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Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chalukya Kings *

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I

Roughly fifty years ago Dr. John Faithful Fleet published a critical study of the "*Chronology of the Eastern Chāḷukya kings*" in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*.(a) The objects of his investigation, to use his own words, were, "to determine the exact period within which the starting-point of the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology must be placed to adjust the dates of successive reigns from that time, and to group together such historical details as are furnished by the records of the family and other documents."

Fleet's study does not, however, claim to be a regular account of history of that dynasty like that of his monumental work, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*.(b) But it has nevertheless served

* This paper forms the *Introductory* chapter of my work on the *History of the Eastern Chalukyas* which is awaiting publication. This has never been intended to be published in any Journal, but the appearance of my friend Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma's article on the *Chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas* in the latest issue of the *Journal of Oriental Research* (vol. IX part 1 pp. 17-45) has tempted me to alter my decision and publish immediately my Revised Chronology. Long before Mr. Sarma published his article I had occasion to discuss with him his theory and explain to him mine. But by that time my present paper was already prepared and now I publish it without altering it. I do not see any need now either to alter my views or criticise Mr. Sarma's theory. The reader will compare the two theories for himself and draw his own conclusion.

(a) *I.A.*, XX. pp. 1, 193 and 266.

(b) *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I. Part II.

as a basis and guide for those who continued his work. His 'Chronology' is a bare structure, a skeleton of mere dates into which the chronology of the Eastern Chālukya kings was adjusted with the help of a few given dates which yielded to calculation and conversion into the corresponding dates of the Christian era. His results were based upon certain assumptions which he accepted and final for his work, and upon facts known to him from the records discovered in his own time. Those assumptions primarily involved certain obviously fundamental misconceptions regarding Brahmanical ideas and religious customs, and secondly, a strain upon facts, mentioned in the Eastern Chāḷukya charters themselves, to suit his adjustment of some reigns.

In recent times many new records have been brought to light, and consequently many new historical details have been discovered. This discovery of fresh materials has made it necessary to examine Fleet's Chronology of the Eastern Chāḷukya kings closely and to make a systematic study of the history of that dynasty. But more than the discovery of new material in recent times, certain assumptions made by Fleet which appear at the very outset to be unwarranted and inaccurate, have induced me to make a fresh study of the Chronology of the Chāḷukya kings of Vēñgi and verify the results obtained by him nearly half a century ago. In these pages the results of such investigation and re-examination of the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology together with a critical and exahaustive study of all the available materials is presented for the first time; and this revised chronology is believed to be closely accurate and even correct.

A feature of special interest in the grants of the Eastern Chāḷukyas is the record, that each one of them from the time of the thirteenth king Guṇaga Vijayāditya III. gives, the length of each successive reign, commencing with that of the founder of the dynasty, Kubja Vishṇuvardhana or Vishṇuvardhana I., a younger brother of the Western Chāḷukya king Pulikēśin II. There has been no difficulty as Fleet rightly observes in deducing from these details the approximate historical period of each member of the family. But the lengths of the reigns are stated mostly in whole years and without fractions; and the earliest case in which a specific date is given in the Śaka era, is that of the fourteenth king Vishṇuvardhana Chālukya Bhīma I,, whose accession to the throne is recorded to have taken place in Ś.S. 814, on Monday the 2nd *tithi* in the dark fortnight of the month Mēsha-Chaitra.(c) And the thirteen reigns anterior to him covered

(c) *C.P.* No. 14 of 1917-18, (*A.R.E.* 1918 p. 126). Fleet was not aware of this date as this grant was not discovered in his time; he therefore took into account the date of the coronation of Vijayāditya-Amma II.

according to different records from two hundred and seventy-six to two hundred and eighty-four years. Consequently, the limits within which the commencement of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. might be placed are not far apart. Then deducting the period of 276 or 284 years from Ś S. 814 expired, we arrive approximately at the initial point of Vishṇuvardhana's reign, which falls somewhere between S'.S. 530 expired corresponding to A.D. 608–09 and S'.S. 538 expired equivalent to A.D. 616–17. But this cannot be taken as absolutely accurate, for not only a good deal of uncertainity attends the dates and lengths of the reigns of some of the intermediate kings, but also the lengths of most of the reigns are given in complete years without fractions.

Dr. Hultzsch(d) placed the starting-point of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. in S'.S. 526–27 expired, corresponding to A.D. 603–04, roughly nineteen or twenty years before what I shall show to be really the correct date. Dr. Burnell gave, in the first edition of his *South Indian Palaeography* at page 21, the initial date in the first instance as S'.S. 542 expired or A.D. 620 which is three years prior to, and in the second instance, in the second edition of his work, as S'.S. 528 expired or A.D. 606–07, which is seventeen or eighteen years before the proper time. Fleet himself fixed the starting point of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign in S'.S. 538 current or A.D. 615, roughly eight or nine years before the correct date as shown below.

Among these writers Fleet alone made a systematic and critical study of the Chronology of the Eastern Chāḷukya kings; and yet he erred in determining the precise period within which the starting-point of the Eastern Chālukya Chronology had to be placed. As a matter of fact his error primarily arose out of his ignorance of the Brahmanical ideas and religious customs and, secondly, on account of his incorrect and unwarranted presumptions regarding the occasions for the public and ceremonial acts of the ancient Hindu sovereigns. Thus he wrote, "that whatever may be the strict custom of later times, other instances are accumulating in which eclipses of the sun, at any rate which we know to have been not visible in India, are quoted in genuine records as occasions of ceremonies."(e) It was this erroneous hypothesis that led Fleet to accept certain dates when there were eclipses of the sun at any rate, though not visible anywhere in or near India as the real and proper occasions of public and ceremonial acts mentioned in the grants. And the corresponding dates in the Christian era, too, which he considered as correct landmarks in the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology, are not really the correct ones as will be shown below. And therefore, his

(d) *S.I.I.* I. p. 32.

(e) *I.A.* XX. p. 2.

entire adjustment of the lengths or durations of the reigns of the Eastern Chāḷukya kings turns out to be faulty, incorrect and even confusing; and thus his entire Chronology has to be totally rejected.

II

We shall now examine all the available materials and then determine the precise period within which lay the starting-point of the reign of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty of Vēṅgi, and then reconstruct the Chronology of the family. There is a record, a copper-plate grant from Haidarabad in the Dekhan from which we can determine very closely the period of the commencement of the reign of Satyāśraya Pṛthivīvallabha Pulikēśin II. the conqueror of Vēṅgi.(f) There is another record, a copper-plate grant from Koppāram in Guntur district of the Andhra country, which helps us to fix exactly the date of the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulikēśin II.(g) And there is a third copper-plate grant from Cīpurupalli in the Vizagapatam district which furnishes us materials for determining precisely the initial date of Vishṇuvardhana I. as paramount sovereign in Vēṅgi.(h) These are obviously the preliminary points which must be considered first in the study of the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology.

The Haidarabad grant records that, while residing at his capital Vātāpi, (Bādāmi in Bijāpur district, Bombay Presidency) the Western Chāḷukya king Pulikēśin granted the village of Mākarappi to a Brāhmaṇa, (*ātmānaḥ pravardhamāna rājyābhiṣēka saṁvatsarē tṛtīyē Śaka-nṛpati saṁvatsara śatēṣu chatustrims=ādhikēṣu pañchasvatītēṣu Bhādrapad=āmāvāsyāyāṁ Sūrya-grahaṇa nimittaṁ*), "on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Bhādrapada, in the third year of his own installation in the sovereignty, in S.S. 534 (expired)." It is this record that fixes the period of his coronation. And it is also of importance in showing that Pulikēśin II. had established himself at Vātāpi firmly before the date recorded in it; and consequently, that the earlier expeditions and successes described in the Aihole inscription(i) as preliminary to the consolidation of his power were, at any rate, anterior to the date of this record. Fleet calculated the eclipse equivalent of the one mentioned on the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada of S.S. 534 expired as that of the 2nd August, A.D. 612. On this date there was a total eclipse of the sun, but it was not visible anywhere in or near India.(j) Fleet accepted

(f) *I.A.*, VI. p. 72.
(g) *E.I.* XVIII. p. 257.
(h) *I.A.*, XX., p. 15.
(i) *E.I.* VI. pp. 1 ff.
(j) *I. A.* XX. p. 2.

this equivalent as the genuine date of the grant, not however, without an expression of doubt, whether this eclipse which was not visible anywhere in or near India could be the real date of the record. He accepted this equivalent merely on the assumption, as has been stated above, that eclipses not visible in India were also occasions of public and ceremonial acts. And though the eclipse was not visible in India, yet because there was really an eclipse of the sun on that day denoted by the given details, Fleet felt himself constrained to declare that he would not be justified in assuming the existence of any mistake in the record. With this explanation he accepted that the eclipse intended in the Haidarabad grant of the third year of Pulikēśin II. was that of the 2nd August, A. D. 612, corresponding to S'.S. 534 expired, invisible though it was.

But with due deference to Dr. Fleet, it must be said that his equivalent of the eclipse of the Haidarabad grant cannot be taken as the real and correct one. In the first place the inscription could not record an eclipse of the sun which was not seen or visible in India. Eclipses not visible in India or even invisible in the particular locality in which they reigned were not occasions for the ancient Hindu sovereigns for any public or ceremonial acts just as much as they are not at the persent day. Brahmanical ideas and customs have not changed since time immemorial; and, therefore, eclipses not visible in India were not eclipses to the ancient Hindu sovereigns. And thus it becomes plain that Fleet's equivalent of the Haidarabad grant is altogether incorrect. In the second place, it might be that we have in this record a genuine mistake in respect of the year quoted, Ś. S. 534 expired for Ś. S. 535 expired. The composer of the grant or the scribe might have unwittingly made a mistake in writing down the charter as the formality of inscribing the donation on the copper-plate usually took place long after it was made. If that be so, the real equivalent of the eclipse mentioned in the Haidarabad grant, of the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada of S'. S. 535 expired, is that of the 23rd July, A.D. 613.(k) This date was under the consideration of Fleet, but he finally rejected it on the ground that there could

(k) The reader will bear in mind that, in the *purnimanta* arrangement of fortnights, the luni-solar month ends with the *purnima* or the full moon and, in the *amanta* arrangement with the *amavasya* or new-moon *tithi*; and that the *purnimanta* month Chaitra commences with the 1st *tithi* in the preceding dark fortnight, i. e. one fortnight or *paksha* earlier than in the *amanta* arrangement. Consequently, *purnimanta* Chaitra begins with the preceding dark fort-night of the *amanta* Phālguna, and the luni-solar year ends with the full moon *tithi* of the *purnimanta* Phālguna. In other words *purnimanta* months commence fifteen days earlier than the *amanta* months. It appears that both the *purnimanta* and *amanta* arrangements of the fortnights were in vogue simultaneously in the Dekhan till about the end of the seventh century A.D.

not be any mistake about the Śaka year quoted and that A. D. 613 could not be the equivalent of the year Ś.S. 534 expired. In Ś.S. 535 expired Bhādrapada was an intercalary month; and on the new-moon *tithi* which fell on Monday, there was a total or an almost total eclipse of the sun, visible all over India. It was probably total at Vātāpi or certainly close to that place, and the totality occured when the sun was at the very zenith of Vātāpi. The eclipse for that reason was a very marked and memorable event for that locality. Hence it is obvious that the eclipse intended in the Haidarabad grant was that of Monday, the 23rd July, A.D. 613 corresponding to S'.S. 535 expired. There is no doubt that this was at the real and correct equivalent of the date; and I feel that there is ample justification for assuming the existence of a genuine mistake in the record.

As the new-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada of S'.S. 535 expired fell in the third of Pulikēśin's reign, it is plain that the new-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada of S'.S. 532 lay in the first year of his reign. And consequently, the coronation or *rājyābhiṣēka* of Pulikēśin II., may be assumed to have taken place on some day, still to be exactly determined, from the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvayuja new-moon of S'.S. 532 expired, up to the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika new-moon of Ś.S. 533 expired, the corresponding English period being from the 23rd September, A. D. 610 to the 14th August, A.D. 611. If we assume that the date of the Haidarabad grant lay towards the close of the third year, it is probable that the coronation of Pulikēśin II. took place either in the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvayuja or *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of S'.S. 532 expired, corresponding to the English period September to October, A.D. 610. For the present, however, this date need not be more closely determined; and this result is quite sufficient for the purposes of our present enquiry.

The next record is the Koppāram copper-plate grant of Pulikēśin II. It was first discovered by K. V. Lakshmanarao, and edited by him in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*.(l) Later it was edited again in the *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr.E. Hultzsch who hoped to improve upon Lakshmana Rao's reading and the interpretation of the text.(m) Consequently there are two interpretations of the grant which are really very embarassing to the historian. "The composer of the grant knew so little Sanskrit", as Dr. Hultzsch rightly observes, "that in some places it is difficult to divine what he really wanted to express." The record registers the grant of a field of eight hundred *nivartanas* in the village Iṟbuli in the Karmarāshṭra to a Brāhmaṇa named Vēda Śarman of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*. The grant was made at an auspicious

(l) vol. IV. Part 1, pp. 43–54.

(m) vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

moment on Thursday, the *Mahānavami* in the month Kārttika in the 'augmenting twenty-first year of the prosperous reign.' There has been considerable amount of speculation as to the real meaning of the expression, "in the augmenting twenty-first year of the prosperous reign." Lakshmanarao holds that the twenty-first year of the prosperous reign referred to that of prince Dhruvarāja the *ājñapti* (executor) of the grant, and thus computed the English equivalent of the date denoted by the details, Kārttika *Mahānavami*, Thursday, as the 21st October, A.D. 611 corresponding to the S. S. 533 expired. (n) According to him the charity was made in the immediate presence of the king Satyāśraya Pṛthivīvallabha Pulikēśin II. and apparently by him, though the command was actually reduced to writing on the copper-plates and executed by the *ājñapti* Pṛthivī Dhruvarāja somewhat later. Lakshmanarao identifies this nobleman with Satyasraya Prithivi Dhruvaraja Indravarman of the Goa plates.(o) This chieftain was then a subordinate of the *Mahāraja* Pṛthivīvallabha meaning Pulikēśin II. and was stationed in Rēvati-*dvīpa* as the governor of the four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*. He granted a village named Karellika in the Khēṭahāra *dēśa*, to a Brāhmaṇa with the permission of his sovereign on the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha of S.S. 532 expired, corresponding to 5th January, A. D. 611. (p) The record is further dated in the twentieth year, apparently of the reign of prince Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman himself; and this fact indicates the commencement of his government in or about S.S. 512 expired, corresponding to A. D. 590–91, in the reign of Kirttivarman I. Lakshmanarao believes that Duvarāja or Dhruvarāja was the proper name of the prince and that the appellation *Pṛthivi* joined to his personal name in the Koppāram grant was appropriated from his sovereign's full title *Pṛthivīvallabha*, just in the same manner, the title Satyāśraya was added to his name in the Goa plates. This appropriation of the titles *Pṛthivi* and Satyāśraya, at any rate, indicates Dhruvarāja's great devotion and loyalty to his sovereigns, Pulikēśin II and his father Kīrtivarman I. It is thus plain that Dhruvarāja was a powerful chieftain who could use his own regnal years in the charters issued by him. Consequently, if the twentieth year of Pṛthivī Duvarāja fell in S.S. 532 expired, then the twenty-first year would naturally fall in S.S. 533 expired. Here, Thursday the *Mahānavami* of the month Kārtika

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(n) Lakshmanarao erred in holding S S. 533 to be a current year. If it is to be taken as a current year, then its equivalent is A. D. 610–11, and Lakshmanarao's calculation fails. It ought to be taken correctly therefore as an expired year corresponding to A.D. 611–12.

(o) *Jour. of the Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, X. p. 363.

(p) Fleet did not decide whether the Saka year 532 was an expired or a current year, as it was unnecessary for his purpose.

which has to be reckoned as the ninth *tithi* in the bright fortnight, it being the synonym for the *tithi* on which the Trētā Yuga commenced, comes to our help and enables us to fix Ś.S. 533 expired, Vibhava *saṁvatsara* as the required year. In that year, the ninth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the month Kārtika falls exactly by computation on Thursday, the corresponding English date being the 21st October, A.D. 611. And this day, according to Lakshmanarao is the date of the Koppāram plates; and it fixes the precise period of the conquest of Vēñgi by Pulikēśin II.

Dr. Hultzsch on the other hand takes a contrary view. He thinks that the twenty-first year of the prosperous reign belongs to Pulikēśin II. and rejects Lakshmanarao's interpretation of the dates as incorrect and untenable. He holds Duvarāja to be a Dravidian *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *Yuvarāja* and, therefore, *Pṛthivī Duvarāja* a title like *Pṛthivīvallabha*, the favourite appellation of Pulikēśin II. He then identifies Pṛthivī-Duvarāja with Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, a younger brother of Pulikēśin II and assumes that he continued to be a subordinate of the latter till the twenty-first year of his reign. Robert Sewell calculates the English equivalent of this date for Dr. Hultzch on the assumption that the twenty-first year of the prosperous reign of the Koppāram grant belongs to the victorious reign of Pulikeśin. According to him, by Thursday, the *Mahānavami* day of the month Kārtika, in the absence of any information as to whether this ninth day was in the bright or dark fortnight, the ninth *tithi* of the bright frotnight is meant; and it fell by both the *Brahma* and *Ārya-Siddhantas*, on Thursday, October 10, A. D. 631. (q).

We shall examine these two conflicting interpretations of the record. It is apparent from the edict that the actual donation was made in the presence of Pulikēśin II. and by his command, and that the formal act of registering it on the copper-plates and executing it was carried out sometime later by Pṛthivī Duvarāja. "Be it known to you," says the record, "that in the presence of the Vallabha was given, in accordance with the sastric injunctions, by Pṛthivī Duvarāja,"(r) Dr. Hultzsch translates the statement in a slightly different way. He thinks that the text has to be interpreted as meaning that the "execution of the grant was formally bestowed on Pṛthivī-duvarāja, (i. e. Prithiviyuvaraja.") This slight variation in the interpretation of the text is quite negligible. But it is plain from this statement that the charity was made by Pṛthivī Duvarāja himself on behalf of his sovereign and probabaly under his express command in the same

(q) E.I. XVIII. P. 261.

(r) The translation is that of K. V. Lakshmana Rao M. A.

manner as his Goa grant was made in the previous year. And consequently it is reasonable to assume that Pṛthivī-Duvarāja mentioned the regnal of his own government and not that of his overlord. But Dr. Hultzsch thinks that Pṛthivī Duvarāja has to be identified with Pṛthivī Yuvarāja, meaning Kubja Vishṇuvardhana and that the regnal year, therefore, belongs to the reign of Pulikēśin II. This interpretation, it is difficult to accept.

Vishṇuvardhana I had never the appellation *Pṛthivīduvarāja* in all his records. The Satara grant calls him *Pṛthivīvallabha Śrī* Vishṇuvardhana *Yuvarāja* Vishmasiddhi;(s) and it is thus clear that he had the appellation Pṛthivīvallabha even while he was the *Yuvarāja* or the heir-apparent to his elder brother Pulikēśin II, and was not called Pṛthivī-Duvarāja or Pṛthivī-Yuvarāja. That is not all. The achievements of Pṛthivi Duvarāja of the Koppāram grant are exactly similar to those claimed by Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Goa plates with whom he has been correctly indentified by Lakshmanarao. In the Goa plates Dhruvarāja calls himself the master of the four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*, and in the Koppāram grant he tells us that he had defeated a circle of enemies by the strength of his arm, "which was a churning stick of the wicked people of the Kali age (or the family of Kali), which was skilled in daring deeds in many battles, and which was wielding a drawn sword, and that he had seized the neighbouring territories (*maṇḍalas*) and secured a kingdom to the lineage of his son." Both these grants which were issued within the space of a year or two, mention an era or regnal year, which in the absence of the word '*mahārājasya*' before the phrase *pravardhamāna vijaya rājya saṁvatsarē*, as in the Satara plates of Vishṇuvardhana, renders the interpretation of Dr. Hultzsch utterly untenable. It is also unreasonable to assume, as the learned Doctor does, that Kubja Vishṇuvardhana who still remained the *yuvarāja* till the twenty-first year of his brother's reign, i. e. October A. D. 631. could have claimed as having secured a kingdom to the lineage of his son, when the conquest of Vēngi was the great exploit of his brother the king, and when there was no prospect of his founding an independent kingdom of his own. Dr. Hultzsch's interpretation, therefore, is palpably wrong and untenable. On the other hand it is easy to accept Lakshmanarao's view which is most reasonable that, Pṛthivī-Duvarāja who was an adept in conquering the kingdoms of the neighbouring hostile kings, who had been governor of the four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*, and who had acquired the right to mention his own regnal year in the charters

(s) *I. A.* Vol. XIX p. 309 ff.

issued by him, had secured a kingdom to the lineage of his son. By the date of the Goa grant, January 5, A. D. 611, this nobleman was already the ruler of a small herditary kingdom with his capital in the Rēvatidvīpa for twenty years previously. He is stated to have belonged to the *Adi-Mahā-Bappūra-vaṁśa*, 'the original great Bappūra family', which is plainly identical with the Bappūra lineage from which Pulikēśin I. and his younger son Mangalēśa successively obtained their queens..(t) Dhruvarāja-Indravarman had apparently served a long time the Chāḷukya family from the days of Kīrttivarman I. and was, therefore, an old and powerful nobleman who was the mainstay of Pulikēśin II's power.

It is thus evident that the identification of Dr. Hultzsch of Pṛthivīduvarāja with Kubja Vishṇuvarhana is utterly wrong. There is no doubt that he got into hopeless confusion. If the Koppāram grant is to be taken as to belong to the twenty-first year of Pulikēśin II. it means that the king held sway over Vēṅgi on the 10th October, A.D. 631 and for sometime prior to it and, also certainly for sometime beyond that date. But it is impossible to believe that Kubja Vishuṇvardhana remained still the *yuvarāja* in the twenty-first year of his elder brother's reign. The twenty-first year mentioned in the Koppāram plates, therefore, doubtless belongs to the government of Pṛthivī Duvarāja who has to be identified with Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of the Goa grant, and not to that of Pulikēśin II. It is no doubt true that the appellation *Pṛthivī*, mentioned in the Koppāram record is not found in the Goa grant of this prince, but this simple omission in drafting the charter is not an unintelligible discrepancy. The entire record on the Koppāram plates is so carelessly drafted that the omission of the appellation Pṛthivī, is hardly a serious one. And that being so, the real equivalent of the date of the Koppāram grant is Thursday, October 21, A. D. 611. This date is in perfect agreement with the result we have obtained in determining the probable date of the coronation of Pulikēśin II, by calculating the real equivalent of the Haidarabad grant. Consequently we are able to fix exactly the date of the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulikēśin II. which may be reasonably taken to have been accomplished by October 10, A. D. 611. And it will be presently seen that this result is fully supported by other facts.

Some scholars have, however, raised a doubt as to how Pulikēśin II. who was crowned only in the latter part of A. D. 610 could have completely subdued all his enemies and conquered the kings of distant Kōsala, Kalinga and Kāñchī and even annexed Vēṅgi to his kingdom

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(t) *Dyn. Kan. Districts*, p. 349.

with the space of a single year.(u) But, as will be seen presently a closer study of the events recorded in the inscriptions of this period will easily dispel such a doubt. The Aihole inscription of A.D. 634–35, makes it plain that Pulikēśin II. crowned himself at Vātāpi immediately after he had become the undisputed lord of the three Mahārāshṭrikas. It records also that Mangalēśa had a son for whom he aimed to secure the succession after himself. The last known certain date for Mangalēśa is recorded in his Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription.(v) It is given as the fullmoon day of the month Vaiśākha in the Siddhārtha *samvatsara* in the fifth year of Mangalēśa's reign, which coresponds to S. S. 524 expired, the English equivalent being April 12, A.D. 602.(w) It is not known how long after this date Mangalēśa reigned in peace. But it is probable that soon after Mangalēśa's intentions become plain there ensued discord and war between Mangalēśa and Kīrtivarman's son Pulikēśin II. in the course of which the former lost his life. It is difficult at present to determine the exact time of Mangalēśa's death, but it might have occured some time after his fifth year, roughly in or about A. D. 604 *circa*. Fleet placed the death of Mangalēśa in A.D. 608, a year or so before the coronation of Pulikēśin II., to allow time for all that was done by Pulikēśin II. before his coronation, in quieting the general confusion that ensued on the death of Mangalēśa and the subjugation of the three Mahārāshṭrikas.(x) But there is no reason why we should not place the event earlier than this for the very same reasons given by Fleet in the absence of any information to the contrary. After the death of Mangalēśa in A.D. 604 *circa*, there followed a period of anarchy, from A. D. 604 to 610 circa. During this period of more or less six years of confusion, bloodshed and anarchy, and to use the expression of the Aihole inscription, "when the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies", Satyāśraya Pulikēśin II. successfully fought his opponents and made himself the undisputed lord of Kuntala. It was during this period that he conquered Appāyika and made an ally of Gōvinda when they invaded his country. Then Pulikēśin II. marched upon Banavāsi, the Kadamba capital and reduced it. The Gāngas and the Alūpas were then subdued. The Mālavas of Kōnkaṇa were then conquered, and the city of Purī on the west coast was invaded from the sea and captured. Then the Mauryas, the Lāṭas and

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(u) Dr. N. V. Ramanayya: *Mahendravarman I. and Pulikesin II.* in the *Miscellany of Papers published in commemoration of the Seventieth birthday of Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu*, 1933.

