South India and settled down there. Owing to the rapid progress of Buddhism and the subsequent revived activity of Hinduism in the North, the Dekkan and South India became the chief centres of the Jaina religion. Even to this day the followers of this faith are to be found in the west and south of the Dekkan in large numbers.

The Jainas like the Buddhists were zealous propagandists and great educators. It was through them that the Dekkan and South India imbibed the Northern culture. They it was that colonised numerous unexplored and unpopulated regions, brought vast tracts of land under cultivation and encouraged the local vernaculars, writing their religious works in them. There are many strong traditions in the Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese countries which describe this civilising activity of the Jainas. These people carried their Gods and their learning wherever they went. The Jainas were specially noted for their intellectual gifts. Many of their Acharyas were great scholars and had high sounding titles. The authorship of many Sanskrit, Tamil and Kanarese works is ascribed to these Jaina teachers and scholars. The late Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyyangar has attributed no less than three Tamil didactic works, three of the major epics, and a dozen minor kavyas to the genius of the Jainas. Dr. B. SeshagiriRao has shown that more than twenty-five Sanskrit and seventy Kannada MSS. now preserved in the Govt. MSS. library Madras, are of Jaina origin. They deal with a large variety of subjects like Agama, Purana, Philosophy, Kavya, Anthology, Rhetoric, Grammar, Logic, Ethics, Politics, Geography, Arithmetic, Music etc. The Silappadikaram and the Kural, two of the classical productions of the Samgam age, were the works of Jaina writers, while it may be said that almost all the Kanarese literature before the 12th century came from the pen of one Jaina scholar or the other. It is the opinion of eminent scholars that even the Telugu literature of Pre-Nannaya times owed not a little to the literary genius of the Jainas. Thus, these monks and learned men laid the foundations of the South Indian vernacular literatures.

The Jainas were also great builders. All over the country they set up numerous bastis and lofty temples wherein the Jinas were worshipped. As at Sravanabelgola, the famous seat of Gomatesvara to each of these Jain temples was attached a spacious monastery known as Matha or Upasraya. In these dwellings the ascetic

1. M. S. Ramaswami Iyengar—South Indian Jainism Ch. I.
2. Ibid Ch. VI
4. Ibid Pp. 100—129.
5. Cf, the modern Upasrayas in W. India.
monks lived, reading or copying their sacred books or translating them for the benefit of the populace. The liberal royal patronage extended to them during the early centuries of the Christian era in the Tamil country and later on in Andhra and Karnata gave a fresh stimulus to their scholarship. The monasteries were thus the home of learning and culture and numerous books pertaining to them. From surviving examples it is evident that each of these Upasrayas had an excellent library which was largely the result of the copying and collecting activity of the monks.

A pertinent question may here be raised as to where these Mathas did exist? We have already stated that where there was a Jaina Basti or temple, there was a monastery and that where there was a monastery, there was a library invariably attached to it. Evidences, both literary and inscriptional, mention many such places. Among the earliest Jaina settlements may be mentioned about a dozen villages in the Madura and Ramnad districts where Brahmi lithic records and ruins of buildings belonging to the Jainas have been discovered. During the early centuries of the Christian era Madura was the seat of a famous Jaina Samgam. The local records and the village Kaifisayats of the Mackenzie collection contain many allusions to the Jainas and their activity. Jaina antiquities have been found in all the Ceded districts and those on the East coast. I have seen many ruins in several places in the Nizam’s Dominions. There is no doubt that these neglected and often misused heaps of stone and brick are the remains of what were once lofty edifices enshrining several Gods, books and monks of the Jainas. Epigraphy however gives us the names of many Jain temples which we have said invariably contained monasteries and libraries. Jinalayas of note existed at Penukonda, Amarapuram, Tamadahalli, Agali, Kotip, and Tadpatri in the Anantapur district; Rayadurg, Kogili, Vijayanagaram, Chippigiri, Nanyakallu, Kurugodu and Tumbalam in the Bellary district; Danavulapadu in the Cudapah district; Mudabidire, Venur, Barsur, Kotesvera, Karkala, and Kadaba in the South Kanara district; Lakkavarapu kota, Bhogapuram, and Ramateerham in the Vizag district; Vallimalai in North Arcot; Amaravati in Guntur; Kanupartipadu in Nellore; Bevada and Caluchambarru in Krishna; Sravanbelgola in Mysore and Kollipaka, Gangapura etc. in the Nizam’s Dominions. These few examples are enough proof of the great popularity that the Jaina faith and institutions enjoyed in ancient times. The 5th century in South India and the 11th

6. South Indian Jainism p. 34.
7. Ibid p. 52.
8. Andhra Karnata Jainism p. 34.
in the Dekkan marked the beginning of the decline of the Jainas. The intervening period witnessed a Dekkan filled with numerous Jaina monasteries and libraries, educating and elevating the populace of the Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese countries and laying the foundations of the leading South Indian Vernacular literatures.

Unfortunately, we have no information regarding the nature and contents of the Jaina libraries of ancient times. But one redeemable feature is that a few Jaina collections of the middle ages have survived to our times, thanks to the heads of the modern Jaina Upasrayas. It is from these specimens of monastic libraries that we can form some idea, however imperfect, of the earlier types which were once very popular in India.

Western India: In the medieval cities of Rajputana and Gujarat at Pathan, Jeasalmir, Surat, Cambay and Ahmedabad, one comes across a large number of Jaina Upasrayas to each of which is attached an important collection of religious and historical works. These collections are known as Bharati Bhandars “Treasuries of wisdom”. Of these Bhandars, those at Pathan, Ahmedabad, Wadhwan, Surat, Cambay, Tharad, Jesalmir and Bhatner are the most important. Several of them contain over 10000 manuscripts. Pathan, the ancient Anhilvadpan, is still, as in the 11th and 12th centuries, the chief centre of Jainism in Gujarat. It is inhabited by a large number of Sramanas or lay disciples and contains over a dozen Upasrayas, some of them dating from the time of the ancient Chalukyan kings. All the libraries are under the control of the Nagar Seth, the Panch and the Sripuj or the head of the particular Agaccha or the community to which the Bhandar belongs. The books are carefully preserved in card-board boxes each containing 10 to 15 MSS. The Yates or monks frequently open them, air and dry them. To this day the MSS. are studied and copied with religious zeal. The most important collections at Pathan are the Hemchendra Bhandar which belongs to the Khartara gaccha and contains 40 boxes; the Bhandar of the Tapagaccha which consists of 80 boxes containing upwards of 1200 MSS, and the Sanghavinapadano Bhandar of three boxes with nearly 500 palm-leaf MSS, being complete collection of Jaina Scriptures, Bhashyas, Churnis, and Vrittis. Next in importance to the libraries of Pathan is the famous Bhandar under the temple of Parasanatha in Jesalmir. This library besides containing some rare Jaina works, has a large number of very ancient MSS, dating from the 12th and 13th centuries, of classical Sanskrit poems and Brahminical works. The MSS of the Vikra-
mankadevacharita of Bilhana and the poem of Upendrarahshapalita were first discovered in the collection of this library.⁹

South India:-A number of Jaina Upasrayas and libraries are found in S. India also. The Jaina Bastis of Srmanbelgola in Mysore and Mudbidre in Kanara as well as the colossal Jaina statues at Karkala and Venur are some of the grand achievements of South Indian art. In an obscure place called Mudbidre near the West coast there is an ancient Jaina Matha which contains a very large MSS library. In it are found the only surviving single copies of valuable works. In the monastery at Srmanbelgol there is a large, valuable and well-preserved collection of MSS mostly on palm-leaves, in the Pali, Sanskrit, Kannada and Tamil languages. At Humcha in the Mysore state there is another collection of MSS.¹⁰

A consideration of the numerous Jaina antiquities scattered all over the country and the evidences of the existence of hundreds of temples and monasteries may naturally raise the question as to why so pitifully few Jaina collections have survived to our times? Both Buddhism and Jainism present a remarkable though tragic feature. The former has more or less vanished from the land of its origin while the latter is practically annihilated but for a few adherents in the West and South of India. This is the result of the proselytising nature of Brahminism on the one hand and its terrible reaction on the other. Jainism was stamped out of existence by the subsequent Saiva and Vaishnava religious persecutions. The Tamil Saiva saint Tirujnana sambandar initiated in the 5th century A. D. the ruthless crusade against the Jainas which lasted for the next two centuries and obliterated the faith from the Pallava and Pandya kingdoms. The Periyapuranam and the frescos in the Madura temple reveal the endless miseries that the monks had suffered and the terrible destruction that befell their temples, monasteries and books.¹¹ The second wave of Jaina persecution started from the Andhra country in the 11th century under the lead of Raja Raja, the Eastern Chalukya prince.¹² But the greatest danger to Jainism came from the Vira Saivas under the lead of Basava and

⁹. This section is based upon Buhler's Rep. on the search for 8 Sans. MSS in Gough's Papers and sect. VIII on Mr. R. N. Ghosh's paper 'on Indian libraries in The Dawn Magazine vol. XII (old series) no. 5, p p. 77-79.
his followers. These spared no pains in destroying the Jainas and considered it a pious duty to do so. Telugu and Kanarese literatures of the 12th and 13th centuries contain innumerable references to the cruel persecution of the Jains and the revengeful destruction of their buildings and books. Strong tradition connects the famous Telugu poet Tikkana and the later Kakatiya kings of Warangal with this movement. What little remained of Jaina culture and religion after this consistent and calculated annihilation, was swept off by Islam, the other agency of merciless and vindictive destruction in India, which descended upon the Dekkan after 1323 A.D. It is no wonder then that these successive waves of vindictive destruction have swept off numberless Jaina libraries throughout the length and breadth of the Dekkan and South India.

