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Announcement

The SOCIETY will celebrate in the ensuing EASTER HOLIDAYS (*April 7th to 9th both days inclusive*) the **REDDI EMPIRE DAY** at Rajamahendravaram (Rajahmundry), the ancient capital of the Reddi Kingdom of the dynasty of Kāṭaya-Vēma, circa 1400—1440 A. D.

To mark the Historical Occasion the Society will, as it did on the previous occasions, publish a COMMEMORATION VOLUME which will be called the **Reddi Sanchika**.

The REDDI SANCHIKA will contain a collection of original contributions in TELUGU bearing on the HISTORY OF THE REDDI EPOCH of the *History of Āndhradēśa*—circa 1320—1440 A. D.,—from eminent scholars all over the country. Contributions may be sent also in English, but, only their good and complete Translations in Telugu made by competent persons will appear in the SANCHIKA while the English papers will appear in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* in due course.

Special features of the Commemoration Volume "*Reddi Sanchika*" will be:

1. Illustrations of all great and ancient monuments connected with the Reddi Kings of Āndhradēśa.

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Contributions from scholars all over India are welcome. They may be sent kindly and *as early as possible* to the address given below.

The work of printing the REDDI SANCHIKA
has already been commenced.

Each contributor will receive 20 copies of his article free of cost in addition to a copy of the Reddi Sanchika.

HONORARY SECRETARY
ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY
RAJAHMUNDY (Madras Presy.)

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Vol. XII

JULY, 1938

Part I

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF NORTHERN CIRCARS

Chapter III.

(Continued from p. 172 of Vol. XI.)

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

According to this settlement, individual agreements were concluded between the Madras government on the one hand and Sītārāma Rāzu and Pāyaka Rao on the other.¹ While Masulipatam had been busy with the southern zamindars of the Chicacole Sarkar, Cotsford was making headway in Ichchāpuram, The Settlement of 1768. On 10 June 1768 he proclaimed in open court the sources of the right of the Company to the Sarkar and produced a considerable effect on the zamindars.² He took energetic measures to secure the balance due from Akkāji on the previous year's rent, and concluded a fresh agreement with him for a period of three years on the condition that the Madras government would "protect the country at their own expense and receive the full rentsfrom it at little more than half its value and be liable to damages."³ Even though

1 *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 27 June, Vol. 62, pp. 796-97. See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 1 July, *idem.* pp. 842-43. See further *Madras Letters Received* (Bourchier), 1 November 1768, para 52. Vol. 1V.

The Madras Government actually intended to revert to unified management. But Masulipatam fallaciously observed that as Sītārāma Rāzu would not submit to the authority of a renter, such an attempt would be a failure. They further quoted the case of Narayana Deo.

The real facts were that at this stage the government were not prepared to entrust Sītārāma Rāzu with any real power. It was their determination to weaken the strength of Vijayanagaram which resulted in the disturbances of the Sarkar.

2 *Cotsford to Madras*, Chicacole, 12 June, 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 27 June. Vol. 62, pp. 767-98.

3 *Same to Same*, Ganjam, 22 July. *idem.* 9 August, *idem.* pp. 984-86.

fully conscious of the evil effects of an annual lease, the Madras government could not as yet come to the conclusion of adopting long period leases and reprimanded Cotsford for his agreement with Akkāji which they reduced for that of one year.⁴

Col. Peach's detachment gradually restored order in the Sarkar. The project of increasing the military strength of the Company was turned down and the government observed that the appointment of some person of power and influence to the management of the country taken possession of by Colonel Peach will be a more expedient measure than stationing the number of troops recommended by him."⁵ Nārāyaṇa Deo was routed by Col. Peach and the country scoured for any stragglers from his party. Likewise was the raja of Tekkali humiliated.⁶

These successes gave the Madras government an opportunity to attempt a scheme of revenue management in these disturbed tracts. Rama Jogi Patro, a former manager of Narayana Deo who was now in disgrace, seemed the most eligible person to manage the zamindari of Kimidi, like any other renter in the Kasimkota and Chicacole *parganas*. "But, as we cannot expect, 'till the country is settled, to reap any considerable advantage therefrom, it should not at present be let for any fixed time, but the person who is appointed to it must only have it till the Company's authority is sufficiently established to enable us to put it on a regular footing."⁷ Narayana Deo remained at large with the Company's troops vainly hoping to capture him. There was no hope of a peaceful settlement of the country until the fears from any of his future depredations were removed. As Col. Peach observed, notwithstanding the country being conquered and Narraindoo reduced to such a state that it is beyond a probability that he can by any means give us any more disturbance by open force, yet from the apprehensions of the country people are under from him, they can by no means be prevailed upon to submit to the Company's authority or return to their habitations, until such time as the principal men in power who are now with Narraindoo permit them, or "till some other person who has equal influence is sent hither to reconcile them to our government."⁸

4 *Milit. Cons.* 9 August and *Madras to Cotsford*, 11 August Vol. 62, pp. 984-86.

5 *Madras to Masulipatam*, 2 July. *idem.* pp. 846-48.

6 *Madras Letters Received*, (Bourchier) 8 August 1768 para 12, Vol. III.

7 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 and 2 July *Milit. Cons.* 9 July Vol. 62 pp. 853-56; Resolution of the Madras Government, *idem.* pp. 857-58 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 8 July *idem.* pp. 866-67.

8 *Col. Peach to Masulipatam*, Kimidi, 1 July 1768, *Milit. Cons.* 25 July Vol. 62 pp. 926-29.

Five years later, Charles Smith, Chief of Ganjam, wrote to Madras that the year 1769 "was a year fruitful in military operations and it appears to have been the most favourable for the collection of the revenue, which may therefore flourish in such conjecture, if care only be taken to preserve the country from being desolated".

Ganjam to Madras, 3 August 1774. *Milit. Cons.* 22 August, Vol. 76, pp. 575-88.

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Since Akkaji had already settled for the *haveli* lands, the Madras government directed Cotsford to proceed with his settlement with individual Zamindars. But as to demilitarisation of the Sarkar, they directed him to "avoid mentioning this matter to (the zamindars) 'till a more favourable opportunity when a sufficient force may be spared to enforce this measure so necessary for securing the tranquility of the country.'"⁹ Through the instrumentality of President Bouchier he had made arrangements for sufficient *sahukar* security to guarantee the renter's agreement. They accepted the conditions of Rāma Jōgi Pātro for the management of Kimiḍi, according to which Narayana Deo should not be allowed to have a footing in the country, his legitimate son (as against his illegitimate favourite son) should be invested as raja and himself appointed *diwan* and granted him a *kaul* accordingly.¹⁰

Cotsford's early policy was extremely liberal.¹¹ As the Kimiḍi country was under his direct jurisdiction and as Col. Peach and the chief of Masulipatam advocated an aggressive policy even

Early liberal after the agreement with Rāma Jōgi Pātro, he emphatically protested against the introduction of any revolutionary measures. He wrote to Masulipatam: "It appears to me quite contrary to the interest of the India Company at present that any Zamindary should be reduced by force in any other case than as it is the last remedy (sic) in their hands to bring the disobedient to reason, for our authority is not sufficiently established in this part of the Chicacole Circar to go thro' with such an affair. This concerns the Zamindars in general, but with regard to Narrain Doo in particular, if you deprive the whole of his family of the inheritance of that Zamindary it will be the real and only cause for more trouble in this country than we shall be able to put a stop to for some years..... If you mean to seize the person of Narrain Doo thro' the means of Ramah Jogue Pauter (his former Duan) you must not think of destroying the Rajahship. The Governor and Council will not desire more but accept of Narrain Doo's fall as the punishment his crime merits."¹²

9 *Madras to Cotsford*, (milit.) 11 August 1768, Vol. 62, pp. 984-86.

10 *Ibid*, See also *Madras Letters Received*, (Bouchier) 1 November 1768, para 53, Vol. IV.

11 Even though Cotsford had been solely vested with the responsibility of the Ichchapuram *pargana*, the chief of Masulipatam interfered therein without evoking opposition from him. Thus, it was at the direction of Masulipatam that Col. Peach undertook a survey of the district. Madras approved this measure.

See *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 August, *Milit. Cons.* 30 August Vol. 62, pp. 1016-18, Resolution of the Madras Government p. 1021-22 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 22 August. *idem*. pp. 1031-32.

12 *Cotsford to Masulipatam*, Berhampore, 8 August. *Milit. Cons.* 5 September Vol. 62, pp. 1078-80.

Even two months after this protest, the chief of Masulipatam wrote to

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The Masulipatam Council settled for Rs. 3,27,631 with Sitarama Razu for the first *kist* of the Vijayanagaram zamindari and, that of the Wurutla district, as well as for the balances due from Rāghava Rāzu. They also prevailed upon him to provide security for the tribute of Pāyaka Rao, raja of Salyavaram, who had only been recently liberated from his dependence on the zamindari of Vijayanagaram.¹³ Sitarama Razu's fidelity to the Company during the revolt of Narayana Deo was clearly recognised by the government. As Masulipatam put it: "We must, however, in justice to him observe that, in the late disturbances, he hath rendered the Company important and efficacious assistance, as without it the least bad consequence that could have resulted from the insurrection made by Narrain Doo must have been the entire loss of the Chicacole revenues for the present year."¹⁴ As a reward for this and in recognition of the several *sanads* possessed by him for his personal *jagir*, a *kaul* was granted confirming him in the same.¹⁵ As a further mark of the government's appreciation, the fort of Chicacole which had recently been acquired by the Company was, instead of being demolished, placed in his charge.¹⁶

Akkāji claimed a remission of Rs. 60,000 on account of the ravages of Narayana Deo during the preceding year. The Masulipatam Council proceeded with an interrogation of the *muzumdars* of the *pargana* with a view to ascertain the truth of this claim, but no subsequent action seems to have been taken regarding it.¹⁷ He was again granted the lease of the districts of Kasimkota, Jalmur and the Naupada salt farm at an annual rent of Rs. 2,00,000 which was "more than would be given by any person". Akkaji was prevailed upon to offer this rent in view of the fact that he had already enjoyed the lease of the farms during the previous year and that the present year's settlement only

Madras that "it never occurred to me that any of Narraindoo's family would again be restored to the possession of the Kimmedy Country". *Masulipatam to Madras*, 25 October, *idem.* 2 November, *idem.* pp. 1419-21.

¹³ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 September 1768. *idem.* 12 September *idem.* pp. 1096-98. See also *Same to Same*, 20 September, *idem.* 30 September, *idem.* pp. 1193-96.

¹⁴ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 September 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 12 September Vol. 62 pp. 1096-98. See also *Same to same*, 20 September *idem.* 30 September, *idem.* pp. 1193-96.

¹⁵ *idem.* pp. 1202-03 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 4 October *idem.* p. 1123. Owing to certain irregularities a fresh *kaul* was granted to Sitarama Razu. See *Milit. Cons.* 24 July 1769. Vol. 65, p. 369.

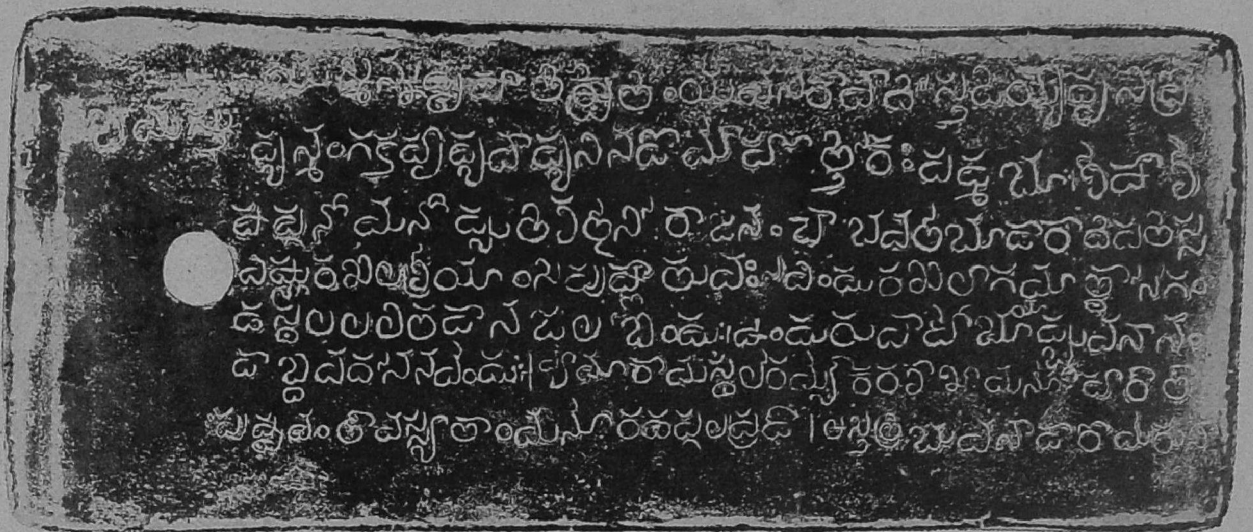
I have copied out this *kaul* as Appendix 'B' No. 2.

¹⁶ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 21 December, 1778. *Milit. Cons.* 26 December Vol. 64 p. 1958.

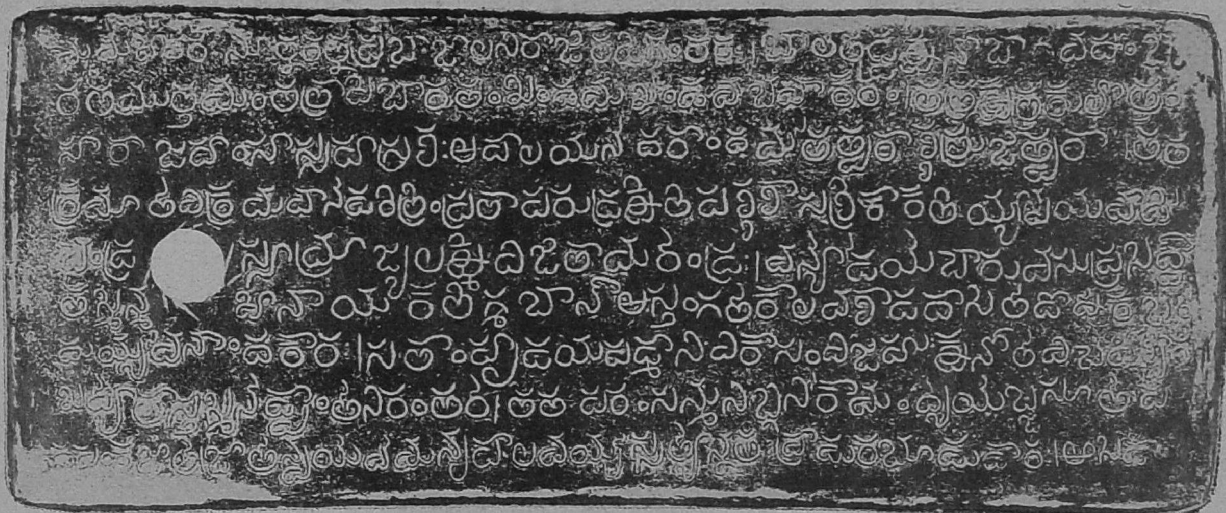
¹⁷ I was not able to trace this transaction any further.

ANAPARTI GRANT OF KUMARAGIRI, DATED, S. S. 1312

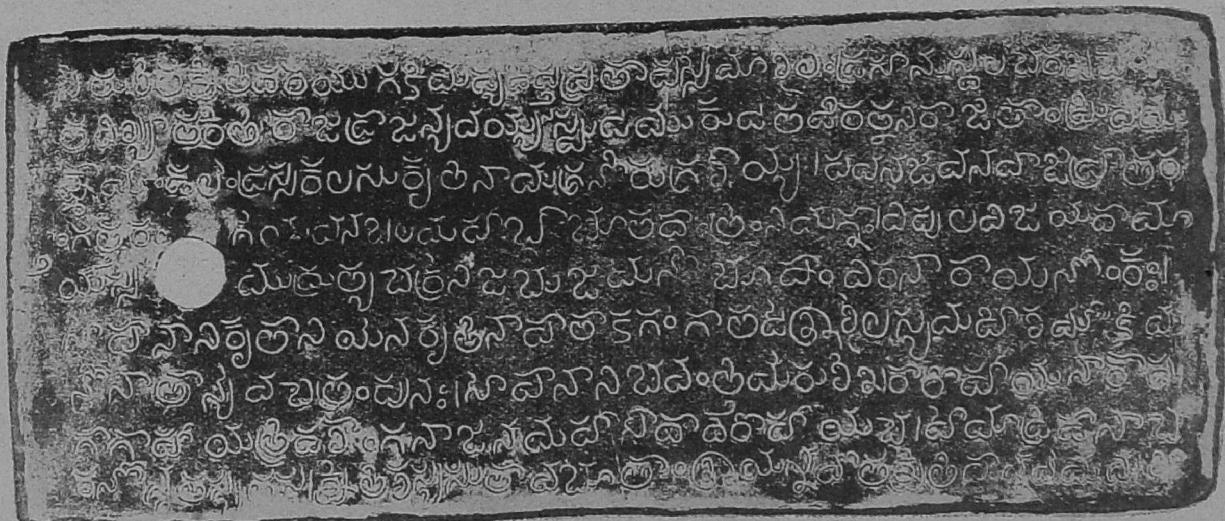
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Second plate : Second side



Third plate : First side

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Fourth plate : First side

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meant an extension of the term of his lease. But since the Ichchapuram division (i.e. the Jalmur division) which had been recently acquired from Narayana Deo (as will be shown presently) and converted into the Company's *haveli* lands, had not yet come under the complete control of the government, he was only to consider himself as being placed in the temporary charge of its management, until the time had come when he could be styled renter.¹⁸

The settlement of the Ichchāpuram *pargana* began with the dismemberment of the Kimiḍi zamindari. During the long period of mismanagement in the district, Nārāyaṇa Deo, the rāja, had usurped the Zamindari of Tekkali, and the division of Jalmur. Now that he had been declared an outlaw, the Madras government deemed it essential to divest his family of all unauthorised accretions to the zamindari. The restoration of the Tekkali rāja to his hereditary estate would, it was thought, impress the inhabitants "with an idea of our moderation and of our desire to continue the several Zamindars in the ancient possessions so long as they remain obedient to the Company."¹⁹ As such, the zamindar was reinstated in his hereditary estate but with his tribute raised from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 a year. With respect to Jalmur which produced an annual rent of Rs. 50,000 it was found that it had always been part of the government's *haveli* lands and hence it was leased out to Akkāji as was shown above.²⁰

Cotsford inaugurated his settlement of the Ichchāpuram zamindaries, which had so far paid their tribute through the rāja of Vijayanagaram, with the rāja of Mohiri who readily accepted the Company's regime. But he was unable either to pay his tribute in full in ready money or supply adequate *sāhukar* security. To obviate this difficulty Cotsford, as a personal favour, accepted the rāja's own bond for the payment of the balance in easy instalments.²¹ The rāja further signed "a penalty bond" according to which he would forfeit his zamindari in the event of his accounts, on the basis of which a remission was given to him in connection

18 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 20 September 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 30 September, Vol. 62, pp. 1194—95.

19 *Same to same*, 15 August 1768, *idem*, 20 August *idem*, pp. 1016—20. Resolution of the Madras government pp 1021—22 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 22 August pp. 1031—32.

20 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 September, *Milit. Cons.* 12 September Vol. 62 pp. 1100—01; *Colonel Peach to Masulipatam*, Kimidi, 23 August pp. 1102—03, and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 14 September pp. 1100—1111.

21 *Cotsford to Madras*, Berhampore, 9 August 1768, *idem*, 5 September, *idem*, pp. 1076—78.

with the depredations of Nārāyaṇa Deo, turning out to be false.²² The tribute of Dhārakōṭa was raised beyond the usual amount paid during the preceeding twelve years but with a remission on account of the losses sustained during Nārāyaṇa Deo's rebellion.²³

So far matters had been smooth for Cotsford. He was careful not to apprise the zamindars of the Madras government's aim of depriving them of their *sibbandies*. But since the group of zamindari known as the Mahēndra Malai (consisting of Tarla, Mandasa, Budarasingi, Jalantra and Surangi) were practically defenceless, he sent one of his agents "to take possession of the crops on the ground with some armed peons till they pay their tribute for the current year, as without Soucar security it is absolutely necessary to deal with them in this manner for they are (not) to be trusted".²⁴

With regard to Ghumsur, Cotsford was obliged to proceed with caution. This zamindari served more or less as a buffer between the Maratha government of Cuttack and the Company's government at Madras. Since the raja was unwilling to give up the ten villages which Cotsford claimed as originally belonging to the government's *havēli* lands, he "thought it more adviseable to yield something than make him our enemy at this time". With regard to the raja of Sourera, Cotsford was able to enhance his tribute without any opposition on the part of the former.²⁵ But since the raja of Biridi refused to surrender a pargana which he had been illegally possessed of since the time of Bussy's march through the Chicacole Sarkar in 1757, his fort was stormed and a settlement imposed upon him by force.²⁶ The raja of Humma readily came to terms.²⁷ But military force had to be used against the raja of Hautgur. On the contrary, Kallikōṭa quietly acquiesced in the Company's regime. As to Vijayanagar (Pedda Kimidi) the raja not only paid his tribute in full but also assigned over to the Company a considerable number of his villages. In all these last three cases, the sum of tribute "rather exceeded what they have usually paid to the government".

Thus, before the end of 1768 and before fresh troubles were to start in the Chicacole Sarkar, Cotsford was able to settle with nine zamindars of the Ichchāpuram *Paragana*. As has been shown below, his

22 *Same to same*, Ganjam, 18 August *idem*. 12 September, *idem*. p. 1104--05.

23 *Cotsford to Madras*, Aska, 17 September, *Milit. Cons.* 30 September Vol. 62, pp. 1245--46.

24 *Same to same*, 20 September, *idem*. 13 October, *idem*. pp. 1280--83.

25 *Same to same*, 25 September 1768 *idem*. 15 October, *idem*, pp. 1305--06.

26 *Cotsford to Madras*, 25 October, *Milit. Cons.* Vol. 62, pp. 1558--62.

27 *Idem*. p. 1563.