(v) *I. A.*, vol. XIX, p. 7.

(w) *Dyn. Kan. Dists.* p. 349 n. 1.

(x) Ibid. p. 348.

the Ghūrjaras were attacked and overwhelmed. It was at this juncture that the invasion of Harshavardhana of Kanauj was successfully resisted and repulsed. And then the sovereignty of the three countries known by the name Mahārāshṭrikas was completely secured. Thus Pulikēśin II. had finally established himself without opposition in his own kingdom which extended from Banavāsi on the south right up to Lātadēśa or Gujerat in the north. At this point apparently, five or six years after the death of Mangalēśa, and during the latter part of A. D. 610, he was publicly crowned to the succession. It was then at the head of the victorious army, after crushing the pride of the king of Kanauj that he turned to Kōsala, Kalinga and Vēñgī for conquest and expansion of his empire, proudly emulating the example of the earlier Vākāṭaka and Vishṇukuṇdin conquerors. And, therefore, it not impossible for the invasion of Vēñgi to have taken place in A. D. 611, shortly after Pulkēśin II. had publicly annointed himself to the succession.

We shall now turn to the third record, the Cīpurupalli copper-plate grant of Vishṇuvardhana I. In this record Vishṇuvardhana himself has the title *Mahārāja*, and is, therefore, obviously a paramount sovereign. The inscription records the grant of a village by Vishṇuvardhana himself on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month Śrāvaṇa, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, in the *fourth* month and in the *eighteenth* year. Fleet calculates the date of eclipse from the given details and accepts the eclipse of the moon of the 7th July, A. D. 632, which occured on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa of Ś. S. 554 expired, as the proper equivalent of the date mentioned in the grant. According to him Ś. S. 554 expired being the eighteenth year, Ś. S. 537 expired fell in the first year of the reign of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, and, therefore, the first year of the king began in or with the month Viśākha of Ś. S. 537 expired, roughly five or six years after the commencement of the reign of his elder brother Pulikēśin II. Fleet assumes the month Vaiśākha to be a *pūrṇimānta* month ending with the full-moon *tithi*, and thus computes the corresponding English period, from the 21st March to the 19th April, A. D. 615. He states that this is the precise period within which lay the exact starting-point of the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology. But he adds that the historical event which gave this starting-point was the installation of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana not as *Mahārāja* or independent king of the separate kingdom of Vēñgī, but as *yuvarāja* associated with the government of his elder brother Pulikēśn II. Evidently, Fleet in advancing this theory, had under his consideration a slightly later date of the Satara grant of Vishṇuvardhana I. which mentions the donor as the *yuvarāja* of Pulikēśin II. at that time.

Fleet then justifies this result by means of two other dates of leading importance, as he calls them. The first of them is mentioned in a charter found somewhere in the Nellore district. It records that Vishṇuvardhana II., grandson of Vishṇuvardhana I. made a grant of the village of Rēyūru to a number of Brāhmaṇas, *pravardhamāna rājya dvitīyē saṁvatsarē Chaitra māsē śukla pakshē daśamyāṁ Maghā nakshatrē Budhavārē*, "on Wednesday, under the Maghā *nakshatra*, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, in the augmenting second year of the prosperous reign."(y) With the starting-point that has been proposed for the reign of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana by himself, that of Vaiśākha, Ś. S. 537 expired, corresponding to the English period March-April, A. D. 615, Fleet computes the English equivalent of the Rēyūru grant as Wednesday, the 13th March A. D. 664, corresponding to Chaitra *śukla* 10 of Ś. S. 586 expired, on which day the moon was in the Maghā *nakshatra* by all the three systems, *Sūryasiddhānta*, *Brahmasiddhānta* and *Gārgasaṁhita*.(yy) But it is to be noted that by all these three systems the *tithi śukla* 10 was not concurrent with the *nakshatra* Maghā at all on Wednesday, the 13th March A. D. 664. According to Fleet, the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 10 commenced at 6 *ghaṭikas* 48 *palas* on Tuesday and ended on Wednesday the 13th March A. D. 664 at 1 *ghaṭika* 1 *pala*, i. e. 24 minutes 24 seconds after sunrise; and it is the *tithi śukla* 11 which, ending at 55 *ghaṭikas* 39 *palas*, i. e. 22 hours 15·6 minutes on the same day, was the expunged *tithi*, on this Wednesday, though there was the Maghā *nakshatra* for the moon by all three systems. By the equal space system the *nakshatra* Maghā began at 29 *ghaṭikas* on Wednesday and continued during the rest of the day. By the Gārga system of unequal spaces it began at 45 *palas* on the Wednesday and ended at 57 *ghaṭikas* 12 *palas* on the same day. And by the *Brahmasiddhānta* system of unequal spaces, it began at 55 *ghaṭikas* 5 *palas* on the Tuesday and ended at 50 *ghaṭikas* 55 *palas* on the Wednesday. Thus it is plain that Maghā *nakshatra* and the tenth *tithi* were not concurrent at all in any part of that Wednesday. And yet Fleet accepted this Wednesday, the 13th March A. D. 664, as the *real* equivalent of date mentioned in the Rēyūru grant, because there was the moon for the Magha *nakshatra* though the *tithi* current was Chaitra *śukla* 11 and not Chaitra *śukla* 10 as it should have been. Consequently this computation is obviously wrong and has therefore to be rejected. It may also be noted here that in order to equate the date as shown above, Fleet on the slender authority of two records only allots a reign of *thirty* years to the intervening king Jayasimha I. and rejects a period of thirty-three years recorded by an overwhelming majority of Eastern Chāḷukya grants.

(y) *I. A.* VII. p. 189 ff.
(yy) *I. A.* XX. pp. 6-7.

The second date is contained in another charter of Vishṇuvardhana II. obtained apparently from Maṭṭewāḍa in the Kistna district.(z) The inscription records a grant made by the king, *ātmanō vijaya rājya pañchamē saṁvatsare Phālguna-māse amāvāsyāyāṁ Sūrya-grahaṇa nimittaṁ*, "in the year, which is the fifth year of my own victorious reign, in the month Phālguna, on the new-moon *tithi*, on account of an eclipse of the sun." Fleet found an eclipse of the sun in Phālguna which was in suitable accordance with his theory and with the details of the earlier date of the second year of the same reign. According to his computation, the eclipse of the sun occurred in S'. S. 589 expired on the *purṇimānta* Phālguna *krishṇa* new-moon, corresponding to the 17th February A. D. 668. On this day, however, there was an annular eclipse of the sun, *but it was not visible anywhere in or near India.* Nevertheless, Fleet accepted this eclipse of the sun of the 17th February A. D. 668 as the real equivalent of the date mentioned in the Maṭṭewāḍa plates. And accordingly he indicated, putting these two results together that the accession of Vishṇuvardhana II. took place in A. D. 663, on some day between Phālguna *śukla* 1, of S'. S. 584 expired and Chaitra *śukla* 10 of S'. S. 585 expired, the corresponding English period being, from the 14th February to the 24th March A. D. 663.

III

I must reject all these results. A few words are, therefore, necessary here to present the results which I put forward as the correct ones in direct comparison with those of Dr. Fleet that I reject. The Satāra copper-plate grant describes Vishṇuvardhana as *yuvarāja* of his elder brother Pulikēśin II. The charter was issued from Kurumarathi or Kurumarathya *vishaya*; the village granted lay on the southern bank of river Bhīmarathī, in the Gulbarga district of the Nizams Dominions. These facts alone are sufficient to show that the locality of the authority of *Yuvarāja* Vishṇuvardhana *Vishamasiddhi* at that time was in Kuntala on the west, where the river Bhīma flowed into the Krishna, and was therefore, within a short radius of the seat of the Western Chāḷukya sovereignty. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika, in the eighth year of the victorious reign of the *Mahārāja*, meaning Pulikēśin II. The eighth year of Pulikēśin II. corresponds to A. D. 617–618, corresponding to S'. S. 539 in accordance with the results we have obtained regarding the starting-point of his reign. The full-moon day of the month Kārttika of Ś. S. 539 expired, which may be taken to fall in the eighth year, corresponds to Wednesday, the 19th October, A.D. 617, when there was also an eclipse

(z) *I. A.* vol. VII. p. 191 ff.

of the moon on that date.(a) If then Vishṇuvardhana I. was the *yuvarāja* of his elder brother ruling over the Kurumarathya *vishaya*, it is doubtless that he was not then in charge of the vast kingdom of Vēñgi on the east. It is therefore certain that by that time there had been no actual separation, formal or otherwise of the two kingdoms Vēñgi and Kuntala and, that Pulikēśin II. was then reigning as the paramount sovereign of the entire Chāḷukya empire in the Dekhan. It is also obvious that Vishṇuvardhana I. was not in exclusive charge of the distant Vēñgi as Fleet without any basis, supposes, but that he was assisting his elder brother in the administration of the kingdom in a subordinate capacity. The formal separation of the two branches of the Chāḷukya family, therefore, took place apparently, sometime after the date of the Satara grant; and thus the separate sovereignty of the Eastern branch under Kubja Vishṇuvardhana in Vēñgi was established not from the month Vaiśākha in S. S. 537 expired, corresponding to March–April, A. D. 615, during the heir-apparentship of Vishṇuvardhana as Fleet wrongly believes, but from some date which still remains to be determined as closely as possible after the date of the Satāra grant.

Thus two facts become plain and quite undisputed, *firstly*, the so called separation, formal or otherwise, of the two branches of the Chāḷukya family took place sometime after the 19th October A. D. 617, the date of the Satāra grant, and *secondly* the commencement of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. as paramount sovereign in Vēñgi synchronised with the formal separation of the two branches of the Chāḷukya family.

The materials for determining precisely the period within which the starting point of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign in an independent capacity as *Mahārāja* lay, are to be found in his own Cīpurupalli grant and also in the other records of his grandson Vishṇuvardhana II. already noticed. We shall examine these dates once again.

In the Cīpurupalli plates the datails of the date given, are the year 18, the month 4 and the date 15. But the actual month is Śrāvaṇa, which is really the *fifth* month in the luni-solar year; and the actual date is mentioned as the full-moon day, which is the fifteenth *tithi* according to the *amānta* arrangement and the thirtieth day according to the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement of fortnights of Śravaṇa the fifth month. But the details of the date in question are to be interpreted as meaning, which seems to be the real meaning, the eighteenth year, the fourth month, and the fifteenth day and *not* eighteen completed years,

(a) It is just possible that the words *chandra-grahana nimittam* were omitted by the careless scribe after the words *Karttikapaurnamasyayam*.

four completed months and the fifteenth day of the fifth month. This interpretation obviously involves two assumptions, viz., that the starting-point of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign was the *amānta* Vaiśākha *śukla* 1, and that the luni-solar year in the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology was reckoned by the *amānta* arrangement of fortnights. Further, the eclipse of the moon on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa which synchronises with the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the eighteenth year connot be equated to the eclipse of the 7th July A. D. 632 as that year plainly lies in the fourteenth year of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, even if it be accepted that the formal separation of the two branches took place almost immediately after the date of the Satara grant.

The eclipse of the moon of the 7th July A. D. 632 corresponding to the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa of Ś.S.534, therefore, cannot be the real equivalent of the Cīpurupalli grant, and consequently has to be rejected. There were no eclipses of the moon on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa in the succeeding years until we come to Ś.S.563 expired, when there occurred an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa, the corresponding English date being, Friday, the 27th July A.D. 641. This eclipse was visible all over India and was, therefore, an important event. This eclipse of the moon of 27th July A. D. 641 obviously stands in the approximate period within which we have to look for the starting-point of the reign of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana. If Śrāvaṇa *śukla* 15 (full-moon day) of Ś. S. 563 expired corresponding to July 27, A. D. 641 belongs to the *eighteenth* year of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, then the full moon day of the *amānta* Śrāvaṇa of Ś. S. 546 expired falls in the first year. Thus it is plain that the initial year of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. began with the *amānta* Vaiśākha *śukla* 1, i. e. the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *amānta* Vaiśākha of Ś. S. 546 *expired*, the corresponding English equivalent being Monday, March 26, A. D. 624. Consequently Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, as paramount severeign in Vēṅgi, began his reign in A. D. 624, roughly fourteen years after the commencement of the reign of his elder brother Pulikēśin II. and six years after the date of his own Satara grant.

With this result as our basis and guide, we shall now consider the two later dates of the time of Vishṇuvardhana II. which are undoubtedly of leading importance, and determine their real equivalents; and then with these results test the correctness of the initial point of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign. The first date as has been stated above is recorded in the Rēyūru grant as Wednesday, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra with the moon under the Maghā *nakshatra* in the augmenting second year of the victorious reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. With the earliest starting-point that has been proposed for the years of

Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, that *amānta* Vaiśākha *śukla* 1 of S'. S. 546 expired, and with the period recorded in a majority of charters for the intervening reign of Jayasimha I. viz, thirty-three years,(b) and one full year for the reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. the year in which this date falls has to be looked for about the year, S'.S. 546+18+33+1=S'.S. 596 expired. By the ordinary method of addition we get the total Ś S. 598, but now the figure S'.S. 596 is actually short of two years. This method of reckoning is suggested, partly by the manner in which the reigns are mostly stated only in even years without fractions, and partly, by the results obtained below for the dates of Vishṇuvardhana I. and his grandson Vishṇuvardhana II. This method obviously involves an assumption that the reigns of Vishṇuvardhana I. and his son Jayasimha I. though stated in even years as eighteen and thirty-three years respectively, may have actually fallen short by several months in each case. This involves further two suppositions, namely, that, irrespective of the actual days or months of their accession or coronation in the Śaka years, the Eastern Chāḷukya kings may have possibly been in the habit of reckoning their regnal years that coincided with the luni-solar S'aka years commencing with Chaitra *śukla* 1; and that, it happened in almost all cases that one reign ended and another commenced in the same S'aka year, which was reckoned as the last regnal year of the deceased king and as the first regnal year of his successor. This method seems to be the *real* one we ought to apply to the details given in all the grants and is the *only* manner to adjust the chronology of the members of this dynasty. Thus if the year S'.S. 563 expired fell in the eighteenth year of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana it was also the first regnal year of his son and successor Jayasimha I. From S'.S. 546 to S'.S. 563, both years inclusive, there were altogether 18 Śaka years, and thus the duration of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's riegn was computed as 18 years, irrespective of its actual length. Similarly the last year of Jayasimha I. was also reckoned as the first regnal year of his successor Vishṇuvardhana II. Between S'. S. 563 expired and S'.S. 595 expired, both years inclusive, there were 33 S'aka years, which were reckoned as the length of reign of the Jayasimha I. viz, 33 years, regardless of the actual length.

Thus if the year Ś.S. 595 expired fell in the first year then S'.S. 596 expired was plainly the second year of Vishṇuvardhana II. In the latter year, the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 10 fell on Wednesday, corresponding to the English equivalent March 22, A.D. 674. There was Chaitra *śukla* 10th *tithi* on that day and the Maghā *nakshatra* for the

(b) Only two grants of Ammarāja I. and three of his younger step-brother Chāḷukya Bhima II., alone of all the Eastern Chāḷukya grants, record a reign of thirty years to Jayasimha I.

moon by all the three systems. By the *Sūryasiddhānta* system of equal spaces Chaitra *śukla* 10 began on Wednesday, March 22, A.D. 674 at 7 *ghaṭikas* 18 *palas* after mean sunrise and lasted till 1 *ghaṭika* 24 *palas* on Thursday, March 23; and the moon entered the Magha *nakshatra* at 50 *ghaṭikas* 34 *palas* on Wednesday. By the *Āryasiddhānta* system of equal spaces Chaitra *śukla* 10 began on the same day at 8 *ghaṭikas* 21 *palas* and ended at 2 *ghaṭikas* 34 *palas* on Thursday, March 23; and the moon entered the Maghā *nakshatra* on Wednesday at 51 *ghaṭikas* 36 *palas* after mean sunrise. By the *Brahmasiddhānta* of unequal spaces the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 10 began on that date at 9 *ghaṭikas* 2 *palas* and lasted till 1 *ghaṭika* 59 *palas* on Thursday; and there was the Maghā *nakshatra* for the moon at 12 *ghaṭikas* 54 *palas* on Wednesday after mean sunrise.(c) Calculation for the period under consideration must be made either by the mean computation of the first *Āryasiddhānta*, or by the *Brahmasiddhānta* which was compiled in A. D. 628 (d), or by both. By computation according to the *Brahmasiddhānta*, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra and the Maghā *nakshatra* for the moon were concurrent on Wednesday, 22, A. D. 674, throughout the whole day from about 12 noon onwards. That was also the day of the occurrence of *Mēsha Samkrānti*, and even by computation according to the *First Āryasiddhānta* the time of the *Mēsha samkrānti* was at 12 hours 27 minutes 30 seconds after mean sunrise on that Wednesday, March 22, A.D.(e) Vishṇuvardhana II. seems therefore, to have made the charity recorded in the Rēyūru grant on the occasion of the *Mēsha saṁkrānti*, on the Wednesday, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of Ś.S. 596 expired, the corresponding English equivalent being March 22, A. D. 674, which was the first *Mēṣha saṁkrānti* after his accession, in the second year of his prosperous reign. It is thus obvious that this is the real equivalent of the date mentioned in the Rēyūru grant. If Chaitra *śukla* 10 of Ś.S. 596 expired fell in the second year of Vishṇuvardhana II. then the starting-point of his reign may have lain sometime in the preceding Śaka year, i.e Ś.S. 595 expired, as has been shown above roughly in the latter part of A.D. 673.

The details of the second date contained in the Maṭṭewāḍa plates are mentioned as, the eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of Phālguna, in the augmenting fifth year of the victorious reign. There were no eclipses of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of Phālguna either by the *pūrṇimānta* or the *amānta* arrangement of fortnights from Ś.S. 573 expired (A. D. 651–52) to Ś. S. 598 expired (A. D. 676–77), which were

(c) I am greately indebted to my friend Pandit D. Vireswara Sastri of Rajahmundry for these and all other calculations which I have adopted in this paper and for several valuable suggestions.

(d) *E. I.* XIX p. 261. (e) *E I.* XVII p. 41.

visible anywhere in or near India. Consequently the eclipse of the new-moon, in the fifth year of Vishṇuvardhana II. could not have occured between these two limits, and should therefore be looked for, beyond the year S'.S. 598 expired. In S'. S. 599 expired there was a total eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna, corresponding to Thursday, January 28, A. D. 678. The first contact of the sun was roughly at 16 hours 24 minutes after mean sunrise for Vēñgīpura or Vijayavāḍa (Bezwada, which was then the capital, and the totality occurred towards evening, approximately eighteen minutes after sunset. It was visible all over India; and was doubtless a very notable event for the Andhra country. This date and the eclipse are within approximate period of five years or under, from the starting-point we have determined for the period of Vishṇuvardhana II. If the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna of S'. S. 599 expired lay in the fifth year, and the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of S'.S. 596 expired lay in the second year, then the starting point of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. doubtless might have lain sometime in the latter part of śaka year S'. S. 595 expired, the corresponding period in the Christian era being from September A. D. 673 to January 28, A.D. 674. Thus obviously, the eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna of S'.S. 599, expired corresponding to Thursday, January 28, A. D. 678 is the correct and the real equivalent of the date of Maṭṭewāḍa plates of Vishṇuvardhana II dated in the fifth year of his reign.

This result is supported by two other important dates recorded in the newly discovered grants belonging to the reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. himself.(f) The former two were found together at Pamiḍimukkala of the Nuzwid Zamindari, in the Kistna district. One of them (*C.P.* No. 15 of 1916–17) is dated in the third year of the king, and records the grant of twelve *khaṇḍikas* of land in Panṭimukku, apparently the ancient name for Pamiḍimukku, to the brahman Bhavaśarman of the Vatsa *gōtra* and a student of the *Vājasanēya-charaṇa* on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. The month is not specified and we are, therefore, left to conjecture. With the result that has been obtained for the starting-point of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana II., as our basis, we get S'.S. 597 expired as the third year of his victorious reign. And in the latter part of Ś S. 597 there was an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon *tithi* of Āśvina, the corresponding English date being the 10th September, A. D. 675; and this seems to be really the date of this record. The second record is also loosely dated: it records the gift of a piece of land, twelve *khaṇḍikas* in extent, in the same

(f) *C.Ps.* Nos. 15 & 16 of 1916–17: See *A.R.E.* 1917, P. S. p. 115–16.
(ff) *E.I.* vol. VIII p. 232, text lines 39–40.

village to a certain brahman Kuṭṭhisarman, a resident of Ōkōḍu on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Kārttika in an unspecified regnal year. Vishṇuvardhana II reigned only for nine years; and during this period there were only two eclipses of the moon on Kārttika full-moon *tithi*: one in Ś. S. 595 *expired*, corresponding to Sunday, October, 30, A. D. 673 and another in Ś. S. 604 *expired*, corresponding to Tuesday, October, 21, A. D. 682. With the result obtained as regards the probable period of the commencement of the years of Vishṇuvardhana II., Ś.S. 604 and the eclipse of the moon of Kārttika full-moon *tithi* of that year lie evidently beyond the pale of the nine years of Vishṇuvardhana II. Consequently the lunar eclipse of the Kārttika full-moon *tithi* of an unspeciefied regnal year seems to belong to the first year of his reign, and to occur possibly a short time after his accession to the throne. It is possible, therefore, that the initial point of Vishṇuvardhana II.'s reign lay in or about the month Āśvayuja of Ś.S. 595 expired, corresponding to September, A D. 673. And leaving aside for the present the consideration of the seven days' reign of the third king Indrarāja, the period of thirty-three years of the intervening king Jayasimha I. may be assumed to have commenced roughly in the month of Āśvayuja of Ś.S. 563 expired, corresponding to September, A D. 641, plainly before the close of the eighteenth year of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana. As the lengths of the successive reigns of all kings of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty were recorded, as has been stated above, only in even years without fractions, and by reckoning the number of luni-solar śaka years that were covered by the reign, we have to assume that the reigns of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana and his son Jayasimha I. were corrected to full eighteen, and completed thirty-three years, even though they were actually short by several months in each case.

IV

It is now necessary to test the several postulates advanced and the results obtained by computing the astronomical details of dates of the reigns of the early Eastern Chāḷukya kings, with the aid of other dates of the succeeding reigns, namely of Sarvalōkāśraya, Jayasimha II., Vishṇuvardhana III. and Chaḷukya Bhīma I., mentioned with similar details which yield to computation and verification.

The Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya record an eclipse on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the second year of the prosperous reign.(g) If Ś.S. 595 expired is reckoned as the first year of Vishṇuvardhana II. then the ninth year of his reign would fall in Ś. S. 603 expired; and if we assume further that his reign lasted till the end of

(g) *E. I*, VIII. p 232 f.

the cyclic year and ended roughly in the last fornight of Phālguna,—be it *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*,—then the *first* year of Mangi Yuvarāja i.e., Sarvalōkāśraya apparently commenced with the month Chaitra of Śaka S.S. 604 expired. The second year of Sarvalōkāśraya then fell in Śaka S. S. 605; and in that year curiously enough there occurred an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, the correspoding English date for the day being Thursday, the 17th April, A. D. 683. It is therefore plain that this date is the correct equivalent of the date recorded in the Chendalūr plates. According to the chronology proposed by Dr. Fleet the reign of Sarvalōkāśraya falls between Śaka S. S. 595 current i.e. 594 expired and Śaka S. S. 619 current or Śaka S. S. 618 expired, the corresponding period in the Christian era being A.E. 672–73 to 696–97.(gg) If Śaka S. S. 595 current was the first year, the Śaka year 596 current or A.D. 673–4 would the second year of Sarvalōkāśraya; and in that year there was no eclipse of the moon on the Vaiśākha fullmoon day. Further there were no eclipses of moon in Vaiśākha in any of the years that intervene between Śaka S. S. 587 expired and Śaka S. S. 604 expired. Thus it is obvious that the reign of Sarvalōkāśraya did not lie in the period allotted to it by Dr. Fleet, and that the latter's chronology therefore which does not accomodate any of the other leading dates of importance of the Eastern Chāḷukya grants turns out to be utterly incorrect.(h)

Next in order comes the Peṇukaparṟu grant of Jayasimha II. which gives details of the date that yield to calculation. The details are the month Jyēshṭha and the fullmoon day coupled with the Mithuna Saṁkrānti. According to the three systems the *Sūrya*, *Ārya* and *Brahma Siddhāntas*, the Mithuna Saṁkrānti occurred on the full-moon day of Jyēshṭa in the Śaka year 637 expired, the English equivalent of the date being 22nd May A. D. 715 But according to the *Brahmasiddhānta* alone the Mithuna Saṁkranti also occurred on the Jyeshṭa fullmoon *tithi*, of Śaka S.S. 629 corresponding to the English date, 21st May A.D. 707. As the regnal year of the king is not mentioned, it is impossible to determine which of these two dates was the real equivalent of the Mithuna Saṁkrānti on the Jyēshṭha fullmoon *tithi* recorded in the Penukaparṟu grant. But since it appears that *Brahmasiddhānta* was the system that was in vogue in Āndhra country in the seventh century A.D. from the calculation of the dates mentioned in Rēyūru and the

(gg) I.A., XX. p. 13.

(h) Mr. Sōmaśēkhara Sarma also is not able to find an equivalent for the eclipse of the moon on Vaiśākha fullmoon day in the second year of Sarvalōkāśraya's reign even according to his scheme of Chronology which he recently propounded. It is regrettable that he easily brushes aside the details of the date as unworkable, and offers no explanation either for this glaring discrepancy in his scheme of arrangement. It is also unfortunate that his adjustment of the earlier reigns up to Chāḷukya Bhima I. does not also admit of any of the four given dates of Vishṇuvardhana II's charters.

Maṭṭewāḍa grant of Vishṇuvardhana II. it is probable that the earlier, date may have been the real equivalent of the date of the Peṇukaparṟu grant of Jayasimha II., though both easily fall within the period of the reign allotted to the king in the scheme of chronology proposed by me. Accordingly, it appears that the Peṇukaparṟu grant was made in the second year of the reign of Jayasimha II.

But the adjustment of reigns proposed by me does not seem to admit of two dates, mentioned below, apparently of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III. One of them is afforded by the chronogram '*Svādita*' recorded in the Musinikoṇḍa grant (now Madras Museum plates) of Vishṇuvardhana III.(i) I believe the reading of the word as *Svādita* to be untenable, and a careful examination of the record plainly shows that the composer of the grant knew so little Sanskrit that he committed innumerable orthographical mistakes. Here is the relevant passage which contains the chronogram.

1. 11. .....स्वादि(दि)त मार्गशीर्षमास बहुल (ळ)

1. 12. द्वादशी पूर्व्वाह्न (ह्ने) ....

I have not personally examined the writing on the plate but I have considered the transcript of the grant which the Govt. Epigraphist for India had kindly lent me for the purpose, and the above passage is quoted from that. It seems to me that the reading of the chronogram as '*svādita*' is untenable and that the phrase ought to be read as '*svāḍhita*'. The alteration in the reading is of minor or no importance from the point of epigraphy. The meaningless word *svāḍhita* as a chronogram yields the figure 644 (*svā* = 4, *ḍhi* = 4, *ta* = 6)* and the year S. S. 644 current corresponding to A. D. 721–22 falls in the fourth year of reign of Vishṇuvardhana III. according to the chronology proposed by me. The grant in question was made in the forenoon of the twelfth

(i) *C.P.* No. 9 of 1916-17, *A.R.E.* 1917 p. 116, paragraph 21.

* See Dr. Burnell's *South India Palaeography*, p. 76 for a full explanation of the system of notation by which numericals are expressed One of the systems of notation is the Chronogram system commonly used in South India for expressing dates. According to this system all the 33 consonants have their respective numerical values as shown below when they are used in phrases or chronograms to express date.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
ka	*kha*	*ga*	*gha*	*ṅa*	*ca*	*cha*	*ja*	*jha*	*ña*
ṭa	*ṭha*	*ḍa*	*ḍha*	*ṇa*	*ta*	*tha*	*da*	*dha*	*na*
pa	*pha*	*ba*	*bha*	*ma*	...	...	...	...	...
ya	*ra*	*la*	*va*	*śa*	*sa*	*ṣa*	*ha*	...	...

But when double letters occur in any chronogram as in the present case the numerical value of the second letter alone is to be taken into consideration.

tithi in the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣha, in Śaka Samvat 644 *current*, and the corresponding English date was 21st November, A. D. 721. It is very curious that according to the *Brahmasiddhānta*, which was evidently the system that was in vogue at that time in Āndhradēśa, the *Dhanus Samkrānti* took place on that day, and the actual *samkrānti* moment was about 9 *ghatikas* and 6 *palas* after mean sunrise. It was on that auspicious occasion that queen Ayyaṇa Mahādēvī made a grant of the whole village of Musinikonda as a *dēvabhōja* to the Jaina temple Naḍumba-*vasati* at Bījavāḍa (Bezwada) for the speedy recovery of the king Vishṇuvardhana III., her grandson's grandson, who perhaps lay then dangerously ill, and apparently with his permission.(j) This date seems to be reasonably the correct equivalent of the date recorded in the Musinikoṇḍa grant, for if the chronogram is taken to be '*svādita*', the 12th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣha of Ś. S. 684, does not yield the samkrānti equivalent as in the year Ś.S. 644. Further the year Ś.S. 684 falls in the reign of Vijayāditya Bhaṭṭāraka I., son and successor of Vishṇuvardhana III., according to the scheme of adjustment of the reigns adopted both by me and Dr. Fleet as well.

The other date, which seems to be incompatible with the adjustment of the chronology proposed below, is found in a stone record in archaic Telugu characters, set up in the temple of Siddheśvara at Terala, near Pōlepalli in Palnāḍ taluk, Guntur district. It belongs to the reign of a certain Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja. The details of the date are: the cyclic year Bahudhānya *samvatsara*, fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Sunday, in the fifth year victorious year of reign.(jj) This is the earliest record since the reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. which gives complete astronomical details together with the regnal year. The record is still unpublished; and I have not had an opportunity of examining either the stone record or its estampage. With due deference to the Government Epigraphist who discovered, and read the inscription *in situ*, I feel I should express a strong doubt as to the correctness of the reading of the numerical figure denoting the regnal year. From the point of view of the Eastern Chāḷukya chonology, the date of this record is very important: in the whole range of three centuries between the reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. and that of Chāḷukya Bhīma I. the years A. D. 679-80, 739-40, 799-800, 859-60 and 919-20 alone coincide with the cyclic year Bahudhānya; and further during these five years, only in A. D. 739 and 859, does the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika equate with the week-day Sunday. As the characters of the record are said to be very

(j) *C. P.* No, 9 of 1916-17, text line 24.

(jj) *Ep. Colln.* No. 80 of 1929-30; *A.R.E.* 1930.

archaic Telugu, it is not unreasonable to prefer the earlier date A. D. 739 to the later one. The corresponding English date for this Kārttika *śukla* 5, Sunday, in Bahudhānya *saṁvatsara* is, 11th October, A. D 739 and the corresponding Śaka year is 661 expired This date falls in the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III. according to the scheme proposed below; but the year happens to be *not the 5th year* of victorious reign, but the 21st year. It seems for more than one reason that this record and date belong to the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III, The other year, A. D. 859 falls in the reign of Guṇagāṁka Vijayāditya, who is not anywhere described with the epithet *Sarvalōkāśraya* and the secondary name Vishṇuvardhana in the Eastern Chaḷukya records. The epithet that is found constantly attached to his name is *Samastabhuvanāśraya* in the records of his time and family. Thus the only way in which the regnal years of the date of this record can be reconciled seems to be to interpret the two strokes of the numerical figure read now as 5 as 21; and there is no other way than this in which the numerical figure can be interpreted (k)

Now there remain two more dates for considera tion which serve as important land-marks in the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology. These dates seem as it were to circumscribe the limits within which the reigns of the intervening kings up to Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II. have to be allotted. The first is the date of the coronation of Chāḷukya Bhīma I. recorded in his Attili grant.(kk) The record was brought to light by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., in 1916 and published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.(l) This date was not known to Dr. Fleet when he published the Chronology of the Eastern Chāḷukyas. The second date is that of the coronation of Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II. recorded in the Paḍamkalūru granted of the king edited by Dr. Fleet,(m) and found also in the Maliyampūṇḍi(n) and Vamdram plates(o) of the same monarch.

In the Attili plates, the date of Chāḷukya Bhīma's coronation is recorded in the following passage: "*Manuvasusaṁprāptē (shu*) Chaitrē cha Maitrē Śaśinē Śaśidinē kṛshṇapaksa-dvitīyē yugm arkshasy = ōdyamēdhāt paṭṭam = āchandra-tāraṁ*": i.e. Śaka Saṁvat 814 Mēsha-Chaitra, *b.r. di. dvitīya*, Monday, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Maitrā (Anūrādhā) If we mistake *Mēsha-Chaitra* to be the ordinary

(k) I have proceeded on the assumption that the numerical 5 is expressed by a figure.

(kk) *C.P.* No. 14 of 1917-18: *Jour. of the Tel. Academy.* VI pp. 246. ff.

(l) VIII, p. 82 ff.

(m) *I.A.* XIX, p. 102 f.; Ibid, XX. p. 271. f.

(n) *E.I.* IX, p. 55 f.

(o) Ibid, IX, p. 134 f.

luni-solar month Chaitra, we do not obtain the equivalent of the date in question; therefore *Mēsha-Chaitra* has to be understood to mean the solar month Mēsha or Mēsha-Chaitra, which commences with the *Mēsha-saṁkrānti* or the Sun's entrance into the sign Mēsha, i.e. Aries. The date then corresponds to the 2nd day of the dark fortnight (*kṛishṇa-paksha-dvitīya*) of the luni-solar month Vaiśākha, when the week-day happens to be Monday and the *nakshatra* Maitra (*Anūrādhā*) in S'.S 814 expired, and the corresponding English date is Monday, April 17 A. D. 892.(p) And as we shall presently notice all the reigns of the thirteen preceding kings beginning with Kubja Vishṇuvardhana can be easily adjusted within this date; and the chronology proposed below is, not in the least incompatible with this date of the accession of Chāḷukya Bhīma I.

The second date is that of the coronation of Ammarāja II. that is given in the following passage which occurs in the Paḍaṁkaḷūru and other charters of the king: *S'aṁkhyābdē śakasmayē Mārgaśīrshamāsē=smin kṛishṇapaksa trayōdaśi dinē Bhṛguvārō Maitra nakshatra Dhanushi ravau Ghaṭalagnē*; i.e. S'aka Samvat 867 (expired), the month Mārgaśīrsha, the thirteenth day in the dark fortnight, Bhṛguvāra or Friday, when the moon was in the Anūrādhā *naksatra*, when the Sun was in Dhanus, and during the rising sign of Kuṁbha. The corresponding English date for these details is Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945.(q)

The dates of coronation of Vimalāditya, Rājarāja, Vijayāditya VIII. and S'aktivarman II. are not important from the point of view of the scheme of the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology now adopted. Further, these dates, like that of the coronation of Ammarāja II, are not at all incompatible with the adjustment of reigns shown below, but what is remarkable, is that they fall in line exactly with the assumptions adopted by me, in this revision of the Eastern Chāḷukya Chronology. They are:—(1). The Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya gives the date of the king's coronation in the following passage: *Anal=ānala raṁdhra-gatē Śakavarshē Vṛshabhamāsē sitapakshē; yash-shṭhyām Gāru-pushyē Simhēlagnē prasiddhaṁ abhishiktaḥ;* S'aka Samvat 933, in the month Vṛishabha, on Thursday the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight, when the moon was in Pushya *nakshatra*, and in the rising sign Siṁha. According to Prof. Kielhorn, these details with a slight variation in the *tithi* as *panchami* (5th), correspond to Thursday, 10th May, A.D. 1011.(r) (2). Rājarāja's coronation according to his Kōrumilli plates took

(p) *A R.E*, 1918, *App.* E. p. 126.

(q) *I. A.* XIX. p. 102 f.

(r) *E. I.*, VI. p. 348 ff.

place in S.S. 944, when the Sun was in Simha, i.e., the solar month Bhādrapada, on the second *tithi* in the dark fortnight, Guruvāra or Thursday, when the moon was in the Uttarā-Bhādrā *nakshatra*, and during the rising of the sign Tula; and the corresponding English date which Dr. Fleet had calculated was Thursday, the 16th August, A. D. 1022.(s) (3). The date of Vijayāditya VIII's coronation is mentioned in the king's Pāmulavāka grant, in the following passage: *Śākē samaughē dṛgishu-nidhimitē Karkigē Karkaśāmśau.....suddha-pañchamy-Aditisuta dinē Sūryabhē..Kanyālagnē*: 'Saka Saṁvat 953, (if the word *dṛk* be taken to represent 3 instead of 2), in the solar month Karkāṭāka, when the Sun was in the sign Karkāṭaka on the 5th *tithi* in the bright fortnight, on Aditisutadina or Sunday, when the *nakshatra* was Hastā, and during the rising of the sign Kanyā; and the corresponding English date is Sunday, June 27, A. D. 1031.(t) (4). The Telugu Academy plates of Saktivarman II. record the date of the coronation of the king and the details are as follows: *Guṇavasu nidhi saṁkhyāṁ yāti śākābdavargē divasakṛti Tulāsthē...Anūrādhā śuklapaksha dvitīyāyuji Suraguruvarē Kumbhalagnē=bhiskihtaḥ*"; S.S. 983 in the Solar month Tula, when the Sun was in the sign Tula, on Suraguruvāra or Thursday, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight, when the *nakshatra* was Anūradhā, during the rising of the sign Kuṁbha: and the corressponding English date according to my calculation is Thursday, 18th October, A. D. 1061.(u)

V

With the leading dates down to the accession of Chāḷukya Bhīma I. correctly determined, and with the dates which have been shown above to be the days of the coronation of Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II., Vimalāditya and Vishṇuvardhana-Rājarāja and the rest, we shall now adjust the beginning and the end of each successive reign. But here we are confronted in the task with two seeming discrepancies in the statement of the regnal years of some of the intervening rulers. Anterior to the reign of Chāḷukya Bhīma I the only difficulty, apart from the fact that some of the periods are stated only in even years without fractions, is in respect of the reign of Narēndramṛgarāja-Vijayāditya II. And likewise, anterior to the reign of Ammarāja II.,

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(s) *I. A.* XIX, p. 129 f.

(t) *J. A. H. R. S.*, V. pp. 33 ff. The date had been wrongly equated in the first instance to Thursday, 9th July, A.D. 1030 by me, on the assumption that *Aditisutadina* meant Thursday; but later, I felt a doubt and requested the Epigraphist Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, who kindly verified the details and correctly equated them to the date given above.

(u) *J. A. H. R. S.*, V. pp. 38 ff; (40).

there seems to be some difficulty in respect of the short reigns of Bēta Vijayāditya, Tāḍapa, Vikramāditya II., Bhīma III. and lastly Yuddhamalla II.

The records of the family are not unanimous as to the length of the reign of Vijayāditya II. Whilst all the earlier charters from the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III. to Ammarāja I., record a reign of forty years, the later records give a period of forty-eight years; and a solitary grant of Ammarāja I. gives a reign of forty-four years. These discrepancies are indeed curious; and doubtless are the result of mistakes made by the careless and confused writers. They are not, however, inexplicable. It would be easy enough to make a mistake between forty and forty-four years; thus owing to the recurrance of the letter *ścha*, the stupid scribe might very unwittingly write on the plate. "*Vijayādityaś-chatus-chatvāriṁśataṁ*," (forty-four) for "*Vijayādityas-chatvāriṁśataṁ* (forty). In the same manner, the scribe might well make a mistake in copying the expression by inserting '*ashṭa*' between the words, as "*Vijayādity ı-Narēndramṛgirājas-ch = āshṭa-chatvāriṁśataṁ*",(v) or "*Vijayādityas-s = āshṭa-chatvāriṁśataṁ*".(w) But the Masulipatam grant of Ammarāja I., which stands alone by itself, instead of using a formal expression like others, states in verse that Vijayāditya-Narēndramṛgarāja reigned for forty years increased by four, as "*sa chatvāriṁśat-samān-chaturuttara saṁkhyātaṁ*.(x) This cannot obviously be a literal mistake of a careless scribe. Nevertheless, the statement cannot be accepted as the correct one. The only possible explanation for this error is that, in addition to actually reigning *forty* years, Vijayāditya II. had previously ruled as the heir-apparent for four years during the closing years of his father. And the mistake in the later charters from the time of Chāḷukya Bhīma II. arose apparently out of the scribe's ignorance and erroneous adding of the four years' heir-apparentship or *Yauvarajājya* to the forty-four years of his reign. I am, therefore, strongly inclined to think that in spite of these discrepancies, which crept into the records from the time of Ammarāja I., the statements of the earlier charters up to the time of the Masulipatam plates of Ammarāja I. referred to above, are correct, and that the length of the reign of Vijayāditya II. is but *forty* years. If we look to such details and assumptions as have been considered in the arrangement of reigns, forty years is the only period that fits in at all, most naturally in this Chronology. A reign of forty-eight years

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(v) *I. A.* VII. p. 15 lines 11–12.

(w) *E. I.* V. p. 134, ll. 11–12.

(x) *S. I. I.* I, No. 36 p. 36 lines 14–15

cannot be allowed without making such reductions in the reigns of the successors of Vishṇuvardhana II., as practically to shorten some of them by at least a full year. Thus a period of forty-four or forty-eight years seems to be an impossible length, following in a new generation of Vijayāditya II. after the reigns of thirty-seven, eighteen and thirty-six years, in three successive generations. And even by the rough and ready method of making the last year of one reign and the first year of the next following coincide (which we have adopted,) it is difficult to admit forty-four or forty-eight years as the duration of the reign of Narēndramṛgarāja-Vijayāditya II. without reducing the periods of some of the earlier reigns. On the contrary this manner of counting the regnal years makes it easy as has been shown above, to admit thirty-three years to Jayasimha I.; and this does not also entail whatsoever, any strain upon the facts mentioned in the records. More than that, this conclusion is supported by other charters. The first king of the family to give a complete list of the kings that preceded him, beginning with Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, in a chronological order with the duration of their reigns and an account of their exploits in the form of a statement in the formal preamble, which was merely copied by the writers of the later charters, was Guṇagāṁka Vijayāditya III.(a) He was a grandson of Narēndramṛgarāja-Vijayāditya II., and he ascended the throne within eighteen months after the latter's death. And this illustrious prince, who commanded the preamble of his formal charters to be recast with a high historic sense and noble pride, by the inclusion of all the available traditional history of his ancestors, gives only a period of *forty* years to Narēndramṛgarāja Vijayāditya II. Thus it is evident, that forty years is the correct and real length of the reign of Vijayāditya II.

The second apparent difficulty is in respect of the short reigns, commencing from that of Kanṭhika Bēta-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya V. to Yuddhamalla II. Some records of the dynasty assign in the succeeding generations after Ammaraja I., a reign of fortnight to Bēta Vijayāditya, one month to Tāḍapa, one year or eleven months to Vikramāditya II., eight months to Bhīma III. and seven years to Yuddhamalla II. As regards the first two reigns, of Vijayāditya V. and Tāḍapa, there is no discrepancy at all, as all the records are unanimous in their statements. In respect of the reign of Vikramaditya II., the Kaluchumbarru grant of Amma II. alone states that he reigned for nine months,(b) while

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(a) Dr. Fleet was not aware of this fact. See the Sataluru grant of Vijayāditya III. (*J.A.H.R.S.*, V. pp. 100-18).

(b) *E. I.* VII. p. 177 ff text lines 30-31.

the Pāganavaram, (c) and the Masulipatam plates of Chāḷukya Bhīma II. (d) and all the later charters, allot a period of eleven months, and the Kōlavennu grant of Chāḷukya Bhīma II. (e) and one or two other records of Ammarāja II. assign a full year. (f) Dr. Fleet correctly took the statement of the majority,—eleven months,—for these slight discrepancies are trivial, and only show the existence of some difficulty or confusion in correctly estimating the length of this king's reign, probably on account of the wars of succession betwen the several claimants at the time. The next disputed reign is that of Bhīma III. the younger son of Ammarāja I., of eight months, mentioned in a solitary grant of Chāḷukya Bhīma II. (g) In all the other charters of the family this reign is altogether omitted; and the statement of eleven months' reign of Vikramāditya II. is followed by another, which omitted entirely the reigns of Bhīma III. and Yuddhamalla II. in some records (h) These records state that after the death of Vikramāditya II., "all the rival kinsmen who were intent upon causing distress to the people and who were desirous of the kingdom, *viz.* Yuddhamalla II., Rājamārtāṇḍa, Kaṇṭhika-Bēta Vijayāditya and others fought for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like *Rākshasas* at the setting of the sun. Thus in mere war five years passed away. Then arose Rāja Bhīma, i.e., Chāḷukya Bhīma II. who slew Rājamārtāṇḍa and made Yuddhamalla II. and Kaṇṭhika-Bēta flee to a foreign country. (i) But some of the later records of Ammarāja II. omit the above statement and say that "Vikramāditya II. protected the kingdom for eleven months; and that after him Yuddhamalla II. ruled the earth for seven years." It is thus apparent from these statements which seem like discrepancies that, Bhima III. did not hold the sovereignty exclusively, but that his short and uneventful reign was completely eclipsed by that of his slayer and successor Yuddhamalla II. And it is also obvious that Yuddhamalla II. successfully held the succession to the complete exclusion of all his opponents for full five years or even more. It is reasonable therefore, to assume that the reign of the boy king Bhīma III. was actually overlapped by that of his rival Yuddhamalla II. and that the latter's period of seven years was probably reckoned from

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(c) *Ind. Ant.* XIII. p 213 ff. text lines 27-23.

(d) *E. I.* V. p. 134 ff. text line 17.

(e) *S. I. I.* I. No. 37, text line 16.

(f) *I. A.* XIII. p 248, text lines 17.; S. I. I., I. No. 38.

(g) *I. A.* XIII 213.

(h) *E. I.* IX. p. 45 ff. Ibid. XVIII. p. 224 ff, lines 20-24.

(i) To convert the Saka years into the years A. D. the quantity to be added is 77 if they are *current* and 78 if they are *expired* years.

the time of the death of his father Tāḍapa in the month of Pausha, S.S. 849 expired, corresponding to December, A.D. 927.

VI

We accordingly obtain the results stated below. Partly to show the manner in which the details have been arranged, and partly to explain where there is apparently not always a uniform difference between the years in the Christian era and the Saka years, I have inserted English months with the years A.D. These months are not merely hypothetical but are closely the real dates for the successive kings of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty. This arrangement, however, it may be noted, involves the assumptions stated already. But for the sake of clearness I shall repeat them here. The Eastern Chāḷukya kings adopted the *amānta* Chaitra *śukla* 1, i. e., the first day in the bright fortnight of the *amānta* Chaitra, which is the New Year's Day for Āndhradēśa, as the first day of each regnal year, and the whole of the luni-solar year in which the accession or at any rate the coronation of any particular king took place, was actually counted as the first year of his reign, even though it coincided with last year of the preceding reign, and that his second year was so reckoned as to commence with the Chaitra *śukla* 1, coming next after his coronation or accession. Consequently, from time to time, one and the same luni-solar Śaka year was counted twice over, as the last regnal year of one king and the first regnal year of his successor, especially when a change in the rulers took place about the middle of the luni-solar Śaka year. And, there were also exceptions in the case of short reigns which were merely recorded as such. But then, it was the usual custom and practice of the Eastern Chāḷukya kings of Vēṅgī to be associated in the administration of the kingdom with their heir-apparents, who towards the close of the reign of the king assumed the role of the *Mahārāja*, and then formally succeeded to the sovereignty on the death of the king. Thus it invariably occured that, the first regnal year of a king coincided or rather synchronised with that of the last regnal of the preceding king, and they were accordingly reckoned.

