THE
EARLY HISTORY OF
THE DECCAN

PARTS VII–XI
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EDITED BY

G. YAZDANI

M.A., LITT.D., O.B.E.

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PART VII

THE EASTERN CHĀĻUKYAS

by PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI and DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA


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THE EASTERN CHĀLUKYAS

I

HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY

Pulakeśin II conquered the whole of the Eastern Deccan quite early in his reign and thereupon appointed his brother viceroy of the newly acquired territory. Very soon the viceroyalty developed into an independent kingdom without any opposition by Pulakeśin, and his brother, Vishṇuvardhana, who is referred to invariably as 'the hump-back' (khuba) in all later inscriptions, became the founder of a line which outlived the main dynasty for many generations and is known to history as that of the Eastern Chālukyas. Few Indian families, indeed, have held the throne for such a long period; they were lords of the Vengi country for nearly five centuries before their destiny called them to a Tamil kingdom in the south, and they continued to hold Vengi for several generations even after that; they were in fact the makers of the Telugu culture and literature.

The very numerous copper-plate charters, together with a smaller number of stone inscriptions, form our main sources for the history of the dynasty. From the reign of Vijayāditya III Guṇaga onwards (the second half of the ninth century) the charters cover practically the entire history of the dynasty down to the date of each particular record; the genealogical connexions, the duration of each reign, and a sketch of the main political occurrences, are thus found in many versions which in fact exhibit a remarkable measure of overall agreement; some discrepancies indeed there are; but a detailed discussion of these, or of the minute questions of chronology arising from astronomical details preserved in the inscriptions, should be held to fall outside the scope of this general history; in the account which follows we shall present the results of our study of the evidence, adding merely the outlines of the main arguments in support of these where such appear necessary, and for chronology we shall follow the data set forth by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, who has revised the conclusions reached by Fleet in 1891 in the light of discoveries which have accumulated since that time.

The kingdom of Vengi, as it came to be called in the course of time, comprised at its greatest extent the whole area between the Mahendra mountains in Kalinga and the Manneru river in Nellore;¹ its western boundary ran in general along the foot of the Eastern ghats, though temporary extensions often brought areas farther west under the rulers of Vengi from time to time. Eastern Chālukya history is at times largely the record of disputes about the succession in which for some time the Rāshtrakūṭas, and the Chālukyas of

¹ El, vi, 342.
Kalyāṇi from the west, and later the Chōlas from the south, interfered, not always altogether disinterestedly; the Gangas of Kalinga as well as of Mysore, and the Chāḷukyas of Vemulavāḍa and Mudugonda, also find a place in the picture from time to time.

**Kubja Vishṇuvardhana**

By the date when the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin were being issued (A.D. 631), his brother Vishṇuvardhana had many successes in the Eastern Deccan to his credit and had already become virtually independent. This seems to be the meaning of the statement that he had secured the kingdom for his son, and the eighteen years uniformly allotted to him in all later charters may be taken to be covered by the period A.D. 624–41. He had acquired the titles Vishamasiddhi (one who has attained successes in difficult enterprises), a name he is said to have owed to his great ability in taking all types of impregnable fortresses, and Makaradhvaja and Kāmadeva, both words denoting the Indian Cupid—epithets which would seem to convey a satire on his person if he really was a cripple. The two copper-plate records of grants which he issued as an independent ruler both come from the Vizagapatam District; one of them is dated in the eighteenth year of his reign, while the other, bearing no date, was given at Pishṭapura. It is a reasonable inference that a part of Kalinga was included in Vishṇuvardhana’s kingdom; but traces of his rule farther south are not wanting, and if the Vishṇukunḍins continued their rule in Vengi (Dandaluru) under Mādhava III or his son Mañcanaṃbhaṭṭaraka, they must have done so as vassals of a superior power in the same way as did the Durjayas of the forest country to the north of their territory.1 An archaic rock inscription of Vishamasiddhi from Chezara in the Guntur District may well be a record of his reign.2 But even if this be doubted, there is the explicit statement in an inscription of A.D. 1132, also from the Guntur District, that Buddhharāja, the founder of the Koṇḍapaṭumaṭi family, was employed by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, and obtained from him as a reward for his services the rulership of a district comprising seventy-three villages.3 And beside this the land which formed the subject of Pulakēśin’s gift recorded on the Kopparam plates was situated in Karma-rāṣṭra, also part of the Guntur and Nellore territories.4 There is in fact little doubt that Vishṇuvardhana I became eventually the ruler of very nearly the whole of the Vengi kingdom of which the extent has been indicated above. The wars between his brother Pulakēśin and the Pallava Naraśimhavarman I may perhaps have given him his opportunity for increasing his own holdings in the south.

Late inscriptions say that a general Kālakampa of the Paṭṭavardhana family

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1 Atavi Durjaya of the Matsya family figures as the ājñātipī in the Chipurapalle Plates, *IA*, xx, 15.
2 154 of 1899, *ARE*, 1900, para. 35.
3 214 of 1892, also *EI*, vi, 269–70.
slew a bitter personal enemy, Daddura by name, on the field of battle and seized his insignia under the orders of Vishñuvardhana;\(^1\) we hear of Kālakampa's successors under later monarchs, but do not know who Daddura was. Ayyaṇa-mahādevī appears to have been the queen of Kubja Vishñuvardhana and was named as his executrix in one of the king’s grants, as we learn from an inscription of one of his descendants, Vishñuvardhana III, which renewed the original grant of a village to a Jaina temple, Naṭumbibasadi, originally built by the queen at Bezwada. This document is also interesting as the earliest known mention of Jainism in the Telugu country.\(^2\)

**Jayasimha I**

Vishñuvardhana was followed on the throne by his sons Jayasimha Vallabha I and Indra Bhaṭṭāraka. Jayasimha had a long reign of thirty-three years, a.d. 641–73; several records exist of grants dated in his reign, but otherwise we have little information as to its history. A ghaṭikā, college of higher education, is said to have been functioning at Asanapura from which the king issued one of his decrees. Like his father, Jayasimha was a Bhāgavata; he held the title Sarvasiddhi, successful in everything, and his learning is highly praised. An epigraph on stone at Vippara, dated in the eighth year of his reign, is among the earliest known Telugu inscriptions.\(^3\) He was followed by his younger brother Indra Bhaṭṭāraka, whose rule was cut short by a combination of hostile princes headed by an Adhirāja Indra whose identity is difficult to establish.\(^4\) There is a decree for a grant issued by Indra Bhaṭṭāraka in which he is given the title Tyāgadhenu (cow of liberality).\(^5\) His own reign is generally said to have lasted only seven days, but his son Vishñuvardhana II occupied the throne for nine years, bore the titles Vishamasiddhi, Pralayāditiya, and others, and was followed in turn by his son Mangi Yuvarāja, who was entitled Vijayāditiya and Vijayasiddhi, and who ruled for twenty-five years, a.d. 682–706. Both Vishñuvardhana II and Mangi Yuvarāja seem to have been grown-up princes even during the reign of their uncle Jayasimha I; Vishñuvardhana indeed calls himself the son of Jayasimha in one of his inscriptions—this of course is not intended to be taken in the literal sense.

Mangi Yuvarāja, Vijayasiddhi, ruled for twenty-five years (a.d. 682–706) and his son, Jayasimha II Sarvasiddhi, for thirteen (a.d. 706–18). After Jayasimha’s reign there seems to have occurred the first dispute about succession between his surviving half-brothers; the younger one Kokkili seized the throne and held it for six months before yielding it up to the elder Vishñuvardhana III. The quarrel apparently ended in a compromise by which Kokkili was allowed to rule a portion of territory surrounding Elamanchi

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\(^1\) \textit{SII}, i, 40.  
\(^2\) \textit{CP}, no. 9 of 1916–17.  
\(^3\) 147 of 1899.  
\(^4\) \textit{IA}, xx, 97; \textit{JBBRAS}, xvi, 117.  
\(^5\) \textit{EI}, xviii, 5.
in Middle Kalinga as his appanage. We have evidence that this collateral line continued to hold this district for at least four generations, including the lifetime of Kokkili, who assumed the title Vijayasiddhi for the short period during which he reigned as king of Vengi. It is perhaps worth noting that Kokkili was also one of the titles held by the Western Chāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya I, an elder contemporary of Mangi Yuvarāja.

Vishṇuvardhana III

After he had driven out his usurping younger brother, Vishṇuvardhana III occupied the throne for a long time, enjoying a reign of thirty-seven years (A.D. 719–55). A number of decrees for grants issued during his reign have come to light and several of these are interesting in one way or another. One renewing an early grant by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana has been noticed already in our account of that king’s reign. In another the queen of Vishṇuvardhana III, Vijayamahādēvi, appears as the executrix (ājñāpti), and the king himself is described by the title Tribhuvanāṅkuśa (an elephant goad to the three worlds) in the colophon to the grant. A third inscription records a grant by Prithivī Pṛṣi, a daughter of Mangi Yuvarāja and therefore sister of Vishṇuvardhana III. This king had the title Vishamasiddhi. It was in his reign that one of his officers, a Nīshāda Bōya chieftain named Prithivī-Vyāghra, came into conflict with the celebrated Pallava general Udayachandra who defeated him in the battle of Nellore, capturing many elephants and much booty and securing a part of Vishṇuṛāja’s territory for the Pallava monarch Nandi-varman II. Such is the Pallava version of what took place; Prithivī-Vyāghra could obviously not have entered on his conflict with the powerful kingdom in the south without Vishṇuvardhana’s consent and both rulers suffered for it. But it was more of the nature of a skirmish on the frontier leading indeed to some loss of territory, but with little tangible effect on the strength or stability of the Vengi kingdom.

Vishṇuvardhana III was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya I, Vijayasiddhi, who ruled for eighteen years (A.D. 755–72). At the close of his father’s reign and the beginning of his own there occurred in the Western Deccan the political revolution by which the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi lost their dominion and were succeeded by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Dantidurga. The enmity of the new line to the Chāḷukyas soon began to manifest itself against the Vengi kingdom also. A Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription of A.D. 769 states that Yuvarāja Govinda II had led an expedition against the Vengimaṇḍala, and had received the submission of the ruler of Vengi offered to him in his victorious camp at the confluence of the Musi and the Krishnā rivers, together with the

1 CP, 10 and 11 of 1908-9, ARE, 1909, ii, 55-7.
2 EL, xiv, 148.
3 CP, 9 of 1913-14.
4 CP, 10 of 1919-20; EL, xviii, 58.
5 SII, ii, 368.
6 EL, vi, 210-11.
surrender of treasure, troops, and terrain. This statement, even if taken at its face value, does not show that Vengi suffered any serious deprivation on this occasion. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces did not enter the Vengi kingdom and there was no actual clash of arms. On the other hand, the successful march of the Yuvarāja to the frontiers of the Vengi kingdom, where he was obviously met by ambassadors from his rival’s court, was a shadow cast by coming events on the fortunes of the Eastern Chālukyas.

Vishṇuvardhana IV

Vijayāditya’s son was Vishṇuvardhana IV who ruled for thirty-six years (A.D. 772–808). Early in his reign he became involved in the dispute between Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda II and his younger brother Dhruva, and took the side of Govinda, the ruling sovereign, against his rebellious brother. But Dhruva emerged as the victor; after seizing the throne for himself he set out to punish the supporters of Govinda, among them the ruler of Vengi. In his expedition against the Eastern Chālukya kingdom, Dhruva was well served by Arikesari I, the Chālukya feudatory of Vemulavāda. Vishṇuvardhana was forced to admit defeat and to make his peace with Dhruva by offering him the hand of his daughter Śilamahādēvi, who became that ruler’s chief queen.¹ The subordinate relation of Vengi to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued after the reign of Dhruva under his son Govinda III whose inscriptions claim that the ruler of Vengi was ever ready to carry out his suzerain’s behests with alacrity;² the statement that he helped to build the surrounding wall of his suzerain’s camp has sometimes been understood to refer to the fortification of Mānya-kheṭa. Vishṇuvardhana IV had three sons, two being Vijayāditya II and Bhīma Saluki who quarrelled over the succession, and the third, the son of a Haihaya princess, Rudra by name, who took the side of Vijayāditya.

Vijayāditya II

Vijayāditya II was a great warrior who waged fierce wars against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies for many years. He was known by the titles Narendramarcharāja (the lion among kings), Chālukya-Rāma, and Vikrama-dhavala (of shining valour). He is credited with a reign of forty years (A.D. 808–47),³ and these were filled with strife and contention. He resented the hold of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas over Vengi, and they in turn treated him as a rebel and found a convenient tool in his half-brother Bhīma Saluki whom they set up as his rival. So long as Govinda III was aided by vassals like the Western Gangas and the Chālukyas of Vemulavāda, things went badly for Vijayāditya; but when Govinda died about A.D. 814, leaving a child Amogha-varsha I on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne, Vijayāditya gained the upper hand,

¹ El, xxii, 107, ii. 36–9.
² El, vi, 244–5, v. 19.
³ JAHRS, ix, 28.
defeated the Gangas, deposed Bhîma Saluki, and regained the kingdom; he also overran considerable parts of the Râshtrakûta country.¹

Later inscriptions say of Vijayâditya that he fought 108 battles against the Gangas and Raṭṭas, incessantly, night and day, for twelve years with sword in hand, and that he also erected 108 Śiva temples called Narendresvâras after his title. This number 108 is obviously conventional and not to be understood literally; the twelve years may well be the duration of Bhîma Saluki’s sycophancy. Vijayâditya was assisted in his wars by his son Viśñuvardhana V, who for that reason came to bear the surname Kali (War); Viśñuvardhana married a Râshtrakûta princess Śîlamâhâdêvî, probably of the Gujarât branch, but reigned for only about a year and a half after his father’s death.

**Vijayâditya III Guṇâga**

On the death of Kali Viśñuvardhana, or Viśñuvardhana V, after his short period as king, his eldest son Vijayâditya III, better known as Guṇâga Vijayâditya, ascended the throne in A.D. 849 and ruled the kingdom for forty-four years. He had several titles of which Guṇâke-nallâta (the lover of excellence or virtue), Parachakra-Râma (Râma amid the circle of his enemies), Tripura-martya-maheśvara (the mortal maheśvara to the three cities), and Vallabha (the lord) are the most important. Three well-defined stages are clearly noticeable in the history of his reign: (1) It began with a short period of victory and expansion; (2) then followed a disastrous defeat and prolonged subjection to foreign rule; and (3) the end was again a period of brilliant military victories leading to the assumption of imperial authority over the whole of the Deccan.

As soon as he had ascended the throne, Vijayâditya III had to send an expedition against the Bôyas-Koṭṭams—the districts inhabited by the Bôyas in the south. The Bôyas were a race of hardy warriors who occupied the northern marches of the Pallava kingdom corresponding to the present Nellore District, and they offered stubborn resistance to the advance of the Châlukyan arms in the south. Though their country appears to have been overrun and brought within the pale of the Eastern Châlukya territory some time before the accession of Guṇâga Vijayâditya, their power was not completely broken. The death of Viśñuvardhana V, and the accession of his youthful son, inspired them with fresh hope of regaining their freedom. They refused to obey his orders and attempted to assert their independence.

Vijayâditya III, who was a strong and powerful monarch, could not brook this defiance of his authority. He resolved to put down the rebellion with a stern hand and to chastise the Bôyas for their insolence. He dispatched an army under Paṇḍaranga, the son of Kaḍeyarâja, with instructions to demolish the strongholds of the Bôyas and to subjugate their country. Two important

¹ *ARE*, 1912, ii, 62; 1918, ii, 4 ff.; *SII*, i, 39.
forts, Kaṭṭem and Nellore, where the rebels had concentrated their forces, are mentioned in this connexion. The hand of the invader fell heavily on both. Paṇḍaranga dismantled the former and reduced the latter to ashes. He advanced triumphantly to the frontier of Tonḍaimandalam and halted on the shore of the Pulicat lake, where he founded a new township called Paṇḍarangam and built a temple in honour of Śiva, Paṇḍaranga Maheśvara, both named after himself.\(^1\)

Paṇḍaranga’s expedition against the Bōya-Koṭṭams was not a mere military raid. It resulted in the permanent annexation of the south-eastern Telugu country which had probably been until that time a sīf of the Pallavas. The kingdom of Vengi increased in extent; and Paṇḍaranga, on whom the king seems to have bestowed the governorship of the conquered territory, established himself at Kandukur in the Nellore District, which he is said to have made as famous as Bezwada, the Eastern Chāḷukya capital.\(^2\)

Vijayāditya was next involved in a war with a chief called Rāhana; nothing is known about the identity of this individual or the country over which he bore sway. Paṇḍaranga worsted him in battle, and won a great victory for his master.\(^3\)

The series of victories which marked the opening years of Vijayāditya’s reign was, however, broken by a serious reverse. Although Vijayāditya was, through his mother Śīlamahādēvi, the daughter of Indravallabha, the younger brother of Govinda III and a scion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa royal family, he yet came into conflict with his cousin Amoghavarsha I some time subsequent to his victory over Rāhana. The circumstances leading up to the war are not clearly known. Flushed with victory over the Bōyas and Rāhana, Vijayāditya attacked and destroyed Stambhapuri, the modern Cumbum in the Kurnool District, which was then included in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions. This inroad naturally provoked reprisals. Amoghavarsha sent an expedition to Vengi to chastise Vijayāditya and reduce him to subjection. The two armies met at Vingāvalli, a village which probably stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cumbum, and a sanguinary battle took place. The Eastern Chāḷukya forces sustained a crushing defeat, and Vijayāditya was obliged to submit to Amoghavarsha I and to acknowledge him as his liege and sovereign.\(^4\)

Vijayāditya could not easily shake off the Rāṣṭrakūṭa yoke thus imposed on him, and it was not until the death of Amoghavarsha I about A.D. 880 that he was able to regain his independence. His loss of independence and submission to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa authority did not, however, completely curtail his military activity. He did not embark, it is true, on any war on his own account, but he joined the forces of his overlord and rendered him valuable service against the rebellions of the feudatories who attempted to overthrow his power. Nitimārga Permānādi, the Western Ganga king of Talakāḍ,
stirred up a rebellion in Gangavādi about A.D. 866 and asserted his indepen-
dence. Several of the Rāśhrakūṭa feudatories, especially the Pallava chiefs of
Nolambavādi, following his example, repudiated the imperial authority and
made common cause with him. The situation became so formidable that
Amoghavarsha was obliged to send Bankeya Sellaketana, the commander of
the imperial mūlabala, to the south with all the forces available. Though
Bankeya was successful in the war against the rebels, and won several
victories over them, he was recalled by his master before he could finish off
the campaign and was dispatched to the north, owing to a rising in Lāṭa in
which the crown prince Krishṇa, the future Krishṇa II, was somehow
involved. Amoghavarsha did not, however, allow the Ganga king and his
confederates to carry on their rebellion unchecked. He ordered Vijayāditya III
to proceed to Gangavādi with his army to suppress the rebels and restore the
imperial authority. Vijayāditya set out accordingly and marched at the head
of his forces towards Gangavādi. When he arrived at the frontiers of Nolamba-
vādi which lay on his route, he found that his path was barred by Mangi
(Nolambādhirāja I), the king of the Nolambas and the ally of Nitimārga
Permāṇaḍi. A fierce engagement took place in which the Eastern Chālukya
army gained a complete victory thanks to the counsels of Vinayaḍi Śarman,
Vijayāditya’s military adviser. Mangi was slain in the fight, and the way being
thus freed from obstacles, Vijayāditya advanced upon Gangavādi and inflicted
a severe defeat on the Ganga army which had taken refuge on the lofty sum-
mit of the Gangākūṭa, i.e. the Śivaganga hill in the Nelamangala taluk of
the present Bangalore District in Mysore State. The back of the Ganga
rebellion was thus broken, and Nitimārga Permānaḍi was obliged to make
peace with Amoghavarsha I.

The death of Amoghavarsha I, which took place about A.D. 880, gave an
excellent opportunity to Vijayāditya III to repudiate the Rāśhrakūṭa supre-
macy and reassert his independence. Krishṇa II, who ascended the Rāśhrakū-
ta throne on the death of his father, was not popular and it is not unlikely
that owing to his unfilial conduct he had failed to secure the allegiance of his
sāmantas, especially those administering the southern provinces of his king-
dom. In any case it would seem clear that Krishṇa II had to depend upon the
aid of the Chedi king Sankila (Śankaraṇaṇa) throughout his struggle with
Vijayāditya III.

The Dharmavaram epigraph which describes the wars waged by Pānḍa-
ranga in the service of his king and master implies that Vijayāditya was
engaged in a war with Krishṇa II on two different occasions. Krishṇa II
accompanied by his ally and brother-in-law Sankila (Śankaraṇaṇa) above
mentioned, the Chedi ruler of Dāhala, seems to have made an attack upon
Vijayāditya, but having sustained a defeat in the battle, he had to leave his
dominions, and seek safety in the court of his ally at Kiraṇapura in distant

1 EI, vi, 50-51.
2 EI, ix, 47.
Dāhala. Vijayāditya, greatly encouraged by his victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces, next planned an expedition against Dāhala and dispatched it under the command of his able general Paṇḍaranga. The details of this campaign and the route followed by the Eastern Chāḷukya forces are not, it is true, fully recorded; but with the help of fragments of information which occur sporadically in the Eastern Chāḷukya inscriptions it is not impossible to trace the probable course of their march and to reconstruct the history of the campaign.¹ The expedition set out most probably from Vengi and marched through Kalinga towards the passes in the Eastern Ghats leading to Southern Kosala and the central Indian plateau. The advance of Vijayāditya's army was not, however, unobstructed. Several princes, mostly the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Chedi monarchs whose territories lay along Paṇḍaranga's route, took up arms against him and impeded the progress of the expedition; but the military genius of Paṇḍaranga triumphed over all his enemies and surmounted every obstacle. The kings of Kalinga and Kosala and the Chāḷukya chief of Vemulavāḍa in the north of Telengana, who attempted to oppose his advance and turn back the invasion, were worsted in the field and had to yield place to him and allow him to march forward. He arrived at last in the Chedi dominions, devastated Dāhala and Dalenāḍ, defeated Krishna and Sankila in battle, and set fire to Kiraṇapura and Achalapura, the principal cities of the Dāhala kingdom. Vijayāditya's victory was complete, and Krishna, unable to offer further resistance, laid down his arms and sued for peace. Vijayāditya, who did not entertain any territorial ambitions at this point, satisfied himself by the assertion of his supremacy. He took over from the vanquished monarch the pāli banner, the symbols of the rivers Gāṅgā and Yamunā which constituted the insignia of Rāṣṭrakūṭa imperialism, assumed the title Vallabha, and proclaimed himself the lord paramount of the entire Dakshināpatha together with the Trikalinga country. Krishna II met him in person, rendered him homage as a vassal and propitiated him by offering worship to his arms. Vijayāditya, who was evidently pleased with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa for the unique honour which he had thus shown him, restored his kingdom to him and returned to Vengi in great triumph.

The Eastern Chāḷukya inscriptions attribute to Vijayāditya III victories over several southern kings beside those mentioned already. The Dharmavaram epigraph, for instance, alludes to the protection which his general Paṇḍaranga offered to a Chola king who had been reduced to helplessness by an unnamed invader, and the Sataluru grant refers to his wars with the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas. The circumstances under which Vijayāditya came into conflict with the rulers of the south are nowhere recorded; nor has any account of the incidents of his campaigns against them come down to us.

Vijayāditya III was the greatest monarch who ever sat upon the throne of

¹ Bāhrāti, v (i), 619; JT'A, xi, 241; iii, 407; CP, no. 15 of 1917–18; JAHRS, xi, 80 ff. Madras Govt. Or. MSS. Library, 15–6–26, i, 348–35.
Vengi. During his reign the Eastern Chālukya kingdom extended from the Mahendragiri in the north to the Pulicat lake in the south. He was a great warrior, and though for a time he was constrained to submit to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa authority, he recovered his power soon after the death of Amoghavarsha I, and turned the tables so completely on Krishna II that the latter was compelled to acknowledge him as his overlord and the emperor of Dakshināpatha, and to render him homage. Some of the ancestors of Vijayāditya III, especially his grandfather Narendramārgarāja, had no doubt waged war relentlessly on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and even won victories over them, but none had ever succeeded in reducing them to submission and exacting from them tribute and homage as Guṇaga did. The success of Vijayāditya must be attributed to a great extent to the skill and ability of the Brāhman officers in his service, especially the celebrated general Paṇḍaranga, the greatest military genius of the age. This commander distinguished himself early in the reign during the southern campaign against the Bōyas, and took a prominent part in defeating the enemies of the Chola and restoring him to his kingdom. The most brilliant achievement of his career, however, was the Dāhala campaign, in the course of which he inflicted defeat after defeat on his enemies and reduced the mightiest monarch of the Deccan to abject submission.

After a long reign of forty-four years Vijayāditya III breathed his last in A.D. 892. He had no sons, and his younger brother Vikramāditya whom he had chosen as the heir-apparent predeceased him, leaving behind a son Bhīma to whom the crown passed on the death of his uncle.

**Chālukya Bhīma I**

On the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, his nephew Chālukya Bhīma I succeeded him as we have just said. His right to the throne was, however, questioned by his dāyādās (agnates), especially by his paternal uncle Yuddhamalla I, who, too weak to seize power by their own efforts, sought and obtained the help of the hereditary foe of their family, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishña II. Krishña, who was smarting under the humiliation of his recent defeats at the hands of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, eagerly seized the opportunity and invaded Vengi with a large force even before Bhīma could celebrate his coronation.1 The details of the invasion are not fully recorded. However, two or three incidents stand out prominently: (1) the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at the outset carried everything before them, defeated the Eastern Chālukya army, and occupied the greater part of the kingdom; (2) in one of the engagements fought in the heart of the Vengi country Chālukya Bhīma I was himself taken prisoner. The inscriptions of the Chālukya chiefs of Vēmulavāḍa and the Vikramārjuna Vijaya of Pampa clearly state that Baddegā, who was a contemporary and subordinate of Krishña II, captured Bhīma.2 Chālukya

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1 Telingana inscriptions, OI, no. 12.
2 Journ. of the Madras University, xv, 114–16.
Bhīma I, however, soon regained his freedom, though it is not possible to state how he eluded his captor; (3) the success of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was not permanent. Though Krishṇa II had the dāyādas of Chālukya Bhīma I on his side, the sāmantas and the hereditary servants of the Eastern Chālukya royal family rallied under Kusumāyudha I, the chief of the Chālukyas of Muddogonḍa, to the aid of Chālukya Bhīma I, and having driven out Krishṇa II and his allies from the kingdom, restored it to its lawful master. When the country was thus cleared of the invaders, and Chālukya Bhīma I was firmly established on his ancestral throne, he celebrated his coronation ceremony on Mesha-Chaitra, ba 2 of Śaka 814, corresponding to 14 April A.D. 892, and assumed the official name of Vishnuvardhana.

Krishṇa II did not, however, give up his designs upon the Eastern Chālukya dominions. A few years later he sent another expedition under his intrepid general Daṇḍena Guṇḍaya, comprising forces from Karṇāta and Lāṭa. The expedition penetrated into the heart of the kingdom and reached the outskirts of the capital of Vengi. The Chālukya army under Irimarti-gonḍa, the king’s brave son and heir-apparent, opposed them near Nira-vaddapura, the modern Nidadavolu, in the East Godavari District, and inflicted a defeat on them. In another engagement near Peru-Vangūru-grāma (Peda-Vanguru in the Ellore taluk of the Western Godavari District) Daṇḍena Guṇḍaya was killed, and the Karṇāta and Lāṭa forces were scattered. Vengi had once again been saved from foreign domination; but the valiant prince who led the Chālukya forces to battle also perished in the fight, leaving his disconsolate father to gather the fruits of victory alone.1

The remaining years of the reign of Chālukya Bhīma I were uneventful. He was devoted to the worship of Śiva and built temples in honour of the god at Chālukya-Bhīmavaram and Drākshāram in the Eastern Godavari District.2 Chālukya Bhīma ruled for thirty years and died in A.D. 921, leaving the kingdom to Vijayāditya IV, the eldest of his surviving sons.

**Vijayāditya IV**

Vijayāditya IV, surnamed Kollabhi-gonḍa, ruled only for a period of six months. Short as it was, however, his reign was not uneventful. As soon as he ascended the throne he found it necessary to lead an expedition into Kalinga. The circumstances in which he was thus obliged to invade Kalinga are unknown to us. Very probably the Eastern Gangas under their energetic king Vajrahaasta III had repudiated the Eastern Chālukya supremacy and asserted their independence. However that may have been, we know that Kollabhi-gonḍa penetrated into Kalinga at the head of his army and overthrew the enemy who had opposed him near the city of Viraja.3 The victory, however, was transformed into a disaster owing to Vijayāditya’s death either

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1 *ARE*, 1914, pt. ii, para. 6.
2 *EI*, iv, 240; *JTA*, xi, 251.
3 *ARE*, 1917, pt. ii, para. 26; 1918, pt. ii, para. 5.
in the battle itself or immediately afterwards. The army, deprived of its leader, had to turn back, and the nobles and officers hastened homewards to take part in the anticipated war of succession.

The death of Vijayāḍitya IV marks the beginning of a period of struggles for the supreme power and of civil war. Kings followed one another in a rapid and bewildering series. Within the short space of a dozen years Vengi passed in turn under the rule of no fewer than six monarchs, none of whom had either the strength or the ability to dominate and control the government. The situation was further aggravated by the appearance of foreign invaders who found it convenient thus to profit by the disturbed conditions.

Amma I

Amma I Rājamaṇḍhra, the son of Vijayāḍitya IV, first proclaimed himself king after the death of his father. His right to rule the kingdom was, however, disputed by his paternal uncle Vikramāditya II who rebelled against his nephew and made a bid for the throne. Amma’s feudatory relatives thereupon renounced their allegiance to him and obtained help from the Rāśṭra-kūṭa king Indra III. The hereditary forces which were normally available for the service of the family also deserted Amma and made common cause with the enemy. The situation was indeed serious. Amma I, however, was a brave prince. He faced his enemies boldly and with the help of a few officers who remained faithful to him he mastered his difficulties and established himself firmly on the throne. Amma I ruled the kingdom for seven years and died in the fullness of his power in A.D. 927. It is sometimes stated that he laid the foundations on the banks of the Godavari of a new city called after him Rājamahendrapura (Rajahmandry) which became the capital of Vengi under his successors; but the evidence available in support of this view is but meagre, and there is in fact no real proof that he ever transferred the headquarters of his government from the old capital.

Short Reigns

Amma I was succeeded by his young son Vijayāḍitya V referred to frequently in the Eastern Chāḷukya inscriptions as Beta or Kaṇṭhikā Vijayāḍitya. A mere lad at the time of his succession, Beta was not equal to the task of governing the kingdom in that turbulent age. Within a fortnight of his coronation he was ousted from the throne and was compelled to take refuge in the fort of Pithāpura, where he became the founder of a local dynasty. Tāla I, son of Yuddhamalla I, seized the kingdom, probably with the help of the Rāśṭra-kūṭas. He was not, however, destined to rule long. Scarcely had a month elapsed when Vikramāditya II, who had been struggling to reach the throne during the previous eight years, attacked him and put him

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1 *SII*, i, nos. 36, 38.
2 *JAHRS*, iii, 144-59.
to death.\footnote{EI, xxv, 108; ix, 55.} This Vikramāditya was an energetic prince. During the brief period of eleven months for which he ruled the kingdom, he recovered Trikalinga, which had been lost after the death of Chālukya Bhīma I.\footnote{SII, i, no. 37, p. 45.} At the end of that time he was assassinated, according to the Digumāṛu grant, the only record which alludes to the incident, by Bhīma, one of the sons of Amma I. Bhīma ruled the kingdom for eight months, and was then overthrown in his turn by Yuddhamalla II, the son of Tāla I.

**Yuddhamalla II**

The success of Yuddhamalla II was in no small measure due to the help which he received from the Rāshtrakūṭa court. Indra III, who was anxious to bring Vengi within the pale of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, took advantage of the disorderly state of affairs obtaining in the country and sent a large army to help Yuddhamalla II whose cause he pretended to espouse. With the help of these forces, Yuddhamalla succeeded in displacing Bhīma and seizing the kingdom. He proclaimed himself king and assumed the reins of government. He had, however, very little real power. A large part of the kingdom was occupied by Rāshtrakūta officers and nobles who paid no regard to his authority. Many of his dāyādas who had designs upon the throne were still at large, and were hatching plots to compass his ruin. Though he managed to maintain his position for seven years, he enjoyed no peace. The way in which the struggle for power between him and his rivals threw the country into confusion and brought misery on the people is briefly but clearly indicated in the contemporary records. On the death of Vikramāditya II, according to one inscription, the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, viz. Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtanda, and Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, were fighting for supremacy, and oppressing the subjects like Rākhasas.\footnote{ARE, 1917, ii, para. 24.} The feudatory Śabara chiefs, the commanders of Vallabha (i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa) and others, states another, apportioned the territory among themselves and 'held it for seven years'.

**Chālukya Bhīma II**

The country was rescued from this state of civil war and anarchy by Chālukya Bhīma II Rājamārtanda, a son of Vijayāditya IV by his wife, Melāmbā, and a half-brother of Amma I. After a bitter conflict lasting for five years, he succeeded in expelling the Rāshtrakūṭas from his native land and restoring peace and order in the realm. He was greatly helped in this contest by the outbreak of a dynastic revolution in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. Govinda IV, who had ascended the throne of Mānyakhēṭa in A.D. 930, incurred the displeasure of a section of the nobility of the realm; the malcontents were headed by Govinda’s paternal uncle Baddega who together with his ambitious son Kannara had been banished by Govinda from his
dominions. Baddega and Kannara retired to the court of the Haihaya king, Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri, and thence instigated the Chālukya chiefs of Vemulavāda and Mudugonda to rise up in revolt against their sovereign. Govinda IV sent an army to put down the rebels, but since it could not cope with the situation the rebellion spread and the imperial authority suffered an eclipse. Chālukya Bhīma II Rājamārtandā seized his opportunity, and making common cause with the rebels he struck a blow to regain his independence as ruler of his ancestral kingdom. The attempts of Govinda IV to keep his hold upon Vengi were of no avail; his forces suffered defeat, and his protégé Yuddhamalla II was obliged to seek safety in flight. The defeat of the Rāshtrakūṭa forces and the consequent outbreak of disturbances within the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions left Chālukya Bhīma II free to deal sternly with his rival kinsmen, and to establish his authority securely in the kingdom. When the country had been completely liberated, and his rivals were exterminated, he proclaimed himself king in A.D. 934–5 and celebrated his coronation.¹ Though Chālukya Bhīma II ruled for twelve years, nothing is known about the events of his reign. He married two wives, Ûrjapā or Aṅkidevi of the Eastern Ganga family and Lōkāmbā of unknown parentage, who each gave him a son, the boys being named Dānārṇava and Amma respectively.²

Amma II

Chālukya Bhīma II was succeeded by his second son Amma II, then a child of twelve years old, Dānārṇava, his older half-brother, being superseded. How this came about cannot be certainly ascertained. Amma II, unlike his elder brother, was born in the purple, and that was most probably the reason why he was selected to rule the kingdom. Though Dānārṇava appears to have acquiesced in this arrangement, Amma II was not left in undisturbed possession of his dominions. Soon after his coronation in A.D. 945 he was attacked by Bādapa and Tāla II, sons of Yuddhamalla II, who had taken refuge after the death of their father at the Rāshtrakūṭa court. The accession of young Amma II to the throne, and the defection of some principal nobles of the kingdom, encouraged them to make an attempt to regain their patrimony. They enlisted the support of Krishna III and invaded Vengi in force. Amma II was helpless; his supporters were weak, and the nobles turned hostile and deserted to the enemy. Unable to offer any resistance, he abandoned the struggle and fled from the country. Bādapa seized the empty throne, and having proclaimed himself king he assumed the official name of Vijayāditya. Curiously enough, the Eastern Chālukya records are silent about the intervention of Bādapa and his younger brother and their rule over Vengi. Their own inscriptions,³ however, leave no room for doubt that they ousted Amma II from the throne, and ruled the kingdom for a while, though of the dura-

¹ EI, xii, 249; ix, 47. ² JAHRS, xi, 80–88, CP, i of 1916–17. ³ EI, xix, 137; CP, no. 6 of 1938–9 (unpublished); EI, xix, 148.
tion of their rule and the extent of their power we have no definite information. Bādapa died while in full possession of the throne and was succeeded by his younger brother, Tāḷa II, who assumed the name of Vishṇuvardhana on becoming king. The rule of Tāḷa II did not last long; it came to an abrupt end on the return of Amma II from exile. The nobles who had formerly been instrumental in ousting Amma now changed their attitude towards him and favoured his return. Nṛpakāma, the chief of Kolanu, gave him one of his daughters in marriage and warmly espoused his cause. Amma, thus assured of the support of the nobles, returned to Vengi, slew Tāḷa II in battle and took possession of the kingdom.

The position of Amma II was not, however, quite secure. Though he was allowed to rule undisturbed for some time, he became involved once again in a war with the Rāṣṭrakūtas in A.D. 956 and was compelled to flee the country a second time and to seek safety in exile. Kṛishṇa III was an ambitious monarch, and he cherished the desire of bringing the whole of South India under his control. To realize this ambition he invaded the Tamil country in A.D. 949–50, defeated the Chōla king Parāntaka in the battle of Takkōlam, sacked the cities of Kāṇchi and Tāḷḷāvūr, and annexed the whole of Tondaimandalam to his dominions. He next turned his attention to Vengi and sent an army to reduce it to subjection. He entered at the same time into alliance with Amma’s elder brother Dānāṛnava, whom he won over to his side by promising to place him upon the throne. Unable to withstand the combined attack of Dānāṛnava and Kṛishṇa III, Amma II fled from the kingdom and took refuge in Kalinga. Kṛishṇa III was true to his promise. He appointed Dānāṛnava as the ruler of Vengi and entrusted to him the administration of his ancestral territory.

It is not known how long Dānāṛnava remained in power. Some time after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūta armies, Amma II returned from exile, took back the kingdom from his half-brother and ruled it in peace until A.D. 970. His reign did not, however, end without disturbance. Dānāṛnava, who had never abandoned his designs on the throne, rebelled against him, and with the help probably of Mallana and Gondiya of the Mudugonda family slew Amma II in battle and took possession of the kingdom.¹

Dānāṛnava

The reign of Dānāṛnava lasted only for a short period of three years, during which he appears to have been constantly at war with his enemies, especially the Telugu Chōḍa chief, Jāṭā Chōḍa Bhīma, of Pedaḷallu in the modern Kurnool District. The circumstances in which Dānāṛnava came into conflict with this nobleman are not quite clear. Bhīma was, however, most probably a grandson of Rāja-Bhīma or Chāḷukya Bhīma II through his mother, and a brother-in-law (wife’s brother) of Amma II. To avenge the death of Amma, then, he appears to have attacked Dānāṛnava and slain him in battle in A.D. 973.

¹ Elliot’s Collection, Madras Government Or. MSS. Library, 15–6–26, pp. 34–8.
II
THE TELUGU CHŌDA INTERREGNUM
AND THE POST-RESTORATION PERIOD

The death of Dānārṇava marks an important stage in the history of the Eastern Chālukjyas. Their rule was definitely overthrown for the first time since the establishment of their family in Vengi by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana in the first half of the seventh century A.D. There had no doubt been civil wars in the past, and the country had even been occupied by foreign invaders on several occasions; but a Chālukya had always remained upon the throne and ruled the country either independently or in subordination to some foreign power. After the death of Dānārṇava, however, his sons were driven into exile and the empire of the Chālukjyas came to an end. A member of the alien Telugu Chōda family from the land beyond their frontier seized their throne and established himself firmly in their ancestral kingdom.

Jaṭā Chōda Bhima ruled Vengi for twenty-seven years from A.D. 973 to 1000, a period which is usually described in the later Eastern Chālukjya inscriptions as an interregnum. Bhima compares himself, in the only record of his reign which has yet come to light, with Guṇaga Vijayāditya, from whom he proudly traces his descent. The comparison is not entirely without significance. None among the kings of Vengi excepting Guṇaga either fought with so many enemies or bore sway over such an extensive territory as did Bhima. He defeated the kings of Anga, Kalinga, Vaidumba, and Drāvīḍa and in the heyday of his glory exercised authority over the entire coastal region from Mahendragiri to Conjeevaram and from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Karnatak.

Bhima also invaded Tonḍaimandalam in the south in A.D. 1001. Though the reasons for this incursion are not definitely recorded, yet a study of the contemporary Chōla and Eastern Chālukjya inscriptions makes it quite clear that it was provoked by the aggressive attitude of the Chōla king, Rājarāja I, who in pursuance of imperialistic ambitions espoused the cause of the sons of Dānārṇava, and having given his daughter Kundavai in marriage to Vimalāditya, the younger of the two princes, invaded Vengi in A.D. 999-1000 with the object of restoring the elder brother Saktivarman I to his ancestral throne. Although the inscriptions dated in Rājarāja’s 14th regnal year (A.D. 999-1000) state clearly that he conquered Vengi, he was apparently in reality not completely successful. Jaṭā Chōda Bhima was a formidable enemy.

1 El, xxi, 32.
supported by powerful allies. He was not so easily overthrown as the Chōla inscriptions would have us believe. The epigraphs of the reign of Śaktivarman I, which curiously enough are completely silent about the help given by the Chōlas, and attribute the entire credit of victory to his unrivalled valour, envisage, as a matter of fact, two or even three campaigns against Bhīma. (1) When Śaktivarman I, accompanied, of course, by his Chōla ally, advanced on Vengi, he was at first opposed by a famous warrior called Ėkavīra who was sent to arrest the progress of his invasion by Bhīma; but Ėkavīra, able and experienced as he was, proved unequal to the situation. He himself was killed in battle and his followers were dispersed. (2) Śaktivarman was next attacked by Mahārāja and Baddema, probably Telugu Chōḍa princes ruling in the south-western Telugu country; but they also suffered defeat and were obliged to seek safety in flight. These reverses appear to have brought home to Bhīma the seriousness of the danger threatening him. He was obliged to leave Vengi and to retire into the hills and jungles of Kalinga. Śaktivarman I occupied the country and proclaimed himself king. The Chōla army having effected their purpose returned to their native country, believing that he was now securely established on his ancestral throne. However, they were soon undeceived. Bhīma did not lose courage. He gathered fresh forces and proceeded at their head towards Vengi. It is not known whether Śaktivarman I adopted any measures to oppose him. If he really offered any resistance, it cannot have been effective, for Bhīma passed through Vengi triumphantly, and succeeded, as already stated, in penetrating into the heart of Toṇḍai-mandalam. He laid siege to Kāṇchi, the second city in the Chōla kingdom, and captured it in A.D. 1001–2. But he was not permitted to remain there long. Rājarāja I soon expelled him from his dominions, and devised means for his final defeat. Rājarāja invaded the coastal Telugu country once again in A.D. 1002–3, advanced as far north as Kalinga, and having slain Bhīma in battle established Śaktivarman I firmly in Vengi.