28 *Same to same*, Vijayanagar 21 November *idem*. 12 December Vol. 64 pp. 1804--06. Madras approved these measures in *Madras to Cotsford* 14 December *idem*. pp. 1821--23.

settlement resulted in an increase of the *jamabandi* traditionally paid by the zamindars. But to the credit of Cotsford it must be pointed out that, notwithstanding the previous orders of the Madras government to the effect that the zamindars should not pay any sums to Nārāyana Deo, and that in case they paid any, no future claims would be allowed on that account. He sacrificed nearly forty per cent of the revenues for 1767—68 in the shape of remissions on account of losses sustained by these zamindars. The following table clearly illustrates this point.

Cotsford's Settlement of the Ichchāpuram zamindaries (1768—69).

Zamindari	Tribute for 1767.	Deductions on account of Narayana Deo's depredations	Balance due.	No. of kists.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Mohiri	45,000	17,000	28,000	4
Dhārakōṭa	25,001	7,731	17,270	4
Ghumsur	30,001	10,001	20,000	3
Sourera	2,801	700	2,101	4
Biridi	5,001	2,500	2,501	7
Humma	3,001	2,147 ²⁹	854	1
Kallikōṭa	34,001	7,908	26,093	4
Hautgur	37,000	10,579	26,421 ³⁰	3
Vizayanagar (Pedda Kimidi)	47,001	6,446 ³¹	40,555	3

One of the most important and far-reaching results of Cotsford's settlement of the Ichchāpuram zamindars for 1768-69 was the systematic recovery and increase of the Company's *haveli* lands. The arguments used in justification of this policy of depriving the zamindars of these lands were threefold. The first was that during the period of anarchy and confusion which had long prevailed in the Chicacole Sarkar prior to its acquisition by the Company, the more powerful rajas encroached upon the tracts of their weaker neighbours. Since no authentic *sanads* for these accretions, either from the powerless Mughal Emperor or from the lax government of the *subadar* of the Dekhan, were forthcoming, the zamindars had no right to them. Secondly, some zamindars had appropriated to themselves the original *khalsa* lands of the Muhammadan government. As the repository of all civil authority in the Sarkars and as the successor to the

29 This sum includes Rs. 325 paid to Akkaji.

30 In part payment of this, rice to the value of Rs. 3,000 was to be accepted.

31 Of this Rs. 1446 were paid to Akkaji.

Muhammadan regime, the Company had the right to reclaim all such *khalsa* lands. The third argument became operative only in the case of recalcitrant zamindars. It was in the shape of nemesis that the government claimed certain portions of the defiant zamindari at once to humble them and to warn their more peaceful neighbours.

The first deliberate attempt to create the *haveli* lands of the Ichchāpuram *paragana* was made when the Kimidi zamindari was dismembered and Jalmur liberated and finally rented to Akkaji.³² The raja of Mohiri delivered up thirteen villages valued at Rs. 6,000 a year, but was allowed to retain three which had been granted to him in 1746 by Jafar Ali Khan, *naib* of Nizam-ul Mulk.³³ Hautgur again, surrendered thirteen villages—ten valued at Rs. 7,646 a year and formerly enjoyed as an *inam* by Gode Rāmadās, *naib* of Sītārāma Razu, and three more in charge of Hautmaram.³⁴ Kissen Bhanj, the raja of Ghumsur, parted with thirteen of the twenty three disputed villages.³⁵ The raja of Humma was compelled to deliver up a whole *paragana* which was incorporated into the *haveli* lands. Bhima Deva, raja of Vijayanagar (Pedda Kimidi) gave up the Korla *paragana* valued at Rs. 7,000 a year. He also surrendered another village in the Pubbakonda *paragana* rated at Rs. 2,000 a year.³⁶

32 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 September 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 12 September Vol. 62 pp 1100–01. See also *Madras to Masulipatam* 14 September *idem.* pp. 1100–11.

33 *Cotsford to Madras*, Ganjam 18 August *idem.* 12 September *idem.* pp. 1104–05.

34 *Cotsford to Madras*, Aska 20 September *Milit. Cons.* 13 October Vol. 62 pp 1280–85. See also *Same to same*, Vijayanagar 21 November *idem.* 12 December Vol. 64 pp 1804–05.

Hautmaram was evidently a Marwari *sahukar* engaged in revenue business in this Sarkar.

35 *Same to same*, Aska 25. September *idem.* 15 October Vol. 62 pp 1305–06.

36 The transactions relative to Humma and Pedda Kimidi were related in *Same to same*, Vijayanagar 21. November *idem.* 12 December Vol. 64 pp. 1804–05.

The name of the *paragana* delivered up by Humma was not mentioned in the records.

(To be continued)

**MURUPAKA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-
CHODA-GANGA DEVA (Dated Saka Samvat 1005).**

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

Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry

HISTORY OF THE PLATES: Sometime back, my esteemed friend, Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., obtained this set of plates from a friend and handed it over to me for publication in this journal. It contains five plates, each measuring $7\frac{5}{8}$ " by $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". The first and the fifth plates are inscribed on one side only, the other side being left blank to serve as a cover to the set. The ring holding the plates is $1\frac{3}{4}$ " thick and 4" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the lower portion of an oblong conch-like seal on the back of which is fixed a circular seat containing in high relief an image of a couchant humped bull (*Nandi*), facing to the front, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and $\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. Round the bull, on the surface of the disc, are found in relief the figures of sun, chowrie, etc. The ring has been cut by me at the time of taking the estampages of the plates. The five plates weigh in all 107 tolas and the ring with its seal weighs 38 tolas.

ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE: The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The whole inscription contains 73 lines of Sanskrit matter both in prose and poetry. The alphabet, which is inscribed clearly in old *Nāgari* type, can be read easily. It resembles that of the Korni and the Vizagapatam C.P. grants of the same king which were long ago published by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII and which were dated in Śāka years 1003 and 1057 respectively.

The following orthographical points may be noted: (i) *v* is used throughout for denoting *b*, as in *sāvda* in line 7, and *lavdha* in line 9, both in plate 1 (b). (ii) *l* is distinguished from *n* by a small stroke on the top of *l*. (iii) *Pūrṇānusvāra* symbol is shown by a circle or dot placed sometimes on the right top corner of the letter and sometimes between letter and letter. (iv) The final *m* is shown by a *virāma* (stroke of inverted crescent) placed under the *bindu* (circle) as in *gōthṛāṇām* and *mashīṇām* in lines 3 and 4 of Plate 1. (b). (v) There is no distinction shown between *ś* and *s* as in words *śalila* (l. 3) and *saṅkha* (l. 7) in Plate 1 (b). (vi) The conjuncts *ñch* and *ñchh* are shown by *ch* and *chh* being written first and then *ñ* separately after them. (cf. *pañcha* in lines 14 and 46.) (vii) The consonants after *r* are generally doubled as in *rvvishṇōr* in line 11, *Kāmārṇava* in l. 14. (viii) *j* is used for *jj* as in *samujvala* in line 8 Plate 1 (b). In almost all the Gānga Plates, the word is

written like that only. (ix) \bar{a} is expressed by a line drawn to the right from the top of the letter and on a level with its headstroke. (x) \dot{i} is formed by a crescent-like stroke drawn from the top-centre of the letter to the left bottom, while \bar{i} is formed by a similar stroke to the right bottom [cf. \dot{i} and \bar{i} in Svasti śrī in line 1 in Plate 1 (b)] (xi) e and \bar{e} are expressed by a line drawn to the left from the top of the letter and on a par with its headstroke. (xii) u is expressed by an inverted crescent-like stroke at the bottom of the letter from the right to the left and \bar{u} by a similar stroke from the left to the right. (xiii) The difference between pa and pha is expressed by a small circle being placed at the right top corner of p . (xiv) A small stroke below n gives the final form of n , i.e., the dental n sound as in *nivahan* and *abkanan*. (xv) The final form of m and r are shown by omitting the top strokes of the letters. (xvi) The use of *prithvim* and *pitri* for *prthvim* and *pitr* is peculiar; similarly the use of *trkāṭe* for *trikāṭe* in plate 4 (a) and (b). (xvii) There are several mistakes committed by the scribe and proper readings are given in the footnotes.

SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE PLATES: It resembles, up to the portion defining the actual grant with its boundaries, closely that given in the Korni Plates of this king dated Śaka 1003 published in this *Journal* (Vol. I, pp. 40-48) and the Vizagapatam plates of this king of the same year and also Ś. 1057 published in *Ind. Ant.* (Vol. XVIII, pp. 161 and 172) and also the grant of this king dated Śaka year 1006 and published in this *Journal* Vol. VIII pp. 191 ff. The genealogy and the chronology, given in all these plates, also agree closely with all those given in all the grants of Vajrahasta III and Rājarāja and differ from those given in the Korni plates dated Ś. 1034 published in this *Journal* (Vol. I, pp. 106-121) and the Vizagapatam plates of this king dated Ś. 1040 published in *Ind. Ant.* (Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172). The former should therefore be believed to be more historical and correct.

The grant, made on the occasion of winter solstice, consists of the village of Murupāka situated in the District of Ērada. Its date is Ś. 1005. The village was made into a *Devabhōga* for Narēndrēśvara Dēva. The village of Sattivāda in the same Ērada Dist. was granted to Gaṇapati Nāyaka by Vajrahasta III in Ś. 971. (*Vide* p. 165 of *JAHRS.* Vol. VIII.) The present grant was made for the maintenance of five Brahmins who should conduct worship of God and do repairs to the temple *Vimāna*.

Among the boundaries of the village granted are mentioned ten more villages, viz., Nantivādana, Vara, Lōvana, Lēmjaraha, Sṛimasraka, Krōnvera, Vijayapura, Vūrumūra, Vīmada and Rēmga Ērada *vishaya* may be identified with Vizianagaram Taluk wherein are found Murupāka and some other villages still.

The grant is said to be written by Dāmōdara, son of *Mahākhāyastha* (the great Alderman) and *Sandhi-vidrahi* (Secretary

for Peace and War) Māvūraya and inscribed by *Mahākshaśāli* (the great letter-writer) Vallēma.ōju. The same set of people are found to have done the same duties in Ś. 971 in the time of this king's grandfather Vajrahastadēva III. (Vide *JAHS.* Vol. VIII p. 1166). The Korni plates of Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga, dated Ś. 1034, were written by Vallēna *Achārya's* son Bhattēna (Vide *JAHS.* Vol. I, p. 124). The present Set of plates, dated Ś. 1005, was written by Vallēma Ōju who must be the same as Vallēma *Achārya*. The engraver of Korni plates of this very same king dated Ś. 1003 was also *Vallemōju* (Vide *JAHS.* p. 48, Vol. I). This Vallemōju is the son of Nunkamōju as stated in Vajrahasta's C. P. grant dated Ś. 982 (Vide *Bodḍapādu plates* published in the *Bharati*, a Telugu monthly of Madras, Vol. III pp 82—94). Thus, during three reigns, we get three names of engravers of official records. The word Akshaśāli seems to have given birth to Aḡaśāli which means now a *kamśāli* or goldsmith. Similarly, the word *āchārī* seems to have given birth to *āsārī* which is also a term for a goldsmith in South India.

Text*

First Plate: Second Side.

1. Ōm.¹ Svasti śrīmata²m=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dā
2. kshinya-satya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyyādi guṇaratna-pavitrakāṇām³=Ā-
3. trēya-gōtrāṇām vimala-vichārāchāra-puṇya śatila⁴-prakshālita-ka-
4. likāla-kalmasha-mashīṇām mahā Mahēndrāchala śikhara pratishṭhi-
5. tasya sa charāchāra guroḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmmāṇaika-sūtra-
6. dhārasya śaśāṅka chūḍāmaṇēr-bhbbhagavatō Gōkarṇṇa svāmina-
7. ḥ prasādāt-samāsāditaika saṅkha⁵bhērī paṁcha mahā śavda⁶-dhavala-
8. chchhatra-hēma-chāmara-vara-vṛshabhalāṁchchhana samujvala⁷ sa-
- masta sāmīrā-
9. jya mahimnām anēka samarasaṅghaṭṭa sam-upalavdha⁸ vijayalakshmī-
- samā-
10. liṅgit=ōttuṅga bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānām Trīkaliṅga⁹-mahībhujām

Second Plate: First Side.

11. Gaṅgānām-anvayam-alaṅkarishṇōr=Vvishṇōr=iva Vikram=ākrānta-dharāmaṇḍala-

* Prepared from the original Copper-plates. These plates are now presented by me to the Museum of the *Andhra Historical Research Society* at the request of Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., vakil, who first acquired them.

1 Expressed by a symbol.

2 Read tā.

3 Read kāṇām=Ā.

4 „ śatila.

5 „ śaṅkha.

6 „ śabda.

7 „ samujjala.

8 „ labdha,

9 „ Trikaliṅga.

12. sya Guṇamahārṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ || Śrī Vajrahastadēvaś=chatus=cha-
 13. tvārimśatam-avdakān¹⁰kshitim=arakshit | Tat-tanayō Guṇḍamarājā¹¹varsha-tra-
 14. yam-apālayat | Tad-anu tadanujah Kāmārṇava-dēvaḥ pañcha-tri-
 15. mśad-varshāṇi | Tasy ānujō Vinayādityas-samā-stitraḥ¹² | Ta-
 16. taḥ Kāmārṇava-tanayō Vajrahastah | Yō | madagalita gaṇḍān
 17. gajān-sahasram=artthibyaḥ samadāt sa-pañcha-trimśatam-avda¹³
 18. kān | Tatas=tad-agra-sūnu ḥ* | Kāmārṇava-dēv=ōrttha samām [| *] Tatas-tadanu-
 19. jō Guṇḍamahīpatī¹⁴s-triṇi varshāṇi | Tadanu tasya dvai-māturō

Second Plate: Second Side.

20. Madhukāmārṇava ēkōna vimśati varshāṇi | Tataḥ Kāmā-
 21. rṇṇad¹⁵-Vaidumvā¹⁶nvaya samudbhavāyām Vinayamahādēvyā¹⁷jāta-
 22. ḥ śrī Vajrahasta-dēvō dēvaḥ patantam-atibhīshaṇam=aśanīm
 23. sastryābhi¹⁸ jaghānasa trayatrim¹⁹śatam=avdakān²⁰=avanim=apālayat
 24. Tatastu tasy-ātma bhāv=ōri-marddanas-sa-Rājarāja-kshitipa-
 25. ḥ kshitim samāḥ || arakshad asṭtau varuṇālayām varā²¹
 26. n nidhir-gguṇānām²²nnidhi pāṭa-sannibhaḥ || Tatō Rājēndra-
 27. chōla²³sya tanayā Rājasundarī rājñas=tasy=āgramahishī-sa-
 28. tī sutam=asūyata || Śākāvdē²⁴ Nanda-randhra-graha gaṇa gaṇi-

Third Plate: First Side.

29. tē Kumbhasamsthē dinēśē śuklē-pakshē tritīyā²⁵ yuji raviya-di
 30. nē Rēvatībhe nṛ-yugmē lagnē Gaṅgā-nvavāyāmbu²⁶ja vana di-
 31. na kridviścha²⁷ viśvāmbharā yāms²⁸ chakram sa²⁹ rakshitum sadguṇa ni-
 32. dhir=adhipaś Chōḍagaṅg=ōbhishiktiḥ³⁰ || Kaliṅga na-
 33. garāt=Parama-māhēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mā.³¹
 34. hārājādhirāja Trikaliṅgādhīpatiḥ Śrīmad=Anantava-

10 Read *abdakān.*

12 „ *stīśraḥ.*

14 „ *pati.*

16 „ *Vaidumba.*

18 „ *śastryābhir.*

20 „ *abdakān.*

22 „ *nān nidhi.*

23 There is slight difference between *la* and *la*.

24 Read *śākāvdē.*

26 „ *Gaṅgānvavāmbu*

28 „ *yās.*

30 „ *taḥ*

11 Read *rājō.*

13 „ *abda.*

15 „ *rṇṇavād.*

17 „ *dēvyām.*

19 „ *trayastrim.*

21 „ *barā.*

25 Read *trītiyā.*

27 „ *kṛdviśva*

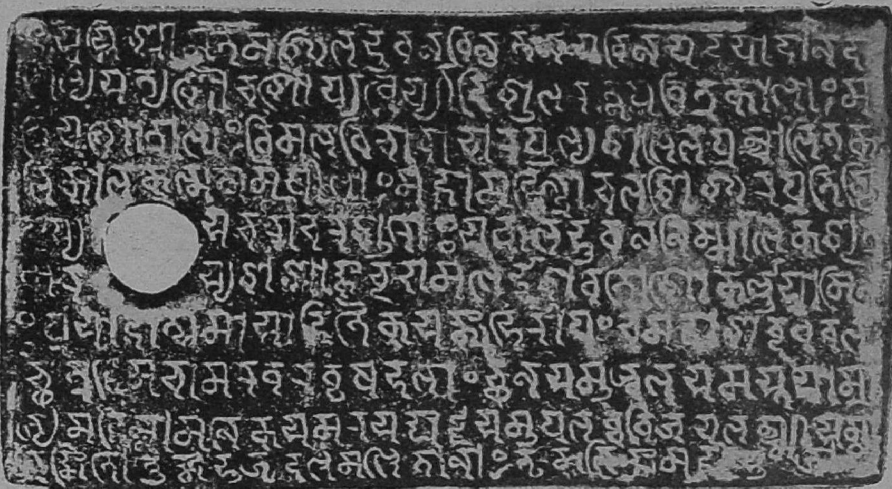
29 „ *sam.*

31 „ *ma.*

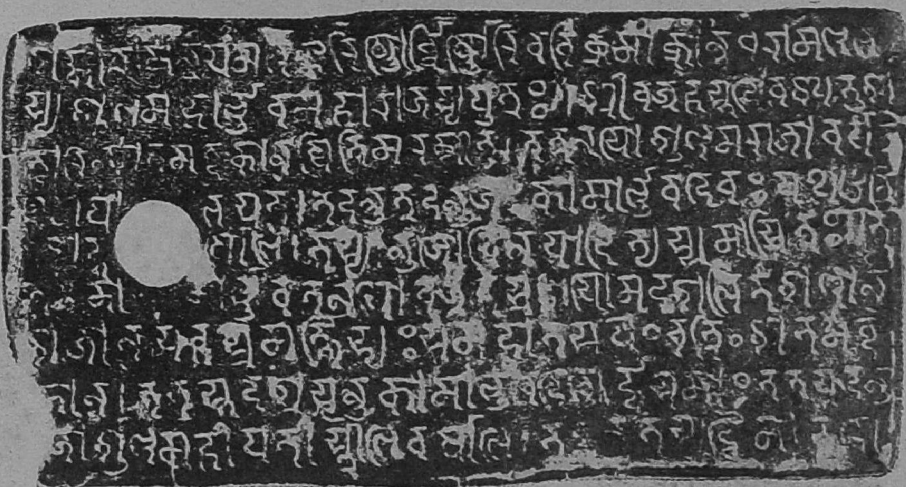
MURUPAKA GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGADEVA

DATED, S. S. 1005

First Plate



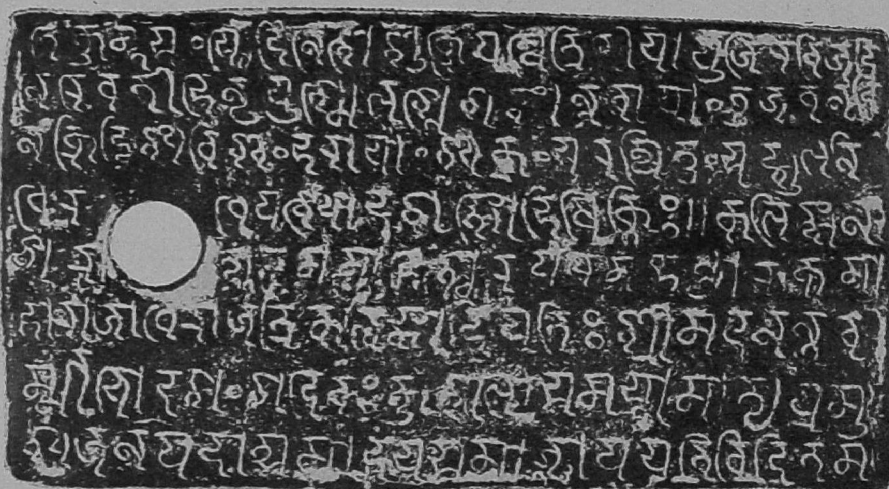
Second plate : first side



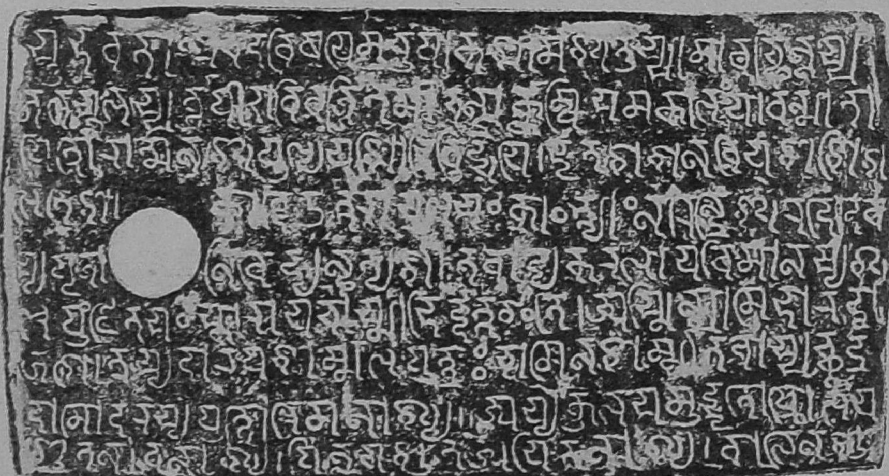
Second plate : Second side



Third plate : First side



Third plate : Second side



35. rmmā Chōḍagaṅgadēvaḥ kuśalī [| *] samast—āmātya pramu-
 36. kha-janapadān samāhūya sam-ājñāpayati viditama-

Third Plate: Second Side.