13. Cf. the Basavapuram, Somadevarajeyam, Pratapacharitramu etc.
THE MANDASA PLATES OF DHARMAKHEDI
JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

These plates were first noticed in the Annual Report of the South India Epigraphy for 1917-18, P p. 138-39. The donor of the charter Ranaka Dharmakhedi of the Kadamba family was a feudatory of the Ganga king Anantavarmanadeva. It makes the following remarks about the identification of the king and the interpretation of the date of the grant:–

"The king has the epithets Parama-maheswara, Parama-Bhattaraaka and Paramesvara..........The record is dated in the Saka year 976 expressed by the chronogram Sakavda navasatabhaskaparasa and the 15th year and has to be attributed to the Vajrahasta of this dynasty whose coronation took place in Saka year 969 (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 193). It has already been pointed out that Vajrahasta IV. (V ?) of this family, had the surname Anantavarman (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. page 95). The writing closely resembles that of a record of this king dated in Saka 967 (Ep. Ind. Vol. XI. page 147). Like this it adopts mixed characters, though using more of Grantha letters in addition to Nagari and Telugu."

The charter with plates has since been published by Mr. G. Ramdas in the J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVII. pp. 175-188, differing both in the identification of the king as well as in the interpretation of the date chronogram. He has advanced the following arguments for his views:–"ANANTAVARMADEVA was the sovereign king at the time of the charter and he was identified with ANANTAVARMA VAJRA-HASTADEVA, Trikalingadhipati of the Narasipatam, the Madras Museum and the Nadagam plates. The Chikkali and the Boddupadu plates are two other charters of the latter king recently discovered. All these five charters uniformly differ from the plates under review, not only in style but in composition of letters as well. The gotra and the genealogy of the family found in the five sets are conspicuous by omission in these Mandasa plates; above all, the king of these five charters was a Maharajadhiraaja, and Trikalingadhipati while the king of our plates was a simple Maharaja and did not possess the title Trikalingadhipati, which title was much coveted by the Gangas of Kalinga in the east and the Kalachuri and Chedi kings on the west." (P p. 178-179).

In the first place, Mr. Ramdas has quoted wrong reference to the Narasapatam plates, which caused us unnecessary trouble. It does not appear from the transcript given by Mr. Ramdas himself that the king has anywhere been called 'a simple Maharaja.' It is true that the king has not been styled as 'Trikalingadhipati,' but we find that he has been described as 'Sakala-Kalingadhipati' (1.9).
Does it not convey the same sense? Are the Kalachuris and the Chedis two different tribes?

As regards the omission of the gotra and the genealogy of the king, Mr. Ramdas has failed to take into account one very important fact that the donor of the charter under review was not the king himself, but a feudatory of his. The poet-composer in this case must have been a different person, who was more concerned with giving the full titles of his employer than that of the latter's overlord. He has not, however, failed to note the essential point for a feudatory i.e. to acknowledge the suzerainty of his overlord. This has been done by styling him as "Paramesvara."

Mr. Ramdas has also found difference in style. He seems to think that the difference in style is due only to the difference in time. He has omitted to notice other factors, such as the different scribes, and different places of issue. In the present case both these factors are present. Again, are instances wanting that the same king issued charters at different dates, and from different places, in different styles?

Regarding the formation of letters, we do not know what appreciable difference there can be in an interval of (976-913) 63 years. According to the Report, the date of the grant is Saka 976, while Mr. Ramadas would interpret it to be Saka 913. We are not aware if palaeography has become such an accurate science as to tell the difference of 63 years. If really there is any difference, it must be attributed to different hands and places of issue.

Let us now look into the arguments of Mr. Ramadas, in support of his identification, by an unusual interpretation of the date chronogram. He writes:-

"In spite of such differences the mistaken identification was caused by the mistaken interpretation of the passage intimating the Saka year. 'Sakabde nava-sataka sapta-rasa tama.' (1-15) was understood to mean Saka 976 (1.34). In the expression mentioning the Saka years, the addition of 'sataka' to 'nava' clearly denotes that 9 was in the hundreds place; but no such index is attached to 'sapta'. Therefore, 'sapta-rasa' means 7 and 6 units, i.e. 13. So the date of the charter is Saka 913 clearly. If it had been intended to mean 76, the place value of sapta would have been given. If the place value of 'nava' had not been given, the figures had to be read backwards." (p. 179).

There is no doubt that of the two different interpretations one at least is wrong. We are yet to see which is wrong. The exact wording of the chronogram in the transcript is - 'Sakabdanava-sataka sapta-rasa-mata'. Mr. Ramdas corrected Sakavda to Sakavde and mata to mate. He now reverts to 'tama' of the original, without giving any reasons for it. We think it should be 'mita.'
It is true that the ordinary rule, "ankasya vanamot gatihi" should not be followed in assigning place to navas, as it has been clearly indicated by sataka. The question is what should be done as regards saptas and rasas, whether to follow the order indicated by navas-satakas i.e. to give saptas tens place, and rasas to that of units, or the reverse order according to the ordinary rule. The former seems to be the order meant, as we shall see presently. But in either case there will be no difference in the identification of the king. For, both Saka 976 and 967 fall in the reign of Vajracharya V. There is no authority or argument for taking both in units place and adding them, particularly when two places viz. places of units and tens are to be filled in.

Let us now look into the interpretation of the regnal year, samastha paddara 15, as given in lines 33-34. Mr. Ramdas elucidates:

"In line 34, they are expressed by 'Samastha paddara 15'. 'Samastha' is an Uriya word to express the regnal years in documents." (p. 179).

In the transcript we find that the phrase actually used is samastha paddara 15. Mr. Ramdas corrected only paddara to pandraro. But now he reads 'Samastha paddara 15.' He asserts that 'Samastha system is similar to the Anka reckoning explained by Mr. M. Chakravarti in his article on the Eastern Ganga kings of Orissa.' (p. 180). In support of this he says that 'a large number of documents in the Ganjam District given in Rangachary's Topographical lists give the date in Samastha years. The Oriya inscriptions in Mukhalingam and Simhachalam temples also give the date in Samastha years.' (Note 7, p. 179). He does not, however, say that these samastha years have been verified and found to be in the Anka reckoning. We do not know anything about the inscriptions of the Simhachalam temples, but we find that Manmohan Chakravarti quoted about 35 dates from the Mukhalingam inscriptions (J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXII. Pt. I. pp. 97 ff.), but not in a single instance we could find the word samastha used. Mr. Ramdas has not cited a single case to show that the Anka reckoning was in vogue in the Ganga dates so early as Saka 913. Chakravarti did not notice it before Rajaraja II. (Ibid, p. 114). Rajaraja II. reigned from Saka 1092 to Saka 1112. In the absence of definite proof we are not prepared to accept Mr. Ramdas's interpretation of the word samastha.

Let us now see if we can offer a plausible explanation of the word. The word samastha approaches two words in Sanskrit, viz., samasta (whole) and samapta (completed). Practically they convey the same meaning. So 'samastha 15' means completed or expired 15 years i.e. current 16th year. This explanation fits in
excellently in the present case. Anantavarma Vajrahasta, we know, was crowned in Saka 960. His sixteenth year, therefore, was running in Saka 976. Mr. Ramdas has taken regnal year 15 to be the regnal year of Dharmakhedi, but it is usual for a feudatory to observe the regnal year of his overlord. So this regnal year was the regnal year of king Anantavarma.

Mr. Ramdas identifies king Anantavarma of this charter with Kamarnava IV. Let us see how he has arrived at this conclusion. He says:-

"According to this Anka reckoning, Samastha 15 gives only 13 years of actual reign. The donor must have been crowned in Saka 901. This is 59 years prior to the Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva that was crowned in Saka 960. The king that was ruling over Kalinga 59 years prior to the donor of the Nadagam plates was Kamarnava IV. According to the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma Choda Gangadeva, Kamarnava IV. appears to have reigned from Saka 895 to Saka 915; but according to the Nadagam plates he reigned from Saka 888 to Saka 915. In both, the final year is the same." (p. 180).

We find that there are three Vizagapatam charters of Anantavarma Choda-Ganga, namely, of the Saka years 1003, 1040 and 1057. Mr. Ramdas does not say to which of these Vizagapatam charters he refers. The genealogy and the reign periods given in the first and the third are the same and agree with the Nadagam plates. So he must have referred to the grant of the Saka year 1040, which is somewhat different from the other two. The interval between the first year of Anantavarma Choda-Ganga and the last year of Kamarnava IV. according to both, is 98½ years. Even taking the reign periods to be Anka years, which they are not, the interval is 79 years. So Kamarnava IV. could not have ruled 59 years before Anantavarma Choda Ganga. It is beyond our comprehension by what mathematical feat Mr. Ramdas has arrived at his figures.