Śaktivarman I

The accession of Śaktivarman I opens a new epoch in the history of Vengi. Though he succeeded in regaining his ancestral kingdom he had had to pay a heavy price to attain his object. The alliance with the Chōla monarch through whose help he managed to overthrow his enemies involved the sacrifice of national independence. He had to submit to Chōla authority, and acknowledge the Chōla as his overlord and sovereign. Vengi ceased to be an independent kingdom and became a protectorate of the Chōla empire. The formation of the Chōla-Chālukya alliance and the establishment of Chōla ascendancy over the entire coastal Telugu country upset the political equilibrium of the Southern Deccan and plunged the land into interminable

dynastic wars. The Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi who succeeded to the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Deccan challenged the Chōḷa supremacy over the Telugu country of the maritime plain, and Vengi became the theatre of a long war which lasted, with a few brief intervals, for the next 135 years; the history of Vengi during this period is a history of this war; the Eastern Chāḷukyas, the rulers of the country, recede into the background, leaving the Chōḷas and the Kalyāṇi Chāḷukyas to dispute the field.

The rule of Śaktivarman I lasted, according to the later Eastern Chāḷukya charters, for a period of twelve years; but very little is known about the internal affairs of Vengi during his reign. His inscriptions, no doubt, furnish ample information about his struggle with Jaṭā Chōḷa Bhīma and his allies; but regarding the events which happened after his accession they have no evidence to offer. Śaktivarman’s reign was not, however, without disturbances. The first of the series of Karnataka invasions which was to devastation Vengi during the next century and a quarter occurred during the early years of his rule. Sattiga or Satyāṣraya, the son of Tailapa II, sent an army to invade the Eastern Chāḷukya kingdom in A.D. 1006, probably with the object of overthrowing the Chōḷa-Chāḷukya alliance and bringing the east coast under his control. Bayal Nambi, one of his generals, marching at the head of an army, entered Vengi from the south, reduced the forts of Dharanikōṭa and Yanamadala to ashes, and established himself at Chebrolu in the Guntur District. How Śaktivarman I faced the invasion it is not possible to ascertain, as we have no information on the subject from any sources. But his ally the Chōḷa emperor, Rājarāja I, appears to have bestirred himself and made plans for the protection of Vengi. The invasion of Karnataka by Rājendrā Chōḷa I in A.D. 1007 was probably undertaken to divert the attention of Satyāṣraya, and compel him to withdraw his army from Vengi for the defence of his realm. However this may be, we know that the Western Chāḷukya army retired from the east coast and that Śaktivarman was left in possession of his kingdom. During the last years of his reign he seems to have devoted his attention to the internal administration of his realm. He expelled people who were not favourably disposed towards him from their estates and bestowed these on his followers as a reward for their loyal service. Very little is known of his family life; it is not even known whether he was married. He died without issue in A.D. 1011, and was succeeded by his younger brother Vimalāditya.

**Vimalāditya**

Vimalāditya ascended the throne in A.D. 1011 and ruled until 1018 for a period of seven years. He was a colourless king, quite satisfied with the conditions of life as he found them. The only facts really known about him are his apparent conversion, either temporary or permanent, to Jainism, and his marriage with two princesses of the Chōḷa family. His first wife was Kundavai, the daughter of the great Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja I, by whom he had a son
named after his maternal grandfather Rājarāja; Rājarāja was appointed crown prince and succeeded his father on the throne of Vengi. Melama, the second wife of Vimalāditya, was probably a daughter of Jatā Chōda Bhīma, and by her he had also a son called Vijayāditya. Though he is styled like his predecessors a parama-brahmāya and parama-māheśvara in the Raṇasthipūṇḍi grant, Vimalāditya appears at one time to have favoured Jainism. An undated epigraph at Rāmatirtham in the Vizagapatam District refers to a Jaina monk named Trikālayogyi Siddhāntadeva as his guru, and it is not unlikely that Vimalāditya received religious instruction from him, possibly after first relinquishing the throne.

At the close of the reign of Vimalāditya in A.D. 1018, the succession to the throne was in dispute. Vijayāditya, his son by Melama, seized power with the help of Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla, king of Kalyāṇī, and kept his brother Rājarāja out of the kingdom. Rājarāja appealed to his maternal uncle and overlord the Chola emperor, Rājendra Chōla, for help, and the latter promptly dispatched forces to his aid. To divert the attention of Jayasimha II, and prevent him from sending effective help to Vijayāditya, he sent against Raṭṭapāḍi a powerful army which devastated the country and compelled him to take steps for the defence of his kingdom. At the same time Rājendra ordered his general Śōlijavaraṇa to march at the head of another army into Vengi and restore to his nephew his ancestral kingdom. Śōlijavaraṇa advanced, accordingly, with his forces into Vengi, defeated Vijayāditya and his allies in several battles, took possession of the country on behalf of Rājarāja, and proceeded afterwards at the command of his master on a grand military expedition to the Gangetic valley. On the departure of the Chōla army from their country, the Utkalas whom Śōlijavaraṇa had subdued rose again, probably incited by Jayasimha II, and threatened the line of communications. To put down the Utkalas and protect the rear of his army campaigning in the Gangetic valley, Rājendra Chōla I marched with his troops towards the north and arrived on the banks of the Godavari where he established himself in a fortified camp. He sent troops to chastise the Utkalas and meanwhile awaited the arrival of his general from the Gangetic valley. During his sojourn on the banks of the Godavari he enthroned his nephew Rājarāja as the ruler of Vengi, celebrated the latter’s coronation on 16 August A.D. 1022, and returned home with the victorious army from the north which had joined him soon afterwards.

Rājarāja Narendra

The reign of Rājarāja, which had thus begun inauspiciously with a civil war, was throughout a period of continuous political unrest. During his long rule

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1 831 of 1917, SII, ix (6), 403.
2 See the chapter on Western Chāḻukyas of Kalyāṇī for detailed treatment of events more summarily described here, pp. 327ff.
3 Calas (second edn.), 204-11.
of forty-one years he was constantly beset with difficulties and had more than once to flee the country, unable to withstand the opposition of his enemies. His half-brother Vijayāditya, though vanquished in fight, never gave up his designs upon the throne, and was unceasing in his efforts to bring about the downfall of his rival. The first few years of Rājarāja’s reign after his coronation appear to have been peaceful; but he became involved once again about A.D. 1030 in a struggle with Vijayāditya who drove him out of the kingdom and crowned himself king on 27 June A.D. 1031, assuming the official name of Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya. The circumstances under which Vijayāditya managed to oust his brother and seize the throne are shrouded in mystery. He had probably received help from the Western Chālukya court, where he later found asylum. How long after his coronation Vijayāditya managed to keep himself in power, it is not possible to discover; but an inscription at Bhimavaram in the Cocanada tāluk of the East Godavari district which is dated in Rājarāja’s 16th regnal year (A.D. 1035) shows clearly that some time before that year he returned from exile and recovered his kingdom.

But Rājarāja was not allowed to remain long in undisturbed possession of his realm. In the last years of the reign of Rājendra Chōla, about the year A.D. 1042, the Western Chālukyas invaded Vengi. The circumstances under which this invasion took place are not quite clear, but we may suppose that the new ruler of Kalyāṇi, Somēśvara I, had begun to pursue an aggressive policy. The news of this Western Chālukya invasion quickly reached the Chōla capital Gangāpuri. Rājarāja very probably went in person to his uncle’s court to seek help. Rājendra was then too old to take the field himself, and his sons were in the extreme south of his dominions with the greater part of the army. Nevertheless, he gathered together such forces as were available and dispatched them to Vengi under his Brāhmaṇ general Rājarāja Brahmacahārāja, accompanied by two other commanders, Uttama Chōda Milādudaiyān and Uttama Chōda Chōdakōn. The Chōla army soon reached Vengi and immediately engaged the enemy. A sanguinary battle took place at Kalidindi in the neighbourhood of the city of Vengi in which the commanding officers on both sides perished. The issue of the battle was indecisive.

There was perhaps a lull in the warfare after the battle of Kalidindi, and during this time Rājendra Chōla died, being succeeded by Rājadhirāja I. Rājadhīrāja I, who was eager to restore the Chōla power over Vengi to its former absolute state, led an expedition into the coastal Telugu country as soon as he was firmly established as supreme ruler of the Chōla empire. Inscriptions dated in his 27th regnal year (A.D. 1045) refer for the first time to the earliest of his wars with Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I. It is there stated that Rājadhirāja advanced at the head of his army, slew the Western Chālukya

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2 482 K of 1893, SII, v, no. 82.
3 CP, no. 5 of 1937–8; ARE, 1937–8, pt. ii, para. 14; Bhārati, xx, 439.
commanders, Gandappayyayan and Gangādhara, in a battle fought at Dhanāṇḍa (Dhāṇyakāṭaka) on the Kṛṣṇa, and compelled Vīkki (Vikrāmādiyā) and Viḷayādiyā (the rival and half-brother of Rājarāja) to retreat in disorder. He then penetrated into the Western Chālukya dominions and set fire to the important fort of Kolāppākai (Kulpak in the Hyderabad State) which stood on the frontier between the territories of Kalyāṇī and Vengi.

This victorious expedition of Rājādhirāja must have cleared the Western Chālukya armies from Vengi and enabled Rājarāja to reaffirm his power over the entire kingdom. The relief, however, was only temporary, for the Western Chālukyas soon reappeared on the scene and compelled him to submit to their authority. Several Western Chālukya records of the time refer to Āhavamalla Sōmeśvara’s rule over Vengi. In an inscription dated A.D. 1047 he is said to have subdued the kings of Vengi and Kalinga; his eldest son Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmeśvara II is spoken of as Vengipuravarēśvara in a new series of records ranging in date from A.D. 1049 to 1054, and Kuppama, the daughter of Nārāyaṇaḥaṭṭa, one of his pradhānis resident in the Eastern Chālukya court, makes a gift in A.D. 1055–6 to the temple of Śiva at Drākṣārāma in the East Godavari District. This record is corroborated by the evidence of the Kanyākumāri and Chārā inscriptions of Vīrārājendra in which it is explicitly stated that ‘the countries of Vengi and Kalinga which had been in the possession of his family, being abandoned by his two elder brothers, were in the occupation of the enemy.’ It is evident that Vengi and Kalinga were lost by the Chōlas during the reign of Rājādhirāja I, and that they passed into the hands of the Chālukyas who held them almost up to the closing years of Vīrārājendra’s reign. Nevertheless Rājarāja was not driven from his kingdom, but continued to rule, excepting perhaps for a short interval of two or three years, until the end of his reign in A.D. 1061. He probably left his kingdom for a little while immediately after the Western Chālukya conquest and repaired to the Chōla court in search of help; but being unsuccessful in his mission, he appears to have gone back to Vengi and made peace with the Western Chālukyas. It is difficult to understand why Rājādhirāja suddenly lost interest in the affairs of Vengi and thus allowed that country to fall an easy prey to the hereditary enemy of his family. He was no doubt engaged in intermittent warfare with the Western Chālukyas during the remaining years of his reign, but it is yet strange that he never seems to have made any attempt to re-establish his authority in the Telugu country.

1 BK, xi, pt. i, no. 84; EL, xvi, no. 9, pp. 53–7; BK, xi, pt. i, no. 90. 2 III, iv, no. 1010. 3 EL, xxv, 262. 4 183 of 1895; EL, iv, 500; 663 of 1920, 468 of 1893, 671 of 1920. 5 An epigraph in the Śiva shrine at Tiruvaiyār in the Tanjore Dt. (221 of 1894; III, v, 520) refers to two gifts of money by him to the temple in the 31st (A.D. 1049), and 32nd (A.D. 1050) regnal years of Rājādhirāja I. Such gifts to distant temples are usually made on the occasion of the visit of the donors.
Rājarāja reconciled himself to the new situation, and accepted the Western Chālukyas instead of the Chōlas as his overlords. He appears to have maintained friendly relations with the court of Kalyāṇi. Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, one of the Pradhānis of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, was a permanent resident in his capital. He was a distinguished scholar and he assisted Rājarāja’s court poet and purohit Nannaya Bhaṭṭa in the composition of his Telugu Mahābhārata, for which the king rewarded him by the grant of the village of Nandampuṇḍi as agrahāra in A.D. 1051.

The reign of Rājarāja came to an end with his death in A.D. 1061. Vijayāditya thereupon seized the throne and established himself permanently in the kingdom. Vijayāditya, it may be noted, was a feudatory vassal of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, whom he had served loyally for several years since the time of his accession. He would obviously not have made any attempt to seize Vengi without the consent of his suzerain, and the death of Rājarāja offered thus another opportunity to the Kalyāṇi court of strengthening its hold on Vengi.

During his long reign of forty-one years Rājarāja rarely enjoyed peace. The sinister designs of his half-brother coupled with the conflicting ambitions of the rival imperial powers converted his fertile kingdom into a cockpit. Rājarāja was indeed the helpless victim of a capricious fate. He lost and regained his kingdom only to lose it finally; he became the dependent by turns of the Chōlas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi; and he perhaps ended his long and chequered career in exile and relative obscurity. Though subjected to the buffets of misfortune, he seems to have borne his lot with patient resignation, and to have submitted to the inevitable when it proved no longer possible for him to hold his own. Rājarāja was an enlightened and tolerant monarch. Though himself ardently devoted to the worship of Śiva, he yet extended his patronage to the followers of all sects. He was fond of learning, and encouraged poets and scholars with munificent gifts. At his instance his chief court poet Nannaya Bhaṭṭa began to compose the Āndhra Mahābhārata based on Vyāsa’s great epic, which he, however, left incomplete owing perhaps to the sudden termination of his master’s reign and the consequent loss of his patronage.

Rājarāja married his cousin Ammangai, the daughter of his maternal uncle Rājendra Chōla I, and had by her a son, Rājendra, named after the great Chōla emperor.

Śaktivarman II

Though Vijayāditya seized the throne, he did not immediately begin to rule the kingdom. He placed on the throne his only son Śaktivarman II whom he loved devotedly, and himself retired into the background. But

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1 183 of 1895; SII, iv, no. 1010.
2 CP, 8 of 1924-5; JAHR, ix, pt. i, pp. 24 ff.
his paternal affection for Śaktivarman was perhaps not the only reason for this procedure. The services of Vijayāditya were required elsewhere. The Chōlas were persistently attacking Nolambavāḍi, which guarded the frontiers of Raṭṭapāḍi, the homeland of the Western Chāḻukyas, and it was necessary that its defence should be entrusted to capable hands. Vijayāditya was a veteran warrior and an experienced general, and Āhavamalla had appointed him as the governor of Nolambavāḍi and charged him with the task of organizing the defence of the District.

Śaktivarman II ruled only for a short time. His reign, according to the Ryāli copper plates, lasted for but one year, at the end of which he is said to have gone to heaven like Abhimanyu, the heroic son of Arjuna, who lost his life while fighting against heavy odds in the Mahābhārata war. The comparison of Śaktivarman’s death with that of Abhimanyu seems to suggest that he was killed in battle. He probably lost his life in the Chōla invasion which swept over Vengi at this time. Inscriptions dated in the 2nd year of Virarājendra (A.D. 1063) refer to a defeat which he inflicted on a Western Chāḻukya army sent to Vengi by Vikramāditya. This points clearly to a Chōla attack upon Vengi some time earlier, probably at the end of A.D. 1062. As this was actually the time when Śaktivarman II appears to have died in battle, it is not unlikely that he lost his life in fighting against the Chōlas on this occasion. Though Virarājendra claims to have defeated the army of Vikramāditya, killed his general Chāmuṇḍarāyan, and cut off the nose of his daughter, the beautiful Nāgalai, he yet failed to gain a foothold in Vengi and was compelled to withdraw from the country. Sōmēśvara I thereupon retaliated by sending an expedition under Vijayāditya into the Chōla dominions, and advanced at the head of a large army towards Kūḍal-Śangam, at the confluence of the Tungā and Bhadrā in the Mysore country. This movement of the Western Chāḻukya armies compelled Virarājendra to abandon his campaign in Vengi and fall back on his own territories.

Vijayāditya VII

Vijayāditya, or to give him his full name, Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, was absent from Vengi at the time of his son’s death. Like his Purānic ancestor Arjuna, with whom he compares himself, he was engaged with the enemy elsewhere. Despite his bereavement, he was persuaded by his friends and well-wishers to undertake the task of governing the kingdom.

The political career of Vijayāditya VII began with the death of his father in A.D. 1018. His early attempts to seize the throne and oust his half-brother Rājarāja from the kingdom have been dealt with above. Unable to maintain his authority after his coronation in A.D. 1031, he left his native country and retired to the Western Chāḻukya court at Kalyāṇī, where he distinguished himself in the service of Sōmēśvara I who accepted him as his añkakāra or

1 CP, 8 of 1924–5; JAHRS, ix, pt. i, p. 24. 2 Cāḷai, i, 318–19. 3 EC, vii, Cl. 18.
champion warrior, and conferred on him the rank of a *kumāra* or prince. He was appointed governor of Nolambavāḍi in A.D. 1063 and was charged with the defence of the province against the Chōla invasions. At the time of the death of his son, Vijayāditya was conducting a campaign in the Chōla dominions, from which he returned victorious soon afterwards according to an epigraph found at Mudukakere in Mysore State. The Chōlas did not, however, abandon their imperialistic designs. It was expected that Virarājendra, who had succeeded his elder brother Rājendra II on the throne of Gangāpurī, and who was eager to restore the prestige of his family, would shortly make a fresh attempt to subjugate Vengi. Sōmeśvara I therefore took the necessary precautions to safeguard his possessions. He stationed a strong army under Janaṇatha of Dhārā, probably a Paramāra prince in his service, in the neighbourhood of Bezwada, and sent Vijayāditya in A.D. 1064 to the south with an army to forestall the designs of the enemy by carrying war into his own territory.

While Virarājendra was engaged in the north, Sōmeśvara I died of the illness which had prevented his meeting the Chōla enemy on the appointed day, and Vikramāditya began to pursue his plans for securing the throne for himself. Accordingly he first got Vijayāditya to make his submission to Virarājendra and make his peace with him, and soon after followed the same course himself. Thus Vijayāditya became the ruler of Vengi as a feudatory of the Chōla monarch.

**Rājendra and Vijayāditya VII**

On the death of Virarājendra early in A.D. 1070, and the assassination of his son and successor Adhirājendra a few months later, Rājendra, who was descended through his mother from Rājendra Chōla I, left Vengi and went to the south where he established himself on the Chōla throne; what happened in Vengi and the northern part of the Chōla empire during this period is not quite clear. The following facts, however, may be noted at this point: (1) A study of Vijayāditya’s inscriptions reveals the existence of a break in his rule over Vengi between A.D. 1068 and 1072. His inscriptions run in a series from A.D. 1063 to 1068; then there is a break; and no record of his reign is found again until A.D. 1072. (2) In some of the Eastern Ganga inscriptions of the time of Anantavarman Chōda Gangadeva, it is said that Rājarāja-Dēvendra-varman ‘first became the husband of the Goddess of Victory in a battle with the Dramilas and then wedded Rājasundari, the daughter of the Chōla king, and when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left (the country of) Vengi,

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1 There is now no doubt about the identity of Vijayāditya of the Western Chaluksya records with the half-brother of Rājarāja; he is called *maga* (son) of Sōmeśvara I in some Western Chaluksya records as several feudatories are, but this is not enough to warrant the postulation of another son of Sōmeśvara, otherwise unknown.

3 *SII*, ix (i), 127.

4 The campaigns that followed have been described in the section on the Chaluksyas of Kalyāṇi.
as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chôdas, he, Râjarâja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the Western horizon.¹ The name of the Chôla king whose daughter, Râjasundari, Râjarâja thus married was, according to another record, Râjendra Chôla.² (3) Some of the copper-plate charters of Kulôttunga I, a name which Râjendra assumed after he ascended the Chôla throne, state that he first became king of Vengi after his father had ruled for a period of forty-one years, and that being desirous of the Chôla kingdom, he bestowed his ancestral kingdom on his paternal uncle Vijayâditya and departed to the south.³ It may be deduced from a comparison of these records that after Virarâjendrâ had bestowed Vengi on Vijayâditya, his nephew Râjendrâ made an attempt to capture the country for himself, and that Vijayâditya thereupon fled from Vengi and took refuge in the Eastern Ganga court, where he appears to have remained during Râjendrâ’s rule. As soon, however, as the usurper left Vengi with the bulk of his army for the Chôla country, Râjarâja Dêvendravarman, the King of Kalinga, invaded that province with the object of restoring Vijayâditya VII to the throne and attacked the small army which Râjendrâ had left there for the defence of the country. The reason for Râjarâja’s solicitude for the restoration of Vijayâditya is not far to seek. It was not so much due to his sympathy with the distressed monarch as to his desire to further his own interests under the pretext of offering him help. Râjarâja was a Chôla feudatory who was anxious to shake off his allegiance and assert his independence. He studied the political situation carefully, and finding that the time was suitable for the prosecution of his designs, he sent an army to invade Vengi. Râjendrâ (Kulôttunga I) was then fully engaged in counteracting Vikramâditya’s designs against him, and was in no position to send any strong force to Vengi. Banapati, the Brâhman general of Kalinga, marched to the west, and engaged the Chôla forces which had been left by Râjendrâ for the defence of the country. The Chôla army, owing probably to its reduced strength, suffered a defeat. The disaster was not perhaps serious, but Rajendrâ was unable to spare reinforcements. He must have realized that in the circumstances in which he was placed it was not wise to entangle himself in a war with Kalinga, and that peace, though it involved some sacrifice of prestige, had at the moment its advantages. The recognition to some extent at least of the rights of an inconvenient enemy like Râjarâja Dêvendravarman would convert him into a valuable ally, and the restoration of his old uncle, who was not likely to live long and had no surviving male issue to succeed him, would not involve any permanent loss. Râjendrâ therefore concluded a treaty of peace with Râjarâja Dêvendravarman according to the terms of which he agreed to allow

¹ IA, xviii, 171.
² Ibid., p. 164.
³ EI, vi, 344; SII, i, 60; IA, xix, 427; EI, v, 77.
Vijayāditya to rule Vengi during the remaining years of his life; he also recognized Rājarāja as an independent ally, and cemented the alliance by bestowing on him the hand of his own daughter Rājasundarī in marriage.

The rule of Vijayāditya after his reinstatement did not last long. Inscriptions dated in his 12th (A.D. 1072) and 13th (A.D. 1073) regnal years show that he was ruling the kingdom at that time. The total absence of any record of his reign in Vengi in the succeeding years seems to indicate that he perhaps lost his throne once again. Two important facts deserve notice in this connection. For some reason unknown at present, Yaśākamadēva, the Chedi king of Dāhala, invaded Vengi about A.D. 1073. He claims to have destroyed ‘with ease the ruler of the Andhra country (even though) the play of (that king’s) arms disclosed no flaw’, and to have honoured with munificent gifts the holy Bhīmeśvara of Drākṣhārāma. Similarly Banapati, the commander-in-chief of the Eastern Ganga king, Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, declares in an epigraph found at Dirghasi and dated A.D. 1075 that he defeated the King of Vengi again and again and became possessed of all his wealth. It is not known whether the invasions of Vengi referred to in these records were interconnected or independent events; nor is it possible to find out why Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, who had himself re-established Vijayāditya on the throne of Vengi three years earlier, had thus to take up arms against him. It is, however, certain that as a consequence of these invasions Vijayāditya lost his kingdom and had to spend the remaining years of his life in exile. He figures in a Western Chālukya record dated A.D. 1074–5 as a vassal of Bhuvanikamalla Sōmēśvara II. The well-known Nolamba titles such as Pallavānśvayaṃ Kāñchipuravarēśvaram and Pallava-permāṇaḍi with which his name is associated in the record indicate that he was then governing the province of Noḷambavāḍi, and had adopted, following the Western Chālukya practice, the titles of the Noḷambara-Pallavas whose hereditary dominions had been placed under his rule. It is clear that Vijayāditya after his defeat retired to the Western Chālukya court, where he was cordially received and treated with respect and consideration. He did not, however, long survive the loss of his kingdom. As he is said in the Teki, Chellūr, and Pīṭhāpuram grants to have ruled only for a period of fifteen years, he must have died in A.D. 1075. With the death of Vijayāditya, the Eastern Chālukya dynasty came to an end. Though Vengi had lost her independence under the descendants of Dānārṇava, she enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy, and was treated throughout as a separate kingdom; but after Vijayāditya’s death she lost her distinctive character and became completely absorbed in the Chola empire. The descendants of Rājarāja did in fact still control her destinies for another half a

1 CP, 8 and 9 of 1924–5; JAHR, ix, 177–80.
2 EL, xii, 216.
3 EL, iv, 316.
4 EL, xvi, 68–73.
5 EL, vi, no. 35; SII, i, 39; LA, xix, 427; EL, v, no. 10.
century; but they no longer lived in the country. They abandoned their native home, relinquished their family name and traditions, and gloried in the name and prestige of the Chōlas which they adopted as their own on succeeding to the throne of the Chōla empire.

Vijayāditya’s Family

Vijayāditya married two wives. His chief queen, the mother of his only son Śaktivarman II, was Mādava, a princess of the Haihaya family. Another queen, Revala by name, is mentioned in a Drākhşārāma epigraph dated in A.D. 1065, and she bore him a daughter called Somala who made a gift to the temple of the God Bhīmeśvara in that year. Besides his two children, Vijayāditya brought up a foster-son called Mummadī Bhima, a prince of the solar race, whom he treated ‘almost like his own son’. Bhīma rose to prominence under Rājarāja II, the first Chōla viceroy of Vengi under Kulōttunga I, and rendered him valuable assistance in his wars against the Ganga, Kalinga, and Kuntala kings.

1 *JAHR*, v, 47.
2 182 of 1893; *SII*, iv, 1007.
3 *ARE*, 1922, pt. ii, para. 6.
4 Ibid.
III

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

On the state of government and society under the Eastern Chālukyas we learn little from our sources, either epigraphical or literary. We may assume that at its foundation the Eastern Chāluksya court was more or less a replica of that of Bādami, and that as generations passed, local factors gained in strength and the monarchy of Vengi developed features of its own; still, external influences must have also continued to flow in from the Rāshtrakūtas, the Chōlas, and the Chāluksyas of Kalyāṇi, with all of whom the Vengi kingdom had had long and intimate contact, now friendly, now hostile. In the early stages some Pallava colouring also must have been present, particularly in the southern marches of the kingdom.

The inscriptions make mention of the traditional seven components of the State (saptāṅga), and the eighteen tīrthas (offices), such as mantri (minister), purohita (chaplain), sēnāpati (commander), yuvārāja (heir-apparent), damvārika (door-keeper), pradhāna (chief), adhyakṣa (head of department) and so on. A rather late copper-plate grant records the fact that Mēdamārya was appointed by Vira-Chvod to the dignity of sēnāpati and that the king placed a tiara on his head when investing him with this high office. A grant of Amma I speaks of the Paṭṭavardhanī family as holders of offices in the State for several generations following; and the expression used here, niyogādikrta (superintendent of the niyogas), may well indicate the existence even at a relatively early date of the complex organization of the palace staff into seventy-two niyogas; this system is known to have obtained in some of the larger temples of the Vengi country during this period, and it is a well-known fact that the court and the temple were organized on parallel lines.

The visheyā and kōṭtam were administrative subdivisions; the Karmarāṣṭra, later Kammanāṭu-visheyā, and the Bōya-Kōṭtams are examples of these. The Chendalur grant of Šarvalōkāśraya is addressed to all niyogika-vallabas, a very general term containing no indication of their duties, as well as to the grāmēyakas, the residents of the village which was the subject of the grant. The manneyas are another class of officials occasionally mentioned; they held assignments of land or revenue in different villages, but nothing more is really known about them. In fact there is good reason to hold that there was no settled administration worthy of the name in the kingdom as a whole; civil war and foreign invasion frequently harried the land; and the

1 El, iv, 307; vi, 307; CP, 1 of 1916–17.
2 SII, i, 39; v, 30.
3 Ibid., no. 36, l. 45.
4 729 of 1920.
5 LA, vii, 186 f.; El, viii, 236; LA, xx, 104, &c.
6 El, viii, 239.
7 Ibid., xxi, 33.
territory was parcelled into a number of small principalities held by a war-like nobility comprising such collateral branches of the Chălukyas themselves as the houses of Elamañchili, Pithâpuram, and Mudugonda, lines dynastically connected with them like the Saradâthas of Koḷanu and the Haihayas of Kona, and others who had been raised to high rank with a corresponding award of territory in recognition of loyal services rendered to the ruling family. The Velanâdu, Koṇḍapaṇḍumaṭis, Châgis, Parichchhêdis, and others belonged to this latter class. All of them paid allegiance and tribute to the Vengi ruler when he was strong, but were equally ready to intrigue with the enemies of the suzerain or take sides in the numerous wars of succession when weakness was apparent. The villages, however, must have carried on their local affairs in the traditional manner, not very much affected by the political storms blowing over the country; their economy was necessarily simple and the references to grāmyakas and rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhas show that the people lived under the guidance of their natural leaders, the men of substance and character who happened to be living in their midst. In the Pabhupârâru grant of Šaktivarman I we come across an instance of the king removing a grāmanî for disloyal and treasonable conduct, and appointing another in his place.1 Even in these troubled times, the central government was not, as it could indeed never afford to be, out of touch with life in the villages, the cells of the body politic.

People

Hiuen Tsaṅ, who travelled in the Andhra country soon after the establishment of the Eastern Chălukya kingdom, has surprisingly little to say of the people of those provinces.2 He noted that the country had a rich fertile soil and a moist hot climate; the people were of a violent character; their mode of speech differed from that of the Madhyadēsa, but they followed the same system of writing—all of which is fairly correct for the epoch. He adds elsewhere that the people were of a dark complexion and were fond of the arts. Some parts of the country were sparsely populated and others, the Telugu-Chōḍa country for instance, were wild jungle where bands of highwaymen went about openly. Everywhere he found Buddhism in a decadent condition, and Hinduism, Deva-worship as he calls it, in the ascendant.

Besides the normal castes of the social order, tribes like Bōyas and Savaras are heard of in the inscriptions, and they doubtless took a lower place in the social scale. The Brâhmans took premier place and were generally respected for their learning and character; they were the recipients of gifts on ceremonial occasions. Frequently, however, they entered the service of the state as civil or military officers, and some of these attained great distinction in such callings. The warrior class of fighting men and their general activities have been noticed above. The Kōmaṭis, as the trading class of the Telugu country

1 JTA, ii, 403.  
were called, were a flourishing community whose benefactions to temples and other religious and charitable foundations often figure in the inscriptions. It may be that their organization into a powerful guild (nakara) which had its headquarters in Penugonda (West Godavari) and branches in seventeen other centres had its beginnings in this period; a full description of the guild and its organization is to be found in the *Vaiśyapuraṇa* (canto 7), a work written probably in the sixteenth century. The *Telikas* (oil-mongers) are another guild nominally numbering 1,000 who secured certain social privileges from Rājarāja Chōḍa-Ganga, the Chōla viceroy of Vengi, in A.D. 1084.¹ For the bulk of the population the army furnished a career, and the successful adventurer or condottiere had, as noted already, every chance of setting himself up as a chieftain over some small territory either as a vassal of a more powerful leader, or on his own account.

**Religion**

In the sphere of religion Buddhism had lost ground more and more since the days of Hiuen Tsang, and the Buddha of Amarārāma (Amarāvati) had in fact come to be worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu; the other four ārāmas of Bhīmapura, Dākarēmi, Palakolanu, and Drākshārāma are believed to have been once famous centres of Buddhism, but subsequently became Hindu shrines which attained great celebrity and attracted vast crowds of pilgrims. The shrines of Mahāśēna at Chebrolu, Humikāra-Śaṅkarī at Bidapura, and Mallēśvara at Bezwada were other great centres of pilgrimage. The temple of Mahāśēna at Chebrolu was specially noted for its annual *jātra*, one of the features of which was a grand procession of the image all the way from Chebrolu to Bezwada and back—a distance of about twenty-five miles. Śaivism was more popular than Vaishnavism, and we hear rather more of the construction of Śaiva temples than of those of Vishnu. The 108 Narendrēśvaras of Vijayāditya II Narendrāja Mrgarāja have been already mentioned; Yuddhamalla I erected a temple to Kārttikēya at Bezwada; Chālukya Bhima I constructed the famous temples at Drākshārāma and Chālukya-Bhimavaram; and Rājarājanarēndra erected three memorial shrines at Kalidindi to commemorate the three Chōla generals who fell in battle at that place.

Jainism, unlike Buddhism, continued to command some support from the people, and inscriptions record the construction of *basadis* and grants of land for their support from the monarchs and the people. Amma II Rājamahēndra showed favour to the Jainas but no king of the Eastern Chālukya line, with the possible exception of Vimalāditya, ever became a declared follower of the doctrine of Mahāvīra. Amma II built two Jain temples (*jinaśayas*) called Sarvalokāśraya and Kaṭakābharaṇa, and established a feeding house (*sastra*) attached to each where *śramaṇas* of all the four castes were to be fed at the expense of the foundation.²

¹ *EI*, vi, 35.
² *EI*, ix, 49; vii, 191.
Monasteries, in fact, played an important part in the promotion of education and morality in the country, and, as might be expected, Śaiva institutions of this character were more numerous than the rest. There were two of them in Bezwada attached to the temples of Śiva and Mahāśeṇa which had been built by Vijayāditya II and Yuddhamalla I respectively. The monks fed the poor, tended the sick, consoled the afflicted, and set up schools for educating children and young people.

Literature

Telugu verse makes its first appearance in the inscriptions of the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III in the latter half of the ninth century. But the rise and progress of Telugu literature cannot be traced with any certainty as all evidence relating to its beginnings seems to have disappeared. Nanne Chōda, the author of the Telugu Kumārasambhava, says in his introduction that at first poetry was composed only in the mīrga or classical style, and that the Chāḷukya king and others caused poems to be written in the dēli or popular style and encouraged the literary use of the Telugu language in the Andhra country. Though he does not give the name of the Chāḷukya ruler in question, there can be no doubt that he must have long preceded Rājarāja Narendra, the patron of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, whose Mahābhārata is the earliest extant work of Telugu literature. The birth of Telugu literature seems indeed to have been delayed and its growth hampered by the prevailing political conditions and literary tradition. The independence and integrity of Vengi were constantly threatened by foreign invasion and civil war; Telugu had not yet become the polished idiom that it was to be later, and next to Sanskrit, Kannada was the language that commanded prestige and position in the literary world. Three great Kannāda poets, Ponna, Pampa, and Nāgavarma, were closely associated with Kammanāḍu and Vengipalu, i.e. Vangipuram in the Narasaraopet ṛāḷuk of the modern Guntur District; all three were Jainas. But surely Nannaya was not the first poet in the Telugu language, as his poetry shows a highly developed technique which presupposes a fairly long period of development. It is a fact, however, that with the exception of a few verses in the inscriptions, no work of the pre-Nannaya period has survived. Of Nannaya’s work, the conditions under which it was done, and the probable cause of its being broken off in the middle, something has been said in our account of the reign of his patron Rājarāja. We may add that Nannaya is said to have undertaken the Telugu version of the Great Epic in order to counteract the influence of Pampa’s Bhārata, a work conceived in the spirit of Jainism. Incomplete as it is, Nannaya’s work is universally regarded as a masterpiece of art. It has set the norm for epic poetry in Telugu. Graceful and dignified in its diction, the poem has a charm rarely met with elsewhere in Telugu literature. As a model of sweet, mellifluous, and elegant verse, it remains unrivalled.

1 Kum, i, 25.
APPENDIX A

THE EASTERN CHÂLUKYA GENEALOGY

Vishṇuvardhana I (Kubja) (Vishnusmiśrī) I A.D. 624–41

Jayasimha I
(Sarvasiddhi I) 641–73

| Indra Bhaṭṭāraka (Tyāgadheṇu) 673 |
| Vishṇuvardhana II (Vishnusmiśrī II) 673–82 |
| Mangi-Yuvārāja (Vijayāsiddhi I) 682–706 |

Jayasimha II
(Sarvasiddhi II) 706–18

| Vishṇuvardhana III (Vishnusmiśrī III) 719–55 |
| Vijayāditya I (Vijayāsiddhi III) 755–72 |
| Vishṇuvardhana IV 772–808 |

| Kokkili Varma I (Vijayāsiddhi II) 718–19 |
| Mangivarman II Māhārāja |
| Vinayāditya Varman Māhārāja |
| Kokkili Varman II Māhārāja (Anivāritambu) |

Silabhattārīkā m Nirupama Dhruva Rāshtrakūṭa

| Govinda III |
| Amoghavarsha I |

| Indra |
| Silabhattārīkā m Kali Vishṇuvardhana V (847–9) |

| Vijayāditya III Guṇaga 849–92 |
| Vikramāditya I (Yuvārāja) |
| Chāluṣeya Bhima I 892–921 |

| Vikramāditya II 927 |
| Badapa 945 |
| Tāla II |

| Amma I Rājāmahāṇḍra Vishnuvardhana 921–27 |
| Beta Vijayāditya V 927 |
| Bhima 928 |
| Dānārṇava 970–3 |

| Saktivarman I 1000–1 |
| Melāmbā m Vimalāditya m Kundayvai |
| Vijayāditya VII Vishnuvardhana 1061–75 |
| Saktivarman II 1061 |

| Chāluṣeya Bhima II |
| Ankeḍevi m Rāja Bhima, Gaṇḍamahāṇḍra m Lokāmbikā or Uṛjapa of Kalinga 934–43 |

| Amma II Vijayāditya 945–70 |
| Rājārāja (Cola) |
| Rājēndra Chōla I |
| Ammangai |
| Rājēndra Kulēttunga I 1070–1118 |
APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

THE CHÂLUKYAS OF VÊMULAVĀDA

Vêmulavāda, also called Lêmulavāda, in the Karimnagar District of Hyderabad, was the capital of a dynasty of Châlukyas who ruled a considerable area as the feudatories of the Râshtrakūṭa. Their history, which forms a luminous footnote to the records of the suzerain dynasty, is to be gathered mainly from three inscriptions and from references to it in the Kannâda poet Pampa’s Bhârata or Vikramârjunavijaya. Pampa was patronized by Arikasari II of Vêmulavāda, and the poet identified his patron with the epic hero Arjuna and thereby contrived to interweave several incidents of contemporary history into his narrative of the epic story, besides giving a reasonably accurate account of his patron’s ancestors in the introduction to his work. The three inscriptions mentioned are: the Kollipaṇa (Guntur District) copper plates of Arikasari I,¹ the Vêmulavāda rock inscription of Arikasari II,² and the Parbhaṇi copper plates of Arikasari III.³

The rock inscription and the Parbhaṇi plates trace the descent of the family from the sun; this is in keeping with the tradition that fifty-nine kings of the dynasty ruled in Ayodhyā before it came to settle in the Deccan; but it is well known that other records trace its descent from Brahmā or from the Moon.⁴ The genealogy of the line begins with Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I in all our sources except the Kollipaṇa plates which carry it back four more generations. The genuineness of the Kollipaṇa plates has been suspected on rather inconclusive grounds. The entire genealogy, including the four early generations found only in the Kollipaṇa plates, may be set out as shown opposite.

The name of Yuddhamalla (II and III) occurs as Dugdhamalla in Pamba’s work, probably owing to a scribal error. Much discussion has centred round the identity of the four predecessors of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I and the affiliation of the family with other branches of the Châlukyas. In his work called Nâdýja Pampa, Mr. Timmappayya of Mangalore suggested the probable identity of Yuddhamalla I Vinayāditya with the homonymous ruler of the Lâṭa branch of the Châlukyas, the son of Jayasimhavarman, mentioned in the Balsar plates,⁵ and that of his four predecessors in order with Pulakesin I, Kirtivarman I, Pulakesin II of Bâdami, and Jayasimhavarman Dharâśraya of Lâṭa, one of the sons of Pulakesin II. Though the number of generations and some of the titles tally, there are difficulties, and after a careful discussion of the whole question Dr. Venkataramanayya has reached the conclusion that the suggested identifications cannot be accepted without more direct evidence.

A word may be said on chronology before entering on the details of individual reigns. The Parbhaṇi plates are dated in the Śaka year 888 (A.D. 966), and this is the date for Arikasari III, the last ruler of this line. Eight generations intervene

¹ Ed. M. S. Sarma, Bhârata, vii, 2 (Pramodūṭa, Śrâvaṇa).
² Ed. B. V. Krishna Rao, J.AHRS, vi, 169–92, also reproducing Kollipaṇa text.
³ Ed. S. N. Joshi, JBLIS, xiii, 3; text reproduced by Nathuram Premi in his Jaina Sāhitya aur itiḥāsa, pp. 85–92.
⁴ DKD, p. 339.
⁵ JBBRAŚ, xvi, 5.
Chāḷukyas of Vēmulavāḍa

Chāḷukyavarmśa descended from the Sun
Satyāśraya Raṇavikrama

Prthivipati

Mahārāja

Rājāditya (Prthuvikrama)

Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I (Rājāśraya)

Arikeśari I

Narasimha I

Rājāditya

Yuddhamalla II

other sons

Baddega Soladaganda

other sons

Yuddhamalla III

Narasimha II

Arikeśari II

Bhadrađeva II

Arikeśari III Ś. 888, date of Parbhaini plates
between him and Yuddhamalla I; if we allow twenty-five years on an average to a generation, it is clear that 200 years must have elapsed between the end of the reign of Yuddhamalla I and the beginning of that of Arikesarī III. If we assume that Arikesarī III had been ruling for a period of something like ten years before the date of the Parbhāṇī grant, we get to about A.D. 736 for the close of Yuddhma-
alla I’s reign. As a matter of fact, we have the date A.D. 731 (S. 65) for him in the Balsar plates, probably referring to a time when he was still in his original home in the Lāṭa country.