37. stu bhavatām | Ērada-vishayē Murupāka grāmaśchatus-sīmā-
 vachchhinnas sa-
 38. jala-sthalas-sarva-pīḍā-vivarjjitam—āchandrārka kshi³²samakālam
 yāvan mātā-
 39. pitrōr—ātmanaścha punya yaśōbhi vridhdhayē³³ || Bhūta gagana
 viya³⁴śaśiga-
 40. nītē Śākāvdē³⁵ Uttarāyana-samkrānttyām Narēndrēścharadē³⁶ dēva-
 41. sya pūjā nivēdya-nṛtya-gīta-vādyā-karaṇāya vimānasya kha-
 42. ṇḍa putrē ta(t*)samskāraya ch—āsmābhird-datta iti || Asmin
 grāmē Bhāradvā-
 43. ja-gōtrasya Dārapaśammaṇa³⁷ puttrah Chāmēnaśarmma tachrās-
 sachchhadra³⁸
 44. Dāmōdarasya-putrō Rēmanākhyā(ā) || Asya-kula-samudbhūtō Prōlaya
 45. śuta³⁹ Nāvanākhyā(ā) Pinnapa-śuta⁴⁰ Ayitanākhyā(ā) Vālēnaśu-⁴¹

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

46. ta Yōmanākhyā | Ētē paṇcha yadhāsvaṁ parikalpita vṛttyām
 Dēvasthā-
 47. nasya rakshakā(s*)-sthāpitā iti || Asya grāmasya sīmā liṅgāni likhya-
 48. ntē || Pūrvvataḥ sthāpita-śilā | Tad-dakshinataḥ Murupāka-Nanṭi
 vādana Vara-
 49. śīmānām trkūtē⁴² gumuruvāsikā | Āgnēyataḥ Murupāka Lō-
 50. vana Vara grāmanām trkūtē⁴³ sthāpitaśilā | Tatō vāyavya-
 51. taḥ sthāpitaśilā | Tatpaśchimataḥ timtriṇī-samūha | Tad-dakshi-
 52. nataḥ⁴⁴ sthāpitaśilā | Tat paśchimataḥ timtriṇī-samūha | Tad-
 dakshinataḥ
 53. valmīka⁴⁵ tat-pūrvvataḥ valmīkaḥ | Tad-āgnēyataḥ valmīkaḥ | Tad-
 dakshina-
 54. taḥ Murupāka Lemjjaraha Srīmasraka-grāmānām trikūtē sthāpi-
 55. ta śilā | Tad-dakshinataḥ Kakavanarāji | Dakshinasyām diśi Ūshara-
 56. stha valmīkaḥ | Tad-uttarataḥ timtriṇī-samūha | Tat-paśchimataḥ
 timtri-

32 „ kshiti.

33 „ vṛddhayē.

34 „ viyat.

35 „ śākābdē.

36 „ Narēndrēśvaradēva

37 „ śarmmaṇa.

38 „ tachchhāsyachchhātra

39 „ suta.

40 „ suta.

41 „ su.

42 „ trikūtē.

43 „ trikūtē.

44 From here till the end of this line, the matter found in the line above it has been repeated by mistake.

45 Read valmīkaḥ

Fifth Plate: Second Side.

57. nī samūha | Tad-dakshinataḥ nijjana vṛkshaḥ | Tat-paśchimataḥ
taṭāka sē-
58. tau sthāpita śilā | Tad-dakshinataḥ Murupāka Lōva Krōnvera
grāmāṇā-
59. m trkūtē⁴⁶ taṭāka sētō timtriṇī vṛkshaḥ | Nairityām⁴⁷ diśi Muru-
pāka Krō-
60. nvera Vijayapura grāmāṇām trkūtē⁴⁸ garttā | Paśchimāyām diśi Muru-
61. pāka Vijayapura Vurumūra-grāmāṇām trkūtē⁴⁹ garttā | Vāyavyā
62. diśi Murupāka Vurumūra Vīmāda-grāmāṇām trkūṭa⁵⁰stha gulma
63. m | Tat-pūrvvataḥ gōmūtra vakrēṇa valmīkaḥ tataḥ īśhad-vakrēṇa
pūrvva-
64. tō valmīkaḥ tad-uttarataḥ timtriṇī vṛkshaḥ tat-pūrvvataḥ
valmīkaḥ | Tad-u-
65. ttarataḥ Murupāka Vīmāda Rēmga grāmāṇām trkūtē⁵¹ parvvatikā
66. uttarasyām diśi bhūśiṇāḥ | * | Tad-āgnēyataḥ parvvatikā śikha-

Fifth Plate: First Side.

67. ram | Tad-āgnēyataḥ valmīkaḥ tat-pūrvvataḥ timtriṇī paktim⁵²(1*) Ī-
68. śānyāmdiśi timtriṇī vṛkshaḥ || ⁵³Vahubbhir-rvvasudhādattā rājabhiḥ
69. ⁵⁴ssagarādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadābhūmis-tasya-tasya tadā phalaṁ |
Sva-
70. dattām⁵⁵mpara dattām vā yō harēti⁵⁶ vasundharām savishṭhā yām
71. ⁵⁷kṛmīr bbbhūtvā pitribhis⁵⁸-saha pachyatē | Māhā⁵⁹kāyastha sandhivi-
72. grahi Māvuraya-sūnūnā Dāmōdarēṇa likhitam | Māh=ā⁶⁰
73. kshaśāli Vallēmōjēn=ōtkīrnnam ||

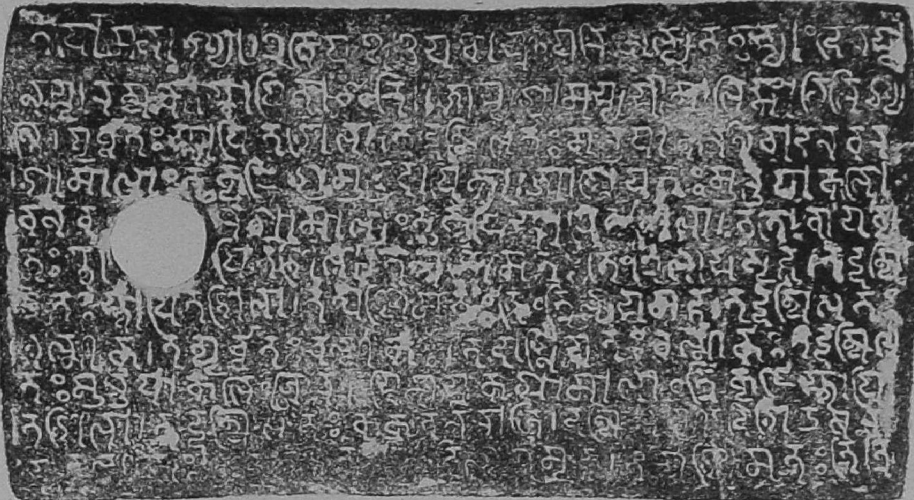
TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 12):—Om. Blessed be the son of Guṇamahārṇava Mahārāja, who possessed the circle of the earth by valour, as Viṣṇu by stride (and) adorned the race of Gaṅgas who were purified by precious virtues, extolled in the whole world, such as wisdom, modesty, kindness, charity, civility, truthfulness, purity, valour, and courage; who belong to the Atrēya *gōtra*; who had the stains of the impurities of the *kali* age washed away by the holy water of pure thoughts and deeds; who possess the glory of universal sovereignty resplendent with (the royal *insignia*) the unique conch-shell, the drum, the five *Mahāśabdas*,

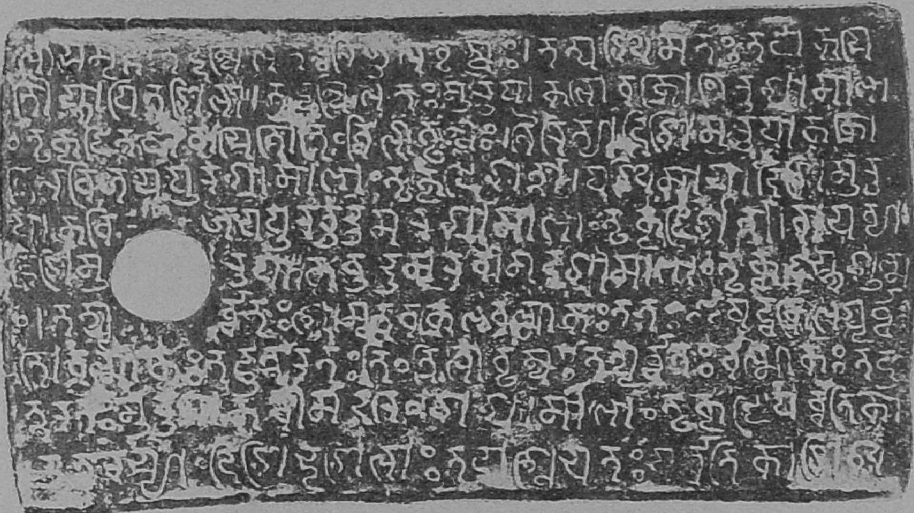
46 Read *trikūṭē*.48 „ *trikūṭē*.50 „ *trikūṭa*.52 „ *pamktiḥ*.54 „ *Saga*.56 „ *harēta*.58 „ *pitṛbhi*.60 „ *mahā*.47 Read *nairityām*.49 „ *trikūṭē*.51 „ *trikūṭē*.53 „ *bahu*.55 Omit the *bindu*.57 Read *krimi*.59 „ *mahā*.

MURUPAKA GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGADEVA DATED S. S. 1005

Fourth plate : First side



Fourth plate : Second side



Fifth plate : First side



the white parasol, the golden chowrie and the excellent bull-crest, through the favour of the divine Gōkarnasvāmin (Śiva), who is the lord of all the animate and inanimate world, who is the sole architect in the construction of the whole Universe and who has on his head the moon as an ornament; who were adorned with lofty staff-like arms which were embraced by the goddess of Victory, obtained in the conflict of many battles and who were the lords of the country of the Three Kalingas—

(Ll. 12 to 17).—The illustrious Vajrahastadēva protected the earth for 44 years. His son, Guṇḍama Rāja ruled for 3 years and his younger brother, Kāmārṇava dēva for 35 years (and) his younger brother, Vinayāditya for 3 years. Then, Kāmārṇava's son, Vajrahasta who gave away to applicants a thousand elephants, whose temples were trickling with rut, (ruled) for 35 years.

(Ll. 18 to 23).—Then his eldest son, Kāmārṇavadēva (reigned) for half an year and then his younger brother, Gunda Raja for 3 years and then his maternal half-brother, Madhukāmārṇava for 19 years. Then, there was born to Kāmārṇava by Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family, the illustrious king Vajrahasta, who struck down with his sword the most terrible thunderbolt falling from Heaven, and who ruled for 33 years.

(Ll. 24 to 26).—Then, his son, king Rājarāra, the destroyer of foes, a mine of good qualities who like Kubēra, protected, for 8 years, the earth surrounded by the sea.

(Ll. 27 to 28).—Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājēndra Chōla and the chief queen consort of the king (Rājarāja) bore a son.

(Ll. 29 to 32).—(This son) King Chōḍagaṅga, the sun to the collection of the lotus flowers of the Gaṅga race and a mine of good qualities was, for the purpose of protecting the circle of the world, anointed king in the śaka year 999, denoted by the Nandas (9), apertures (9), planets (9), when the sun was in the *Kumbha* (Aquarius) on Saturday, the third lunar day of the bright fortnight, under the Rēvati star and during the Mithuna (Gemini) *lagna*.

(Ll. 33 to 36).—From the city of Kalinganagara, the illustrious Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga, the devout worshipper of (God) Mahēśvara, the devout Lord Paramount, the great King of kings, lord of Tri-kaliṅga being in good health, having called together all the subjects (*Janapadas*) headed by the chief *Amātyas*, (Ministers) commands:—"Be it known to you all:

(Ll. 37 to 47).—That, for the increase of the merit and fame of (my) mother, father and myself, the village of Murupāka, situated in Ērada *Vishaya* (District) enclosed by the four boundaries, has been with all the waters granted by us, free of all molestations, and as long as moon and sun last, in the śaka year, 1005, denoted by moon (1), air (0),

sky (o), spirits (5), on the occasion of summer solstice (*Uttarāyana Samkrānti*) for rendering services like worshipping, offering, dancing, singing verses in praise and beating drum etc., for God Narēndrēśvaradēva and also for affecting repairs to *Vimāna* (the pinnacle of the temple of God) and a *Vṛtti* (life sustenance grant) has been established out of the village granted for the following five persons:—(1) Chāmēnasarma, the son of Dārapaśarmma of Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (2) His obedient disciple Dāmōdara's son called Rēmana (3) one called Nāvana, the son of Prolaya who was born in that family (4) one named Ayitana, son of Pinnapa (5) and one called Yōmana, son of Vālēna. This grant has been made for the protection of the *Dēvasthānam* (Temple of Narēndrēśvara). The boundaries of the said village are written as follows:

(Ll. 48-68).—To the east lies a stone erected; to the south of it lies Gumuru *vāsikā*(?) at the meeting place of the three villages, viz., Murupāka, Nanṭivādana and Vara; to the north-east of it lies a stone erected at the meeting place of the 3 villages, viz., Murupāka, Lōvana and Vara; to the north-west of it lies a stone erected; to the west of it lies a group of *tintriṇī* (tamarind) trees and to the south of it lies an anthill and to its east also another ant-hill and to the north-east of it yet another ant-hill. To its south lies a stone erected at the meeting place of the three villages, viz., Murupāka, Lēmjaraha and Srēmasraka and to its south lies a garden *Kākavanam* (?) and to its south a wasteland and anthill; to its north lies a group of *tintriṇī* trees and to its west also the same group of trees, while to its south *Nijjana* trees. To its west lies a stone erected on a tank bund and to its south lie the tank bund and the *tintriṇī* trees at the meeting place of the 3 villages viz., Murupāka, Lōva and Krōnvera. To the south-west lies a pit (*garta*) at the meeting of the three villages, viz., Murupāka, Krōnvēra and Vijayapura and to the west of it lies another pit (*garta*) at the meeting place of the three villages, viz., Murupāka, Vijayapura and Vurumūra; to the corner between north and west lies a herb (*gulma*) at the meeting place of the three villages viz., Murupāka, Vurumūra, and Vimada. To the east of it lies, in an irregular way, an anthill and in a bend lies in a similar way another anthill. To its north lie *tintriṇī* trees and to their east an anthill and to its north lies hillock at the meeting place of the three villages, viz., Murupāka, Vīmada and Rēṁga. To the north lies a shrub and to the north-east lies the sunsuit of a hillock and to its north-east an anthill and to its east a line of *tintriṇī* trees and in the north-east direction *tintriṇī* trees again,

(Ll. 68-71):—The two usual imprecatory verses are given.

(Ll. 71-73):—This was written by Dāmōdara, the son of *Mahākḥāyastha* (the great Alderman) and *Sandhivigrahi* (the Secretary for Peace and War) Māvuraya and inscribed by *Mahākṣhaśālī* (the great letter-writer) Vallēma *Ōju*.

RUINS OF THE BUDDHIST PERIOD ON THE MOUND OF SARANGADHARA AT RAJAHMUNDRY

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.

About a mile from the outskirts of Rajahmundry on the north, there is a small ridge about two hundred yards in length and about 90 feet in height. The ridge runs from east to west and faces the Godavari which flows beyond in a southerly direction about a mile away. The ridge has a cross section running from south to north near or towards its western summit. It has flat top; its middle portion is slightly larger and higher than the western and eastern summits. On the edge of the central mound, on its northern corner, there is an old large deep well with a spiral flight of steps leading to the edge of the water below. The protecting structure at the top had disappeared long ago though traces of it are still visible. I have attempted to go near and look into it once or twice; and according to my estimate the water level is approximately sixty feet below.

For purposes of this description the northern offshoot or the terminus of the cross-ridge which runs from south to north crossing the main hillock may be called Mound 'A'. It is the smallest mound in the locality and is at a distance of about 50 yards from the main ridge 'B' which runs east to west. Formerly the mound 'A' must have been connected with the main cliff 'B' by a flat topped saddle which apparently contained a pathway. On this top of the hillock 'A' are to be found traces of masonry structure circular in shape. The super structure had long ago disappeared. But several bricks were recovered from the place. People in recent times had dug up large bricks from the place and carried them away for their purposes. The whole area is now covered even to the foot of the mound with rubble stone which must have been used at one time in the masonry construction that once stood there.

The main ridge which has been denominated 'B' consists of three cliffs. The first one 'B-1' is the western terminus of the ridge. This has a flat top, which occupies an area of about 50 feet by 70 feet. It had, till about ten years ago when I saw it carefully for the first time, traces of foundations of brick masonry covering almost the entire summit. The foundations have been found, by the subsequent digging up of the entire area, to be about 12 feet deep. There is now in the centre of it a temple on the old foundations, which was built by a Visva-brahmin who claims to be a saint. Thus for all time there is no chance of knowing what stood on the spot. Still at the back of the temple that is on the eastern side there are to be found traces of a brick structure.

To the south of this terminus 'B-1' stands another detached cliff which seems to have formed the southern terminus of the cross-ridge,

This mound, 'A-1' on the south corresponds to the Mound 'A' mentioned above on the north. There were traces of masonry structure on this but during the last one decade the area had been completely dug up, like a pit and large bricks were removed for the construction of the temple near by. All the rubble stone that had fallen down the slopes these mounds lies scattered over the entire area. On the main ridge itself, the central part seems to be the largest area with a fairly large and levelled ground measuring roughly an acre. Here also must have stood some buildings though the exact nature of them cannot be traced or ascertained at this distance of time. That is the spot which, in local tradition, is called the Mound of Sārangadhara. There it is said the unfortunate prince suffered the cruel punishment meted out to him his thoughtless father. There it is said that his legs and hands were severed and that he was left to the care and protection of a benevolent saint who restored them to him in course of time. There were found some years ago ruins of a Śiva shrine but all of them had since been removed by some unknown people. There is only a huge slab on the site which contains the figure of a winged *garuḍa* in human form.

The story of Sārangadhara is somewhat persistently connected with this mound, which has also distinct traces of buildings that existed in former times. It is possible that this mound was in some manner which cannot be traced to-day connected with Buddhism in the early centuries before or after the Christian era. There is absolutely no evidence to assume that this mound was in any way connected with the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarājanarēndra and his son Rājēndra Chōḍa-dēva. There is a close similarity, however, between the legend of Sārangadhara that still persists in this locality and the *Mahā Paduma Jātaka-katha*.¹ To this day on the 3rd day after the *Makara Samkrānti*, which is called *Mukkanumu* in Telugu, a great festival is held in honour of the unfortunate prince Sārangadhara at the mound where people particularly of the lower castes gather in large numbers from all the neighbouring villages. The significance of this festival cannot be known, for it is peculiar to this locality.

The *Mahā Paduma Jātaka*. Once upon a time when Brahmadata was king of Benares the Bōdhisattva was born as the son of his chief queen, and for the beautiful countenance he had was called Paduma kumāra or the Lotus Prince. When he grew up he was well educated in all arts and sciences. When the chief queen died the king took another this there was a rebellion on the frontier and the king departed to quell consort, but appointed his son Paduma-kumara viceroy. Sometime after that insurrection leaving the city and the kingdom in the charge of his son Paduma-kumāra. When the prince learnt that his father had destroyed the enemies and was returning home he made suitable arrange-

¹ The *Jataka*, Vol. IV, No. 472, pp. 116-121, Cambridge University Press, 1901.

ments for a triumphal entry for his father. At that time the queen saw the prince and having become enamoured of his beauty, endeavoured to seduce him from his virtue. The prince would not, however, yield to her entreaties. Frustrated in her desires the queen resolved to take revenge, in order to protect herself by destroying the prince. So she feigned illness, and when the king questioned her, complained of the molestation by the prince and showed him signs in proof of that. The king made no enquiry but became furious like a serpent. He commanded his men to fetch the prince immediately tied hand and foot to his presence. When the prince was brought like a condemned person, with his hands bound behind his neck and a garland of red flowers round the neck and beaten all the way, the king could not restrain his wrath. He condemned his son to be done away with over the Robbers' Cliff. The prince said to his father that he was innocent but the king would not listen to him. The nobles and warriors of the realm remonstrated in vain to save the life of the unfortunate prince. While the populace wailed around him the king, unmoved, commanded the prince to be taken away, and caused him to be seized and cast down the precipice over heels head first. But the prince was saved from death by a Nāga (serpent) king who caught hold of him in his coils when he was falling down the precipice, took him to his abode and gave him half of his kingdom. After spending a year in the Nāga world, prince Paduma retired to the Himalayas and embraced the religious life. Sometime after, a wood ranger of Benares saw Paduma-kumāra now turned an ascetic, recognised him and carried the news to the king. The king went thither with his entourage to the hermitage of the prince and requested him to forget the past and return to the kingdom to accept the crown. Paduma-kumara declined to give up the religious life and now the king learning that he was deprived of so virtuous a son by the machinations of his second wife, caused her to be punished by being seized and hurled headlong over the self-same Robbers' Cliff.

Prince Paduma is Sārangadhara in the local legend and the vile queen of the *Jātaka hatṭa katha* is Chitrāṅgi. The mound of Sārangadhara plainly answers to the description of the Robbers' or Thieves Cliff, where there is a deep, precipitous well which is two or three palms deep. Tradition says that into that well the king caused his second queen to be hurled as a punishment for her crime. It is, therefore, quite probable that the locality of the Mound of Sārangadhara was connected with Buddhism in ancient times and that the story of the Mahā Paduma *Jātaka* was perpetuated on this spot in some form of which we have no traces to discover at present.