The king of our charter is Anantavarmadeva, but no evidence is forthcoming that Kamarnava IV. was ever called Anantavarmadeva. Mr. Ramdas with a view to cover this defect has made a great 'discovery.' He says that Kolahala became the first Anantavarma. Trikalingadhipati Vajrahasta was Anantavarma, his grandson Choda Ganga was Anantavarma, and Rajaraja, his father was called Devendravarma. From this data he has concluded that all Ganga kings from Kolahala downwards assumed alternately the 'imperial titles' of Anantavarma and Devendravarma. In this way Kamarnava IV. was an Anantavarma (pp. 180-181). No comment is necessary on this astounding discovery.
Yet another discovery is in store for us. Mr. Ramdas writes:-

"The inscription gives two other titles of the king, Paramabhattaraka and Paramamahesvara. These are the two titles which are not found in the charters of the earlier Ganga kings but are found in the grants of Vajrahasta V, and Choda Ganga. Perhaps these titles were assumed when sway over a greater country had been secured. (p. 181).

We are at a loss to understand what connection there is between 'sway over a greater country' and the titles of Paramabhattaraka and Paramamahesvara.

Mr. Ramdas has found fault with Kielhorn for identifying Vajrahastadeva of the Parlakimidi plates with the Vajrahasta of the Nadagam plates. He says:-

"The Vajrahastadeva of the Parlakimidi plates was neither a Trikalingadhipati, a Paramesvara nor a Paramabhattaraka, yet Dr. Kielhorn identified him with the Vajrahasta of the Nadagam plates. In this connection it may be mentioned that such mistakes are unavoidable when the identification is entirely based on synchronism " (p. 181).

Firstly, it is not Kielhorn but Kielhorn, secondly, it is not a fact that Vajrahastadeva of the Parlakimedi plates was not a Paramesvara. The king has been described as 'Gang-amala-kula-tilaka maharajadhiraja-paramesvara-sri-Vajrahasta-deva' (E. I. Vol. III p. 223, 11.8-9). Thirdly, Mr. Ramdas here again forgets that the donor of the charter is not the king himself but a feudatory of his. Fourthly, Kielhorn did not base his identification entirely on synchronism but on palaeography. He says: "This inscription contains no date, but it would in my opinion, on mere palaeographical grounds, have to be assigned to about the 11th century A. D." (E. I. Vol. III. p. 222)

These are not all. In order to support his wrong interpretation and doubly wrong identification he has to make another curious assumption. He says: - 'Ugrakhedi of the Kadaunba family mentioned in the Parlakimidi plates must be an ancestor of Dharmakhedi of our plates. Bhamakhedi was the father of the donor of these Mandasa plates; Ugrakhedi must have been at least the father of this Bhamakhedi who was only a village Palaka.' (p. 182) We wonder how could Mr. Ramdas make such an unauthorised assumption in the face of the Simhapura plates (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III. p. 179) of the Gangoya era 520—Saka 938, where Niyarnava is plainly stated to be the father, of Bhamakhedi or Bhimakhedi. Again in the abstract of contents (p. 187), he has made Ranaka Dharmakhedi, the son of Ugrakhedi, instead of Bhamakhedi!! In line 19 of these plates he has distinctly been stated to be ‘Ranaka Sri-Bhamakhedisyay sutah’ i.e. son of Ranaka Bhamakhedi.
COPPER-PLATE OF RAGHUNADH JAGADEV I OF KADAMBA DYNASTY - TEKKALI.

BY

Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev Raja Bahadur, Puratatvavisarad, Vidyavachaspathi, Rajah Sahob of Tekkali.

Narasimha Khedi of Kadamba dynasty came to Tekkali from the South in 1422 A. D. while this Kingdom was full of forests. But the coastal strip was under the rulers of Utkala whose (Deputy Governor) Regent and Commander lived with some army in a fort (now called old Tekkali) which was called then Tekkali. The remains of that fort and the cantonment (now known as Dandugudi) are still to be seen. Acknowledging the supremacy of the ruler of Utkal, conquering the woodland parts of Tekkali (now called Old Tekkali) which were not under the rulers of Utkal by worshipping Ramachandi, the family goddess of Tekkali Kingdom, he built a fort by name Tekkali patna in the dense wooded country and dwelt there. As a new fort and town were built there, the fort at Tekkali under the rulers of Utkal was termed as Old Tekkali or Purana Tekkali. To the worshipper (who belonged to the Savara tribe) of the said Ramachandi, Raghunath Jagadev I, the 16th ruler of the Tekkali Kadamba Dynasty had gifted some land in Tekkali patna, the copper-plate grant of which was granted by Raghunath Jagadeb in 1691 A. D. in Chintamani fort. That Rajah ruled from 1691 A. D to 1719 A. D. The Copper-plate grant is 6½ inches long and 2½ inches broad. Five lines on the first side and five lines on the second side was inscribed in the Telugu language. At the bottom of the inscription on the second side is found the sign of signature in Oriya of the grantor Raghunath Jagadeb. The plate was not spoiled anywhere. In several places there is resemblance between the present writing and the writings and language of the inscription. The contraction of words is to be seen in this plate in many places e.g. స్తరాం is written instead of స్తరాం, రాగ is written instead of రాగం, మయ్య is written instead of మయ్యు. Nowadays such contraction of letters is still in usage in the Telugu language. So it can be said that as the grantee of the gift was a Telugu knowing man, the gift deed was written in the Telugu language. In the plate “Jagadeb” “Pujari” “Khaspa” “Ghenano” etc., which are Oriya words, have been used. The text of the plate is given below.
Front side.

1. మామామచరి ప్రసిద్ధి కలదు వండి నంది
2. (స్త్రీలు) మామామచారి ప్రసిద్ధి కలదు
3. అంతర్గత లైనాంతి ముఖానంతి
4. మోడ మేలు మూడు పచ్చనాంతి ప్రసిద్ధి కలదు
5. హాము ప్రసిద్ధి పండితయులు వండి నంది

Back side.

1. శివారిప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి కలదు
2. ప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి కలదు
3. ప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి కలదు
4. ప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి కలదు
5. ప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి ప్రసిద్ధి కలదు

The translation of the inscription: In 1691 A.D. Plava year on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Jyashtra month Sri Raghunath Jagadeb Maharaja gave this grant deed to Pujari Fakeer. In the khaspa of Tekkalipatna, a land yielding four garces of staple produce has been given to you as an inam which you will enjoy through ages by cultivating in proper manner. The assessment etc. shall not be charged.
SAMBPAPKHYANAMU AND THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY.

BY

K. RAGHAVACHARI M. A. B. L.

The Telugu work Sambopakhyanamu by Ramaraju Rangapparaju, a descendant of Araviti Bukkaraya has been recently published by the Andhra Sahitya Parishat, Cocanada and it is intended to deal in this article with the historical value of the work.

1. The most valuable material which the book supplies us is the Genealogy of the Aravidu family from Ramaraja, the son of Bukkaraya. As regards this, the other Vernacular Sources, Vasucharitra, Kavyalankara Sangraha, Kalapoornodaya, Sudakshinaparinaya and Narapativijaya are equally important.

Leaving aside times of hoary antiquity and the claims of the Aravidu family to have descended from Nanda, Chalukyaraja and Bijjala, the four immediate ancestors of Bukka were

- Tatapinnama
- Somadeva=Kamala devi
- Raghavaraja=Bachaladevi
- Pinnama=Obaladevi
- Bukka

The family has been associated with Aravidu only from Pinnamaraja. Sambopakhyanamu is silent regarding the ancestors of Bukka.

2. Bukkaraya had two wives one Abbala devi and the other Balladevi. Through the first wife he had three sons of whom the eldest Singaraja became the ancestor of the Nandyala family. The detailed genealogy of this family can be gleaned from the Kalapoornodaya of Pingali Surana dedicated to one Nandyala Krishnamraju.

Of the second wife Balladevi or Ballambika was born Ramaraja. The Vasucharitra (1-30) informs us that he was ruling in Kandanolu (Kurnool). He had four wives Obalakka, Lakkamamma, Rangamamba and Amalamma.

By Obalakka, Ramaraya had two sons Rayanaraja and Goparaja. By Rangamamba he had two sons Murtiraja and Singariraja and by Amalamma, Jaggaraju and China Sirangaraju.
Bukka

Abbaladevi

Nandyala Family

Balladevi

Ramaraya

Obalakka

Rangamamba

Amalamma

Rayana

Gopa

Murti

Singari

Jaggaraju

China Sriranga

3. The descendants through Lakkamma are important for our purpose. By her, Ramaraja had three sons, Timmaraja, Kondaraja (Pedakondaraju and Srirangaraya).

Ramaraya—Lakkamma

Timma

Pedakondaraju

Srirangaraya

(Owk family)

(Adoni family)

(Vijianagar Branch)

The Narapativijayamu of Andugula Venkayya informs us that Timmaraju was ruling over the Owk principality and his family became the family of Owk chiefs but does not continue it beyond Timmaraju. The writer of the present work and another Ramaraja whose minister Somamatya was the patron of Annaya, the author of Sudakshinaparinaya, were descendants in this line.

The genealogy of the Owk family would not be out of place here.

(a) Timmaraju through his first wife (whose name is not known owing to lacunae in the text) had four sons

Timma

Pinakondaraju—Konamamba

Timma

Appala

Rama

Koneti Timma

China Timma

Appala

Rangapparaju

(the author)

Kondraju

Ramaraju

(Minister Somamatya)
(b) By the second wife Lakshmamma, he had two sons Peda Timmala and China Timmala.

(c) By the Third wife Gopamamba, he had four sons, Nalla Timma, Vittala, China Thimma and Papa Timma.

Nalla Timma otherwise called China Timma was the patron of Konakavi who dedicated his Dwipada Bala Bhagavatamu to him and at his request Padya Bala Bhagavatamu to his father Timmaraja. From Sewell's Antiquities Vol II. P. 209, we learn that after Timmaraja, the Owk kingdom was ruled by Nalla Timma and his descendants.