Of Yuddhamalla I we get a very exaggerated eulogy from the Kollipaṛa plates issued by his son; he is compared to Rāma in valour and described as a viśvarāṭ (universal emperor); he is said to have subjugated the whole world with the aid of the boar-crest obtained by the royal family as a boon from Lord Nārāyaṇa, and among the kings who bowed at his feet are counted those of Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kāśmīra, Kāṁbhoja, Magadha, Mālava, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, and others. Such unhistorical fustian goes far to justify the doubts cast upon the genuineness of this record in general. In refreshing contrast to it, we get some definite facts about the king’s activities from the later inscriptions and from Pampa. These facts are three in number: (1) he ruled the Sapādalaṅkṣa country and his suzerainty was acknowledged by many feudatories; (2) he made artificial tanks of brick and mortar (saudhamayīṁ) in Podana, filled them with oil, and thus made provision, from his immense material resources, for the daily bathing of 500 elephants; (3) he captured the impregnable natural fortress of Chitrakūṭa; this last fact is mentioned only in the Vēmulavāḍa rock inscription.

If, as seems probable, Vinayāḍītya Yuddhamalla was one of the three sons of Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman of Lāṭa, these facts admit of a plausible explanation. The times were difficult and unsettled, and offered scope for talented adventurers to win distinction and accumulate fame and treasure. One of Yuddhamalla’s brothers, Pulakeśin, earned the gratitude of his suzerain Chāluṣyka Vikramādiyā II by effectually thwarting the attempt of the Arabs to enter the Deccan in force; Vikramādiyā bestowed on him the title of anavijanāṭraya, ‘refuge for the people of the world’, in recognition of his valour. Yuddhamalla found his opportunity in cooperation with Dantidurga, an energetic and ambitious youth of Rāṣṭrakūṭa extraction, who planned and carried out the overthrow of Kirttivarman II, the last Chāluṣyka ruler of Bāḍāmi. Dantidurga is known to have fought battles at the Mahī, Mahānadi, and Narmadā rivers, and in the Madhyadesa territory, before he delivered the decisive assault on the Chāluṣykan power. Yuddhamalla’s rule in the Sapādalaṅkṣa country and his capture of the fort of Chitor may be taken to be facets of Dantidurga’s campaigns in which Yuddhamalla was the chief actor. Sapādalaṅkṣa is most certainly Sākāṅbharī, the modern Sāmbhar, in Eastern Rajputana, and the mention in the story of Chitor, which is on the direct line between Lāṭa and Sapādalaṅkṣa, confirms this identification.\(^{1}\) We know very little of the details of the

\(^{1}\) N. Lakshminarayana Rao holds that the Sapādalaṅkṣa country ‘was situated not far from the Karimnagar District’ (JOR, xviii, 41) and that it ‘comprised at least the central and eastern portions of the present Hyderabad State, i.e. Nizamabad and a major portion of the Karimnagar District, though its actual extent and boundaries cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge’ (ibid., p. 42). He seeks support from a suggestion of M. Venkataramayya and from an inscription. Unfortunately, both turn out on careful scrutiny to be quite inconclusive. Venkata-

wars of Dantidurga; but some of the mutilated verses in the Daśavatāra cave inscription have furnished the basis for a plausible suggestion that Dantidurga took the side of a certain Deva or Devarāja against the Gurjara Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I. Dantidurga’s presence in Ujjain has been noticed already; he seems to have attacked Nāgabhaṭa’s capital Medantapura (Merta) as he also did Śākambhari (Sāmbhar), then held by his feudatories of the Chāhumāna line; Dantidurga thus became for a time master of the entire Gurjara territory including Sapādalaṅka as well as the coastal tracts of Gujarāt. It is obvious that we are concerned here not with any stable political formations, but only with the transient results of more or less successful military raids. We may thus assume that Yuddhamalla assisted Dantidurga in the capture of Chitor and the Sapādalaṅka country, and ruled there as his governor for a short while, and that the memory of this adventure—it was nothing more for either him or his collaborator—was carefully treasured by the family which afterwards treated Yuddhamalla as its vaṁśaṅkara (founder).

Podana is easily identified with Bodhan in the Nizambad District of Hyderabad. This is a place with ancient associations, and an inscription of A.D. 1096 mentions the construction of a temple of Vishnu in that town by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. Its location, taken along with the provenance of the three inscriptions of the Vēmulavāda Chāluṅkas, leaves little room for doubt that the centre of activity of the successors of Yuddhamalla I, if not of Yuddhamalla himself, must be located in the eastern half of Hyderabad known as Telingana; and Podana may be taken to mark a stage in this progress towards the east. Certain other facts tend to confirm this view. The Kolliṅga plates record a grant to a Śaiva ascetic of Ėlēśvara to the north of the celebrated mountain Śrīśaila in the Kurnool District. The temple of Āditya mentioned in the Vēmulavāda inscription, and the land granted to it, both lay in Vēmulavāda itself; and in the Parbhāṅa plates this city is expressly described as the rājadhānī (capital) of Arikeṣarī III. It is almost certain that Vēmulamayya says that ‘Pampa and the Vēmulavāda inscription both agree in stating that Bodana was situated in the Sapādalaṅka country ruled over by Yuddhamalla I’ (ibid., xii, 264). In fact they do nothing of the kind, as can be seen from the extracts given in JMU, xv, 107–8. He cites also the commentary on Yadalasalaka which interprets Āśmāntaka to mean Sapādalaṅkanivāsin. This reference, however, only implies that this late commentator believed that Āśmāntaka was also called Sapādalaṅka in his time. But is Āśmāntaka the same as Āśmaka? The inscription cited by N. L. Rao really reads:

Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍaṅgaḷīvarām Rājāditya-
aramār Kosavalam-saṅalakākhkhyā-
bhāgamummaṁ Chabbī-jñayi Yippatt-ondu-
sūraramummaṁ dusṭa-nīghraḥa vi śa-
pratipālanaṁ prati-pālissutum
rājadhāni Lembalavādeya-nelevāṇi
sukha-tamkadhā-vinodadām
rājām-geȳyūtum irūḍu
(Tel. Inscriptions,
Chāluṅka No. 19 Lembalavāda,
Karimnagar Dt. Date C.V 8
A.D. 1093–4)

The sapādalaṅka (Saṅalakākhha) of the inscription had the name Kosavalam, which alters the whole case. Sapādalaṅka by itself was originally the name of Šiwalik, which was later transferred to the Sāmbhar region (B.G. i (i), 117, 184).

1 Bhārati, Sarvadharī—Āśāda, pp. 179–81.
vāda became the headquarters of this branch of the Chālukyas at an early stage, probably under Arikесarī I. It is quite likely, therefore, that a little earlier, towards the end of his career, Yuddhamalla accepted a fief in the neighbourhood of Bodhan as the reward of his services to Dantidurga, and that this territory subsequently became the base for the further achievements of the dynasty.

The son of Yuddhamalla I was Arikесarī I, the donor of the Kollipaḷa plates which, however, only praise his bravery in war in general terms without mentioning any specific facts of his career; they also give his many titles and say that he was an adept in such diverse subjects of knowledge as grammar, law, elephant-lore, logic, archery, and medicine. All the other sources agree that he captured and ruled Vēngi together with Trikaliṅga by the strength of his arm; Pampa says that this happened in the reign of Nirupama, i.e. Dhruva (A.D. 780–93), which must have included the later part of the reign of Arikесarī I. Dhruva, we have seen (p. 475), attacked Vishnuvardhana IV of Vēngi to punish him for his part in aiding Govinda II in the civil war which had just ended; and in this task Arikесarī aided him greatly and was duly rewarded. We may assume that parts of Telingana definitely changed hands as a result of Arikесarī’s campaign and became part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, the newly conquered territory being placed under the rule of Arikесarī and his successors. It is quite probable that after this Vēmulavāda became the seat of their power.

The next four generations after Arikесarī I are dismissed in a single verse in the Vēmulavāda inscription, and there is a virtual blank in the history of the line for practically a whole century, even Pampa and the Parbhāṇī plates not adding much to our knowledge of the period. The kings in chronological order were Narasimha I Rājāditya, Yuddhamalla II, Baddega I, and Yuddhamalla III. Pampa says that Baddega was victorious in forty-two battles and earned the title solāda-ganda, the soldier who knew no defeat; both Pampa and the Parbhāṇī plates say that he captured Bhīma, ‘of fierce strength in battle’, as one might capture a ferocious crocodile in its own element, water. The Bhīma mentioned here is doubtless Chālukya Bhīma I who ascended the throne of Vēngi after the death of his uncle Gūnaga Vijāyāditya III in 893. But we learn from Eastern Chālukya records that Baddega suffered defeat at least once at the hands of Gūnaga Vijāyāditya who granted him peace on honourable terms.1 Baddega’s war with Chālukya Bhīma I came later. The details of the battles are not forthcoming. The analogy of the crocodile employed both by Pampa and the Parbhāṇī plates has given rise to the suggestion that Bhīma was captured in the fortress in the midst of the Colair lake, the scene of many decisive battles.2 But this was only an episode in the long-drawn hostilities between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas. Bhīma effected his escape from captivity with the aid of Kusumāyudha of the Mudugonḍa branch of Chālukyas, and immediately prepared himself to meet another Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion.3

The next great ruler of Vēmulavāda was Narasimha II, the son of Yuddhamalla III. As he was the father of Pampa’s patron Arikесarī II, Pampa describes his exploits at some length. The Vēmulavāda inscription attributes to him the single-

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2 Bhārati, ibid., pp. 389–90.
3 *Eastern Cāḷukyas*, p. 139.
handed conquest of the Seven Mālavas, a victory over the army of the Gurjara-rāja, and says that he put the final seal on his fame by a victory over a group of kings on the hill in Kālapriya. Pampa furnishes the important datum that the name of the Gurjara king was Mahipala on whom Narasimha descended like a thunderbolt, compelling him to escape as best he could from his capital in a disorganized flight. Pampa also mentions a victory of Narasimha over the Lātas as the first of Narasimha’s achievements, and adds that he had caused his horses to drink the water of the Ganges before he established his fame with his sword at Kālapriya.

Once more we must turn to Rāshṭrakūṭa history for the elucidation of these statements. The name of the Lāta enemy of Narasimha is not given. But Lāta had been brought under his sway by Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishna II. Evidently there was need for its reconquest by Narasimha II at the very beginning of that expedition to the north which he undertook in the service of his suzerain Indra III. This fact may be explained in one of two ways: either Lāta had slipped out of Rāshṭrakūṭa control and become an independent State like Mālava (the seven Mālavas of the inscription and of Pampa); or possibly the entire region, Mālava and Lāta included, had passed under the suzerainty of the Pratihāras, and the campaign against Mahipala must then be taken to have begun with the conquest of Lāta. However this may be, there is no doubt that the campaign of Indra III and Narasimha II resulted in Lāta and Mālava being brought for a time definitely under Rāshṭrakūṭa control (the Paramāras being installed as vassals in Mālava), and in Mahipala’s losing his kingdom and being temporarily driven into exile. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV state that Indra’s elephants made the precincts (prāṅgana) of Kālapriya uneven with the strokes of their tusks, that his horses crossed the Jumna ‘as deep as the ocean’, and that after his expedition, the city Mahodaya (great prosperity) became Kuśasthali (a meadow). Pampa also mentions the waters of the Ganges and Kālapriya in the same verse. Kālapriya has generally been taken to be the same as Mahākāla of Ujjain; but this equation is not justified since Mahākāla and Kālapriya are really two very different names; and it has been rightly suggested that Kālapriya should be taken to be modern Kalpi where many other armies are known to have crossed the Jumna, and where we find a temple of Kālapriya existing today. Kalpi is on the direct route from the south to Kanauj, the Pratihāra capital on the Ganges, whose destruction was the culmination of Indra’s campaign, as is seen from the clever play upon the alternative names of the city (Mahodaya and Kuśasthali) in the Cambay plates; moreover, there would be no point in a great poet like Pampa making another reference to Ujjain after he had disposed of the conquest of Mālava in an earlier verse. Narasimha is seen thus to have played a leading part in securing the resounding success that attended Indra’s victorious northern campaign about A.D. 916; this he did, according to the Vēmulavāḍa inscription, by gaining a decisive victory with his own troops, unaided by those of Indra, at Kalpi, where Mahipāla had taken his stand to oppose the advance of the

1 The text of the inscription is so ambiguously worded that it is not easy to decide whether the pillar (of victory) mentioned in it is literally a stone pillar (jātāle stambhe) or merely a metaphor: Kālapriya rājākadamabhakasya stambhe svau-tauryam vilitekha taile.
2 El, vii, 26 (v. 19).
3 By N. Venkataramanayya in Bhārati, Sarvadhati, p. 598.
4 Altekar, Rashtrakūṭas, p. 102, n. 44.
southern army against his capital. Narasimha's queen was Jakavve, probably a sister of Indra III and mother of Arikesarī II, the patron of Pampa.

Arikesarī II was, according to Pampa, cradled in Indra's arms—a reference to once to Indra III and to the king of the gods, calculated to pave the way for the identification of Arikesarī with Arjuna, the epic hero who was the son of Indra. Arikesarī married Indra's daughter Rēvakaniṁrā, according to the Vēmulavāḍa inscription. The Parbhāṅi plates, however, say that Lokāṁbikā, also of the Rāṣṭrāṅī family, was the name of Arikesarī's queen. It is not clear whether Lokāṁbikā was a title of Rēvakaniṁrā or of a second queen. Both the Vēmulavāḍa inscription and Pampa indulge in much high-flown praise of Arikesarī, and so too do the Parbhāṅi plates. Without stopping to reproduce these vaguely resounding eulogies, we may summarize the historical data as follows: (1) Arikesarī gave protection to a Chālukya Bijja (Vijayaḍīya) who sought his protection against the anger of Govindarāja, who was his sakala-caṅkaravarti, i.e. most probably the suzerain of both Bijja and Arikesarī; (2) when Arikesarī sheltered Vijayaḍīya, Govinda sent many sāmantas against him; Arikesarī defeated all of these and thus became sāmantacudāmāṇi; (3) he then fought against Govinda himself and defeated him, bestowing the empire on Baddega who had come to him for aid; lastly (4) with only one elephant he overthrew Bappuva, the younger brother of Kakkala, when Bappuva attacked him with a host of these beasts.

The most satisfactory explanation of all these statements can be offered again by a reference to Rāṣṭrāṅī history and the relations between the Rāṣṭrāṅīs and the Eastern Chālukyas. Govinda IV had deposed his elder brother Amoghavarṣa II and seized the Rāṣṭrāṅī throne in A.D. 930, an act which set some of his courtiers against him. The dissenting nobles found support within the royal family from Govinda's paternal uncle Baddega and Baddega's more ambitious son Kṛishṇa III. Govinda banished them and they fled to the Cedi court in Tripuri because Baddega's queen was a Cedi princess, a daughter of Yuvarājdeva I. From there they seem to have carried on their intrigues against Govinda who on his part evidently did little to retrieve his popularity with his subjects. Arikesarī II of Vēmulavāḍa, although the brother-in-law of Govinda, seems to have joined his enemies and espoused the cause of Baddega. Another powerful feudatory prince who acted in the same way was the Gāṅga Būtuga, who visited Baddega in Tripuri and married his daughter, hoping, with his aid, in due course to carry out his designs on his ancestral throne as against his elder brother, the ruling Ganga prince Rājamalla III. Meanwhile, in another direction, Govinda's policy, at first apparently successful, eventually landed him in inextricable difficulties. It was a period of confusion and disputed succession in Vēṅgi from the close of Indra III's reign. Soon after his accession, Govinda had supported Yuddhamalla II against his rivals, and virtually converted Vēṅgi into a Rāṣṭrāṅī province, all real power passing into the hands of the Rāṣṭrāṅī officials. This was resented by Chālukya Bhimā II of the elder branch who got into touch with the anti-Govinda party and was supported by them either openly or in secret. When Chālukya Bhimā II began a war of independence, Govinda sent an army under his loyal nobles to put down the rebellion. But before this army could win through to success, another rebellion threatened its rear as Bijja or Vijayaḍīya.

1 A very plausible suggestion of Timmappayya, op. cit., p. 46.
2 Eastern Cāḷukyas, pp. 165–77.
of the Mudugonda branch of Chālukyas, who was ruling the territory adjoining the Vēmulavāda principality in the south, rose also. When Govinda sent yet another army against him, he appealed to Arikesari for aid, which was readily granted, and Govinda’s forces were defeated. Baddega, who was watching these developments from Tripuri, was then sent for, and was perhaps proclaimed king at Vēmulavāda, and Govinda’s reign came to an abrupt end, Baddega Amoghavarsha III and Chālukya Bhima II both entering on the rule of their respective kingdoms in the years A.D. 934–5.

The last of the achievements attributed to Arikesari, the overthrow of Bappuva, is not easy to explain so satisfactorily. He may be the same as the Bappuka who, together with Dantiga, opposed Amoghavarsha III and was slain as a result by Krishṇa III.1

In the portion of the Vēmulavāda inscription recording the grant, besides the many picturesque titles of Arikesari II which are applied again to his grandson Arikesari III in the Parbhāṇi plates, we get the name of his mahāsāndhinivṛgha Guṇakarasa, of Nāgamārya, the satrādhipāla (superintendent of feeding houses) of King Baddega (Amoghavarsha III) and of Nāgamārya’s son Peddanārya, the tantrāpāla of King Guṇākara (i.e. Arikesari II). At Peddanārya’s request, 100 niśvarthanas of arable land were given by Arikesari II on the occasion of the uttarāyaṇa sankrānti for a satra for the feeding of persons who came to worship at the Ādiya shrine built by him, and another field of eight niśvarthanas for a fresh water tank (pāṇīya-bhūmi-kṣetram). The enumeration of the witnesses to the gifts recorded is also of some interest, since the list includes in order the four temples of Vēmulavāda, three Śaiva teachers (vyākhyāni-bhaṭṭāraṇakā) whose names are Mallikārjuna, Vyakṭalīṅgi, and Vidyārāśi, and lastly nine śresthis headed by Candrasreṣṭhi. The field which was thus bestowed was subject to a siddhāya (money tax) of twelve drammas.

Of the reigns of the next two rulers who end the line, Bhadradeva II and Arikesari III, no political events are mentioned in the Parbhāṇi plates, which record a grant by Arikesari III to the Jaina temple built in Vēmulavāda by his father Baddega, and known by the name Śubhadhāma-jinālaya, for repairs and the maintenance of worship. In the grant Arikesari III is described as the feudatory of Akālavarsha Krishṇaparājadeva (III). But the name of the donor makes the grant a document of the highest value; it is that of the celebrated Jaina polyhistor Somadevaśāri, the author of the Yoṣodhara-carita and of the Syādeva-pāṇiṇi and other works, highly respected by many princes in the land who did honour to themselves by honouring him. We know from his oft-quoted colophon to the Yoṣastilaka-canipū that he composed that work in the Śaka year 881 (A.D. 959), i.e. seven years before the date of the Parbhāṇi plates, when Krishṇa III was still residing in his camp at Mēlpādi, after his campaigns in the south, and his feudatory Badya, the eldest son of Arikesari II, was ruling at a place called Gaṅgadhārā characterized as overflowing with wealth. Somadeva’s spiritual ancestry is explained thus in the Parbhāṇi plates. In the Gauḍa-saṅgha there was a famous scholar by name Yoṣodeva; he was a muni (sage) who by his tapas (austerities) had established contact with the Śāsanadevatas. His pupil was Nemideva, an expert in Jaina doctrine and ‘an axe to the pride’ of the disputants.

1 Ibid., p. 178, n. 1.
of rival faiths. Nemideva had many pupils of great excellence, of whom the most famous was Śrī Somadeva, the abode of learning, the seat of fame, whose beauty was matched by his high character. In the colophon to his Nītīnākyāmṛta, probably written after the date of the Parbhanī plates, Somadeva calls himself, among other things, the beloved pupil (priyasīya) of Śrī Nemidevabhaṅgavān. His affinity with the Gauḍa-saṅgha has been traced in his references to Dharmāvaloka,¹ a ruler of Rāṣṭrakūṭa extraction in Bodh Gayā, in the tenth century A.D. Pampa and Somadeva, both Jains, two of the greatest names in medieval Indian literature, also shed their lustre on the court of the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāda.

¹ By Dr. V. Raghavan, New IA, vi, 3 June 1943, pp. 68–9.
PART VIII

THE YĀDAVAS OF SEUṆADEŠA

by PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR

I. Origin of the dynasty and early rulers.
III. The Administrative system—king, feudatories and viceroy, council of ministers, provincial and district officers, prisons and the village panchāyats, sources of revenue, military organization, and navy.
IV. Religion—Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, the Lingāyat sect and new religious movements.
V. Social conditions—caste system, women.
VI. Education and literature.
VII. Economic conditions.
I

ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY AND EARLY FEUDATORY RULERS

The history of the Yādava dynasty, which dominated the politics of the Deccan during the thirteenth century, goes back to the end of the ninth century. It is, however, not yet fully known during its earlier period. Few contemporary inscriptions have been found, and Hemādri, who has given us an account of the achievements of the house, contents himself by merely recording the names of its early rulers. As he himself lived towards the end of the thirteenth century, his information about the kings of the tenth and eleventh centuries is naturally often incomplete and inaccurate.

The Yādavas profess to be descended from Yadu, a Purānic hero, and claim that their ancestors first lived at Mathurā and then migrated to Dwāravati or Dwārakā in Kathiawar. This belief of theirs is in perfect accordance with Purānic tradition, but we need not examine its historical accuracy, for it refers to times for which no records exist and has hardly any bearing on the history of the dynasty during our period.

We may perhaps, however, accept the statement which occurs in the earliest Yādava records that they were originally immigrants into the Deccan from Dwārakā.¹ There is in fact nothing inherently improbable in this and it may well have actually been the case, since one of their feudatory families in Khandesh is known to have been an emigrant from Valabhi, another city in Kathiawar.² No Kathiawar records have, however, so far been found to prove that any Yādava family migrated thence to Mahārāṣṭra in the ninth century, nor do the actions or policies of the Yādavas show any anxiety to recover their patrimony there or to re-establish any political or cultural connexion with that country. The story in the Jain tradition of how the pregnant mother of the founder of the dynasty was saved by a Jain saint from the conflagration which destroyed Dwārakā and how she was later delivered of a son in her new home, looks more like mythological legend than actual history. The pretension that the Yādavas were once lords of Dwārakā is therefore so far historically unproved, and may be due rather to the fact that a descent from Yadu is claimed by the family than to its founders ever having

¹ A Yādava family was indeed ruling at Simhapura in Kathiawar in the seventh century A.D. (EI, i, 12), but it had no connexion with Mathurā, nor are its descendants known to have migrated to Dwārakā.
² EI, ii, 225.
really been emigrants from that city. It is interesting to note that the Hoy-
salas, who profess to be the descendants of Yadu, make the same claim to have
been formerly lords of the city of Dvārakā.

Inscriptions from the Karnatak disclose the existence of some petty
Yādava feudatories ruling in the Dharvar District towards the end of the
ninth century,¹ which is just about the time when the Yādava house was first
becoming prominent in the Nāsik District. As, however, there are no con-
temporary names common to these families and the Yādavas proper, it
is not possible to claim a Karnatak origin for this group, though it is true
that many proper names which appear to be Canarese do occur among
those of the ministers of the family in later times.

The early patrimony of the clan lay in northern Mahārāṣṭra, where also
was situated its later capital Devagiri, whilst Marāthi literature flourished at
the royal court in later times. We may therefore most probably presume that
the Yādava family was in fact an indigenous Marātha sept, which, on rising
to political eminence, began to profess a descent from Yadu and to claim to
have emigrated from Dvārakā in Kathiawar.

The first member of the family to raise its fortunes and give it distinction
was Drīḍhaprahāra. Jain tradition records that he was a posthumous child,
and that his mother was a Yādava lady rescued from the burning of
Dvārakā by Jainaprabhasūri, and it tells us how people accepted him as
leader and began to pay him taxes because he protected them from robbers.²
About A.D. 860, which is the probable time of Drīḍhaprahāra, conditions
were somewhat unsettled in Nasik and Khandesh owing to the weak
rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amogha vardha I and his wars with the
Pratihāra emperor Bhoja I. It is possible that this state of affairs may have
encouraged the predatory tendencies of the Vindhyān tribes, from whose
raids the people of Nasik and the Kandesh may have suffered. Drīḍhaprahāra
proved his ability as a warrior by protecting them, and thus brought his
family into prominence. He founded the city of Chandrādityapura, the
modern Chandor, forty miles north-east of Nasik, and made it his head-
quarters. It was, however, Seuṇachandra, the son of Drīḍhaprahāra, who
first secured feudatory status for his family; his house and patrimony con-
tinued to be named after him as Seuṇavanīsa and Seuṇadeśa down to the
thirteenth century, not only in Mahārāṣṭra but also in the Karnatak and
Telangana.³ He founded a new city on the Sinhineri called after himself
Seuṇapura, and made it his capital. This town is probably the same as the
modern Sinnar in the Nasik District. It seems that Seuṇachandra helped the
Rāṣṭrakūtās in their wars with the Pratihāras and was given feudatory status
in recognition of his services. His principality probably did not extend

¹ Inscriptions from Bombay Karnatak, nos. 11, 22.
² I/A, xii, 124.
³ See I/A, xiv, 514; EI, xiii, 198.
beyond the Nasik District. He may be taken to have flourished from about c. A.D. 880 to 900.

The next three rulers of the family, Dādhiyappa, Bhillama I, and Rājiga, are shadowy figures who ruled from about c. A.D. 900 to 930. Then came Vandugi or Baṇḍiṇa, during whose reign the family came into political prominence owing to his marriage with Vohiyavā, a princess of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and a daughter of Dhorappa, a younger brother of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Krīṣṇa III. This prince was a notable warrior who took an active part in the numerous campaigns of his feudal lord and uncle-in-law Krīṣṇa III. It thus is quite possible that Krīṣṇa may have sanctioned an increase in the ādēr of his enthusiastic son-in-law, but the precise extent of the Yādava principality under Baṇḍiṇa is not known.

The next ruler, Dādhiyasa (c. A.D. 970–83), is again one of whom little is really known. It was during his reign that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was overthrown, but we do not know whether he offered any help to his imperial relative at this critical juncture. Not blood relationship, but the exigencies of the situation, usually dictate the course of rulers in political crises, and we find Bhillama II, the son and successor of Dādhiyasa, transferring his allegiance to the Chāḷukyas, who had brought about the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, though he had himself married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess named Lakshmi.1 Bhillama in fact became a staunch supporter of the new Chāḷukya empire founded by Tailapa II; ‘he compelled’, says a verse in his own copper-plate charter, ‘the goddess of Royalty to remain as a chaste wife in the house of Raṇarājaraṅga (Tailapa II)’. He took an active part in the war with the Paramāras, which eventually ended in the overthrow and death of King Muṇḍa.2 The enthusiastic assistance thus given to the Chāḷukya emperor evidently did not remain unrewarded, for we find the Ahmadnagar District added to his patrimony about this time. It is possible that some outlying territories of the Paramāra dominion in the direction of the Khandesh may also have been allotted to him, though so far we have no direct evidence supporting this view.

As a result of his victories, Bhillama acquired the title of Vijayābharaṇa and he celebrated his success by erecting at Sangamner a temple to Śiva bearing the title of Vijayābharaṇesvara. The earliest Yādava grant yet recovered is a grant in favour of this temple given by this king. He eventually shifted his capital to Sindicagar, the modern Sinnar in the Nāsik District.3

1 The view of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that Jhaṇijha, the father of Lakṣmi, was the Śilāhāra king of Thanā of that name, is untenable. The latter prince flourished between c. A.D. 910 and 950, and it seems unlikely that a prince who ruled from c. A.D. 980 to 1000 could have been his son-in-law.
2 Sangamner plates, v, 16.
3 The Śilāhāra ruler Aparājita Deva (A.D. 975–1010) claims to have afforded protection to a king named Bhillama, who seems to be the contemporary Yādava ruler. Aparājita Deva was a partisan of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas while Bhillama was an adherent of the Chāḷukyas; it is therefore difficult to conjecture how the former could have helped the latter. Perhaps the statement refers to some alliance between the two at the time when both were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.
No details concerning the reign of the next ruler, Vesugi, who had married Nayillādevi, a daughter of a Chālukya feudatory of Gujarāt, have come to light up to the present. He may be presumed to have ruled from about c. A.D. 1005 to 1025. He was succeeded by Bhillama III, who is known to us from a grant made by him.\textsuperscript{1} We may place his reign between about A.D. 1020 and 1040. The status of the Yādava family was raised during his reign by his marriage with Āvalladevi, a daughter of his feudal lord, the Chālukya emperor Jayasimha I. He naturally took an active part in his father-in-law’s campaigns and may well have been of considerable help to him in his wars with the Paramāra ruler Bhoja I.

The next two rulers were Yādugi and Bhillama IV. Their reigns lasted for only about ten years altogether and the fortunes of the family suffered reverses during this period owing to causes not yet known to us. After the death of Bhillama IV, his son Seunachandra II, we are told, restored and raised the fortunes of his family as the god Hari had once restored those of the whole earth during his boar incarnation. In the light of the recent discovery of a new copper plate of this ruler,\textsuperscript{2} his accession has to be placed in c. A.D. 1050. The efforts of Seunachandra met with considerable success; he acquired the title of Mahāmanḍalesvara and became also the overlord of several sub-feudatory families, one of which was then ruling in Khandesh. The Yādava administrative organization was also improved during his rule; in A.D. 1069 his ministry consisted of seven officers who all boasted high-sounding titles.\textsuperscript{3}

Seunachandra was further a skilful diplomat. When the struggle for the throne arose between the two brothers in his overlord’s family, he was able to judge correctly as to which would ultimately be successful. He threw in his lot with the younger son Vikramāditya and offered him substantial aid in overthrowing his elder brother, the reigning emperor Someśvara II. Victory was by no means easily attained, for the revolution in the Chōla capital had put an end to Vikramāditya’s hopes of receiving any help from that quarter; the new Chōla king Vira-Rajendra in fact had championed the cause of Someśvara II. Erammadeva, Seunachandra’s eldest son and destined heir, co-operated with his father in these campaigns against Someśvara II.\textsuperscript{4} He succeeded his father in about 1085 and may be presumed to have ruled down to about c. A.D. 1105. No events of his reign are known to us. He was succeeded in turn by his brother Simharāja, who is credited with having helped in the completion of the Karpūrarātā of his overlord Vikramāditya VI

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\textsuperscript{1} Kalas Budrak grant, I4, xvii, 117.
\textsuperscript{2} The Deolali (Ahmadnagar District) copper plate of this ruler, exhibited in the Annamalai session of the All-India Oriental Conference on 26 Dec. 1955, is dated in Śaka 974 or A.D. 1052.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{I4}, xii, 120.
\textsuperscript{4} The Asvi record gives the credit of the enthronement of Vikramāditya VI to Erammadeva, whilst that of Hemādри attributes it to his father Seunachandra. We can perhaps reconcile the divergent testimony of the two authorities in the way indicated in the text.
by procuring for him a Karpūra elephant. His reign may be placed between about A.D. 1105 and 1120.

Yādava history again becomes obscure during the fifty years following the death of Sinhharāja. A Yādava king named Seuṇachandra appears to be ruling in the Nasik District in A.D. 1142,¹ but he is unknown to Hemādri. He was succeeded in c. 1145 by Mallugi who continued to be loyal to his feudal lord Tailapa III; for we learn that his general Dādā and the latter’s son Mahīdhara were a constant menace to the troops of Bijjaña who were seeking to oust Tailapa.² Mallugi naturally took advantage of the unsettled times in which he was living and sought to extend his kingdom towards Berar by capturing Parnakheṭa (the modern Patkhed in the Akola District) and then invading the kingdom of the Kākatiya ruler Rudra. This invasion was merely undertaken as a threat and embarrassment to the rulers concerned and did not result in any territorial gains. Mallugi’s reign came to an end about A.D. 1160.

Mallugi had two sons, Amaragāṅgeya and Karna. The former succeeded him, but died after a very short reign and was followed on the throne by his son Amaramallugi. After a short time the latter seems to have been overpowered by the usurper Kāliyaballāla, whose precise place in the genealogy is uncertain. Eventually a period of anarchy was ended by Bhillama V, a son of Karna,³ who managed to secure the Yādava throne for his branch of the family in about A.D. 1175.

¹ As proved by the Anjneri inscription, *I.A.*, xii, 126. Since he is not mentioned in the genealogy of Hemādri, R. G. Bhandarkar took him to be a sub-feudatory of the Yādavas.

² *Sūktimuktavali*, vv. 5–9; *EHD*, p. 184.

³ The genealogy of Bhillama outlined above differs from that given by Hemādri or the Paithan plates of Rāmachandra. It is based upon the Gadag record issued by Bhillama himself, who may well be presumed to have given correct information about the name of his own father to the drafter of the grant. Hemādri flourished a century later and may not have had correct knowledge. R. G. Bhandarkar, however, thought that the Gadag inscription was a forgery, and accepted Hemādri’s account of the parentage of Bhillama.
THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS

Bhillama V

Bhillama V was the first Yadava ruler to claim imperial status and assume the imperial titles. This he did in about A.D. 1187, just four years before his death, at which time he also initiated a new reckoning of his regnal years. But his career had really begun at least a decade earlier. In order properly to understand the significance of his reign, it is essential first to take a bird’s-eye view of the political condition of the Deccan during the period.

The Chalukyan power began to decline from about A.D. 1150. Tailapa III, who had then just ascended the imperial throne, proved unable to prevent the gradual usurpation of his power by his Kalachuri feudatory Bijnala. He was in fact a very weak ruler; even a much inferior vassal like the Kukatiya Proja had actually taken him prisoner on the battlefield. No wonder then that a masterful personality like Bijnala was easily able to win an independent status for his family against such feeble opposition. We find him claiming imperial titles in A.D. 1162, immediately after the death of his nominal sovereign Taila III, though in fact he had begun his own regnal reckoning six years earlier.

Empires in Ancient India were generally not unitary states. They usually consisted of a loose federation of a number of feudal states, each of which was, as a rule, individually anxious to throw off the imperial yoke at the earliest convenient opportunity. This was the form of the Chalukyan empire. There were a number of feudatories under Taila III, like the Kukatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra, the Ratnas of Saundatti, the Silhars of Konkan and the Yadavas of northern Maharahstra; these were not at all over-anxious to recognize the imperial claims of Bijnala. The latter on his part failed to consolidate his power and was assassinated in A.D. 1167. He was succeeded by his sons Soyideva, Sankama, Ahavamalla, and Simhana in rapid succession; none of these showed any ability as a ruler. The Kalachuris were supplanted by Someśvara IV, a son of Tailapa III, about A.D. 1183.

While these political revolutions were succeeding each other with lightning

1 The year A.D. 1184 which is given as the initial year of his reign by some records (e.g. ASR, 1930-4, p. 244) may be the year when he succeeded in making himself the complete master of the possessions of the main branch of the family.
speed in the heart of the Chālukyan empire, its outlying feudatories like the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas, who naturally could not be effectively controlled from the centre, were maturing their own imperial plans. The Hoysaḷas had once before become almost independent in the reign of Vīshṇuvardhana, but were eventually curbed by Vīkramāditya VI. Bāḷāḷa, who was now on the throne, being an able ruler, was anxious to achieve what his grandfather had failed to realize. He refused to recognize the imperial claims of the weak successors of Bījjaḷa and fought two engagements with them in 1179. From 1180 onwards we find him assuming the title Rājādhīrāja and from 1185 the full imperial titles Mahārājādhīrāja Paramēśvarā Paramabhaṭṭāraka Pratāpachakrāvartī.

When the general political situation was so unsettled, it is no wonder that the Yādavas also should attempt to secure imperial status for their family. For a time Mallugi was loyal to Tailapa. The victories of his general Dāḍā over Bījjaḷa had probably been won while he was professing to fight for his feudal lord. When, however, Tailapa had eventually succumbed to Bījjaḷa, the warfare carried on by Mallugi against the latter, his troops being then commanded by Mahīdhara, a son of Dāḍā, must have been undertaken with the object of overthrowing the Kalachurī power and acquiring imperial status for himself.

Mallugi, however, did not live long enough to carry out his imperial plans and his death in A.D. 1170 was followed by chaos at the Yādava capital, a state of confusion which prevented the family from taking any effective part in contemporary political developments. Mallugi was succeeded by his eldest son Amaragāṅgeya, who seems to have died after a short reign. If Hemādri's account is to be trusted here, Amaragāṅgeya was succeeded by Amaramallugi, Govindarāja, and Kāliyaballāḷa. We have no definite information either about the mutual relations of these rulers or about the causes which led to their quick disappearance. There is no doubt that the rapid succession of a number of inefficient rulers at the capital seemed to render every prospect of the Yādavas gaining the imperial position almost hopeless.

While the descendants of Amaragāṅgeya were thus engaged in fighting with one another and thus weakening the Yādava power, his brother Karṇa and the latter's son Bhillama were laying the foundations of another Yādava principality which was soon destined to extend its sway over the whole of the Deccan. About Karṇa's career we have no definite information. He was probably a district officer or a sub-feudatory under his brother Amaragāṅgeya. He had an able son, Bhillama, who was quick to realize that the weak Kalachurī imperial rulers were no longer able to protect their petty vassals. He therefore decided not to fight with his cousins for a share in their small patrimony, but rather to bring under his sway the territories

1 EC xi, Dg. no. 44; vi, Md. no. 33.
2 Ibid. v, Hn. no. 70; Ak. no. 127.
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governed by a number of small kings in the Konkan and central Mahā-
rāṣṭra. Like Shivaji in a later age, he began his career by capturing forts in
the Konkan. He first defeated the king of Śrīvardhana, a port in the Konkan,
and then the ruler of Pratyantagada, which is obviously the modern fort of
Prachandagada or Torana in the former Bhor State. He then proceeded
towards Sholapur where he put to death Billama, king of Maṅgalavesṭaka
or Mangalavedeh, a small town in that district.

Bhillama had thus succeeded in securing a fairly large principality for him-
self in the northern Konkan and central Mahārāṣṭra, whilst affairs at the
ancestral Yādava capital were rapidly going from bad to worse. Hemādri
tells us that the Royal Fortune of the Yādava family abandoned the legitimate
heirs and resorted to Bhillama, an uncle of the weakling on the throne, being
attracted by his sterling merit and splendid qualities. In plain language this
statement of the court poet means that Bhillama eventually felt himself justi-
fied in intervening in the affairs at Sinner, setting aside his cousin, the ruling
king, and ascending the throne himself. The precise date of this intervention
is not known, but we may not be far wrong in placing it about A.D. 1180.

Bhillama was not content merely to get back his family patrimony in
northern Mahārāṣṭra; he was anxious also to extend its boundaries and
influence. The situation in the Karnatak was very much confused and un-
settled owing to the triangular fight for supremacy which was going on
among the Kalachuris, the Chālukyas, and the Hoysalas, but Bhillama does
not seem to have thought at first of intervening in it. He turned his attention
rather to Mālwā and Gujarāt, in both of which provinces the situation was
very favourable for an outside invader. Ajayapāla, the Chaulukya king of
Gujarat, had alienated his Jain subjects, and eventually lost his life at the
hands of his own doorkeeper in 1176. His successor Mūḷrāja II (1176–78)
was a mere child, as was also his younger brother who succeeded him in
1178. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Chaulukya government,
Vindhyavarman reconquered Mālwā from the Gurjaras and re-established
the Paramāra power in its ancestral home. Vindhyavarman, however, was
unable to establish himself firmly in Mālwā and moreover the struggle with
the Chaulukyas, though successful in its immediate outcome, had weakened
his power and depleted his resources.

Bhillama therefore turned his attention to Mālwā and Gujarāt as territories
which offered prospects to an invader. The statement in the Mutugi inscrip-

1 There is no definite and decisive evidence to show that Bhillama's raids in Mālwā and Gujarāt
preceded his wars with the Hoysalas. But we do know definitely that his hands were quite full
with his southern expeditions from A.D. 1185 onwards, and thus it is almost certain that his invasion of
Mālwā and Gujarāt must have been planned and carried out earlier when he had no danger to
apprehend from the south. For the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas were then engaged in a deadly
struggle with each other and with the Hoysalas. By first defeating the Paramāras and the Gujarāt
Chaulukyas, Bhillama must have aimed at making his northern frontier safe, so that he might have
no embarrassments from that direction when later engaged in the deadly struggle with the Chālukyas
and Hoysalas.
tion, dated A.D. 1189, that he was ‘a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas’ and ‘the dread roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans, the Gurjaras’ seems to be more than merely hyperbolical. Yādava armies did actually overrun the whole of Mālwā and Lāta or southern Gujarāt. The Chauḷukyas, who were just then preoccupied with the problem presented by the Muslim invasions, could offer no effective opposition, and some of Bhillama’s forces apparently penetrated the country as far as Marwar. For Kelhaṇa, the Chāhamāna king of Naḍḍūla, the modern Nadol in the former Jodhpur State, claims to have defeated Bhillama’s troops in that district. His opponent was far away from his base and so he must have decided to return home on meeting with strong opposition at the hands of Kelhaṇa. In the Mutugi inscription Bhillama is also credited with having defeated the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Nepāla, and Paṅchāla. This, however, seems to be an empty boast, for there is no real evidence that he ever advanced beyond Gujarāt. His armies returned from the boundaries of Rajputana, covered no doubt with glory, but without securing any permanent extension of territory in the domain of the Yādava kingdom. In the Gujarāt expedition, Bhillama received substantial assistance from his general Jahla, who managed to obtain a cheap victory over the Gurjara forces by skilfully introducing a maddened elephant in their midst, a manœuvre which led to the hasty dispersal and flight of the enemy.