In this connection I am tempted to make an observation regarding Buddhism in Āndhradēśa. A characteristic feature of the Āndhra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to be the peculiar form of perpetuating certain *Jātaka* legends in well known places connected with

Buddhism in Āndhradēśa. Thus we have the celebrated Pishtapura or Pīthikāpura, the modern Pithapuram in East Godavari District but strickly speaking Piṭakapura² "the City of the Piṭakas" or Piṭṭapura, "the City of the Bird." The name Piṭṭapura suggests that the city was connected with the legend of the bird or the *Kukkuṭa Jātaka*. It is difficult to say which of the two was the earlier form of the name of the city which was renowned in ancient times as the seat of Buddhism in the Southern Kalinga. Pishtapura, which is plainly the Sanskritised form of Piṭṭapura, is called to this day Pāda Gaya, and the shrine of Kukkuṭēśvara Śiva in that locality reminds us of the *Kukkuṭa-Jātaka*. Pāda Gaya is believed to be the spot where the feet of the Gayāsura are to be found while the head of the demon is believed to be in Buddha Gaya in the north. Piṭṭapura would seem to have been connected with the *Jātaka* legend *Kukkuṭa-jātaka* for, in Pithapuram, there is still an unexplored mound not very far removed from the shrine of Śiva called Kukkuṭēśvara and the Pāda Gaya-ksbētra. Some marble stone pillars and beams were found near the spot sometime back, and the mound was neither explored nor preserved by the Archaeological Department despite the notice of the fact in the press. The *Sthalamāhātmyam* gives an interesting legendary account which I will take another opportunity to narrate in the pages of this *Journal*. Chēzerla in the Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district, is another place which is likewise connected with a *jātaka* legend. Here is the temple of Śiva called Kapōtēśvara. The temple architecure plainly betrays its Buddhist origin. It was originally a *chaitya-grha* or apsidal temple with a barrel vaulted roof, a moon stone at the entrance and many other relics of its Buddhist antiquity and origin. The place was long ago dedicated to the Śibi *Jātaka*. Śrīparvata would seem to have been connected not only with the genuine *dhātu* of the Blessed Lord Buddha, but also with the Kosiya *Jātaka* or the Legend of the Owl, as *Gūba-guṭṭa* the name of a mound in that locality suggests. *Gūba guṭṭa* or "the mound of the owl" is the most centrally situated spot in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley; and on it stood once the (*Samma-Śimḥudāsa dhātuvara-parigrahitasī*) *Mahācheitya* of the *dhātu* of the perfectly Enlightened One.³

If the local legends and other *sthalamāhātmyams* of the places of Buddhist celebrity are examined, we may come across similar instances. At one time Buddhism enjoyed a strong hold on Āndhradēśa and there are innumerable traces all over the land of its glorious sway in former times. *Lanja-dibba* or "mound of the harlots" is a common name in Āndhradēśa for the mounds of Buddhist antiquity.

2 The original name might be Piṭakapura, "the city of the Piṭakas" which became Piṭṭapura "the city of the bird" in course of time in the pronunciation of the people. With the dropping of 'ka' the preceding 'ṭa' becomes doubled and this is a common feature of the Telugu language.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, p. 15, Ayaka Pillar Insc. C—3, text line 1.

A NOTE ON THE MANDASA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA*

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

Mr. G. Ramadas edited these plates in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVII. p. 175 ff. This is a very interesting inscription in as much as this is the only grant, excluding the Kambakāya plates of Dēvēndravarma, which not only gives the *prasaṣṭi* of the early Gāṅga kings of Kāṇṇga but supplies also the date in the Śaka era.

It is a well-known fact that all the early Gāṅga grants give the date in the Gāṅga or Gāṅga-Kādamba era but not in the Śaka era. The father of the Gāṅga Rājārāja I, Vajrahasta, who was crowned in Śaka 960, was the first king to inaugurate a new mode of writing the royal charters. He left off the old Gāṅga *prasaṣṭi* and formulated a new one in its place. Besides this, he discontinued the old Gāṅga era and began dating his grants in the Śaka era. He was also the first Gāṅga king to give in his records his family pedigree and to tell us the date of his coronation. His descendants followed him closely, so much so that we have the coronation dates of his son Rājārāja I, his grandson Anantavarma Cōḍaganga, and his great grandson Kāmārṇava and so on. Gāṅga charters that supply the family pedigree, the coronation date and the date of the grant in Śaka era are very rare, and in fact unknown prior to Vajrahasta. Likewise those that are dated in the Gāṅga era, with the old Gāṅga *prasaṣṭi* are not known subsequent to his reign. Hence it seems proper to ascribe the Kāṇṇga grants with Śaka dates to a period subsequent to the accession of Vajrahasta to the throne. So his reign may be said to mark the parting of the ways between the old and new regimes. Thus, the Mandasa plates under review which contain the old Gāṅga *prasaṣṭi* and the new Śaka date really form a unique record of absorbing interest. It was briefly reviewed in the *Annual Report on*

* The date of the Mandasa plates has been a puzzle to the scholars who work at the Kāṇṇga History, though the editor of these plates, Mr. G. Ramadas has interpreted it in his own way. There was much controversy regarding his interpretation. Many papers have been published and replies also were given by Mr. Ramadas to some of the points raised in them. But still I am not yet convinced of the arguments given by Mr. Ramadas. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao and some others ascribe these plates to Vajrahasta (III), father of Rājārāja. So do I. Some years back I clearly expressed that these plates belong to Vajrahasta (III), in my article on "The Kāṇṇga Era", published in the Telugu monthly, *Bharati*, 1934.

It is quite a long time since I wrote this article but it has remained unpublished all the while. Since the papers including the latest have not shown me reason to alter my position I feel that I should state my view point by releasing this note for publication.

Epigraphy for 1918 (in para 17, on page 138), and the text has been made available (in the article mentioned above) by Mr. Ramadas.

The plates record the gift of the village of Madhipatharakhaṇḍa in Mahēndrabhōga by Dharmakhēḍi, son of Bhīmakhēḍi¹ of the Kadamba family, who had Jayantyāpura for his capital. He was a subordinate of Anantavarma of the Gāṅga family, the overlord of all Kalinga. Because the donor of this grant was a Kadamba chief, the fish, perhaps the crest of the Kāṅga Kadambas, was engraved on the seal instead of the bull, the emblem of the Kāṅga-Gāṅgas.

The date of the grant is given in the lines 14-15 as follows:

"*Paramēśvara-Gaṅgāmalakulatilaka Śrīmad-Anantavrahmadēvasyā rājyē Śakāvda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa-mata Jayantyāpurē.....*"

The date expressed by *Śakāvda Navaśataka* etc. was taken to be Śaka 976 by the Government Epigraphist and Śaka 913 by Mr. Ramadas. However both of them find another year also, expressed in line 34 of the text by *padnārā 15*, which was corrected as *pandrārō*, the Oriya word for 15, by Mr. Ramadas. He reads lines 33 and 34 as follows:

"*Saraaēvasanidhō gāḍasīmā [*] ētaśca bhīturu [*] sāmāstha padnārā 15 [|| *] Sadatta paradattamvā jōhāretī*"

But while Mr. Ramadas holds it to be "*Samastha Padnārō*" of the donor Dharmakhēḍi, the Epigraphist takes it to be the regnal year 15 of Anantavarma, Dharmakhēḍi's overlord. According to the "*Samastha* system" which is similar to the *anka* reckoning "*Samastha 15* gives only 13 years of actual reign". Hence Mr. Ramadas says that "the donor must have been crowned in Śaka 901". Then he observed "This is 59 years prior to Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva that was crowned in Śaka 960. The king that was reigning over Kāṅga 59 years prior to the donor of the Naḍagām plates was Kāmārṇava IV. According to the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma Cōḍagangadēva, Kāmārṇava IV appears to have reigned from Śaka 895 to Śaka 915; but according to the Naḍagām Plates he reigned from Śaka 888 to Śaka 915. In both the final year is the same. On the authority of the plates under study, the donor seems to have come to the estate in Śaka 901". Though, by the last sentence quoted here, Śaka 901 seems to be the date of Kāmārṇava, yet it cannot be mistaken to be his, as it really refers to the donor Dharmakhēḍi. Thus, Mr. Ramadas assigns the date of the grant to a subordinate chief, but not to the overlord himself. If his interpretation is correct as against that of the Epigraphist then this is the only grant, as far as I have seen, which seems to be dated in the reign and regnal year of a subordinate chief rather than that of his overlord. With due deference to Mr. Ramadas, I hold that the date mentioned in the record refers not to Dharmakhēḍi but to Anantavarma, his overlord.

1 This may be read as Bhāmakhēḍi also. Between the secondary forms of *a* and *i* little difference is observed.

How did Mr. Ramadas arrive at Śaka 913 and the Epigraphist at 976? By the term *Śakāvda* it is certain that the date refers to the Śaka era. What does the rest of the expression denote? If the term *rasa* is also taken to be part of the date then the fanciful way of expressing it is to be noted. This mode of expressing the date is peculiar. Generally the date in its entirety is expressed either by chronograms or cardinals or figures. In the grant under consideration, the first two figures are expressed in cardinals *nava* and *sapt* and the third figure by the chronogram *rasa*. Moreover, the first figure is given in hundred's place (*nava śataka*). But for *sapta* and *rasa* no place value is given. As expressed in this way, the date reads nine hundred and seven and six. As the first figure is given in hundreds, seven and six, even though their place values are not given, were taken by the Epigraphist in places of tens and units in their usual order. Thus, he arrived at the date Śaka 976. But Mr. Ramadas rejects this mode of reckoning. He says that if the place value of *nava* had not been given, the figures would have to be read backwards. So he takes the date as nine hundred and seven and six. Both seven and six being in the units place he adds these two figures and arrives at 913 as the date of the grant.^{1a} But in none of the epigraphic records so far discovered, the procedure adopted by Mr. Ramadas, is resorted to in the elucidation of dates.

No doubt need be entertained as to whether *rasa* forms part of the expression denoting the date: because *mata* wrongly written for *mit* indicates that it should be taken as forming an integral part of the expression. *Śakābdē navaśataka saptarasa-nit* is the correct form of that expression and this has been accepted both by Mr. Ramadas and the Epigraphy Department.

However, regarding the date, I hold a different opinion. One cannot but take nine in its hundred's place, as the given expression is *nava śataka*. As for the two remaining numbers I follow the rule *ankānām vāmatogatiḥ* and read them as sixty seven. We cannot apply the rule of reading the figures backwards, which is commonly followed in epigraphy to such examples as are found in *kāvya*s and works on prosody. Conversely, the principle, usually adopted in computing figures in literary works, is not applicable in interpreting the dates of inscriptions. In *kāvya*s no chronogram is employed in the text proper, except at the beginning or end of the work when the author wants to specify the date of his composition. Here in the Mandasa plates the chronogram

1a. Mr. G. Ramadas suggests examples from *Ramayana* to prove his case. (Vide, *ante*, Vol. IX, Part III p 18). In the examples cited by him the numerical figures in each case are connected by the conjunction *ca*. Its presence is enough to indicate that the figures have to be added. As there is no *ca* in the chronogram in the grant under review the adding of either all or a few of the numerical figures is not contemplated.

rasa is enough to indicate the rule that is to be followed in arriving at the date. So, in my opinion, assigning place value to *nava* does not come in the way of taking the other figures denoted by the cardinal *sapta* and the chronogram *rasa* in the old-time-honoured and approved method. Therefore, I hold that the date of the Mandasa plates to be Śaka 967.

Until we get more definite evidence to disprove the position I have taken, I think that this date may be accepted, as it is arrived at by following a rule commonly in vogue. Whether the date of the Mandasa plates is Śaka 967 or 976, *it is certain that this grant belongs to Vajrahasta*, and this Anantavarma is no other than Dēvēndravarma Madhukāmārṇava's successor Anantavarma-Vajrahasta.

As against this, Mr. Ramadas argues that this grant cannot be that of Vajrahasta for three reasons, namely (1) Vajrahasta's charters hitherto discovered uniformly differ from the plates under review, not only in style but in composition of letters as well; (2) "The *gōtra* and the genealogy of the family found" in his plates "are conspicuous by omission in these Mandasa plates"; (3) Vajrahasta was *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikalingādhipati* while the king of our plates was a simple *Mahārāja* and did not possess the title *Trikalingādhipati*. Let us see if we can answer these objections satisfactorily.

(1) It is commonly said that the Narsipatam plates² of Vajrahasta, dated Śaka 967 is the earliest of all his charters, so far discovered. But it is not so. Its date^{2a} is Śaka 987. Whatever may be its date the Nāgari characters that were employed in the Mandasa plates are not a whit different from those of the Narasīpaṭam plates. I append here in a tabular form (See separate plate accompanying this article) the Nāgari letters from both sets of plates of Anantavarma for scholars to examine.

It cannot be supposed that all the charters of Vajrahasta were written and engraved by one and the same poet and scribe. As such, there may be variety and difference in style. Style is no criterion to fix the

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 147 ff.

^{2a} The term denoting the bright half or the dark half of the month is not mentioned in the date portion of the grant. So the passage "Minamāsē Navamē Sōmavārē" should be interpreted as Sōmavāra or Monday, the ninth Solar day of the month of Mīna. The Saka year, given in figures was read by Dr. Sten Konow, the editor of the record as 967. Hence, it is generally taken to be the earliest grant of Vajrahasta (III). When I consulted "the Ephemeris" for knowing the correct English equivalent of the date, I found that the 9th day of Minamāsa in Saka 967—whether the year was taken to be either a current or an expired one—did not correspond to Monday. It was either Thursday or Friday. I re-examined the facsimile impressions of the plates given in the *Epigraphia Indica* and came to the conclusion that the Saka year is 987 but not 967. In Saka 987 (current) the ninth day of Mīna corresponds exactly to Monday. The correct English equivalent of this date is Monday, 1st of March, 1064 A. D. I think this is the correct date of the grant. In Lunar reckoning the date corresponds to the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguna. So, on these grounds, I hold that this—the Narasīpatam plates—is not the earliest of the grants of Vajrahasta (III) so far discovered.

A NOTE

ON THE MANDASA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA

CHART FACING PAGE 24.

		TABLE										
Name		Letters										
		Ka	Khā	ga	gha	ca	chā	ja	gha	ñ	lā	
Narasipatam plates of Vajrahasta III S.S. 967.		क	ख	ग	घ	च		ज			ल	
Mandasa plates of Ananta- varman.		क	ख	ग				ज			ल	
		ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	lā	tha	da	ḍha	na	pa	pha
Narasipatam plates of Vajrahasta III S.S. 967.					म	न	त	द	ड	न	प	
Mandasa plates of Anantavarman.			ड		म	न	त	द	ड	न	प	
		ba	bha	ma	ya	va	la	va	śa	ṣa	sa	ha
Narasipatam plates of Vajrahasta III S.S. 967.		ब	भ	म	य	व	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह
Mandasa plates of Anantavarman.		ब	भ	म	य	व	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह

date of the grant, because two charters of one and the same king might have been in two different styles. For an example of this sort, the Eastern Cālukya king Guṇaga Vijayāditya's copper-plate records may be cited. In these records,³ it may be noted, two distinct and different styles of writing were employed though the letters are properly speaking, the same. A comparison between the characters of both the Narsīpaṭam and the Mandasa plates reveals the fact that there is little difference between the two sets of letters, employed in the two sets of copper plates. But this much is to be admitted that the writing in Vajra-hasta's charters is more neat and tidy than in the Mandasa plates which were executed very carelessly. This careless execution is responsible for creating such an impression that there exists much difference between the letters employed in the two sets of plates.

(2) It is true that the *gōtra* and genealogy of the Gāṅga family are omitted in the Mandasa plates. This is because these plates really belong to the Kadamba chieftain Dharmakhēḍi but not to Anantavarma (Vajra-hasta) and their main purpose is to record the gift of Dharmakhēḍi. This is made amply clear by the crest, engraved on the seal, which is quite different from the general emblem of the Kāṇṇa Gāṅgas—the bull. Dēvēndravarmā's Kambakāya plates⁴ and Dēvēndravarma's Siṃhapura plates⁵ also have the crest—fish—on their seals, because the main purpose of these was also to record the grants of Kadamba chieftains but not of the Gāṅga kings. It is interesting to note that, like the Mandasa plates, they also neither mention the *gōtra* nor describe the genealogy of their over-lord.

The Kadambas of Kāṇṇa, though mere headmen of villages and subordinates in the beginning, gradually grew very powerful and became provincial governors in course of time. Perhaps they wielded much political influence by their military help to, and matrimonial alliances with the Gāṅga kings. So much so they were practically independent, though nominally they were holding a subordinate position under them. Like their Gāṅga over-lords they were making gifts of villages; and simply mentioning their Gāṅga-over-lords in their grants out of respect for them, they were issuing them in their own name, even though the *Dharma Śāstras* do not sanction such a privilege, to a subordinate chief. Formerly whenever they wanted to make a gift of land or village to any one, they used to request the king to do so and got the required grant made by the king himself, in his own name.⁶ The change that had come over their political status is indicative of the

³ *Jour. Tel. Acad.* Vol. I, p. 140 ff. *Bharati*, Vol. I, No. 1. *JAHS*, Vol. V, p. 101 ff. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, p. 123 ff. *C. P.* No. 3 of 1908-1909. *C. P.* No. 5 of 1911-1912.

⁴ *Bharati*, 1927. *Jour. Bom. Hist. Res. Soc.* Vol. IV, p. 27 ff; (1931).

⁵ *JAHS*, Vol. III, p. 171 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 143 ff.

growing strength and power of the Kadamba chiefs. Like their Gāṅga suzerains they also mention in their grants their capital city from which they issue them. In short, the change in the terminology also of the dates in the Gāṅga era from *Gāṅgēyavamśa-pravardhamāna samvatsara* to *Gāṅga-Kadamba-vamśa-pravardhamāna samvatsara* in their own grants is sufficient proof of that they were not merely subordinate chieftains but something more. It was they, but not Vajrahasta or his descendants, who, whatever may be the reason, adhered to the old *praśasti* in their grants instead of the new one. If a Gāṅga grant with a date in Śaka era but yet with the old Gāṅga *praśasti* is discovered, in my opinion, it would most probably be a record of a Kadamba chief, describing his gift and posterior in date to Śaka 960.

(3) Mr. Ramadas contends that Anantavarma of the Mandasa plates could not be Vajrahasta because the title *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikāṭīṅgādhipati*, usually borne by the latter in his grants, are not found attached to Anantavarma in the Mandasa plates. This is not a serious objection. As has been pointed out before, the plates really belong to Dharmakhēḍi but not to Anantavarma and the purpose of the charter was to record the grant made by Dharmakhēḍi alone and not by Anantavarma. If they were his own plates, Anantavarma would have perhaps, mentioned all his titles in the record. Though it is natural to expect all the titles of a king in his grants, there is no hard and fast rule that they should necessarily be mentioned in them. For example, several records of this kind may be cited to prove this point. Among the inscriptions from Mukhalingam,⁸ Ganjam District and Dāksharām⁹ Godavari District, Anantavarma Vajrahasta and Anantavarma Cōḍaganga are given the titles *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Trikāṭīṅgādhipati* in some, while in some others these titles do not appear. There are even instances to show that out of different records¹⁰ of the same king dated in the same year, some mention these titles and others do not. Even the title *Trikāṭīṅgādhipati* to which much importance is attached by Mr. Ramadas, appears to have been borne by the Kāṭīṅga Gāṅgas as well as the Cēdi kings at the same period. Mr. Ramadas says "in the family of Anantavarma Vajrahasta the title was retained till about A.D. 1135¹¹ when the Cēdi king Ratnadēva II defeated Cōḍagangadēva of Kāṭīṅga and took back the title into his family again.....It can be seen that the title remained in the family of the Cēdi kings till A.D. 1239." But even after A.D. 1135, this title was

7 JAHRS Vol. III, p. 171 ff. This is the only grant which gives the date in this way.

8 S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1121 S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1122, S.I.I. Vol V, No. 1015.

9 S.I.I. Vol. IV, Nos. 1194, 1195 and 1196.

10 S.I.I. Vol. V, Nos. 1025 and 1029

11 Curiously enough, a record of the same year of Cōḍaganga from Srikārmam (S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1335) states that Cōḍaganga conquered the western, northern and eastern countries on the battle field.

borne by the Gāṅga kings as is evident by the Daksharam¹² inscription of Aniyanka Bhīma, wherein he was described as *Trikāṅgeśvara* which means the same as *Trikāṅgādhīpati*. Mahānāda, the commander-in-chief of Aniyanka Bhīma was styled as *Trikāṅga maṇḍala Mahaddaṇḍādhīpa* in another record¹³ of Śaka 1157. That it was borne at the same period by the Cēdi kings also is admitted by Mr. Ramadas. It is also interesting to note that the same title was borne by the Cāndella king Trailōkyavarma as is evident from a record¹⁴ of his, dated Vikrama samvat 1261, corresponding to A.D. 1205. About this title Mr. Hiralal writes "This title seems to have been regarded as a mark of pride and continued to be used by Karṇa's successors (Kalacuris of Tripuri) even when their kingdom becomes restricted to a few districts round about their capital."¹⁵

In citing these instances, my aim is to show that, at least as far as the Gāṅga records are concerned, there is no rigid rule followed for the usage of these titles. These titles may be adhered to or may be omitted. It is clear that the absence of any of these titles cannot be taken to be of such importance as to lead us to doubt the identification of Anantavarma of the Mandasa plates with Anantavarma Vajrahasta of the Narasipatam plates.

The question of the regnal or the *Samasta* year yet remains to be discussed. In line 34 of the Mandasa plates, besides giving the figure 15, it was written in words also "*padnāro*" i. e., *Pandrāro*. The plates published in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, along with Mr. Ramadas' paper, have come off excellently well. With their aid, even the text of the whole inscription may be easily read without a break anywhere. When I read the plates, I found to my surprise that both the numerical word and the figure stand for something other than regnal or *Samasta* year. To ascertain the correctness of my reading, I examined the estampages of these plates in the Epigraphy Office, Madras.¹⁶ After consultation I was confirmed in my opinion that they do not refer to years, either regnal or *Samasta*. I give below my reading of lines 33 and 34 of these plates:—

1. 33. *Saradēvasanidhē gāḍasīmā: ētaśca dāturūpya ām*
1. 34. *kha^{16a} pañnārā 15 [| *] sadatta paradatamvā jō harēti*

¹² S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1329.

¹³ S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1284.

¹⁴ Ep. Ind. Vol. XVI, p. 272 ff.

¹⁵ Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. IX.

¹⁶ My thanks are due to the Superintendent, Epigraphy Department, Madras for kindly allowing me to consult the estampages of the copper plate records in his office, whenever required.

16a. The letter after *ētaśca* in line 33 was taken to be *bhī* by Mr. Ramadas. The form of *bha* with the top line can be clearly seen in line 13, in *bhaṭṭāraka*. The form of *bha* in *Bhāmakhēḍi* is clearly seen in

(Continued on next page)

I correct the words connected with 15 as follows:—

Ēlaccā dattam rūpyam amkēna pandrārō 15.

(Meaning: this was also given, rupees in figures fifteen 15.)