(d) By the fourth wife Tirumalamba, he had three sons Timma, Kona and Singaraju.

4. The Adoni family :-Kondraju alias Pedakondraju, the second son of Ramaraja by Lakkamma ruled in Adavani (Adoni). He had two wives one Kondamamba by whom he had four sons Konetiraju, Peda Timma, China Timma and Ramaraju and the other Srirangamma by whom he had two sons Obala and Venkatapathi.

5. The Vijianagar Branch.

The third son by Lakkama was Srirangaraya, the father of the famous Sree Rama, Tirumala and Venkata. He was ruling in Kandanolu (Kurnool) the family seat (Ref. E. R. 156 of 1905).

He had five sons by Timmamba (not three) Kona, Timma, Rama, Tirumala, and Venkata. The first two are known to us only by name. The Ramabhudaya of Ramabhadrakavi however mentions only the last three comparing them to the Trimurtis and three sacred fires.

The third son Ramaraya, otherwise known as Aliya Ramaraya being the son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya is described in four verses (Ver. 33-36 of canto I) He is described as "

The description is significant. Father Heras in his work on the Aravidu Dynasty laid stress on two points (a). The regent of Venkata I, son of Achyutaraya was Salakam Peda Timmaraju (b) He committed suicide in the palace when Ramaraju marched against him with an army from Penugonda. Both these points have been discussed and controverted by Mr. Ch. Virabhadrarao in his recent work on Aliyaramaraya. Our book, Sambopakhyanamu supports his views on both the points. Ramaraya killed Salakam China Timmaraju and established Sadasivaraya on the throne of Vijianagar.
6. Tirumalaraya, the brother of Ramaraya, is described as रेड Tina, the red Timma of Gutti. The epithet red might have been used in contra-distinction to Nalla Timma, his cousin and son of Timmaraju or to his own elder brother Timma. The Kavyalankara Sangraha also refers to him as जीतेताना or the red Timma. This is not of much importance but Tirumala is spoken as belonging to Gutti. Ramaraja was still alive and the battle of Rakhas-Tagdi did not take place. The work is thus long prior to the Vasucharitra wherein Tirumala is said to have succeeded Ramaraya and resuscitated the शङ्करानि Empire. The composition of the work would thus be between A.D. 1542, the year of Sadasiva’s accession to the throne and A.D. 1565, the year of the famous battle. The question then arises as to why Tirumalaraya should be described as belonging to Gutti. During Sadasiva’s time, we know that Tirumala was for a time the governor of Udayagiri (1543-1551 A.D), then the ruler of Kocharlakota-sima and lastly of Kondavidu at about 1558 A.D. During the last Governorship at Kondavidu, he was frequently in the capital as minister. The Swaramelakanalidhi of Ramaya-amatyah tells us that as soon as Salakam China Timmaraju became the regent of Venkata I, the brothers retreated to Gutti but the Vasucharitra and the Annals of Hande Anantapuram tell us that the retreat was to Penugonda and Adoni.

(Vasucharitra)

The Narapativijaya at this stage tells us that Ramaraya organised his troops and captured the fortresses at Gutti, Penugonda, Adoni, Gandikota and Kandanolu. He then rescued Sadasiva who was imprisoned in Gutti and proceeded to the capital to defeč Salakam China Timmaraju. It is not possible to decide when Tirumala and his family settled in Gutti and left Kandanolu, their family seat from the time of Ramaraya their grandfather. It is earnestly hoped that further light would be thrown upon this matter by Epigraphical or other evidence.

6. The Vernacular Sources give us some interesting information about the family of the three brothers. They had three sisters,

i. Obamamba married into the Gobburi family to one Gobburi Timmaraja, father of Narsaraju, the patron of Ayyalaraju Ramabhadrakavi (Vide Ramabhyudayamu, verses 48 & 80).
ii. Lakkamma, the mother of Ahobala Narasaraju, the patron of Narasabhupaliyamu (canto 1-89).

iii. Gonamma, the mother of Timmaraju, patron of Paramayogivilasamu.

It is thus clear that the Sambopakhyanamu gives us the most detailed genealogy of the Aravidu family excluding the Nandyala Branch and the genealogy so given agrees with the partial genealogies given in the other Vernacular Sources.
FOURTEEN PERSIAN FIRMANs OF THE
PERIOD 1172-1179 A. H. (1760-67 A. D.)*

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Honorary Life Member, A. H. R. Society and Corresponding Member,
Indian Historical Records Commission.

Several original letters under the caption "Correspondence between the Hon’ble E.I.Co. and the Kandregula Family" were published already by me in this journal (Vol IV). They throw much new light on the revenue administration of the Northern Circars during the latter half of the 18th century. The Firman published below give some more interesting details. Particularly, Firman No. I, dated 1172 A. H (A. D. 1760) and issued by Mons. Bussy, mentions the names of several revenue officials of the times and the methods by which they were collecting the various dues. The percentages of Rsums on the Jamabandi, on the cargo of ships, on inam land, on salt land, on cocoanut groves as well as the Rahdari duties on opium, jaggery, grain and other articles besides Savarams and Inams etc are all noted in great detail.†

These Firman show how the several Zamindars in the Northern Circars (Vizianagar, Peddapur, Korukonda, Etc.) were required by the first Nizam, Asaf jah Nizam Ali khan, to restore to the Kandregula Chiefs all the rsums. inams, rent villages, gardens, etc., appertaining to their offices of Muzumdar and Sur Sheristadar, in their respective Estates. This was in consequence of their services rendered to the Nizam as well as to the Hon’ble E. I. Co.

In 1778, when these offices were abolished, the rsums and lands were restored to the several Zamindars and the Kandregula Chiefs were compensated by being given 10,000 Pagodas a year.

*I have great pleasure in acknowledging the kind help I got from my learned friend, Mr. Syed Khursheed Ali, B. A. Director, Dafter E. Devani, Mal and Mulki Etc, of H. E. H. The Nizam’s Government, Hyderabad who translated and transcribed these Persian Firman for me. I must also thank Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, the former President of this Society, for placing in my hand these original letters which belong to his illustrious family.

†Rsum (fee) at 1 Pagoda (Rs 4) per cent on Jamabundy (Net receipts)
Inam (gift) at 1 or 1½ candy or Putty (8 acres) of ground in each village.
Rent at 40 Pagodas per year per big village.
Garden with 200 cocoanut or Beetlenut trees.
Savaram 30 candies or 60 Vessums of land for each big village.
Copy of the Parwana,¹ issued under the seal of 'Umdatul-Mulk, Ghazanfar Jang, Monsieur Bussy Bahadur².
Dated 7th., Rabius-Sani 1172 A.H.

Let it be known to the clerks who deal with the present and the future important matters of the State, and to the desmukhs³ and the despandias⁴, and the majmuadars⁵ and the peasants and the kulkarnis⁶ of Rajmandary Sarkar, Hyderabad Farkunda Dunyad Subah, that Barmaji Kishnu having inherited the hereditary office of despandia of the said sarkar, and appendage of desmukhi and majmuadari, from his fore-fathers and was in possession of it in accordance with the sanads of the Kings of Deccan, the subedhars and the past officials, while Sundrappa having usurped this inheritance under false pretences and having drawn up a fraudulent and false attestation of a multitude in favour of his claim to despandagiiri had consequently secured a sanad from His Highness under the Royal Seal and accordingly has been enjoying the usual benefits of this grant and its appendages for the last two years, whereas on subsequent enquiry and verification of the Sanads Sundrappa’s claims having proved invalid, now the said Barmaji Kishnu is entrusted, according to the established custom in the past, with the office of despandia, and entitled to receive rusum⁷ and the benefits of the appurtenances of the grant as detailed below; and it is hereby ordered that the said Barmaji should be considered for all times the permanent desmukh, despandia and majmuadari of the said Sarkar, and the duties pertaining to the office should be made over to him, and he should be authorised to endorse the receipts of revenue and other papers, according to the established practice, it being incumbent on him to devote his full attention to the duties and requirements of his hereditary office, and after utilizing the rusum and inams for his own purposes according to the custom, be zealous in serving the State and wishing it always well.

The orders passed therein are:-

Barmaji Kishnu having inherited the office of despandia of the said sarkar, and appendage of desmukhi and majmuadari from his forefathers was in possession of it in accordance with the sanads of the Kings of Deccan, the subedhars and past officials. In the meantime Sundrappa having prepared a fraudulent attesta-

¹ Firman or order. 2. French officer at the court of the Nizam who became supreme over N. Circars from 1754-59. 3. Chiefs or heads of groups of villages to collect revenue and to look after police duties. 4. Head Karnams to look after accounts and to help the despandias. 5. Revenue collectors and administrators having under their control several desmukhs. 6. Hereditary Village-Karnams or accountants. 7. Customary fee for a person holding hereditary office.
tion of a multitude in favour of his claims to despandiagiri and after securing a sanad from His Highness under the Royal Seal held the said post nearly for two years. But, as a result of an enquiry and verification of sanads the rights of Barmaji Kishnu to succeed the said office has been established; hence, the rusum, inams and appurtenance of despandiagiri in the parganas, salt-mahals and ships in the ports and sayir and the khata and the rahdari etc., should in accordance with the established practice and custom, be assigned to Barmaji Kishnu desmukh, despandia and majmuadar in compliance with the orders passed on the margin of the petition presented by him.

"Let the Sanad be given." Orders passed under the Royal Sign Manual.