Bhillama’s expedition to Mālwā, Gujarāt, and Rajputana clearly did not result in any material addition to his dominions. It, however, increased his self-confidence and made him feel that he might well launch an equally successful attack against his southern neighbours and thus secure the imperial position for his house. While he was engaged in the north, rapid changes had taken place in the Karnatak. The Kalachuri power, which had been previously weakened by the attacks of the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa, was finally overthrown by the Chauḷukya ruler Someśvara IV in A.D. 1183. Someśvara, however, does not appear to have been himself a military leader; the victory was almost entirely due to the genius and energy of his commander-in-chief, Brahma. A number of contemporary records describe this general as the upholder of Chauḷukya glory and as a fire of destruction to the Kalachuri family. He was a skilful leader of the elephant phalanx and had managed to capture sixty of the enemy’s elephants in the decisive engagement which sealed the fate of the Kalachūris.1

Someśvara, however, was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his general’s

1 Sāktimuktāvalli, Introduction, v. 11.

G.O.S. edition reads धूर्ज for गूर्ज; it is obviously a wrong reading.

2 EI, vi, 96.
victory for very long. The Hoysala ruler Ballāla decided to make a bid for the imperial position and Bhillama also felt that he had an equally good chance of success in this direction. The attenuated and weakened Chālukya empire was thus invaded almost simultaneously from the north by Bhillama and from the south by Ballāla. Someśvara decided to deal with the southern invader first and dispatched his general Brahma against Ballāla. This time, however, Brahma was unable to win a victory for his master. His strong elephant phalanx was outmanoeuvred by the more quickly moving cavalry divisions of Ballāla and the Chālukya power was completely shattered. Someśvara made no attempt to defend his capital at Kalyāṇī. We find him swiftly retreating and setting up his new seat of government at Jayantipura or Banavāśi, whence he continued to maintain a precarious existence down to 1189 with the help of his Kadamba feudatory Kāmadeva.¹

It is very probable—though there is no definite evidence on the point—that Ballāla pressed his successful advance still farther and actually captured Kalyāṇī, the imperial capital. It is extremely unlikely that he would have allowed it to remain in the hands of a Chālukya army when its chief had deserted his capital and fled to Banavāśi.

Such was the general political situation when Bhillama decided to throw out a challenge to Ballāla, and to make a bid for the imperial position in the Deccan. The Hoysala army was no doubt flushed with its recent sensational victories, but it seems to have been at the same time considerably weakened by them. For Bhillama was able to secure a resounding victory over it and to plant his imperial Eagle-flag on the ramparts of Kalyāṇī, which had been the capital of the Deccan for about two centuries. Ballāla had to beat a hasty retreat to his own capital of Dvārāsamudra, and the whole of the southern Chālukya empire, which he had conquered from Brahma and Someśvara, fell into the hands of Bhillama,² who promptly occupied the whole territory and pursued the retreating Hoysala forces at least as far as the Hassan District in Mysore State. Periya Sahana, the commander-in-chief of his cavalry, seems to have taken a leading part in this brilliant campaign. The new territories were in any case put under his charge.³ Certain records of Bhillama seem to indicate that he started a new reckoning of his regnal years in 1187;⁴ it is probable that this was the year of his epoch-making capture of Kalyāṇī.

Ballāla had been long planning to secure the paramount position in the Deccan for his family and he was not prepared to give up the struggle even after the loss of Kalyāṇī. He spent a couple of years in reorganizing his forces

¹ EC, xi, Cd. no. 93.
² The statement of Hemādri that the Hoysala king was killed at or after the fall of Kalyāṇī must be incorrect, if it is intended to refer to the reigning Hoysala ruler Ballāla. Probably some collateral prince of the Hoysala family may have fallen while defending this city.
³ EI, xv, 59.
⁴ SIER, 1930, App. E, no. 18.
and then began his march northwards with a view to reoccupying the southern provinces of the defunct Chāluksya empire. By June, A.D. 1189, he had managed to establish his supremacy over Banavasi and Nolambavadi,¹ and thence proceeded to invade the Bijapur and Dharwar Districts, probably as a prelude to the ultimate capture of Kalyani.

Bhillama was not slow to realize the danger threatening him from this new move by Ballala. He marshalled a strong force consisting of 200,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, and moved out to meet the invader. In June, A.D. 1191, we find him already encamped at Gadag in the Dharwar District in the course of his southward march. Soon after this date the two rival claimants for the sovereignty of the Deccan met each other at Soratur in the neighbourhood of Dharwar where a sanguinary battle was fought. This time Ballala was completely successful and the Yadava army was defeated with great slaughter. ‘In order further to sow the seeds for the growth of his glory’, says a contemporary Hoysala record,² this emperor of the south prepared the ground by his conquest and from Soratur as far as Belvola, made it fit for being turned up by the ploughshares of the cultivators, having manured it with the bodies of the myriad brave warriors of the Sevana army.³

There may be some exaggeration in the language used in this record, but there can be no doubt that the Hoysala victory was a decisive one. Jaitrapala, the Yadava general, tried to stem the tide of victory by taking shelter in the stronghold of Lokkimgudi (modern Lokkundi), but Ballala captured the fort without much difficulty. The Yadava general was killed while defending this place, and after its loss the Yadava retreat degenerated into a complete rout. Ballala captured a number of important forts such as Erambara (Yellurga in the Hyderabad State), Kurrugoda (near Bellary), Gotti (about 50 miles east of Bellary), and Hangal. The Yadavas were all driven across the Krishnâ and the Malaprabha and the territories to their north completely cleared of them, these rivers continuing for twenty years thereafter to be the boundary between the two contending powers.

A Hoysala record dated A.D. 1198 tells us how Ballala moistened his sword with the blood of the Pandya king, whetted it on the grindstone of the head of Bhillama and sheathed it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi. It is known that the battle of Soratur was fought sometime toward the end of A.D. 1191, which is also known to have been the period of the accession of Bhillama’s son and successor Jaitugi. It is also known that Kâmadeva, the Pandya king of Ucchandi, and Jaitugi, the general of Bhillama, both died while fighting against the Hoysalas.

May we then accept the claim of Ballala that he killed in battle not only

¹ Ec, v, Ak. no. 57. ² Annegiri plates, dated A.D. 1192; Ec, v, Cn. no. 179. ³ Ec, vi, Belur no. 77. ⁴ Bijapur inscription shows that December 1196 fell in the sixth regnal year of Jaitugi; BG, 1, ii, 521.
Jaitugri and Kāmadeva but also his chief foe Bhillama V? Probably not, for this claim seems to be an exaggerated one. The Gadag inscriptions of Ballalā, issued within a year of his sensational victories and engraved at a town which had witnessed his victorious marches and battles, state that the Hoysaḷa ruler killed in action only Jaitrasinha, who is also expressly described therein as the right hand of Bhillama. This document was composed by Agniśarmaṇ under the express direction of King Ballalā and it is very unlikely that it would have omitted to mention the death of Bhillama on the battlefield, had it in fact taken place. It appears that Bhillama, who was already an ageing man, was much shaken by this defeat, which finally shattered all the dreams of his life, and died broken-hearted soon afterwards. Poets of the later Hoysaḷa records, therefore, felt themselves justified in describing their master as having used the head of Bhillama as a whetting stone for his sword.¹

Before concluding our account of the career of Bhillama, we have to refer to the story of the marriage of Prithvärajā Chāhamāna with Śaśivratā, a daughter of Bhānu, a Yādava king of Devagiri, as narrated by Chandbardai in his Prithvärajā Rāṣṭo.² With his usual poetic embellishments and exaggerated descriptions, the bard tells us how Śaśivratā and Prithvärajā fell in love on hearing of each other in the songs of a wandering bard who visited each court in turn; how their love for a time appeared destined to be frustrated since Śaśivratā’s marriage had been otherwise arranged by her father with Virachandra, a nephew of Jayachandra, the king of Kanauj; and how Prithvärajā galloped off to Devagiri in the nick of time and managed to carry away the willing princess, leaving his army behind him to defeat the Yādava and Gāhaḍavāla forces. Prithvärajā and Jayachandra may in some sense be regarded as rival kings of Pañcchāla, and Yādava inscriptions claim, as we have shown above, that Bhillama had defeated the king of that country. It is, however, very difficult to say whether any historic facts are reflected in the bardic story narrated by Chandbardai. The name of the Yādava king Bhānu in his account is somewhat similar to that of Bhillama and there is nothing inherently improbable in the idea that a Yādava king should have planned his daughter’s marriage with a prince of the Kanauj family. But unless some reliable historical evidence should become available to show that

¹ Messrs. Venkatasubbayah and Srikantha have given a different version of the events of the Yādava-Hoysaḷa struggle. They argue that the battle of Soratur took place just before December 1195, that Bhillama reorganized his forces and invaded the Hoysaḷa kingdom about June 1191, recapturing then most of the forts previously wrested from his hands, that he was defeated a second time and killed sometime between June and December of 1191, and that Ballalā recaptured the forts in the course of the next two or three years (IHQ, iv, 120; NLA, i, 414). It seems most unlikely that if Bhillama had been so signally defeated in the battle of Soratur, as he is said to have been in the Hoysaḷa records, he could so soon have reorganized his forces and succeeded in the course of only six months in driving Ballalā from most of the forts which had been taken from him just before.
² Samaja, 25.
the Gāhādavāla and Chāhamāna armies did really move into the Deccan to fight a battle there with each other, one cannot accept the story as historical. It may be a bardic invention with the object of showing that the feud between Prithvirāja and Jayachandra was one of long standing and did not originate merely with the marriage of Saṁyogitā. The account of the marriage of Śaśīvatā is merely a revised edition of the story of the svayaṁvara of Saṁyogitā; it also contains a serious anachronism when it represents Devagiri as the Yādava capital in about 1180. Bhillama is not known to have had a son named Narendra as the Rāsaō asserts (25, 174). As matters stand today, it appears to have hardly any actual historical foundation.

Whether Bhillama was killed on the battlefield or not, there can be no doubt that his career had a very tragic end. A series of victories which he had won, first against the Paramāras and Gujarāt Chaulukyas and then against the Karnatak Chālukyas and the Hoysalas, had naturally led him to think that he would remain the undisputed overlord of the Deccan, but all his plans were upset on the fateful battlefield of Soratur. The territory between the Kṛishnā and the Tūngabhadrā, which was destined to be the bone of contention for centuries between the Deccani and Mysorean powers, slipped away from his hands and was annexed by the Hoysala king Ballāja II, who captured and occupied all the important forts and cities in it. Bhillama was more than sixty at this time and he must have died broken-hearted, just as the Peshwa Nānasāhib did after the battle of Pānipat.

The tragic end of Bhillama should not, however, blind us to his greatness as a warrior and statesman. He was a self-made man; he had inherited hardly any patrimony. He had to carve out a principality for himself in the northern Konkan and southern Mahārāṣṭra. His intervention in the affairs of the Yādava clan of Sinner was no doubt a usurpation from one point of view, but there can be no doubt that the Yādava family would never have become the overlords of the Deccan had third-rate rulers like Amaragāngeya and Kāliyaballāja continued to be at the helm of its affairs for very much longer. Bhillama not only consolidated his power in Mahārāṣṭra, but also carried out successful raids into Mālvā and Gujarāt, which brought glory to his arms and riches into his treasury. He intervened in Karnatak politics at the right moment and managed to oust both the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas. His armies at one time overran and occupied the whole of the Raichur Doab. He had well and truly laid the foundation of the Yādava empire. For we should not forget that even after the decisive victory at Soratur his opponent Ballāja did not dare to cross the Kṛishnā and march into Mahārāṣṭra. The Yādava armies, though defeated, were not annihilated, and the enemy dared not bear the lion in his own den. To conclude, like most founders of empires, Bhillama was a soldier, a statesman, and a man of tact and vision.
Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi towards the end of A.D. 1191. It was once believed that this prince met his end during the Karnatak campaign of his father, but that view is no longer tenable. The Jaitugi or Jaitrasiintha, killed in the Hoysala war, is obviously the person of that name mentioned as Bhillama's feudatory general and minister in a Gadag record.\(^1\) Had Jaitugi, the crown prince, fallen in the war, Hoysala records would not have failed to mention his relationship with the Yâdava king; they would certainly not have remained content merely to record his name. In fact, Hemâdri definitely mentions him as having ruled, and contemporary records have also been found which refer to his reign and thus support the historian.\(^2\)

The affairs of the Yâdava kingdom were in a critical state at the time of the accession of Jaitugi.\(^3\) It appeared as if the Hoysala armies, flushed with their recent victories, would cross the Krîshnâ and overrun the whole Yâdava kingdom. Jaitugi was undoubtedly a soldier of great courage and resolution, for he was not at all unnerved by the recent disasters. He reorganized his forces and presented such a strong front that Ballâla had to give up the idea of pressing his victories further and crowning them with the capture of Kalyâni and Devagiri. The two sides tacitly accepted the Malaprabhâ-Krishnâ line as the boundary of their kingdoms and neither made any attempt to cross it for nearly two decades.

Jaitugi, however, was anxious to rehabilitate the military reputation of his army by obtaining victories elsewhere, and decided to launch an offensive against the rising power of the Kâkatiyas in Telangana. The Yâdavas felt that since they were the successors of the Châlukyas, all the former feudatories of the latter should at once automatically recognize their overlordship. The Kâkatiyas not only did not do so, but exploited the critical situation which had arisen following the disastrous Karnatak campaign by launching an attack on the Yâdavas from their rear. It would appear that on at least one occasion the Kâkatiya armies penetrated as far as the Yâdava capital under the generalship of Mahâdeva, the brother of the reigning king.\(^4\) Jaitugi had to bide his time for a while. When affairs on the Krishnâ front became more settled about A.D. 1194, and it was evident that there would be no immediate

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\(^1\) EI, iii, 219.  
\(^2\) Fleet, BG, i, ii, 321.  
\(^3\) A Hoysala record dated 1194 (EC, v, Arsiikere no. 5) no doubt mentions Ballâla's capture of the fort of Lokkundi from Jaitugi. But it does not refer to this as a recent event; the capture of the fort there mentioned was in all probability really that which took place while it was held by the minister Jaitrapâla, who actually died while defending his command during the preceding reign.  
\(^4\) The Garavapada inscription, EI, xviii, 351. This incident could not have happened during the short reign of Mahâdeva himself, for at that time the Yâdavas were in effective occupation of the greater portion of the Kâkatiya kingdom. It could have happened only during the reign of Rudra, when the Yâdavas were engaged in a deadly struggle with the Hoysalas.
danger of a Hoysala invasion, he launched a sudden hurricane attack against the Kākatiyas. The reigning Kākatiya monarch Rudra was killed in the course of the campaign;¹ Hemādri grows eloquent in describing how Jaitugi performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the king of Telangana.

The death of the king on the battlefield broke down all the Kākatiya resistance; for a Kākatiya record itself describes how chaos followed that event and how a number of chieftains ‘sought to claim the hand of the Kākatiya Royal Glory, who for a time found herself in a thorny jungle’.²

The death of Rudra took place soon after A.D. 1195. The Kākatiya history during the next few years is obscured by a veil of considerable confusion and uncertainty. It appears that either in the fateful battle in which Rudra was killed, or soon thereafter, Jaitugi succeeded in taking prisoner Gaṇapati, who was a nephew of the dead Kākatiya monarch. This prince remained in captivity at Devagiri, but resistance to the Yādava invaders continued to be offered by his father Mahādeva, who had succeeded his brother Rudra in about 1196. Mahādeva was ably assisted by Racherla, one of Rudra’s generals.

Mahādeva’s efforts to drive out the invader proved as unsuccessful as those of his brother, and he too died on the battlefield in conflict with the Yādava invaders. A Kākatiya record clearly admits this fact when it describes in flowery terms how this ruler fell asleep in the battlefield on the temple of his royal elephant and awoke in heaven to find his head resting on the bosom of his heavenly spouse.

The death of Mahādeva intensified the chaos in the Kākatiya kingdom. Darkness and confusion prevailed all around, life and property became unsafe, and Brāhmans could no longer discharge their religious functions. It seems that for a time Jaitugi sought to annex the whole kingdom and administer it from Devagiri. He did not succeed in this effort and he therefore eventually decided to follow the traditional policy of Hindu princes which recommends that a conqueror should reinstate a relative of the last ruler upon the throne of the conquered country. Gaṇapati, the son of Mahādeva, was already a captive in his hands³ and he decided to place him on the

¹ In Hemādri’s praśasti, the Kākatiya king killed in war is described as Raudra, which would suggest that not Rudra himself, but a son of his, was killed on the battlefield. If Rudra had died a natural death instead of being killed in the war, there would not have supervened that chaos in the Kākatiya kingdom which has been so graphically described by the Pālampet inscription (Hyderabad Arch. Series, Monograph 3). And in fact Rudra is not known to have had a son; he was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva. We have, therefore, to conclude that in Hemādri’s praśasti, raudra is a clerical mistake for rudra, due to a scribe anxious to differentiate between the two consecutive words in the expression rudrasya rudrākriteḥ. Dīsgupta’s suggestion that Raudra may refer to the successor of Rudra—his brother Mahādera (IC, iv, 473)—seems very improbable. A brother is never denoted by this tadhika word-formation.
² Pālampet Inscription, Hyderabad Arch. Series, Monograph 3.
³ Ibid.
Kākatiya throne, naturally after securing a promise from him that he would rule as a loyal feudatory.

At what exact date Gaṇapati was released from imprisonment in Yādava capital and reinstated in his kingdom we do not know.¹ There was unquestionably an intervening period of anarchy as suggested by the Pālampet inscription. We need not, however, now suppose that the period was a long one or that Gaṇapati continued to live as a captive in Devagiri until about 1210;² for an inscription of his has been recently discovered which shows that he was ruling as a king in 1203.³ His later inscriptions prove that A.D. 1198 was his first reignal year and we may therefore conclude that he was really released in that year soon after the death of his father. Gaṇapati for a long time continued to be a loyal feudatory of his overlord.

Very few other political events in the reign of Jaitugi are known. He is credited with the defeat of the kings of the Pāṇḍyas, the Chojas, the Mālavas, the Lāṭas, the Gurjaras, the Turushakas, and the rulers of Nepāla and Pāṇchāla in one record.⁴ But there is no doubt that most of this claim is a mere empty boast. The Yādava armies certainly did not again cross the Krishnā after their disastrous defeat in the earlier reign, and thus the alleged victory over the Chojas and the Pāṇḍyas must be purely imaginary. The claim to the overthrow of the kings of Nepāla, Pāṇchāla, and the Turushakas seems to be equally unfounded. The statement, however, that he defeated the kings of Lāṭa (southern Gujarāt) and Mālwā may perhaps refer to some frontier skirmishes with the forces of these states which lay to the north of the Yādava kingdom. It does not seem probable that the Yādava armies ever penetrated deeply into any of these principalities during the reign of Jaitugi. His hands were in any case too full of the Hoysala and Kākatiya affairs. Exploiting the situation created by the discomfiture of the Chaulukya king Bhima at the hands of Aibak, Subhaṭavarman, the Paramāra ruler of Mālwā, attacked King Sinha of southern Gujarāt, who was a Chaulukya feudatory. It is likely that, taking advantage of the preoccupation of Subhaṭavarman with this affair, Sahadeva, a general of Jaitugi in charge of the northern frontier, may have carried out a raid into Mālwā. This seems to be the only historic fact underlying the claim to the defeat of Mālava, Lāṭa, and Gurjara kings put forward on behalf of Jaitugi in the Mangoli inscription.

Sankama was the chief minister (mahāpradhana) and general of Jaitugi.⁵

¹ The view of R. G. Bhandarkar that Gaṇapati was kept in prison by his uncle Rudra (EHD, p. 186) and the conjecture of N. N. Dasgupta that he was imprisoned by his father for misconduct (IC, iii, 474) are both untenable. The issue is clinched by the expression yuddhi dhīritam which shows conclusively that Gaṇapati was taken prisoner in war.

² This is the view of Dr. Ram Rao, who thought that Gaṇapati might have dated his reignal years not from the time of his actual accession but from the time of the death of his father. (JAHRS, vi, 34). His main argument in support of this suggestion was that there are no inscriptions of Gaṇapati prior to A.D. 1209.

³ A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telengana Districts, p. 40.

⁴ Mangoli Inscription, EL, v, 33.

⁵ BG, i, ii, 521.
He was given the sief of the Tardavadi one thousand. Probably he had been largely responsible for the success of the Kākatiya campaign. There were a number of feudatories in the kingdom, not all of whom had yet transferred their allegiance to the new imperial power. In Khandesh, however, the Nikumbha brothers Soideva and Hemāḍideva were ruling as loyal vassals of the Yādava king.

Jaitugi was not merely a soldier. He had a real love for scholarship and patronized men of learning. Lakshmīdhara, a son of Bhāskarāchārya the famous astronomer, was selected by him as his chief court pandit. Like his father, Lakshmīdhara also excelled as a scholar.

It is difficult to state when precisely the reign of Jaitugi came to an end. A.D. 1196 is so far his latest known date from inscriptions, and a solitary record of his successor Simhaṇa suggests that he began to rule as early as A.D. 1197. But epigraphical evidence is very conflicting on this point. One set of records would show that A.D. 1200 was his first regnal year; a second set suggests that it may be A.D. 1207 and a third set indicates that he ascended the throne only in A.D. 1210. There is no doubt that Jaitugi continued to rule after A.D. 1197; for otherwise he could not have been credited with the restoration of Gaṇapati, which did certainly not take place before A.D. 1198.

It seems that from A.D. 1200 onwards Simhaṇa was formally associated with his father in the administration as yuvaraṇa, and therefore some of his later records are seen counting his regnal years from that date. The balance of evidence seems to show that Jaitugi continued to rule throughout the first decade of the thirteenth century and was succeeded by his son only in 1210.

Simhaṇa
(c. 1210 (?) to 1247)

Simhaṇa, who succeeded his father in about 1210, was undoubtedly the most important and powerful ruler among the Yādavas. He had acted as yuvaraṇa for about ten years, during which he had received valuable training in administration and the conduct of military campaigns. He had taken an

1 BG, i, ii, 521.  
2 ASR, 1928–9, p. 172.  
3 At one and the same village, Kandgall, two records suggest that A.D. 1200 was the first regnal year, but a third one shows that it could not have begun before 1210. ASR, 1928–9, p. 118.  
4 Kandgall inscriptions, dated in A.D. 1220 and 1208 respectively, are stated to be in the twentieth and eighth regnal year respectively of King Simhaṇa. ASR, 1928–9, p. 118. See also SMHD, ii, 178.  
5 ASR, 1928–30, p. 175. The Kallaru stone inscription (EC, viii, Sb. no. 293) suggests 1208–9 as the initial year.  
6 The Kadkali inscription (LA, xii, 100), the Kuppatur inscription (EC, viii, Sb. no. 250), and the Elevata inscription (ibid., Sb. no. 402) suggest a third date.  
7 It is possible to argue that Simhaṇa ascended the throne in A.D. 1200 and that a second coronation took place in 1210 to mark some important conquest, when a new regnal reckoning was initiated. This, however, does not seem to have been actually the case.  
8 Simhaṇa’s birth was regarded as a favour granted by the goddess Nārasimhī of Pārṇakheta; hence he was named after her. See the Taṅgaon Plates v, 51; SMHD, iii, 12.
active part in the successful operations against the Kākatīyas, and had learnt valuable lessons in warfare from his experiences. The defeat inflicted by Ballāla on his grandfather rankled in his mind and he was eager to avenge it. He was also anxious to curb the power of troublesome feudatories, who were always ready to exploit the difficulties of the imperial power. He was an able ruler and a skilful general and it was his ambition to make the Yādava empire as extensive as that of the Chālukyas. He was able to realize this ambition since he was favoured with a long life and had the skill to select competent officers and the wisdom to repose confidence in them.

His first object after his accession was to avenge the disaster of Soratur. Already as āruṇā he had taken part in the southward expansion of the Yādava power. The Krīṣṇā-Malaprabhā boundary line between the Yādava and Hoysaḷa kingdoms was in fact disturbed as early as A.D. 1206; for an inscription dated in that year shows that part of Bijapur District had been already conquered by that time and put in charge of a Yādava general named Kesavadeva. The war against the Hoysaḷas was continued with redoubled energy and grim determination after Simhaṇa’s accession in A.D. 1210. A Gadag inscription shows that the greater part of the Dharwar District was already in his possession in 1213. His armies had, however, penetrated even a year earlier much farther to the south and had overrun the greater part of the Anantpur, Bellary, Chitaldurg, and Shimoga Districts, as is made quite clear by a number of Yādava records discovered in these districts. The campaign was conducted under the personal supervision and direction of Simhaṇa himself. The whole of Banvasi (the Shimoga District of Mysore) was annexed before A.D. 1215 and handed over to Sarvādhikarin Mayideva who was a great confidant of the emperor. In A.D. 1222 this commander was succeeded by Vanka Ravata, an officer hailing from Karad in the Satara District.

The Anantpur and Bellary Districts of the Madras presidency and the Chitaldurg District of Mysore had also been brought under the Yādava sway and were being governed at this time either by officers directly appointed by the emperor or by feudatories who professed whole-hearted allegiance to the Yādava conqueror. It may be added here that all this territory continued to be governed by the Yādavas practically throughout the thirteenth century, for a large number of inscriptions of all the later Yādavas are found in it. It is clear that the succeeding Hoysaḷa rulers reconciled themselves to its loss and did not attempt its reconquest.

The Karnatak expedition came to a successful end by A.D. 1215 but

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1 A few late records credit him with the beheading of one Telanga king and the placing of another upon the empty throne (Munoli inscription, JBBRAI, xii, 42; Chikka Sakuna inscription, MAŚR, 1929, p. 143). This tradition is, however, obviously a reflection of the fact that he, as āruṇā, co-operated with his father in bringing about these events.
2 SIER, 1927-8, App. E, no. 264.
3 EC, viii, Sb. 221, 224, 227, 309, 376; SII, ix, nos. 365-7.
4 EC, vii, S. no. 95; Fl. nos. 44 and 48.
5 IA, ii, 297.
6 Ibid., Fl. no. 20.
Simhana could not give any long respite to his troops. We find him engaged in an arduous campaign against the Kolhapur Silahara king, Bhoja II, in A.D. 1216 which kept his forces busy for a period of about two years. The cause of the war was the imperial ambition of the contending rulers. Vijayaditya, the father of Bhoja II, had played the role of king-maker and had helped Bijja tooust Taila III and to secure the Kalyani throne. Bhoja (A.D. 1175–1215) naturally decided to assume imperial titles when he found the Chalukyas, the Kalachuris, the Yadavas, and the Hoysalas engaged in an apparently interminable internecine conflict. In A.D. 1187 we discover him calling himself Vikrama of the Kali Age1 and in A.D. 1203 we find Somadeva, a protege of his, according him imperial titles like Paramabhattaraka, Rajadhiraja, and Paschimachakravarti.2 It is clear that the discomfiture of the Yadavas at the hands of the Hoysalas and their later commitments in Andhradesa made Bhoja feel that the time was opportune for him to assert his independence. He decided to measure his strength with the Yadavas and it seems that he attacked them in the rear when they were engaged in their Karnatak offensive during A.D. 1210–15. Following his victorious return, Simhana therefore decided to remove this thorn from his side, once for all, and invaded the Silahara kingdom. Bhoja suffered a defeat and fled from his capital Kolhapur to the adjoining fort of Parnala or Panhala. Simhana has been described as 'an eagle who caused the serpent in the form of the mighty ruler Bhoja, hiding in the fort of Parnala, to take to flight'.3 It would seem that the fort could not endure a prolonged siege and that Bhoja had to abandon this last stronghold and take refuge elsewhere.

The subsequent fate of Bhoja is not known. Nothing more is heard of him. He was at this time already an old man and seems to have died either in the battle or of a broken heart soon afterwards. He had a son named Gandhara-ditya, but there is no evidence whatsoever to show that this prince was allowed to rule as a feudatory. We begin from this date onwards to get Yadava inscriptions in Kolhapur itself, the Silahara capital, the earliest of which, dated in A.D. 1218, refers to the erection of a gate before the temple of Ambabai by Tailapa, an officer of Simhana.4 It is therefore clear that Simhana thought Kolhapur to be an important strategic place which should be under his own direct administration and decided to annex the Silahara kingdom. The annexation took place just before A.D. 1217, for a Yadava record, dated in that year though hailing from the distant Shimoga District, delights in describing Simhana as a Vajra (thunderbolt) to the Parnala fort.5 Obviously the capture of the fort was an important recent feat and had to be duly proclaimed to the new Yadava subjects in the Karnatak.

The relations between the Yadavas on the one hand and the Paramaras and Chaulukyas on the other were never very cordial. We have seen already

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1 Graham, Kolhapur, p. 397.
2 IA, x, 756.
3 BG, i, ii, 254.
4 SMHD, iii, 19.
5 EC, viii, Sb. no. 135.
that Bhilama V had invaded the territories of both these powers in A.D. 1185. During the next thirty years the Chaulukya kingdom became steadily weaker, but the Yādavas were unable to take advantage of this owing to their reverses in the south and their subsequent efforts to retrieve their fortunes and improve their position on that frontier. The Paramāra king Subhaṭavarman, however, was still smarting from the memory of the wanton invasions of his province by the Chaulukyas during the preceding half century and advanced to invade Gujarāt soon after the overthrow of the Chaulukya forces by Qutb-ud-Din Aibak in A.D. 1194. The Chaulukya king Bhīma was unable to withstand this attack and had to submit to defeat. Later on, southern Gujarāt was also wrested from the Gurjara kingdom, and the Chāhamāna chief Simha, who was ruling there as a feudatory of the Chaulukyas, was obliged to transfer his allegiance to Subhaṭavarman. From Broach as his base Subhaṭavarman invaded Gujarāt and captured its capital. His success, however, was but short-lived, for very soon he was driven out by Lavaṇaprasāda, a minister of Bhīma. The Paramāras, however, continued to exercise overlordship over Simha, the king of Lāta, even during the reign of Arjunavarman (c. A.D. 1210–17), the successor of Subhaṭavarman.

Such was the situation in Mālwā and Gujarāt when, elated by his signal successes in the south, Simhaṇa decided to try his luck in the north. The new Paramāra ruler Arjunavarman had married a Hoysāla princess, named Sarvakalā, who was probably a daughter or granddaughter of the Hoysāla king Ballāla. While Simhaṇa was inflicting a series of defeats upon the Hoysāla king, we may well presume that his Paramāra son-in-law did not remain a passive spectator of the misfortunes of his wife’s relations. He may have attacked or at least prepared to attack Simhaṇa from the north. Accordingly as soon as his hands became relatively free from his commitments in the Karnatak and Kolhapur, Simhaṇa launched a counter-offensive against Mālwā in A.D. 1215.

The expedition seems to have been fairly successful. Hemādrī claims that Arjunavarman was not only defeated but also killed in the battle, and when we remember that this ruler’s reign came to an abrupt close before A.D. 1216 or 1217, we may well accept the statement. After the overthrow of the Paramāras, the position of King Simha of Lāta became very critical. He was no match for Simhaṇa. He therefore transferred his allegiance to his former suzerain and the Chaulukya king Bhīma was able to enlist the help of his able minister Lavaṇaprasāda. The drama Hammiramadamardana which refers to this alliance is, however, curiously enough, silent as to the events that followed it. The Kirtikaumudi, however, states that Lavaṇaprasāda com-

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1 El, viii, p. 103, v. ii.
2 It may, however, be pointed out that some doubt arises about the truth of Hemādrī’s claim from the circumstance that the Bahāl inscription, dated A.D. 1222, refers only to the defeat and not to the death of Arjunavarman.
pelled Simhâna to retire. But it is difficult to be sure whether this retirement refers to the expedition of A.D. 1215 or to a later invasion. It would seem that Simhâna was satisfied with his victory in Mâlwa and did not think it worth while to risk an attack on Lâta as a part of the same campaign, after he had learned that its king had made an alliance with the Gurjara ruler. In any case his army returned to the capital in about A.D. 1218, for we find his victories in Mâlwa and Gujarât being made known in a proclamation to his new Karnatak subjects as early as September 1218. The kings of Lâta and Gujarât could describe the return of Simhâna with some justification as a victory for their own forces. Though foiled in his plan of the conquest of Lâta, Simhâna must have been pleased with the total outcome of his expedition, for it had completely broken the power of the Paramâras, a feat which was a necessary prelude to the conquest of Gujarât.

With his armies once more free from commitments in Karnatak and Kolhapur, Simhâna launched a large and well-equipped expedition against Lâta in A.D. 1220. Kholeśvara, a Brâhman general of Simhâna, who had already distinguished himself on several battlefields, was selected to lead the Yâdava army. The choice was a happy one, for the sief of the general lay in Khandesh and Berar, and so he was quite familiar with the terrain of the country in which his forces were to operate. Lâta, or southern Gujarât, was still being ruled by the Châhamâna ruler Simha. His was a small kingdom and he had formerly been able to withstand the Yâdavas simply because he could at that time be sure of the backing either of the Paramâras or of the Chaulukyas. But the Paramâra power had now been broken and the Chaulukya throne had been usurped by an upstart named Jayantasisinha. Both Bhima and his minister Lavanaprasâda were more concerned in ousting this usurper than in helping Simhâna, who had never been really steadfast in his loyalty to them. Kholeśvara therefore secured an easy victory; in the battle that ensued King Simha was killed and so also was his brother Sindhurâja. The latter’s son Saṅgrâmasisinha, or Śankha, was taken prisoner and the Yâdava flag was planted on the ramparts of Broach. The Ambe inscription of Kholeśvara, dated v.s. 811, seems to confirm this account.

1. Simhâna: दृषियः: दृषिपालिपि धनसिन्योत्तिविभ्रम:।
   शेष तद्विपरीतेऽपि परितः कृत्व निविषम।

2. EC, vii, Sk. no. 91.
4. The date A.D. 1222, which has been given in the text above as that of the expedition in which Simhâna and Sindhurâja were killed and Śankha taken prisoner, is a conjectural though a very probable one. The Ambe inscription of 1228 mentions the death in battle of King Simhâna. The Haumitrâmaddamardana, composed sometime between A.D. 1220 and 1230, refers not only to the death of Simhâna’s brother Sindhurâja at the hands of the Yâdavas, but also discloses that Saṅgrâmasisinha had already at this time been released from the Yâdava prison and had twice tried to organize an expedition against Gujarât with the help of Simhâna. Probably Saṅgrâmasisinha’s demand for the restoration of Cambay (referred to in the Vasantovilâsa, canto V) was also made before A.D. 1230. Saṅgrâmasisinha therefore must have been occupying the throne of Broach for some years before A.D. 1230. The defeat and death of his father and uncle and his own imprisonment may therefore have taken place in A.D. 1222.
THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS
dated A.D. 1228, describes how the victorious general raised his column of
to the shore at Broach. Sinhaṇa, however, decided not to annex Lāṭa; after a while he released Saṅgrāmasimha from captivity and allowed
him to rule at Broach as his own feudatory. This second expedition of
Sinhaṇa may be presumed to have ended about A.D. 1223.

At about this time both the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras had become
very much weakened and Saṅgrāmasimha therefore decided to improve his
position with the help of Sinhaṇa by remaining consistently loyal to him.
While his father and uncle were engaged in the war with the Yādavas,
Lavaṇaprasāda, the de facto Chaulukya ruler, had seized the important port
of Cambay belonging to the kingdom of Lāṭa and annexed it to Gujarāt.
Vāstupāla was appointed its governor in A.D. 1219 and the city had begun
to prosper under his able administration. Very soon, however, Gujarāt was
threatened from the north by the king of Marwar, and the Muslims also
began to make ominous movements of their armies with a view to attack
Aṇahilapatiṇa. Saṅgrāmasimha decided to exploit this situation for his own
advantage and sent an ultimatum to Vāstupāla to surrender Broach to him.
On Vāstupāla’s refusal to do so, he attacked the city, but failed miserably in
his venture. He had to retire discomfited and disgraced. The precise date of
this event is difficult to determine, but it may perhaps be placed in about
A.D. 1225.

What Saṅgrāmasimha could not achieve by his own unaided efforts, he
tried to realize by a coalition. He induced his overlord Sinhaṇa to form
common cause with Devapāla, the new king of Mālā, and to launch a
joint attack upon the tottering kingdom of Gujarāt. He himself assumed the
command of one of the invading armies. The main Yādava force was under
the command of Kholesvāra, who had already distinguished himself in the
earlier campaign in Gujarāt.

The advance of the allied invading force aroused a storm of frantic terror
in Gujarāt, which has been graphically described in the Kirtikaumudi, canto V.
The capital was thrown into great confusion; people ceased building houses
and collecting corn from the fields. The townspeople fought with each other
to secure vehicles of any kind with which to flee into the country before the
enemy’s troops. In times of distress, says the poet, Chakrabhirt (i.e. God
Vishṇu, the wielder of chakra, or in its other meaning ‘a cart which possesses
wheels’) alone is the ultimate recourse for men. People had good reason for
their consternation, for the invading army was already burning the villages
on its route and the flames lit up the skies at night.

The divergent accounts of the situation given by the different authors, in
whom poetic feeling was more evident than a sense of history, make it
difficult for us to reconstruct the actual course of this invasion with any

1 Vasantaśīla, canto V; Kirtikaumudi, canto V. It does not seem probable that Saṅgrāmasimha
was helped in this expedition by his feudal lord Sinhaṇa.
certainty. To make the confusion greater still, none of our authors gives any date for the events described by him. It, however, seems very probable that the consternation described in the Kirtikaumnudī took place at the time of the coalition referred to in the Hammiranyadamardana on pp. 5 and 17. If such is in fact the case, it appears that Lavaṇaprasāda eventually retrieved the situation by a clever ruse. One of his spies secured service in the camp of Devapāla, the king of Mālwā, and managed to steal his best horse branded with the master’s name. This was eventually given to Saṅgrāmasimha by another spy as a present from Devapāla. In the course of time it was contrived that a forged letter should fall into the hands of Simhaṇa, purporting to be a secret communication from Devapāla to Saṅgrāmasimha. The letter referred to the present of the horse, assured Saṅgrāmasimha that Devapāla would attack Simhaṇa in the rear as soon as he entered Gujarāt, and exhorted Saṅgrāmasimha to take that opportunity of striking off the head of Simhaṇa in order to avenge his father’s death which had been brought about by the Deccan king. The letter produced the desired effect and Simhaṇa was convinced that his so-called allies were only conspiring to bring about his downfall. Lavaṇaprasāda was threatened from the north by a powerful coalition and he made overtures for peace to Simhaṇa which were welcomed by him. The statement in the Kirtikaumnudī (iv, 63) that Simhaṇa did not dare to penetrate farther into Gujarāt although Lavaṇaprasāda had withdrawn his forces in order to attack his northern enemies, ‘because deer are afraid to traverse the path once traversed by a lion’, need not be taken very seriously. If the Yādava invasion had really created the consternation described earlier in the poem, it is improbable that Simhaṇa would have withdrawn suddenly even after he had become suspicious of his allies. The withdrawal must have followed on an agreed suspension of hostilities, and this inference is confirmed by the existence of a treaty of alliance between Lavaṇaprasāda and Simhaṇa, which has been recorded for us as a specimen of such treaties by the author of the Lekhāpadhati (p. 52). This specimen treaty cannot indeed for obvious reasons be regarded as an exact copy of any historical document, but there is no doubt that the author of the work must have heard of a more or less similar treaty made a short time before 1232 between Lavaṇaprasāda and Simhaṇa. We may therefore well presume that the war between Simhaṇa and Lavaṇaprasāda came to an end in about A.D. 1231 by a treaty of mutual non-aggression and assistance as suggested by the draft in the Lekhāpadhati. It need not be supposed that Simhaṇa reaped no advantage from this venture. He must have got considerable booty, and in addition his protectorate over southern Gujarāt was confirmed and further secured.

For the next few years the armies of the Yādavas were engaged nearer home. In the Belgaum District of the Bombay State a small Raṭṭa principality had maintained itself for several centuries, its rulers being accustomed to profess allegiance to any imperial power which was for the
time being able to assert its supremacy in the Deccan. Lakshmídeva II was the last ruler of this family and A.D. 1228 is his latest known year. Very soon after this date, this Raṭṭa ruler lost favour with Simhaṇa and fell under suspicion for reasons as yet unknown to us. The Yādava emperor ordered his southern viceroy and trusted general, Bichaṇa, to march against the Raṭṭa principality. That tiny kingdom was no match for the invading power and succumbed to the onslaught after only faint resistance some time between 1228 and 1238. Simhaṇa decided to annex the principality and entrusted its administration to Bichaṇa, its conqueror, who was subsequently raised to the status of a feudatory ruler.

General Bichaṇa proved himself extremely useful to Simhaṇa through his success in maintaining peace and order in the southern provinces of the empire. There were a number of petty rulers there such as the Guttas of Dharwar and the Kadambas of Hangal and Goa, who were semi-independent feudatories, now professing allegiance to the Hoysaḷas, now to the Yādavas, but always aiming at gaining independence for themselves at the earliest favourable opportunity. Bichaṇa made all of them feel the weight of the imperial power by inflicting summary punishment on each of them at the slightest sign of insubordination. We need not, however, linger further over the uninteresting details of the sporadic conflicts which arose at this time between the Yādavas and the rulers of these petty states.¹

We may conveniently refer here to Simhaṇa’s relations with the Kākatīyas. We have shown above how Jaitugi, the father of Simhaṇa, had completely shattered the Kākatīya power. He had planned to annex the kingdom, but when he realized the impossibility of the task, he released the Kākatīya prince Ganapati from prison and permitted him to rule as his feudatory. Ganapati enjoyed a long reign of more than sixty years during the earlier half of which he continued to be loyal to his overlord. It seems that he participated in the northern campaigns of Simhaṇa, for one of his inscriptions, dated A.D. 1228, states that he had defeated the Lāṭas.² This claim can be explained only on the assumption that he had accompanied the Yādava forces in one of their Gujarāt expeditions. In the inscription above referred to Ganapati is seen to be content to assume the titles of an ordinary feudatory chief, but later in his reign he succeeded in effecting a considerable southward expansion of his kingdom and began to feel strong enough to assume an independent status. This led to occasional clashes between the two neighbouring states.³ But it seems that neither side was anxious to press matters to an armed conflict. Simhaṇa was getting old and was less and less eager to embark on any new venture, the more so as he was continuously busy with his Gujarāt expedi-

¹ The ruler of Guttì rebelled in A.D. 1237, and raided the Yādava territory; Simhaṇa sent a strong force of 30,000 horse, which captured the capital fort of Guttì in A.D. 1239. EC, viii, Sh. 250 and 319.
² *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telengana Districts*, p. 52.
³ *IA*, xxi, 200.
tions. Gaṇapati too had not forgotten his imprisonment at Devagiri. Accordingly no further major clashes occurred between the Kākatiyas and the Yādavas during the reign of Simhaṇa.