Before this paper is concluded it is necessary to offer an explanation about the periods of the kings, from Dānārṇava to Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I. All the records of the family from the time of Śaktivarman I. are unanimous about two facts, relating to the periods of Dānārṇava and after. They are firstly, that Dānārṇava reigned for three years and secondly, that thereafter the kingdom of Vēngī was without a ruler (*anāyaka*) for a period of twenty seven years, and then, Saktivarman I. seized the kingdom and crowned himself king. This period

of *(anāyaka)* or 'without ā king' or *interregnum* as described by Dr. Fleet which had been for a long time supposed to be a period of anarchy in Andhra country, is now found to be not really *interregnum* but actually the period of Bādapa's reign. This fact has been satisfactorily established by the discovery of the Ārambāka plates of *Adhirāja* Bādapa, son of Yudhamalla II. and of the Śrīpūṇḍi plates of Bādāpa's younger brother Tāḷarāja II. (j) Śaktivarman I. who succeeded Bādapa on the throne by crushing his power, ignored in contempt the reign of his bitter enemy who had for a quarter of a century kept him away from his rightful throne, and called it the period of *anāyaka* or without king. This description of the period of Bādapa was afterwards adopted by the writers of the royal charters from the reign of Vimalāditya. (k)

There appears to be a seeming discrepancy with regard to the period of Vimalāditya. The later records of the time of Rājarāja and the succeeding reigns, assign a reign of seven years to him, while the record of Vimalāditya's reign states that he was anointed to the crown on 11th May A. D. 1011, (l) and thus apparently reigned for eleven years or more. This seeming discrepancy may be easily reconciled by assuming that though Vimalāditya was crowned immediately on the death of his elder brother, he did not commence in reality to enjoy the sovereignty for a long time afterwards, and that he was kept out of the realm for four or five years by some unknown usurper.

It should be noted that Rājēndra Chōḍa succeeded his father Rājarāja or Rājarāja-Narēndra in October 1061 A. D. as the *de jure* sovereign of Vēñgi, for he was already anointed as the heir-apparent (yuvarāja) to the throne; but the usurpation of the throne by his uncle Vijayāditya VIII., just at that juncture, during his absence from the capital and the subsequent events, compelled him (Rājēndra Chōḍa) to leave the usurper in peaceful enjoyment of the kingdom of Vēñgi till the latter's death in June or July of 1076 A. D.

It may seem rather strange to show that Rājēndra Chōḍa afterwards Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I. assumed the sovereignty of Vēñgī soon after the death of his father. But the Tēki plates of Rajaraja Chōḍaganga (m) and the Chellūr grant of Vīra Chōḍa (n) plainly indicate that Rājarāja I. was succeeded on his death by his son *Yuvarāja*

(j) *E. I.*, XIX pp. 137 ff. and 148 fff.

(k) For further remarks see *E. I.* XIX p. 140.

(l) *E. I.*, VI. p. 348 f.

(m) *E. I.* VI, pp. 334–347.

(n) *I. A.* XIX. p. 423 f.

Rajēndra Chōḍa but that the latter desirous of the Chōḷa kingdom bestowed the rulership of Vēñgī upon his uncle Vijayāditya VIII. and then departed for the south. Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva assumed the sovereignty of Vēñgī for a second time after the death of his uncle; and that event would appear to have taken place some time about the middle of A. D. 1076, for according to a copper plate grant recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Ellore (o) and now preserved in the Madras Museum, Rājarāja II., the first royal vicegerent after the assumption of the sovereignty of Vengi by the emperor Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I, was annointed to the kingdom of Vēñgi in the Tulā *lagna* (i. e. during the rising of sign Tula) on Wednesday, the 10th day in the dark fortnight of Kuḷīra (Karkāṭaka) month, Śaka Saṁvat 998 expired, the corresponding English date being 27th July, A. D. 1076. (p)

(o) *C. P.* No. 3 of 1921-22.

(p) *A. R. E.* 1922, para 6, pp. 97-98.

THE RĀJA GURU OF THE FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA AND THE PONTIFFS OF SṚINGERI MAṬHA.

DR. B. A. SALETORE

I

The wide celebrity which Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda attained in intellectual as well as in spiritual spheres is, among other things, responsible for the association of his name with the foundation of Vijayanagara Empire. Scholars have been to some extent led on the side-track of the controversy of the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya.[1] We are not concerned here with this question at all. But we may give a few more details concerning the *rāja-gurus* of the founders of Vijayanagara and the Śṛingeri gurus, in addition to those we have already mentioned elsewhere. We have conclusively shown, on the basis of epigraphical and literary evidence, that Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti Ācārya was the *rāja-guru* of the rulers of what is known as the First Dynasty of Vijayanagara.[2]

II

A rapid survey of the epigraphs ranging from the middle of the eleventh century A.D. till the end of the thirteenth century A. D.

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1 Read the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 611, seq; *ibid*, IX. pp, 801-810; Journal of Indian History XII, P. II, pp. 241. seq. Mr. Rāma Rao's arguments especially those relating to the relations of Vidyāranaya with Harihara I *(vide I.H.Q.* IX. p. 805 seq.) collapse when he identifies the Harihara Rāya mentioned in two later stone records dated respectively A.D. 1538 and A. D. 1559 *(Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI. Cd. 54, Cl. 54, pp. 12,103) with Harihara I. Such an identification is historically wrong. As regards the opinion that Mādhava and Vidyaranaya were two different persons, it was expressed long ago by Messrs. Srinivasa Rao and Krishnaswami Ayyar in their edition of *Panchadasi* of Vidyāraṇya, Intr. p. XL. B. A. S.)

2 Read Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I. pp. 14, 17, 26, 95, 108-9, 110 (n), 257-8, 262-3; II, pp. 130, 235. The following may also be read in this connection : *Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle* for 1913, p 119, seq; *ibid* for 1924-5, pp. 88-9; *No. 1 of Appendix 1927-8; 467 of 1928-9; Mysore Archl. Rep.* for 1911, p. 47; *ibid* for 1918, p. 51 where Kriyāśakti Acārya is identified with Candrabhūshaṇa Odeyar. Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti Acārya was, we may also note here, the spiritual guide of Mādhava, who was the great minister of Māra-pa, one of the five famous brothers. This is related in A.D. 1347 and again in A.D. 1368. *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 375, pp. 65-6; *Mys. Archl. Rep.* for 1929, p. 168, seq.; *E.C.* VII. Sk, 281, p. 146 In the light of these documents my statement *(vide S. P. Life.*, I. p. 110 n. (2) that Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti Acārya belonged to the Śrīkaṇṭhāgama is to be rectified. B.A.S.

reveals the fact that the spiritual teachers of some of the most prominent reigning families in the Karnāṭaka belonged to the famous Kālāmukha sect, and that they were selected either from Baḷḷigāme or from Kuppaṭūr, or from other centres of the Karnāṭaka. The history of the *rāja-gurus* is essential in our solution of the problem concerning the spiritual guides of the founders of Vijayanagara.

The Western Cāḷukya records, for example, contain references to the *rāja-gurus* who belonged to the Kālāmukha order. A stone inscription dated A. D. 1039 relates that *Pavatavaliya Kālāmukha Gaṇḍa* (along with other titles, some of which are effaced) Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita Deva was the *rāja-guru* of the Western Cāḷukya (Jaya)singa Deva.[3] The fact that Jayasinga Deva after "washing the feet" of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita Deva made some specified grants to the god Siddheśvara of Benakanakoḷa, conclusively shows that Kriyāśakti Deva was the *rāja-guru* of that Western Cāḷukya ruler. In A.D. 1070 the *Akkōṭi-samaya Cakravarti, Ācārya of the seventy-seven temples* Sarveśvaraśakti Deva is called *rāja-guru*, evidently of the Western Cāḷukya monarch. Someśvara Deva.[4] We may observe here that the titles given to Sarveśvaraśakti Deva in the above record were not identical with those borne by the *rāja-guru* of king Jayaśinga Deva. Moreover the fact that the epigraph opens with a lengthy eulogy of the beauties of Kuppaṭūr, and the assertion that Sarveśvaraśakti Deva is said to have been its priest, prove that the *rāja-guru* of the Western Cāḷukya king in A. D. 1070 hailed from Kuppaṭūr.

But half a century later the honour of supplying the *rāja-guru* passed to the celebrated city of Baḷḷigāme. Here in A.D. 1129 the Western Cāḷukya monarch Someśvara Deva Bhūḷokamalla himself confirmed a grant made to the famous teacher Vamaśakti Paṇḍita by the Kadamba viceroy Taila, after "washing his (the priest's) feet" and "with pouring of water".[5]

Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva was one of the greatest of the Kālāmukha *gurus*. His praise is sung in a record of A.D. 1193 when he was still called *rāja-guru*. It may not be out of place to describe the greatness of this most remarkable of *rāja-gurus* who belonged to the *Māvara-kōṇeya-saṁtati* of the Parvatavāḷi line, and who was the disciple of Gautama Paṇḍita Deva. The record in question praises him thus:— He was possessed of all the ascetic virtues (named); he was surrounded with disciples devoted to the *aṣṭāṅga-yoga* which he expounded to them; his lotus feet were covered with clusters of bees the large sapphires

3 *E.C.* VII. Sk. 153, pp, 109, 260.

4 *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 276, p. 47.

5 *bid*, VII, Sk. 100, p. 70.

set in the crowns of friendly kings bowing before him; a portable tree of plenty for giving joy to poets, declaimers, orators, conversationalists and other manner of learned men; able in giving decisions on the meaning of the vedānta, siddhānta, āgama, the six systems of logic, all branches of grammar, pure dharma-śāstras, and all other sciences; ... devoted to gifts of food, gold, virgins, cows, lands, and the gifts of freedom from fear, of medicine, and all other benefactions; ...beloved by his dependants; ...master of all kinds of spells–was Vāmaśakti Deva.[6]

He seems to have had uncommon influence over the Kaḷacuriya kings as well. It may at first sight seem strange that the *rāja-guru* of the Cālukyas should also have been the *rāja-guru* of the Kaḷacuriyas. But the reasons are not far to seek. The Kaḷacuriya king Bijjaṇa Deva was a vassal of the Western Cālukya monarch Trailokyamalla Deva. This is proved by a record dated A. D. 1156 which relates that when Trailokyamalla Deva was ruling a victorious kingdom, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Bijjaṇa Devarasa was ruling all the countries (under him). A grant to the *rāja-guru* Vāmaśakti Paṇḍita Deva of the *Mūvara-kōṇeya-saṅtati* of the Parvatāvaḷi was made evidently by the great minister Māyi Devarasa, of lands and money (specified in detail).[7]

That Bijjala (or Bijjaṇa himself, on his assuming independent status as Bhujabala Cakravarti Tribhuvanamalla Bijjala Deva, in A.D. 1162 showed the same Kālāmukha *guru* the highest veneration is proved by another inscription of that date which, among other things, narrates that the great ministers led by Ravi Deva, on Bijjala Deva encamping at Baḷḷigāme, "having come there to subdue a southern kingdom", dwelt on the greatness of Baḷḷigāme and on that of its chief priest, the head of the Kōḍiya maṭha, Vāmaśakti Deva. When the great minister entreated the Emperor to "perform in that maṭha some work of merit", he "taking it to mind", "washing the feet of Gautamācārya's disciple Vamsśakti Paṇḍita Deva", granted very many places (named in detail "with enjoyment for three generations".[8]

Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva continued to be the *rāja-guru* of king Bijjala Deva's (eldest) son Raya Murāri Soyi Deva. This is proved by a record dated A. D. 1168 which informs us that Raya Murāri Soyi Deva's great minister and general Byāḷike Keśimayya, while inspecting his own country, happened to come to the beautiful Baḷḷigāme where "approaching the ācārya of the temple-Vamaśakti Deva, the *rāja-guru-deva*, he noted for a long time his (Vamaśakti Deva's) pre-eminence in all learning".[9]

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6 *E.C.* VII, Sk. 105, p. 77.
7 *Ibid*, Sk. 105, pp. 77–8.
8 *Ibid*, Sk. 104, pp. 75–76.
9 *Ibid*, VII, Sk. 92, pp. 59–60.

This inscription again gives us a few more details concerning the versatility of that great teacher, thus:—"In grammar Pāṇini paṇḍita; in polity and discernment Śribhūṣaṇacārya; in drama and the science of music, Bhārata-muni; in poetry, Subandhu himself; in siddhānta, Lākuḷīśvara: in Śiva devotion, Skanda..."[10]

Vāmaśakti Paṇḍita Deva was also the *rāja-guru* of Rāya Murāri Soyi Deva's younger brother Niśśanka Malla or Śankama Deva. We infer this from an epigraph dated A.D. 1179 in which it is said that that ruler together with all his ministers (named), came and camped in Baḷḷigame. And once again by the "natural virtues (of) that *rāja-guru*", Vāmaśakti Paṇḍita Deva, king Śankama Deva, "washing the feet of the temple ācārya, the *rāja-guru*", made a grant of a village (specified) in the Jiḍḍulige kaṁpaṇa.[11]

The Western Cālukyas and the Kaḷacuriyas had, with very few exceptions, honoured Baḷḷigāme by their presence because their *rāja-guru* had belonged to that centre. But the Yādava or Seuṇa rulers reverted to Kuppaṭūr from where they selected their spiritual *gurus*. Kuppaṭūr was in the beautiful Nāgarakaṇḍa. Here too was the temple of Koṭinātha. also called Koṭeśvara, where lived the well known *Chakravarti of the Ekōṭi-samaya, priest of the seventy-seven temples*, Rudraśakti Deva, Simhaṇa Rāya, as is related in A.D. 1231, having heard about the greatness of Ananta Koṭinātha, directed his general Vāsuki Nāyaka to give to the temple a "large village" (specified).[12] In about A. D. 1245 the same priest of Koṭīśvara Rudraśakti is called *rāja-guru*.[13-a]

Turning to the Hoysalas we find that in A. D. 1191 Kriyaśakti Deva is called the *rāja-guru* in an epigraph describing the charitable endowments of general Vaijarasa, when the Hoyasala ruler Narasimha Deva was camping in Āsandi-nāḍ. It cannot be made out to which lineage the *rāja-guru* belonged.[13]

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10 *E.C.* VII, Sk. 92, pp. 59–60.

11 *Ibid*, Sk. 96, pp. 62–3. In about A.D. 1181 the *raja-guru* Vāmaśakti Deva and his disciple Jñānaśakti Deva are mentioned *E.C.* VII, Sk 101, p. 71.

12 *Ibid*, VIII, Sb. 275, p. 46. It may be noted here that Rudraśakti's spiritual younger brother Sarveśvaraśakti Deva may have belonged to the same spiritual lineage to which Sarveśvara Deva, mentioned in A D. 1070 of the times of the Western Cālukya ruler Someśvara Deva, belonged. For both are styled *Ekoti-Samaya-cakravarti, priest of the seventy-seven temples*. There is a Rudraśakti Paṇḍita, disciple of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, promoter of the Kālāmukhya *samaya*, of the Saktiparidhi of Parvatāvali and A...ka-santati, mentioned in A. D. 1117 in the times of the Western Cālukya ruler Tribhuvanamalla Deva. *E.C.* VII, Sk. 316, p. 154.

13-a *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 272, p. 45. His preceptor was Sarbbeśvara Deva who is mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1241. *Ibid*, Sb. 272, p. 45.

13 *E.C.* VI, Kd. 157, p. 31.

But the renowned Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva continued to exercise great influence over the generals of the Hoysalas even in A. D 1193. For in that year the great general of the Hoysala king Vīra. Ballāḷa, Eṟeyanga, "washing the feet of the *rāja-guru* Vamaśakti Deva", granted a village (named with details) in Baḷḷigāme, for the worship of the god Kedareśvara.[14] It must be confessed that the epigraph does not expressly state that Vamaśakti Deva was the *rāja-guru* of the Hoysala monarch.

Soon afterwards, however, we come across another name. It is that of the *rāja-guru* Kriyāśakti Ācārya of the Agastyeśvara maṭha of Śriparvata. This was in about A. D. 1200.[15] We do not know whether he is to be identified with the *rāja-guru* Kriyāśakti Deva to whom in A.D. 1206 Maraḷu Mārkaṇḍeya Deva, ruler of Āsandi-nāḍ. made some specified grant.[16]

For it appears that Āsandi-nāḍ, was also a district which supplied *rāja-gurus* to the Karnāṭaka rulers. Here in Āsandi-nāḍ too there were five maṭhas, the priests of which had the general designation of Kaṁpaṇācāryas.[17] We infer that the Hoysala kings had their *rāja-gurus* from Āsandi-nāḍ from a record dated A.D. 1214 which speaks of one of the officers of the Hoysala king Narasimha Deva, by name Mūḍugere Rāma Gauḍa, making specified grants to the *rāja-guru* Kriyāśakti Deva and the Ēkōṭi ascetics of Āsandi-nāḍ.[18]

In A. D. 1255, however, Rudraśakti Deva is mentioned as the *rāja-guru* of Dorosamudra.[19]

The viceroys and provincial officials of the Karnāṭaka monarchs imitated their royal masters in receiving spiritual guidance from the priests of the famous places which we have mentioned above. A few examples will suffice. The *Mahāmaṇḍlēśvara* Kundamarasa in A.D. 1019 made some specified grants, after washing the feet of his *guru* Mūliga Śivaśakti Paṇḍita of the Mūlasthāna Nandikeśvara temple of Baḷḷigāme.[20] Govinda, the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa Rāja, after revering the feet of the *Ornament of the Mūvara-kōṇeya-saṁtati* of the Parvatāvaḷi, Someśvara Paṇḍita Deva, made some specified endowments.[21] In the same city of Kedareśvara (*i.e.*, Baḷḷigāme) was Vādi Vidyābharaṇa Paṇḍita Deva, the *guru* of Jagadevarasa and Bammarasa. These two

14 *E.C.* VII. Sk. 105, pp. 77-8.
15 *Ibid*, XII. Ch. 35, pp. 82-3.
16 ,, VI. Kd. 134, p. 30.
17 ,, Kd. 143, p. 27.
18 ,, VII. Ci. 64, pp. 190-191.
19 ,, V. Ak, 108. p. 159.
20 ,, VII, Sk. 125, p. 97.
21 ,, Sk. 98, p. 64.

made some endowments to him in A. D. 1149.[22] Mahādeva Daṇṇāyaka in about A. D. 1164 "washing the feet of Vāmaśakti Paṇḍita Deva" of the Kiḍōya maṭha, and of the Mūvara-kōneya santati, made a grant given in detail.[23] In about A.D. 1178 Canda of the village of Śivapura Bhārangi "washing the feet of Kalyāṇaśakti Paṇḍita Deva", disciple of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita Deva of the god Grāmeśvara of Cikka Keṛeyūru, made specified grants for the god Mallikārjuna of Bhārangi.[24]

From the above it is clear that the Karnāṭaka kings as well as their viceroys from the middle of the eleventh century A. D. till the end of the thirteenth century A.D, had set one great precedent, *viz.*, that of selecting their *rāja-gurus* from one of the four well known places—Baḷḷigāme, Kuppaṭūr, Āsandi and Śriparvata. Of these the first two were more famous than the other ones, Baḷḷigāme being one of the most celebrated spots in the Karnāṭaka. The Vijayanagara monarchs, promoters of the *purvada maryāde* as they certainly were, —a fact which we have amply proved elsewhere—, must undoubtedly have been influenced by the precedent which their predecessors had set concerning the selection of *rāja-gurus* from one of the centres mentioned above.

This precedent was not the only factor that determined their choice of their *rāja-gurus*. There is also another consideration to be noticed in this connection. The Kālamukha leaders of the various sects, especially those of Baḷḷigāme, had one feature in common with the founders of Vijayanagara. Their patron deity was the same as that of the latter. But it belonged to Kōḍiya maṭha and not to Pampā-kṣetra. This was Virūpākṣa. In A. D. 1215 Vāmaśakti Deva, of the Koḍiya maṭha, "praising Virūpākṣa, dwelling in the Kōṭi maṭha", "did great penance like Upamanyu of old".[25]

But here we are confronted with some difficulties. Kriyāśakti Ācārya was the name of the *guru* of the founders of Vijayanagara. It was a name which was borne by more than one head of the maṭhas in the Karnāṭaka. Thus we find that the Kālamukhi Brahmacaristhāna of Baḷḷigāme, as it is called in A. D. 1036,[26] had five maṭhas, four of which are thus enumerated in A. D. 1098:—the senior (*hiriya*) maṭha of Bheruṇḍeśvara, the ācarya of which was called Gaula Paṇḍita Deva; the Pañca Linga maṭha, over which there was the ācārya Śrīkaṇṭha Paṇḍita Deva; the Tripurāntaka maṭha with Caturānana Paṇḍita as its ācārya; and the Mulasthāna maṭha which was presided over by the

22 *E.C.* Sk. 103, p. 75.
23 *Ibid*, Sk. 108, pp. 80–1,
24 „ VII. Sb. 325, p. 56.
25 „ VII, Sk. 95, pp. 61–2.
26 „ Sk. 126, p. 98.

ācārya Mūliga Honneya Jīya.[27] In A. D. 1113, however, the name Kriyāśakti was borne by the heads of two maṭhas in the same city of Baḷḷigāme:—the ācārya of the *hiriya* (senior) Bheruṇḍeśvara maṭha was called Śāntaśiva Paṇḍita; the head of the Pañca Linga maṭha was known as Kriyāśakti Deva; the ācārya of Tripurāntaka maṭha was styled Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita.[28]

The similarity in the names borne by more than one priest of Baḷḷigāme and the absence of any reference to the identity of spiritual lineage of the Kriyāśaktis we have mentioned above and of the Kriyāśakti *gurus* of the early rulers of Vijayanagara, in the numerous epigraphs concerning the latter, make it impossible, at the present stage of our investigations, to determine exactly the relationship between the earliest *rāja-guru* of the founders and others who bore similar names in the times preceding those of the sons of Sangama.

III

Nevertheless we have related already, ample evidence to prove that Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita was the name of the *rāja-guru* of the founders of Vijayanagara, and even of Harihara Rāya II and Deva Rāya I.[29] At the same time we have undisputable proof to show that the sons of Sangama were gradually coming under the influence of the Śringeri *gurus*. This was in the very first year of the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom A. D. 1346. In that year the five brothers led by Harihara Oḍeya made a piligrimage to the Śringeri maṭha, in order to celebrate the festival of his victory, and made an excellent grant along with his other brothers. The reason why the founders went to Śringeri to commemorate the victory (*i.e.*, the conquest of the earth from the eastern to the western ocean), is given in the praise bestowed on Vidyātirtha *guru*. It was to do obeisance to that *guru* "whose friendship gained is never lost".[30] Evidently the founders had received some sort of tangible support from the Śringeri *svāmi* which was more than mere spiritual guidance. We have to assume that it was something which their own *guru* Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, inspite of the high

27 *E.C.* Sk. 106, p. 79.

28 *Ibid*, Sk. 99, p. 67. The name of the fifth maṭha is supplied in a record dated A.D. 1159 which styles the priest of the *hiriya* maṭha of Bheruṇḍeśvara, Mūliga Madhukeśvara Paṇḍita; of the Pañcalinga maṭha, Sarveśvara Paṇḍita; of the Tripurāntaka maṭha, Jñānaśakti Paṇḍita; and of the Kōḍiya maṭha, Vāmaśakti Paṇḍita, *E. C.* VII. Sk. 123, p. 94. The Kōḍiya maṭha, therefore, was the fifth maṭha in Baḷḷigāme which contained many other maṭhas, Brahmapuris,and even a Buddhist *vihara*. The greatness of the Kōḍiya maṭha is described in detail in a record of A.D. 1162. *Ibid*, Sk. 102, p. 73.

29 The only exception is an A. D. 1396 when Khaṇḍeya Rāya Khalesvara Devayya is called the *raja-guru*. *E.C.* VII. Hl. 71, p. 173. In A. D. 1403 Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeya is called a "flamingo at the lotus feet of Kriyāśakti guru muniśvara". *Ibid*, VI. Kp. 52, p. 87.