The petition runs as follows:

That to Barmaji Kishnu belonged the hereditary office of desmukh, despandia and majmuadar which he has inherited from his forefathers and held in accordance with the sanads of the Kings of Deccan, and the past officials, and that Sundrappa having prepared a fraudulent attestation in his own favour to prove his right to succeed to the hereditary office of despandiagiri, had secured a sanad of His Highness under the Royal Seal and was enjoying the full benefits of this grant and its appurtenances. On enquiry and verification of sanads the claim of Barmahaji Kishnu have been established, therefore, Sundrappa had been removed and the said hereditary post together with its villages assigned to Barmahaji Kishnu in accordance with the established custom. As regards the sanads, it is submitted for orders. The following sanads have been perused:

Sanad relating to the appointment of hereditary post of despandiagiri under the seal of Abul Hasan, Qutubul-Mulk.

Sanad under the seal of Abdul-Hasan for issuing the rusum of desmukhi, despandiagiri and majmuadar.

Sanad under the seal of Asad Khan, Umdatul-Mulk
Sanad under the seal of Ruhulla Khan, Bakshiul Mulk.

Basharat Khan Diwan.
Jansipar Khan.
Yusuf Khan.
H. Mubariz Khan.
Rustum Dil Khan.

8. Charter or order. 9. Divisions or Taluqs. 10. Tax on forest produce. 11. Dues for measuring grain, etc. 12. Dues for using king's High-ways.
MEMORIAL OF THE MUSLIM ECCLESIASTS.
OFFICIALS.

'Ali Mardan Khan
Mustafa Quil Khan
Mir Qaiama
Dihawar Khan
Zabit Beg Khan
Abid Khan
Izzat Beg Khan
Khwaja Abdulla Khan
Khwaja Abul Wafa Khan
Faizulla Beg Khan
Mohamed Sayeed Khan Bahadur
Hafizuddin Khan Bahadur
Syed Lashkar Khan
Rustam Khan Bahadur
Anwaruddin Khan Bahadur
Ali Quil Khan
Mir Umer Quil Khan
Mir Muhamad Khalil Khan
Khwaja Nimatulla Khan
Muhamad Muin Khan

Parwana-i-Takid issued under the seal of Nawab Asaf Jah Bahadur.

Percentage of rusum on the Jamabandi 1 Hun.\(^{13}\)
Percentage on the cargo of ships 1 Hun.

Inam land per village
\(\frac{1}{2}\) katti.
Mahalat.................?
As detailed below:-
Inam from salt revenue
16.........................?
Rusum on sale
1 anna per rupee.

The Rahdari duties:-
Opium etc.,
2 annas per rupee.
Jaggery etc.,
1 anna per rupee.
Cocoanut Groves:-
From the land adjoining to Anthervedi village, Tatiaka paragana. One Qita.
From the land adjoining to Sanker, Kisaptam village, Two Mahal pargana. One Qita.
Hirur village One Qita.
From the land adjoining to Momarvaram village. One Qita.
From the land adjoining to Mallavaram village Pargana. One Qita.
From the land adjoining to Momar Varapyad village. One Qita.

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

Let it be known to the present and future naibs\(^{14}\) and the desmukhs and the despandias and the mukhadams\(^{15}\) and peasants and

13. Pomu or gold coin equal to Pagoda or Rs 4. 14. assistants or deputies.
15. local authorities.
the kulkarnis of the Nanduz pargana, Mustafanagar\textsuperscript{16} sarkar, that the village of Pinidmukla situated in the same pargana, assessed at twenty-five Huns per year as agarhar\textsuperscript{17} has been granted as a madadmaash (subsistence allowance) to Kandrikal Jogi Pândit, Kamoji Pandit and Tirpati Dobhāsi\textsuperscript{18} from the beginning of the year 1172 fasli, and therefore the said village should be left in their possession (they paying their fixed assessment yearly to the Government) so that they may utilize the yearly surpluses for their own maintenance, and pray day and night for the perpetual prosperity of the State. Let these instructions be carried out exactly as stated above. From one village 25 Huns.

Dated 6th., Zinqada 1175 A. H. Signed:-

III

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

To, Exalted Narsi Raj, Zamindar, Korkunda pargana,

Rajahmundry Sarkar.

Let the gumashtahs\textsuperscript{19} of Raja Sri Nawas Rao, Majmuadar and Sar-sarrishtadar\textsuperscript{20} of the said sarkar, be entrusted with the work of collecting land revenue, salt tax and sayir etc., in your estate, and let a record of this be maintained, and let the rusum and the inam granted to the latter continue according to the sanad. In this connection bear in mind to follow the above instructions strictly.

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed:-

Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani on 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.

IV

Bearing the Seal of Qutubud-Dawlah,


To, Dearly valued Raja Narasi Raj Bahadur,

Desmukh, Ellore Sarkar.

Let the rusum and the lawazimat-i-chauth\textsuperscript{21} pertaining to Hirur,\textsuperscript{22} Rajahmundry sarkar, granted to Raja Sri Nawas Rao, Majmuadar and Sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar, be delivered according to the sanads to the latter, and the land measuring 10 khandi\textsuperscript{23} which apart from the sanads, appears to have been granted by you to him by a sanad, continue in the future.

\textsuperscript{16} Kondapalli. \textsuperscript{17} A rent-free or low-rent grant of land presented to a Brahmin. \textsuperscript{18} one who is learned in two or more languages. \textsuperscript{19} clerks. \textsuperscript{20} one who enjoys Merassy rights such as profits like rusums, rent villages, gardens, inams, etc. \textsuperscript{21} land-tax equal to one-fourth of the gross produce. \textsuperscript{22} Perur. \textsuperscript{23} Putti (8 acres)
Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed:-

Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani on 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.

V

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah,

To, The valiant and brave Rajah Sri Nawas Rao,
Majmuadar, Sar-sarrishtadar, Rajmandary Sarkar.

Your gumashtahs should draw up all the receipts and the idemnity-bonds against the promises given, and also the acceptances of the securities for assessments on zamindars and taluqdars of the Rajmandary sarkar, and they should be given strict instructions in this connection.

Dated 19th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed:-
Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani, on 19th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.

VI

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones. (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badsah-i-Ghazi.


Let the gumashtahs of Rajah Sri Nawas Rao, majmuadar and sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar, be entrusted in the estate belonging to your exalted self, with the work of collecting revenue, salt tax, sayir etc., and let a record be maintained in this regard; and the rusum of salt and sohaga (borax) etc., and the inam land according to sandas, continue as such. Let this be strictly enforced.

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed:-
Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani on 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.

VII

To, The Symbol of loftiness and bravery, dearly valued Raja Bheem Raj, zamindar of the Mudapur Taluq, Rajmandary Sarkar.

Let the gumashtahs of Raja Sri Nawas Rao, majmuadar and sir-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar be entrusted with the work of collecting land revenue, salt tax, sayir etc., in the estate belonging to your exalted self and let a record be maintained in this regard,

and the Katal-kur village, the mokasa\textsuperscript{27} of which has been granted to the latter be released, and the land measuring sixteen khandi from the village of Malumal in the Aithakhota pargana,\textsuperscript{28} granted as inam, continue also in the future, and the two mango-orchards in Charikuntawala be also assigned to the men belonging to Raja Sri Nawas Rao. Let this be understood as the most strict instructions in this connection.

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed:-

Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani on 17th, Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.\textsuperscript{28-a}

\textbf{VIII}

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

To, The valiant, Reidy Lachmi Narayan Deo, Zamindar of the Kokunda & Kurkund parganas,\textsuperscript{29} Rajmandry Sarkar.

Let the gumashtahs of Raja Sri Nawas Rao, majmuadar and sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar, be entrusted with the work in your estate and let an office record be kept, and the rusum and the inam also continue in accordance with the sanad. In this connection bear in mind to follow the above instructions strictly.

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed:-

\textbf{IX}

To, The valiant and dauntless, Jogi Jagannatha Rao Pandit.

The petition forwarded has been perused along with the details of the arriving at Cinaptan\textsuperscript{30} and Masulipatam, the presenting of the Robes of Honour and Letters to the Commander and communicating verbal commands of His Highness and informing him of conferring many honours on him in the future, which was all well and good. Now it is incumbent on you to warm yourself into the real affairs of the sar-sarrishtadar, Rajmandary sarkar, and inform His Highness of the exact happenings there without any act of omission and commission on your part, and be ever zealous in serving the interests of the State. There is nothing more to add in this connection.

\textbf{X}

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR Badshah-i-Ghazi.

\textsuperscript{27} A village or land assigned to an individual at free-rent or low-rent in return for services. \textsuperscript{28} Ithakota in Rajole Taluq. \textsuperscript{28(a)} All the letters that follow bear the same date. \textsuperscript{29} Korukonda, 12 miles off Rajahmundry. \textsuperscript{30} Madras.
To, Dearly valued Kakarlapudi, Raja Ramchander Raj, zamindar of two Mahals.\textsuperscript{31}

Land measuring fifteen khandi rent-free, from the adjoining area of the Tatpudi\textsuperscript{32} village etc., belonging to you has been granted to Kandrikal Jogi Pandit, majmuadar of Rajmandary. Let the said land from the adjoining villages, mentioned below, after being surveyed and demarcated, be assigned to the latter for his own use, so that he may utilize the income year after year for his maintenance, and pray day and night for the well-being and prosperity of the State, and be ever ready and zealous in discharging duties of his office. Let these instructions be carried out exactly as directed above.