In about A.D. 1239 Simhaṇa made one more effort, probably his fourth, to conquer Gujarāt. During the interval of about eight years that had elapsed since his last invasion of that country, considerable changes had taken place in the north. Kholeśvara, his trusted general, had died, and had been succeeded by his son Rāma. Lavanaprāśāda and his son Viradhavala had also died, and the latter’s son Visaladeva had become the de facto governor of Gujarāt. Rāma, the youthful and energetic son of Kholeśvara, was anxious to emulate the example of his father and felt that he could easily overthrow Visaladeva, who had just ascended the throne. He therefore advised Simhaṇa to undertake a new expedition. This advice was acted upon and Rāma himself was put in charge of the fresh venture.

The ruler of Lāṭa was a loyal Yādava feudatory and so Rāma was able to proceed unopposed as far as the Narmadā. But there he encountered Visaladeva with his forces in full array and prepared to contest the crossing of that river. A sanguinary battle ensued at the fords, and according to the Yādava version, Rāma showed superhuman bravery there and his followers worked havoc in the ranks of the enemy. It is, however, admitted that he lost his life in this conflict and no victory has been actually claimed for his troops.1 On the other hand a Gujarāt record describes Vāsāladeva as a submarine fire beneath the ocean of Simhaṇa’s army.2 We may therefore well presume that at most the battle was a drawn one. The Yādava forces must have given up all idea of further advance after their general had been killed in battle, and we know that Simhaṇa eventually withdrew his forces from the Narmadā.

The long-drawn struggle between the Yādavas on one side and the Gurjaras on the other, which lasted for more than twenty years, cannot but be regarded as tragic. It benefited neither party and weakened them both. It is indeed a pity that Simhaṇa could not have taken a more far-sighted and statesmanlike view of the political situation as it was developing at that time in Northern and Central India. The Muslims had recently overthrown the Gāhaḍavālas, had occupied more than half of Mālwā, and were hammering at the gates of Anahilapataṇa. Instead of making common cause with the Gurjaras and the Paramāras, who were engaged in a gallant and desperate effort to withstand the new invader, Simhaṇa was continually trying to stab them in the back. The dynastic rivalry between the contending parties in the Deccan had made them oblivious of the common danger. The greatest blame in this matter undoubtedly attaches to Simhaṇa, since he was by far the most powerful and experienced of all his contemporary rulers and should have pointed out to them the wisdom of organizing a common front in the Deccan against the new danger that threatened it from the north. His house had to

1 Ambe Inscription, ASWJ, iii, 85 ff.
2 EI, i, 45; IA, vi, 212.
pay dearly for this lack of vision within less than half a century after his death.

Hemādri claims that Simhāna had captured one of King Jājalla’s elephant corps, and had deprived King Kakkula of his sovereignty. A Patan inscription, dated A.D. 1206, records that the kings of Mathurā and Banaras had realized the menace of the Yādava power and felt its heavy hand, and that one of Simhāna’s lesser generals had defeated a Muslim ruler. In the absence of substantial corroborative evidence most of these claims will have to be pronounced as unfounded. King Jājalla must obviously have been a ruler of Chhattisgadh, but there was no prince of that name ruling in that province contemporaneously with Simhāna. Jājalla II, the last known ruler of that name, had died in A.D. 1170. Kakkula would prima facie appear to have been a king of Tripuri, but the last king of that name had flourished about 200 years before the accession of Simhāna.2 It is also doubtful whether any Hindu rulers were ruling at Mathurā and Kāśi during the rule of Simhāna. The Ambe inscription states that the name of the King of Kāśi defeated by Simhāna was Rāmapāla; but historic research has so far disclosed no ruler of this name ruling at Banaras in the first half of the thirteenth century.3 It is not improbable that the name of Rāmapāla may have been associated with Banaras because the poet historians of Simhāna had a vague idea that once upon a time Banaras had been under the rule of Rāmapāla, just as Chhattisgadh and Jabalpur had been under the sway respectively of a Jājalla and a Kokkala. The specific name of the Muslim ruler said to have been defeated by some obscure general of Simhāna is not given and the record possibly refers to some frontier skirmishes which might well have taken place while the armies of Simhāna lay encamped in Mālwā and Gujārāt. It is quite likely that when Mathurā and Banaras were occupied by the Muslims, scions of the Hindu royal families formerly ruling there might have migrated to Madhya Bharat and the Madhya Pradesh and carved out small principalities for themselves. Just as the Guttas of Dharwar described themselves as the lords of Ujjayini or Pāṭaliputra, or just as the Yādavas claimed to have formerly reigned at Dvāravatī, though they had in fact never been in possession of these cities, so also the immigrant descendants of royal families from Banaras and Mathurā, who had perhaps created for themselves small states in Madhya Bharat, might have styled themselves lords of Mathurā and Banaras, even though these cities were no longer in the possession of their families. Similarly the local rulers at Jabalpur and Tummāna may possibly have been known as Kokkalla and Jājalla to their contemporaries. It is but natural that since the boundaries of Simhāna’s empire touched Chhattisgadh

1 Eh, i, 340-1.
2 A ruler named Kākala is also known to have flourished in south Karnātaka at about this time (MASR, 1929, p. 142). Can he be Kakkula referred to by Hemādri?
3 Gauḍa king Rāmapāla was dead about eighty years before the accession of Simhāna.
and Jabalpur area, he might have had occasional clashes with the rulers of these territories, and might have penetrated into their kingdoms, as is suggested by the discovery of some coins of Simhāna in Chhattisgarh. Probably Hemādri had such frontier skirmishes in mind when he refers to the defeats of kings Kokkalla and Jajatta by Simhāna.

Some of the Yādava records claim that either Simhāna himself or his generals Kholeśvara, Rāma, or Bīchaṇa, had defeated the kings of Sindh, Pañchāla (Rohilkhand), Bengal, Bihar (Āṅga and Vaṅga), Kerala, and Pāṇḍya. All these claims are probably purely imaginary, for there is no independent evidence from outside the Yādava country to show that the Yādava armies ever penetrated to any of these distant provinces.

It will not be out of place to refer here briefly to the careers of two of the generals of Simhāna who contributed substantially to the glory of his reign. It is curious to notice that one of them, Kholeśvara, was a Brāhman and the other, Bīchaṇa, a Vaiśya. Kholeśvara was a native of Khandesh and eventually became the governor of an extensive part of the Yādava kingdom, covering Khandesh, Berar, and portions of the Madhya Pradesh. It is interesting to note that Trivikrama, the father of Kholeśvara, was a pious Brāhman noted for his scholarship and regarded as an ornament of his Agrahāra. His son Kholeśvara, however, abandoned the srūk (the sacrificial ladle) for the sword and eventually became one of the greatest generals of the age. He probably began his career by helping Simhāna in suppressing a local Abhīra chieftain named Lakshmideva, ruling at Bhambhāgiri, probably identical with Bhamer in the Western Khandesh, where a ruined fort is still in existence. His next achievements were the overthrow of Hemādri, another local chief in the same locality, and the defeat of Bhoja, a petty king of Chandā in the Madhya Pradesh. He also distinguished himself in the campaign against the Hoysalas and helped his master to capture the fort of Torgal in the Southern Marātha Country. But his most important victories were obtained during his campaigns in Mālā and Lāta, which have been already described above. Rāma, the son of Kholeśvara, followed the military profession of his father and was eventually killed in battle during a campaign which had as its object the annexation of Gujarāt. It is interesting to note that though Kholeśvara had given up the priestly profession as far as he himself was concerned, he yet had a soft corner in his heart for those who were following it, since he endowed a number of new Agrahāra villages and settled colonies of learned Brāhmans in them.

Jagadāla Purushottamadeva was Simhāna’s viceroy in the south in A.D. 1223, and was entrusted with the management of all his affairs. About A.D. 1230 he was succeeded by Bīchaṇa, the son of Chikkadeva, who was destined to become one of the most famous generals of Simhāna. He was a Vaiśya by caste and has been described as a Yama in destruction and a new Chāṇakya.

1 JNSI, viii, 151.

2 Mirashi in EI, xxv, 213.
or Vishnugupta in political intelligence. His master trusted him as he did his own heart. He took a prominent part in the wars against the Hoysalas. One of his inscriptions claims that he planted a column of victory on the banks of the Kaveri. In recognition of his valuable services he was appointed viceroy of Karnataka and he offered valuable help to his master in curbing the feudatories there and in maintaining peace and order.

The long narrative of wars and conquest, given above, might lead the reader to suppose that Simhâna was merely a warrior and nothing else, but such was not the case. He was a cultured ruler, who could appreciate music and patronize literature. The Sangitaratnakara of Sârangadeva was written in his court. It is an interesting and important work on music and shows wide acquaintance with the music both of south and north India. The work marks an important landmark in the history of musical science. Simhâna himself is reputed to have written a commentary on this work. Whether he actually wrote the commentary himself, or whether one of his courtiers composed it and passed it off as his royal patron's work, we have no means of knowing.

ChaNGadeva and Anantadeva were two famous astronomers of this age, both of whom lived as members of the court of Simhâna. Liberal royal patronage enabled ChaNGadeva to establish an astronomical college at Pâtaňa in Khandesh in memory of his illustrious grandfather Bhåskaråchårya. Anantadeva wrote a commentary on a chapter of Brahmagupta's Brahmasphuṭasiddhânta, as he did also on the Brihajñataka of Varåhamihira.

The Yâdava empire reached the zenith of its glory and power in the reign of Simhâna. Neither the Hoysalas nor the Kâkatîyas, neither the Paramâras nor the Chaulukyas dared to challenge his supremacy in the Deccan. Each of these powers was attacked in turn by Simhâna and each was defeated. The Hoysalas had to surrender the Ceded Districts, Bombay, the Karnataka and the northern parts of Mysore State. The Chaulukyas had to relinquish Låta or southern Gujaråt and for a considerable period the Narmadâ became the northern boundary of the empire. Its precise extent is difficult to determine; but we may not be far wrong in asserting that all the territories to the south of the line connecting Broach and Nagpur and to the north of the line connecting Girsoppa with Kurnool were included in it. A large part of this extensive territory was no doubt actually governed by feudatories, but they were all loyal to, and lived in fear of, the imperial power. Some indeed of these like the Silåhâras of Kolhapur and the RaçÇas of Saundatti, who had shown signs of insubordination, were promptly punished by the annexation of their principalities, which were incorporated in the empire.

It must however be admitted that Simhâna followed the traditional policy of the Deccani power, that of continually aggrandizing itself at the cost of its neighbours in the south and the north. Events in Northern India do not seem

1 JBBRAS, xv, 387.
2 EHD, iii, 195.
to have perturbed him much. Even when Mālwā and Gujarāt were gradually crumbling under the onslaught of the powerful Islamic armies, Siṁhaṇa could not rise above the narrow dynastic prejudices of his house and go to their assistance. Instead of organizing a common front against the northern invaders, he attacked Gujarāt and Mālwā from the rear and hastened their fall before the armies of Islam. His descendants, as will be soon seen (pp. 551-55), had to pay heavily for this political folly within less than fifty years after his death.

Siṁhaṇa had a son named Jaitugi,¹ who predeceased him. This need not surprise us, since Siṁhaṇa enjoyed a long reign of at least thirty-seven years, and he must have been nearly seventy at the time of his death in A.D. 1246. Whether Jaitugi had any brothers, we do not know. After Siṁhaṇa’s death, the crown passed to his eldest grandson Krishṇa.

Luckily the date of Siṁhaṇa’s death, like that of his accession, is not in any doubt. Two records of his successor make it quite clear that he must have died sometime towards the end of A.D. 1246, most probably either in November or December of that year.²

Krishṇa
(A.D. 1246-60)

As shown already above, the accession of Krishṇa took place in November or December 1246. Since the new king succeeded his grandfather, he perhaps was not more than about thirty at the time of his accession. In several Canarese inscriptions his name appears as Kaṇha, Kaṇhara or Kandhara in its Prākrit form.

The unending dynastic struggle between the Yādavas, the Chaulukyas, and the Paramāras, which permanently benefited none of the combatants but eventually weakened them all, continued unabated throughout the new reign. After the death of his general Rāma in the battle on the Narmadā in about A.D. 1239, Siṁhaṇa had stopped active interference in the affairs of his northern neighbours. He was getting old and was probably exhausted by a lifetime of warfare. His grandson, however, was an enthusiastic young prince anxious to win fresh laurels in the field, and he decided to launch an expedition to the north. Circumstances were undoubtedly favourable for such a venture, for the Paramāra power had been considerably weakened during the previous two decades. The capture of Bhilsa and Ujjayini by Itutmish in 1235 and the destruction of the famous temples there dealt a serious blow to the prestige of the Paramāra power, and Jaitugideva, who succeeded Devapāla in about

¹ He was acting as heir apparent and had a minister under him in A.D. 1229, SII, ix, no. 367. He must have died after this date.
² The 2nd of November 1248 fell in the second year of Krishṇa’s reign but the 25th of December 1248 fell in his third year; EC, vii, S. no. 217; SIER, 1926, App. c, p. 426.
1240, had neither the resources nor the ability to retrieve the situation. Soon after his accession Krishṇa decided to invade Māḷwā. A number of Yādava records claim that he was a veritable Śiva to Madana in the form of the Malava king. It is, however, doubtful whether Jaitugideva was in fact killed in battle on this occasion as is suggested by this simile. He may have been only defeated. Krishṇa’s victory over the Paramāras is mentioned in Yādava records as early as 1250. This invasion of Māḷwā was thus evidently the first military venture of the new king. It does not seem to have been followed by any annexation of territory.

After defeating the Paramāras, Krishṇa attempted to invade Gujarāt where Visaladeva, the son of Viradhavala, was ruling. There was already a long-standing feud between the two dynasties, but Visaladeva’s marriage with a Hoysaḷa princess seems to have given additional provocation for Krishṇa’s invasion at this time. Hemādri’s eulogy and the Paithan plates both claim that Krishṇa defeated Visaladeva; while the records of the latter assert that it was he who defeated the Yādava ruler. It appears that Krishṇa attempted no serious invasion. There were only inconclusive frontier skirmishes, in which sometimes Krishṇa and sometimes Visaladeva got the upper hand. None of these skirmishes led to any significant territorial changes.

No other political events of any importance occurred during the short reign of Krishṇa. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya attacked the Kākatiya kingdom soon after his accession in A.D. 1252 and penetrated as far as Nellore, and Bichāna, one of Krishṇa’s generals, claims to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas sometime before A.D. 1253. It would appear that Krishṇa was asked for help by the Kākatiya ruler Gaṇapati, who had been a Yādava feudatory for several years. Bichāna, who was then viceroy of the south, must have been dispatched partly in response to Gaṇapati’s appeal and partly as a precautionary measure, lest the invader should attempt to penetrate still farther and perhaps to violate the Yādava territory itself. Chāmūnda, another general of Krishṇa, claims to have humbled the pride of Someśvara, the Hoysaḷa king, sometime before A.D. 1250. The reference may be to some frontier skirmish, either in this or in the preceding reign. His Munoli inscription asserts that Krishṇa had also defeated the Choḷas, but we need not take this claim too seriously. The statement in another record that Tripuri was captured by Krishṇa may, however, be true; the old Haiḥaya kingdom was practically a no-man’s land at the time and Krishṇa or one of his generals may well have occupied its capital for a while.

During his short reign Krishṇa managed to keep intact the empire which he had inherited from his grandfather. He was a follower of Vedic Hinduism

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1 Munoli Inscr. JBB RAS, xii, 55; Nulandapur Inscr. EI, xix, 27.
2 IA, vi, 196.
3 Ibid., xiv, 314.
4 e.g. Dabhoi Inscr., EI, i, 28.
5 JBB RAS, xii, 42.
6 IA, vi, 196; xiv, 69.
and is said to have brought fresh strength to it by his numerous sacrifices. He had a number of able ministers and generals to help him in the administration. General Bichana and his elder brother Mallisetti continued to serve the Yadavas as loyal officers and efficient governors in the Karnataka. The latter, who had been a mere district officer under Simhana, rose to the position of sarvadāśādhikāri, or viceroy for the whole country, early in the reign of Krishña. He was succeeded some time in about 1250 by his son Chāmuḍāraẏa, who bore the titles of mahāpradhāna and mahāmātya. Another minister of his was Lakshmideva, a Gujarāt Brāhmaṇ, who claims to have helped his master to consolidate his power. He was succeeded by his son Jahlana, who was as expert in counsel as he was in leading the elephant phalanx. He boasts that he secured victory for his master on many battlefields. Jahlana was also a man of literary taste, for he compiled, or perhaps got compiled, an anthology of verses called Sūktimuktāvalī containing choice selections from celebrated Sanskrit poets. Jahlana’s two sons, Rāmachandra and Keśava, were each given fiefs in the Satara District and continued to serve the imperial cause after the death of their father. It was not only light literature which flourished in Krishña’s reign, for the Vedāntakalpataru, a commentary on the Bhāmati, which itself is a commentary upon Śaṅkarācārya’s Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya, was also composed at this time. It seems that at the time of his accession in 1246, Krishña had either no son, or he had one who was not old enough to take his place as yuvārāja. We therefore find his brother Mahādeva helping the administration as the heir-apparent as early as A.D. 1250. At this time, at any rate, the relations between the two brothers must have been more than cordial, for they are described as similar to those existing between Rāma and Lakshmana. Krishña died rather prematurely in 1260 and it appears that the dying monarch consented to the passing of the crown to his brother, probably on the understanding that the latter would in due course be succeeded by his own son Rāmachandra who was then too young to rule. The 12th of April, A.D. 1260, is the last known date of Krishña. His death occurred probably soon thereafter, for the Raudra saḿvatsara, A.D. 1260–1, fell in the first year of his successor’s reign.

**Mahādeva**

*(A.D. 1260–70)*

Mahādeva, the younger brother of Krishña, succeeded him in the latter half of A.D. 1260. There is no evidence to show that he was acting as a regent for his minor nephew. He bore full imperial titles.

1. *JBBRAS*, xii, 43.
There were two Śilāhāra families ruling in the Konkan at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Of these the one, the capital of which was Kolhapur, was overpowered by Sinhāna in about A.D. 1215. The other continued in authority in the northern Konkan with Thana as its capital down to about A.D. 1260, governing of course as a feudatory of the Yādavas. Keśirāja Śilāhāra ruled at Thana from about A.D. 1195 to 1240. There were even then occasional clashes between him and his Yādava overlords. But the relations between the Śilāhāras and the Yādavas became much more strained during the reign of his successor, Someśvara (c. 1240–65), for reasons as yet undiscovered. A.D. 1260 is the last known date for Someśvara, and Hemādri tells us that his patron Mahādeva defeated and exterminated this ruler. The invasion of the northern Konkan was probably the first military undertaking of the new Yādava king. The expeditionary force, which was strong in elephants, signally defeated the Śilāhāra army on land. Someśvara then took to his ships. Mahādeva pursued him at sea with his naval squadron, and in the engagement that ensued Someśvara was drowned. Hemādri states that the Śilāhāra king preferred to sink beneath the waves, because he thought that the fire burning under the ocean would be less oppressive than the wrath of Mahādeva.  

It is usually presumed that the Śilāhāra kingdom of Thana was annexed to the Yādava empire after the death of Someśvara, for we find that it was being governed by a Yādava governor in A.D. 1273. But a fragmentary inscription now raises some doubt about this matter; for it shows that Mahārājādhirāja Koṅkaṇachakravarti Jaitugīdeva was ruling Konkan in A.D. 1266. Since this ruler assumed the title Koṅkaṇachakravarti, usually borne by the Śilāhāras, and since two of his ministers, Maināyaka and Chandraprabh, were also officers under Someśvara, it would appear that Jaitugīdeva, a son or a relation of Someśvara, had managed to re-establish the Śilāhāra power by A.D. 1266. On the other hand the imperial title Mahārājādhirāja assumed by Jaitugi, as well as his name, would suggest that he was a prince of the imperial Yādava family who was governing the province with the help of the ministers of the old régime. This uncertainty as to the actual facts can be resolved only by the discovery of new material, which may yet prove decisive.

The Kākatiya king Gaṅapati died in A.D. 1261 soon after the demise of the Yādava emperor Kṛishṇa, and was succeeded by his daughter Rudrāmbā. The presence of a woman upon the throne was naturally a temptation for her feudatories to rebel, and for a time there was chaos in the Andhra country.

1 See for instance v, 18 of the Taṣgaon plates of Kṛishṇa, where Chandradeva, a son of Jahāna, claims to have defeated the king of Konkan.
2 IC, ii, 417.
3 JRAS, v, 178.
4 EI, xxvi, 129.
5 There is nothing improbable in this; Purnia, the minister of Tippu, was administering the kingdom even under the British, when the latter deposed the old dynasty and placed the Hindu ruler on the throne.
Mahādeva decided to exploit this situation and invaded the Kākatiya kingdom. We may well credit the statement of Hemādrī that the Yādava army was victorious and captured several elephants from the enemy. Whether this was only a frontier skirmish or whether Mahādeva penetrated as far as the capital, but refrained from pressing home his victory because his opponent was a woman—as claimed by Hemādrī—it is difficult to say.

The Hoysaḷa kingdom had by this time been divided into two parts, and Narasimha II, who was ruling its northern half, was only a youth of twenty-two at the time of his accession in A.D. 1262. When by about A.D. 1266 Mahādeva became free from his commitments in the Konkan and Andhra country, he determined to attack the new Hoysaḷa king. Hemādrī claims no specific victory for his patron Mahādeva over the king of the Karnatak; on the other hand two Hoysaḷa records describe how, underrating the power of Nārasimha, the Sevuṇa king Mahādeva entered the battle on his elephant in grandiose style; how, being unable to withstand the enemy’s attack, he took to his horse; and how, overcome by terror, he galloped away at night, thinking flight his best hope under the circumstances. This detailed and circumstantial description leaves no doubt that Mahādeva was in fact completely defeated by the Hoysaḷa forces.

This disaster to the Yādava arms inspired the Kadambas to rebel and Mahādeva sent his general Balige-deva to suppress the uprising. He appears to have succeeded in his mission and to have re-established his master’s supremacy about A.D. 1268.

Let us now survey the relations of the Yādavas with their northern neighbours during this reign. It is claimed in the Paithan plates that Mahādeva had defeated Visaladeva, but since this ruler had died in A.D. 1262 the statement probably refers to the campaign undertaken in Krishna’s reign, in which Mahādeva may have participated as jyotirāja. Hemādrī states that the Mālavas put a boy upon the throne, because they knew that Mahādeva would not attack a minor. The real reason, however, for Mahādeva’s not launching an attack against Mālwā and Gujarāt seems to have been his pre-occupation with military operations in the south.

‘The Gauḍas entered anthills and the Utkalas, losing shame, fled away’, says one record regarding Mahādeva. These victories over the rulers of Bengal and Orissa seem to be purely imaginary.

Mahārāja Tapparasa was the Sarvādhikārin or prime-minister under Mahādeva. He continued to hold this post down to A.D. 1275. Devarāja was an officer working in the southern provinces. Nojabvaḍi (the Shimoga District) was in charge of two brothers, Chaṭṭārāja and Kucharāja, who had their headquarters in Belur. These brothers belonged to the

1 EC, iv, Ngrm. no. 9; v, Chn. no. 269.  
2 Ibid., vii, S. no. 41; xi, Dg. no. 79.  
3 Ibid., no. 59 (Haribhara Inscription).  
4 Ibid., Dg. nos. 102 and 70.  
5 SIER, 1932-3, no. 172.  
6 EC, vii, Ci. no. 21.
THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS

Brähman caste; they were as eager to cherish and encourage the Brähmanical faith as they were to distinguish themselves in their new Kshatriya profession. Kolhapur was under the charge of a feudatory named Māideva. Lastly Hemādri himself was an important officer. He continued to hold office under Rāmachandra after he had been entrusted with the superintendence of the secretariat and the elephant corps. He completed his Vratākhaṇḍa in the reign of Mahādeva.

May–June, A.D. 1270, is the last known date in the reign of Mahādeva. He died soon after that time and was succeeded by his son Ammaṇa.

Ammaṇa

Ammaṇa, who began to rule in the latter half of A.D. 1270, was destined to have only a short reign. His cousin Rāmachandra was the eldest son of Ammaṇa’s uncle Kṛishṇa, and Ammaṇa’s succession probably contravened the understanding given by Mahādeva at his accession that he would hand over the throne not to his own heir, but to his nephew, the minor son of his dying brother. Public opinion seems to have been on the side of Rāmachandra. So also were most of the important officers and trusted generals, for we find many of them, like Hemādri and Tikkama, who had been genuinely and deeply attached to Mahādeva, deserting his son Ammaṇa’s cause, and transferring their allegiance to Rāmachandra immediately after his accession.

When Rāmachandra decided to make a bid for the throne, Ammaṇa did not secure and imprison him, or rather most probably was unable to do so. Rāmachandra seems to have escaped from the capital, and from his place of concealment to have planned to win the throne by a ruse. Ammaṇa, a gay, pleasure-loving youth, was fond of dancing and music. Rāmachandra selected a few brave and resolute followers with whom he gained entrance into the fort of Devagiri as the leader of a band of strolling actors. Once there, he soon managed to arrange a performance before Ammaṇa, and while the king was engaged in enjoying it, the actors suddenly threw off their masks and seized him and his principal supporters. The coup d’État was completely successful, doubtless because most of the generals of Ammaṇa, with the exception of Narasimha, had no real sympathy for his cause.

This version of what occurred, given in a contemporary document issued by Rāmachandra himself, may be taken as correct. It may at first seem a little improbable, but there is on reflection nothing impossible in it, if we assume,
as we have every reason for doing, that Rāmachandra had the secret sympathies of the court officers.\(^1\)

A number of Mahānubhāva works state that Rāmachandra blinded his cousin immediately after imprisoning him.\(^2\) One authority states that he put him to death. It is possible, however, that Ammaṇa died a natural death in prison, and that people may have believed that his death was hastened by his cousin.\(^3\)

Ammaṇa had a short reign of only about a year. During this period he must have been fully occupied in the struggle against the efforts of his cousin to wrest the throne from him. The vague exploits that are attributed to him, curiously enough in the charters of his rival, should probably be regarded as purely imaginary.

**Rāmachandra**

**(A.D. 1271-1311)**

Rāmachandra’s accession took place in the latter half of A.D. 1271.\(^4\) Public opinion seems to have felt that he was perfectly justified in using force and stratagem to secure the throne which rightfully belonged to him. Whether it approved of the subsequent blinding (and murder?) of Ammaṇa we do not know. Most of the trusted ministers of Mahādeva were disinclined to champion the cause of his son. They almost immediately transferred their allegiance to Rāmachandra and began to serve him loyally and zealously.

Rāmachandra signalized his accession by organizing an expedition to Māḷwā. Arjunavarman II had recently ascended the Paramāra throne (in c. 1270) and a dispute had arisen between him and his minister, which resulted in a bloodthirsty conflict and eventually led to the division of the kingdom between the two disputants.\(^5\) Rāmachandra therefore found it an easy matter to overwhelm and scatter the attenuated and demoralized Māḷwā army.\(^6\) It seems that in the course of the same campaign certain inconclusive frontier skirmishes occurred between the Yādavas and Gurjaras. We find each side equally claiming victory in these.\(^7\) The Yādava army returned to its

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1. The author of Bhānuvilāsa, a Mahānubhāva work, states that Rāmachandra took his cousin unawares while they were both out on a hunting expedition, and managed to capture him. The version in the copper plate, being in an official document, may be taken to be more reliable than the one in the Bhānuvilāsa, whose author was probably more interested in spiritual than in mundane matters.

2. Līlācharitra, Līlā no. 725, Bhānuvilāsa.

3. Nāgadevacharitra of Parasurāmavīyāsa states that Ammaṇa was killed by Rāmachandra. But since this work ascribes the subsequent defeat and capture of Rāmachandra by the Muslims to his sin of killing his own cousin, one may doubt its historic truth. Other Mahānubhāva works merely state that Ammaṇa was blinded.

4. Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 329. Some late records (e.g. EC, viii, Sb. 209) of Rāmachandra suggest that his reign began in A.D. 1270. This may be due to a desire to ignore the short reign of Ammaṇa, whom the partisans of Rāmachandra regarded as a usurper.

5. Elliot, iii, 24.


7. The Thana plates claim victory for the Yādavas while the Cintra praistī do so for the Gurjaras.
base before the end of A.D. 1271 after a short campaign of four or five months. 1

We have already seen how the Yādava forces were signally defeated by the Hoysalas when Mahādeva led an expedition in person against that southern kingdom. This defeat had long rankled in Rāmachandra's heart and he now decided to organize a powerful expedition to avenge it. Two or three years were devoted to making thorough preparations, which were entrusted to the seasoned soldier and general Saluva Tikkamarasa. Joydeva and Harapāla, 2 who were also experienced generals, were deputed to help Tikkamarasa.

Moving from its bases at Banavāsi and Nolambavādi, the expeditionary force entered Hoysala territory in the autumn of 1275. It carried everything before it and eventually reached Belavādi, not far from the Hoysala capital, Dvārāsamudra. Tikkamarasa halted here for a while in order to complete his plans for the siege and capture of Dvārāsamudra. In the meantime the Hoysala king Narasimha sent out an army under the command of his youthful and energetic generals Anka and Māideva to drive back the invader. These efforts proved all unavailing and the Hoysala army was defeated with great slaughter about the end of January 1276. Encouraged by these victories, Tikkamarasa advanced to the capital and laid siege to it. The besieged forces now fought bravely for their capital and king. A number of Hoysala generals including Nanjeya and Gullaya were killed in action. Eventually, on the 23rd of April 1276, Ankeya Nāyaka, the son of the Hoysala commander-in-chief, led a determined attack and drove back the invaders. "I will take Dvārāsamudra in a single minute" was the boast of Tikkamarasa, says a Hoysala record; 'but when brave Ankeya fell upon the Yādava forces, Haripāla was afraid, Saluva Tikkama fled, and Joydeva beat his mouth. . . . Though Saluva had spread over the whole country of Belavādi, Ankeya gave him time neither to remove his last encampment nor to take food, and drove him back as far as Dhummi.' 3

Saluva Tikkamarasa was no doubt ultimately foiled in his attempt to capture the Hoysala capital and had to raise the siege and return home at the beginning of the summer of 1276. But he none the less brought back with him a vast plunder, including a large number of horses and elephants.

Occasional skirmishes did take place between the Yādavas and Hoysalas during the next fifteen years, but there was no further major encounter. An internecine war was in progress between the two brother Hoysala rulers, Narasimha and Rāmanātha, although their father had divided the kingdom between them expressly in order to avoid this. They therefore were in no

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1 The victory over the Mālavas is mentioned in the Paithan plates issued in January 1272.
2 Later on we shall come across another Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāmachandra. Since the latter was only a youth of about twenty-five in A.D. 1275, it does not seem possible that he could have had any son-in-law at the time of this Hoysala expedition.
position to avenge the humiliation inflicted upon them in the siege of their capital by the Yādavas. Rāmachandra on the other hand was fully occupied by military campaigns elsewhere, and had then no further time to follow up his victories on the southern frontiers of his domain.

Directly he was freed from his commitments in the south, however, Rāmachandra planned an expansion of his kingdom in the north-east.⁴ He first attacked the kings of Vajrākara (probably Vairagarh, eighty miles north-east of Chanda) and Bhandāgāra (Bhandara, thirty-eight miles east of Nagpur) and brought their territories under his sphere of influence. Then he marched northwards to Tripuri near Jabalpur, which had once been the capital of the defunct Kalachuri kingdom, and occupied it without any difficulty. With this city as his base of operations, he resolved on a bold invasion of the Muslim empire. He was anxious to restore Banaras to Hindu rule, marched straight upon that city, and occupied it. Since Purushottamapuri plates state that he built a temple at Banaras after its conquest, which was dedicated to the god Śarangdhara, we may well presume that Rāmachandra not only took possession of Banaras but also occupied it for at least two or three years. This must have been after the death of Balban in A.D. 1286 and before the accession of Jalal-ud-Din Khalji; we know that during this interval Delhi was for a while unable to hold and protect the outlying provinces. It is further claimed that Rāmachandra defeated the king of Kanauj and penetrated as far as the Kailāsa range, but there does not seem to be much truth in these assertions.² Clashes doubtless took place between the Yādava forces and the Subedar of Kara near Allahabad; there is, however, no reliable evidence to show that Rāmachandra was able to advance to Kanauj or the Himalayas.

Rāmachandra was not able to retain his hold over Banaras for very long. With the advent of 'Alā-ud-Din at Kara as its governor, his forces had to withdraw southwards, probably not later than about A.D. 1291.

While the imperial forces were engaged in the Gangetic plain, feudatory chiefs in the Konkan ruling at Sangameshvar and Khed (in the Ratnagiri District) and Mahim (near Bombay) rebelled against Rāmachandra. Rāmachandra sent his son to chastise them and he successfully accomplished his mission.³

The Yādavas were undoubtedly at the height of their glory in A.D. 1292. Their hereditary enemies, the Hoysalas, had been crushed and they had succeeded in penetrating as far as Banaras. But their power soon declined

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¹ The following paragraph is based upon the data furnished by the Purushottamapuri plates of Rāmachandra; EI, xxv, 199.
² Love of alliteration, rather than the desire to mention the actual incidents, seems to be responsible for the mention of Kānyakubja and Kailāsa in verse no. 17 of the Purushottamapuri plates.
³ Purushottamapuri plates, v. 17 and BG, i, ii, 27. A record from the Sorab rājā dated A.D. 1294 refers to an officer as 'hunter of hostile Konkanakas' (EC, viii, Sb. 502). This person may have recently returned from the Konkan campaign.
and after about twenty years the kingdom was annexed to the north-Indian Islamic empire.

The daring raid of 'Alā-ud-Din, the then governor of Kara-Manikpur, undertaken in A.D. 1294, marked the first stage in the decline of the Yādava power. It is usually assumed that the raid was dictated primarily by the desire of the governor to acquire the resources he so badly needed, by the judicious use of which he hoped one day to pave his way to the throne. But another motive, that of punishing King Rāmachandra for his raid into the Uttar Pradesh a few years earlier, may also have influenced his action.

'Alā-ud-Din had planned his audacious enterprise with great care. He decided to march only after he had been definitely assured by his spies that the main Yādvara army was far away in the south on a raiding expedition. He first gave out that he was only leading a punitive force against Chanderi, and thereafter professed to be marching to Rājamahendri to seek service under the king of that territory, since he was dissatisfied with his treatment by his own uncle. Moreover during his march he pitched his camps on the borders of desolate places, in order to avoid attracting attention. When, however, he reached Lachur, the governor of the place reported the advent of the hostile army to the capital and endeavoured to prevent its further advance. 'Alā-ud-Din, however, easily overcame the opposition and rapidly reached Devagiri by forced marches at amazing speed.

Rāmachandra was completely taken by surprise. 'Alā-ud-Din had with him a force variously estimated as between 6,000 and 8,000 horsemen. Against it Rāmachandra could raise a militia of only about 4,000; he was, therefore, easily defeated in an engagement fought near the capital and had to take shelter in the fort. This, however, had then no ditch around it nor were its walls yet complete. The king's plan was to hold out until his son, who had been summoned to his assistance with the utmost urgency, should reach the capital to rescue him. But the fort was not provisioned for a siege and Rāmachandra was therefore compelled to sue for peace. 'Alā-ud-Din agreed to retire on receiving an indemnity consisting of about 1,500 pounds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, 40 elephants, and several thousand horses. He also obtained the hand of one of the daughters of Rāmachandra, who further agreed to pay an annual tribute equal to the revenues of the Elichpur District. The raider had succeeded in exacting all this booty and was about to retire within a fortnight of his arrival, when Śaṅkara-deva, the crown prince, reached the capital with a force more than twice as large as that of 'Alā-ud-Din.

Muslim historians are not agreed as to what happened after the arrival of the crown prince. The later ones among them, such as Firishta, tell us that in spite of his father's advice he reopened hostilities but was defeated by 'Alā-ud-Din who then naturally imposed a much heavier indemnity. 'Isami, however, records that the crown prince accepted his father's advice and
desisted from attack, though he had a much larger force under his command than that of the enemy.

'Alâ-ud-Dîn’s raid was no doubt a daring exploit, ‘whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of its execution or the great good fortune which attended its accomplishment’. It reflects little credit on the efficiency of the Yâdava administration that it should not have anticipated the danger of a Muslim attack from the north and strongly garrisoned the Vindhyan passes; the capital lay open without any adequate defence. That ‘Alâ-ud-Dîn’s retreat should not have been cut off, and that no effort should have been made to retrieve the disaster at Devagiri by surrounding and destroying the army on its return through little known passes and forests would seem to prove that the Yâdava leadership was completely demoralized, and its forces confused and discouraged.

During the next eight or nine years ‘Alâ-ud-Dîn was occupied with various affairs and incidents in northern India. It is surprising to notice that the four Hindu states of the south—the kingdoms of Devagiri, Warangal, Dvârâsamudra, and Madura—should have learnt no lesson from the raid of ‘Alâ-ud-Dîn and the possibilities it foreboded. The Khaljis had become masters of practically the whole of northern India and their resources in men, money, and materials were much larger than those of any single Hindu kingdom in the south. The only chance of survival of these lay in forming a pan-Hindu league, pooling the resources of the whole of the Deccan. But not a single statesman in any of the Deccan states seems to have conceived this idea or tried to realize it. We have seen already how the Yâdavas had stabbed the Chaulukyas and the Paramâras in the back while these were being weakened by invasions from Delhi (pp. 534, 539); the discomfiture of the Yâdavas at the hands of ‘Alâ-ud-Dîn was now fully exploited both by the Kâkatiya ruler Pratâparudra and the Hoysâla king Ballâla II. As soon as the news of Râmachandra’s defeat reached Warangal, Pratâparudra invaded and annexed the Yâdava districts of Anantpur and Raichur. A little later, in A.D. 1296, the Hoysâla ruler Ballâla annexed the Santalâge one thousand and invaded the Banavâsi twelve thousand in A.D. 1300. Neither of these rulers had the foresight to realize the common danger and to form a common alliance. They had their ancient hereditary feuds with the Yâdavas and were only rejoiced that the Muslim victory over the latter enabled them to pay off their old scores.

Râmachandra continued to send the agreed tribute to Delhi till A.D. 1303 or 1304. In that year the armies of ‘Alâ-ud-Dîn, marching against the Kâkatiyas from Bengal, were defeated by Pratâparudra. This event induced a section of the Yâdava court to imagine that the imperial power was declining and could be flouted with impunity. The crown prince Sañkara was the leader of this party and prevailed upon his father to stop the payment of the annual tribute. He also excited the imperial wrath by deciding to marry Devaladevi, a daughter of King Karña of Gujarât, whom Sultan ‘Alâ-ud-Dîn
had wished to have handed over to him, since her mother Kamalādevi, whom he had married after she had been made prisoner, desired to have the company of her daughter.

After the conquest and annexation of Mālwa, the Sultan sent two forces in 1307, one under Malik Ahmad to capture Devaladevi and another under Malik Kafūr to reimpose his authority over the Yādavas. 'Isamīs information that King Rāmachandra had sent a secret message to the Sultan informing him that he was a mere prisoner in the hands of his crown prince and had no sympathy with his rebellion seems to be correct. For when the Yādava forces under Śaṅkaradeva were defeated by Kafūr in the vicinity of Devagiri, in March 1307, and King Rāmachandra was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi he received remarkably courteous treatment from the Sultan. 'Alā-ud-Dīn restored his kingdom to him, giving him in addition the district of Naosari as a personal jagīr. He was also given the title Raja-i-Rājān and permitted to go back to Devagiri to rule his kingdom as an imperial feudatory.

Rāmachandra was deeply affected by this kind treatment and remained completely loyal to the Sultan throughout his life. When the imperial army halted at Devagiri in 1309 on its way to Warangal, he offered it all possible facilities. When two years later a second army arrived at Devagiri on its way to Dvārāsamudra, he placed all the resources of his kingdom at the disposal of his sovereign, and not only supplied cotton, wool, and brass objects 'beyond computation', but also directed his general Purushottama to guide the force to the borders of the Hoysala kingdom. Personal loyalty, however, was not the only impulse behind this conduct; the Yādavas were the hereditary enemies of the Hoysalas and their king Ballāladeva had recently exploited the discomfiture of Rāmachandra at the hands of 'Alā-ud-Dīn by snatching from him the districts of Santalīge and Banavāsī. The prospect of the defeat of King Ballālā at the hands of the Sultan was not, therefore, unpleasing to the old Yādava king.

The exact date of the death of King Rāmachandra is not known, but it seems to have taken place sometime in A.D. 1311.1

The reign of Rāmachandra lasted for forty years (1271–1311). It was thus long but not glorious. In his earlier years it is true that he inflicted smashing defeats on the Hoysalas and even succeeded in penetrating as far as Banaras in the course of a raid. But he had no real political foresight. It seems that he did not appreciate the significance of the expansion of the Muslim power in northern India or learn any lessons from it. He should have realized that he would be the first Deccan king to succumb to the imperial ambitions of the Sultans of Delhi, whose resources were very much greater than his own. Another ruler with more statesmanlike acumen would have tried to form a south Indian Hindu federation to oppose the onslaught of the north Indian Islamic imperialism. Rāmachandra failed to conceive any such

1 He was still living in September 1310, when the Purushottampuri plates were issued by him.
project. Probably he was not more to blame in this connexion than his contemporaries ruling at Warangal, Dvārāsamudra, and Madura, who were all too much actuated by personal jealousies to think of any action in common. Rāmachandra’s defeat in 1294 was no doubt due to his being unprepared, but in succeeding years he did not make any effort to retrieve the situation. Probably he realized that his resources were too small as compared to those of ‘Alā-ud-Din to offer any possibility of successful revolt, and therefore decided to remain loyal to him, in spite of his son’s opposition to this policy. He thereby no doubt succeeded in keeping his kingdom intact down to the end of his reign.

Śaṅkaradeva

(AD. 1511 to 1512)

King Rāmachandra had three sons, Śaṅkara, Ballāla, and Bimba. Of these Śaṅkara, who was the eldest, resided permanently in the capital city and assisted his father in the administration. He ascended the Devagiri throne at his father’s death in 1511. During Rāmachandra’s reign Prince Bimba was a viceroy of southern Gujarāt and Ballāla of southern Mahārāṣṭra; the same arrangement probably continued after the accession of Śaṅkara.