Along with the grant of a village or land, it appears to be customary to give cash also to the donee. In the Kambakāya grant¹⁷ this expression *Rēbhi grāmasya māda datta duyī* (*Rēbigrāmasya māda dvayī dattā*) is found; similarly in Madhukāmāṇava's Chicacole grant,¹⁸ dated in the Gāṅga era 528 one hundred and fifty rupees were given (l. 32. *dattā dēta śatarūpya 150*). Here in these plates under review *rūpya* is also clearly found. Hence I conclude that the figure 15 represents neither the regnal nor the *Samasta* year but the money in rupees, given to the donee. So because the grant was made during the reign of Anantavarma the date of the record may be taken to refer to Anantavarma but not to Dharmakhēḍi, even though he was the donor.

If it were found clearly that it refers to Dharmakhēḍi alone then it should be taken as an indication that he had thrown off his allegiance to his over-lord and had become independent. But in such a case, Anantavarma's name would not be found in the plates at all. At any rate, this is the opinion expressed by scholars with regard to the grants, issued by subordinate chiefs and dated in the Śaka era.¹⁹

(Footnote continued from previous page)

line 19. The letter after *ētaśca* is not at all *bhī*. It is *dā*. It exactly resembles the letter *dā* in line 12 in *sampadādhāra*. Many instances may be cited from the same inscription to prove that that letter is *dā*.

In this record no difference is generally made between the long and short forms of *u*, affixed to the consonant *r*. So, that letter may be taken to be also *rū*.

In fact, in the early Kāṇṇa grants the long and short forms of vowels attached to consonants are almost alike in many cases. The letter next to *ru* was read by Mr. Ramadas as *sā*. It is wrong. The form of *sa* is clearly seen in line 24, in *janakasya* and in line 29, in *svayam*.

It is unnecessary for me here to give examples of *pa* as it is very clearly recognised in this record in many places, for example, *pa* in l. 27 in *paryanta*, in l. 34 in *pañnārā* in the same line, in *paradattam* etc. The conjunct consonant *pya* may be easily recognised by seeing the secondary form of *ya* in *Bhīmakhēḍisya* (l. 19), in *ollāsyāt* (l. 2), and in *pratiṣṭhitasya* (l. 4). Compare also *rūpya* in line 32 of the Chicacole plates of Madhukāmāṇava.

The next letter after *pya* resembles exactly the letter *a* in l. 29, in *agrēyam* along with the vertical line representing the long form of the same vowel. So I take it to be *ā* [*m*].

What was taken to be *stha* in line 34 (first letter of that line) is really *kna*. Compare the letter *kha* in *Bhīmakhēḍi* and *Dharmakhēḍi* etc.

¹⁷ *Bharati*, Vol. IV.

Jour. Bom. His. Res. Soc., Vol. IV, p. 27ff.

¹⁸ *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 272 ff.

¹⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 226 ff. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 44.

THE HAIHAYAS OF PALNĀḌ.

B. V. KRISHNARAO, M.A., B.L.

At some unknown period, probably during the Eastern Chālukyan epoch, a number of Haihaya families migrated into the Āndhra country and settled down as rulers of small principalities here and there with titles and insignia of feudatories as *Mahāmandaleśvaras* or sub-kings. Among those that acquired rulership in that fashion may be mentioned the Haihayas of Palnāḍ, the Haihayas of Kolanu *vishaya*, the Haihayas of Nathavadi and lastly the Haihayas of Kōna *rāshṭra*. There were probably many more families scattered over the country but inscriptions have so far revealed only the above four dynasties. History is silent about the Haihayas of Kolanu *vishaya* for there have been found only a few inscriptions so far. In this paper an attempt is made to trace the History of the Haihayas of Palnāḍ.

Palnāḍ is an extremely interesting tract of country in Andhradesa lying on the right bank of the Krishna river in the modern Guntur district. It is bounded on the north and west by about eighty miles length of the river and shut in, on the south and east by forest-clad hills and dense jungle area. It is bounded by the Vinukonḍa and Sattenapalli taluks on the south and east. Geologically this region is important; it is still practically unexplored. It contains among other things large quantities of marble deposits flowing up to the surface in long regular ridges, and lends a peculiar and characteristic appearance to the scene. Of this stone were the celebrated sculptured marbles of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakonḍa, Gōli, Gummaḍidurru. Jaggyyapēṭa Bhaṭṭiprōṭu, Alluru and others for miles around. The Palnāḍ tract measures roughly about 1050 square miles in area; it is an undulating rocky dry country interspersed with hills and low forests, and scarcely populated. In the inscriptions, Palnāḍ is referred to as Pallidēśa or Palnāḍ 300 district. It is probable that the region acquired the name Palnāḍ or Pālanāḍu owing to the vast marble deposits sprouting up to the surface in long ridges all over the tract. Pāla-nāḍu or 'the land of milk-like white stone' had become in the course of time Palnāḍ and in Sanskrit Pallidēśa. The name appears often also as Palināḍu and Pallināḍu but they are plainly variations of the correct appellation Palnāḍ. Great historical interest of Palnāḍ centres round two things. Firstly, in this region lies the Nāgārjunakonḍa valley in which are found the celebrated Śrīparvata of the Buddhists and the ruins of Vijayapurī the capital of the illustrious Ikshvāku dynasty. At one time Palnāḍ was a rich, prosperous and populous region, being the home and seat of government of the imperial Ikshvākus.

Secondly the people of Palnāḍ fondly cherish the memory of its chiefs known as *Palnāṭi-Vīrulu* "The Heroes of Palnāḍ" who played an important part in the history of that land during the latter half of the twelfth century. Temples were erected in honour of the *Heroes*, poems were composed recounting their deeds, and the inhabitants of the tract, both the Hindus and Mussalmans, vie with each other to do reverence on the grand festival day once a year. Villages are named after the Heroes, poems and ballads sung, and the warlike and patriotic villagers are never tired of narrating the legends to the visitors and pointing out with emotion where each event is said to have taken place.

The history of Palnāḍ, after the fall of the Ikshvākus, had become completely obscure. From the middle of the third century of Christian era till the dawn of the twelfth century, the history of Palnāḍ is a blank chapter in the history of Āndhradēśa. Palnāḍ emerged into prominence once more immediately after the removal of the strong hand of the great emperor Kulōttunga Chōladēva I by death (1118 A.D.), and for two centuries afterwards roughly, remained vividly in the picture. In the following pages is traced the history of Palnāḍ during the twelfth century.

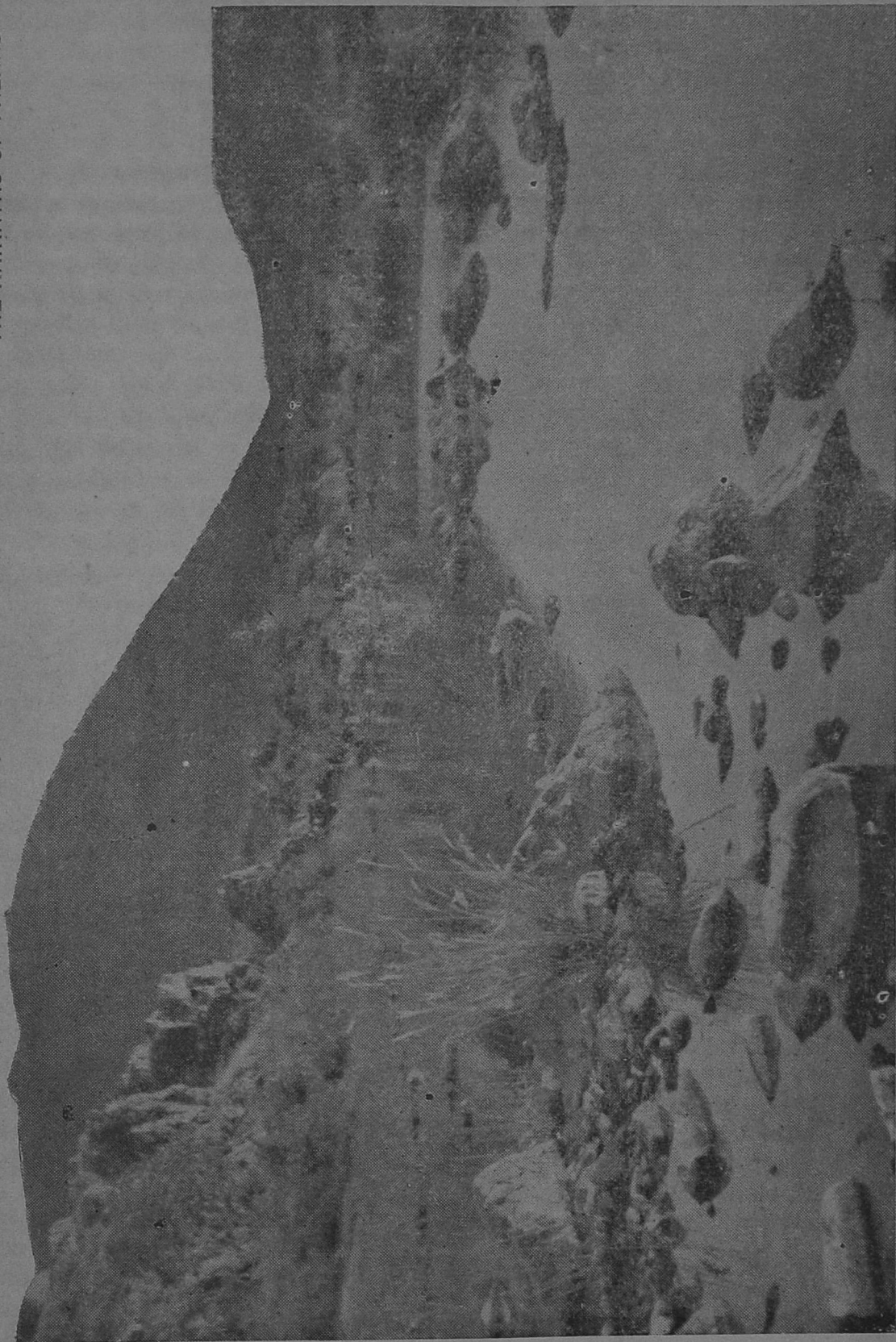
The rulers of Palnāḍ of the twelfth century called themselves the Haihayas and descendants of Kārtavīrya. They, therefore, were a Kshatriya family. It is not known whence this family of the Haihayas migrated into the valley of the Krishna river and obtained the rulership of the country. The first prince of the family who is known to history is a certain Chāgi Bēta (I). He is mentioned in a stone record set up in the temple of Vīrabhadreśvara at Gurizā'a. The inscription is engraved on a Nāga pillar and belongs to the time of his descendant.¹ Nothing, however, is known about Chāgi Bēta I or his ancestors or the manner by which they obtained the rulership of Palnāḍ.

There are two stone records of the time of Vīra Kāma I son of Chāgi Bēta I. One of them is dated cyclic year Khara, Ś. S. 1033 = 1112 A. D., it records a gift of land to the shrine of Ādityēśvar^e built at the capital Mahādēvītaṭaka or Mācherla, as it is known to day, by a certain Āditya, a servant of the chieftain Vira Kama I. The other inscription is a damaged one but the date portion is fortunately preserved. It records the setting up of a Nāga pillar by Āditya himself in Vijaya *saṃvatsara* Ś. S. 1035 = 1113 A.D. Both the records are found engraved upon a nāga-pillar set up in the court-yard of the shrine of Chennakēśavasvāmin of Mācherla.² It cannot be known when Vīra Kāma (I) commenced his rule, but he would seem to have died shortly after and that thereafter the succession passed on to his sons, Chāgi

1 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 596 of 1909.

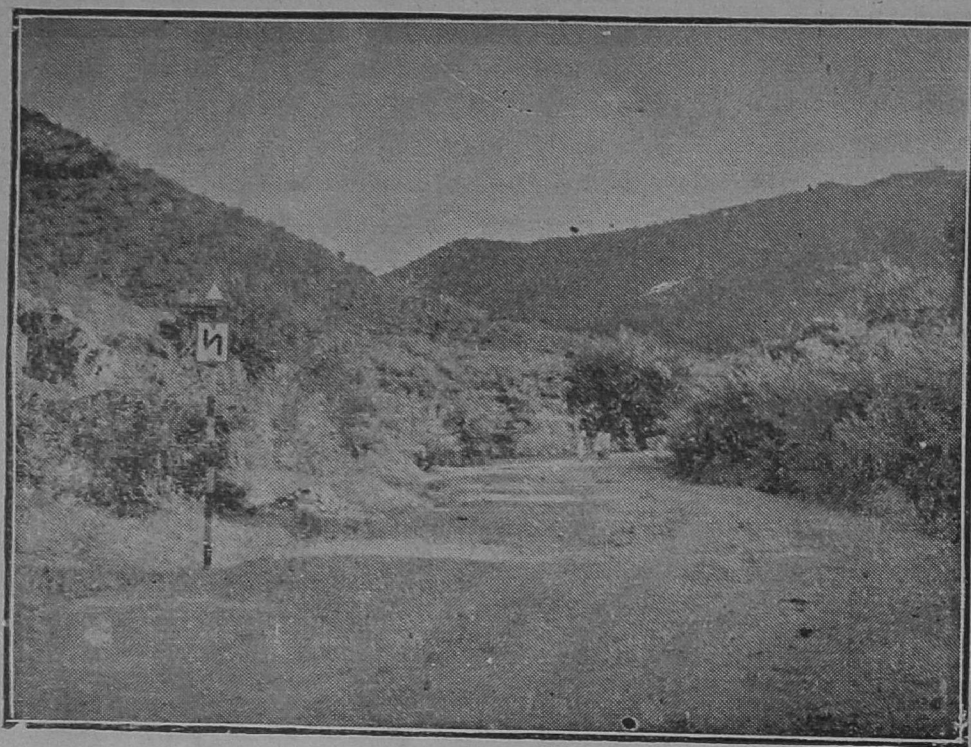
2 *Ep. Colln.*, Nos. 576 and 577 of 1909.

THE HAIHAYAS OF PALNAD



The Naguleru (lit. the stream of the Nagas). Karempudi is situated on its eastern bank. It flows northward and joins the Krishna.

By kind courtesy of the *Pratimitta*, Madras.



Navakurali-kanuma, the mountain pass called after Nayakuralu.



Stone figure of Peda-Malideva.



Stone figure of the Kalachuri prince Kommaraja.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.

Bēta I and his son Vīra Kāma (I) were undoubtedly vassals of Kulōttunga Chōḷadēva I (1070-1118 A.D.)

Vīra Kāma, (I) had left four sons.³ The eldest was named Rājarāja and the second Chāgi Bēta (II) apparently after his grandfather. The names of the other two are not known to us. For some reason which is not forthcoming now, Rājarāja and his brother Chāgi Bēta II ruled jointly the ancestral kingdom as is evidenced by a stone record found at Bhṛḡubaṇḍa in Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district.⁴ The epigraph mentions the two Haihaya chiefs *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rājarājadēva and Bētarāja II, surnamed *Birudānka-Rudra* and is dated Ś. S. 1040 = 1118 A.D. It registers the grant of land made for offerings to the god Nārāyaṇadēva at Bikkibaṇḍa in Pallināḍi by Pennama Nāyaka and Kāme Nāyaka of Tanḡaḍumpūṇḍi on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa Samkrānti. The date of the Uttarāyaṇa Samkrānti in Ś. S. 1040 may be equated to Thursday, the 25th December 1118 in the Christian era. The date of the record is important. It fixes the period of the joint rule of Rājarājadēva and Bētarāja II in Palnāḍ. Thereafter Rājarājadēva does not appear in the inscriptions; it may not be improbable that that chief died shortly after. Thenceforward *Birudānka-Rudra* or Bēta rāja II ruled alone.

Birudānkarudra Bēta's capital was Gurindala sthala which may be easily identified as the modern Gurizala. It is also called Mādhavīpaṭṭaṇa in Sanskrit. Here is found an inscription of the time of this king engraved on a Nāga pillar and set up in the temple of Vīrabhadreśvara.⁵ It is dated in Ś. S. 1051, Saumya *saṃvatsara* = 1129 A.D. in the reign of Bhūlōkamalladēva or Sōmēśvara III (1127-36 A.D.) It is stated therein that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Birudānkarudra Bētarāja, of the Haihaya family, a feudatory of the Western Chālukya monarch, made a grant to a temple of the Hindu Trinity, — Brahma, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara, — which was founded at Mādhavīpaṭṭaṇa by a Brahmana of Kāmanūru who had studied the Pāda-pāṭha of the Ṛg Veda. The Nāga pillar on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been consecrated on the same occasion. The verses quoted at the beginning of the record invoke the blessing of the eight *Mahā-Nāgās*, namely, Sēsha, Vāsuki, Taksha, Karkōṭa, Abja-mahāmbuja, Śankhadhāra, and Kuḷika to decide the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the grant registered on that occasion. Chāgi Bēta II or Birudānkarudra Bēta is said to belong to the lunar race in which Kārtavīryārjuna was born. This record and another found in the courtyard of the shrine of Chenna-kēśavasvamin at Mādhavītaṭṭaka or Mācherla to which reference has been made above, clearly betray a strong Kannaḍa influence in Palnāḍ.

3 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 576 of 1909.

4 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 263 of 1932.

5 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 596 of 1909.

at that time. Not only was the record engraved by Kanarese people who signed their names at the end in the Kannaḍa language but among the donors themselves there were immigrants from the Kannaḍa country, like Kannaḍa Nāgamayya, meaning Nāgamayya from the Kannaḍa country.⁶ It is not known how long Birudānkarudra ruled, but his period is important as it synchronised with the Western Chālukyan invasion and occupation of the province of Vēṅgi. As will be seen below Bētarāja (II) would appear to have taken a leading part in the invasion and occupation of Vēṅgi by the Western Chālukyan commander *Mahapradhāni* Anantapālayya.

The year 1118 A.D. is an important date in the History of the later Eastern Chālukyas. Towards the close of the reign of the emperor Kuḷōtunga Chōḷa I events in Chōḷa-maṇḍala took an unexpected and unhappy turn. About the beginning of that year the emperor who was already an octogenarian was on his death-bed, and his surviving eldest son or perhaps the only surviving son, Parāntaka, was away in distant Vēṅgi on the north. The Chōḷa kingdom was at that moment fast degenerating into weakness; it was at any rate utterly unprepared for any protracted war on account of the long spell of peace and prosperity that prevailed uninterruptedly for two decades during the latter part of the emperor's reign. In Vēṅgi, too, the Eastern Chālukya sovereignty was being slowly undermined. Since the accession of the emperor to the throne of the Chōḷa kingdom, the Eastern Chālukyas had practically ceased to look to Vēṅgi as their homeland but treated it as a mere appendage in their empire. This attitude had a strong reaction in the Āndhra country on the feudatory families who for a long time had paid homage and tribute to the house of the Imperial Chālukyas of Vēṅgi. The great feudatory families, especially the Kshatriya dynasties, were preparing to overthrow the suzerainty of the Eastern Chālukyas who had now become Chālukya-Chōḷas by the strange course of political events during the last one century.

As soon as the news of the aged emperor's fatal illness reached Vēṅgi, prince Parāntaka apparently made a hurried departure to the south. In his hurried departure to the south to protect the Chōḷa kingdom. Parāntaka, afterwards Emperor Vikrama Chōḷa forgot to make suitable arrangements to protect the great kingdom of Vēṅgi which comprised at this period the entire eastern sea-board of the Āndhra country. So the Pithapuram inscription of the Eastern Chālukya chief Mallapadēva⁷ speaks of Parāntaka: "When the renowned Vikrama Chōḷa who resembled Śakra in might and who was the full-moon of the ocean-like Chālukya race,—when he whose other name was *Tyāgasamudra*, had

⁶ A. R. E., 1910, p. 107.

⁷ E. I., Vol. IV, p. 226, verses 23—24.

gone to protect the Chōḷa-maṇḍala, the country of Vēṅgi became devoid of a ruler at that interval". At that time or shortly after that when the country drifted into a state of confusion and anarchy, it would appear that a certain feudatory Chāḷukya prince named Vishṇuvardhana assumed the imperial name *Sarvatōkāsraya* and having crowned himself king usurped the sovereignty of Vēṅgi. The event took place about 1124 A.D.⁸ The turn of events in Vēṅgi as well those in Chōḷa-maṇḍala offered a splendid opportunity to the Western Chāḷukya king Tribhuvanamalla, otherwise known as Vikramāditya VI to wreak his vengeance on his old enemy Kuḷōtunga Chōḷa who was on his death-bed in the spring of 1118 A.D. He invaded the Chōḷa-maṇḍala at that juncture as the *Vikramāṅkadēva-charitra* states and simultaneously despatched his veteran general and prime minister *Mahāprathāni* Anantapāla to march upon Vēṅgi and occupy it. The invasion of Vēṅgi is borne out by numerous inscriptions that lie scattered all over the Āndhra country. It took place in 1118 A.D. about the close of the emperor's reign, shortly after the departure of prince to Kānchīpura. The Western Chāḷukyan armies would appear to have entered the kingdom of Vēṅgi through Palnāḍ. Birudānkarudra Bētarāja II joined the confederacy of the feudatory chieftains of Vēṅgi and allowed the armies of Tribhuvanamalladēva to enter Vēṅgi through his own dominions. The other Kshatriya feudatories of Vēṅgi, particularly the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* of Kolanu *viśaya*, Niravadyapura, Pithapuram and others made the task of conquering the kingdom easier than was expected. By the year 1121 A.D. the Western Chāḷukyan generals were already in occupation of Jananāthapura, a suburb of Dakshārāma in East Godavari district, the capital of Parāntaka and his predecessors in Vēṅgi at that time.⁹

The history of the Western Chāḷukyan occupation of Vēṅgi is recorded elsewhere in detail.¹⁰ It is not necessary for our purpose here to narrate it at length. Bētarāja II must have perished during campaign and his death may be placed about 1130 A.D. He and his confederates were defeated and destroyed one after another. Some of the treacherous vassals were slain and their principalities forfeited, and their descendants banished from the country. The same disaster overtook Birudānkarudra Bētarāja II and his descendants in Palnāḍ. There are no inscriptions which mention the descendants of Bētarāja; the earliest known prince of the Haihaya family of Palnāḍ after Bētarāja II was one Anugurāja or Alugurāja, who is mentioned in the *Palnāḍivīra-charitramu* otherwise

8 See Erupalli plates of the king; *Andhra Bharati* 1912, p.

Also see A. R. No. 41, 1912; *A.R.E.*, 1912, p. 79. Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri wrongly assumed this prince to be an ancestor of Mallapadēva III, of the Pithapuram inscription referred to in the above note.