15 KHANDI RENT-FREE LAND.

From the village as mentioned above 2 Khandi. From Pankero Ramwararam 3 Khandi.
From Erawah\textsuperscript{32(a)} 5 Khandi. From Kotalkor & Pedapur 2 Khandi.
-From Choduwararam 3 Khandi.

XI

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones. (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badsah-i-Ghazi.

Written to the Elect of the Age, Barnaji Kishnu, Sundrappa and Ramji Bahamanu.

Whether the gumasta of Rajah Srinawas Rao, majmuadar and sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar ask for the bhagota\textsuperscript{33} for five years or ten years, it should be granted to him in accordance with the office records and without any objection whatever. In this connection, the above instructions should be strictly carried out.


XII

Bearing the seal of Qazi Abdul Hamid Khan, the servant of the holy Mohummadan Law.

The copy of parwana issued under the seal of Nawab Nizamud-Dawlah Bahadur, Chief Commander, and also under the seal of Samsamud-Dawlah Bahadur, Mir Abdul Hai Khan, Samsam Jang, the Royal Minister-in-Chief.

\textsuperscript{31} These correspond to modern Peddapuram Taluq. \textsuperscript{32} A village in Razole Taluq, 20 miles off Rajamundry. \textsuperscript{32(a)} Virava, a village in Peddapur Taluq. \textsuperscript{33} lease (?(
Let it be known to the Jagirdars and the Krosis of two Mahal pargana etc., Rajmandary sarkar, Hyderabad Farkunda Bunyad Subah, that 37 Khandi rent-free land from the said pargana etc., from the estate belonging to Kakarlamudi Ramchander etc., has been granted as inam according to the details mentioned herein, to Kandrikal Jogi Jagannath, sar-sarrishtadar and majmuadar of the Rajmandary sarkar, and that the said land, should, after being surveyed and properly demarcated, be assigned to the latter for his own use.

Dated.............The current year.

Orders passed under the Royal Sign Manual.

"Let the abstract be prepared" Draft Abstract.

Thirty seven khandi rent-free land in Two Mahal pargana etc., from the estate of Kakarlamudi Ramchander etc., Rajmandary sarkar, Hyderabad Farkunda Bunyad Subah, has, according to the signed sheet on whose margin orders have been passed, been granted as inam to Kandrikal Jogi Jagannath, sar-sarrishtadar and majmuadar of the said sarkar. “Let the sanad be given.”


The signed papers, dated 25th, Sahwal 5 are included in detail in the sanad of sar-sarrishtadari and majmuadari of Rajmandary Sarkar. 37 Khandi.

From Two Mahal pargana in the said sarkar pertaining to taluqa Kakarlamudi Ramchander adjoining to Tatpudi etc. 15 Khandi (as detailed below)

From above-mentioned 2 Khandi
From Mundwarendam 3 Khandi
From Hurwaram 3 Khandi
From Bosturwandi 2 Khandi
From Yerwa 5 Khandi
From Nahnapur pargana in the said sarkar adjoining to Ahanatalur 5 Khandi. (as below)

From above-mentioned 2 Khandi

From the said pargana belonging to Venkatpati Raj, Zamindar. 12 Khandi. (as detailed below)

From Linkuwaram 2 Khandi
From Bandar 2 Khandi
From Kura 1 Khandi
From Alwar 2 Khandi
From Janada 2 Khandi
From Kurkunda pargana 5 Khandi,

34. Persons who hold a grant of land in return for military or other service and exercise all the rights of the ruler within their jurisdiction. They resemble the Mansabdars. 35 Collectors of a crore of Dams, equal to \(2\frac{1}{4}\) Lakhs of Rupees. 36 He was the first Nizam of Hyderabad who was originally the Prime Minister of Dehli and who became independent Ruler in the South, (1724-49). 37 Peravaram, 6 miles to the south of Rajamundry. 38 Same as Lakkavaram in Ellore Taluq.
To, The benevolent, kind, and gracious Khan Sahib. (May you live long.)

After expressing (what in reality is) my indescribable yearning to meet your revered self, I disclose it to your friendly eye that some of the Government servants are delaying and evading the payment of the monthly instalment of the money due, and as the Company always demands despatch in these matters, its needs being ever extremely urgent, and your kind self being obliged to accompany the Commander of Chinapatan in four or five days’ time in connection with some urgent matters, in these circumstances, (I inform you beforehand) lest it happen that owing to the delay in the payment of the said money, the Ruler may become displeased, and, on account of receiving a reminder, send some one to collect the dues in your place. Therefore, explicit instructions should be given to the servants of your exalted self to collect the monthly instalment of the said money and remit it through Kishtamma Pandit so that it may soon be received and forwarded with haste to the Company’s treasury.

Hope that you will continue to favour me with the news of your health and welfare till this separation comes to an end. May the days of your contentment and happiness last for ever.

XIV

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badshah-i--Ghazi.

To, Dearly valued Raja Ramchander Raj and Venkat Bansi Raj, zamindar of two Mahals.

Let the gumastahs of Raja Sri Nawas Rao, majmun达尔, sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar, be entrusted in the estate belonging to your exalted self, with the work of collecting land revenue, salt tax, sayir etc., and let an office record be maintained; and let the Kalucharla39 village which is situated in the said pargana and granted to the latter according to the sanad, as a bil-maqta,40 continue also. Let the above be understood as strict instructions in this connection.

Date 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1173 A.H. Signed :-

39. A village 6 miles to the east of Rajamundry. 40. It means Tirwai or cash commuted rent of the Government share of produce on dry land. Here it means lipdy-rent or low-rent village.
WARSAW CONFERENCE.

To
The Secretary, The Andhra Historical Research Society,
Rajahmundry.

Sir,

The Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, which I had the honour to attend as a Delegate of your Society, was held at Warsaw, the Capital of Poland, from the 21st to the 28th of August 1933. Above six hundred scholars from practically all over the world gathered at Warsaw to discuss the most diverse historical topics, to study the most varied historical problems, to communicate to each other their successes in researches, their hopes for the future, their enthusiasm and their optimism. Naturally Poland gave the largest contingent of scholars, but Italy was the first of the foreign nations in sending a representative delegation to the Congress. Ninety four Italians were present. When I boarded the International Express "Rome-Warsaw" in Vienna in the evening of the 19th, I found that all my fellow-travellers and all those who were filling up the coach were Italians. When we entered the Polish frontier on the following morning, the Custom authorities had no work in examining our luggage. At the magic phrase: "Nous Sommes Congresistes" that unpleasant affair was at once eliminated. There were also numerous delegations from France, from England and from America; from the East we were four: two delegates from Egypt and two from India, the writer of these lines and one of his old students, Mr. H. V. Nunes, M.A.

The meetings and the sections of the Congress were held according to detailed programme without any hitch or difficulty, thanks to the marvellous organization of the able secretary, Dr. Thaddeus Manteuffel and a band of University students of both sexes, his helpers. There were twenty-eight sections dealing with as many historical aspects under which the 452 papers or communications sent to the Congress were grouped. There was a section on Oriental History to which most of the contributions sent from India were allotted.

It was a pity that only two delegates from India had been able to attend the Congress. India arouses a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and curiosity among the Polish people. We had to pose several times in the streets of Warsaw at the request of students and press reporters, and on the last day of the Congress we had the satisfaction of seeing our portraits sold in all the corners of the city, and printed in two of the most popular papers of the capital. We were proud of being introduced to Mrs. Helena Willman-Grabowska,
a Polish lady who is teaching Sanskrit in the University of Crakow, and who read a paper on the Political Ideas of Asoka’s time; being a short commentary on Kautilya’s Arthasastra. We had also great pleasure in meeting Miss Iva Grueber, a young girl who is studying Sanskrit in the University of Lwow, and who reads Hindustani, as a result of her private study during her leisure hours. Another girl, a student of the University of Warsaw, has formed a study circle among her fellow students in order to study the history of India and her present political and social problems.

The papers submitted to the Congress which dealt with Ind’an Subjects were the following:

T. K. Joseph (Trivandrum):

The Saint Thomas Traditions of South India.

Helena Willman-Grabowska
(Crakow):

The idea of state in Ancient India.

William Coelho (Bombay):

Greek Influence on the Coast of Karnatak.

Hasmukh Sankalia (Bombay):

Mahayana Buddhism in the Bombay Presidency.

Edward A. Pires (Bombay):

Who were the Rulers of Pataliputra before the Guptas?

Henry Heras, S. J. (Bombay):


A. Appadoria (Madras):

Irrigation in South India in the Middle Ages.

Alfred Martineau (Paris):

Parallelism between Dupleix and de Bussy.

George M. Moraes (Bombay):

Christian Leaning of the Mughal Prince Dar Shukoh.

T. K. Shahani (Bhavnagar):

Edmund Burke on the British Imperialism in India.

Medwige Nunes (Bombay):

Jesuit Sources of Indian History.

R. Subba Row (Rajahmundry):

The Administrative History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga in the 11th Century A. D.

H. N. Sinha (Nagpur):

Indo-Aryan and Indo-Islamic Polity.

D. F. Colaco (Bombay):

Culture and Art at the Court of the Maharatta Rojas of Tanjore.

Adrian Duarte (Karachi):

Piracy in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb.

S. Krishna Swami Iyengar
(Madras)

The Value of Tradition in Indian Historical Research.

The two Indian delegates were invited together with all the British subjects to some refreshments at the British Embassy on August 25th, and were kindly entertained by Mr. Gordon G. M. Vereker, Charge d’ Affairs, in the absence of the Ambassador.