30 *E C.* VI Sg. 1, p. 92.

veneration in which he may have been held, could not give to them, *viz.*, financial support just when they were in the greatest need of it. This accounts for two things—the stress laid on the friendship (of Vidyātīrtha) which once gained was never lost; and the association of the name of another most remarkable figure of Śringeri history—Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda—with the story of the shower of gold said to have been caused by him for about 3¾ *ghaṭikas*, as is related in tradition.[31]

That Vidyātīrtha-svāmi was alive in A.D. 1356 is proved by a stone record found in Śringeri. This inscription reiterates the great confidence which the founders had in their friendship with the head of the Śringeri maṭha, by praising him thus—that the lord of the ascetics (Vidyātirtha) surpasses the sun by his abiltity to remove both the internal and external darkness of men both day and night. The *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, Lord of both the Oceans*, Vīra Bukka Oḍeya, on the occasion of this visit, made in the customary manner a gift of money (specified) and of land (also specified), in A. D. 1356. The importance of this stone inscription lies also in the fact that it proves that Vidyātīrtha-svāmi was alive in that year, thus disproving the traditional account of the Śringeri maṭha itself which places his death in A.D. 1333![32]

Epigraphs outside Śringeri also confirm the statement that the *guru* of the Śringeri maṭha, who was a contemporary of Bukka Oḍeya, was Vidyātīrtha-svāmi. A stone epigraph found in the Śiva temple at Uḷayibeṭṭu in the Mangalore tāluka, South Kanara district, narrates that in the reign of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeya, a gift of land (specified) was made by Paṇḍarideva Oḍeya, the viceroy over the Mangaḷūru-rājya, to Vidyātīrtha Śrīpāda for conducting the worship in the temple of Ōmañjūru in Tuḷuva. This inscription is dated Śaka 1298, Rākṣasa, Āśāḍha, Śu. 15 Thursday which works out correctly to Thursday the 14th June A.D. 1375.[33]

Thus till June 14th A. D. 1375 Vidyātirtha-svāmi continued to be the *guru* of the Śringeri maṭha. This explains why in a record dated A.D. 1377 Bukka Oḍeya is spoken of having become "very great" with the assistance of Vidyātīrtha-muni.[34]

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31 Cf. *Saletore, S P. Life*, I. p. 142

32 Mys. Arch. Rept for 1916, p. 56.

33 *475 of 1928-9; E.d. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 54.

34 *E.C.* IV. Yd. 46, p. 58. Relying the Rice's interpretation, I took the year to be A.D. 1376. (*S.P. Life*, I. p. 103) But this needs correction, for the original runs thus:— *aṣṭottara-navati-adhika-dvi-śatādhikaika-sahasra-sankhyeṣu Śaka-varseṣu ghteṣu tad anantarasya Naḷa-samvatsarasya Phālguṇa-māse Kṛṣṇa-pakṣe pratipati tithau Bhanuvāre Uttārā-Phalguṇi-nakṣatre.* (*E. C.* IV. Yd. 46, p. 152). This corresponds to A. D. 1377, February the 24th Tuesday. (Swami Kannu, *Ind. Epi.* IV, p. 356.)

This demolishes the contention of all those who have erroneously maintained Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda was instrumental in the foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara. As to when exactly Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda became the head of the Śringeri maṭha, we have some interesting information also from Tuḷuva. A stone inscription found in the Ananta Padmanābha temple at Kuḍupu in the Mangalore tāluka, relates that at the instance of the king Bukka Rāya, his viceroy Paṇḍu-rideva, who was placed over the Mangaḷūru-rājya, made a gift of the income of the paddy from the villages of Kuḍupu and Muluru in the Nandaḷikeya-nāḍu, to Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Śringeri, for feeding Brahmans and for offerings to the temple of Śankara-deva. The record is dated Śaka 1297 Rākṣasa, Kārtika, Śu. 1 Thursday which correctly corresponds to Thursday the 25th October A.D. 1375 [35]

There can be no mistake about the evidence supplied by the above record. It was issued by the same viceroy who on June 14th 1375 had given certain endowments, not "to a Vidyātīrtha Śripāla", as the Madras Government Epigraphist would have it,[36] but to the famous Vidyātīrtha-svāmi of Śringeri. He now issues another grant on October 25th of the same year when Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda had become the head of the Śringeri maṭha.

But so sure were the people of the material aid which the sons of Sangama had received from the predecessor of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, that even after the latter's accession to the pontificate of the maṭha, they connected the name of his illustrious predecessor Vidyātīrtha-svāmi with the rise of the sons of Sangama. This is proved by a copper plate dated A. D. 1377 found in the Kṛṣṇarājapet tāluka treasury, Mysore State. After giving the reason why Bukka Oḍeya was born—to free the land of the Mlecchas,—the grant relates that he "became the sole lord of the earth by the grace of Vidyātīrtha muni".[37]

Indeed, in a copper plate grant dated A.D. 1380 which gives us the details of former grants, the fact of the five brothers first in A. D. 1346, and then of Bukka Oḍeya in A.D. 1353 having gone to the *senior* Śrīpāda (Vidyātīrtha) is given together with some more details which seem to confirm the evidence of the Kuḍupu stone inscription cited above. For in this copper-plate of A. D. 1380, it is said that Bukka Rāya wrote a letter to Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, who was then in Vāraṇāsi (Benares), enclosing an order from the *senior* Śrīpāda (Vidyātīrtha) requesting him to return to Virūpākṣa (*i.e.*, Hampe) Soon after Vidyāraṇya's return to Virūpākṣa, he was taken to Śringeri and the king directed Mādarasa to grant specified lands in Kikundanāḍ for the maintenance of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda. Harihara Rāya's son Cikka Rāya,

35 *460 of 1928-9, Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 54.
36 *475 of 1928-9, Ep. Rept. ibid.*
37 *Mysore Archl. Rept.* for 1914, p. 57.

viceroy over Āraga, also granted to Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda lands in the same *nāḍu* as well as in Hiriya Koḍanāḍu. Then Harihara Rāya II confirmed all the previous grants in A. D. 1380 to Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda (details given).[38]

Further, in A.D. 1384 Harihara Rāya II is described as having "acquired the empire of knowledge unattained by other kings," "by the grace of Vidyāraṇya muni",[39] thus confirming the evidence of the above that it was in the reign of Harihara Rāya II that Vidyāraṇya-svāmi figured conspicuously in Vijayanagara history.

Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda continued to be the head of the Śringeri maṭha till A.D. 1386 when he died. In the same year Harihara Rāya II had given a copper-plate grant to Nārāyaṇa Vājapeya-yati, Narahari Somayāji, and Paṇḍari Dīkṣita, who were *Promoters of the Commentary on the Four Vēdas*, in the presence of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda.[40] But in the same year A. D. 1386 Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda died. It was on the death of that celebrated *guru* (on Saturday the 13th lunar day of the dark fortnight of Jyēstha (in the cyclic year Ksaya = May the 26th Saturday) that Harihara Rāya II granted specified lands in Kikunda-nāḍu which were christened Vidyāraṇyapura to the *mahājanas* of Śringeri. This date agrees with the traditional one given in Śringeri concerning his death. The famous *guru* died in Hampe and his *samādhi* was constructed just behind the Virūpākṣa temple.

To sum up:—(1) The Karnāṭaka monarchs from the middle of the eleventh century onwards had a set the precedent of selecting their *rāja-gurus* from one or the other of the famous Kālāmukha orders of the great centres of Karnāṭaka—Baḷḷigāme, Kuppaṭūr, Āsandi, and Śrīparvata.

(2) The Vijayanagara monarchs, who were but heirs to the rich Karnāṭaka tradition and culture, merely continued this custom and selected their *rāja-guru* from the same Kālāmukha sect, although it is uncertain from which branch of the Kālāmukha *samaya* their Kriyā-śakti Ācārya hailed.

(3) While they continued to be under the spiritual guidance of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, political necessity compelled them to seek the aid of the Śringeri *gurus* from the very first year of their political career (A. D. 1346).

4. Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, his successor, came to Śringeri in October 1375, and was the head of the great maṭha till A. D. 1386 when he died.

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38 *Mys. Arcl. Rept.* for 1916, pp. 56-7. Here too the unreliability of the Sringeri maṭha tradition which makes Bhoganātha younger brother of Vidyāraṇya, guru of Sringeri between A.D. 1328–1380 is to be noted. Epigraphical evidence runs counter to the Sringeri tradition. *Mys. Rept. ibid* pp. 57-8.

39 *Ibid.* p. 58.

40 *Ibid*, for 1908, para 54; *ibid* for 1914–5, p. 59; Swami Kannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV p. 374.

Campaigns of Sri Krishna-devaraya.

K. ISWARA DUTT, B.A. (Cocanada)

Accession of Krishna-devaraya to the throne.

Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler described in his own unique and graphic way how Krishnadevarāya succeeded to the throne of the Vijianagar Empire, after the death of his brother Vīranarasimha. The narrative of Nuniz merits a complete quotation; as the story is interesting, because it was a conglomeration of intrepid intrigue and intuitive intervention on the part of a sagacious satesman and a farsighted minister Sāḷva Timmaṛasu, who was convinced that the Empire needed at that time, a strong personality at the centre to guide its destinies. He found in Krishnarāya such a person and he wanted him then.

We crave the indulgence of our readers to peruse what Nuniz says:

"The king (Vīranarasimha) died of sickness in the city of Bisnaga, and before he died he sent for Sālva-Timaya, his minister, and commanded to be brought to him his (the king's) son eight years old, and said to Sālva Timya, that as soon as he was dead he must raise up his son to be the King (though he was not of an age for that, and though the kingdom ought perhaps to belong to his brother Cristnarao) and that he must put out the eyes of the latter and must bring them to show him; in order that after his death there should be no differences in the kingdom. Salvatima said that he would do so and departed, and sent to call for Cristna Rao and took him aside to a stable, and told him how his brother had bade to put out his eyes and make his son king. When he heard this, Cristna Rao said that he did not seek to be king, nor to be anything in the kingdom, even though it should come to him by right; that his desire was to pass through this world as a Jogi (ascetic) and that he should not put his eyes out, seeing that he had not deserved that of his brother. Salvatima, hearing this and seeing that Cristna Rao was a man of over twenty years, and therefore more fit to be king as you will see further on, than the son of Busbal Rao who was only eight years old, and commanded to bring a she-goat and he put out its eyes and took them to show the king, for already he was at the last hour of his life; and he presented them to him, and as the king was dead, his brother Cristna Rao was raised to be king, whose eyes the late king had ordered to be torn out".[1]

1 Forgotten Empire, p. 314-315.

What one considered to be an obnoxious obstacle to the succession to the Vijianagar Empire, the other thought an object of ornament and fate ordained that Krishnarāya should wield the sceptre.

The date of Krishnaraya's accession to the throne.

The date of accession of Krishnadevaraya to the throne is of primary importance to the historian who chronicles the campaigns of that Emperor. Krishnadevarāya was said to have been crowned Emperor on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of Magha in the cyclic year Sukla of Śaka 1431 according to the Hampi Inscription.[2] There was also epigraphical evidence to show that he ascended the throne much earlier. The Tādipatri inscription[3] of Sāḷva Timmaṛasu states that Vīra Narasimha, the brother of Krishnadevarāya was ruling the kingdom in May, 1509 A. D., and Pulivendla record[4] informs that Krishnadevaraya was on the throne in October, 1509 A.D.

Political condition of the Empire.

A fateful succession of feeble monarchs to the throne of the Empire after the Praudhadēvarāya, rendered the central government extremely weak, enabling an array of rebellious viceroys and a host of formidable foes to encroach upon the frontiers of the kingdom which began to shrink from the original and extensive dimensions. The north and the eastern boundaries of the Empire were surrounded by enimical monarchs. The Raichore doab, a cockpit of the rival powers, fell into the hands of the muhammadans. Yusuf Adilkhan, declared himself an independent Sultan of Bijapur in 1489 A.D. and a rivalry between him and Kasimbarid, the Sultan of Ahamadnagar, soonafter ensued. The latter invoked the succor of the usurper Sāḷuva Narasingarāya who was promised by his muhammadan ally to cede Mudgal and Raichur. The Sultan of Bijapur was defeated and the two above mentioned places passed into the possession of Vijianagar Empire. But the Sultan of Bijapur could not brook the defeat and after a period of four years i.e., in 1493 A. D. he marched against the two places mentioned above, and gained possession of them and once more the base of contention fell into the hands of the Muhammadan.[5] Eversince that fateful event, the Vijianagar monarchs were determined to wrest the two places from the hands of the Sultan. The Sultan was said to have invaded the territories of the Empire, and

2 Epigraphia Indica Vol I. p. 362.
3 No. 342 of Epigraphical Collection, 1892.
4 do. for 1906.
5 Forgotten Empire, p, 113–114.

advanced so far as to lay seige to Mālur (Kolar District) which was one of the greatest forts of that country. Narasinga took to flight and afterwards tendered his submission, but the Sultan marched on to Kanchi, and also plundered the town and the temples which were the wonder of the age.[6] In this connection Nuniz narrates a story. He says "Amongst these (testaments) he (Krishnadevaraya) found one of king Narsymga, whose minister his father Narasanayque had been in which that king desired that his sons, or whoever should inherit the kingdom of Narsymga which had been gained by force of arms, should capture three fortresses that at his death remained in revolt against him, the which he had not himself taken because time failed him; one of them was called Racholl and another Medegulla".[7] This fact had always an important bearing on the foreign policy of the Emperor, who was through out his reign quite hostile towards the Muhammadan and who stood like a formidable rock against which the billows of the muhammadan invasions broke in vain.

The Gajapathis.

The Emperor had to face on the eastern and the north-eastern frontiers of the kingdom, an equally formidable but less fierce foe, in the kings of the Kalinga, popularly known as the Gajapathis. The policy of the Gajapathis towards their muhammadan neighbour was always co-operative and his actions complementary, unlike that of their Vijianagar contemporaries, which was always competitive and conflictive towards the banner of the crescent. But the Gajapathi was a less dangerous and destructive enemy than the Muhammadan and Krishnadevaraya, was quite sagacious, in successfully inflicting a crushing defeat first on this unwholesome ally of the Muhammadan.

The conquest of the Andhra and Tamil country by the Kings of Orissa.

The inroads of the Oriya King into the Andhra and the Tamil countries date back to the last half of the fifteenth century. Kapilēswara Gajapathi who ruled the Kalinga country from 1435–1470 A. D. was one of the powerful monarchs who attempted a successful invasion of the Deccan. It was stated that he conquered the Karnata kingdom and went as far as Kanchi and beseiged it.[8] The terrible shock and

6 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 134. Major King's account of the Burhani Masir.

7 Forgotten Empire p. 316.

8 The Jagannadha Inscription of Kapileswara. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 173–190.

great havoc wrought by the Gajapathi invasion into the southern country, was amply demonstrated by a few epigraphical records also. In an inscription dated 1472–73 A.D. from the South Arcot District, it was stated that the daily worship of God Jambūnātha was being neglected from a decade previous to that date owing to the distressing disturbance caused by the Gajapathi invasion. Likewise, in another record dated 1470–71 A.D. from Tirukoiluru, we learn that the repairs to the Vaishnava temple in that village were neglected for the same reasons This must have happened during the end of Mallikharjuna's reign.[9] But in Gangādāsapratāpavilasam, it was stated that the 'Yavanapathi' and the 'Gajapathi' marched against Mallikharjuna Raya, and that the former were defeated by the prowess of the Vijianagar Emperor. The Gajapathi was said to have fled for his life.[10] Two inscriptions which were dated 1464-65 A. D. of the Gajapathi king, Kapileswara were also found in the village of Munnur in the South Arcot District. These records establish that the southern invasion of the king of Orissa was not only an enterprising expedition, but also a war of conquest into the heart of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts. Kapileswara-kumara-mahapatro, as the chief was called, was stated, in both these records that he was the viceroy of Kondavīdu, Kondapalli, Addanki, Vinukonda, Dandapada, Padavidu, Veludilampathuvusavadi, Tiruvaruru, Trichinopoly and Chandragiri.[11] Perhaps the earliest inscription showing the domination of the Gajapathi King over the Andhra country was that of the Kondavidu record of Ganadeva, a subordinate of Kapileswara ruling the Kondavīdu principality, as the subordinate of the Orissa king.[12] The inscriptions of Kapileswara Gajapathi were found in Bezawada and China Tirupathi the present Kristna and West Godavari Districts. From the China Tirupathi inscription we learn that Raghudevanarendra, a minister of Kapileswara was ruling at Rajahmundry.[13] Similarly from the Ganti record in the present East Godavari District, we understand that the village was granted to a certain number of Brahmins during the reign of Purushottama, sōn of Kapileswara. From it, it was plain that the northern part of the Andhradesa was under the political sway of the Gajapathis.[14] The Drakshārāma and the Guntur inscriptions of Purushottamadeva, also demonstrate the hold of the Gajapathi kings over the Āndhra

9 Epigraphical report for 1906, p. 56.

10 Page 65 of the Sources of Vijayanagar History.

11-(1) Epigraphical report for 1919, para 47.

(2) Anantavaram inscription dated 1500 A D. of Purashottamadeva published by Mr. Prabhakarasastri in the Annual Supplement of Andhrapatrika, 1928.

12 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, page 390.

13 South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V, No. 101.

14 Epigraphical Report for 1900, p. 65.

country.[15] From the Anantavaram record, of which mention was already made, we know that Purushottama invaded the Vijianagar Empire and captured Sāḷuva Narasingaraya (the usurper), who seceded the Udaigiri principality to the Orissa king. But the contemporary Telugu and Sanskrit Literature present us a different picture of the story. In the Telugu poem 'Jaiminibhāratam' which was dedicated to Sāḷuva Narasimha, it was stated that he deprived Oddiya (the sovereign) of Orissa) who invaded his kingdom of his strength.[16] In the 'Rāmābhyudayam', written by Sāḷuva Narasimha, it was stated that he ruled over Katak,[17] and in the 'Sāḷuvābhyudayam', it was narrated in great detail how Narasimha marched against the Kalinga ruler and beseiged his city.[18] The Anantavaram inscription of Purushottamadeva, and the 'Saraswativilāsam' written by him, also furnish sufficient material towards his relations with the Vijianagar Empire and his hold on the Andhra country. It was known, therefrom, that Prataparudra invaded the Southern country and encamped on the banks of the Kristnaveni; and granted Anantavaram, in the present Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District. The Udayagiri and the Kondavidu principalities passed into the hands of the Gajapathis.

From the contemporary Telugu literature and lithic records, we know that the Udayagiri principality was ruled by subordinate chiefs of the King of Orissa Basavabhūpāla, son of Timmaraya was ruling at Udayagiri as a viceroy of Gajapathi. This was stated by Narayanakavi, in his Panchatantram,[19] by Dugganakavi in his Nachiketopakyanam,[20] and Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya in their joint work 'Prabhodhachandrodayam'.[21] There is an inscription of Timmaraya, the father of Basavabhupala in Ranganayakaswami's temple in the Udayagiri fort.[22]

The stage of the Southern Country.

We discussed the political relations of the Empire with the Kalinga Rulers and had now to divert our attention to the state of affairs in the Tamil country, which formed the southern frontier of the Empire. This also presents a powerful picture and narrates a doleful story and in short it is a tale of trouble and turmoil. There was always trouble from the Chola and the Pandyan principalities in the south.

15 South Indian Inscriptions Nos. 659, 1362. Vol. IV.
16 Sources of Vijianagar History, p. 86.
17 do. do. p. 83.
18 do do. p. 91.
19 Panchatantram, Canto 1, Introductory verses.
20 Nachiketopakyanam, Canto 1 do.
21 Prabhodhachandrodayam, Canto 1 do.
22 Nos. 208 and 209 Epigraphical Collections for 1892.

Ever since the expedition of Kamparaya into the Pandyan kingdom, and the restoration of that ruler to the throne, the allegiance of the southern chiefs, was lukewarm to the central government and during the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha, we find that several expeditions were made by the usurper and his trusted generalisimo, Narasanāyaka, the father of Krishnadevarāya. The Telugu poems Jaiminibharatam, Varahāpurānam, and Parijātāpaharanam and the Sankrit works of 'Sāluvābhyudayam, Rāmābhyudayam, Varadāmbikāpariniyam and Achyutarayabhyudayam, amply demonstrate the above facts. In Jaiminibharatam, it was stated that Sālva Narasimha conquered the Tamil country.[23] In the Varāhapuranam, the exploits of the usurper were narrated and it was described how he conquered the following forts viz., Bangalore, Bagur, Nargonda, Namur and Srirangapatam.[24] In Rāmābhyudayam, Narasimha was stated to have ruled over the territory comprising the 'Kalyana, Kanchi, Katak, Kuntala, Chola and Pundraka'.[25] In Parijatapaharanam, it was described that Narasanayaka, the famous general captured the town of Madura after killing the Chola ruler and exhibited the swordsmanship to the Henna ruler of Srirangapatam.[26] Similarly the exploits of Narasanayaka were described in Achyutarayabhyudayam. He laid a bridge acorss.the Kaveri, and captured the town of Srirangapatam. He then marched against Madura and defeating and killing its Marava ruler in a battle, captured the place. He then defeated in battle a chief called Konetiraja who opposed him his elephants.[27]

All the above facts, were more or less confirmed by contemporary inscriptions Narasa was stated to have constructed a bridge across the Kaveri, crossed it, and beseiged Srirangapatam. He erected a pillar of victory there. He was said to have conquered the Gajapathi ruler and possessed a title 'Gajapathirayebhagandabherunda', conquered the Muhammadans, and Mānabhusha, the ruler of Madura, and that the rulers of Pandya, Chola and Chera countries were paying tributes to him.[28] Thus we understand that the state of the southern country was also quite unsettled at the time of the accession of Krishnaraya.

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23 Sources Vijianagar Empire page 86.
24 do. 88.
25 do. 83.
26 do. 106.
27 do. 108.

There was a Pandyan King called 'Arikesari Parakrama Pandya who was also named Mānabhusha, Mānabharana or Mānakavacha. This may be the person the Tuluva general said to have conquered at this time also there was a Konetiraja ruling Kanchi. (No. 259 of 1911; 1490–91 A.D.)

28–(1) Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. IV, Part II. Gundalpeta No. 30.
(2) Epigraphia Indica Vol. XIV, Jan. 1918. Kudiyntandal grant of Viranarasimha.

Preparations for the Campaigns.

Nuniz states that Krishnadēvarāya stayed at Vijianagar for a period of one and a half years after he was crowned king and learnt the affairs of the state probably under his great prime minister Sāḷuva Timmarasu. This fact was also corroborated by Rāyavāchakam and Krishnarāyavijayam, the two later day chronicles about the reign of the Emperor Krishnadevaraya.

The Conquest of Sivasamudra.

The first expedition of Krishnadevaraya soon after he ascended the throne was against the Ummattur chiefs. Their capital was Sivasamudra. It is an island city, situated between the two falls of the Kāveri, nine miles north-east of modern Kollegal in the Coimbatore District. The Ummattur chiefs were turbulent and attempted to become independent during the time of the predecessors of Krishnadevaraya. We have had ample contemporary evidence to illustrate the fact. From the Portuguese authorities, we are informed 'that the king of Narasinga was getting himself ready with 5000 men on foot and 2000 on horse, for an expedition against one of his vassals who had risen up in rebellion and seized the city of Penugonda, the rebel declaring that "to himself belonged the kingdom by right".[29] That the Rajahs of Ummattur asserted their independence and became the lords of Penugonda was instanced by an inscription dated 1494 A.D., at Honakanhalli in the Gundlupeta Taluk, wherein it was stated that the Chikkarajah Odeyar, the lord of Ummattur was given the title of 'Penugonda-Chakreswara'.[30] Krishnadevaraya defeated the chief at the battle of Sivasamudra and gave pardon to the rebellious rajah. After the conquest of Sivasamudra, the king visited Srirangapatam and paid homage to the God there and returned back to the capital. The conquest of Sivasamudra was graphically described in Parijatapaharam,[31] Rayavachakam[32] and Krishnarayavijayam.[33]

From the Amaravati inscription dated the 8-7-1515 A. D., of Krishnadevaraya, we learn also that Krishnadevaraya conquered Sivasamudra, the stronghold of the Ummatur chiefs. Professor Luders who ably edited the inscription quotes confirmatary evidence from the accounts of foreign travellers and muhammadan historians.[34] The

29 Forgotten Empire, p. 126.
30 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IV, page 77.
31 Page 138 of the Sources of Vijianagar History.
22 do. 111 do.
33 do. 130 do.
34 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII, p. 17-22.

Bukkapatnam inscription of Kriṣṇadēvarāya is another record which mentions Kriṣṇarāya's sojourn to Śivasamudra. The later record states that the king who had gone to Śivasamudra on state business, ordered from there, that the ceremony of 'Lakshādahana' might be performed at Penugonda, and that on the closing occasion when the Purnāhuti was offered in the time, the assessment on the Devadaya and Brahmadaya lands below the tank of 'Kottacheruvu', which having been tax free from the time of Chokkaodayalu, had been assessed during subsequent political disturbances in the country, might be completely exempted from paying any taxes both in kind or coin. The 'state affair' and 'subsequent political disturbance' evidently relate to the rebellion of the Ummattur chiefs and the subsequent expedition of Krishnadevarāya, whose presence was called for at Śivasamudra.[35]

After the Conquest of Śivasamudra, the King appointed Sāluva Govindarājah, the brother of the prime minister, as the viceroy of that country.[36]

The Kalinga Wars.

First expedition.