We have seen already how Śaṅkara, as crown prince, was all along opposed to the policy of his father in submitting meekly to the dictates of Delhi. When therefore he ascended the throne, he immediately repudiated the overlordship of ‘Alā-ud-Din and declared his independence. The courage of Śaṅkaradeva in this respect was no doubt admirable. His military and financial resources were as nothing when compared to those of the Sultan, who was now the undisputed overlord of practically the whole of India and whose armies had gained the reputation of invincibility. On hearing of Śaṅkaradeva’s rebellion, ‘Alā-ud-Din once more sent Malik Kafūr to put it down. He easily defeated Śaṅkaradeva, who seems to have been taken prisoner and put to death. Malik Kafūr annexed the Yādava kingdom and administered it himself from Devagiri where he stayed for about three years. He succeeded in bringing most of the Yādava territory under his rule. A few local governors in the south like those of Raidurg, Kampilī, and Kandhyana (the modern Sinhgārī near Poona) refused to recognize the new government, but Malik Kafūr did not care to proceed against them. He devoted his time and attention entirely to the proper organization of the new administration.

He treated all those who submitted to him with kindness and moderation. Under his rule, people quickly began to feel a sense of security and the province prospered as a whole. Like all other Muslims of his age, however, Malik Kafūr believed it to be meritorious to pull down temples and build mosques in their places. His actions in accordance with this belief caused
much unhappiness to his Hindu subjects. However, Devagiri began to become a great centre of Islamic culture under his administration.

When 'Alā-ud-Dīn fell seriously ill towards the end of 1315, Malik Kafūr hastened back to Delhi, leaving 'Ain-ul-Mulk in charge of the Devagiri administration. The latter, however, was soon recalled by him to help him in his new duties. There were now few Muslim troops at Devagiri, and Harapāladeva, probably a son-in-law of King Rāmachandra, and Raghava, a minister under the same ruler, came forward boldly to re-establish the Yādava power. But the resurrected Hindu State was unable to maintain itself for more than two years. When eventually Quṭb-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh managed to secure a firm control over the Khalji empire, he decided to march personally against Devagiri and put down the rebellion. He reached the Deccan in 1318, defeated both Harapāla and Rāghava without any difficulty and re-established his authority over Mahārāṣṭra. King Harapāla fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death.

The Yādava power thus came to an end in 1318. The Khalji emperor now appointed Muslim officers to administer the different districts of Mahārāṣṭra.
III

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

The Yādava kingdom had the usual features of a monarchy. The crown usually passed from the father to the eldest son. In some cases, when the eldest son happened to be a minor, a younger brother of the last king would succeed to the throne. This would sometimes lead to internecine strife, as for instance happened more than once during the twenty-five years preceding the accession of Bhillama V (c. A.D. 1180). No instance is known of the division of the kingdom in order to satisfy the claims of rival princes. Nor did public opinion tolerate the claiming of the crown for his descendants by a younger brother. Mahādeva carried out the duties of the crown prince during the reign of his elder brother Kṛishṇa, and also succeeded him on the throne, since Kṛishṇa’s son Rāmachandra was too young to rule at the time of his father’s death. But his effort to secure the crown for his own son Ammaṇa in place of the rightful heir, his nephew Rāmachandra, met with only temporary success. The high officers and generals sided with Rāmachandra and supported his cause.

The King

The notion that the functions of a king are similar to those of the divine guardians of the earth, which is met with in contemporary works on political science, is also to be found in some of our records. Kings, however, did not claim and were not credited with infallibility. Queens and princesses are but rarely seen taking part in the administration. Kālīkā, a sister of Khoḷeśvara, the Khandesh feudatory of Simhaṇa, is seen governing her brother’s principality during her nephew’s minority. Bhāgubāī, who governed Tardewadi, was probably a relative of Simhaṇa. But these two cases seem to be exceptional.

For about 300 years the Yādavas ruled a small principality as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrahītīs and the Chāḷukyas. When, however, they won imperial status, the territory under their control continually expanded, until at last it covered practically the same area as that of the Rāṣṭrahītīs or the Chāḷukya empire. During the reign of Simhaṇa and his successors it came to include southern Gujarāt, the Marāṭhi Madhya Pradesh and Berar, the Bombay Mahārāṣṭra, the western half of the Hyderabad State, the Bombay Karnataka, the Ceded Districts, and the northern districts of Mysore. The Kākatiyas, who were at this time ruling the eastern half of the Hyderabad State, were

1 El, iii, 112, Bahl Inscr. v, 10.
for a long period feudatories of the Yādavas, but they seem to have enjoyed complete internal autonomy. Within the empire itself there were, as usual, a number of feudatories who very often had their own vassals and sub-
chieftains. During the reign of Simhaṇa, for instance, Khandesh and Berar were administered by his feudatory Kholeśvara, who had under him a number of smaller princelings belonging to the Abhiras, the Nikumbhas, and other families. In the Karnatak also, the Raṭtas, the Guttas and the Kadambas were ruling as vassals of the Yādavas, while actually enjoying a great deal of freedom to act as they pleased.

Feudatories and Viceroy

The powers and privileges of these feudatories appear to have been in general the same as they had been under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa administration. They had to pay a fixed tribute and to bring their troops to take part in the imperial campaigns when ordered by the emperor to do so. Otherwise they seem to have acted almost as independent rulers. They could alienate revenues for charitable and other objects; nay, even if an imperial viceroy desired to make a grant from their revenues, he had to obtain their permission before doing so.1

Territories not under feudatories were directly administered by the central government through its own viceroy. Curiously enough these also frequently enjoyed the status and title of a feudatory and often transmitted their posts to their sons.2 They can therefore be distinguished from the feudatories referred to in the last paragraph only as being of more recent origin, and more directly under the jurisdiction of the supreme power. Provincial viceroy were selected from the most successful military leaders; they usually enjoyed the title of dāndanāyaka. They controlled the feudal chieftains of inferior rank, maintained law and order, supplied levies to the central government and collected the land revenue. They had no authority to alienate revenues or assign villages; even such a powerful and favourite viceroy as Bichana, before whom the lesser chiefs trembled in awe, had to ask permission of his sovereign Simhaṇa before he granted the revenues of a village for a religious object.3 Important provincial viceroy not only enjoyed feudatory status, but also held their own courts and appointed their own ministers.

It is strange that the Yādava records should not, like the Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates, refer to the different grades of territorial officers such as rāṣṭrapatis, vishayapatis, and bhogapatis. Because of this omission it is not possible to say what exactly were the administrative divisions under the Yādavas and what

1 See Haratahalli plates; JBBRAS, xv, 386.
2 Thus Kholeśvara and Malliseṭṭi were succeeded by their sons Rāmachandra and Chaundiseṭṭi respectively.
3 The omission of reference to this permission in the Thana plates seems to be purely accidental; see EI, xiii, 203.
were their names. Probably the Yādava empire was also divided into rāṣṭras and vishayas, even though these are not specifically referred to in the existing grants.

Council of Ministers

The Central Government was carried on by the emperor with the assistance of a council of ministers. The institution of such a council was regarded as indispensable for good administration. Crown princes were accustomed to appoint their own ministers when they were functioning as viceroyds and the same was the case with ordinary persons appointed to important governorships. Thus the crown prince Jaitugi’s minister is referred to in one place, and the premier of Tikkamadevarāya, the southern viceroy of Rāmachandra, in another.¹ In A.D. 1063, when the Yādavas were a small feudatory power, their ministry consisted of seven officers among whom the Premier (mahāpradhāna), the Foreign Minister (sanadhvigrāhi), the Revenue Minister (mahāmātya), the War Minister (mahāprachandaḍanāṇīyaka), and the Chief Secretary (paṭālakarāṇi) were the most important. It is rather unfortunate that the records of imperial times should have preserved for us no names of the portfolios of the different ministers. We may, however, conclude on the strength of earlier and contemporary practice that the ministry must have included all the portfolios in existence in 1069 with the addition of several more like those of the Ecclesiastical Minister (pāṇḍita) and the Judicial Minister (prādvivāka). When the kingdom expanded into an empire, the number of assistants or secretaries working under the different ministers must have been considerably increased.

Certain officers like Bīchaṇa, Tikkamarasa, Purushottama, &c., who were undoubtedly provincial viceroyds, are also described as mahāpradhānas or prime ministers in the Yādava records. As means of communication were very slow in those days, it is doubtful whether the principal officers of the central government residing at Devagiri could also have functioned as viceroyds of distant provinces like the Southern Karnatak. A number of Yādava viceroyds, however, are recorded as using the title of mahāpradhāna or premier. It seems that this designation indicated that the status of the provincial viceroyds who were honoured with it was actually that of a prime minister, and not that they were actually discharging the duties of that officer.

Proficiency as a military commander was apparently almost an indispensable qualification for promotion to the ministry under the Yādavas, as it was also under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Jaitrapāla, the prime minister of the first Yādava emperor, Bhillama V, was as great a general as he was a statesman. The same was the case with almost all the important ministers, who are usually described in our records as dandaṇīyakas, or military leaders.

One would have supposed that at least in the case of Hēmādri, the orthodox Brāhman author of the Vṛatakhanda, the military qualification might

¹ SII, ix, nos. 367 and 387.
have been dispensed with when he was selected a minister by Mahādeva and continued in that office by Rāmachandra. But such was not the case. Contemporary evidence shows that Hemādri was as intimately acquainted with the theory and practice of the training of war elephants as he was with the details of the different ṭrātas. Not only so, but he had also led a successful military expedition and subdued a rebellion in the Jhādi District.¹ Nāgarasa too, the prime minister of Kṛishṇa, was as great a scholar as he was a soldier.²

It is clear that the knowledge of military science and the art of leadership were largely cultivated even by literary men during our period. Chaṅgadeva, who was the court astrologer of Sīṁhaṇa, was a highly skilled swordsman and an accomplished wielder of the lance.³ Ministers were also expected to be well grounded in the theory and practice of political affairs; some of them indeed are expressly described as persons whose intellect had been tempered and developed by intensive study of politics and other sciences.⁴ Nāgarasa, the prime minister of Kṛishṇa, was equally distinguished as scholar and soldier.⁵

The successful functioning of the ministry, it was held, was dependent on the king’s being able to trust his ministers as implicitly as his own heart, and on their being in their turn ‘as skilled in political science as Vīṣṇugupta (Kauṭilya), and as efficient in destroying the enemy as the god of death’. And in fact, in accordance with this pronouncement, certain ministers are described as bosom-friends and close companions of the emperor, others again as his right hand or mouthpiece.⁶

Most of the leading ministers and generals enjoyed the status of mahāsāmanta or mahāmāndalakśetvaras. Probably they also enjoyed jāģīrs given to them as an equivalent of monetary remuneration, and they were responsible for their proper administration. Mahāpradhāna Malliseṭṭi is described as granting the revenues of a village which was situated in his own jurisdiction or jāģīr (svādhiṅkuravishaya).⁷ The Toragala six thousand and the Sindewadi one thousand which Mahāpradhānas Purushottama and Basavarsa respectively administered were probably in fact their own jāģīrs.

**Provincial and District Officers**

The central secretariat controlled the provincial and district officers through its own inspecting staff whose members were called ganakas or

¹ JRAS, v, 183. ² LA, vii, 39. ³ Ibid., vii, 39. ⁴ Cf. विन्दुराधिनियोगसोतविश्वासातपविविक्तिबिधिकाग्रेष: IA, xii, 126. ⁵ EL, xii, 13. ⁶ विविषाय हुद्दुपंस परबलजन्यते कलाकायम्। दूहे नृत्तविनिष्णुर्गुणस्तुः... JBRRAS, xv, 5. ⁷ SII, ix, no. 363.
accountants. Their functions were probably similar to those of the
valabhājānasāṅkhārins of the Vākāṭaka administration. Members of this inspecting
staff sometimes went astray themselves and had to be called to order by their
superiors. When royal officers visited villages for inspection, they were
sumptuously entertained. Naturally the villagers had to foot the bill;
imposts and special charges in connexion with the arrival, temporary resi-
dence, and departure of royal officers, mentioned in various records, must
have been levied to defray such expenditure.

The administrative machinery, generally speaking, seems to have been
reasonably efficient and considerate. The government was accustomed to give
compensation to villagers when they had suffered as a consequence of the
movement of troops or of the action of the enemy. Even when land grants
were made for religious objects, the precautions necessary in the interest of
efficient administration were not forgotten. Rights inconsistent with local
usage and practice were not recognized. The administration did not encourage
absentee landlordism; some grants state that the Brāhman donees could
enjoy their shares of the alienated revenue only if they continued to stay in
the village. They were further required to be virtuous and loyal in their
behaviour. Courtesans were to be given no asylum, gambling was not to be
patronized, and the donees were not to organize themselves into a military
band.

Prisons and the Village Panchāyats

Prisons were maintained for detaining offenders, who were kept there in
chains. Minor offences and civil suits were tried locally at the village chāvādi,
with the help of the village panchāyat presided over by the headman; serious
offences were tried by officers of the central government. There is no evidence
to show how far popular will could influence the Central Yādava adminis-
tration. Our records do not refer to any councils of the people's representa-
tives either central or provincial; probably such bodies did not exist. Central and
provincial governments, however, had few duties apart from the mainte-
nance of law and order. Most of the beneficial and ameliorative functions
of government were discharged by the village communities, in which the
popular element predominated. The will of the people could thus make itself
felt along certain lines in the affairs of government only through the channels
of the village panchāyats.

Sources of Revenue

Some of the privileges conferred upon the grantees in our records give us
a glimpse into the main sources of the revenues of the State under the Yādavas.

1 IA, xii, 127.
2 Jñānāvārī, 18.793.
3 स्वरूपपरिवर्तितविद्वद्भादित्वोपचावपुष्टवादिविवर्धिति: | IA, xii, 119.
4 EL, i, 217; IA, xiv, 318–19.
5 Jñānāvārī, 16.295.
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We find that they were more or less the same as those found under the Rāṣṭrakūtas. The State claimed ownership in mines, hidden treasures, waste lands, pastures, forests, orchards (on State lands), lakes and public wells; many of our records transfer the State’s income from the above sources to those named in the benefice. Arable lands belonged to private individuals; these had to pay to the State the land tax (udrānīga) which formed the backbone of its revenue. Cultivators were also subject to some additional minor imposts which were called uparikaras. The incidence of the land tax under the Yādavas cannot be ascertained from the evidence available at present; its percentage was, however, reduced when lands were made the subject of grants to temples and Brāhmans.

Customs and excise duties were the next most important sources of revenue. Customs officers are often referred to in the Yādava records, but how they discharged their functions and at what rate they levied the duties on different articles is not known. It appears that the State claimed the right to demand the best articles brought to the market by a merchant as part of its tax upon him. This claim was doubtless not always enforced, but in the normal course of events a certain percentage varying from 5 to 20 seems to have been levied on sales.

Military Organization and Navy

We get occasional glimpses into the military organization of the Yādavas partly from contemporary inscriptions and partly from the Jñānesvarī, written in c. A.D. 1290. Soldiers were very carefully selected from the members of the village militias. The bow and arrow, the sword, and the spear were the principal weapons. The shield was the principal means of defence, but the soldiers were also supplied with coats of mail. There was keen competition for employment in the regular forces, since the soldiers were permitted to retain part of the spoils of war and booty acquired.

The Yādava forces consisted partly of the standing army directly recruited and paid by the central government, and partly of the levies contributed by the provincial viceroys and feudatories. There was thus no general coherence or esprit de corps uniting the whole imperial army, and its strength depended to a great extent upon the loyalty, good-will, and efficiency of the viceroys and feudatories who commanded and led the various contingents. The Yādava empire had a long seaboard, and there is some evidence to show that it maintained a small permanent navy. This was in fact brought into use when Puri, the island capital of the Śilāhāras, was captured. The navy, however, does not seem to have aimed at controlling the routes to the west or the east.

1 When villages were granted to temples or Brāhmans, these became entitled only to the revenues which the State used to derive from the villages and not to the produce which was gathered from the fields included in them. See I.A., xiv, 69; J.B.B.A.S., xii, 7.
2 S.II., ix, no. 364.
3 Jñānesvarī, 7.41; 9.214; 18.1047; 18.46.
IV

RELIGION

Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism

Of the three main religions of ancient India, Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, the last mentioned had practically ceased to exist during the Yādava period. There are neither sculptures nor paintings nor inscriptions to show that either Kanheri or Ajanta were active centres of Buddhism during our period. One Buddhist establishment existed at Dambal in the Karnatak during the eleventh century; it is, however, very doubtful whether it continued into the time of the Yādavas. With the disappearance of its monasteries, Buddhism vanished from the land, for it had no organization among the laity. Hinduism borrowed a good deal from Buddhism and silently shed a number of its features which had been the object of reprobation by the Buddhists. The Buddha himself had by this time been recognized by the Hindu faith as an incarnation of the Supreme God. Buddhism and Hinduism thus became amalgamated; the former was not supplanted by the latter, but rather absorbed into it.

The spirit of toleration and harmony that had existed in Hindu society since early times continued to manifest itself also in the Yādava period. A Deccan record of this period, which describes the supreme spirit as being at one and the same time Śiva, Brahmadeva, Vishnu, Jina, and the Buddha, gives us a glimpse into the religious outlook of the age, which regarded even the founders of the heterodox faiths as so many incarnations of the one Supreme Spirit.¹

There is no wonder that while the general religious outlook was so broad and catholic, followers of the differing forms of belief should have lived amicably together. We actually find the Hindus and Jains intermarrying. Thus Chandramauni, a minister of the Hoysala king Viraballāja, was a Śaiva, but his wife Achyakā was a devout Jain, offering her worship regularly in a Jain temple.² Brāhmans are often described as bees at the lotus feet of Jina.³ It should therefore occasion no surprise to come across some cases of the same donor founding and endowing both Hindu temples and Jain basadis.⁴

The prevailing spirit of harmony was unfortunately to some extent disturbed by the rise of the Vīraśaiva (Lingāyat) sect during the latter half of the twelfth century. There was keen rivalry between the followers of Jainism and those of the new faith, and sometimes they came to open blows.

¹ शिवाय धारे सुगताय विद्वांश जिज्ञाय तद्भव सकलाकारणे नमः: EC, xii, Tm. 9.
² EC, ii, no. 327.
³ जिनपादपदमुग्म्या विग्रहकलसुंगम: EI, iii, 201.
⁴ EC, ix, Nl. 84; xii, Tm. 9.
One reason for this state of affairs was the fact that the Viṣṇāva sect gained most of its followers from the trading classes, often at the expense of Jainism, which had been so long popular among them. What may be described as active religious persecution, however, did not exist, for the rulers tried to keep an impartial attitude towards the rival beliefs and their adherents. The Yādava were orthodox Hindus, but we find them extending patronage to the followers of the new religion as well as to those of their own faith. Thus the Gadag inscription of Śimhaṇa records a grant given by him to Trīkūṭaśvara, a Viṣṇāva temple at Gadag.¹

**Temples**

The temples continued to be the main centres of public worship among the Hindus. Deities worshipped in them were the Purānic gods like Śiva, Kṛiṣṇa, Mādhava, Sūrya (the Sun), &c. Pandharpur and its Viṭṭhala temple had already become a famous centre of worship. We find Malliseṣṭṭi, the southern viceroy of Kṛiṣṇa, making a grant to its temple while encamped in the vicinity during the course of his campaigns.² It is interesting to note that the deity at Pandharpur was then known as Viṣṇu and not as Viṭṭhala. Temples also continued to be built in the names of departed kings; we find Tikkama, a general of Mahādeva, building at Harihara a shrine called Mahādeva-Rāya-Nārāyaṇa in memory of his late master.³

The records belonging to our period show that temple worship was then more or less similar to what it is now. Musk and sandalwood paste were used; flowers and garlands were offered; fragrant perfumes were burnt, and lamps and camphor censers were slowly swung in ritual cadence. Devotees were also entertained with music and dances on special occasions.⁴

The temples continued to be the most important centres of philanthropic and cultural activities. Many of them maintained rest houses where free meals were available for the destitute. Some shrines maintained colleges for higher education, and the *sattras* administered by them offered invaluable assistance to poor students.⁵ The recitation of the Purāṇas, which spread Hindu doctrine and culture among both literates and illiterates, continued throughout the period to be a special feature of temple activities.

Private or personal religion became completely dominated in this period by the views and theories advocated by the Smṛitis, Purāṇas, and Nibandhas. It is interesting to note that no kings of this period nor any recipients of grants are described as engaged in the performance of Vedic rituals. The Vedas no doubt still continued to be regarded as inspired revelations, but

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¹ *LA*, ii, 297.
² Ibid., xiv, 69.
³ EC, xi, Dg, 59.
⁴ EI, iii, 252; EC, viii, Sb, 391; *SMHD*, iii, 15.
it was not the theories propounded in them, but rather the views advocated by the later Smrīti writers like Parāśara and Aṅgiras, which held the field in the domain of religion.\textsuperscript{1} Generally, however, these Smrītis were being superseded in their turn by the Purāṇas and Nibandhas, the vratas prescribed in which were becoming increasingly popular. Thus King Bhīllama is described as devoted not to Vedic sacrifices but to the vratas and upavāsas.\textsuperscript{2} A compendium of all these vratas and upavāsas was prepared by Hemādri, a minister of state who flourished under Mahādeva and Rāmachandra. We may safely assume that most of them had become generally popular and were freely quoted. A record slightly later in time (A.D. 1378 describes how the King of Vema had given all the dānas prescribed by Hemādri.\textsuperscript{3} The constant references to charitable gifts at vratas, which recur so often in the religious works of this period, do not necessarily imply that such donations contributed merely to the selfish interests of the priestly class; indirectly they also helped society as a whole. In fact we find several donors applying their generosity to the building of tanks and irrigation works and to the maintenance of dykes, canals, hospitals, and establishments for feeding homeless wanderers.\textsuperscript{4} The property of Brāhmans dying without heirs could not be claimed by the State; it was usually devoted to the financing of objects of public utility like the construction and upkeep of artificial lakes for water storage.\textsuperscript{5}

Some of our records describe the formalities that were gone through at the time of making religious gifts, and these are very interesting. The selection of a proper time and place was regarded as very important. When this had been done, the donor used to bathe in the morning, offer arghya to the Sun and oblations to his ancestors, worship his tutelary deities, perform homa, obtain the assent of the elderly persons in the family and then proceed to make the grant.\textsuperscript{6}

The belief in ghosts was common and there were persons who professed to exorcize them with success. There were also a few hathayogis, who would cut out flesh from their own bodies and offer it to a diety as the sacrifice. Some persons used to carry portable temples on their heads and thereby earn their livelihood.\textsuperscript{7}

\textit{New Religious Movements}

Let us now turn to the new religious movements which appeared in this age. Of these the Mahānubhāva may be considered first. Govindaprabhu and Chakrapāni are but shadowy figures in the history of this sect and are usually mentioned only because they were respectively the preceptor and preceptor's preceptor of Chakradhara, the real founder of the movement. Chakradhara

\textsuperscript{1} See the Sanganner grant, \textit{EI}, ii, 219; Kalas Budruk grant, \textit{IA}, xvii, 121.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{EI}, ii, 219.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{EI}, iii, 61.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{EC}, viii, Sb. 277; \textit{EI}, xxii, 189.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{EC}, xi, Dg. no. 70.

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{SMHD}, iii, 15.

\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Jn.}, ii, 234; 17.97; 17.716.
was the son of Visaladeva,¹ a Gujarāt princeling, his original name being Haripāla. He eventually renounced the world and became a disciple of Govindaprabhu, whom he met at Riddhipura while on a pilgrimage to Rāmaṭeka. He obtained full God-realization in A.D. 1273 and thereafter founded the Mahānubhāva sect. He recommended the worship of Krishṇa and Datta, emphasized the supreme importance of devotion (bhakti), non-slaughter (ahimastra), and good conduct, and maintained that God was saguna, the relation between the divinity and the devotee being that of master and servant. Renunciation (sanyāsa) was the supreme ideal for every devotee and even women were admitted into the sect as nuns. This last step was counter to the prevailing practice in Hinduism and Buddhism and may have been partly responsible for the subsequent unpopularity of the sect. Another cause for this was the permission accorded to the monks and nuns to beg cooked food from the members of all castes alike without any distinction.

It seems that the Mahānubhāva sect attracted the attention of King Rāma-chandra and that he and some of his queens were enrolled among its followers. But later on the royal devotees abandoned their allegiance to the movement for reasons as yet unknown. During the following centuries the Mahānubhāva sect founded its mathas in the Punjab and even in Afghanistan, but it never again became popular in Mahārāṣṭra.

Far different is the history of the Bhakti movement associated with Śrī Viṭṭhala or Pāṇḍuraṅga of Pandharapur. We have shown already how a grant was made in favour of this deity by a Yādava minister in A.D. 1249. A record in the temple of Viṭṭhala at Pandharapur, inscribed in A.D. 1273, shows that pilgrims from Telangana and the Karnatak, Mahārāṣṭra, and the Madhya Pradesh, used to visit the temple and vie with one another in their benefactions to the establishment. This temple became the most famous centre of popular worship in the Deccan towards the end of the thirteenth century, when its presiding deity became the supreme object of adoration in the Bhakti school. The Bhakti movement was rendered very popular by a number of poet-saints, most of whom were non-Brāhmans by caste. Among them Nāmadeva was a tailor, Janābāi a maid-servant, Senā a barber, and Narahari a goldsmith. Of these Nāmadeva was born in A.D. 1270,² while the others flourished in the following century. The Bhakti cult, which these saints popularized, has in fact been the real living religion of the masses of Mahārāṣṭra during the last 600 years. It introduced democracy into the field of religion and preached its principles in a language that appealed to the heart of the ordinary man and woman by its simplicity, effectiveness, and sincerity.

The rise and tenets of the Lingāyat sect have been already discussed earlier.

¹ This Visaladeva does not seem to be the same as the Vāghelā ruler of that name.
² This is the traditional date. Doubts have been expressed about its correctness.
V
SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Caste System

The caste system did not undergo any marked transformation in the Yādava period. Castes were determined by birth. The Viśāīva and Mahānubhāva movements did indeed in theory raise their voices against the rigidity of the caste system, but actually they accepted it in practice. The system, however, was rigid only as far as the absolute prohibition of intercaste marriages was concerned. It did not prevent people from following a profession other than the one hereditary in their caste. We find many generals recruited from the Brāhmaṇ and Vaishya castes; Jáhāna and Kholeśvara, who were Brāhmaṇs, and Malliṣṭṭi who was a Vaisya, are only some typical examples in this connexion.

The Brāhmaṇs of Mahārāṣṭra were strictly vegetarian. They would never take food from non-Brāhmaṇs and avoided as far as possible having any communication with the untouchables. Their professions were usually the same as those followed by members of their caste in the Rāśtrakūṭa period.

The Kṣatriyas and Vaishyas were brought down to the level of the Shudras during our period. It was at this time that untouchability took on its present form and character. The untouchable classes were the same groups of persons as those so considered in the preceding period.

Contemporary records often give the surnames of the recipients of grants, and we find that some of these are still in use. Thus the surnames Paṭṭa-vardhana and Ghalīṣāsa can be traced back to the thirteenth century. Migrations of Brāhmaṇs from one province to another took place from time to time. Thus the beneficiary of the Kalas Budruk plates was an emigrant from a village in the Madhyadesa (Uttar Pradesh). He settled in the Nāsik District and eventually became a minister of state. One of those benefited by the Chikkabagewadi grant is called Vārāṇasīya; possibly he was an immigrant from Banaras. Children of these immigrants probably married with the children of local Brāhmaṇs. There was as yet in this period no strong prejudice against interprovincial marriages.

Women

As far as the position of women is concerned, early marriages of girls at the age of 10 or 11 became customary in this period. This practice was a death-blow to female education. The custom of suttee had begun to prevail

1 IA, vii, 306.
in royal families; at the death of Rāmachandra several of his queens im-
molated themselves as suttees. The custom, however, was not popular out-
side Kshatriya circles, for certain writers of the age such as Vijñāneśvara
argued that it was not permissible, at any rate, for Brāhman widows, since it
was after all in effect a kind of suicide. A widow’s right to inheritance of
property had become a firmly established custom in the Deccan during our
period. Widows usually put off all ornaments, but they did not as yet shave
their heads. The purdah system had not yet come into existence.
VI

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

Temples, agrahāra villages, and capital cities continued to be the main centres of higher education. Unfortunately contemporary records afford us no description of any of these educational institutions. The donors of some of the grants are called ‘vedārthadās’, ‘expounders of the Vedic hymns’, kramavids, ‘experts in “kramapātha”’, ‘daśagranthis’, ‘well-grounded in the ten branches of Vedic lore’, sarvajñārasavatīs, ‘omniscient like Sarasvati’, or prasannasarasvatīs, ‘favourites of the goddess of learning’. It is obvious that these must have been famous teachers, who imparted higher Sanskritic education free of charge in their private schools, which were known as brahmaśālās.

Apart from the agrahāra villages there also existed special colleges founded for specific purposes. One such college existed at Pāṭaṇa in Khandesh, having been founded by Chaṅgadeva, a grandson of Bhāskarāchārya, for the purpose of furthering the study of the astronomical works of his illustrious grandfather. This institute had received liberal grants from the State, and the residents of the town also aided it with voluntary contributions in cash and kind on various auspicious occasions.¹

Vaghli, another town in the Khandesh, was also a centre of higher learning.² Devagiri, the Yādava capital, must have been a well-known educational centre, as were most of the capital towns in Ancient India. The same must have been the case with Paṇṭhaṅga and Nāsik, which had been well-known holy places from very early days. It is a pity that the extant records should be silent about the educational activities of these places. Nor do they refer to any temple colleges, though there can be no doubt that these existed in the Yādava period, as they did in the times of other dynasties.

Let us now turn to the literary activities of the period. A number of astronomical works were written in the Deccan under the Yādavas by several members of a distinguished learned family, founded by Kavichakravarti Trivikrama, the author of the Damayantikathā. His son Vidyāpati Bhāskarabhaṭṭa was a protégé of the Paramāra ruler Bhoja. Bhāskarabhaṭṭa’s great-grandson was Kaviśvara Mahēśvarāchārya (c. A.D. 1125), who composed two works on astrology, Sekhara and Laghuṭīkā. Mahēśvara’s son was the famous astrologer, Bhāskarāchārya, who wrote a number of works on mathematics and astronomy. Chief among these are the Siddhānta-śiromāṇi (composed in A.D. 1150) and the Karanakutukāla. The second

¹ El, i, 341.
² Ibid., ii, 221.
chapter of the first of the above works is the best treatise on algebra to be found in Sanskrit literature.

Bhāskarāchārya, who was given the titles of Sarvajña, ‘the Omniscient One’, and Vidyāsāda, ‘the Abode of the Goddess of Learning’, was well grounded both in the Sāmkhya and in the Vedānta systems of philosophy. His son Lakshmīdhara and his grandson Čaṅgadeva were the court astrologers of Jaitugi and Śrīnārāma respectively. Bhāskarāchārya’s grand-nephew Anantadeva was also a protégé of Śrīnāra; he composed a commentary on the Brihajjātaka of Varāhamihira and also one on the seventh chapter of the Brahmaśphuṭasiddhānta of Brahmagupta.¹

The Samgitaratnamākara of Sārāṅgadeva is a work on music composed in the court of Śrīnāra. It is an interesting book showing a wide acquaintance with the music of both south and north. The Śūktimuktāvālī, an anthology of Sanskrit verse, was composed in the Yādava court in A.D. 1258. In the introduction it is stated that it was composed by Jahlana, a commander of the elephant squadrons of King Krishṇa. But its colophon expressly declares that it was compiled by the physician Bhānū for Jahlana, who was probably his patron.²

The most famous Sanskrit writer of the Yādava age is undoubtedly Hemādri. He was the officer who commanded the Yādava elephant brigade, in which post he seems to have succeeded Jahlana. Later on he was made chief secretary to the Government by Mahādeva in about 1263. This office he continued to fill until about A.D. 1285.³

Hemādri is the reputed author of a number of Sanskrit works. The principal among these are the Chaturvargachintāmaṇi, the Kālanirṇaya, the Tithiniṇaya, the Ayurvedarasāyana, the Dānakāvyāvālī, the Parjanyaprayoga, the Tristhalividhi and the Arthakārīdha.⁴ Whether a busy minister, who in addition to the duties of his office was also in charge of the elephant squadrons maintained by the State, could have found time to write all these voluminous works may well be doubted. It is likely that some of them may have been written under the guidance or direction of Hemādri and their authorship then attributed to him by his protégés, as was done by Bhānū in the case of the Śūktimuktāvālī.

Of these works the Chaturvargachintāmaṇi may be justly regarded as representative of the religious outlook and beliefs of the age. It gives us a vivid picture of religious life in these times and of the different rituals and observances which had by then superseded the old Vedic religion. There is no doubt that many of these rites were actively practised by the bulk of the general population under the Yādava régime.

The rise of the Vīraśaiva sect in the latter half of the twelfth century gave a great impetus to Canarese literature; the Canarese works composed by its followers have been already mentioned in an earlier section. All the great

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¹ EI, i, 345; iii, 112.
² GOS, vol. 82.
³ SMHD, ii, 6.
⁴ Aufrechte, Catalogus Catalogorum, 768.
Canarese poets of the thirteenth century like Janna, Mallikārjuna, Keśirāja, &c., flourished at the Hoysaḷa court. Canarese literature did not prosper under the Yādavas, as it did under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Later Chāḷukyas. The cause is not far to seek. The Yādavas themselves spoke Marathi and their capital city was at Devagiri, which was in the heart of Mahārāṣṭra. The age of the Yādavas is therefore very important in the history of Marathi literature, for it originated at this time. The formal parts of inscriptions begin to appear in the Marathi language in some of the Yādava records. The earliest inscription of our period in which Marathi makes its appearance is the Parel Stone record of A.D. 1187 where the curse is written in the Marathi language: in the Pāṭana inscription of A.D. 1200 the concluding lines describing the voluntary contributions of citizens are also in Marathi. We may therefore fairly presume that Marathi had begun to be used as a vehicle of thought and literature during the twelfth and also eleventh centuries A.D., though we have no extant works as early as that period. Nevertheless the mature development of the language as a literary medium, which is to be seen in the works of Mukundarāya and Jñāṇesvara, presupposes a literary activity of at least two centuries.

The earliest extant Marathi poet, Mukundarāya, flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century. King Jayantapāla of Jogai, the son of Ballāla, who is said to have been his pupil, cannot yet be identified, but we know that Mukundarāya composed his Vivekasindhu in A.D. 1188; in this work he expounds the Advaita philosophy on the lines followed by Śaṅkara and his school.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century flourished the great Jñāṇesvara, who composed his immortal commentary on the Gitā, the Jñāṇesvari, in A.D. 1290, when he was still in his teens. Though almost the first man of letters to write in Marathi, Jñāṇesvara had supreme confidence in the capacity of this language to express the most profound thoughts and the most elusive and delicate emotions; he foretold that his work would prove sweeter than nectar to its readers and would win the applause of the learned, and his prediction has indeed been amply justified. The Jñāṇesvari is in effect the first really important work in Marathi, and no later book can compare with it either as a piece of poetry or as a treatise on religion and philosophy. Jñāṇesvara was a gifted poet, a scholar of parts, an original thinker, and a deeply religious personality. No other writer in the Marathi language has combined all these qualities in himself as completely and thoroughly as did Jñāṇesvara. Though ostensibly a commentary on the Gitā, the Jñāṇesvari is really an independent philosophical treatise.

Nāmadeva and Janābāī were junior contemporaries of Jñāṇesvara, and their devotional Marathi songs are matchless in their beauty and incomparable in their religious fervour. Nāmadeva travelled on foot all over India.

1 The language of the Vivekasindhu in its present form is much later than that of the Jñāṇesvari.
and founded his mathas even in some places in the North. He also spent some years in the Punjab, where he established a matha at Ghoman in the Gurdaspur District, which is still in existence. We can thus understand how it comes to be that some of his songs are included even in the Granthasaheb of Nānaka.

The cause of Marathi literature got a further impetus in the Yādava period from the rise of the Mahānubhāva sect, which was first brought into prominence by Chakradhara. He was very insistent that his followers should write in Marathi and not in Sanskrit, and as a consequence of this preference the Marathi language became considerably enriched by the literary activities of the new sect. Chakradhara himself has left no literary works, but more than a dozen disciples of his composed books in Marathi, mostly on religious subjects. Amongst these, the Śisupālavadha of Bhānubhaṭa (A.D. 1273), the Vatsalāharaṇa of Dāmodaraṇḍita (A.D. 1278), the Rukmiṇīsvayayinvara of Narendrapāṇḍita (A.D. 1288), the Siddhāntasūtrapāṭha of Keśavarāja (A.D. 1288), the Nalopākhyāna of Nṛsimhakesari, the Riddhipuravārṇana of Maheśvara Paṇḍita (A.D. 1373) and the Līlācharitra of Mahendra may be mentioned here. Some of these works throw important light on the events of contemporary history.
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The observations made about the wealth of the country, its industries, commerce, guild organization, &c., in connexion with the Rāṣṭra-kūta period, also hold good about the age of the Yādavas. We will not therefore repeat them here but will merely add a few more details gathered from contemporary records and from the Jñānestvari.

The Virabalanja continued to be an influential trade organization having its headquarters at Aihole with its branches spread over most of the important cities of south India. It was a powerful guild dealing in most of the principal kinds of merchandise, and its executive council seems to have consisted of 500 members. The Jñānestvari refers to a state currency in gold issued by the Yādava government and the discovery of the Rachapatanam hoard in the Kistna District now reveals its real nature. The gold coins were of the so-called Padma-pāṅka variety, weighing about 57 grains and bearing the names of the various rulers under whom they were struck. So far the coins of Sinhaṇa, Kanhara or Kṛiṣṇa, Mahādeva, and Śrīrāma or Rāmāchandra have been identified. It does not seem that the Yādava Government issued any silver or copper currency. Small transactions were probably done by barter. The Jñānestvari refers in one place to a currency in the form of inscribed skin pieces, but it seems extremely doubtful whether any Hindu government would have issued such a currency for its subjects. It appears not improbable that this particular passage in the Jñānestvari may be an interpolation made subsequent to the times of Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq.

Incidental references in the Jñānestvari would seem to indicate that the Deccan was in a very prosperous condition during the rule of the Yādavas. This inference is confirmed by the accounts of the loot taken to the north by Muslim raiders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The main streets of Devagiri and other important towns and cities of the empire were lined with the shops of goldsmiths, silversmiths, and dealers in pearls and fine and costly muslins. There were many wealthy householders and there was therefore a great demand for such articles, since rich men sought eagerly for ornaments with which to adorn themselves, their wives, their children and the images of gods. Ornaments and bullion were often buried underground in the houses of the more opulent. These lived in three-storied houses, with good windows and doors, painted with pictures on the outer

1 JRAS, 1925, p. 16.
sides, and having guards stationed at the entrance. Cooks, umbrella-bearers and betel-carriers were among the servants who usually formed their retinues. The palanquin was the normal fashionable means of conveyance, but when a large number of people were to be transported, as in the case of a marriage party, even the rich used to travel in bullock carts. Horse carriages were not in use at this time. The poor people lived in thatched houses, as now; there is no evidence to show us precisely what was the ratio of the rich to the poor during this period. The usual rate of interest for secured loans was 12 per cent. per annum.
PART IX

THE KĀKATĪYAS OF WARANGAL

by DR. N. VENKĀTARAMANAYYA and MR. M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

I. Origin of the dynasty and early feudatory rulers—Bēta I, Prola I, Bēta II, and Prōla II.

II. The Independent Sovereigns—Kākatī Rudradēva, his victories over the neighbouring princes; Rudradēva’s war with Bhima of the Telugu Chōḍa family; subjugation of the Kōṭas and the Kōṇḍapañḍuvaṁśa in the South, conflict with the Śeṇas of Dēvagiri, suffered defeat and was killed in the battlefield; his ministers and officers. Mahādēva (A.D. 1195–98–99), a doughty warrior, invaded the Śeṇa Kingdom and perished seated on the back of an elephant during the fight. Gaṇapatidēva (A.D. 1199–1261), and his captivity; invasions of Nāgati and the Chōḍa emperor, Kuloṭṭuṅga III; Gaṇapatī’s subsequent reinstatement and his invasion of the coastal Andhra districts against Prithviśvara; after his victory over Prithviśvara Gaṇapatī sent an army to Kaliṅga to reduce it to subjection; the Eastern Gaṅga incursion, the conquest of Kolanu, Gaṇapatī’s southern expedition, his relations with the Śeṇas, his war with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura; Gaṇapatī’s inter-state relations, his family and vassals, generals and ministers. Rudramadēvi (A.D. 1259–95), rebellion of her half-brothers aided by certain nobles; they ousted her from the capital which she recaptured and put to death her half-brothers; Kākatiya authority re-established in the Godavari valley with the help of Nāyak commanders, war with the Pāṇḍyas who had usurped Kākatiya territory in the South, the Śeṇa Mahādēva invaded the Kākatiya Kingdom but Rudrama fought valiantly and put the enemy to flight, Arhibadhēva, the Kāyaṉa chief, foreswore his allegiance to the Kākatiya queen, he entered into alliance with Śeṇas and the Pāṇḍyas to cope effectively with the superior forces of the Kākatiyas, Rudramadēvi launched a three-pronged attack on Arhibadhēva and his allies, Rudramadēvi’s vassals, ministers, and officials, her family. Pratīṣṭhāparudra (A.D. 1295–1323) recruited seventy-seven nāyaks to strengthen the defences of the kingdom, tested his new modelled army against some refractory Kāyaṉa chiefs whom he subdued, the Muslim incursions into the Deccan, the earliest of ‘Alā-ud-Dīn’, expedition against Teligāṇa in A.D. 1303, the Muslim generals Fakhr-ud-Dīn and Jhāju penetrated into the heart of the kingdom and reached near Warangal, they sustained a crushing defeat, the failure of the expedition did not affect ‘Alā-ud-Dīn’s designs of conquest and he dispatched a larger army under Malik Nā’ilī who arrived near the Kākatiya capital on 24 January 1316, after a protracted siege by the enemy Pratīṣṭhāparudra sued for peace and Malik Nā’ilī agreed on the condition that Pratīṣṭhāparudra should hand over all his accumulated wealth and further pay annually a stipulated sum of money and send a contingent
of trained elephants and horses to the Delhi Sultan as tribute. 'Ala-ud-Din's confidence in Prataparudra as a faithful ally, asked the latter to help Malik Na'ib in the conquest of South India. Prataparudra co-operated with the Imperial troops, succession of new Sultans in Delhi, Prataparudra did not send the stipulated annual tribute to Delhi owing to weakness of the Imperial control over the Deccan. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq sent his son Ulugh Khan with a large army, the latter besieged Warangal, the siege lasted for six months, conflicting accounts of the siege by Muslim historians, 'Isa more reliable, Prataparudra surrendered finally, ordered by Ulugh Khan to be taken to Delhi with his family, died on the way, Prataparudra's family; his vassals, generals, and ministers.