Finally, I am glad to inform you that after talking with the President and Secretary of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, I have great hopes that soon we shall be able to found a Committee of Oriental History under the auspices of the International Committee.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

St. Xavier’s College,
Bombay, 1st December 1933.

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd) H. Heras.
Proceedings of the Annual General Body Meeting held on 13-4-34 in the Hindu-Samaj Hall, Rajamundry.

Present.

1. Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao Pantulu garu B. A. B. L.
2. N. Kameswara Rao garu B. A., B. L.
3. R. Subba Rao garu M. A., L. T.,
4. R. Subba Rao garu B. A., B. L.,
5. M. Suryanarayana garu B. A., B. L.,
6. K. Raghavacharyulu garu M. A., B. L.,
7. B. V. Krishna Rao garu B. A., B. L.,
8. Vepa Sri Ram garu B. A., L. T.,
9. C. Atmaram garu B. A., B. L.,
10. P. Kameswara Rao garu B. A., B. L.,
11. M. Subrahmanyan garu B. A., L. T.,
12. V. Apparao garu B. A., B. L.,
13. D. Ch. Kameswara Rao garu,
14. Neti Venkataramayya garu B. A., B. L.
16. Rajah Kandregula Jagannadh Gopala Rao garu B. A.,
17. T. Venkataratnam garu M. A., L. T.,
18. S. Kameswara Rao garu M. A., L. T.,
19. D. Venkata Rao garu M. A., L. T.,

I The Joint Honorary Secretary Mr. V. Apparao read the Annual report.

(1) A note about the Decennial celebrations should be added here.

(2) The resolution No. 4 A of the M. C. M. dated 14-3-34 may be incorporated in the Annual report under the caption "The History of the Andhra Desa".

With the above modifications, the annual report is adopted having been duly proposed by Mr. K. Raghavachary and seconded by Mr. B. V. K. Rao.

II The report of the Honorary Treasurer is duly proposed by Mr. B. V. K. Rao and, seconded by Mr. M. Suryanarayana and passed:

III The Honorary Librarian has not placed the report prepared by him in the meeting of the M. C. for its approval for want of time; but the majority of the General Body having voted in favor of allowing the Librarian to read his report, he is allowed to read the same. The report read by Mr. B. V. K. Rao is referred to the M. C.
The amendment proposed by Mr. B. V. K. Rao regarding the single secretary resolution instead of two, is put to vote and lost.

The Editors of the periodical works till they are published and the Editors of the Society’s Journal shall be co-opted members of the Managing Council.

The following are elected as Office-bearers for the year 1934-1935.

Messers:

(1) Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao ... ... President.
(2) N. Kameswara Rao ... ... Vice-President,
(3) M. Rama Rao and C. Atmaram ... Joint-Secretaries,
(4) P. Kameswararao ... ... Treasurer.
(5) D. Venkatarao ... ... Librarian and Curator.

Members of the Council:-

Messers.

(6) Rao Saheb P. Ranganayakulu
(7) M. Subrahmanyam
(8) R. Subbarao
(9) Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur.

Resolved to thank the Office-bearers of the previous year for the arduous services rendered by them to the Society.

(Sd). A. RAMARAO
President.
The Thirteenth Annual Report for 1933-'34.

The Secretary, Mr. V. Apparao B. A., B. L. read the following report.

The Managing Council has great pleasure in presenting the following report of the Society's work for the year 1933-34.

At the last Annual general body meeting held on 13-4-33, the following office-bearers were elected.

Messrs:

R. K. S. Jaganadharao Bahadur ... President.
Rao Saheb A. Ramaraao B. A. B. L. ... Vice-President.
V. Apparao B. A. B. L. ... Secretary.
N. Kameswararao B. A. B. L. ... Treasurer.
M. Ramaraao M. A., B. E D ... Librarian.

Rao Saheb P. Ranganayakulu Naidu, Members of the
R. Subbarao M. A., L. T.,
C. Atmaram B. A., B. L.
B. V. Krishnarao B. A., B. L. 

Managing Committee.

In accordance with the resolution passed in the General Body meeting held on 13-4-33 and confirmed in that dated 27-8-33 that there shall be two joint Secretaries for the Society, Mr. C. Atmaram was elected as the joint Secretary, by the general Body on 27-8-33. Mr. M. Ramaraao resigned his Librarianship on 4-10-33 and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao was elected in his place by the Managing committee and in place of Mr. B. V. Krishnarao Mr. D. Venkataraao M. A., L. T., was elected to the Managing, council.

Hon. Offices.

The general Body at its meeting held on 13-4-33 elected the following gentlemen for the Honorary offices noted against their names.

Messrs,

J. Ramayya Pantulu B. A., B. L. 
Sir A. P. Patro. Kt. B. A., B. L. 
Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu B. A. 
K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu
S. Narasimha Rao B. A. (cantab) L. L. B. 

Hon. Presidents.

Hon. Vice-Presidents.

Hon. Life Members.

During the year under review, Mr. R. Subba Rao M. A., L. T., and Dr. C. Narayana Rao M. A. P.H. D. L. T. were elected by the M. C. on 29-4-33 as Hon. Life members of the Society. Mr. Subba Rao paid the subscription prescribed for Life membership and was also made an Hon. Member for life in recognition of the services
rendered by him to the Society. Dr. Narayananarao presented to the Society six sets of copper-plate grants of the Eastern Ganga dynasty, which form a valuable acquisition to the Society’s Museum.

Ordinary Members.

The number of ordinary members on the rolls during the year was 167. This shows a decrease of 7 in the number. In this connection we record with sorrow the demise of Dewan Bahadur C. Venkatachalam Pantulu who was one of our oldest members and who took a keen interest in the Society’s work.

Subscribers.

The number of subscribers on the rolls is 44 showing an increase of two over the figure for the previous year.

Exchanges.

Our list of exchanges was considerably improved during the year owing to the addition of valuable Journals like those of the U.P. Research Society, the Annamalai University, the Karnataka Historical Research Society and the Publications of the Mysore Oriental Library, the Central Jaina Publishing House, the Varendra Research Society and the Indian Historical Research Institute.

The Journal.

Mr. N. Kameswara Rao B. A. B. L. continued as Editor for Vol VIII. of the Journal. During the year under review Part 4 of Vol VII, and Parts 1, 2 & 3 of Vol VIII, containing altogether about 300 pages, were published. Parts 2 & 3 of Vol VIII were issued together as the Decennial Commemoration Volume. We are behind time by one part and it is hoped we will make up the delay soon.

The Kakatiya Sanchika.

The progress of the Kakatiya Sanchika has not been as expeditious as it ought to have been. During the period under review, only 80 pages of the Text and 80 pages of the Appendix were printed.

The Library.

Owing to the activities of the joint Secretaries, many valuable additions were made to the Library during the year under review. The Mysore Durbar have been pleased to present the Society with all the available Volumes of the Epigraphia Carnatica and thanks are due to the enlightened Government of H. H. the Maharaja. Mr. S. Narasimha Rao B. A. (Cantab) LL. B. has kindly made a further present of 30 valuable books on Indian History, Literature and Art and the society’s sincere thanks are due to him. It is hoped that others will soon emulate his example. Two more almynras, one for the Library and the other for preserving the Museum Materials were purchased from the Municipal grant of Rs. 100.
Our thanks are due to Mr. M. Ramarao, who was Librarian till October 1933, for his services to the Society in bringing out a Catalogue of Books, Journals and Museum articles. The Library and Museum continued to be in the spacious buildings of the Theosophical Lodge to whose President and members, the Society's thanks are due.

The Museum

The Museum also received many important and valuable additions. Mr. R. Subbarao M. A. L. T., our Ex-Secretary, has secured for the Museum six sets of C. P. charters of the E. Gangas of Kalinga from Dr. C. Narayana Rao M. A., P. H. D., L. T. Mr. J. Ramiah Pantulu B. A., B. L., our ex-President, has kindly presented to the Museum about Four hundred impressions of stone and copper plate inscriptions and other transcripts etc. Vidwan K. Appanna Sastry, one of our corresponding members, has sent a few valuable impressions of stone inscriptions in the Nizam's Dominions. The Society thanks all these Donors and requests others to help the Museum likewise.

Curator.

By a resolution the M. C. decided that there shall be a curator for the Society's Museum. Mr. M. Ramarao the then Librarian was elected to this office also and was followed by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. It is desirable that, in future too, the offices of Librarian and Curator should be combined in the same person.

Finance.

The total receipts during the year were Rs. 2300 including the Municipal and Government grants. The munificent donation of Rs. 500 by the Maharaja Saheb of Jeypore, one of our Patrons was of invaluable help. We appeal in this connection to our other Patrons also for similar help. The income from the Journal is Rs. 850 and from the Telugu publications Rs. 60.

Meetings.

There were in all 15 meetings of the Managing council. There was a half yearly General body meeting in which certain rules of the Society were amended. Three important Public meetings were held under the auspices of the Society. At the first meeting held under the presidency of Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu Guru, Prof. K. Suryanarayana delivered an interesting Lecture on “Dravidian Pronouns.” In December 1933, the Society presented an address to Rao Saheb Ramamurthi Pantulu Guru, on the occasion of his 70th Birthday. At a Public meeting held on 7-4-34 under the Presidency of Mr. Ch. Virabhadrarao, Messrs. B. V. Krishna Rao B. A., B. L., R. Subba Rao M. A., L. T., and M. Rama Rao M. A. B. Ed. read interesting papers on “the so-called Conjeevaram inscription of Raja Raja I”, “the Ganga Era”, and “The Salankayanas” respectively.
Other Activities.