9 See *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1211, 1212 and 1312; and also No. 1310 *Ibid.*

10 See my forthcoming work "*The History of the Eastern Chalukyas.*"

called the "Chronicle of the Heroes of Palnāḍ." Anugurāja's father's name is not given anywhere. It seems to me that it was deliberately omitted on account of the fact that his father and ancestor Bētarāja II turned traitor to his Eastern Chālukyan overlords and perished in the disgraceful fight. Anugurāja is said to have descended from Kārtavīrya; in one recension, particularly in the work of Virabhadra-kavi, Anugurāja is said to be the son of Sundara-chakravarti. There is no doubt that this name is a fanciful one. And the *Viracharitra*, in the early part of it states that Anugurāja, having repented for the sins of his ancestor set out wandering in order to expiate the sins that troubled him. The veiled statement clearly shows that Anugurāja's ancestor apparently Birudānka Rudra proved a traitor to the country and the king and as a result of his treachery his descendant (i. e. Anugurāja) was deprived of his ancestral kingdom and forced to wander about the land. If this statement represents correct history of the dynasty it would appear that Anugurāja was a descendant of Birudānkarudra-Bētarāja II.

The *Viracharitra*¹¹ tells that prince Anugurāja, accompanied by his trusted minsters, warriors and other relatives and taking his family deity Chenna-Kēśava with him, wandered about the country for a long time. He at last came to Tsandavōlu the seat of the king Velananti Gonkarāja II, the Chālukya-Chōḷa viceroy in Vēngi, and threw himself at once on his mercy. By that time the Western Chālukyan occupation was at an end and the Chālukya-Chōḷa sovereignty was firmly established once more. Gonkarāja II was then the undisputed lord of the kingdom of Vengi, having conquered it by the strength of his arms for, and obtained its rulership from, his suzerain the Chālukya-Chōḷa Emperor Vikrama-Chōḷa. Gonkarāja II changed his mind apparently and reinstated Anugurāja on the throne of Palnāḍ. The experience of the past would seem to have induced Gonkarāja II to cement the loyalty of his subordinate to his throne by a marital alliance. In the past the Haihaya rulers of Palnad, being Kshatriyas looked to Kuntala and Chēdi for their marital alliances. Gonkarāja by an act of statesmanship, himself though

11 The *Viracharitra* was composed by several poets of the XIV and XV centuries; the earliest of the poems is the *Palnativira-charitra* composed by *Kavisarvabhauma Srināthabhatta*. His work is in beautiful *manjari dwipada* metre and in vigorous style. It reads like a war song. It is sung by village bards even to this day in remote villages of Palnad. It thrills the listeners to such an extent that they are roused to imitate the valourous deeds of the heroes. Several others who came after Srinātha, notably Mallaya, Kondaya and Mudigonda Virabhadrakavi narrated the story in poems of different metres. None of these works unfortunately have been printed except a small portion of Srinātha's work called *Balachandra-Yuddhamu*. An excellent account in English based on the poem of Virabhadrakavi is given by Sewell in his *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, of the chronicle of Heroes of Palnad, App. A. Srinātha's poem is published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Madras in 1911 and edited by Pandit A. Umakantam.

a Durjaya of the fourth caste, made the Kshatriya prince of Palnād wed his daughter Mailamadēvi, on the bait of being restored to the ancestral kingdom. The policy was successful. Anugurāja was pleased to get back his country, Palanād with its five divisions, as dowry. Gonkarāja II was not only able to marry his daughter to a Kshatriya prince the Haihaya chief, but secured by that act the loyalty of other numerous powerful Kshatriya chieftains of the kingdom of Vēngi.

Alugurāja married two more wives besides Mailamadēvi. They were Vīravidyādēvi¹² and Bhūramādēvi. For a long time Anugurāja ruled in peace in Palnād but as ill luck would have it none of his queens bore for him a son and heir to the throne. At last he adopted, Peddanna or Bādā-nāyaḍu, the eldest son of his minister Doḍḍā-nāyaḍu, a Velama chieftain of the fourth and of a different caste.¹³ Shortly afterwards the three queens of Alugubhūpati bore children successively. Mailamadēvi the chief queen, bore the eldest son and heir Nalagāma (Nala-Kāma) or Vīra Kāma II. Vīravidyādēvi bore three sons Pedamallidēva, Pinamallidēva and Bāla Mallidēva and of Bhurmadēvi were born four sons Yera Kāma, Narasimha, Perumalrāja and Jhaṭṭi-Perumalrāja. The birth of these sons was an eyesore to Doḍḍānāyaḍu who had long expected his son Peddana or Bādānāyaḍu to inherit the throne of Palnād. Gradually, therefore, dissensions arose and the old king Alugu-bhūpati felt no peace in his mind. Owing to machinations, the palace of Alugubhūpati formerly so peaceful, became now a scene of constant strife. The king quarrelled with Doḍḍānāyaḍu, who then resigned the seals of his office

12 One chronicle states that Mailamadēvi was also called Vīra Vidyādēvi. But that does not appear to be correct or true. The story of the marriage of Alugurāja or Alugu-bhūpati with Mailamadēvi is narrated more like a fairy tale; and the student of history can easily discern what is history and what is legend in it. King Gonkarāja II is called Dhavalasankha in the poems. It is said that Alugu-bhūpati entered in disguise accompanied by his followers the city of Chandavolu where he encountered in a combat the guards of the king's palace. It is said that having disguised themselves the followers of Alugubhūpati proceeded to Tsandavolu and reached the king's citadel. There the guards prevented them from entering the palace. After some scuffle, both the parties went to the hall of audience. A combat was then arranged there and the king decided, that if the prince of Palnad won he would give his daughter in marriage to him, but if his own guards won, the Palanad chief's daughter should be given to him. This was agreed to by all the parties. The combat took place in the presence of the king in which Alugurāja's men won the day. Dhavala-Sankha, who is no other than Gourarāja II, true to his word, gave his daughter Mailamadēvi in marriage with due pomp and ceremony to Alugubhūpati, and along with her endowed Palnad with its five divisions as dowry. Alugubhūpati then returned to his country and then on the banks of Nāgulēru founded, rather rebuilt the city of Gurizāla and resided there.

13 This is not the first instance of a Kshatriya prince adopting a Śūdra son. Kulōttunga Chōla I adopted Velananti Rājendra Chōla I of the Chaturtha-kula (or Śūdra caste) as his own son.

as Prime minister to his second son Brahmanāyudu, but the latter abused his power by murdering first the king and afterwards his own father Doḍḍanāyudu¹⁴ Brahmanāyudu then crowned the king's eldest son Nala-Kāma and became the chief man in the kingdom (A.D. 1170 c.) The new king being young and weak was entirely dependent upon his powerful minister. Brahmanāyudu took advantage of his position and influence as prime minister to spread his teachings in the land. But Nala-Kāma II, being a devotee of Śiva like his ancestors stood in the path of Brahmana's activity. The opposition between the king and his powerful minister became more and more marked in a short time. Meanwhile Brahmana acquired great influence over the step-brothers of the king Peda-Mallidēva and others, the children of Vīra Vidyādēvi, and carried on his work, the spread of his Neo-Vaishnavism.

The story of the civil war in Palnad is chronicled in the beautiful Telugu poem, called *Palnāṭi-vira-charitramu* or the Ballad of the heroes of Palnad. This poem deals with the civil war between the children of Anuguraja or Alugu Bhupathi, the Haihaya king of Palnad, who fought for power and their share in the kingdom.

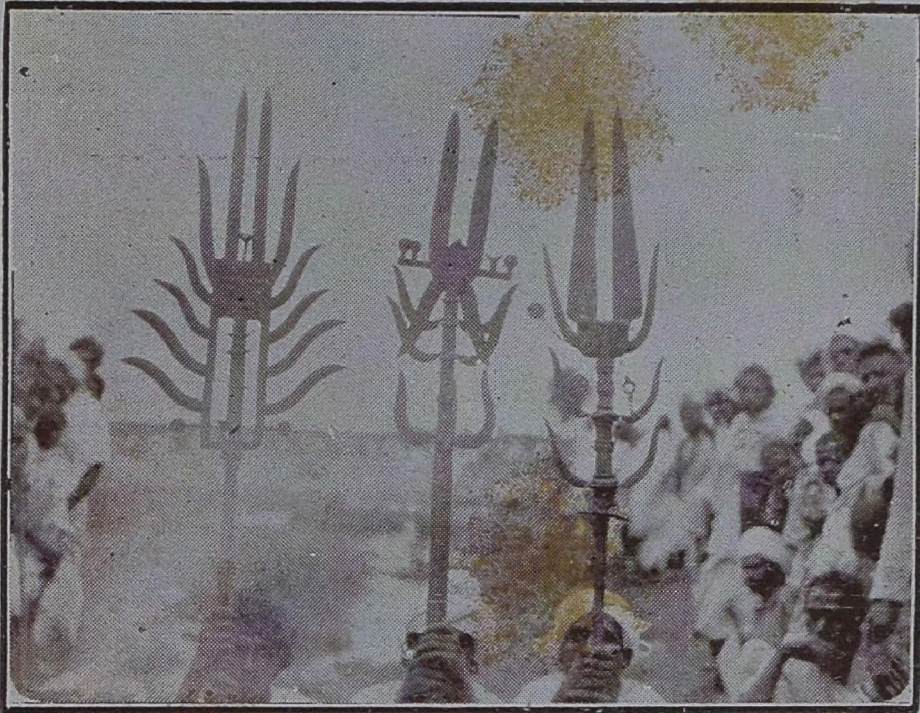
About this time, King Velananti Rajendra Choda II the brother-in-law of Anugu Bhupati died (1180 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Kulōttungarāya Rājendra Chōḍa Gonkarāja or Gonka III. For sometime prior to the death of Rājendra Chōḍa II, forces of disintegration would appear to have set in and the work of breaking up of the great Chalukya-Chola kingdom in Andradesa had already silently commenced. For, the latter part of the twelfth century A. D. was the period of revolutions, social, religious and political, both in the Andhra and Karnāṭa countries. The whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha was in a state of subdued turmoil; and that had its repercussions in the oldest kingdoms of Andhra and Karnata. Within a short time after the death of Rājendra Chōḍa II rose the great kingdom of the Kākatiyas which soon transformed itself into *Trilinga sāmrajyam* or the Kākatiya Empire embracing the entire Andhradesa, Kalinga, Bastar and northern part of Chola-mandala as well in the south.

The reign of Gonkaraja III (c. 1180—1185 A.D.) marked the beginnings of the decline of the Velananti kingdom and the fall of the Chalukyan sovereignty in Vengi which had outlived its glory for over a century. In his reign came the first blow to the Velananti kingdom from the protracted internecine war in Palnad which lasted for seven years. The trouble had its beginnings apparently even during the last years of Rajendra Choda II. The cause for this eruption lay partly in the social and religious movements and the political events of that period.¹⁵ The

¹⁴ *Palanati Veera-charitra*.

¹⁵ Virabhadrarao: *History of the Andhras*, Vol. II. p. 282. *Kridabhiramamu*, verse 100.

THE HAIHAYAS OF PALNAD

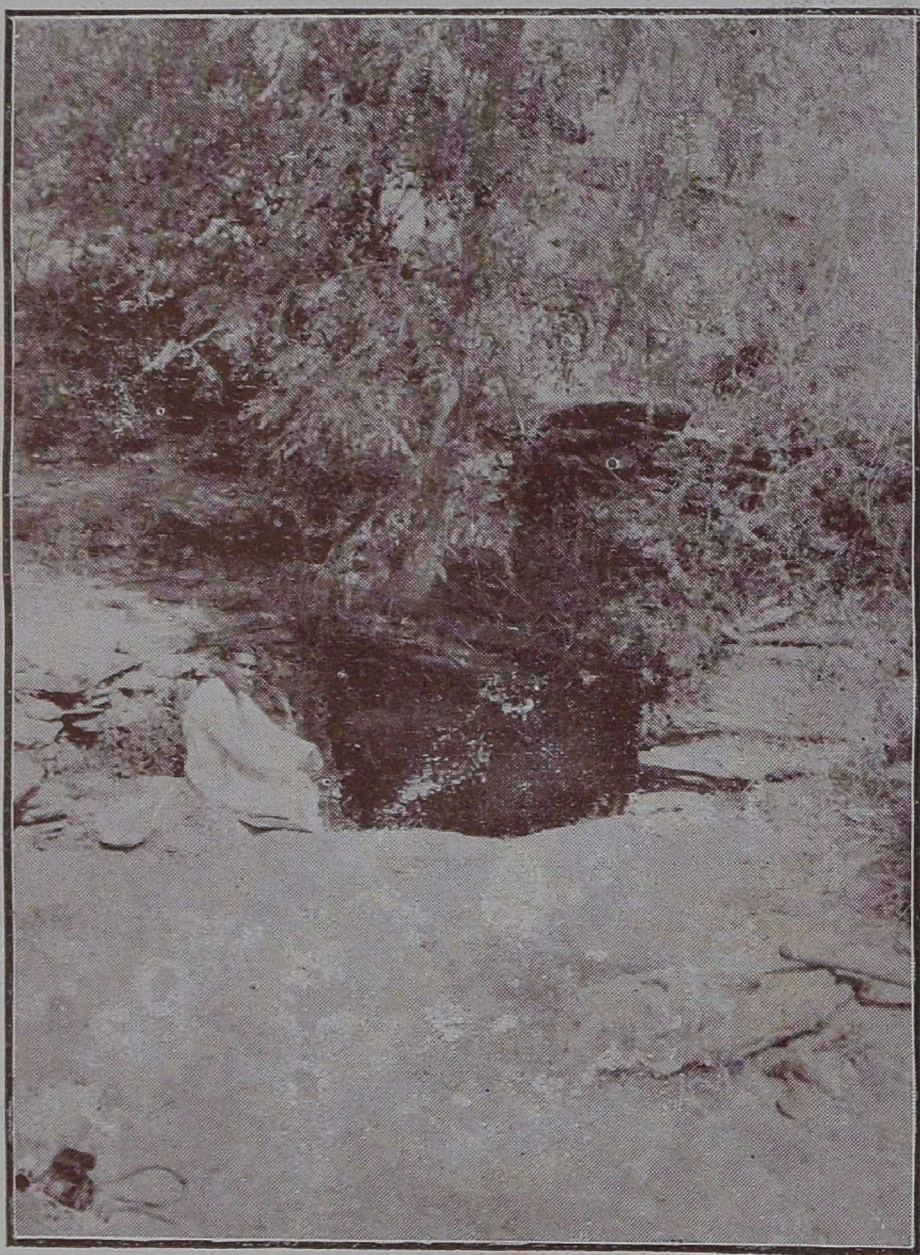


Weapons believed to belong to the Heroes of Palnad.



Lances, believed to have been used by Brahmana.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.



The natural cave at Guttikonda into which Brahmana is said to have entered never to return after the disasterous battle of Karempudi.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.

great religious revival and the social awakening that came over the Andhra country had its repercussions in Palnād. The new Vīraśaiva and Vīravishṇava faiths came into clash in Palnād and led to civil war, rapine and ruin in the end.

The storm of social revolution that burst upon the Andhradēśa close on the heels of the religious revival appears to have been the root-cause of the internecine war in Palnad.¹⁶ The new social orders created political dissensions and rivalry in the royal family and finally destroyed peace in the land. The adherents of the new form of Vīravaishnavism in Palnād attempted to do away with conventions of caste and community in the same manner as Basava the founder of Vīraśaiva religion did away in Karnāṭadēśa roughly a quarter of a century ago. The pioneer of socio-religious reform in the Andhra country was Rēcharla Brhmanāyaḍu of the *Chaturthakula*, the hereditary minister of the Haihaya ruler of Palnād. Some of his contemporaries worshipped him as the incarnation of Vishnu once more. Brahmana became the founder of a new social order in the fourth caste called Velamakula or Padmanayaka-Velama-kula in which members of every caste and community of the Andhra were welded together. This new clan became in a short time a powerful warrior class and rose to great positions of influence and rank in later times under the Kākatiyas. Brahmana like Basava wanted to establish a new religion, rather the old faith in a new form and a new social order which did away with distinctions of caste. Brahmana in a way resembles Guru Nanak the founder of the great Sikh community, of the Northern India during the sixteenth century. Brahmana gained supporters from among the members of the ruling family of Palnad. But his teachings caused an uproar in the country and sowed the seeds for all the ills and troubles that Palnad in particular and the Velanāṇṭi kingdom of Vengi in general suffered in the next decade and after. Brahman's religious activity and social reform were however promptly checked by Nala Kāma, the Haihaya chief of Palnād, who was greatly assisted by his powerful minister Āravilli Nāgamma a woman statesman and warrior of remarkable ability, known to history by her surname *Nayakūrālu* "The Chief Lady" of the land. A civil war ensued and the glory of Palnād flashed like a meteor on the horizon and vanished for ever thereafter. It happened like this.

Shortly after the accession of Nala Kāma, a young and beautiful lady, by name Āravilli Nāgamma came upon the scene and acquired great influence at the court of Palnād through her immense wealth and

16 Pandit Umakantam (Introduction to *Palnaviracharitra*, p. 41) and Virabhadrarao (*History of the Andhras*, vol. II, p. 282) are also of this opinion. But see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 273) Wilson, however, ignorantly assumes that the war in Palnad originated in a dispute at a cock-fight between the petty landholders of Gurizala and Macharla,

Intelligence. She became known throughout the country in a short time by her sur-name *Nāyakurālu*, "The chief lady." Her ambition for power knew no bounds, for she was eager to usurp the place of Brahmanāyaḍu and rule the kingdom herself.¹⁷ Thus two chiefs became thenceforth inveterate enemies of each other. Apparently Brahmana compelled the king to assign a small territory for his step-brothers Peda Mallideva and others. An opportunity came, when Nala-Kāma went on a hunting expedition and became much distressed with fatigue and parching thirst owing to the great heat of sun. Nāgamma the Nāyakurālu cleverly arranged that the king should expectedly arrive at a shady bower purposely laid out by her, where he found all that the heart of man could desire, cool shade, a bath prepared for him, excellent food and the rest he so much required. So pleased was the king with this entertainment, that he consented to make her his chief adviser and friend at the court. Soon after this she took up her place in the councils of the chief and slowly poisoned his mind against his step brothers Peda Mallidēva and others the children of Vīravidyādēvī, who were supporting Brahmana in his religious activity. This roused the suspicions of Brahmanāyaḍu who at once demanded a fair treatment for the princes and became their champion. Gradually dissensions arose in the royal family. Brahmanāyaḍu quarrelled with the king. He openly threw off the allegiance to his master, rallied the inhabitants of ninety villages and with a vast company left the city of Gurizala the capital for ever. His place was filled by the king's younger step-brother Narasimha, the eldest son of Bhūramādēvī, and Aravilli Nāgamma the *Nāyakurālu*. Brahmana then settled after journeying a short distance at a place called Mahādēvicheṛuvu or Mācherla, on the bank of Chandravanka and there built a splendid city. For sometime, however, Pedamallideva and his brothers ably protected by Brahmanāyaḍu prospered in Macherla. But the sight of their prosperity and the great influence which Brahmanāyaḍu wielded filled the hearts of Nala-Kāma and his ministers with fear for the safety of the kingdom of Palnād. Peda Mallideva was related to the Kalchuri dynasty of Kalyāṇ, having married the only daughter of Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva 1167—1177 A.D., Nāyakurālu, therefore, suspected that any day Brahmana might with the help of the Kalachuris fall upon Gurizāla and destroy the power of Nala-Kāma.

Soon a pretext was found to strip the children of Vīravidyādēvī of their prosperity. Nāyakurālu sent a large force of robbers and fierce hill tribes to plunder the city of Mācherla. But Kannamadas, the valiant

17 Almost all the writers including Mr. Virabhadrarao, the writer of the History of the Andhras have depicted the lady Nāgamma alias Nāyakurālu in blackest colours. I think they have done a great injustice to her, and sacrificed the historical accuracy for partisanship and bias. Brahmana was as much responsible for the ills of Palnād, as Nāyakurālu if not more.

commander of Peda Mallideva's forces beat back the plunderers. Brahmana then proceeded to Gurizāla to remonstrate with his sovereign upon the wanton wickedness of his evil advisers. Nala-Kāma assured his minister of his future safety; but before Brahmana left the capital the tables were turned, for Nāyakurālu found a pretext to take revenge. She arranged for a cock fight wherein she contemptuously called the defeated cock Brahmanāyaḍu. This filled the heart of Brahmanāyaḍu with wrath. Being thus insulted he was forced to accept a challenge for a cock fight as a wager of battle which was promptly arranged. The cock fight ended in a disaster to Brahmanāyaḍu and his lord Peda Mallideva who were forced to retire from Palnād for a period of seven years into exile as a result of loosing. He and prince Peda Mallideva and their followers thus sent out from their home at Mācherla, crossed the river Krishna, and there at a distance of twenty miles from Gurizāla, built a city called Mandādi. There they lived and prospered for three years. But once more Nala-Kāma and his ministers apprehended danger from Brahmana's increasing popularity and influence. Apparently under the command of the king, Nāyakurālu sent a band of robbers to drive off the cattle of the new settlers and raid the city of Mandādi. Brahmana could not oppose the raiders in open battle for apparently his master Nala-Kāma was powerful and enjoyed the support of Velanāṇṭi Rājendra Chōḍa II, the most powerful king of the Āndhra country at that time.¹⁸ The Kalachūri sovereignty was being threatened with destruction at that time by the Western Chālukyan king Sōmēśvara IV. Brahmana was apparently without any support from any neighbouring prince or ruler. He was not therefore satisfied with the safety of his lord after this raid, and consequently decided to cross the river Krishna and proceed southwards. He then moved towards Tripurāntakam and thence to a place near Mārkapuram. There, he built a town called Mēḍapi and settled down there.