III. Military Institutions and Administration—Sources; Military Organization, the Army; the Government; Taxation; Irrigation; Land Reclamation.

IV. Religion.
I

ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY AND EARLY FEUDATORY RULERS

The Kākatiyas rose to power during the dominion of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The attempt made by certain scholars to trace the descent of this dynasty from Kakkartya Gunḍyana, a subordinate of the Eastern Chālukyan king, Amma II (A.D. 945–70), cannot be said to have been successful, since the evidence adduced by them is not strong enough to support their thesis. It is indeed possible that the names Kakkartya, Kākatiya, and Kākatiya are etymologically connected, but there is no ground to warrant the belief that the Kākatiya kings of Anumakonda and Warangal were really the descendants of Gunḍyana, the feudatory of the Eastern Chālukyan Amma II.

Bēta II, a subordinate of Tribhuvanamallā Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076–1126), was the first prince of the Kākatiya family to leave behind any records of his rule. His Anumakonda and Kāzîpēta epigraphs, dated respectively in A.D. 1079 and A.D. 1090, not only indicate clearly the period during which he flourished but also furnish some interesting information about his immediate ancestors.¹

According to the Kāzîpēta record, Bēta II’s grandfather, Bēta I, ‘churned the ocean of the army of the Chōja king and obtained the Lakshmi’ (of Victory). This assertion should be compared with the statement in the Pālāmpēta inscription of the time of Gaṇapati² that Rēcheīla Brahma, the progenitor of Rēcheīla Rudra, who in all probability was the commander of

¹ Corpus, No. 7, pp. 25 ff.
² H.A.S., No. 3, I. The Pālāmpēta pillar inscription of the time of Gaṇapati-dēva, dated in Śaka 1135 (A.D. 1213), attributes the conquest of Kānchī to a Kākati monarch, the campaign being directed by his general, Brahma of the Rēcheīla family (v. 11). The Kākati monarch alluded to here is in fact no other than Bēta I. The relationship between Kāta, the father of Kāma Chāmpatī, and Brahma, the first known member of the Rēcheīla family, is not made clear in this inscription. Kāma is said to have been the chief officer of Kākati Prōla, the opponent of Manthana Gunḍa. This Prōla is evidently Prōla II. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the difference in time between Rēcheīla Brahma and his descendant Kāma corresponds to that between Bēta I and Prōla II. However, the Pillālamagri record (Corpus, No. 41, pp. 114 ff.) of the Rēcheīla chief Nāma says that Muchcha was the father of Kāta and that he was born in the family of Bamma, evidently Brahma, who ‘having taken away the gate of the city of Kānchī uprooted the tree of the dignity (māna) of the Chōda king in the play of the terrific battle’ (yaḥ Kāmbhṇa-gaṇa-karaṇa-karaṇam petvā prakārṇa-pāraṇa-karaṇam Chōda-nāma-drum-anumaṇam). Ibīd., v. 4). Muchcha is in fact much earlier in time than Kāta. He was probably Brahma’s grandson or his brother’s son. These Rēcheīla chiefs served the Kākatiyas, very loyally from the time of Brahma onwards. In order to understand correctly the comparative dates of the Rēcheīla chiefs and their Kākatiya overlords the pedigrees given overleaf may be helpful to the reader.

From these pedigrees it would seem probable that Muchcha and his son Kāta were the commanders of Prōla I and his son Bēta II respectively. In this case Kākati Bēta and his commander,
Bêta I’s army, ‘flung open, like a curtain, the doors of the city of Kāñchi’, and ‘promptly brought about the marriage of the Kâkati monarch with the Goddess of Victory’. Neither the actual date of this victory nor the circumstances in which it was achieved, are known. Bêta I was an obscure petty chief in Telîngâra, which was then included in the Western Châlukyan dominions. He thus obviously could not, on his own account and entirely by himself, have led an expedition all the way across the Eastern Châlukyan kingdom to Kāñchi, defeated the powerful Chôla emperor, and captured the city. It is, on the other hand, not unlikely that Bêta I and his general Brahma did in fact accompany their Western Châlukyan overlords during an expedition which the latter conducted against the Chôla kingdom. Now before the date of the Kâzîpêta inscription the Western Châlukyas invaded the Chôla kingdom only once and that happened during the reign of Āhvamalla Sômësva ra I. The Chôla king Râjâdhirâja I, taking advantage of Sômësvara’s expedition to Mâlava, made an attack on the latter’s capital, Kalyâni, and destroyed it by fire, in A.D. 1052, whereupon Sômësvara, as soon as he returned from Mâlava, sent a large army under Polakësin, and devastated, in retaliation, the city of Kânchî, the northern capital of the Chôla kingdom. Bêta and his general most probably participated in Polakësin’s expedition and thereafter assumed credit for the success of the enterprise. Of the other events of Bêta’s rule nothing is known, and it appears to have come to an end soon after his return from the South.

Bêta I was succeeded by his son Prôla who is said to have subdued a number of chiefs hostile to his overlord and to have acquired the hereditary rulership of Anumakoṇda-vaishyâ from Sômësvara I; to have ‘straightened’ the Chakrakûta-vaishyây, that is Chakrakûś in Bastar, restored order after taking it from his enemies; to have subjugated the Koṅkana-mandala, put to flight Bhadrânga; conquered the son (not named) of Dugga of Kâdparî, driving him into the forests; and killed in battle Gonna, the chief of Purûkûṭa. Prôla’s victory over these chiefs was perhaps his earliest achievement, after which by the acquisition of the hereditary rulership of the Anumakoṇda-vaishyâ he laid the foundation of a new principality which was destined to extend during the next century over the whole of the Andhra country.

Prôla I took an active part in the military campaigns of his sovereign and overlord Sômësvara I. According to Bilhana, the author of the Vikra-
māṅkadēva-charitra, Vikramāditya VI, son of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, while he was yet a prince, observing the unsettled state of affairs in the neighbouring Chōla kingdom, obtained the permission of his father and set out on an expedition of conquest. Vikramāditya advanced at first on the Konkan, which he brought under his control, and then passed through the Kērala and Pāṇḍya countries; after this he attacked and captured Gāngakūnda and Kāñchī, the two great cities of the Chōla kingdom, and then overcame Vēngi and Chakrakōṭa. Prōla seems to have accompanied the Chālukyan army under Prince Vikramāditya to Konkan in A.D. 1066, and later assisted him in dislodging the Chōlas from Chakrakōṭa and occupying the fort with its dependent territory. The identity of the Bhadrāṅga whom Prōla put to flight is not easy to establish. Bhadrāṅga in fact does not appear to be a personal designation, since no prince or chief of that name is known to have existed. It is not unlikely that it is the name of a place. And in fact there is a town named Bhadrāṅga very near Bastar on the banks of the Indrāvati, a tributary of the river Gōdāvari. As Prōla I is said to have put Bhadrāṅga to flight, this should probably be understood as meaning that he drove away the chief or the people of that place. Purukūṭa, in view of its similarity to Chakrakūṭa, must be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bastar. There is actually a town of the name of Parakot in its vicinity, which may perhaps be identical with Purukūṭa. Just as Chakrakūṭa became Chakrakōṭ, Purukūṭa might have become Purukōṭ and subsequently Parakot in local speech. Bhadrāṅga and Purukūṭa appear to have been places of some importance in the Bastar State in ancient times. Prōla I evidently reduced them to subjection during the Western Chālukyan campaign against Chakrakōṭa. He drove away the people of Bhadrāṅga from their town and put Gonna, the chief of Purukūṭa, to death. Kāḍparti, the headquarters of the chief Dugga, whose unnamed son Prōla I subdued, lay perhaps in the neighbourhood of Warangal; it is probably identical with the present village of that name in the modern Warangal tāluk of the same district.

Thus, in all the important campaigns of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I and his son Vikramāditya, the Kākatiyas played a very definite part in helping them to win their victories. At first Bēta I and after him his son Prōla I remained firmly loyal to the Western Chālukyan standard, and thus won the affection and favour of their overlords. Delighted by the military ability and unswerving loyalty of Prōla I, the emperor Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I granted him Anumakoṇḍa-vīshaya as a permanent fief. Prōla I thus became the founder of the Kākatiya principality, which under his ambitious successors grew into a powerful kingdom embracing the whole of the country. Although he was engaged in various wars throughout his reign, Prōla I seems yet to have found time to bestow attention on the civil administration of the kingdom and to promote its economic prosperity. According to the inscriptions in the temple of Ekāmranātha at Kāñchī and

1 Vikramaṅkaṅdvā-charitra, 4, 11-18.
Mōtupalli of his grandson Gaṇapati, he constructed an irrigation tank of the name of Kēsari or Jagatikēsari in commemoration of one of his own birudas.¹ Like his father before him, Prōlā I was a Śaiva by faith, having been a pupil of Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, a well-known exponent of the Lākulēśvara-Āgama, on whom he bestowed the village of Vaijanāmpalli, making it a Śivapura.²

Prōlā I died about the year A.D. 1075 and was succeeded by his young son Bēta II. The most important event of the reign of this king was the outbreak of serious disturbances in his dominion, which brought the power of his family to a very low ebb. The circumstances in which this happened are not known. It is not unlikely that the outbreak was an aftermath of the civil war between Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya VI for the possession of the imperial throne; Bēta II probably supported the former, and on his defeat Vikramāditya either sent his armies to chastise him or instigated the chiefs who were his vassals to rise against him and overthrow his authority. It is significant that in the Hanumakoṇḍa inscription, dated Ś. 1001 (A.D. 1079–80), the title Tribhuvamanalla is not associated with the name of Bēta II, nor is there any reference in it to Tribhuvamanalla Vikramāditya, who by that time had succeeded in establishing himself firmly on the imperial throne. Bēta II, however, had powerful allies who stood by him in the hour of peril and helped him to overthrow his enemies. Foremost amongst these were Erṛa and Rēva, the heads respectively of the Viriyāla and the Vēma-Chōla families. The former, according to an undated epigraph at Gūḍūr, in the Warangal district, took the side of Poṭṭa-Bēta (i.e. Bēta II), put his enemies to death in battle, and established him firmly in the Koṟavi country;³ and the latter, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1120 at Māṭuru in the same district, offered protection to the kings of the Kākati family, defeated their enemies, and preserved the integrity of their kingdom.⁴ However, notwithstanding the victories of his allies, Bēta II does not appear to have felt himself securely established in his dominion without the sanction of the emperor. Therefore, his minister Vaija-daṇḍādhiśa, accompanied by Kāmāsanī, the able wife of the Viriyāla chief Erṛa, took him to the court of the emperor Vikramāditya at Kālyāṇi, and having there caused him to prostrate himself at the feet of the emperor, secured for him the government of the Sabbi-Thousand which probably included the Anumakoṇḍa and the Koṟavi districts, and thus preserved the integrity of the Kākaiya principality.⁵ This event must have taken place before A.D. 1090, since in the Kāziṣeṭa record dated in that year, Bēta is said to have made the gift registered therein as bestowed during the reign of Tribhuvanamalladeva, that is, Vikramāditya VI.⁶ The titles Tribhuvamanalla and Vikramachakrī which he thereafter assumed also indicate his submission to Vikramāditya. No information is available about the happenings in the

¹ LA, xxi, 197 ff.; EI, xii, 188 ff.  
² Corpus, No. 12.  
³ Ibid., No. 24; Tel. Int. Kāk., 55.  
⁴ Ibid., 54. Telengana Inscriptions Revised (Unpublished), No. 47.  
⁵ Tel. Int. Kāk., 55; EI, ix, 256, verse 3.  
⁶ Corpus, No. 7.
subsequent years of his rule, except that he perhaps participated in the Mālāya and the Chōlā wars of Vikramāditya.¹ The duration of his reign is not definitely known, but he appears to have succeeded his father about A.D. 1075, and to have died in or about A.D. 1090.

**Successors of Bēta II**

Bēta II appears to have been succeeded by his son Durganṛpati in or before A.D. 1090. He is represented by a single inscription at Kāzipēṭa in the Warangal district, which, however, does not furnish any information of historical importance beyond the fact that he also, like his father, held the title Tribhuvanamalladēva.² Nothing is known about the duration of his reign or the events that happened in his time.

Dūrga was succeeded by his brother Prōla II in or about A.D. 1117. Two inscriptions belonging to his reign which have recently come to light, state that he established the son of Gōkarna on his throne, defeated Mēdarāja, conquered Polavāsādēsa (probably the territory of this chieftain), and bestowed it on Gaṅgarāja, who built a temple for the God Prasanna Kēśavādēva at Hanumakoṇḍa.³ These facts are not, however, mentioned in the Hanumakoṇḍa record of his son, Rudradēva, which describes his other achievements at some length. Prōla II, according to this record, captured Tailapā, the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas, but, impressed by his devout and amiable bearing, immediately released him; he also conquered Gōvindarāja, plundered the territory of Udaya, which he, however, restored to its owner; pursued Gunḍa of Mantrakūṭa, who having been defeated in battle fled to his capital, where his conqueror had his head shaved and caused him to be branded on the breast with the symbol of the boar. Prōla also repelled Jagaddēva, who had laid siege to his capital Anumakonda.⁴ Before proceeding to consider the identity of the enemies of Prōla II and the circumstances in which he came into conflict with them, it may be noted that he was originally only a māṇḍalika, the vassal ruler of a small tract of country comprising at most the whole of the Warangal and parts of the Karimnagar districts in Teliṅgāna and owing allegiance to the Western Chālukyan emperor of Kalyāṇi. The enemies whom he is said to have vanquished were likewise feudatories of the same sovereign holding appanages in different parts of Teliṅgāna in the neighbourhood of Prōla's territory.

The names of the son of Gōkarna and of the family to which he belonged are unfortunately not mentioned in Prōla's inscriptions, but the name Gōkarna, which is peculiar to the Kandūr branch of the Telugu Chōlā family, seems to indicate that the unnamed prince and his father belonged in fact to this family. An inscription found at Māmillapalli and dated Ś. 1100 (A.D. 1178) states that it was set up during the reign of a king of the name of Bhima, who was the elder brother of Gōkarna of the Solar family. Three generations of kings, viz. Gōkarna I, his son Udayāditya, and his greatsons

¹ *Corpus*, No. 7. ² Ibid. ³ *JAHRS*, xxi, 105-6. ⁴ *Corpus*, No. 3.
Bhima and Gokarna II, are mentioned in this record. It is not improbable that Gokarna, the father of the prince whom Prولا II established on the throne, was the Gokarna I of the Mamlipalli inscription. And indeed we know that a Gokarnadeva Choda was in fact ruling at Panugul in the Nalgonda district during the early years of Prولا II. For, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which took place on a Friday, Phalguna-bahula Amavasya of the year Subhakrt, corresponding to the Chalukya-Vikrama (a mistake for the Saka) 1043 (Friday, 10 March, A.D. 1122), this ruler made a gift of land to some Brhamans. He was in all probability identical with the Gokarna I of the Mamlipalli epigraph cited above. Gokarna was, in fact, the last of the three sons of Tonda and his queen Mailambik, and was a younger brother of the Udayaditya and Bhima mentioned in another inscription at Panugul dated S. 1046 Krödli (A.D. 1124). Tonda was a scion of the Eguva branch of the Telugu Chola family and a vassal of the Western Chalukyan king Tribhuwanamalla Vikramaditya VI, as is shown by a record of his queen Mailamadivi (Mailambik) at Daksaráram dated S. 1043-C.V. 46 (A.D. 1121). If the identification of the Gokarna of Prولا II’s inscriptions with the Gokarna I of the Mamlipalli inscription suggested be accepted, it will follow as a corollary from this that the name of Gokarna’s son whom Prولا II established on his throne was Udayaditya. He was probably identical with the Udaya or Chododiya mentioned in the Anumakondu and Gañapésvaram inscriptions of Rudradêva and Gañapatī respectively; for it is stated there that Prولا II pillaged his territory but subsequently restored it to him. Mêda, the ruler of Polavasadêsâ, was a powerful chief. Though he is said to have suffered a defeat at the hands of Prولا II and to have lost his kingdom as a consequence of this, he appears to have recovered it again; for he figures in the Anumakondu inscription among the enemies later subdued by Rudradêva. Taila, ‘the crest-jewel of the Chalukyas’, was the son of Vikramaditya VI. He is referred to as Kumara or Yuvaraja Tailadêva in a series of inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1110 to 1125; he was evidently at that time ruling over Kanduru-nâdu and the region in its neighbourhood. Govindaraja is generally taken to have been the same person as the nephew, a sister’s son, of Vikra-

1 M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Lithic Records in the Hyderabad State.
2 Corpus, No. 52.
3 Tel. Int. Misc., 18. The text is badly deciphered and edited. The genealogy of the family given in the record is as follows:

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... rppéri, the crest-jewel
of kings m. Bêdarugä

Mailambikä m.
King Tönda

Udayaditya  Bhima  Gokarna
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4 SII, iv, 1216; AR, 333 of 1893.
5 EI, iii, p. 89.
6 Telengiña Inscriptions Revived (Unpublished), Nos. 44 (Alavânipalle), 45 (Avañcha), 53 (Nekkondu), 59 (Pânugallu (Nalgonda)).
māditya VI's famous Brāhman general Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka, who is mentioned in several inscriptions in Telingāna and coastal Āṇdhra. He was a valiant soldier who together with his brother Lakṣhmaṇa rendered valuable assistance to his uncle in the subjugation of Vēṅgī and other maritime districts in A.D. 1118; he was ruling over Koṇḍapalli and its dependent territories in A.D. 1126. It is, however, more likely that Prōla's opponent was not this Gōvindarāja but his namesake, the son of Bāgi Mādimayya Nāyaka, who was associated with Lakṣhmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Mākāmbā, in the government of Vēṅgī in A.D. 1133, under Būlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III. Jagaddēva was, no doubt, the Paramāra prince of that name who governed Koḷlipāka Seven-Thousand under Vikramāditya VI and Sōmēśvara III. The antecedents of Guṇḍa of Mantrakūṭa are not known. He was also in all probability a feudatory of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi.

Neither the period nor the circumstances in which Prōla II waged war successfully on these chiefs are definitely known. It is not unlikely that he came into conflict with them when he attempted to carve out a kingdom for himself at their expense, taking advantage of the confusion prevalent in the Western Chāḷukyan dominion subsequent to their defeat in, and expulsion from, the coastal Āṇdhra country in A.D. 1135.

The defeat in the maritime Āṇdhra coupled with the death of Sōmēśvara III a few years later in A.D. 1139 let loose the latent forces of disintegration and the Chāḷukyan empire began to fall rapidly to pieces. In the general scramble for power, the feudatories looked after their own interests and each attempted to grab as much territory as he could lay hands upon. It must have been about this time that Prōla II rose to prominence, and throwing off the imperial yoke asserted his independence. His aggressions would not have been possible earlier, since at that time the imperial army in Vēṅgī and other places in the neighbourhood would have easily crushed him.

The extent of the territory acquired by him as a result of the wars described above cannot now be definitely ascertained. However, it can be confidently asserted that he made himself master of the districts lying between the rivers Gōdāvaṇi and Kṛishnā. With the defeat of Guṇḍa, Manthena on the Gōdāvaṇi and its dependent territory must have passed into his hands; and the Telugu Chōḷa Udayāditya of Nalgoṇḍa-Pānugal, to whom after conquest he restored the kingdom, must have acknowledged his supremacy. In the absence of evidence, it is not possible to state how far his authority extended in the west. But it is certain that the victorious career of Prōla II met with a rude check. He invaded Vēṅgī towards the close of his reign, when he appears to have met his death in battle with the forces of a confederacy of the local chiefs who opposed his advance.

The Dākshārāmam inscription of Kōṭa Sūramamahādēvi, dated Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169), mentions Kākati-Prōla-nirdahana as one of the titles of her husband,

1 EI, xii, p. 261. 2 SII, iv, 1094; AR, 243-8 of 1893. 3 Tel. Inst., Ch., 13, 42.
ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY AND EARLY RULERS

Kōṭa Chōḍayarāja, a fact which indicates that Kākati Prōla, evidently Prōla II, was slain by him.¹ Like Kōṭa Chōḍayarāja, Manma Satya and Mallidēva, the Haihayā chiefs of the Kōna country, and Mahādēvarāja, the Sūryavarāśa chief of the Malaya country, also seem to have borne titles of the same kind. In the Piṭāpuram Pillar inscription of the Haihayā chiefs mentioned above, dated Śaka 1117 (A.D. 1195),² the former is spoken of as Prōḍa-kṣhitippālamauli-makut-alankāra-simhāsanaḥ, that is ‘one whose throne was adorned by the crown on the head of Prōḍa-kṣhitippāla’. The editor of the inscription, Dr. E. Hultzsch, wrongly corrected Prōḍa to Prauḍha and construed it as an adjective qualifying kṣhitippāla. But the correction is hardly necessary. Prōḍa is obviously a variant of the name Prōla. Moreover, Dr. Hultzsch’s correction does not quite suit the context. Kings are usually described as vīras and sūras, and seldom as praudhas. Therefore the title in the Piṭāpuram Pillar inscription may be taken as referring to the defeat of Kākati Prōla at the hands of the Haihayā chiefs, Manma Satya and Mallidēva. Mahādēvarāja, the Malaya chief of the Solar race, and a vassal of the later Eastern Chālukyan ruler Malla Vishṇuvardhana of the Bēta-Vijayaśāya line, who came to the throne while he was still a boy, bears a similar title, Prōḍ-āri-baḍab-ānalaḥ, ‘the submarine fire to the enemy, viz. Prōḍa’, in the Madras Museum plates of his overlord.³ Here also Prōḍa cannot be corrected to Prauḍha, for Prauḍh-āri would make little or no sense. It is better to take Prōḍa as a personal name denoting a particular king. This view is supported by the evidence of the Ėkāmranātha inscription of Gaṇapatidēva, in which his ancestor Prōḍaśrīya is said to have constructed a tank called Jagatikēṣari.⁴ Now the construction of a tank called Jagatikēṣari is ascribed in Gaṇapatidēva’s Mōṭupalli inscription to Prōla II. It is therefore evident that Prōḍa and Prōla are identical. If, then, the Prōḍa mentioned in the Piṭāpuram Pillar inscription and the Madras Museum Plates cited above is identical with Prōla II, it seems certain that he must have invaded the Vēṅgi country some time about A.D. 1150, and that he was opposed by the Kōṭa chief of Amarāvati, the Haihayā chiefs of Kōna-māṇḍala, and the Solar chiefs of Malaya, who were the vassals of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi. He appears to have been defeated and slain during the course of this invasion.

The reign of Prōla II marks an important stage in the history of the Kākatiyas. He was a mighty warrior; he transformed the feudal fief which he inherited into a sovereign state by his military skill. Though he began his career as a small māndalika in the eastern marches of the Chālukyan empire, he managed, by taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs which prevailed in the territories after the death of Sōmēśvara III, to throw off the imperial yoke and to carve out for himself an independent kingdom which was destined to grow under his successors into a powerful empire embracing the whole of the Andhra country.

¹ SII, iv, 1242; AR, 331 of 1893. ² EL, iv, p. 91. ³ Cp. No. 10 of 1916-17. ⁴ IA, xxi, 197.
THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS

Kākati Rudradēva

(? A.D. 1150-1195/6)

Prōla II had five sons,¹ of whom only two, namely Rudradēva and Mahādēva, are generally mentioned in the inscriptions and literary works. The name of another, Rēpalli Duggarāja (Durgarāja), so called after his appanage, Rēpalli, is mentioned in an inscription at Dākshāramam dated A.D. 1163.² The Yenamadala inscription of Gaṇapāmbikā mentions Mādhava as the son of Prōla II.³ This is obviously a mistake for Mahādēva; for no other record mentions Mādhava and the fact that he is there spoken of as the father of Gaṇapati clearly shows that this Mādhava was none other than Mahādēva and that the variation in the name must be attributed to a scribal error. Nothing is known about the remaining two sons of Prōla II. Rudra may be assumed to have been the eldest of all the sons of Prōla II; for the Ėkāmrānātha inscription of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva mentions Mahādēva as ‘the first of the multitude of his younger brothers sprung from the race of the Sun as was the Pārijāta from the ocean’.⁴ This simile implies that Rudradēva had four younger brothers of whom Mahādēva was the eldest. Rudradēva was probably a grown-up prince at the time of his accession to the throne, since he seems to have participated in some of the wars of his father.

Rudradēva was a valiant fighter. He probably took part, as suggested above, in the campaigns conducted by his father, Prōla II, and assisted him to establish his independence and to maintain intact the principality bequeathed to him by his ancestors. After his accession to the throne he devoted all his energy and resources to safeguarding his independent status and to extending his dominion wherever possible. His political activities may therefore be said to have been directed to promoting the schemes of conquest designed by his father Prōla. In pursuance of this policy of aggrandizement Rudradēva had to wage wars on many chiefs. His achievements are described in his Anumakondā inscription,⁵ a lengthy document of great historical importance, which fully justifies the lavish praises of his prowess embodied in the records of his successors. It narrates the valiant deeds not only of Rudradēva, but also of his father, Prōla II. By the Śaka year 1084 (A.D. 1162), the date of this record, Rudradēva seems already to have vanquished a number of his enemies and to have transformed his petty principality into an extensive

¹ IA, xxi, pp. 197 ff.
² SII, iv, 1071; AR, 229 of 1893.
³ AR, 142 of 1913; EI, iii, p. 94.
⁴ AR, 26 of 1890; IA, xxi, pp. 122 and 197.
⁵ IA, xi, 9 ff.
kingdom. The Anumakoṇḍa record mentions the names of Đommarāja, Mēḍarāja, and Mailigīdēva as opponents, whom he had overcome in battle. They seem to have been neighbouring princes whose dominions abutted upon Rudradēva’s territories. A record of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Đommarāja from Nagunūr in the Karinnagar district, dated in the Chālukya Vikrama year corresponding to the cyclic year Pramādi (Śaka year 1081—A.D. 1159), mentions Mēḍarāja and Jagaddēva, and refers to a victory gained by them with an army of 80,000 over some enemy, not mentioned by name. It is not unlikely that this unnamed enemy was Rudradēva himself; and the record refers in all probability to an earlier phase of the struggle in which he was involved with these chiefs. However that may be, it is certain that Rudradēva was ultimately victorious; he put to flight Đommarāja, famous as a rider and cavalry commander, ‘by hundreds of his shining arrows as Arjuna did Karṇa’, and occupied ‘his village and city having all excellences’, which lay in the Karinnagar district on the frontier of his territory.

The identification of Rudradēva’s other enemies, Mēḍarāja and Mailigīdēva, is more difficult. A certain Mēḍarāja along with a Jagaddēva is mentioned in the Nagunūr record cited above. Whether he was in fact the Mēḍarāja who was defeated by Rudradēva, or another person of the same name, cannot, however, be definitely ascertained.

A Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, by name Ugravādi Mēlarasa, born in the family of Mādhavavarman, the master of 8,000 elephants, eight creos of horses, and unnumbered masses of foottsoldiers, &c., is mentioned in one of the inscriptions at Hanumakoṇḍa. He was probably a vassal of the Western Chālukyan king Vikramāditya VI. He figures among the benefactors of the Jain temple, Kadalalāya Basadi, built by Mailama, wife of Bēta, the minister of Prōla II, in the Chālukya Vikrama year 42, Hēmalārhi, that is, in Śaka 1040 (A.D. 1118), when he bestowed on this foundation one mattṛ of irrigated land at the head of the canal below the bund of Kūkīrṇa belonging to Warangal included within his rule, and ten mattṛ of miscellaneous land close to the same. Mēlarasa, it would seem, was at this time ruling the territory in the neighbourhood of Warangal as Prōla’s subordinate. It is not unlikely that after Prōla’s death he attempted to throw off the Kākatiya yoke and to assert his independence, but Rudradēva worsted him in battle and annexed the territory which he had governed to his own kingdom.

1. Teliṅgāna Inscriptions, No. 17, p. 119.
2. EI, ix, pp. 266 ff.
3. In the Book entitled ‘Nīḍāmārūḥa pralajma’ (1926, p. 104) it is said that according to the Gōvindapuram record of Nāgadevarāja, Mēḍarāja, a descendant of Mādhavavarman, was the ruler of the country between Kuruvaṭha in the Pākhāl tāluk of the Warangal district and the river Gōdāvarī; he was a younger contemporary of Prōla II, and a patron of the Jain faith. His minister Nāgadevarāja constructed a temple to Pārśvanātha (Pārśvanāthavadāya) at Gōvindapuram in the Pākhāl tāluk, and set up an inscription to record the event (see Vēgītīmāhālaguḍi Śāraṇamu, by Vidwan Kambhampati Appanna Sastrī, p. 36).

The Gōvindapuram record of Nāgadevarāja has not yet been published. However, since Mēḍarāja is said to have been born in the family of Mādhavavarman, it would seem that he was in fact the same person as Mēlarasa of the Anumakoṇḍa record, the patron of the Kadalalāya Basadi.
The identity of Mailgidéva still remains a subject of controversy. Dr. Fleet, the editor of the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, confesses his inability to fix his identity; but Dr. Hultsch believed that he was identical with the Yādava king Mallugi, the predecessor of Bhillama; this supposition, however, is untenable, since the name Mallugi cannot be considered, on philological grounds, as being a derivative of Mailigi. Whoever he may have been, there can be no doubt that he was a neighbour of Rudradéva. It is stated in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription that Rudradéva humbled the pride of Mailgidéva in battle and gained possession of the region of Polavāsa situated in the Jagatyala tāluk of the present Karimnagar district of the old Hyderabad State. The victories thus gained by Rudradéva over Đommarāja, Meḍarāja, and Mailigidéva, all in the region to the north of Anumakoṇḍa, enabled him to extend his dominion right up to the banks of the Gōdāvari.

Rudradéva then turned his attention to the south. The Anumakoṇḍa record mentions four kings Bhīma, Gōkarna, Chōḍōdaya, and Tailapa in this connexion. Gōkarna was killed by Bhīma; Chōḍōdaya died as a result of the ‘bewilderment born of the fear produced by the prowess of Rudradéva’; and Tailapa ‘with body completely overcome by dysentery’ died from fear of Rudradéva. Then Bhīma enjoyed the kingship for a short time. He killed his brother by poisoning his food or otherwise while he was dining, and took his step-mother for his wife. To put an end to his misdeeds Rudradéva invaded his territories, when Bhīma fled to the forests with his mother, brothers, and wives. Rudradéva then burnt the city of Vardhamāna (Vardhamāna-nagarī) and subsequently the city of Chōḍōdaya, thought to be protected by the surrounding forests. After burning the latter fort and the woods around it he constructed a big tank in the midst of the fort and became ‘the resort of the shining lotus (padmā) born of the milky ocean of the dynasty of Kandūr Odaya Chōḍa’ (L. 107). Scholars like Dr. Hultsch opined that ‘Padmā has to be taken as the actual name of Chōḍōdaya’s daughter, whom Rudra married for political reasons, though he had caused the death of her father and destroyed his city’.

Rudradéva’s war with Bhīma appears to have been the one event of outstanding importance which happened during the early years of his rule. The struggle between them is described at some length in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, no less than twelve out of the total number of fifty verses being devoted to a description of it. In recounting the causes of the war the author of the inscription enumerates first the atrocious crimes committed by Bhīma, which provoked Rudradéva to launch an attack on him. Bhīma’s first evil deed was the capture and execution of a person called Gōkarna; he next appropriated the territories of two chiefs named Chōḍōdaya and Tailapa, both of whom are said to have died of the fear caused by Rudra’s military successes. The confiscation of the territory belonging to Chōḍōdaya is not

1 *IA*, xi, p. 11.  
2 *IA*, xxi, p. 198.  
3 *IA*, xxi, p. 10.  
4 *El*, iii, p. 83.
recorded in the inscription as explicitly as is that of Tailapa. A close examination of the account, however, leaves no room for doubt. The statement that Rudra, after the destruction of Vardhamāna, went in pursuit of Bhima to Chōdōdaya’s city, Kandūr, and burnt it, clearly indicates that some time before that incident it must have passed into Bhima’s hands. Had it not been then part of Bhima’s territories, Rudra would not have attacked and destroyed it. Moreover, the ruthless and villainous Bhima had, as we know, murdered his excellent brother by poisoning his food, and had taken his step-mother (co-wife of his own mother) as his wife. These dreadful deeds, however, were actually but pretexts for Rudra’s attack upon Bhima. The real cause of the war was political rivalry. Bhima gathered together a number of the petty chiefs around him, and proclaiming himself king, became Rudra’s rival for the sovereignty over Teliṅgaṇa. Therefore, it became necessary for Rudra to declare war on Bhima in order to humble him and to establish his own supremacy over the whole country.

The first important event of the war mentioned in the inscription is the burning of the city of Vardhamāna, that is Vaḍḍamān in the Mahbubnagar district, which appears to have been the capital of Bhima. It is stated that Rudra, having taken ‘three or four steps’ in his march against Bhima, offered the city of Vardhamāna as an oblation to the fire of his anger. Bhima, unable to offer resistance, fled from his capital to the forest, accompanied by his mother, brothers, and wives, after abandoning his royal fortune. Rudra set out in pursuit of him and attacked Kandūr, the city of Udaya or Odaya Chōḍa, where apparently he had taken refuge. Rudra first cut down the forest, which formed, as it were, a protective barrier around the city, then set fire to it and destroyed the fort. He constructed in the midst of the city, evidently on the site where the fort had stood, a large and wonderful tank. He then appears to have married Padmā, the daughter of Kandūr Odaya Chōḍa. What happened to Bhima, in pursuit of whom Rudra had come to Kandūr, is not definitely known. He seems to have perished either during Rudra’s attack on Kandūr, or at some time subsequent to this; for it is stated in the Anumakonḍa inscription that ‘those kings like Bhima and others who dwelt between Kāṇchi-manḍala and the Vindhyas, and who came to be heard of by Rudradēva, became gods (i.e. died) at the very sight of him’.  

The identity and antecedents of Bhima and the three other chiefs Gōkarna, Chōḍoḍaya, and Tailapa, whose names are linked with his in the Anumakonḍa inscription, are not disclosed in it. There is reason to believe that all of them with the exception of Tailapa were princes of the Telugu Chōḍa origin. Gōkarna is an unusual name, which, as pointed out already, was peculiar to the Kandūr branch of that family. It is met with, if at all, very rarely elsewhere. Thus Gōkarna may be said definitely to have been a scion of the Kandūr Telugu Chōḍa family. There is absolutely no room for doubt

4 Corpus 3, v. 30.
about the family affiliations of Chōḍodāya; his very name proclaims that he was a Telugu Chōla by birth. Bhīma also appears to have been a member of the same family. The brother whom he murdered by poisoning has generally been taken to be identical with Gōkarna, on the ground that the latter, in addition to bearing a characteristic Telugu Chōla name, also suffered death at Bhīma’s hands. The identification is probably correct. It may therefore be assumed that Bhīma, like Gōkarna and Chōḍodāya, was also a member of the Kandūr Telugu Chōla family. In fact the names Bhīma, Gōkarna, and Odaya or Udaya occur frequently in the inscriptions of the family, which are found in several places in the Nalgonda and Mahbubnagar districts of the old Hyderabad State over which they bore sway. The Pānugal inscription of Mailāmbikī dated Ś. 1046 (A.D. 1124), and the Māmilappalli inscription of Bhīma dated Vilambi (Ś. 1100/A.D. 1178–9), furnish, as noticed earlier, genealogies comprising two and three generations respectively. The former, as stated above, mentions Tōṇḍa-nṛpa, his queen Mailāmbikī, and their three sons, Udayāditya, Bhīma, and Gōkarna; and the latter refers to Gōkarna (I), his son Udayāditya, and Udayāditya’s two sons, Bhīma and Gōkarna (II).¹ However, none of these, with the exception of Udayāditya of the Māmilappalli record, can be identified with any of the chiefs mentioned in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription; for the Udayāditya, Bhīma, and Gōkarna of the Pānugal epigraph flourished a generation too early to have been the contemporaries of Rudra. Since the Bhīma and the Gōkarna II of the Māmilappalli record are seen to have been ruling some fourteen years after the date of the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, they could hardly have been the chiefs of the same name whose death is referred to therein. It is not improbable that Udayāditya, the father of these two princes, was a contemporary of Rudra; he may have been the Chōḍodāya who, according to the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, died of terror in face of the military successes of Rudra, and whose daughter the latter subsequently married after burning his city. He is perhaps identical with Mahāmanḍalēśvara Kandūr Udaya Chōḍa Mahārāja of the lineage of Karikāla Chōḍa of the Solar race, who, according to an epigraph at Jedcherla in the Mahbubnagar district, dated Tuesday, Paushya ba 2, Chitra-bhānu C.V. (mistake for Śaka) 1084 (Tuesday, 25 December, A.D. 1162), was then ruling the country in the neighbourhood.² Another record at Nēlakonḍapalli in the Warangal district, which records the construction of a sluice to the big tank of Konḍapalli by a certain nāyaka in the reign of Mahāmanḍalēśvara Kandūri Odaya Chōḍa Mahārāja, on Māgha śu, Manmatha, Ś. 1097 (A.D. 1173), belongs to the reign of the same king.³ In that case Kandūr Udaya or Odaya Chōḍa Mahārāja must be considered to have

¹ See ante, pp. 381–2.
² Tel. Ins. Misc., No. 6.
³ Ibid., No. 2. The reading ‘Rudrayana’ and the date Ś. 1047 in the text of the Telengāna Inscriptions published by the Lakshmana Ryā Pariśodhaka Manḍali, Hyderabad, is faulty. The late Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu revised the text with the help of estampages and corrected the mistakes.
been ruling between A.D. 1162 and 1175. This raises an interesting question. The Anumakonda inscription, it may be remembered, refers to the death of Chōdōdaya; but the Jeḍcherla and Nēlakondaṇḍapalli records clearly show that he was ruling between A.D. 1163 and 1175. It is not easy to reconcile the conflicting evidence of these inscriptions. Either the Chōdōdaya of the Anumakonda inscription must have been a different person from his namesake of the Jeḍcherla and Nēlakondaṇḍapalli records, or the statement of his death in the former is an unreliable anticipation. In view of the fact that the Jeḍcherla inscription is only twenty-six days earlier than that of Anumakonda, a period too short for all the events described therein to have taken place, the supposition that Chōdōdaya did not in fact die of the fear of Rudra as described in the inscription, but lived for several years after, having made peace with that chieftain by giving him his daughter in marriage, cannot altogether be avoided.

The identity of Tailapa is not definitely known. On account of the similarity of his name and the fact that he was a contemporary of the Western Chālukyan king Tailapa III, son of Bhūlōkamalla Śōmeśvara III, he has generally been taken as being identical with that monarch. It is not possible, however, to accept this identification; for the latest regnal year, according to the inscriptions of Tailapa III, is fifteen, corresponding to Ś. 1087 (A.D. 1165); but as the Tailapa of the Anumakonda inscription is said to have died of dysentery caused by the fear of Rudra in or before Ś. 1084 (A.D. 1162–3), he could not have been the same as the Western Chālukyan king. He was probably some other chief ruling in the neighbourhood of Bhima’s dominions whose identity is at present unknown.

The victories of Rudra over the Telugu Chōla chiefs, so eloquently described in his Anumakonda inscription, do not seem to have brought him fresh accessions of territory; for no record of Rudra has yet been found anywhere in the Nalgonda and the Mahbubnagar districts, the region which was under their sway; and the Nēlakondaṇḍapalli and Māmillapalli inscriptions of Odaya Chōda, Bhima, and Gōkarna, which are later in date than the Anumakonda inscription, make no mention of any overlord to whom they owed allegiance. Taking these facts into consideration, it seems reasonable to suppose that Rudra’s victories over the Telugu Chōlas were not as complete as the language of the Anumakonda inscription would have us believe, and that the latter continued to rule over their ancestral territories independent of any outside authority.