Rev. H. Heras, a member of our Society was deputed to the International Historical congress at Warsaw and he sent us a report of the Session. Messrs. R. Subbarao and M. Ramarao represented our Society at the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference, held at Baroda during December 1933. We are glad to learn that Mr. M. Rama Rao the Editor of our Kakatiya Sanchika has been invited by the Maharani Saheba of Gadwal to write a history of the Gadwal Samasthanam.

Decennial Celebration.

In accordance with a resolution of the Managing Council dated 25-12-32, the Decennial celebration of the Society was held on the 14th and 15th April 1932 in the local Government Training College Hall under the Presidency of Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Retired Professor of Indian History & Archaeology in the University of Madras. There was also an Exhibition of rare and valuable Historical material. Several scholars from all over India have sent valuable papers to be read at the meeting. These and a Report of the celebrations have been published in vol. VIII-pts. 2 & 3 of the Journal, the combined issue being named the Decennial Commemoration volume. The Society’s thanks are due in this connection to Messrs. R. Subbarao and M. Rama Rao who have been largely responsible for the success of the Celebration.

History of the Andhradesa.

It was resolved at a meeting of the Managing Council on 14-3-34 to publish a “History of Andhradesa” under the auspices of the Society, written by experts in various fields of the history. Invitations were accordingly sent to scholars both in Andhradesa and outside to attend a meeting convened for the purpose on 7-4-34. Many scholars sent in response messages of good wishes and useful suggestions regarding the working out of the scheme. Messrs. C. Virabhadr Rao, K. Raghavachary, K. Isvara Dutt, V. Appa Rao, B. V. Krishna Rao, R. Subba Rao, M. Rama Rao and V. Niladri Raju assembled on 8-4-34 in the house of Mr. V. Apparao and held a preliminary discussion about the work to be done. In the end, Messrs. R. Subba Rao and B. V. Krishna Rao, were requested to prepare a draft scheme of the work under contemplation. Their report is awaited.

Conclusion.

The Society thanks once again the Maharaja Saheb of Jeypore for his timely help, Messrs. J. Ramayya Pantulu and S. Narasimha Rao for their presents to the Museum and Library, the Government and the Municipality for their pecuniary grants to the Library and Mr. P. Kameswara Rao B. A., B. L. for kindly auditing the accounts of the Society during the year. We appeal to our patrons to continue their munificence to the Society and to other wealthy individuals and the public of the Andhradesa to patronise and help the Society, which is the only institution of its kind in our country.
### Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for 1933-34.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Rs. As. P.</th>
<th>Payments</th>
<th>Rs. As.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Opening cash Balances:-</td>
<td></td>
<td>By Establishment charges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On hand</td>
<td>1-10-6</td>
<td>Salary to peon</td>
<td>120-3-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Bank</td>
<td>2- 5-2</td>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>24-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions, donations and sale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees for Life membership (part payment)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Travelling expenses</td>
<td>10-4-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proceed of Literature</td>
<td>1,469-15-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Grants in aid:-Rajahmundry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Council</td>
<td>100- 0-0</td>
<td>Expenditure on Literature:-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amounts advanced:-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paper, printing &amp; binding charges</td>
<td>1006-14-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Treasurer</td>
<td>315- 0-0</td>
<td>Blocks &amp; photos</td>
<td>51- 6-0</td>
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<tr>
<td>By Hon-Secretary</td>
<td>180- 0-0</td>
<td>Postage etc.</td>
<td>120- 4-0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
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<td>Railway freight</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stationery</td>
<td>1- 3-0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Advance repaid:-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>315- 0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hon-Secretary</td>
<td>187- 2-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Permanent advance to Secretary</td>
<td>12- 8-0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Decennial Celebration</td>
<td>51- 5-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Discount paid (less receipts)</td>
<td>8- 2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Purchase of books</td>
<td>26-15-0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>100- 0-0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous expenses</td>
<td>8-10-3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Closing cash balances:-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>On hand</td>
<td>12- 1-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In Bank</td>
<td>27- 9-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Rs.</strong></td>
<td>2,094-3-0</td>
<td><strong>Total Rs.</strong></td>
<td>2,094-3-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Audit Report.

We have examined the above Receipts and Payments and Accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society and are of the opinion that the same is properly drawn up so as to show a correct account of the Receipts and Payments of the Society during the official year 1933-1934.

(Sd) V. B. R. Sharma
14-7-34
For Sarma & Co.,
Registered Accountants.
Library Report for 1933-34.

Changes.

Mr. M. Ramarao M. A. B. Ed. continued to be the Librarian and curator of the Museum till 4-10-33 when he resigned the office owing to his departure to Gadwal. The Managing Council elected Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, in his place. The administration of the Library continued as before and it was kept open along with the Reading Room daily between 4-30 and 7 P. M.

Accommodation.

The Library and the Reading Room continued to be in the healthy and spacious Theosophical Lodge, to whose authorities the thanks of the Society are due for their continued hospitality and kindness. Owing to the rapid increase of books and journals that were being added to the Library from time to time, the lack of proper accommodation was keenly felt. One more almyrah was purchased to accommodate these new additions. Similarly, a specially constructed almyrah was also acquired and the Museum articles were kept in it. The necessity for these two almyrahs was pointed out in last year’s report by the then Librarian Mr. Ramarao.

Additions.

There has been a considerable increase in the number of books and journals received this year. The total number at the end of the official year stands at 1360 as against 1058 of the previous year, showing that 302 books and journals were received during the year. Most of them are Journals received in exchange for the Society’s Journal. Among the additions to the Library during the year, are the Travancore Archaeological Series, the monograph of the Varendra Research Society, the Epigraphia Carnatica, Sacred Books of the Jainas Series and the Ep. Indica. The Society’s thanks are due to Messrs. S. Narasimharao Bar-at-law, Rao Saheb P. Ranganayakulu Naidu, M. R. Chari, N. Subbarao Pantulu and T. Venkataratnam who have generously donated books and Journals to the Library.

Catalogue.

The printing of the catalogue containing the lists of Books, Journals and Museum articles in the Library and Museum of the Society, which was being done towards the close of the previous official year, was since completed by Mr. M. Ramarao and published on 20-7-1933.

Reading Room.

The number of visitors to the Library and Reading Room has gone down due to their distance from the town; but we hope that the public will soon get used to it.
Museum.

The Society's sincere thanks are due to Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu B. A., B. L. who has presented to the Society's Museum 15 Estampages of stone inscriptions, 50 impressions of copperplate grants and 270 transcripts of stone inscriptions. They are a real asset to the Society's Museum. We appeal to all Andhra scholars to make such donations to the Museum.

Suggestions.

Now that the Library and the Museum are rapidly developing, the need for a paid Library clerk is being felt. More than 800 books and Journal have been received in the Library since the publication of the catalogue. The gift of Mr. J. Ramiah Pantulu has considerably increased the number of Museum articles also. A supplemental catalogue containing all these subsequent additions, is urgently wanted.

Checking.

As per resolution of the M. C. a special committee checked the Library and submitted a report in accordance with which several books outstanding on loans were subsequently recovered.

M. RAMARAO,
Ex-Librarian.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Managing Council Meeting held on 14-3-34.

* * * * *

(4) Resolved

(a) To send out invitations to Research Scholars in Andhra desa and to select scholars outside for the Annual General Body meeting in order to concert measures to bring out "A History of the Andhras under the auspices of the Society."

(b) To request Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu garu to preside over the annual public meeting and to bear his travelling expenses.

(c) To request Mr. P. Kameswararao B. A. B. L to audit the accounts of the Society.

(d) To appoint a committee consisting of Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao and the Secretaries to fix the agenda of the public meeting.
Subscriptions received during the Quarter ending with 31-3-34.

1. Life Members.

Mr. Subbarao Rallabandi (part payment) Rs A.P. 25-0-0

2. Ordinary Members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Messrs.</th>
<th>Rs. A. Ps.</th>
<th>Messrs.</th>
<th>Rs. A. P.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somasundara Desikar</td>
<td>3 8 0</td>
<td>Atchuta Rao T.</td>
<td>2 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakkar T. R.</td>
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<td>Sambasiva Rao M.</td>
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<td>Kameswararao D. Ch.</td>
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<td>Krishnamurti M.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venkataramaniah P.</td>
<td>4 0 0</td>
<td>Prakasam B.</td>
<td>2 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramarao A. Rao Saheb</td>
<td>4 0 0</td>
<td>Ramarao M.</td>
<td>1 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atmaram C.</td>
<td>4 0 0</td>
<td>Hanumantarao S.</td>
<td>3 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raghavachari K.</td>
<td>4 0 0</td>
<td>Unni Nayar S. K.</td>
<td>4 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kameswararao Sripada</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50 0 0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(3) Subscribers.

The Noble college, Masulipatam ... ... 6 8 0
The Nagapur University ... ... 6 8 0
Messrs Arthur Probsthain, London ... ... 17 14 0
Hindustani Academy, Allahabad ... ... 6 8 0

Total Rs. 37 6 0

(4) Donations.

The Municipal council, Rajahmundry ... 100 0 0
Mr. Mutyala Venkata Krishniah, Secundrabad (Rs. 50 Hali) 43 6 9

Total Rs. 143 6 9

Total for the Quarter Rs. 255 12 9

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B. A. B. L.,
Treasurer.