Meanwhile, the seven years of exile having expired, Brahmanāyaḍu demanded a half share in the kingdom as before for his master Peda-Mallidēva. He sent Prince Āla-Rāja alias Rāchamalla, son of the Kalachūri prince Kommarāja, and the son-in-law of king Nala-Kāma on this mission to Gurizāla. The king, however, promptly refused the demand and even threatened to make war upon the exiles if they dared to press their request further. Rāchamalla departed angrily, but was

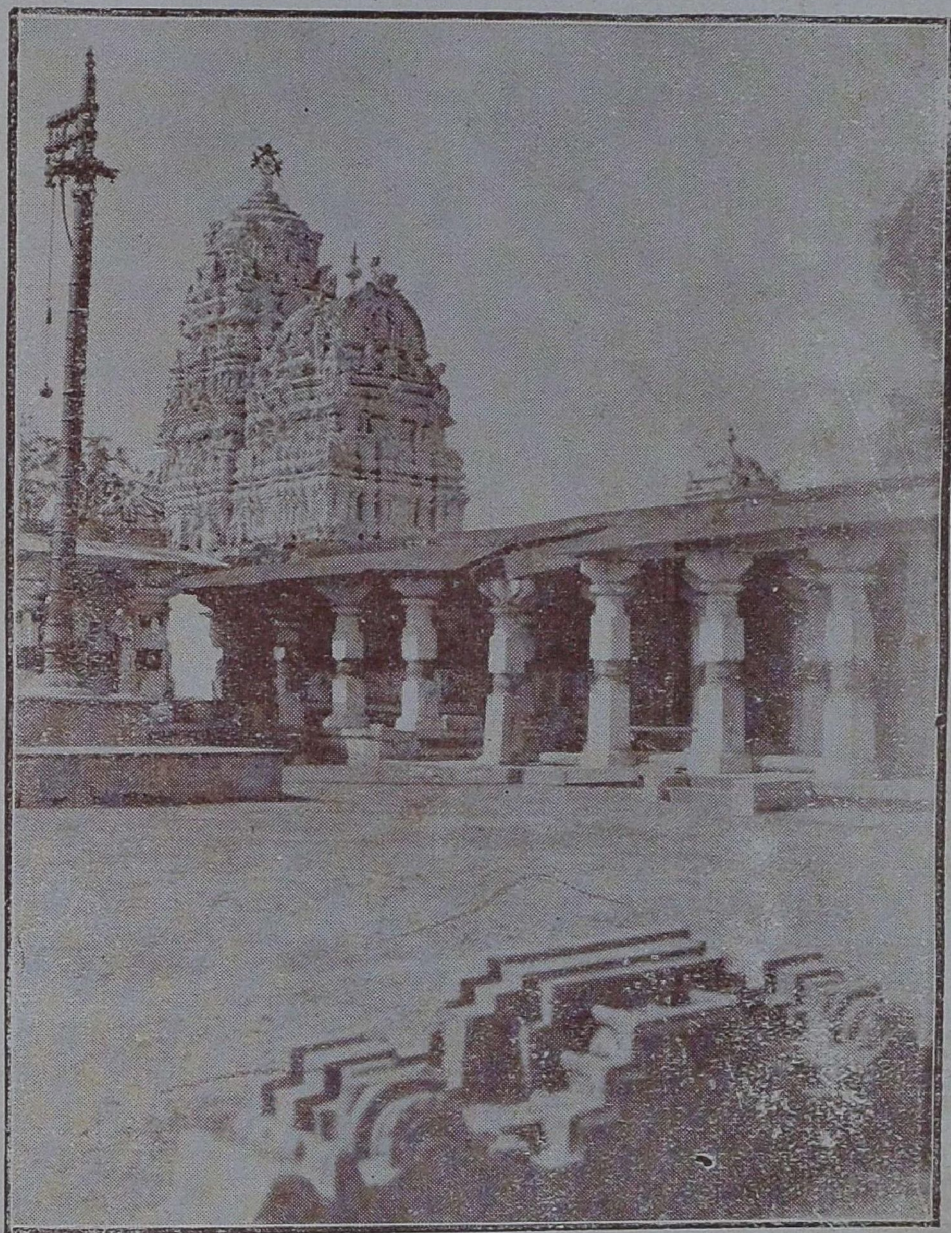
18. *Palnativira-charitra*: The episode of the raid on Mandādi (*Mandapotu-katha*). Srinātha Bhaṭṭa's work contains a passage which states that Velanāṇṭi Chōḍa apparently Rājendra Chōḍa among several other contemporary kings rulers of the Dakshinapatha and the south, openly evinced hatred towards Peda-Mallidēva. The causes for such ill-feeling of other princes towards Peda-Mallidēva are not explained. But it was natural that Rājendra Chōḍa II, who was the maternal uncle of Nala-Kāma, bore no love for Peda-Mallidēva who was an avowed rival of his own nephew. (Vide Intro, p. 41.)

poisoned to death in the house of a Brāhman host under the secret orders of Nāgamma. Enraged at this tragedy Brahmana collected large army and declared war upon his king. Nala-Kāma too, summoned his armies and made preparations for a struggle. Brahmana now marched at the head of a large army and surrounded the capital in a short time. Nala-Kāma and his allies came out of Gurizāla and met the enemy on the field of Kārempūḍi on the banks of the river Nāgulēru. Both parties decided upon the battle. Peda-Mallidēva's army was commanded by the youthful warrior Bālachandra, the only son of Brahmana and the king's army was led to attack by his younger step-brother Narasimha. A fierce battle then ensued and lasted for three days,¹⁹ which ended in great slaughter. Almost all the members of the royal family including princes Narasimha and Peda-Mallidēva and other brothers of the chief Nala-Kāma perished on the field. All the kith and kin of Brahmanāyaḍu, too, had lost their lives in the fight. The number of heroes that fell on the plain of Kārempūḍi according to the legendary account is sixty-five which included warriors on both sides.²⁰ Tradition states that Brahmanāyaḍu was also killed on the battle field, but the *Palnāṭivira-charitra* speaks to the contrary. According to the poem, Brahmanāyaḍu was the victor. It is said that Nāgama the Nāyakurālu fled from the battle-field, but was captured and brought before Brahmanāyaḍu who chivalrously spared her life and pardoned her. But the probability seems to be otherwise. Nala-Kāma appears to be the victor. He compelled the recalcitrant Brahmanāyaḍu and his followers to sue for peace; and the latter greatly smitten with grief and horror at the death of his beloved kinsmen and the members of the royal family called for truce and made peace with his chief Nala-Kāma. Brahmanāyaḍu left Palnāḍ for ever on a religious mission. And once more the unhappy Haihaya chief crowned himself as the sole ruler of Palanāḍ. The disgraced Nāyakurālu left the court for ever and was never afterwards heard of again.

Such in brief is the story of the civil war in Palnāḍ which shook the Velanāṭṭi kingdom to its foundations. A whole generation of powerful warriors, the flower of Āndhra soldiery perished in the great slaughter on the field of Kārempūḍi for nothing. The tragedy of Palanāḍ sealed the doom of the Velanāṭṭi rule and paved the way for final disappearance of the last vestiges of the Chālukyan sovereignty in Vēngi. The events in Palnāḍ hastened, nay even greatly helped, the downfall of the Velanāṭṭi family in the course of the next quarter of a century. The impunity with which Nala-Kāma and his subordinate Brahmanāyaḍu carried on hostilities for a long time; and the utter indifference with which the weak overlord king Velanāṭṭi Gonkarāja III watched the events,

19 According to one version the battle lasted only one day.

20 *Kridabhiramamu*, verse 65.



Temple of Chenna-Kesavasvamin at Macherla; believed to have been erected by Brahma Nayadu.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.

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THE HAIHAYAS OF PALNAD



The temple of Palnad Heroes, Karempudi.



Decorated Pillar in the temple of Chenna Kesavasvamin.

By kind courtesy of the *Prajamitra*, Madras.

revealed to the neighbouring rising dynasties, like the Kākatīyas of Anmakonda and the turbulent feudatories like the Telugu Chōḍas of Pākanāḍu and Pottapi, the weakness of the Velanāṇṭi kingdom at that time. And the reign of the indecisive and imbecile king Gonkarāja III marked the beginning of the decline and fall of the great Durjaya kingdom of Velapāṇḍu family of Vēngi.

The Chronicle of the Heroes of Palnāḍ mentions several contemporary rulers and princes who took up the cause of Nala-Kāma during the long period of hostilities and the battle of Kārempūḍi.²¹ And this fact enables us to determine with approximate certainty the period of civil war in Palnāḍ and the battle of Kārempūḍi. The poem states that the raid on Mandāḍi took place roughly four and half years before the battle of Kārempūḍi which was undoubtedly the last event in the protracted civil war. At that time Velanāṇṭi Rājendra-Chōḍa II, the maternal uncle of Nala-Kāma was still alive; and Nāgama who suspected a revengeful counter attack on Gurizāla by Brahmanāyaḍu, secretly advised her lord to seek help from his maternal uncle and Vira Ballala II, the Hoysala king of Dvārasamudra. The last mentioned king was on the throne between A.D. 1173 and A.D. 1212.²² King Velanāṇṭi Rājendra Chōḍa II reigned from Chandavōlu over the whole of the Eastern Āndhra country from A.D. 1160 till his death which occurred in A.D. 1182 at a ripe old age. Nala-Kāma also appears to have appealed for help to *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kōṭa Bhīmarāja II, lord of Dharaṇikōṭa, another feudatory of king Rājendra Chōḍa II, according to the Chronicle.²³ This chief married Sabbāmbika, the only daughter of Velanāṇṭi Rājendra Chōḍa II and was therefore related to Nala-Kāma. Kōṭa Bhīmarāja seems to have died about the end of A.D. 1180, and was succeeded by his second son Kōṭa Kēta II, in the beginning of A.D. 1183 to the

21 In spite of several versions that have crept into the text of Srinātha's work, on account of the confusion of the bards and the carelessness of the copyists the historical value of the *Palnavira-charitra* is still considerable.

22 *A.R.E.*, 1900 p. 100, para 50.

23 There seems to be some confusion in the text here in the *Palnavira-charitra* owing to the interpolation of lines which have no real context here. (See *Introd.* by Umakantam p. 40.) The text here mentions Kōṭa-Bhīma II and others among other princes who were summoned by Nala-Kāma on the eve of the battle of Kārempūḍi to come to his assistance. The lines which mention the chief Bhīmarāja at this place must have been obviously interpolated by the confused bard or the ignorant copyist. The absurdity of the context becomes all the more obvious when we come to the passage which describes the embassy of Kōṭa Kēta II, the younger son of Bhīma II on the eve of the battle. It is probable that Kēta II would be sent on the important mission of peace-making when his aged father was still alive. As a matter of fact he was in the camp on the eve of the battle.

24 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 148. The Saka date and *tithi* does not yield a proper equivalent date. There seems to be some error somewhere.

throne.²⁴ It seems certain, therefore, that the raid on Mandāḍi took place sometime prior to the death of Rājendra-Chōḍa II and his son-in-law Kōṭa Bhīmarāja II, and presumably in the early part of A.D. 1180, if not earlier still.

The poem *Palnāṭivīra-charitra* refers to a certain prince Kommarāja of the Kalchūri family of Kalyāṇ, whose younger sister was married to Peda-Mallidēva of Palnāḍ. He was one of the four sons of Bhujabalamalla-Rāyamurāri-Sōmēśvaradēva or Sōvidēva, and a grandson of Kalachuri Bijjala.²⁵ According to the poem he was the last to assume the command of the army of Pedamallidēva on the third day of the battle of Kārempūḍi and was killed in action. After the fall of the Kalachūri dynasty of Kalyāṇ in or about A.D. 1183, or probably sometime prior to that, when the decline of the family had commenced, Kommarāja and his son Ālarāja surnamed Rāchamalla, who was the son-in-law of Nala-Kāma, would appear to have fled from Kalyāṇ for their safety and took refuge at the court of Palnāḍ.²⁶ This incident seems to have taken place even prior to the commencement of the hostilities between Nala Kāma and his half-brother. And shortly after the raid on Mandāḍi which has to be assigned to 1182 A.D., ill-feelings arose between Kommarāja and Nala-Kāma, on account of the former having openly espoused the cause of his brother-in-law Peda-Mallidēva. Kommarāja was thus compelled to leave the court of Nala-Kāma. He preferred to go into exile with Peda-Mallidēva and live in Mēḍapi rather than remain an honoured guest of the chief Nala-Kāma at Gurizāla. Thus it would appear, that the battle of Kārempūḍi which was fought roughly four and half years after the raid on Mandāḍi, took place about the middle of A.D. 1184 during the reign of king Velanāṇṭi Gonkarāja III.²⁷

In the accompanying table is set forth the relationship between the great Durjaya dynasty of Velanāṇḍu and the Haihayas of Palnāḍ on the one hand and the Kōṭa chiefs of Dnaranikōṭa on the other.

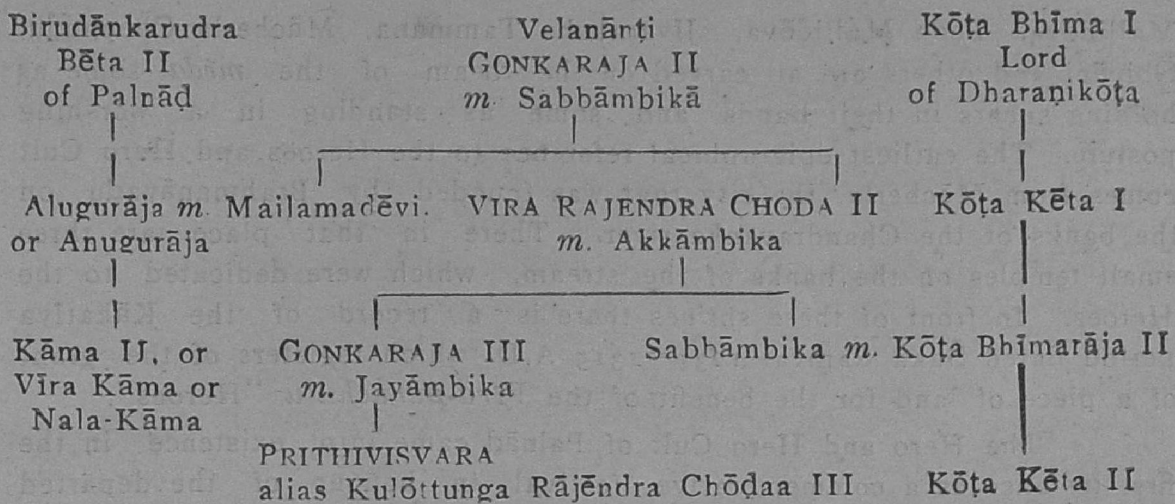
25 Umakantam's *Introduction to Palnativira-charitra*, p. 41.

26 *Ibid.* pp. 30—31.

27 Sewell (*List of Antiquities* etc., Vol. I, App. I) and Umakantam's *Introd.* to Srinātha's *Palanativira-charitra*, p. 45) quote an extant *chatu* Telugu verse which runs as follows. The text is corrupt.

"Gaja-nabha-guṇa-chandrūni Bnajanunḍ-Āshāḍha śuddha pakshambanadun Vijaya-sana-bāhubalunḍ-ak'kajanuga Bilnāṭi vira gajam-ani-baḍiyen."

Sewell's version of this poem slightly differs from that of Pandit Umakantam. This verse gives the date S. S. 1308, corresponding to A.D. 1385—1386; but this is utterly improbable for the date of the Palnad Civil War or the death of Brahmanayadu, called here the elephant of Palnad. In this passage the *tithi* is lost, though the bright fortnight of the lunar month Āshāḍha is given. But if we amend the verse and substitute the word *sasi* for *guṇa* we obtain the date S. S. 1108, which corresponds to A.D. 1185—86. This date appears to be a probable one, as the year in which Brahmanayadu's death took place, as has been shown above. But the verse is on the whole utterly unreliable.



THE CULT OF HERO WORSHIP IN PALNAD

The Cult of Hero worship is peculiar to Palnād. At one time it spread all over the Kākatīya Empire. The Ballad of the Heroes of Palnād was recited with music, poses, dancing and other accompaniments to the delight of the listeners. We have unimpeachable literary evidence of that in the *Kṛīḍabhirāmam* of Vallabharāya, a *vīdhi* play attributed to the great poet Śrīnātha-bhaṭṭa by some scholars. About ten verses are devoted to the description of the *Palnāṭi-Vīrula-katha*, its recitation by a young woman who had a sweet voice, its dance representation by the members of her troupe who were dressed like warriors of old with red paint on their faces, with red paste on their bodies, and with red flower garlands round their necks, and armed with heavy spears, daggers, long sharp swords and shields. The Heroes or *Virapurushas* as they were called were worshipped as deities, and temples were erected at all important places in Palnād, especially at places where the "sixty five" illustrious *Vīra-purushas* played their glorious part. Kārempūḍi and Macherla are the most noteworthy spots in Palnād where to this day the cult of hero-worship still exists. There Heroes are set up in *linga* form and worshipped. Kārempūḍi the battlefield, is even the seat of a Brāhmaṇ *guru* who presides over a section of the Śūdra community which worships the Heroes, and has a temple exclusively dedicated to the Heroes. There is a curious tower in the village of Kārempūḍi, called the *Nayadumantapam*²⁸ evidently built in honour of Rēcharla Brahmanāyaḍu, the Great Hero of Palnād and dedicated to the memory of the other Heroes. It contains an inscription dated Raktākshi *saṃvatsara* Śaka 1367 = 1445 A.D. which states that the tower or *mēḍa* as it is called in Telugu, was erected by a certain Jīvaraksha Tammana, son of Mācherla Chenṇuḍu, at the spot where Chīlam Nāyaḍu, i. e., Brahmanāyaḍu son of Sīlama, had planted his spear.²⁹ Quaint figures of Pina

28 *AR.E.*, 1910, p. 99.29 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 555 of 1909.

Mallidēva, Peda Mallidēva, Jīvaraksha Tammana, Mācherla Chennuḍu, Ōbīnēni and others are all carved on the beam of the *mēḍa*, some as holding spears in their hands and some as standing in a worshipping posture. The earliest epigraphical reference to the Heroes and Hero Cult comes from Mācherla, the city that was founded by Brahmanāyaḍu on the banks of the Chandravanka river. There in that place are three small temples on the banks of the stream, which were dedicated to the Heroes. In front of these shrines there is a record of the Kākatīya period dated Śaka Samvat 1237 = 1315 A.D. which registers of the grant of a piece of land for the benefit of the *Vīra-purushulu* "Heroes".

The Hero and Hero Cult of Palnāḍ came into existence in the first instance as a commemorative festival in honour of the departed Heroes. As years rolled by the festival changed colour and the Heroes were deified. The occasion on which the Heroes of Palnāḍ so gloriously distinguished themselves may easily be specified as the Civil war in Palnāḍ which came to an end with the fateful battle of Kārempūḍi. (1184 A.D.) The people of Palnāḍ and Guntur District as well as the people from the adjoining districts of Nalgonḍa, and Kurnool and even Warangal flock to Kārempūḍi once a year to pay homage to the Heroes and worship them on the bank of the stream, Chandravanka.

The Haihayas of Palnad

Chāgi Bēta (I)

(Flourished in the latter half of the XI century A.D.)

Vīra Kāma (I)

?—1104 A.D.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara

Rājarājadēva

A.D. c. 1104—1118

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara

Bētarāja II

surnamed Birudānka Rudra
A.D. 1104—1118—1130 (circa)

Two sons
not mentioned
by name

Sundara Chakravarti (?)

A.D. c. 1130

(Lost the throne owing to treachery of his father Bēta II)

Anugurāja or Anugubhūpati (c. 1150—1170 A.D.)

m. Mailamadēvi and two other queens

By Vīravidyādēvi

By Bhūramādēvi

By Mailamadēv.

Peda Pina Bāla

Maḷidēva Maḷidēva Maḷidēva

Yera- Narasimha Perumal-

Kāma (*Yuvarāja*) rāja

Jhaṭṭi- Vīra-Kāma

rāja or Nala-

gāma or

Nala-Kāma

c. 1170—1190 A.D.

RAJENDRA I AND CODA BHIMA

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Verse 82 of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates runs thus:

daṇḍena Bhīmēna yudhi praviṇō
yad-Rājarājō nihatō madākhyah |
tad Bhīmanāmānam arandhram-Andhram
hanmīti daṇḍena jaghāna tam saḥ ||

In his summary of these plates Mr. Venkayya said that this verse mentioned the defeat (by Rājarāja Cōḷa) of an Āndhra king named Bhīma, who had killed a certain Rājarāja.¹ Likewise Mr. Krishna Sastri in his edition of these plates observed: "He also killed the faultless Āndhra king Bhīma for the mere reason that the latter had killed by a powerful club a certain Rājarāja, his namesake, who was an expert in war (V. 82). This statement makes it clear that Rājarāja unnecessarily interfered in the politics of the Āndhra country, by killing a king called Bhīma. This Bhīma and the Rājarāja killed by him have not been identified".² His translation of the verse runs: "Since Rājarāja, an expert in war, of the same name as myself, has been killed by a powerful club, I shall, therefore, kill that Āndhra (king) called Bhīma though (he may be) faultless. So saying he (Arumolivarman) killed him (i.e., Bhīma) with a mace"³

This story of two successive employments of the crudest method of killing an enemy by beating him with a club appeared to me eminently unsatisfactory, when I came to consider the subject while engaged in writing the history of the Cōḷas. I was not quite satisfied with the results of my efforts to explain the matter, but I gave what I considered an improved translation of the verse in the following terms:

"As Rājarāja of name and skilled in battle has been attacked by Bhīma with his army, so shall I attack the flawless Telugu *arandhram andhram*-Bhīma by name—(thinking) this wise, he (Rājarāja) attacked him with an army".

And I appended a note saying: "Krishna Sastri, by translating *daṇḍa* into a 'club' or 'mace' and *han* into 'kill' has missed the obvious meaning of the verse".⁴ I explained the identity of Bhīma with the aid

1 A.R.E., 1909, Pt. II, para 16.

2 S.I.I., III, pp. 387—388.

3 Ibid, p. 421.

4 Cōḷas I, p. 217.

of Conjeevaram inscription of Cōḍa Bhīma, to which Rājarāja added a postscript, and the Pabhubargu plates of Śaktivarman, and left the identity of Bhīma's other opponent, the namesake of the Cōḷa monarch unexplained.