The Udayagiri fort was an impregnable citadel and as the two inscriptions at Kandukur clearly state, it was the strongest fort in the domain of Krishnadevarāya.[37] The fort was under the command of Pūsapāti Tammarāyanimgaru and afterwards his son Basavarāju, about the end of the fifteenth century.[38] Subsequently, it was ruled by Tirumalakantarāya, the uncle of Pratāparuda Gajapathi. Krishnadevarāya, with his mighty army started from Vijianagar and proceeding via. Gutti and Gandikōta, seiged Udayagiri. Udayagiri fell and with it, the whole of the Eastern Āndhra country which was under the sway of the Gajapathis was annexed to the Karnāta Empire, which was extended to the Bay of Bengal. The banner of the Boar was floated on the fortified walls of the stronghold of Udayagiri on 9-6-1514 A.D., according to an Udayagiri record.[39] From that inscription, we learn that Krishnarāya captured alive Tirumala Rāghavarāya or Kāntarāya.[40] Nuniz stated that the Emperor laid seige to the fort for a

35 Epigraphical report 1914. Para 30. S' 1435.

36-(1) No. 340 of Epigraphical Collections for 1892.

(2) Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. IV. Introduction page 25 and Epigraphia Carnatica Mysore, Part 1. N.j. 195.

37 Nellore Inscriptions Vol. II. K. R. 27 and 30.

38 do. Vol. III. No. 29.

39 do. Vol. III. No. 40.

40 do. Vol. III. Udayagiri Nos. 37, 38, 40, and 41.

year and a half, with an army of thirty-thousand foot and eight thousand elephants and that he captured an aunt of Pratāparudra Gajapathi and took her off to Vijianagaram, where he showed her all the courtesy.[41]

Rāyasam Kondamarasu, was appointed as the governor of Udayagiri principality, after it was annexed to the Empire. He gave a grant on the 20-8-1514, after he was appointed to the Viceroyalty of Udayagiri principality.[42]

The king visited the Tirupathi temple on his way back to the capital and presented to the God Venkatēśwara 30,000 gadyanams. The Tirupathi records were inscribed in three languages; the Canarese, Telugu and Tamil. These records recount how Krishnadevarāya attacked Pratāparudragajapathi and how he pursued him as far as Kondavīdu, after his capture of Udayagiri.[43]

After taking the fortress of Udayagiri, the Emperor brought from there the beautiful image of Sree Bālakrishna and installed it in a jewelled mantapa in the Krishnaswāmi temple at Hampi.[44]

Second expedition.

Capture of Kondavidu.

The next important fortress of the Gajapathi was Kondavīdu. Krishnarāya, as Nuniz stated, thought that his conquest of Udayagiri was only a trivial one, and he determined to penetrate into the domains of the King of Oriya.[45] As soon as he returned from the first expedition, he did not rest content with his success in that quarter. He ordered his prime minister to make preparations for the second expedition.

We had already stated, that the viceroyalty of Kondavīdu, was held by Gandena, and afterwards by Kumāra Hammira Mahāpātro, the famous Oriya general who was sent against Kanchi by Kapileswara. Subsequently after the death of Hammira Pātro, Vīrabhadra, son of Pratāparudra Gajapathi, was the viceroy of Kondavīdu and he was assisted by some Oriya chieftains and muhammadan warriors in the government of the same. The viceroy of Kondavīdu was considered to be the principal Rāja of Telingāna.[46]

41 Forgotten Empire, p. 316-37.
42 Nellore Inscriptions No. 1197.
43 South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV, No. 252.
44 do. do. No. 255.
45 Forgotten Empire, p. 317.
46 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 390-393.

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Let us turn to Nuniz, who gave a graphic account of the conquest of Kondavīdu.

"He (Krishnarāya) departed and went against Comdovy which was one of the principal cities of the kingdom of Oriya and beseiged it, and learning this, the king of Oriya came against him to defend his territories, and brought with him 1300 elephants, and 20,000 horsemen and he brought 5,00,000 footsoldiers. Crisnarao, being aware of the approach of the king of Oriya, left the city without assaulting it, saying that he preferred to fight the king in person, and his army, rather than to attack the city and that there would be plenty of time afterwards to take it, and he went forward four leagues from it, leaving a force to prevent the escape of the people from the city and if they should seek to flee to the coast. And he arrived at a large river of salt water crossed by a ford and on the otherside of the river was the king of Oriya with his army. King, Crisnarao halted his army on the side of the river and sent the king a message that if he desired to fight with him, he would retire from the river two leagues, so that he (the king of Oriya) might pass the river unmolested. and as soon as he had passed he would join battle; to which message the king of Oriya gave no reply, but on the contrary made ready to give battle. And king Crisnarao, seeing his determination crossed the river with all his forces and elephants, and in crossing the river there were heavy encounters on both sides, and many were slain. Notwithstanding this, king Crisnarao crossed the river, and on the bank fought so bravely that he defeated the king of Oriya and put him to flight in which defeat he took many horses and elephants.

And after the king had done this, he told Sāḷvatinea, his minister that he purposed to turn back to the fortress, which had not yet experienced his strength, and he went against it, and stopped there two months beseiging it; and he took it.

And he gave the command of it to Salvatinea, who left in it, from his army, for captain one of his brothers, in order that he may himself might go forward with the king through the kingdom of Orya".[47]

From the Mangalagiri inscription, we learn that Sāḷva Timmarasu, the prime minister of Krishnadēvarāya conquered the fort of Kondavīdu, and captured the 'swan-like kings appointed by Gajapathi in Kondavīti'. The date of the capture of Kondavīdu is the 23-1-1515 A.D.[48]

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47 Forgotten Empire, pages 317-18.

48 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 109-133.

Nādindla Appa, the nephew of the prime minister obtained the post of Commander-in-chief of an army, of superintendent of Vinukonda, Gutti, and Amarāvati. Nādindla Gōpa, another nephew of the prime minister, was appointed governor of Kondavīdu. Nādindla Gōpa was the governor of Kondavīdu as per his Kondavīdu inscription dated the 2-5-1520 A. D.[49]

The Amarāvati inscription of Krishnarāya records that after the conquest of Udayagiri, he captured the forts of Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nāgārjunakonda, Tangedu and Ketavaram, laid seige to Kondavīdu, and captured alive Vīrabhadra, the son of Pratāparudra, Vīramahāpātra, the son of Kumāra Hammira Mahāpātra, Mallakhan and Uddankhan of Raichūru, Pūsapāti Rāchirāju, Srīnātharāju Lakshmipathirāju, Janyamalaka Sanapātra, Pacchima Bālachendramahāpātra, and similar subordinate chiefs and he gave them amnesty. The Ahobilam inscription of Krishnarāya substantiates the same facts with a slight difference. The name of Pūsapāti Rāchirāju was not mentioned. This chief was the son-in-law of Pratāparudra and married his daughter Akkamāmbadēvi. He was appointed as the chief of Ketavaram.[50] After the capture of Ketavaram, this warrior might have rushed to the rescue of his brother-in-law, Vīrabhadra, who was beseiged at Kondavīdu.

Nuniz states, that soon after the fall of Kondavīdu, the Rāya marched against Kondapalli and captured the same.[50a] Kristnadevarāya, also mentions that he conquered Kondapalli and captured alive Praheswara Patra.[51] Nuniz describes that Kristnarāya found many people of high rank whom he made captive, amongst whom was the wife of the king, and one of his sons who was a prince and seven principal captains of the kingdom, all whom he sent by road to Vijianagar.[52]

Soon after the campaign, Kristnadevarāya returned back to the capital via Amarāvati, and Śrīsailam. At Amarāvati, he performed the Tulāpurusha ceremony at the temple of Amareswara, and from thence he went straight to Śrīsailam, and built the row of stone mandapas on either side of the car-street and remitted tolls on Kavadis, Packponies, Pack-bullocks, and donkeys etc. He was at Śrīsailam on the 25—7—1515 A.D.[53]

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49 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 231-33.

50 Vide Kri tnavijayam—Mentioned in the Lives of the Telugu Poets, Kristnadevarāya—by Mr. Sriramamuathi.

50-a Forgotten Empire, page 318.

51 Colophon of Canto III of Amuktamalyadā.

52 Forgotten Empire, p. 319.

53 Epigraphical collections Nos. 18 and 19 of 1915.

Chronicle of Nuniz not an Oracle of Facts.

Nuniz can not be accepted as a chronicler of the greatest exactitude, but can be stated only as a compiler of both fact and fiction. He was not a contemporary of Krishnadevarāya, but a little posterior to the events he described, and hence was necessarily ignorant of a multitude of small particulars. He could not but trust to some unconnected memoiors or uncertain echo of tradition; which is but afterall, a translation of translation. Below we show how Nuniz was mislead. He stated that Kristnadevarāya made captive many people of high rank, amongst whom was a wife of the king, and one of his sons who was a prince and seven principal captains of the kingdom, when he captured Kondapalli. It was not known whether a wife of the king was captured alive or not, but it was known that Vīrabhadra, the son of Pratāparudra Gajapathi, together with some other Oriya nobles, were captured alive by Kristnadevarāya at Kondavīdu. That fact was fully borne out by inscriptions, which he had mentioned already. Nuniz was not rest content with it. The treatment that Kristnarāya gave to the captured Prince, was described by Nuniz at a latter stage as follows.

"And he sent to call the son of the king of Oriya (after the Simhachalam expedition was over and after he returned home) who was taken captive in the first fortress, and told him that as people said that he was very active man, and was very dexterous with both sword and dagger, he would be pleased to see him fence.

The young man said that since His Highness summoned him he would do what he could, and asked that this might be put off till next day. And when the next day came, the king sent to call him, and also sent for one of his own men who at that time was very expert in the art, that he would fence with him. And when the son of the king of Oriya saw him, being offended with the king for sending a man to fight with him, who was not the son of a king but only a man of a humble birth, he cried out to the king:—"God forbid that I should soil my hands by touching a man not of the blood royal," and saying this he slew himself ".[54]

The contemporary inscriptions relate a different story. We know that Vīrabhadra, the prince, was treated kindly by Kristnadeyarāya. He was appointed as a governor of a province.[55] From the very date of the inscription, which was after a few months after the date of the capture of Kondavīdu, we understand, that the prince was set at liberty and he was appointed to a suitable position befitting his status

54 Forgotten Empire, p. 319-320.

55 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. XI, D-G. 107, 19-10-1515 A.D.

in life. We know from the above Devangari record that he was the ruler of Malege Bennur Sima and that he remitted taxes on marriages there.

The Third Kalinga Expedition.

The first mention of this expedition was made in the Ahobilam inscription of Krishnadevarāya. In it it was narrated, that the Emperor, after the capture of Udayagiri, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunakonda, Addanki, Ammanabrolu, Tangedu, Ketavaram, and Kondavīdu, etc., went to Dharanikota, visited the God Amareswara, and performed Tulāpurushadanam and that he returned back to Vijianagar after the above ceremony was over and that he started on the second Kalingadigvijaya, made obeisance to God Ahobilanatha. We know that the date of the Amaravathi record is the 8-7-1515 A. D. and the date of the above mentioned Ahōbilam inscription is the 21-12-1515 A.D.[56] The date of S'rīsailam record is the 25-7-1515 A. D. From the above dates of the inscriptions, we can definitely state that the king was at Vijianagar during the months of August, September, October, November and early week of December of 1515 A.D., making extensive preparations for one of the greatest expeditions, he ever conceived.[57]

The Date of Parijathapaharanam.

Incidentally, it is quite interesting to know, that from the available information given above, that Timmana, one of the Court poets of Kristnadevarāya, composed his poem Pārijātāpaharanam, and dedicated to the Emperor during the above period. Timmana described the campaigns of the Emperor upto the capture of Kondavīdu and Kondapalli. and also stated that the Tulāpurushadanam was made by the king. These events were also corroborated by the Amaravati record. He also adds, that the Emperor was eagerly expected to go against the Gajapathi. Therefore, we can unhesitatingly fix the date of Pārijātāpaharanam, between the 25-7-1515 and 21-12-1515 A.D.

The Route of the Expedition.

Peddana, the Poet-laureate of the Emperor described the route, by which the expedition was conducted by the Emperor, till he reached Simhachalam in the present Vizagapatam District, and how he later on erected a pillar of victory at Potnuru. He crossed Jammiloya, and

56 No. 64 of 1915.

57 Para 48 of the Epigraphical report for 1914–15.

reduced successively the districts of Vēgi, Kōna and Kottam, Kanakagiri, Potnuru, Mademulu, Oddadi, and burnt Cuttack, so that the Gajapathi fled from there. Nuniz also states, that there was no one to bar the progress till he got to Symamdary. Sewell identified Symamdary with Rajahmundry, but it is a mistake. Symamdary is but Simhadri or Simhachalam. The Simhachalam inscription of Kristnadevarāya states that Kristnadevarāya, followed by his two queens Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi, after conquring Udaigiri, Kondavīdu, Kondapalli and Rajahmundry, visited Simhachalam and presented jewels to the God Varāha Narasimha.[58] Peddana states that the king planted a pillar of victory, as high as a palm-tree, on which was inscribed the story of his victory over the king of Kalinga. The same is confirmed by Kristnadevarāya in the colophon of canto, the fourth of the Amuktamalyada.[59] The date of the Simhachalam inscription is S'aka 1438, cyclic year Dhatri, the twelfth day of dark fortnight of Chaitra, which is according to the English calendar, the 30-3-1516 A.D.

Krishnadevaraya's Encounter with Chitaphkhan.

Both Rāyavachakam and Kristnarāyavijayam narrate how Kristnadevarāya met with a formidable attack by Chitaphkan, just at the place where the Rāya crossed the Eastern Ghats into the territory of Kalinga. This Chitaphkhan was an independent chief ruling a small domain in Telingana with his capital at Warrangal. The chief was defeated by Kristnadevarāya. There is a lengthy epigraph of this chieftain at Warrangal describing his indomitable courage and indescribable valour. He belonged to Bhōgikula.[60]

Krishnadevaraya's Return March.

After erecting a pillar of victory at Potnūru, he returned back the capital, and visited the following places on his way—Bezawada,

58 No. 694 of the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV.

59 Vizagapatam Gazetteer. p. 230. "Potnuru is twelve miles from Bhimilipatam, on the bank of the Chittivalasa river. The pillar has now disappeared, but frequent discoveries in Potnuru of fragments of sculptured stones and gold coins bearing bull upon them strengthen the traditions regarding its departed importance.

60 Pages 115 and 132 of A Forgotten Empire. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VII. No. 731. From the inscription, we learn that he belonged to Bhōgi-kula and that he restored one Panchala-raya to the throne. His genealogy is given below.

Naga
|
Mana = Gauramba
|
Chitaphkhan

Kālahasti, Tiruvannamalai, Chidambaram, and Conjeevaram and made munificent gifts to the temples in the southern country. As per a Mysore record, we know that the Emperor was on the banks of the Kistna on the 29-6-1516 A.D. 'when he was returning home' after his successes in his war against the king of Orissa.[61] There are other instances where the Emperor granted remission of taxes from the banks of the Kristnaveni after his victorious march from the east.[62] He is also stated to have visited Kālahasti, worshipped the God there, and caused to be built the hundred-pillared mandapa, and the big gopuram on the east gate.[63] In the same year important additions like the thousand-pillared mandapam etc. were made to the temple at Tiruvannamalai. The inscription engraved on the north gopuram of the temple at Chidambaram, mentions that after setting up a pillar of victory at Simhadri-Pottunur, the king returned from that place and visited Chidambaram and built the northern gopuram of that temple, perhaps as an act of gratitude for the victories he achieved.[64]

From a Conjeevaram record, we also learn that the Emperor returned back to the capital via Rajahmundry. The date of the record is the 18-10-1516 A.D.[64a]

Land of Catuir—Identification of

Nuniz states that after Krishnadevarāya made peace with the king of Kalinga, he made a large army and prepared to attack 'Catuir' which was the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years and that land was on Charamaodel side, and that he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was. The name of the city mentioned by Nuniz was lost to us, but it was stated that the city was surrounded by a river. The geographical details so far furnished by the Portuguese Chronicler gave to the South Indian Historians, much food for thought and play of their ingenuity, and each in his own way tried to identify the land and the town mentioned by the chronicler. So far the attempts made, in our opinion, seem to be not at all satisfactory.

Sewell thought that the description of the place answers to Vellore in the North Arcot District.[64-b] Rev. Heras opined that Catuir might

61 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. V, H.N. 13.

62 Para 53 of the Epigraphical Report for 1910–11.

63 Para 30 of Epigraphical Report for 1914.

64 No. 196 of 1903.

64–a Para 44 of the Epigraphical report for 1919–20.

64–b Forgotten Empire, p. 321.

be the corruption of Chittoor.[65] Mr. Krishnasastri identified 'Catuir' with Cuttack the capital of the Orissa king[66] and this identification was called in question by Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar. Dr. Ayyangar equated 'Catuir' with the Tamil 'Kadavar' and asserted as follows.[67] "As there is little doubt that the land of Catuir refers to a province rather than to a city, it is clear we have to look for the equivalent of 'Catuir' in the name of a province or a district. It seems open to little doubt that Catuir is Nuniz's modification of Kadavar, a name originally given to the Pallavas in Tamil literature and which survives yet in the Karvetinagar Zamindari, in the modern Chittoor District of the Madras Presidency". This historian presumes that the first campaign of Krishnarāya against the chief of Ummattur is what seems to be referred to by Nuniz in the war against Catuir. In addition to these speculations, we have had a recent one by Dr. Venkataramaniah.[68] He identified Catuir with Kayattar, the capital of one of the branches of Pandyan royal family. The principal city was said to be Kayal. There was a good deal of confusion by the author, in stating that Kayattar as both a principality and also as a capital. The date of conquest of this place was placed in 1519 A.D. i.e. after the final expedition against Kalinga. But Nuniz put it soon after his return from Simhadri. This discrepancy was not explained by this writer.

We think that, the above scholars did not make any serious attempt to understand what Nuniz means by stating that the land of '*Catuir*' was on the *Charamaodel side.* In the narrative of Paes, we have a clue to what Charamaodel side is. Paes entered the Vijianagar Kingdom by west coast. The route he mentioned was from Bhatkal to Sāndur.[69] He arrived at Ballagate and Charamaodel which belonged to Vijianagar kingdom.[70] The word Ballagate is no other than Bālāghāt (above Ghats) which is the name given by the Musalmans of Bijapur to a region in Southern India conquered by them from Vijianagar in the 17th century. It comprised the north-east part of Mysore and the Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool and Cuddappah Districts of the modern Madras Presidency.[71] Sewell stated that the word 'Charamaodel' was applied by Portugese to the eastern Tamil and southern Telugu Districts and *it had no well defined limits* and often was held to extend

65 The Aravidu Dynasty, p. 112.

66 Archaeological Survey Report for India 1908-09, .page 180.

67 "Yet Remembered Ruler of a Long Forgotten Empire" pages 8-9.

68 Studies in the Third Vijayanagar Dynasty, Appendix A.

69 A Forgotten Empire, p. 237.

70 A Forgotten Empire, p. 239.

71 Imperial Gazetteer, Madras Presidency, page 182.

even as far as to the Kristna river and even to Orissa. Nuniz mentioned 'all the country of Charamamdell'[72] and 'the Charamaodel country'.[73] From the above references, we can safely infer that the Charamaodel country can be equated with the country lying between the western ghats and the east coast, with the Kristna river in the north. The Charamaodel country as mentioned by Paes and Nuniz, comprised more than Cholamandalam and also included some part of Charamandalam also, and not exactly the Southern Tamil and the Eastern Telugu Districts, and Sewell is right, when he says it is something more.

Krishnadevaraya's Conquest of Tulu country and the Land of Catuir.

We have a great testimony of an inscription to show, that soon after the expedition of the Emperor upto Simhachalam and the erection of the pillar of victory at Potnur, he proceeded against the Tulu country on the west coast. An important inscription dated the 13-7-1516 A.D. in the Mudgere Taluq of the Kadur District in the Mysore state reveals the fact that Kristnadevarāya, marched against the Tulu country. It was recounted therein, that the Emperor having gone against Tulu kingdom with an army and being encamped on the Bhuvanna Channel of Mangalur (the modern Mangalore in the south Canara District) Bairasa Odeyar escaped from that country and made a vow that if the army should go back and if he would return in peace to his country, he would repair the temple of God Kalaśanatha. So the events came about and one of his ministers was entrusted with the work.[74] Nuniz stated that the city was surrounded with a river and that the Emperor was actually at the place and captured it after a great difficulty. From the inscription, we learn that the king came, with his great army and encamped on the Bhuvanna channel of Mangalore. The city of Mangalore, then, as now, should have stretched itself along the back water formed by the *Netravati* and *Gunpur* rivers and we are fortunate to identify a place which exactly answered the description of Nuniz, by the testimony of a contemporary lithic record, which narrates an expedition of the Emperor, soon after the third Kalinga expedition. The expedition of the Emperor to Mangalore or Tuluva country was through Kātūrsīma in the Tarikena Taluk, in the Kodur District of the Mysore

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72 A Forgotten Empire, page 301.

73 do. page 9 of the Introduction.

74 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VI. M.G. Nos. 39 and 41 and also 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions' page 141.

state. The Kātursīma is also mentioned in later day inscriptions during the time of Sadāśivarāya.[75] The Bhairasa Odeyars were the most powerful of Jaina Rajahs of Tulu country and perhaps they might have showed signs of insubordination, though they owed allegiance to Krishnadēvarāya. The province of Mangalore—Barakuru Rājya was ruled by Ratnappa Odeya in Ś 1434 and Ś 1437 (Nos 54 and 42 of 1901). Later on the office was held by Vittarasa Odeya (No. 150 of 1901). The Mahāmandaleswara Sāḷuva Immadi Dēvarāya Odeya was ruling in Ś 1445 the province in which were included Huma, Tulu, and Konkana from his capital at Gerosoppe.[76] A long list of the Governors of Barakuru and Mangaluru was given in the latest epigraphical report of the Southern India, mentioning the above governors.[77]

A Fourth Kalinga Expedition.

The South Indian Historian knew, that there were only three expeditions against the Kalinga ruler —the first expedition ending with the capture of Udayagiri fort, the second culminating with the fall of the Kondavidu Durga, and the third with the setting up a pillar of victory at Potnur. There is ample epigraphical and literary evidence to demonstrate, that there was a fourth campaign against the Kalinga ruler. The Emperor was frequently on the banks of the Kristnaveni during the years 1518–1519 A.D. encamped there with his generals and ministers. Āmuktamalyda, the Telugu poem composed by the Emperor corroborates the epigraphical evidence. The reasons for the fourth expedition, are a matter of conjecture, but the grounds to substantiate that there was such an expedition, are set forth below:—

(1) There was the Kokatam inscription dated the 25-4-1518 A.D. granted by Kristnadēvarāya to Allasāni Peddana, his poet-laureate from the banks of the Krishnaveni.

(2) There was a lengthy inscription of the same date of Singarāja, a commander of Kristnadēvarāya's army.

(3) The next important evidence is that stated by Kristnadēvarāya himself. "In his introduction to his poem (Āmuktamalyada) he says that while on his expedition against Kalinga he stayed for a few days at Vijayavati (Bezawada) went to Śrīkākulam to worship the God Āndhra Vishṇu of the place and spent the 'Ekādasi' fast, at that place. On that night in the fourth watch (Yāma) the God appeared to him,

75 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VI, I.K. 21, 22, 23 and 24.

76 P, 183, Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-09.

77 Para 43 of the Epigraphical Report for 1931-32.

and recounting several works which he wrote in Sanskrit, Madālasa Charitra, Satyavadhūprīṇanam, Sakalakathāsārasangraham, Sūktinaipunignana Chintāmani and Rasamanjari, directed him to compose the story of Gōda (Andal, the daughter of Vishṇuchitta Periyāḷwar, one of the twelve Śrī Vaishṇava Saints) in Telugu. Telugu according to the God was the best of the Desabhashas and could alone be understood by all those assembled in his court. He exhorted the king to dedicate it to God Venkatēswara." This statement of Krishnarāya is supported by a Śrīkākulam record of the Emperor, wherein, it was stated, that the Emperor visited the God on the Kumbhasamkrānti day of the cyclic year Bahudhānya, in Ś 1440 and presented to God certain villages in the Kondavīti Sīma. As it is already shown by us in our article on the date of Āmuktamalyada in one of the previous issues of this journal the Kumbhasamkrānti day coincided with an Ekādasi day also. That day according to our calculation fell on the 27-1-1519 A.D. There is no other record of Kristnadēvarāya signifying his visit to that sacred shrine. Therefore, it is quite evident, that the date mentioned by the Emperor in his poem, should be, that which was mentioned in the inscription. Therefore, according to the statement of the Emperor, his visit to the temple must be shortly after an expedition against the Kalinga ruler.

(4) A fourth evidence, in support of our contention, that there is a fourth Kalinga expedition, is that afforded by the second Simhachalam inscription. This inscription is dated—'Ś 1441 of the cyclic year Pramādi, on Monday the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvana'[78] This is equivalent to the 8-8-1519 A.D.

There is vast difference between the first Simhachalam inscription and this one. The former mention the visit of the Emperor with his two consorts and their munificent gifts to the God. The second, of which we are just speaking, specially states, that the Emperor *gave away certain villages from 'Kalingadandapata' taken from Pratāparudragajapathi.* The grant might have been made from Vijianagar, after he returned to the Capital. This makes us believe that the Emperor, for reasons we are not aware, had to wage a war against the Kalinga ruler and went so far to Vijayavati and returned back to the capital via Śrīkākulam, after a definite understanding with the Kalinga ruler.

The Battle of Raichur or Nairamanam.

Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar writes "Readers of the two Portuguese Chronicles, which form the appendices to the Forgotten Empire

78 South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI. No. 695.

of Vijayanagar of Mr. Sewell, can hardly resist the feeling that the campaign against Raichur is the third act of a great tragedy, and that all the events preceding merely lead up to this; while those that follow from the great event as of necessary consequence....But Indian literature and even the inscriptions of Kristnadēva give no hint that any such importance was attached to this new famous battle of Raichur, great as it was from the military point of view and important in the consequences that ultimately flowed from it".[79] Apart from the descriptive narrative of Nuniz of the battle of Raichur, we have had an epigraphical evidence of the famous battle. The Government epigraphist was of opinion that the inscription mentions the battle referred to.[80] There is no reason to disbelieve the graphic account of Nuniz, since he wrote the narrative only about sixteen or seventeen years after the war took place. Now, we are fortunate to have literary evidence of this important battle. Kristnadēvarāya, in the Colophon of Canto VI of his work 'Āmuktamalyada', described the fall of 'Nairamanam', and how he captured it from the 'Yavanas' or the Muhammadans. It is unfortunate, the Editor of the Sources of Vijianagar History, did not quote this Colophon, probably, on account of his not understanding the meaning of the word 'Nairamanam'.[81] In the 'Addenda et Corrigenda' of the above compilation, the learned Editor presumed that the battle of 'Kembavi' mentioned in the Colophon to Canto V of 'Āmuktamalyada' referred to the battle generally spoken of as the battle of Raichur. We are definitely of opinion that the achievement of Kristnadēvarāya mentioned by him at the end of Canto V of his work will not refer to the Battle of Raichur, but the colophon at the end of canto VI, which mention the success of Kristnadēvaraya at 'Nairamanam' suggests the battle of Raichur. This 'Nairamanam' is the modern 'Niramanuru', a small village now situated about seven miles N.E. of Manvi, near the north bank of the Tungabhadra river, in the Raichur Doab. We are much indebted the information furnished by Mr. Yazdani Sahib, the Director of Archaeology of the Hyderabad State.[82] This village is also very near to Raichur, (between Manvi and Raichur). It is to the great credit of Kristnadēvarāya, who united in his poetic skill, the instinct for historical precision. The engagement against the muhammadans at a place called 'Kembavi' and the destruction of its fortifications, will be referred to by us later on, but suffice

79 The Yet-Remembered Ruler of a Long-Forgotten Empire. page 19.

80 Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1907. Para 59.

81 Page 133-138 of the Sources of Vijayanagar History. The Editor made mention upto the Colophon of Canto V, without refering to the Colophon of Canto VI.

82 Letter received from the Director of Archaeology—Hyderabad State.
"The modern name of 'Nairamanam' is 'Niramanuru' a small village about seven miles N.E. of Manvi in the Raichur District,"

it to say, that the Emperor-poet, is also a great historian, who depicts his achievements with chronological precision. In this respect, the colophons of the cantos of his monumental work, are veritable goldmines.

Colophon of Canto	I	...	Capture of	Udayagiri.
do. do.	II	...	do.	Kondavīdu.
do. do.	III	...	do.	Kondapalli.
do. do.	IV	...	Worship of the God at Simhachalam and the erection of the pillar of victory at Potnur.	
do. do.	V	...	Destruction of the fortification at Kembavi.	
do. do.	VI	...	Battle of Nairamanam.	

It may also be known that Kembavi, is nearly 70 or 80 miles from Raichur, and whereas 'Nairamanam' only a few miles from the latter place. This Kembavi expedition mentioned, Kristnadēvarāya, may refer to the expedition against Gulberga and might have been achieved along with the conquest of the latter place.

We have also epigraphical record mentioning the battle of Raichur. From the two tamil verses engraved on the third gopura of the Amritaghateswara Temple at Tirukkadaiyur in the Tanjore District, which register an endowment by a Brahmana named Apatsahāyam, it is understood, that the donor is said to have pleased Krishnarāya by his warlike deeds at Irachchur and Vijayanagar and the date is the cyclic year Vishaiya, which probably stands for Vrisha, corresponding to A.D. 1521–22.[83]

The battle of Raichur was graphically described by Nuniz and it is not necessary to repeat the lengthy and descriptive narrative of that chronicler. The date of the battle, has almost satisfactorily been settled by the father of Vijayanagar History, Mr. Sewell, and stated to be the 19-5-1520 A.D. We have already stated that Nuniz is not correct in depicting certain minor facts and especially in stating the date he erred, as Mr. Sewell proved.

83 Para 59 of the Epigraphical Report for 1906-07.

REVIEWS

'The Wild Tribes in Indian History' *Dr. B. A. Seletore*: Published by *Motilal Banarsi Das, Punjab Book Depot*, 1935. Price not mentioned.

"The aim of the book" the author writes "is to give a short history of such of the tribes which so far as *the available information about them is concerned have added to the annals of history* with special reference to western and southern India from earliest times to the end of the 18th century A. D.

The Sources from which the work is written are (1) Literature both Hindu and Buddhist (2) The accounts of Foreign travellers (3) Traditional accounts and Epigraphical records.

In writing the first chapter on the Policy of the Hindu Rulers towards the Wild Tribes, the author brings in the evidence of Ktesias to show that 'free friendship existed between the wild tribes and the Indian rulers.' Then he shows how Koutilya advocated a policy of protection and conciliation because he considered the wild tribes as an element to be counted for the internal peace and external conquest. He then refers to Sukranīti and the maxims given by that Law giver. Asokan Edicts and his moral propaganda were dwelt at length to show that he attempted to uplift the wild tribes. We fail to agree with the author in his inference that the Andhras were one of the many wild tribes that received the Emperor's magnanimous treatment, (P. 9) for we have the evidence of Megasthenes to show them as a well organised and civilised race by that time. Then the policy of the Hoyasala king Vinayāditya and Krishnadevaraya towards the wild tribes was discussed. The author concludes "The non-observance of these noble maxims of Krishnadevaraya the Great by his successors had a profound effect on the life of the powerful Medieval Hindu Empire." P. 12. In our opinion, the Empire suffered more by dynastic disputes, the confederacy of Bahamani rulers, and the lack of loyalty among the Nayāks of the Empire, than by an unwise policy towards the wild tribes.

The history of the Kirātās is dealt with in the Second Chapter. Prominence is given to the Kirātās because "interesting details both in the accounts of foreign travellers and Hindu writers are available." The original eastern extraction of the Kirātās and the probability of their colonising Himalayas, the Punjab and also the Vindhyan forests by the 6th cent. A.D. was discussed from the evidences in Mārkandeya and Vishṇu Purānas, Brihat Samhita, Mahabhārata etc. Then their contribution to India, i.e., by the adddition of new diety to the Hindu

Pantheon in the conception of Chandika, is discussed at length. In historical times, the author points out, they were vanquished by Alexander and later by Samudragupta" but the evidence for this statement seems to us rather slender. From the records of the Gānga kings Sivamāra I and Dharma Maharaja, he infers that in the annals of the ancient Karnata kingdom, of the South and the West, too, the Kirātas had figured. In the 17th century A. D. the Kēlādi dynasty and the Mysore rulers had to deal with the Kirātas.

The history of the Sabarās is dealt with in the next chapter. The learned author hints at the probable identity between Kirātās and Sabarās on the evidence and testimony of Amara Simha, Dandin, Aietareya Brahmana etc. Then their habitat was fixed up as somewhere near the Indus in the time of Megasthenes, and Gangetic basin in the age of Ptolemy, and this statement he confirms by references to Indian sources like Rāmāyaṇa, Brihat Samhita, Markandēya, and Matsyapurānās. "Under the name S'abar, Saur, Suirs, Savaralu etc. they inhabit the wild tracts of Damoh, Saugor, Singhbhum, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. They are today a wild nomadic race, wandering over the hills, living on the fruits of the forests and acknowledging the rule of no recognised chief". P. 42. According to Cunningham the Parṇa Sabarās were the most powerful of these wild tribes. The description of them by Bāṇa in his Kādambari, and by Brahmam Kavi (circa A.D. 1600) is given.

Their influence on Indian History is to be seen, in their aid being requisitioned in the troublesome times of the foundations of the Mauryan Empire. The author assumes that the help rendered by the wild tribes to Chandragupta was not merely adventitious, but there may have been a common origin between Chandragupta and the Mlecchа tribes. This he justifies on the ground that Chānakya calls him Vṛsāla Maurya and 'Vṛsāla in law codes denotes unaryanism', and adds that his selection to the Nanda throne by Chānakya is due to the 'sterner and wilder nature of the origin from which Chandragupta has sprung.' Here the Gupta origin is incidentally discussed and he traces its lineage to wild tribes. The Karṇātaka kingdom was the region which suffered most by the Sabara depredations.

The Bedars were located primarily in western and southern India, though their traditions are met with as north as Sutlez river. "The whole of Karṇātaka, the Tondaimandalam, Wynād, and the north and south Arcot districts, may be said to be the regions that suffered most from the Bedar incursions." No section of the wild tribes gave such infinite trouble to the Hindu kingdoms as the Bedars. Their

depredations increased during the times of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Western Chāḷukyas but the latter chastised them. They as a progressive people contributed to the strength of the Indian armies.

The last chapter also is an exhaustive one dealing with the miscellaneous tribes like the Pulindās, Mātangās, Pundras, Yakshas, Kinnaras etc.

Though one may not agree with the author in all his conclusions, one must accept that the author has contributed a much needed book for the History of India. We congratulate the author for this excellent book, which exhibits scholarship and industry. It is a detailed and exhaustive study.

We also congratulate the Publishers Messrs Motilal Banarsidas for the excellent get up of the book and for securing the scholarly world a thought-prevoking treatise. The notes would have been more useful had they been added as footnotes.

V. S. R.

Archaeology in Gwalior. *M. B.Garde, B. A.*, Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State.

This interesting little book describes in brief, the activities of the Department of Archaeology in Gwalior since its inception in 1913 by His late Highness Sir Madhava Rao. The book is divided into two sections and the first part deals with a description of the monumental antiquities, sites of ancient places, Epigraphy, Numismatics, the excavations, and the conservation work and the second part gives a brief Directory of important places of archaeological interest in Gwalior State. This little book is a precursor of the forthcoming Archaeological Directory of the Gwalior State.

Since the department is started it is working very actively under the able guidance of Mr. Garde who underwent his training under Sir Marshal. He spared no pains to bring the department to an equal status, with that of any other state.

He deserves the thanks of all interested in the archaeological remains of India. We also congratulate the Gwalior State for maintaining their department in an excellent condition.

V. S. R.

Some aspects of the Vayu Purana—by V. R. Ramachendra Dikshitar, M.A. Publication of the University of Madras.

The Department of Indian History and Archaeology have rightly begun their publication with a Study of the Vāyu Purāna. The Purāna is very valuable in our study of the dynasties of the Kali age and more especially those beginning with the Nandas and Mauryas and ending with the Imperial Guptas. The period between the extinction of the Āndhra Kings and the rise of the Guptas has till now been designated as a dark period of early Indian History but thanks to the labours of K. P. Jayaswal utilising the Purānas and Buddhistic works, we are able to construct a history of the Vākātakas and Bhārasivas. The last word however has not been said on the subject and the views of Prof. Jayaswal are seriously challenged and criticised. As we pointed out with reference to the Bulletin on the Matsya Purāna the bulletin is silent on the historical material in the Vāyupurana. A paragraph on P. 46 gives a categorical list of the dynasties. Their chronology and the versions given in the various Purānas are scarcely touched upon. Had the author intended the reservation of the historical study of these Purānas, he should have so prefaced his studies.

As regards the antiquity of the Purāna, it is conceded by all scholars to be a very old if not the oldest Purāna. The confusion between the Vayaviya Samhita of the Siva Purāna has, as observed by the writer, led to its exclusion from the list given in some Purānas. But in the inclusion of the Brahmanda in all Purānic lists is inconclusive by itself to establish its priority to the Vāyupurana. Pargiter would even have the original identity of the Vāyu and Brahmānda Puranas but he was only dealing with the chapters on the dynastic lists. Winternitz points out (Indian Literature-Vol. I-p. 578) that the Brahmānda is called in the Kurma Purana, the Vayaviya Brahmānda and that it was an earlier version of the Vayu Purana. This requires further consideration.

The extant Vayu Purana is only one half in extent when we compare the number of Slokas contained in it to the number attributed to it in the other Puranas. The writer's views as regards the extent to which it has been tampered with are conflicting (p. 4, 6, 7). In the chapter on the literature known to the Purāna, the author shows its indebtedness to the Brahmanas, Samhitas, Upanishads, Bhagavad-gita and Sutras. This is instructive from the literary standpoint but does not advance the chronology of the Vayu Purana to any considerable extent. The reference to the word 'Purātanē' with respect to a Dharmasastra does not in our opinion, lead to the theory of Buhler on the existence of a Manaviya Dharmasastra. In sec. XI of the work, the author deals with the factors which fix the date of the Purana and as

usual many of them do not help us. The references to the Yoga doctorines, the absence of the reference to Buddhism or Jainism or the Tantric system and the archaic style lend colour to the view that it should have been one of the oldest Puranas in existence. The reference to Adhisimakrishna does not carry us any further for such an antiquity as 1100 B.C. cannot be assigned to the Purana. But the references to the Vāyu Purāna in the Mahabharata, Harivamsa and the Harshacharitra are more positive. The Epic Mahabharata has been assigned in its present form to the 1st cent. A.D. at the latest, and the Vāyupurana referred therein must be of an earlier date. The Harivamsa not only refers it as the author points out but its text 'agrees in many places literally with the Vayu Purana.' The astronomical data are inconclusive. We can only in the presnt state of our knowledge, assign the centuries before the Christian Era to its composition.

Sec. V deals with the Indian Cosmogony and divisions of India. The writer accepts the Philosophical interpretation of the Seven worlds and oceans as given in Purana and rejects their being geographical divisions of the world. According to this, even the term Jambu Dwipa occuring in our daily Samkalpa is merely philosophical nomenclature. With this view we cannot agree. It might be, we are not able at present to identify the geographical divisions referred to in our ancient books. The philosophical interpretation is only an after-thought. The identification of the nine divisions of India and the islands of the Indian ocean (P. 30) requires further research and careful study. Presumably the term Dwipa was used by our ancestors as a territorial division only and not in our modern sense of an island. The identification of Nagadwipa, Gabhastiman and Saumya is not satisfactory.

In Sec. VI, the author has elaborately shown that Yoga doctrines predominate in the work. The Purāna is not purely sectarian in its nature as the numerous quotations culled by the author as to the identity of Siva and Vishnu, would show. The references to Pāsupatas and Lakuliyas would lead us to a later date presumably the 1st cent. A.D. fixed by Bhandarkar. Ch. 86 & 87 deal with Music and the author has dealt with them in Sec. VIII of the work. Sec. IX very summarily deals with the Astronomical information in the Purāna. The important particulars to be noted in this connection are the Saptarshi Era, the five year cycle, the Solar year commencing with the asterism of Sravana and the division of the year into five seasons. They require fuller treatment. The other details as to Manvantaras etc. are found in all ancient works and are of very little value. We agree with the author that the Purana contains very valuable information on many matters and the more we study it, 'the more are we introduced to the culture and civilisation of Ancient India'.

K. R.

The Matsya Purana—A study by V. R. Ramachendra Dikshitar, M.A. Publication of the University of Madras.

This bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology of the University of Madras is intended to be a companion volume to Bulletin No. 1. Some aspects of the Vayu Purana by the same author. Valuable services have been rendered to the public by scholars like Vans Kennedy, Wilson, Bouruouf, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Pargiter, Smith & others in the investigation of the Purana literature and the writer though he has not mentioned the names of many of these pioneers and referred to some only on rare occasions, has yet in many places adopted the conclusions arrived at by them. Of the Puranas, the Vāyu, and Matsya are very old and of these the Vayu has claimed precedence. As regards their origin, the Veteran scholar Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has in his 'Peeps into the Early History of India' P. 68 & 69 come to the indisputable conclusion that the Puranas, though they were known to the Upanishads and the Srauta Sutras, assumed their present form during the Brahmanic revival after the decay of Buddhism and that they were begun to be recast from about the time of Wema Kadphises and through the Gupta period. The transition from the elemental worship of the Vedas to the pantheism and sectarian nature of the Puranas is in his opinion as also in that of Wilson indicative of a date later than the composition of the Epics.

All scholars are equally agreed as to the nature of the extant Puranas that they, as now existing, contain a framework very old, but with new matter introduced on every occasion. The writer in chapter II of the work attempted an analysis of the contents of the Matsya Purana with a view to arrive at the precise date and has fixed the limits between 3rd or 4th cent. B.C. and 3rd cent. A. D. This is in consonance with the views of scholars like Bhandarkar. Orientalists have no doubt given very late dates for some of the Puranas but the opinion is now gaining ground that the Puranas in some shape or other were in existence in the beginning of the Christian Era. Vincent Smith would even assign them to the 4th cent. B.C. on the authority of the Kautilya's Arthasastra. The reference to the Puranas in the Milinda Panha Bana's Harsha Charitra and by Kumarila, Sankara and Ramanuja has dispelled the erroneous notion of their being modern productions. Alberuni in 1030 A.D. had before him a list of the eighteen Puranas.

The writer had taken pains to show that the Matsya Purana was posterior to the Satapatha Brahmana, Panini, Patanjali and Kātyayana. He has tried to prove also that the work was later to the Epics and the Sutras and shows clearly in many places acquaintance with the Epic Literature. This is superfluous as no body in the present state of our knowledge would contend that the Puranas as now

existing are anterior to the above works. Equally so are the references to Babhravya, Bharata, Dhanvantari and Yaska of legendary lore which do not help us in fixing the date of the Purana. Even a work like the Arthasastra of Kautilya is now chronologically hanging between 4th cent B.C. & 4th cent. A.D. It is not clear whether the references to Vatsyayana and Katyayana are to be celebrated writers on Erotics and Grammar. The Natyasastra of Bharata is not referred to by name, not even as Bharata Sastra as the writer thinks; the reference is only to a play enacted by him before the Gods and called Lakshmiswayamvaram. The writer refering to Yati, a son of Nahusha becoming a Vaikhanasa elaborately postulates the existence of the Vaikhanasa in preference to the Pancharatra school. This is farfetched. Equally nebulous are the so called references to Sukraniti and Lingayats. Much of the material indented upon by the author in this chapter is inconclusive. The references to Buddhism and Jainism are equally valueless bearing in mind the view of Dr. Bhandarkar that the Puranas were recast after the decay of the above two religions. The writers' views that the Bhagavata Purana was a work anterior to the Matsya or supplementary to it (P. 54-55) will not be acceptable to scholars and require reconsideration and fuller discussion. As regards the date of the original Matsya, the writer is inclined to the view that the Purana was begnn to be composed in the reign of the Paurava king Adhisimakrishna from the use of the word 'Sampratam' in the text and assigns with Pargiter 850 B. C. as his date. But on P. 48 of his Aspects of Vayu Purana, he is inclined to a date earlier than 1110 B.C. The later work does not give any reasons for departing from the earlier view.

Connected with the date is the light thrown upon the dynasties of the Kali age in Chap. 271 to 273 of the work. Pargiter's valuable work on the text of the Vayu, Matsya, Vishnu, Brahmanda and Bhagavata Puranas in relation to these dynasties is available to us. The Mastya stops with the enumeration up to Guptas and is claimed as authoritative so far as the list of the Andhra Kings is concerned. The texts in the various Puranas are conflicting. Pargiter would have it that these chapters emanated from a socalled Bhavisya Purana, that originally they were composed in Prakrit, that the Matsya version only so far as these chapters are concerned is the oldest, and that these chapters were added to the Puranas on or about the time of the Imperial Guptas. His views are disputed. The Bulletin published by the department of Indian History, is singularly silent about the historical material contained in the work. This is regrettable. We learn from Bhandarkar's Early History of Deccan & other works, that the Pauranic lists do not contain the names of Andhra kings like Chatursbparna or Madhariputra. A detailed discussion about the historical material contained in these chapters would have been appropriate in this work.

We hope erelong the author would come forward to finish the study of the Purana on its historical side. The view of the writer relating to Yajnah Sri is correct. The reading of the line in preference to Pargiter's should be 'Nava Vimśati Varshani Yajnaśrih Śātakarnikah'.

In chapter I of the work, the writer concludes and rightly too that the flood legends of the world had their origin in India and that the Chaldean and Hebrew accounts were later adoptations of the Indian legends. The contrary view of a semitic origin is taken by Winternitz in his Indian literature (P. 210 & 394). We cannot agree with the views of Mr. Dikshitar with reference to the origin of Matsya Purana and the place of its original compilation. The name Matsya makes the writer link it with the Matsya tribes of old and trace the tribe to various places in India. This is farfetched and fantastic. We are at a loss to know what the writer would do with reference to the Kurma, Varaha, Vamana and Narasimha Puranas. The South Indian Origin of the Purana is equally inconclusive. The descriptions of religious centres like Rameswaram, Srirangam etc. have been from time to time added to the Puranas to give them legendary importance. The writer is aware of such interpolations. (Refer his aspects of Vayu Purana, P. 4 & 5). Winternitz holds a similar opinion (P. 575 of his Indian Literature Vol. I). The Dravidas and Konkans have also been treated with contempt in Ch. XIV as not being eligible for invitation to a Sraddha feast.

In chapters III & IV, the writer feels at home in giving us a description of the Polity and Architecture as described in the Purana. Chapters V and VI are important. The one deals with the indebtedness of Matsya to Vayu and the other with the differences between the Tamil version and the Sanskrit original.

The writer traces the evolutionary process of human development in dealing with the theory of incarnation. His comparision stops with Rama and the Avatars of Krishna, Buddha and Kalki are passed over without comment. The astronomical matter in the Purana ought to have been given a fuller treatment. The Saptarshi Era of reckoning is referred to Ch. 273. This is the most important method adopted in Ancient Indian Chronology and deserves more than a mere mention. Readers interested might refer with advantage P. 40, 79 & 89 of the Appendices to the translation of the Purana published by the Panini office.

A few errors occur in the work but these do not really mar the value of the author's work. The author's view repeated from his Hindu Polity that the word Vākōvākya means the language of animals is not supported by authority. The author is aware of the contrary

opinion of Dr. Keith. The expression is referred to in Chandogya Upanishad (VII—1. 2) and Sankara clearly comments on it as 'वाकोवाक्यं तर्कशास्त्रं' thereby specifying that the expression could mean only logic. We are sure however that the author has taken pains to furnish us some information as regards the contents of the Matsya Purana and are confident that the book will be studied with interest by Scholars of Ancient Indian History.

K. R.

Studies in Dravidian Philology by *K. Ramakrishniah, M.A.*, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras. Price Rs.2/- or 3 Sh.

The work is No. A of tbe Telugu Department publications of the Oriental Reseach Institute and is intended in the author's own words 'to carry on the comparitive study of the Dravidian Languages from where Dr. Caldwell has left it'. It consists of four chapters i. The Dravidian Problem. ii. The Verbal Inflexion. iii. The Nominal Inflexion. iv. Derivatives. A tabulated list of the common root material of the Dravidian Languages is given as an appendix.

Towards the end of Ch. I, the writer comes to the conclusion that the Dravidian family of languages furnishes us with substantial evidence in favour of the root theory of the origin of languages. The other chapters of the work are merely illustrative of this theory. The writer admits that this is a subject of hot controversy among the Philologists. From time to time various theories including the Bow-Wow and Ding-Dong have been propounded by the philologists to explain the origin of language but only to find later that the theories offered a partial explanation thereof. With reference to grammatical construction, languages are divided into i. Isolative (Chinese etc.) ii. Intromutative (Semitic) iii. Agglutinative. To these Sweet would add the incorporating as a fourth division leaving out the intromutative and having the inflexional instead. The Indo-European languages have now become inflexional while the Scythian are agglutinative. The Dravidian languages are said to be in their origin purely agglutinative but have in course of time become semi-inflexional. This theory of transition from one stage to another is not approved by some philologits.