A perusal of the recently issued *Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Commemoration Volume* of the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* set me thinking on the problem again; for in two places in this volume the contents of this verse are referred to by two scholars, and in one of these my translation of the verse is also cited and discussed. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao explains this verse⁵ by assuming two encounters between Cōḍa Bhīma and Rājarāja Cōḷa. "And in the first encounter, as the Tiruvālangādu plates suggest, Rājarāja despatched a general of his name against Cōḍa Bhīma, who was defeated and slain. It was on the second occasion that Rājarāja I succeeded in overthrowing his great foe". And taken by itself this does sound a very plausible explanation of the verse.

Again Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar cites the translations of Krishna Sastri and myself as well as the original verse and adds:⁶ 'Apart from the technicalities of interpretation, the passage makes it absolutely clear that a certain Bhīma killed a certain other ruler Rājarāja in whom Cōḷa Rājarāja was interested. In retaliation Rājarāja killed that Bhīma in the same way that Bhīma killed Rājarāja'. Again, 'there must have been another person, his (Bhīma's) neighbour perhaps, with the name or title of Rājarāja, possibly an ally of the Cōḷa, or a person in whom the Cōḷas were interested'.

Now I really think that we have all been in the wrong all the time, and that we have been tricked by the learned poet Nārāyaṇa (the composer of the long *prasasti* to which this verse belongs) into treating legend as history. The true solution of the puzzle lies in the fact that Rājarāja is one of the names of Duryōdhana. The one historical fact recorded in the verse is Rājarāja's war with Cōḍa Bhīma. The rest is mythology and panditry, of which we have other conspicuous examples in other verses in the *prasasti*—viz., Taila being equated to the Cālukya king and oil (v. 81), the reference to the superiority of the Cōḷa to the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa (v. 80), of Rājendra to Bhagīratha (v. 109) and so on. In this verse that has so long sent us on the quest of a non-existent Rājarāja, the poet is indulging his fancy playing upon the names Bhīma and Rājarāja and linking up a famous incident in the Mahābhārata, the killing of the great warrior Duryōdhana by Bhīmasēna, with the Cōḷa Rājarāja's expedition against Cōḍa Bhīma. The true rendering of the verse therefore is:

⁵ JAHRs, X, p. 57.

⁶ Ibid, p. 184.

"As Rājarāja (Duryōdhana), my namesake skilled in war, was killed by Bhīma, thinking thus he (Rājarāja Cōḷa) fell upon him with an army."

It should be remembered that the Conjeevaram inscription records that Cōḷa Bhīma became a prisoner of Rājarāja, and therefore *jaghāna* cannot mean 'killed'. It is also clear that *daṇḍa* refers to Bhīmasēna's mace in its first use in the verse and to Rājarāja's forces later on.

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RATIO OF SILVER TO GOLD UNDER COLA RULE

A Correction

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Following the *Epigraphical Report* for 1915, Part II, paragraph 33 I wrote at pp. 376-377 of *Cōlas* II as follows:

"Of the value of metals we learn incidentally that bronze sold at 35 *palams* per *kāsu* (half *kaḷañju* of gold), copper at 30 *palams*, silver at $26\frac{2}{3}$ *palams*, and *tarā* (alloy) at 70 *palams*; these rates are found in a record of 1099 A.D. from Tiruppanandal. The relative cheapness of silver may be noted in view of the opinion some times expressed that the metal was rare in S. India."

This contains an incredible error regarding the value of silver, and I had overlooked it until it was pointed to me by a friendly reviewer of my book, Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, who also suggested that the metal in question was tin. I have since looked up the text of the inscription in question which was kindly lent to me by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharyulu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and the relevant passage in l. 25 of 46 of 1916 reads:

Vellīya nīrai irupadin palattukkuk-kāsu mukkālum.

Prof. Rangaswami's surmise therefore turns out to be correct, and the metal in question is not silver (*veḷḷi*), but tin (*veḷḷiyam*). I must therefore request my readers to substitute 'tin' for 'silver' in l. 3 of the paragraph extracted above, and cancel the last sentence in it. Also at l. 4 from the end in the *Annual Epigraphical Report* 1915, part II, para 23, the word 'silver' must be replaced by 'tin'.

ELURU GRANT OF SARYALOKASRAYA,

Dated 10th Year.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L.

This copper-plate grant was sent to me sometime ago by my friend Mr. Rudrarāju Venkatarāma Rāju of Malikipuram, Razole taluk, East Godavari District, for the purpose of publishing it in the pages of this *Journal*. He did not inform me where and in what circumstances he discovered the plates; but he told me that he rescued the plates from destruction. All students of history must indeed be thankful to him for the service he had rendered. As a matter of fact a slice of the last plate was cut away by the vandal to test if the metal was gold before Mr. Venkatarāma Rāju secured the set.

This is a set of three copper-plates each measuring 5" by 2½", held together by a ring which is about 1¾" in diameter, the ends of which are fastened beneath a circular seal. The ring was uncut when the plates reached me. The seal is circular in shape and contains countersunk on its surface in bold Eastern Chālukyan characters the legend *Srī Vijayasiddhi* and an expanded lotus with seven petals at the bottom and the infant moon with a star near by, on the top. The entire set including the ring and the seal weighs 62 tolas.

The plates seem to have been subjected to some amount of hammering before actually a small piece had been sliced off. Nevertheless, the writing on the plates is in a fair state of preservation. There is writing on the inner side only of the two outer plates and on both the sides of the middle plate. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to protect the writing on them. Each plate contains seven lines of writing except the last one which breaks off abruptly about the beginning of the 4th line. The alphabet is the usual Eastern Chālukya type and may be assigned to the period to which the inscription belongs. The language of the inscription is barbarous Sanskrit prose with the exception of two broken imprecatory verses at the end. The person who drafted the charter was utterly ignorant of Sanskrit grammar, *Sandhi* rules and perhaps even some words. The record was carelessly engraved. In spite of this the record is interesting and important. As regards orthography it may be remarked that the scribe wrote *añjāpayati* (l. 13) for *ajñāpayati*, *rajñita* for *rañjita*, (l. 12) *anuja* for *anuja* (l. 6) and *nripati* for *nṛpati* (l. 11) using both the secondary forms of the vowels *r* and *i*. *Sandhi* rules and grammar are neglected and it is needless to refer to them.

This is a record of the reign of Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya who had another name Śrī Vijayasiddhi, "the glorious One, who has attained the accomplishment of victory." He is the son of Vishṇuvardhana II and grandson of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the younger brother of Jayaśimhavallabha I. This is the third copper-plate record of the king, Sarvalōkāśraya. The first grant is the Chendalūru plates dated in the 2nd year¹ and the second is the undated Telugu Academy plates.² The second is not published in English and much less correctly. King Sarvalōkāśraya is not known by that appellation to the writers of the later Eastern Chāḷukya charters. He is called by his more familiar name Mangi Yuvarāja. It is quite probable that original name of the king was Mangi and that after his annointment as *Yuvaraja*, the prince came to be mentioned as Mangi-Yuvaraja. After his accession Yuvarāja-Mangi assumed the appellation Śrī Sarvalōkāśraya, "the Asylum of the Universe."

It may be a useful study to mention here that the preambles of the charters of Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya differ materially one from the other. The most simple *praśasti* appears in the Telugu Academy plates and the most elaborate one in the Chendalūru grant. The elaborate *praśasti* was employed apparently to suit to the needs of the occasion. The Chendalūru charter records a grant that seems to have been made after the conquest and consolidation of new territory. The *praśasti* is all the more interesting as it reminds us of several epithets which we come across in the Pallava charters found in that region called Karmarāshṭra. King Sarvalōkāśraya's royal splendour and valour are described in a beautiful passage which runs thus, "nija-bhuja-parākram-āvanamit = ānēka śatru sāmanta-ānīta dvirada prati-mada-dharābhishēka karddam-iti sapta-chchhada surabhi-ramyāṅga-ōpa-visht = ānēka rājany-āmita kōlā-halībhūta-rājadvāraḥ.....anēka samara sāhas = āvamardda-labdha-Vijayasiddhiḥ..... dṛṣṭānta iva Bhūmi-patīnām Paramabrahmanyah." This passage seems to imply that Mangi Yuvarāja wrested once for all that part of the Southern Āndhradesa from the Pallava king of Kanchi. It appears from the Telugu Academy plates, that Sarvalōkāśraya's capital was Vijayavāḍa, i.e., the modern Bezwada.

The inscription records the grant of two fields, which require each a seed of twelve *khandis* of paddy, made with libation of water, to a brāhmaṇ named Śrīdharaśarman, an inhabitant of Ayyavōḷu, on the occasion of the *anna-prāśana* ceremony for prince Vishṇuvardhana in the tenth year of reign, by Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya. One field lay in the eastern quarter and the other was in the eastern quarter of Ēlūru, which may be identified with the modern town of Ellore, the headquarters of the West Godavari District. Two more localities Ayyavōḷu and Vālivinnu are mentioned in

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII p. 232.

2 *Andhra-Sahitya Parishat-patrika*, Vol. II, pp. 213—217.

the charter but they cannot be identified to-day. The inscription is interesting for, it speaks of *anna-prāśana saṃskāra* for prince Vishṇu-
vardhana who afterwards became the king of the Āndhra country under
the name of Vishṇuwardhana III, and reigned from about April 719 to
about May 755 A.D.³ If Vishṇuwardhana's *annaprāśana* took place in
the 10th year of his father's reign, then it must be that he was just six
months old on that occasion, for, usually this *saṃskāra* is performed for
the male child between 5th and 8th month and preferably in the 6th month.
The accession of Sarvalōkāśraya has been placed by me on or about April
(682 A.D. and thus the 10th year of reign falls in 692 A.D.)⁴ That being
so, Vishṇuwardhana's birth may have taken place towards the close of
692 A.D. or in the early months of 693 A.D. Vishṇuwardhana III
ascended the throne after the death of his eldest step-brother and after
the expulsion of his own younger brother Kokkili who usurped the throne
for a period of six months, in March 719 A.D. These facts enable us to
determine his age as about 28 years on the date of his accession to the
throne. Vishṇuwardhana III reigned for 36 years and thus the span of
his life would appear to be at least 63 or 64 years.

Text 1

First Plate:

- 1 स्वस्ति [*] [श्रीम]ता सकल भुवन संस्तूयमान मानव्यसगोत्राणां
- 2 2 कोशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्याताना स्मृतृग-
- 3 णपरिपालिताना स्मगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित वरवरा-
- 4 हलाञ्छनानां अश्वमेधावभृथस्तानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां च-
- 5 लुक्यानां कुलजलसमुदितेन्द³[:*]नयविनय वी[वि]क्रमोपार्जित चारु
- 6 भूरि [किंकी]र्ते[:*]श्रीजयसिंहवल्लभमहारा[*]जस्य प्रियाणुजस्य⁴इन्द्रस
- 7 मानविक्रमस्य श्रीइन्द्र भट्टारकस्यसूनो रनेकसमरसं⁵

Second plate First Side:

- 8 घट्टोपलब्ध युद्धविजययशः प्रसूत्यामोद गन्धादिवासि-
- 9 त सकल⁶ दिग्मण्डलस्य श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन महाराजस्य प्रियतन-

3 See my *Revised Chronology* etc JAHRS. Vol IX part iv.

4 See my *Revised Chronology*, chart on (page 30)

1. From the original plates in my possession.

2. Read Kauśikī.

3. Read samudit ēndōh

4. Read priy-ānjasya.

5. The *anusvāra* which ought to be correctly placed on the letter *sa* is placed on *gha* in the second place.

6. Read diñ-maṇḍalasya.

- 10 यः समति शत⁷पितृगुण शक्ति संपन्नः अन्वीक्षिक्यदि विद्या प्र-
 11 योशेषः⁸श्रीविजयसिद्धिः स्वसिधारारिपु⁹नृपतिवरम-
 12 कुटतटघटितानेक मणिकिरणरागरञ्जितारुण पादयुगल¹⁰
 13 श्री सर्व [लो] काश्रयमहाराजः एवमाञ्जापयति¹¹ [I*]अध्यबोलु-
 14 वास्तव्याय भरद्वाजसगोत्राय तेत्रिय¹²ब्रह्मचारिण विष्णु-

Second Plate : Second side

- 15 म्मर्ण [I*] पवुत्राय¹⁸वेन्नशर्मण [I*] पुत्राय¹⁴शतकर्मनिरताय श्रीधरशर्म-
 16 णे 1+ वें धिविषये एल्लरु [नाम] ग्रोमे पूर्वदिशया वा[व]ल्मीक [I:] पूर्वत [I*]
 वल्मीक [I:]
 17 दक्षिणत[I*] वा[व]ल्मीक[I*] पश्चिमत[I*] [ज*] दश्रिघ¹⁶उत्तरत [I*]
¹⁶एतेत्तुरवाधि द्वाद
 18 श [ख] क ण्डिकोद्रव बीजपरिमाण क्षेत्रं¹⁷ उत्तरदिशा म्कुलावुत-¹⁸
 19 ¹⁹राकः पूर्वतः [I*] जटश्रिघ²⁰दक्षिणत[I*] वालिविन्दिशीमा पश्चमतः [I*]
²¹[जट-]
 20 श्रिघ उत्तरतः [I*] एतेश्च²²तुरवाधि द्वादश क [ख]ण्डिक²⁸कोद्रवबीजप-
 21 रिप्रमाणक्षेत्रं विष्णुवद्धर्न अन्नप्रास²⁴निमित्तं²⁶दिदकपूर्वं दत्त [म् I*]

Third plate : First side.

- 22 ग्रिहस्तान²⁶ पुष्पवाटिकसाहितं सर्वकरपरिहोप व - [***]
 23 विजयराज्यसंव [त्स] रे दशमे [पि I*] भूमि दानात्परदानं न भू [त * * *]

7. Read śayata

8. Read prayōgaśēshaḥ.

9. Read nṛpati.

10. Read rañjita-pāda-yugaḥ.

11. Read ajñāpayati.

12. Read Taittirīyasa-brahmachārīṇē.

13. Read pauṛāya.

14. Read Vēngī-

15. Read Jaṭasṅgaḥ.

16. Read Ētaiś-cha.

17. Here the scribe seems to have left out a word like *api cha* to indicate that another field also was given.

18. Read diśāyām Kulyā

19. Read tatākāḥ.

20. Read Jaṭasṅgaḥ

21. Read Jaṭasṅgaḥ

22. Read Ētaiś-cha-

23. Read khaṇḍi.

24. Read anna-prāśana.

25. Read udaka.

26. I am indebted to my friend Mr M. Samasekhara Sarma for suggesting this reading. Read "gṛhasthāna."

24 व्यति [1*] तस्य 27 हेव हरणात्पापं न भूतन भविष्यति [1*] स्वदत्तां-
 25 तां वा योहरेति व. 28

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Ll 1-5. Of the race of the illustrious Chālukyas, whose crest is the emblem of the Boar; whose bodies were purified by the final ablutions at the end of an Aśvamēdha sacrifice;

Ll. 5-7. The son's son of Indrabhaṭṭāraka who equalled Indra in valour and who was the dear younger brother of Jayasimhavalabha mahārāja of spotless great fame;

Ll. 7-12. The dear son of Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana (II), who obtained success in several tumultuous battles and whose fame had spread in all quarters;

Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya, whose other name is Vijayasiddhi, whose pair of feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of many princes conquered by the edge of his sword, commands thus:

Ll. 13-23. On the occasion of the *anna-prāśana* of prince Viṣṇuvardhana, it has been given by Us with the libation of water to the Brahman, Śrīdharaśarman, an inhabitant of Ayyavōḷu, who is devoted to the performance of the six-fold duties, who is the son's son of Viṣṇuśarman and son of Vennaśarman, of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, who is a *brahmachārin* of the Taittiriya-ākhā, a field which requires a seed of 12 *khaṇḍis* of paddy, in the eastern quarter of the village Elūru, which is bounded by an ant-hill on the east, an ant-hill on the south, an ant-hill on the west and Jaṭasṅga on the north; and another field in the northern quarter, which requires twelve *khaṇḍis* of paddy as seed and whose boundaries are, on the east a canal-fed tank, Jaṭasṅga²⁹ on the south Vālivinṭi-sīma (or the boundary of the village Vālivinṇu) and Jaṭasṅga on the north.

The two fields have been given by us, along with a house-site and a flower garden.

Then follow the usual imprecatory verses.

27. Read ēva.

28. Here the inscription breaks off abruptly.

29. The meaning of this word Jaṭasṅga is not clear, whether it is the name of a village or a tree.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL BODY

MEETING HELD ON 3-4-1938 & 1-5-38.

Seventeen Members were present at the meeting. Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao, President of the Society took the chair.

A preliminary objection was taken for reading and discussing the Honorary Secretary's Annual Report when the auditor's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure and his Report thereon was not available especially when the accounts of the Society had not been audited as desired by the Government for the last three years. The Hony. Secretary informed the house that the Accounts were being checked by the Auditor and Registered Accountant, Mr. D. Kameswara Rao, B.A., R.A. Thereupon the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:

"Resolved that the adoption of the Honorary's Secretary's Report and other items on the agenda be postponed till the Report of the Auditor and the statement of accounts are received. The meeting is adjourned to 24th April, 7-30 A.M. for the said purpose.

The Meeting could not be held on 24th April for want of the Auditor's Report etc. It was again adjourned to 1-5-1938.

Proceedings of the adjourned meeting 17th Annual General Body held on 1-5-1938.

PRESENT :

- 1 Mr. Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao, (in the Chair)
- 2 „ M. Subahramanyam
- 3 „ C. Atmaram
- 4 „ T. V. S. Ramakrishna Rao
- 5 „ P. Kameswara Rao
- 6 „ Rebbaprggada Subba Rao
- 7 „ A. Sankara Rao
- 8 „ D. Ch. Kameswara Rao
- 9 „ B. V. Sasiri
- 10 „ M. S. Venkatachariar
- 11 „ V. Ramachandra Murty
- 12 „ N. Kameswara Rao
- 13 „ N. Subba Rao Pantulu
- 14 „ Rallabandi Subba Rao
- 15 „ B. V. Krishna Rao
- 16 „ Vissa Appa Rao
- 17 „ D. Venkata Rao
- 18 „ M. Sambasiva Rao

- 19 Mr. M. Anna Reddi
- 20 Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao
- 21 Mr. K. S. Gopala Rao
- 22 „ Vaddadi Appa Rao

Resolutions adopted after reading the Auditor's Report on the Statements of accounts for the years 1935—36, 1936—37 and 1937—38.

1. Resolved that the Statements of Receipts and Expenditure be passed. This meeting requests the Managing Council hereafter to carry out the suggestions and follow the instructions given by the Auditor,

2. Resolved that an Honorarium of Rs. 10/- only be paid to the Auditor for the work willingly and enthusiastically done by him.

3. The Hony. Secretary's Annual Report of the Working of the Society is read and adopted.

4. The following Office-Bearers are elected to hold office for the year 1938—39:

Mr. K. N. Anantaraman, M.A., I.C.S., is declared elected as the Presiden of the Society, by 12 votes against 9 obtained by the last year's President, Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao.

Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu is elected as Vice-President unanimously. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao. is unanimously elected as the Honorary Secretary. Mr. K. S. Gopala Rao is elected unanimously as the Honorary Treasurer. Mr. V. Ramachandra Murty is unanimously elected as the Honorary Librarian & Curator.

The following gentlemen are elected to the Managing Council as non-official members:

- Mr. Rallabandi Subba Rao
- „ M. Sambasiva Rao
- „ M. Anna Reddi
- Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur

The meeting dissolved after recording a vote of thanks for the out-going office-bearers.

MINUTES of the Managing Council meeting held on 8—5—1938.

PRESENT :—

- K. N. Anantaraman Esq., President
- Mr. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao
- „ K. S. Gopala Rao
- Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao
- Mr. R. Subba Rao
- „ V. S. Ramachandra murty

1. Resolved to admit Mr. Dittakavi Sandilya, M.A., (Oxon) and Mr. A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., LL.B., as ordinary members of the Society:

2. After considering at length the question of collection of arrears from local members, the following resolution is adopted.

Resolved that in view of the financial difficulties in which the Society is placed, the local members be requested to be generous enough

and pay the subscription for the year 1935—36, which has been in arrears. The Secretary is requested to circulate the Resolution.

3. Resolved that in view of the increased cost of printing, paper and postage etc., the subscription of the Journal for institutions be raised from Rupees Six to Rupees Eight excluding postage. The Hony. Secretary's action in having charged the enhanced rate from the institutions for Volume X of the Journal is approved.

Resolved further to ratify the action of the Hony. Secretary in raising the subscription of the mofussil members to the uniform rate of Rs. 4 in view of heavy postal rates.

4. Resolved that the accounts of the Society up to date be passed.

5. Resolved that Parts 3 & 4 of the Journal of Vol. XI be issued as a consolidated Part.

6. Resolved to appoint a sub-committee consisting of Mr. N. Kameswara Rao and Mr. R. Subba Rao to take stock of the Publications, (Telugu and English) of the Society up to date and to submit a Report as early as possible.

MINUTES of the Managing Council Meeting held on 12—6—1938.

Present:

- (1) K. N. Anantaraman Esq., I.C.S.
- (2) Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao
- (3) Mr. M. Sambasiva Rao
- (4) Mr. R. Subba Rao
- (5) Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurty
- (6) Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu.

Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as ordinary members:-

Mr. Krittiventhi Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., Headmaster, High School,
Pentapadu, West Godavari District

Mr. Daddanala Lakshmi Satyanarayana,
Editor, 'Padmanayaka', Rajahmundry

2. Regarding the celebration of the Reddi Empire Day and publication of the *Reddi Samchika*; Resolved to celebrate Reddi Empire Day in September 1938 and necessary quantity of paper not less than 30 reams of D/C printing paper be purchased and that the work of printing of the *Reddi Samchika* be commenced immediately.

Resolved further (a) to elect the following gentlemen to the Editorial Board for the *Reddi Samchika*.

- (1) Mr. M. Anna Reddi,
- (2) Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao,
- (3) Mr. V. S. Ramachandra Murty, and

(b) resolved that Mr. G. Janakirama Chowdhari's name may be deleted from the Editorial Board, as he is not able to attend to this work.

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