The writer has followed in the footsteps of Caldwell so far as the classification and Origin of the Dravidian languages are concerned. Many controversial questions are dealt with in the chapter on the Dravidian Problem and a long discussion is entered upon as to the Aryanisation of India and the mutual indebtedness of the Indo-aryan

and the Dravidian tongues. The views of Grierson, Bhandarkar, Chatterji, Woolner and others are incidentally referred to. Philologists agree in treating the Dravidian Languages as belonging to one family but differ as to their relation to other groups. Dr. Caldwell inclines to their Scythian origin meaning by the word Scythian, the Turkish, Finnish, Mongolian and Tungusian families. His views are disputed and Grierson opines in his Linguistic Survey that the selection of the word Scythian is an unhappy one and concludes that the Dravidian Languages form an isolated family and the attempts to connect them with the Indo-European on the one hand or other linguistic families on the other is now generally regarded as a failure. Equally controversial is the question whether the Dravidians are the original inhabitants of India (autochthones) or in their turn migrated from another land though the fact of the Brahui dialects approximating the Dravidian, might lend support to the immigration theory.

The writer's views on the origin of the Prakrit tongues deserves a little reconsideration. (P. 10). The Prakrits are considered to be the later modifiations of the Sanskrit language owing to the contact of the Aryan immigrants with the indigenous Dravidian races. That the one influenced the other can be clearly seen from the Indo-aryanisms of the Dravidian tongues and the Dravidian element in the Indo-aryan languages. The very terms Prakrit and Sanskrit (Samskrita) might lead us to infer that the former corresponded to the colloquial and the latter to the literary or the cultivated tongue of the Aryans. That Sanskrit or a language approaching the Paninian was the spoken language in the Vedic and the Sutra periods is conceded by many scholars. This underwent many changes till Panini and Patanjali by their works delimited its growth and fixed the correct forms of usage. The prakrits are the modifications of the colloquial dialect of the Aryans which underwent various changes owing to climatic and other causes. The words 'Sauraseni, Maharashtri, Dravidi etc. with reference to these Prakrits point to their being provincial modifications of the original colloquial tongue. The consideration of each of the Prakrits as a provincially Dravidianised Aryan speech by the Non-Aryan races is, we are afraid, not taking a correct perspective of the Prakrit Problem. It has to be admitted however that contact with foreign races is one of the many important factors which lead to the formation of different dialects.

We agree with the writer that the Dravidian Languages were subjected to Aryan influence and that Telugu, Canarese and later Malayalam have imbibed a huge proposition of Sanskrit and Prakrit words. The influence is least on the Tamil language. The writer's opinion that the Telugu and Canarese Grammarians favoured the Sanskritic origin of the Dravidian tongues is not quite accurate (P.36).

They were well aware of the Desya and Gramya elements in their tongues and never allude to these elements as being Sanskritic in their origin. The Sanskrit language was held in veneration. The Telugu grammarians even composed their sutras in that language. The huge vocabulary engrafted into the Dravidian tongues led them to regard sanskrit as a parent language but they were well aware of the indigenous element therein. The view of Dr. C. Narayanarao that the Dravidian Languages are derived from Prakrit is now refuted by the majority of those interested in Dravidian Philology.

The author in chapters II & III of the work tried to show how 'the root language of the primitive Dravidian gradually developed through the stage of aggultination to the Semi-inflectional cultivated South Indian languages of the present day.' In so doing, he criticises Caldwell (P. 60) for not taking the evidence of the colloquial dialects of the Dravidian languages for the purpose of comparison. Dr. Caldwell is explicit in his views and rightly rejects the evidence of the colloquial dialects in the realm of Philology (P. 80 & 81). Though there might be old forms prevalent in the colloquial dialects, yet no argument in favour of the antiquity of any particular form can be founded merely on the facts of its existence in the colloquial dialects. Even Grierson who for the purpose of his Linguistic Survey had to use only the colloquial dialects, says that 'the Literary dialects usually represent a stage of development older than the colloquial forms.' Unless a thorough investigation is made, it will not be possible to fix the relative antiquity of the forms in the colloquial tongues.

As to verbal inflexions, forms ending in *gu, chu, iru* or *inru* etc. are, as the writer says, only modified forms of independent words like *agu, inchu, iru* and other verbs. But his views about the past sign of inflexion require reconsideration—Caldwell expressed the view that either *i* or sometimes *d* or *t* are the signs of inflexion in the past tense. The writer by a process of synthesis has arrived at '*itu*' as the sign of the past and assumes that the signs *i* or *tu* are lost in some of the forms. The inflexion is stated to be taken from the verb *ī*—to give. The theory is ingenious. Though Dr. Caldwell in his work inclined to the original agglutinative nature of the Dravidian languages, he had to be content in some cases with the inflexions or postpositions as they are without suggesting the word which gave rise to the inflexion. He also considered that the true sign of the past is *d* or *du* and that *i* was originally a vowel of conjunction employed for euphonically connecting the verbal theme and the true sign of the past (P.508). Many resemblances of this sign to the corresponding signs in Indo-European and Scythian languages are shown by him. We are not able to understand how the author could add *tu* to the root *i* = to give, so as to give rise to the sign of inflexion and how he consider *itu* as a form of the root *i* = to give.

The writer also takes *ki* and *ku* as the Dative termination in Telugu, following Caldwell, Grierson and others. Of these Grierson was considering only the colloquial dialect in his Linguistic Survey. The writer is also aware that the Telugu grammarians from Nannaya downwards have taken only '*koraku*' and '*kayi*' as the Dative and *ki*, *ku* as the Genetive terminations. A footnote to that effect is added on P. 86. No explanation is given as to why the Telugu grammarians are disregarded. If evidently the termination '*ku*' of *koraku* alone is considered as '*kora*' has an independent meaning purpose, *ki* was and could not have been regarded as a Dative termination. The grammarians however agree that the genitive can be used to give a Dative significance but this would not render the genitive suffixes Dative.

In the chapter on Derivatives, the writer mentions that words like *Naḍa*, *Naḍe*, *Naḍu*, *Piḍi*, *Naḍu*, *Bigi*, etc. are common roots in Telugu, Canarese and Tamil. Such words are never regarded as roots in Telugu. The roots are invariably modified as *Nadachu*, *Naduvu* etc. Independent use of words as *Fōr*, *Mīn*, *Kāy* is also wanting without the the addition of appropriate vowels.

The writer finally concludes that in the Dravidian group of languages, the words have developed on the principle of root of agglutination from the originally primary roots and thinks that the same may be said of the other languages of the world as all of them must have developed from the root stage by some method or other (P.130). The root theory is now taken as a workable hypothesis in Philology but the development theory connected therewith is regarded by some 'as unproved and unprovable'. They consider that the language starts with a sentence and not with isolated words and that for scientific purposes the root period is the best representative of an early synthetic stage in the development of the language. They even consider the view that the roots so arrived at could ever have constituted a real language to be 'mistaken and existing only in the reflective brain of a modern scholar'. There are on the other hand scholars like Whitney who have held that the development of language was from the isolated word stage into sentences and that the primitive condition of languages was the root stage which developed gradually into those working on a richly inflective basis. But even Whitney in his 'Life and Growth of Language' had to admit that 'The firm foundation of the theory of roots lies in its logical necessity as an inference from the doctrine of the historical growth of grammatical apparatus. It is to be noticed further that the question of roots as the historical beginnings of a language is quite distinct from that of the origin of language. The one is linguistic, the other is partly anthropological'. The writer in his zeal would have the *root theory of the origin of languages*. His attempt is a laudable one though we may not see eye to eye with him in his explanation of some of the inflexions as now existing in the Dravidian Languages.

K. R.

Vishnumaya Natakam. Edited by K. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. University of Madras, Telugu Department publications, No 3. Price Rs 2-8-0.

Vishnu Maya Natakam by Chintalapudi Yellana alias Radha Madhava of the times of Krishna Devaraya comes as a happy surprise to the Telugu reading public. The only defect of the poem from an artistic point of view is the predominance of the philosophic element. However, passages of exceptional poetic merit are not wanting. As has been pointed out in the introduction to the publication, there is a unity of theme in the poem which is not to be found in many of the acknowledged classics among the Prabhandhas. Further this Prabhandha stands far above others including Manucharitram and Parijatapaharanam in that the story sustains the interest of the reader from beginning to end. The presentation is clear and dramatic. The best feature of the book however is its style. Many of the Prabhandhas that we read are famous for their felicitous flow and sweet diction but they are often haunted by a swooning effiminacy and to this charge even the leading classics are not exceptions. Further the prose pieces in them are more often than not unreadable. But the present poet combined in his style sweetness with vigour and simplicity. In this respect he may be classed along with the poets, who immediately succeeded Tikkanna, Kethana, Marana and Manchana. The theme of this Prabhandha is quite similar to that of Pothana's Bhagavata. But though this poet has none of the lyrical grandeur and overpowering emotion of Pothana, he wields a style which is less ornate and more simple and dignified than that of the celebrated Saint-poet. Perhaps after Thikkanna and Nannaya Anantamatya the author of Bhojarajiyam in his only superior in style. In bringing out this book Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya has done a distinct service to our literature and so far he deserves our congratulations.

In this connection we feel called upon to offer a suggestion to our friends of the Telugu Department. We have reasons to apprehend that like the Andhra Sahitya Parishat the Telugu Department of the University also is going to make manuscript editing its mainstay. No doubt there may be occasional surprises here and there just like the Prabhandha under review. But there are higher duties which claim the attention of such men as Messrs Ramakrishnayya and Lakshmikantham. Our classics are suffering for want of brilliant and aesthetic criticism. If Telugu is to be rescued from the clutches of dry-as-dust grammarians and dilettante pedants it is high time that we bring out its aesthetic glory. Will the Telugu Departments of the Madras and Andhra Universities respond to this call of higher duty?

N. B.

NOTE

Mr. K P. Jayaswal on the Mekalas and the Andhras.

V. APPA RAO, B.A., B.L.

I

The Purānas mention a dynasty of Kings who ruled over the Mēkalā regions for seventy years. The Mēkalā country was adjacent to the Kōsala. The famous Maikal range of mountains, which has given the name of *Mēkala Suta* to the river Narmada, evidently, has also given its name to the surrounding country. After the downfall of the Great "*Kila Kilā*" kings, that is of the Great *Vindhya Śakti*, *Pravīra* and his four sons, various subordinate dynasties such as the *Bāhlikās*, *Nabhirās*, *Māhishās*, *Puṣyamitrās*, *Paṭumitrās*, *Mēkalās*, *Kōsalās*, *Naishadās* and the *Naḷās*, sprang up and ruled for varying periods.[1] These dynasties have been recorded mainly in *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* purāṇas. The Matsyā does not record at all about these kings. The Vishṇu purāṇa version of them is scrappy. The Bhāgavata also does not mention many of these dynasties. Pargiter digests them under the heading 'Dynasties of the 3rd cent. A.D.'[2] We are now obtaining evidence that these dynasties were historically existing.

The text of the Purāṇas regarding *Mēkalas* is as follows:

"*Mēkalāyaṁ nṛpāḥ Sapta bhaviṣyantīha Saptatim.*[3]

We learn from the above that in the Mēkala country, there would be seven kings ruling for seventy years.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa also corroborates the above statement by saying

Mēkalāś ca sapta kosalāyām tu
nav = aiva bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti:

"There will be seven kings of Mēkala." But the period for which they ruled has not been recorded.[4]

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1 Dynasties of the Kali Age: Pargiter; pages 50–51.

2 Dynasties of the Kali Age: page 50 ff.

3 Ibid, page 51, line 5.

4 Ibid, page 57, footnote 16.

Some manuscripts of Vishṇu Purāṇa seem to have omitted to mention the name *Mēkalaḥ* before the word Sapta and the word Sapta then has been tacked on with the rest of the line as;

Sapta Kōsalāyāntu Nav = aiva bhupatayō bhaviṣyanti:

"In Sapta Kōsala, there will be nine kings".[5] Though there is great confusion of readings it is clear, on a comparison that the Proper text is:

Mekalāsca sapta. kōsalāyāmtu nav = aiva bhūpatayō bhavishyanti:

Only this text agrees with that of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa which clearly state that in the Mēkala will be seven generations of kings.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in his brilliant study of the Vākāṭakās, Bhāraśivas and other dynasties that flourished in India between 150 A.D. and 350 A.D.[6] states about these Mēkalās as follows:

"Out of the four provincial dynasties, the dynasty of Mēkalā is expressly called in the Vāyu 'a dynasty of the descendents' of the Vindhyakas':

Mēkalāyām nṛipāḥ Sapta bhavishyantīha Santatih:

These subordinate kings of Mēkalā who were seven in number are described by Bhāgavata and several copies of the Vishṇu as the *Seven Āndhras* i.e. the *Seven kings of the Āndhra country*. The Province of Mēkala evidently extended from the south of the present Maikal Range in a straight line covering the modern State of Bastar wherein *begins* the Āndhra country.....It is sufficient to notice here that *the Vindhyakās were rulers of Āndhra Deśa, that their Province of Mēkala, included Āndhra* and that *a branch line* of the family was established there as a *feudatory family* who ruled for *seven successions*. The ruling families of the other three dynasties came under the description of 'the dynasties of relations by marriage'.[7] (*vaivāhikāḥ*). Again Mr. Jayaswal says "In Mēkalā there flourished seven rulers in seventy years".[8]

A close study of these two and other passages bearing on this subject of Mr. Jayaswal will bring out the following points:

(1) The Mēkalā country was a Vākāṭaka province ruled by one of the sons of Pravara Sēna.

(2) The Mēkalā included the Āndhra Province which was also a Vākāṭaka Province

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5 See Vishṇu Purāṇa: Translation by Manmathanatha Dutt—Page 309-310.

6 Jr. B.O.R.S. Vol. XIX, Parts 1 & 2.

7 Jr.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIX, Parts 1 & 2 pages 84-85. 'The italics are ours.' Ed.

8 Ibid. Page 87.

(3) The Mēkalās were seven generations of kings.

(4) The seven generations ruled for seventy years.

For all these propositions Mr. Jayaswal falls upon the readings of the Purānic texts. In many cases, *the variant readings* of the same line *are pressed into service.* The result is a curious medley. He selects in one context one reading and in order to justify another conclusion takes exactly the contrary reading. We expect from a scholar of the type of Mr. Jayaswal application of sound critical apparatus when dealing with these texts in the Purāṇas.

Taking up the first proposition, Mr. Jayaswal relies upon the text,

Mēkalāyām nṛpāh sapta Bhavishyan tīha Santatiḥ:

This reading has been accepted by Mr. Jayaswal to support his theory that the '*Santati*' of Pravīra ruled over the Mēkalā regions. The authority quoted is Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age page 57, Note 17. With reference to this he also states as follows in a footnote on page 84 of his book. "This is the reading in the majority of the manuscripts and in all the copies consulted by Wilson and Hall. (V.P. 4, pp. 214–215.) The variant *sattamāḥ* is a corruption and is meaningless."

Mr. Jayaswal is not unaware of another reading *Saptatim* which has been accepted by Mr. Pargiter, though he makes no mention of it here. Later on he states at page 87 that in Mēkala there ruled seven rulers for *seventy years.* The authority relied on for this also is evidently the same as before, namely 'Purānic Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age' page 51 footnote 17. He adds that this conclusion is arrived at by 'taking the reading *Saptatih*' of the Brahmānda.

We are unable to follow Mr. Jayaswal in the way in which he has drawn his conclusion. Either the reading *Saptatim* or the reading *Santatih* is true and correct. Both cannot be at one and the same time true and correct. If the reading *Santati* be accepted Mr. Jayaswal's theory of the 'offspring' of Pravīra ruling over Mēkala for seventy years falls off. If the reading *Saptati* is taken his theory of sons being appointed governors over conquered provinces goes off. But curiously enough Mr. Jayaswal accepts both, and builds up great castles, without any foundation. We cannot accept the reading *Santati.* We think that the correct reading, as suggested by Mr. Pargiter, is only *Saptati* and not *Santati*, and submit that the Imperial domination of Mēkala by Pravīra is not supported by Purānic Texts. On the other hand the text clearly says that the seven generations of Mēkala kings flourished only after the Vindhyakā dynasty.[9]

9 Dynasties of the Kali Age: Puranic Texts of: page 50 'Vindhya Kānām Kalē tite.

II

DID THE PROVINCE OF MĒKALA INCLUDE THE PROVINCE OF ĀNDHRA ?

We have not been referred to any authority for the proposition that the branch of the Vindhyakā dynasty which ruled Mēkala were kings of Āndhradēsa also. He infers this from the fact that some copies of Vishṇu Purāna contain the words *Saptāndrah* or *Āndrāh* in the place of *Sapta* in the line describing Mēkalās.[10] Then the line would read as *Mekalāyām nṛipāh saptandrāḥ* or *Mekalāyām nṛipāh Āndhrāḥ*. These lines would then have to be interpreted as meaning that the Āndhrās ruled the Mēkala country for seventy years, and *not* as the Mēkala rulers ruled the Āndhrā country for seventy years. The word '*Nripāh Āndhrāh*' refers to the Āndhrā kings whereas the word "Mēkalāyām" only indicates the country. Moreover the word '*Āndhrā*' has to be given the same meaning, as was given to it in all the Purānas in the previous lines and it does not stand to reason to say that it would mean 'Vākātaka kings ruling over Āndhrā country'. Mr. Jayaswal further says that the Bhāgavata also supports the same conclusion.[11] The line referred to is this:—

'*Ēkakāla imē bhūpa Saptāndhrā sapta kausalāh.*'

This line occurs in the Bhāgavata, after the description of Pushpamitra and Durmitra.[12] In that context it does not state nor hint that it is dealing with the Mēkalās. As a matter of fact, the Bhāgavata is silent about the Mēkalās and Kōsalās generally. We believe that some lines have been lost in this context in the Bhāgavata. We have explained elsewhere[13] that this line refers to the '*Sriparvatīya Āndhrās*' who were ruling the Āndhrā country in the 3rd cent. A.D. and states that '*the Saptakōsalās*' were contemporaneous with the '*Sriparvatīyās*'. It is our painful duty here to point out that Mr. Jayaswal has made a great mess of the various readings and twisted them to suit the one purpose of glorifying the Vākātakās as an Imperial North Indian race. Mr. Jayaswal further states[14] that the "History of the Āndhrā.....fully corroborates, the period." Let us examine this statement.

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10 Dy. K. A. page 51, fn. 16.
11 Dy. K.A. page 51, fn. 16.
12 We have used the Kumbhakōnam edition of the Bhāgavata Skhanda 12. Chap 1. Verses 34–35.
13 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IX, part 3, page 48.
14 J.B.O.R.S. Vol XIX, page 87.

III

WHO WERE THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANĀS IN THE ĀNDHRĀ COUNTRY ?

Mr. Jayaswal does not state when the Āndhrā kingdom became a Vākāṭaka Province, nor are we referred to any authorities to show that there was a conquest of the Āndhrā Province during the time of *Vindhyaśakti* or *Pravīra*. We have got only the statement that one of the sons of Pravīra ruled over the Āndhrā country as a sub-king. The *date* given by Mr. Jayaswal to *Pravīra* is 294–344 A. D. Even supposing that the sons of *Pravīra* were ruling as sub-kings during the 1st quarter of the 4th century A. D., we do not find any trace of any kind of Vākāṭakā dominion in the Āndhrā country during this period. According to Mr. Jayaswal the *Ikshvākūs* ruled over the Āndhrā country till about 260 A. D.[15] After their downfall the Āndhrā country broke into a number of independent though small kingdoms. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c 350 A.D.) mentions a number of these rulers, holding sway on the east coast. In *Vēngi* the *Śālankāyanās* were ruling. Their chronology is now firmly fixed atleast from the time of Dēvavarman.[16] (c. 335 A.D.) who must have preceded Hastivarman mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Then there were the kings of Āva or Avamukta ruling over the country round about Masulipatam. This is the country known also by the name '*Prithudaka*'. The Brihatpalayanās ruled in this country during the 3rd cent. A.D.[17] The southern Āndhrā county, at this time was in the hands of the *Pallavas* who were then ruling from Pālakkada. There were the *Ānandagotra* kings ruling in the Guntur regions. Then when and where did the Vākaṭakās rule in the Āndhrā country ?

The whole theory of Vākāṭakā conquest of Āndhrā country is not supported by any evidence whatever and when examined critically tumbles down. Laterly it was Harisēna that boasted of having conquered the Āndhrā country.[18] The Vishṇukundins who were ruling the Āndhra country then, were allied to the Vākāṭakās by ties of marriage relationship and were quite independent kings.[19] Mādhavavarma performed eleven Aśvamēdha sacrifices which was at least a sure sign of

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15 Ibid „ page 177.

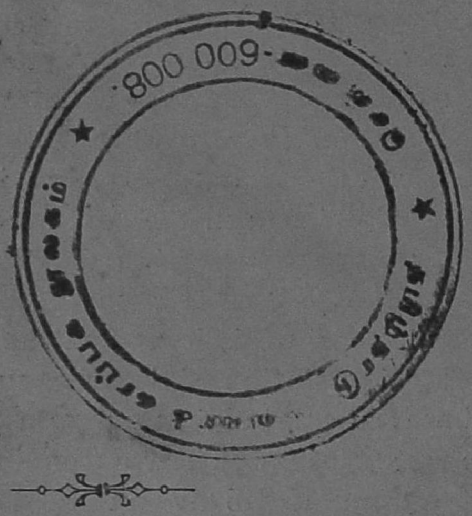
16 Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVI page 62.

17 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. 7, page 170.

18 Ep. Ind. Vol. XX, page 241, No. 1712.

19 Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, P. 193 ff.

sovereignty.[20] Even apart from that there is not even a scrap of evidence in the Āndhrā country proper of any occupation of the country by the Vākāṭakās. In our opinion the Āndhra rulers of the 3rd to 6th centuries A. D. were never subdued by the Vākāṭakās nor any other power outside the boundaries of the Āndhrā country. In conclusion we point out that neither the Mēkala country nor the Āndhrā country was under the rule of Vindhyaśakti, his sons or grandsons. The purānas on the other hand are explict on the point by saying that the Bāhlikās and other dynasties rose into prominence after the fall of the Vindhyaka Kula.[21]



20 Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII, No. 20, P. 334.

21 *Vindhyakānām kulē tīte nṛpā vai Bāhlikās trayaḥ*
Supratīko Nabhiraś ca samā bhokṣyanti triṁśatim,
Śakyamān = ābhavad rājā Mahiṣīṇām mahīpatiḥ
Puṣhyamitrā bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitrās trayodaśa
Mekalāyām nṛpāḥ sapta bhaviṣyant-īha saptatim
Kōśalāyām tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ
Meghā iti Samākhyātā buddhimanto nav = aivatu
Naiṣadhāh Pārthivāh sarve bhaviṣyanty ā-manuksayāt :
Dynasties of the Kali Age: P. 51

Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Septuagenary Commemmoration.

AN APPEAL.

The Andhra Historical Research Society, intends to celebrate the 75th birth-day of M. R. Ry. J. Ramayya Pantulu garu, B.A., B.L. in April 1936 at Rajahmundry in a suitable manner. The Society intends to publish Parts I and II of Vol. X of the Journal in a combined Volume in commemmoration of the event. There will be a public meeting and opportunities will be given to other associations and organisations to present addresses at that time. There will also be held a conference of workers in the field of Historical Research.

It is necessary for some funds to be collected for the celebrations and for the publication of the commemmoration Volume. The minimum subscription for subscribers will be Rupees Three which will entitle them for a copy of the commemmoration Volume.

Mr. Ramayya Pantulu, it is well known, is one of the pioneer workers in ihe field South Indian Epigraphy and History and is at present editing Vol. IX of the South Indian Inscriptions (Texts Telugu.) He has rendered inestimable services for the cause of history by the publication of various articles on, Chalukyan, Reddi, Kakatiya and other well known dynasties in various journals. He is the founder of the Andhra Sahitya Parishad which is striving to do its utmost for the Telugu language by the publication of the Sahitya Parishad Patrika. The Parishad's Telugu Dictionary is in press and will be shortly out. Those who know Mr. Ramayya Pantulu know that every minute of his time is spent for some useful purpose in the cause of Telugu language and history. He was the first President of the Andhra Historical Research Society and helped it in many ways.

The Society also appeals to all scholars in India and outside to enrich the commemmoration Volume by sending us their valuable contributions before the end of April 1936.

V. APPA RAO,
Hony. Secretary.

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