Rudra appears to have devoted the rest of his reign to the conquest of the coastal region which lay between his kingdom and the sea. Like his father, he

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1 This is supported by the evidence of an unpublished record of Kākati Gaṇapatiḍēva at Jamalāpuram, dated Ś. 1124 Durḍubhi (A.D. 1202–3), which, while alluding to Rudradeva’s war with Chōdōdaya, refers only to the defeat of the latter’s general Arasālu and the destruction of his army, but not to his death.
seems to have regarded himself as the political successor of the Western Chālukyan emperors, the erstwhile overlords of his family, in the eastern provinces of their empire, and to have laid claim to the sovereignty over Vēṅgī and other parts of the coastal Āndhra country conquered by Vikramādiya, and ruled by him and by his son and successor Bhūlōkamalla Sōmesvara III until A.D. 1133. Throughout the long period of his rule he made persistent efforts to reduce this coastal country whenever circumstances appeared favourable. Though no mention of the conquest of the maritime tracts or of the chiefs holding sway over them is made in his Anumakoṇḍa inscription, there is good reason to believe that he invaded Vēṅgī some time before A.D. 1162, the date of that inscription; for it is stated in the record that Rudra's kingdom extended in the east at that time as far as the sea. This claim is corroborated by the evidence of his inscription at Dākshārāmam dated A.D. 1158,1 which registers the gift of a lamp to the temple of Bhūmesvara by Inaṅgala Brahmi Reddi, a preggaḍa or minister in the service of Rudradēva. The inscription does not, however, disclose the circumstances in which Rudra came to establish his authority over the Gōdāvari delta, though the manner of its dating seems to offer a clue. Brahmi Reddi dated his inscription not in the regnal year of his master or simply in the Śaka year, as was the custom observed by Rudra elsewhere in his inscriptions, but in Ś. 1080 coupled with the 13th regnal year of the Chālukya-Chōla emperor Rājārāja II, the significance of which dating is still obscure. It may be remembered that the Chālukya-Chōlas, as Kulottuṅga I and his successors are entitled by modern historians, were at this time still regarded as the overlords of Vēṅgī and the coastal Āndhra, and that their authority was widely recognized in the region, though their power was not felt effectively in every part of it. Rudra probably entered into an alliance with Rājārāja II, and having obtained the Gōdāvari delta as a fief from him, invaded the country with the object of avenging the previous defeat and death of his father at the hands of the Haihayas of Kōṇa and the Sūryavamsis of Malaya, and of reducing these clans to subjection. Another possibility is that Rudra invaded the Gōdāvari delta on his own account without any reference to the Chālukya-Chōla emperor, and following the custom that was obtaining in Dākshārāmam and its neighbourhood, dated his record in the Śaka as well as the regnal year of the reigning Chālukya-Chōla monarch. However this may be, it appears certain that Rudra led an expedition to the Gōdāvari delta and succeeded in imposing his authority over it. An inscription in the same place, set up by Rēpalli Duggarāja (Durgarāja), so called after the name of his fief, son of Anumakoṇḍa Prōla-nṛpati (Prōla II), obviously one of Rudra's younger brothers whom he had apparently placed in charge of the conquered territory, clearly shows that Rudra managed to keep his hold on it for a period of four or five years after its conquest until A.D. 1163.2

1 SII, iv, 1107; AR, 252 of 1893.  
2 SII, iv, 1071; AR, 229 of 1893.
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But Rudra's authority over the Gödāvari delta was soon challenged. The chiefs of Velanādu, who had been ruling in Vēṅgi and its neighbourhood as the vassals of the Chālukya-Chōlas since the days of Kulōttunga I, could not tolerate the existence of a powerful rival in this territory which they considered as their own. Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōda II, who was then governing the country, sent an army into the Gödāvari delta under his pradhāni, Dēvana-Preggada, the son of Amrītalūri Maṅchirāju, with instructions to bring it under his control. Dēvana-Preggada successfully accomplished the task entrusted to him; he first reduced the country bordering on the sea and established himself at Dākshārāmam in A.D. 1163; next he advanced, in A.D. 1165, on the Haihayas of the Kōna country, and having vanquished them in battle compelled them to acknowledge the supremacy of his sovereign. Though the provenance of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōda II and his subordinates shows that his rule over this region continued until at least A.D. 1181, Rudra does not seem to have left him in undisturbed possession of it, for an inscription in Dākshārāmam, which registers the gift of a lamp to the temple of Bhūmesvara by Rudra's queen Dannamadēvi in the 23rd year of Rājarāja II (A.D. 1168), proves unmistakably that Rudra had, at that time, again invaded the country to re-establish his authority. This expedition, however, does not seem to have had any permanent result, since no further evidence of his rule is found in the Gödāvari delta in the years immediately following it.

The death of the Chālukya-Chōla emperor Rājarāja II in A.D. 1172 marks an important epoch in the history of the coastal Āndhra territories. He was the last monarch of his line who exercised real authority over his vassals in the Āndhra country and succeeded in checking their separatist tendencies. His successor Rājādhirāja II was a weak monarch whose authority was hardly recognized by his Āndhra feudatories. A scramble for power soon began, and the vassal chiefs were soon in conflict, each attempting to establish himself as an independent ruler. The most powerful of them all was no doubt Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōda, the ruler of Velanādu, who quickly took advantage of this breakdown of the imperial power and soon made himself master of almost the whole of the maritime region.

The power of the Velanādu chiefs had now reached its zenith. Their territory extended in the south-west beyond Tripurāntakam in the Markapur tāluk of the Kurnool region; the western marches of their kingdom were guarded by the Kōṇḍapaṇḍumaṭi chiefs of Nādenḍla, who were subject to their authority. In the south, their rule extended as far as Darśi in the Nellore country; the tract comprising the Narasaraopeta and Vinukonda tālukks of the present Guntur district was also included in their dominion. In the north

1 SII, iv, 1086; AR, 238 of 1893.
2 SII, iv, 1085; AR, 236 of 1893.
3 SII, iv, 1241, 1242, 1335, 1365, and 1366.
4 SII, iv, 1095; AR, 244 of 1893.
and north-east their sway was recognized probably as far as Sirisīchalam in the Visakhapatnam district.

Rudra, who had himself similar designs on the coastal stretches, was by no means indifferent to the revolutionary changes that were taking place in the maritime provinces. But so long as Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II was supreme at Chandavōlu, he was perforce obliged to abandon for the time his schemes of aggression. Circumstances, however, soon took a turn in his favour. Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II died unexpectedly in A.D. 1181, and after his death the power of the Velanāti chiefs suffered a sudden eclipse, the causes of which are not definitely known. A tradition preserved in the Paṇḍitārādhyā-charitra of Pālkuriki Sōmanātha ascribes their fall to the outbreak of a civil war among the late king’s heirs for the possession of the throne. Gonka III, the son of Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa, probably perished during the fighting, and Prithvīvara, his grandson, was then driven out of his native country. About the same time a fratricidal war broke out in Palnadu between the Haihayas prince Nalagāma and his brothers, in which several local chiefs, including the Durjayas of Velanādu, were involved. Nalagāma, according to the Paṇḍitāvīrula-charitra, a ballad ascribed to the famous poet Śrinātha, which celebrates the valiant deeds of the Palnadu heroes, sought the help of Kākati Rudra, who no doubt readily responded to his call, since it seemed to give him an excellent opportunity to extend his power over that part of the coastal tract lying along the valley of the Kṛishṇā. He set out with a large army accompanied by the nāyaks of the Malyāla, Komaravelli, Vipparla and other families, the Nātavādis of Maḍapalli (near Manthena in the Warangal district) and other feudatories, and pushed through to the banks of the Kṛishṇā. However, he does not appear to have taken much interest in the Palnadu war, since he appears to have sent only one contingent of a thousand horsemen to assist his friend Nalagāma; rather did he employ his forces in subjugating the districts of Pennātavādi and Konḍa- or Kon-nātavādi-viśhayas situated respectively on the northern and the southern banks of the river corresponding to the present Nandigama rāluK of the Krishna district, then ruled by the Kōṭa chiefs of Dharaṇikōṭa (known also as Dāňyavāti, Dānaavāda, and Dānṇāda) who traced their descent from Harisimakrishna and Dhananāja. These Kōṭas owed allegiance to the Chālukya-Chōḍa emperor and were closely allied to the chiefs of Velanadu to whom they were bound by marriage alliances. Bhima II or Doḍḍa Bhima, a son-in-law of the Velanāti Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II, who was then ruling at Dharaṇikōṭa, led out his forces to oppose the advance of Rudra’s armies. A terrible battle took place at Dharaṇikōṭa, in which Kāṭa, son of Sabba-sēnāni and Bollama of the Malyāla family, won a victory over the enemy and captured the city. Doḍḍa Bhima seems to have met his death during the conflict at the hands of the chiefs of the Vipparla, Komaravelli, and Peñpāla families, who apparently assumed the title Doḍḍa-Bhimeni-sīras-čhchhēdaka to commemorate their achievement.
Rudra was highly pleased; and he honoured Kātha by bestowing on him the title of Kōtalgelpāta or the conqueror of Dharaṅikōṭa. The power of the Kōtas was broken, their capital fell into Rudra’s hands, and their territory lay prostrate at his feet; but Rudra did not annex it to his kingdom. Believing that it would better serve his purpose to treat the vanquished enemy with kindness and consideration than to confiscate his possessions, he adopted a policy of conciliation, installed Kēta II, the son of Doḍa Bhīma, on his father’s throne, and gave him back his ancestral territories. Kēta II reciprocated by becoming a loyal friend of Rudra and supported him during his campaign in the south. Having thus made himself master of the Kōta dominions, Rudra next proceeded against the territories of the Velanādu chiefs. He appears to have concentrated his efforts on the subjugation of the Koṅḍapaḍumāṭis, who, as mentioned above, served the Velanāṭi princes as wardens of the western marches of their kingdom. Though the details of this campaign are lacking, it is certain that Rudra was successful. An inscription at Tripurāntakam dated A.D. 1185, registering his gift of the village of Rēvuru on the bank of the Krishnā in Koṅḍaṇallīṇāḍu to the temple of the god Tripurāntaka Mahādēva of that place, shows clearly that he had penetrated far into the interior of the Velanāṭi kingdom and had brought Tripurāntakam under his sway. The Koṅḍapaḍumāṭis would seem to have been completely obliterated as a family during the course of this campaign, since there is no further mention of them as a ruling family in the years which followed.

While Rudra was busily engaged in the subjugation of the Kōtas and Koṅḍapaḍumāṭis in the south, important changes were taking place at the same time in the Gōdāvari delta to the east. On the death of the Chālukya-Chōla emperor Rājarāja II in A.D. 1172, Mallapadēva, the son of Vijayāditya III of the Bēta-Vijayāditya line of the later Eastern Chālukyan family, asserted his independence, and made himself master of Prōlu-nāḍu comprising portions of the Pihāpuram and Kākināḍa tālukks of the E. Godavari district. How a petty chief like Mallapadēva succeeded in establishing his independence in defiance of the authority of the Velanāṭis, the representatives of the Chālukya-Chōla emperors, without some powerful support from outside, is not quite clear. Judging from the friendship which obviously existed between him and Kākati Rudra in subsequent years, it is not improbable that the latter, who had been making great efforts since the time of his accession to bring the Gōdāvari delta under his control, lent him a helping hand. In any case matters came to a head about A.D. 1184, when Velanāṭi Prithviśvara, who, as mentioned above, had lost his hold on his home territory, made his appearance in the Godavari district at the head of an army and attacked Mallapadēva. The latter, unable to oppose him single-handed, appealed to Rudradēva for help, and who, responding readily to the call, marched into

1 Corpus, 8, v. 13. 2 SI, x, 241; AR, 273 of 1905.
the Gödāvari valley with his army and joined him at Dākshārāmam, as shown by an epigraph found at that place, dated in the 5th regnal year of Sarvalokāśraya Vishnuvardhana, corresponding to Śaka 1108 (A.D. 1185–8). Rudra’s help did not, however, prove of much avail to Mallapadeva; for he seems to have been worsted in the fight and to have been driven from power; for the inscriptions of Prithviśvara leave no room for doubt that this prince became the master of Pūrū-nādu in A.D. 1185, and successfully held it until the time of his death.3

The history of the last decade of Rudra’s reign is a blank; what happened between A.D. 1185–6, the date of the Tripurāntakam and Dākshārāmam inscriptions, and A.D. 1195–6, when he appears to have met with his death on the battlefield, is not known. However, it is certain that he came into conflict with the Sēṇa of Dēvagiri in the last year of his reign. It has as yet proved impossible to ascertain the circumstances in which this conflict arose. Whether Rudra, in an attempt to expand his territory westwards, invaded the Sēṇa kingdom, or whether it was the Sēṇa who, hoping to curb his growing power, first attacked him, are questions which we are unable to answer for lack of information. However this may be, it is certain that Rudra suffered defeat and death in his encounter with the Sēṇa army. The earliest reference to the Sēṇa victory over the Kākatiya king is met with in the Pāṭna inscription dated in the time of Śiṅghaṇa (A.D. 1210–47), in which it is stated that Śiṅghaṇa’s father Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla I ‘put an end to the pleasures of the beloved ones of the ladies of Āndhra’. This notice is amplified by Hēmadri, the Śrīkaranādhīpa of Mahādēva, and of his nephew Rāmachandra, who states in the Vratakahanda of his Chaturvargachintāmani that Jaitrapāla ‘assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground on the battlefield, and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of ladles in the form of weapons, offered a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of Rudra, the “Tillīngādēha”, the lord of the Tailṅgas, and thus vanquished the three worlds’. Further references to Sēṇa victories over the Teluṅga king are found in the inscriptions of Śiṅghaṇa and his successors. They will be dealt with in another context, since there is reason to believe that they refer to a later incident in the history of the Kākatiyas.

An important event which took place during the last years of Rudra’s reign must be noticed here. He founded near his capital Anumakondā, according to the Śivayogasāra of Kolani Gaṇapatiḍēva, a new town called Orugallu, which was destined to become the chief city of the entire Āndhra country under his successors. How Rudra proceeded to build it is described in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription which belongs to the time of Gaṇapati. It

1 SIII, iv, 1155; AR, 288 of 1903. 2 SIII, iv, 1100; AR, 247 of 1893; SII, x, 211; AR, 97 of 1909.
3 El, II, pp. 358f. The inscription is undated. Though the grant registered in it was made probably in Ś. 1128 or Ś. 1129 (A.D. 1207), it may have been composed, according to its editor, ‘in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, sometime after A.D. 1209–10’, the date of the accession of Śiṅghaṇa.
is stated that 'the towns which he razed to the ground were known (only) by the quarters which (he) founded in the city of Orugallu under their respective names, and peopled with their respective inhabitants'.

Rudradēva was a powerful king. He adhered strictly to the policy of territorial expansion planned by his father, and enlarged his original principality into an extensive kingdom which must be reckoned amongst the principal states of the early medieval Deccan. Rudra realized to a great extent the ambitions of his father. He built up a kingdom extending from the Gödāvari in the north to the Krishnā in the south. Although his efforts to conquer Vēṅgī and make the sea the eastern boundary of his dominions ended in failure, he yet paved the way for its subjugation by his successors by contracting diplomatic and marital alliances with the great feudatory families such as the Kōṭas and the Nātavādis. Rudra was assisted in his wars by a band of devoted nāyakas belonging to the families of the Cheṛaku, the Malvālas of Sarhikasapura, and the Rēcherlas of Pillalamaṛī. Of these the Rēcherlas of Pillalamaṛī had served the Kākatiyas with devotion and fidelity for many generations since the time of Bēta I. Kāma, the son of Kāta, and Nāma, his grandson, were both in the service of Rudradēva as commanders of his armies. Kāta, son of Sabba and Āchama of the Malvāla family, was his general as well as his pradhāni. It was this same Kāṭa who reduced the Kōṭa chiefs to subjection and received from his sovereign the title of Kōṭagelpāta (conqueror of Kōṭa).

 Ministers and officers of Rudradēva. Rudradēva was assisted in his wars by several feudatory chiefs. The services of the members of the Rēcherla, Malvāla, and Cheṛaku families have already been noticed above. Besides these the names of some of his ministers and officers are mentioned in the inscriptions. Among Rudradēva's ministers Gaṅgādhara, son of Gövinda of the Vellaki family, may be mentioned first, as he appears to have stood high in the esteem of his sovereign. In an inscription set up by him at Karimnagar in the old Hyderabad State in S. 1092 (A.D. 1170) he gives a brief account of his own official career. First of all he attracted the attention of king Prōla II, who invited him to his court and took him into his service. 'King Prōla of well-known fame', says he, 'sent for me with great consideration,' because 'I was a lover of fierce battle and a man of upright character'; 'I could be considered to have known all arts', and possessed 'a group of qualities' 'praised by all men in the assemblies of the wise'. Therefore, he 'commanded me to attend to all necessary work in the (royal) palace'. Gaṅgādhara seems to have discharged his official duties to the satisfaction of all, and especially of the crown prince Rudradēva; for, on the death of Prōla II, Rudradēva made Gaṅgādhara a minister of state, bestowed on him the rittīs (lands) pertaining to that nityāgam (office), and presented to him a palanquin (andalam), white parasols, jewels, ointments, and clothes. Gaṅgādhara was a minister of pious inclinations. He

1 EI, iii, p. 90.
2 Corpus, 56, v. 10.
3 Ibid., v. 15. The English rendering of this verse in the Corpus (p. 175) is faulty.
built several temples in the capital and other places in the kingdom, founded an agrahāra of the Brāhmans, and probably also was the benefactor who constructed a tank called Gaṅgachya-cherum near the temple of Prasanna-Kēśava at Anumakoṇḍa. Another minister of the crown of whom mention is made in the inscriptions was Malli Nāyaka, who made a gift to a temple at Pānugal in the Nalgonda district to acquire merit for his royal master. He held the important office of tantrapāla or war minister. The Siyavīgaseṭāram discloses the names of two other officers, Peda Mallana and China Mallana, sons of Nānagaurya of the Indulūri family, who held positions of great responsibility in the state. The former was the governor of the newly built capital of Oṛugallu and the latter the peda-sampati or chief accountant. These two officers deserve to be remembered; for their descendants rose to positions of high distinction under Rudradēva’s successors, whom they served with steadfast loyalty and devotion.

Rudra was a patron of art and letters. Inheriting, as he did, through his ancestors the architectural tradition of the Western Chāḷukyas, the former overlords of his family, he delighted in building magnificent temples in his dominions, dedicated to the god Śiva to whose worship he was specially devoted. It is stated in the Gaṅapeśvaram inscription cited above that he built in the towns of the enemies whom he destroyed a number of celebrated temples called Rudrēśvarams, called of course after his own name. It is probable that the famous Thousand-Pillar temple (the Vēyi-stambhāla-gudi) at Anumakoṇḍa, the presidium of which is known as Rudrēśvara, was also built by him. The king’s example was followed in this respect by his ministers, his officers, and his nobles and their families. It was also customary for people to erect temples in groups of three (trikūṭa) dedicated to Śiva in the names of their relatives to perpetuate their memory and to acquire merit for them. These temples were generously endowed with donations of land, and permanent arrangements were made to carry on daily worship and the performance of Āgamic rites in them. Thus many splendid fanes built in the Chāḷukyan style rose all over the country, and as a consequence Teliṅgāṇa became justly famous as a veritable land of temples.

Rudradēva was a great patron of learning; he subsidized men of letters and encouraged them to pursue their calling. In the Pillalāmarṣi inscription of Nāmi Reḍḍi dated A.D. 1195 he is described as the resort and refuge of learned men, who regarded him with much affection. He was known, according to his Dākshārāmam inscription dated A.D. 1186, by the title Vinayavibhūṣana (he whose adornment is modesty). Indeed the authorship of a work on rājapīti called Nītisīrām is sometimes ascribed to him on the authority of an apocryphal verse found in one of the manuscripts of

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1 Corpus, v. 21.  
2 Ibid., 33.  
3 Ibid., 38, v. 3.  
4 SII, iv, 1155. It is wrongly stated by the late Śrī Chilukūri Virabbadra Rao in his History of the Age of the Kakatiya Kings (p. 305) that Rudra had the title of Viśyābhūṣana.
Baddenā’s *Nitiśāstramuktāvali*; but it is extremely doubtful whether this treatise was actually composed by him, since, in the verse of the *Nitiśāstramuktāvali* cited above, Pratāparudra and not Rudra is said to have been its author.

**Mahādēva**

**(A.D. 1195/6–98/9)**

Rudra left no issue; and so after his death in the war with the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, his younger brother Mahādēva ascended the throne, and ruled the kingdom for a short period of about three years. Only one single damaged and fragmentary record of his time has come to light so far, and this gives little or no information about the events of his reign.1 As for the accounts of his rule embodied in the inscriptions of his successors, these are too vague and general to have much value for the historian, and offer practically no authentic information about his activities. The tradition preserved in the *Pratāpa-charitramu* represents him as a doughty warrior who invaded the Sēuṇa kingdom and perished in an attack on Dēvagiri, the Sēuṇa capital, while fighting seated on the back of an elephant.2 This story is partly corroborated by the evidence of the Yenamadala inscription dated Ś. 1172 (A.D. 1249–50), in which it is stated that Mahādēva fell asleep in a great battle on the two temples of a female elephant and awoke to find himself reclining on the bosom of a celestial nymph.3 The contemporary and near contemporary inscriptions of the Sēuṇa kings refer to victories won by them or their predecessors over a Teluṅga king. Their evidence, however, is not consistent. Whereas in some records of Sīṅghāna he is spoken of as the uprooter of the water-lily, that is, the head of the Teluṅga king, the conqueror of the Teluṅga king, and the establisher subsequently of the Teluṅga king on his throne,4 the same acts are attributed in others not to Sīṅghāna but to his father Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla I. In the Bhawal inscription of Sīṅghāna dated A.D. 1222–3 it is stated that Jaitrapāla, the ocean of compassion, made Gaṇapati, whose life had been spared in battle, the lord of the Āndhra country.5 According to the Paithan copper-plate grant of Rāmachandra, dated A.D. 1271, Jaitugi (Jaitrapāla) slew the king of Trilāṅga (an obvious mistake for Trilīṅga due to confusion caused by the similarity of names) in battle, rescued Gaṇapati from his prison, and made him lord of the land.6 As no Teluṅga king either suffered death or began to rule during the time of Sīṅghāna, the events referred to in the Sēuṇa inscriptions cannot have taken place in his reign (A.D. 1210–47). Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1191, ruled until A.D. 1210; and during this

1 *Corpus*, 15.  
3 *EI*, iii, p. 101.  
4 Fleet: *DKD, Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii, pp. 524–5; *EC*, viii; Sb. 135, 276.  
5 *EI*, iii, p. 111.  
6 *IA*, xiv, p. 316; *EI*, iii, p. 111.
period Rudra was killed, if we can depend upon the evidence of Hēmādri, in a battle with Jaitrapāla in a.D. 1196; Mahādēva, who succeeded him on the throne, lost his life in a battle with the Senuṣas in a.D. 1199, and his son Gaṇapati succeeded him in the same year. It is therefore certain that the incidents mentioned in the inscriptions cited could only have taken place during the reign of Jaitugi I. It is not unlikely that Śiṅghāṇa, as the heir apparent of his father, participated in the fight with the Kākatiyas and took an active part in effecting the release from prison and the restoration of Gaṇapati to his kingdom; and that perhaps was the reason for his assumption of the titles Teluṅgarāya-sīrah-kamal-oṭpātana and Teluṅgadēya-sthāpan-āchārya.

The Senuṣa inscriptions do not, however, throw any light on the identity of the Teluṅga king whose head was cut off by Jaitugi. As both Rudra and Mahādēva were killed by him in battle these records may be taken to refer to the death of either. The fact that, in almost all these epigraphs, the cutting off of the head of the Teluṅga king is coupled with the release of Gaṇapati from prison and his restoration to his kingdom, demands attention. It clearly indicates that the king who was slain was the immediate predecessor of Gaṇapati, that is, his father, Mahādēva. It is therefore more likely that Gaṇapati accompanied his father rather than his uncle to the battle. However this may be, there is no doubt that the short reign of Mahādēva ended in disaster, and that as a consequence the country was thrown into confusion.

Mahādēva had, besides his son Gaṇapati, two daughters, Mēlāmbikā or Mailamā and Kundāmbikā,1 both of whom were given in marriage to the Natavāḍi chief Rudra, son of Buddha. The marriage of his two daughters with this Natavāḍi prince, Rudra, shows that Mahādēva adhered to the policy of friendship and intermarriage with the feudatory families initiated by his predecessor. Mahādēva was a staunch Śaiva by faith; he was a disciple of the sage Dhruvēśvara from whom he had learnt the Dharma. Though he had acquired, by the grace of the Lord of Gauri, the sovereignty of the earth, he is said to have ‘cared not a straw for it, and to have become one completely engrossed in the worship of the lotus feet of the god Śiva’.2 In spite, however, of his alleged indifference to worldly power and possessions, he showed no lack of interest in the protection of his kingdom, and never hesitated, when the call of duty came, to sacrifice his life in defence of it.

**Gaṇapatidēva**

**(A.D. 1199–1261)**

Gaṇapati’s captivity. The death of Mahādēva and the captivity of Gaṇapati, his son and heir to the throne, at Dēvagiri, led to the outbreak of disorders in the kingdom. The nobles rose in revolt, and the rulers of the neighbouring

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1 *SII, x, 254; AR, 204 of 1903; The Kākatiya Samachi, App. No. 14.*
2 *Corpus, 15.*
states invaded the country. Of the foreign invaders who appeared at this time, the names of only two, king Nāgati whose identity has otherwise not yet been established, and the Chōla emperor Kulōttuṅga III, are known. The latter, according to one of his inscriptions, ‘subdued the Vārūgas (Telugu) who were fierce in war and (thus) brought Vēṅgai-maṇḍalam under his sway’.

Kulōttuṅga III effected his entry into Warangal by lavish bribery and gifts of gold. But Rēcheḷa Rudra, the commander-in-chief of the previous ruler, saved the kingdom from disintegration. ‘He forsooth cut off the head of a haughty feudatory, and set it up for public view, stuck upon the top of a lofty flag-staff, as a scarecrow to frighten the flocks of these wild beasts that are hostile kings.’

King Nāgati, threatened by the pennons fluttering from the lances of Rudra’s army, speedily took to flight. Kulōttuṅga III evidently followed his example. ‘When the fortune of the Kākati through error had set her foot among many sharp thorns, he (Rudra) himself by the might of his arm forcibly crushed and removed them and very firmly established her in security.’

Rudra appears to have taken the reins of government into his own hands in the absence of his master; for the titles Kākatiya-rāya-bhāra-dhauṛēya and Kākati-rāya-samarthā associated with his name clearly show that he carried on the administration in the name of his lord and sovereign.

Gaṇapati was soon released from prison and sent back to rule his kingdom. Since his reign is usually reckoned as beginning in A.D. 1199, his incarceration cannot have lasted very long. The circumstances in which he was set free are not definitely known. The Sēṇa inscriptions, no doubt, attribute his regaining of freedom to the compassion felt for him by the Yādava monarch Jaitrapāla. Sympathy and generosity may indeed have played their part, but political considerations must also have weighed with the Yādava in setting the youthful captive at liberty. He probably desired to secure himself against an attack from the east in the event of a conflict with the Hoy-salas in the south. The aggressive policy of Ballāla II, who had already wrested from him a large part of the Northern Kānṭāka, must have made him apprehensive regarding the safety of his southern frontier.

The reign of Gaṇapati, though it began under unfavourable circumstances, was destined to become one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of the Āndhra country. Gaṇapati was an energetic monarch, and during his long reign of sixty-three years he brought under his sway by war or diplomacy almost the whole land inhabited by the Telugu-speaking peoples. The political disintegration which followed the dismemberment of the Western Chāḷukyan and Chōla empires rendered his task comparatively easy. The country was subjected to the authority of numerous petty chiefs engaged in constant internecine warfare for self-aggrandizement. The chiefs of Velanāḍu

1 Inscriptions of the Pudukkoṭai State, 163, 166; K. A. Nilakanṭa Śāstrī, Colas, ii, 125, 133, 142.
2 H.A.S., iii, v. 22.
3 Ibid. v. 24.
4 AR, 261 of 1893; CH, iv, 1117.
demand attention first. Although their power declined after the death of Chōḍa II about a.D. 1181, inscriptions at Dākshārāmam, Pithāpuram, and Śrīkūrāmam indicate that Prithviśvara’s authority over the northern portion of the maritime Āndhra country remained intact until the time of his death about a.D. 1210.1 Some of the loyal subordinates of his family in the Divī island and its neighbourhood acknowledged his suzerainty and helped him in his wars,2 though ruling their own fiefs as independent princes. A tradition preserved in the Telugu Sinhāsana-dvāṭrimāla of Gōparāju, a work composed in the early fifteenth century a.D., represents Prithviśvara as ruling from his ancestral capital Tsandavōlu in the Krishna district.3 The evidence of the inscriptions, as well as literary tradition, thus bears testimony to the continuance of the rule of the Velanāṭi family over part, if not the whole, of the coastal Āndhra country. Their authority, such as it was, must have been limited by the power of numerous autonomous or semi-autonomous petty feudal states which honeycombed the country. The chiefs of Kōlanu or Sarasipuri ruled over the region round the Kōlai lake. The Chāgis of Gudimeṭṭa held sway over parts of the Krishna tract in the interior, and the Nātavādis over the territory along the northern bank of the same river now included in the Kambhammet district of the old Hyderabad State. The Kōṭas, and the Telugu Chōlas of Koṇīḍena, governed parts of the present Gunṭur region and farther south lay the Telugu Chōla kingdom of Nellore, comprising the Nellore and Cuddapah districts of the Āndhra Pradesh, and the major portion of the Chingleput district of the Madras State with the cities of Nellore and Kāṇṭhī as alternate capitals. The petty chiefs of Ėruva, a small tract of territory at the junction of the Nellore, Guntur, and Kurnool districts, acknowledged the supremacy of the Nellore Chōlas, whilst several minor principalities flourished in the Cuddapah and Kurnool marches. And in the north-east the Gaṅgas of Kaḷīṅga were supreme in parts of that country. Such was the political state of the Āndhra country at the moment when Gaṇapatī at length took the reins of the government of the kingdom into his own hands.

Gaṇapatī and Prithviśvara. The policy which he had to follow in dealing with these states had already been marked out by his predecessors. Both Prōḷa II and Rudra had cherished imperial designs; they desired, as we have pointed out above, to bring under their rule not only Teliṅgāṇa but also the coastal districts, and to establish their hegemony over the whole of the Āndhra country. Though they were completely successful in reducing Teliṅgāṇa, yet their attempts to expand their dominion towards the south and the east met

1. EI, iv, pp. 32 ff.; SII, v, 1100; Mack. MSS. 15–6–26; Elliot’s Collections, p. 133, No. 55; AR, 570–B of 1896; SII, v, 1254.
2. EI, iii, No. 15, v, 30, p. 87:
‘Chōḍa-Prithviśa-bhūparya chatur-dīśa-jayāvahāh
abhiśava-bhūva-viryaṇja chaturēbhā bhava-puṅgavāh.’
with failure, owing largely to the opposition of the Velanāti chiefs who were then ruling the maritime tracts as the nominal representatives of the Chāḷukya-Chōjā emperors in the south. The power of the Velanāti chiefs, however, declined after the death of Chōda II about A.D. 1181, and Prithvīśvara, Chōda II’s grandson, appears at that time to have exercised some sort of authority over his ancestral kingdom; but he was not strong enough to check the turbulence of the nobility or to stem the forces of disintegration. Gaṇapati seized his opportunity and invaded the coastal districts with strong forces in the year A.D. 1201, accompanied by all the subordinate chiefs whom he could muster, such as the Kōtas, Nātavādis, and Malyālas. He first attacked Bezwada which stood on the eastern frontier of the Kākatīya kingdom. An inscription of the Nātavādi prince, Vakkađimala Rudra, found in the Kanakadurga-maṇṭapa at the foot of the Indrakila hill and dated A.D. 1201, indicates the presence of Nātavādi troops, and presumably also those of the Kākatīyas, in the city at that time. ¹ Bezwada was soon captured, and the invaders proceeded eastwards to the island of Divi, near the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā, then the headquarters of the Ayya chiefs, who held sway over the fertile tracts of the delta. These Ayya chiefs did not submit without stubborn resistance. Trusting to the strong fortifications of their island fortress, they stoutly opposed the advance of the invaders but were finally obliged to surrender and to see their rich and beautiful capital plundered by the enemy. In recognition of the meritorious services rendered by the Malyāla chief Chaunḍa, Gaṇapati conferred on him, as stated in the Koṇḍiparti inscription dated Śaka 1123 (A.D. 1203), the title of Dvīpi-luṇṭāka, or Dvī-śūrakāra, that is ‘the plunderer of the island of Dvīpi or Divi’. ² Gaṇapati, however, did not annex the conquered territory to his kingdom, for he was an astute politician, and understood that by adopting a policy of conciliation he would be able to build up his power on permanent foundations. He therefore dealt leniently with the vanquished Ayya chiefs; he not only restored their possessions but contracted marital relations with them by marrying Nārāṁbā and Pērāṁbā, the two daughters of Ayya Pina Chōdi, and took their brother Jāya or Jāyapa into his service. It is not improbable that as a consequence of these victories not only Divi but also the whole of Velanādu, as is in fact stated in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription dated A.D. 1211, fell into the hands of Gaṇapati at this time. ³

Although Prithvīśvara was regarded, at least in name, as the ruler of the coastal region, his authority, as has already been stated, was confined to a part of it. The provenance of his various inscriptions is proof that only the territory between Dākshārāmam in the East Godavari district to Śrīkūrman in the Śrikakulam district was actually under his sway. What happened in the

¹ El, vi, No. 15, p. 159.
² Corpus, Nos. 8 (v. 53) and 9, v. 53. Dr. P. Srinivasachar’s translation (Corpus, p. 50) ‘even in heaven as Cūrakāra’ is absurd.
³ El, iii, p. 91.
years immediately following Gaṇapati’s conquest of Divi is not quite clear. Prithviśvara probably led an expedition to recover Divi and other territories conquered by Gaṇapati, but met with disaster. In the contemporary Telugu literature and inscriptions it is said that as a young man Tikka, the Telugu Chōla king of Nellore, played ball with the head of Prithviśvara on the field of battle.1 Others besides Chōda Tikka also take credit for this achievement. Mahāmanḍalēśvara Ballaya Chōla, probably of Kammanṇḍu, and the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati, both lay claim separately to the same deed. Each of these is reported to have treated the head of Prithviśvara even as Tikka is said to have done, after having themselves slain him.2 It is evident that Gaṇapati and the Telugu Chōla chiefs, Tikka and Ballaya, fought side by side against Prithviśvara and killed him. How they came to join one another and make common cause against Prithviśvara is not known. It is not improbable that, as stated above, he invaded the coastal Āndhra, that Gaṇapati and the two Telugu Chōla princes, who were either that prince’s feudatories or else his allies, opposed his advance, and that in the engagement which followed, Prithviśvara was killed. With his death the power of the Velanāṭi kings came to an end and their territory passed into the hands of the Kākatiya monarch.

Kākatiyas in the South. Gaṇapati began to interest himself in the affairs of the southern kingdoms very early in his reign. The Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāya-sēṇāpati dated Š. 1135 (A.D. 1213) alludes to an expedition against the kings of the southern region which Gaṇapati had undertaken on an earlier occasion.3 The conquest of the southern kings and the expansion of the Kākatiya power in that direction were the direct outcome of his alliance with the Telugu Chōlas of Nellore, who had established themselves there during the first half of the twelfth century. A.D. Nalla Siddhi had become the master of a compact state comprising the modern Nellore, Cuddapah, and Chingleput districts together with the prosperous cities of Nellore or Vikramasimhapura and Kāṇchi which served him as alternate capitals. The successors of Nalla Siddhi, taking advantage of the weakness of Rājādhirāja II, seem to have asserted their independence. Very little is known about the events of the reigns of Bēta I and Erṇa Siddhi who succeeded him on the throne. The latter had three sons, Manuma Siddhi I, Bēta II, and Tammu Siddhi. Of these the eldest, Manuma Siddhi I, followed him on the throne. During the reign of Manuma Siddhi I, father of Chōda Tikka I, Kulōttuṅga III invaded the Telugu Chōla kingdom in order to bring it back under his suzerainty. As the inscriptions dated in his third regnal year (A.D. 1180) are found in Kāṇchi, Kālahasti, and Nandalūr,4 all then included in the kingdom of Nellore, the campaign against the kings of the North and the entry into the city of

1 Tikkana Sōmayāji, Nirvachan-Ōttara Rāmāyaṇam, 1. 32; Kēṭana, Dalakumāra-charitram, 1. 16.
2 III, vi, 166; AR 206 of 1897, Bidar inscription of Rudrāmbā. See Summary of Papers, XVth Session of All India Oriental Conference, Bombay.
3 EI, v, p. 149.
4 AR, 403 of 1919, 195 of 1892, 586 of 1907.
Kāñchī must have taken place at this time. It was obviously directed against Manuma Siddhi I, who seems to have forfeited his throne as a consequence of his defeat. The victorious Chōla monarch entrusted the kingdom to Manuma Siddhi’s younger brother Nalla Siddhi and returned home in triumph. Inscriptions of Nalla Siddhi ranging in date from A.D. 1187 to 1204, found scattered in various localities within the Nellore kingdom, show that he remained loyal to his suzerain.¹ Subsequently government passed into the hands of his younger brother Tammu Siddhi, who seems to have usurped the throne and held it until A.D. 1207–8. Tikka, the son of Manuma Siddhi I, who considered himself to be the rightful heir to the throne, solicited Gaṇapati’s help to regain his patrimony. As already mentioned, he joined forces with Gaṇapati who was then waging war on the Velanāti king Prithviśvara, and helped him to slay the latter in battle. In return for this help, Gaṇapati, after reducing Velanāndu to submission, marched against Nellore, and having put Tammu Siddhi and his supporters to flight,² installed Tikka on the throne of his ancestral kingdom and returned home, as stated in the Chebrōlu inscription cited above, by way of Tāmrapurī.

Tikka, whom Gaṇapati had installed on the throne of Nellore, was indeed an able and warlike prince; but owing to the aggressions of powerful neighbours he was not infrequently hard put to it to defend his frontiers and preserve the integrity of his kingdom. It was probably for this reason that he propitiated Kulōttunga III by acknowledging his supremacy,³ though he had himself come to power with the help of the Kākatiya monarch by ousting his uncle, who was himself a loyal feudatory of the Chōla emperor. Tikka had to face, early in his reign, a Sēṇa invasion which threatened to destroy his power; following this he lost Kāñchī and his other possessions in the Tamil country as a result of the political disorders prevailing there, though he acknowledged the supremacy of the Chōla king Kulōttunga III, and kept on friendly relations with him. The total absence of any inscriptions of his between A.D. 1215 and 1228 seems to indicate that during these years he had again been driven from the throne. Tikka, according to contemporary Telugu literature and the Telugu Chōla inscriptions, is said to have vanquished his enemies single-handed by his own efforts without any help from allies; defeated the Sēṇa army in the battle fought at Kurumulūr in the Cuddapah district, and made prisoners of all their horsemen.⁴ There is reason to believe, however, that Tikka actually owed his success, at least in part, if not wholly, to the help sent to him by Gaṇapati. In an inscription of Maṭṭevaḍa in the Warangal district, dated A.D. 1228, Gaṇapati is said to have plundered a Chōla capital which was in all probability Kāñchī.⁵ A more explicit reference to his achievements in this direction is furnished by the Gaṇapēśvaram

¹ NI, N, 40, 85; AR, 317 of 1929, 198 of 1892, 601 of 1907, 197 of 1894, 578 of 1907.
² El, vii, pp. 123, 149.
³ NI, R, 8.
⁴ Nir-Uțī, t. 335; AR, 446 of 1920; ARE, 1920, ii, para. 55.
⁵ Corpus, 10.
epigraph of Jāya-sēnāpati dated A.D. 1231, in which it is stated that Gaṅapati, having easily subdued the Chōla, the Kālīṅga, the Ṣeuna, the Bṛihat-Karpāṭaka, and the Lāṭa... made the whole country of Velanāṇdu his own together with Dvēpa.1 It may be noted that all the kings mentioned here, excepting the Lāṭa, were rulers of South Indian kingdoms. Evidently Tikka had to face a combination of the kings mentioned above; and he naturally seems to have appealed to his old friend for help. It was under these circumstances that Gaṅapati proceeded to the south at the head of his army and having vanquished and driven out the associated kings he re-established Tikka at Nellore and Kāṅchi. Tikka appears to have appointed on this occasion the Kāyastha Gaṅgaya Sāhini, a brother-in-law of Atībadeva I, one of Gaṅapati’s vassals, as the Governor of Upper-Pāṇanādu to strengthen his position in the interior of his kingdom. Tikka’s troubles, however, were by no means at an end. His interests clashed with those of the Hoysalas, and he was soon involved in a war with them.

The statement of Tikkana Sōmayāji in the introduction to his Nirvachan-ōttara Rāmāyaṇam that Tikka by inflicting a defeat on Karpāṭa Sōmeśvara established his own power, and having without difficulty restored the Chōla to his throne, assumed his (Sōmeśvara’s) title of Chōla-sthāpan-āchārya or ‘the establisher of Chōla’, shows clearly that he had embarked on the war on behalf of the Chōla emperor Rājarāja III. The details of this war are not known, but it is clear that Tikka marched to the south at the head of his army and killed Narasihma II in battle at Jambai in A.D. 1239, defeated in the next year Narasihma’s son Sōmeśvara who had attacked him to avenge the death of his father, and assumed the title of Chōla-sthāpan-āchārya, which he bore thereafter.2 We have at present no information to show whether Tikka received any help from Gaṅapati in his war on the Hoysalas. It is not, however, unlikely that Gaṅapati took part in this conflict also; for the Hoysalas, who were then in the heyday of their power, could hardly have been defeated by the unaided efforts of a minor chief like Tikka. Of this, however, there is as yet no evidence and in default of further intelligence the entire credit for the victory must be ascribed to the prowess of Tikka himself.

Kālīṅga Expedition. After his victory over Pṛthviśvara, Gaṅapati naturally desired to bring the latter’s possessions in Kālīṅga under his rule. He therefore sent an army into that country to reduce it to subjection. The conquest of the coastal districts to the east of Warangal, including the powerful principality of Kolanu (Sarasī- or Kamalākarapuri) as well as that of Kālīṅga, was effectuated, according to the Śīnayōgasāra, a fifteenth-century treatise on Vira-Saiva theology, in the course of a single campaign under the command of Indulūri Sōma Pradhāni, one of the ministers of Gaṅapati.3 The available

1 EI, iii, p. 91.
2 AR, 439 of 1937–38; ARE, 1937–38, ii, para. 42; EC, vi, Kd, 100; Nir-Uttā, 1, 33.
3 The Kālīṅga Samchika, p. 382.
epigraphic evidence does not lend colour to this account. The Kākatiya conquest of the coastal Andhra and Kalinjīga appears, on the contrary, to have been effected piecemeal. Kolanu did not, as a matter of fact, come under the Kākatiya power until A.D. 1231, several years after Gaṇapati’s invasion of Kalinjīga. Bhima, the Telugu Chōla chief of Ėrūva, who must have been a contemporary of Gaṇapati, appears to have joined the expedition; for in a verse in the Tāḷa-Proddūtur inscription of Jagatāpi Gaṅgadēva dated Ś. 1244 (A.D. 1322–3), it is stated that Bhima conquered several places situated in Vēngī, Orissa, and the Bastar State in the Madhya Pradesh. Bhima was a petty chief who could scarcely have carried out all these successful raids entirely with his own resources. He must have joined, like other nobles and soldiers of fortune, the Kākatiya army, and have participated in Gaṇapati’s campaigns in the districts mentioned above. Besides these, Rājanāyaka, the commander of the Rēcherlas, accompanied the expedition and distinguished himself during the campaign.  

The expedition probably set out from some base on the banks of the Gōdāvaṇi and having entered Kalinjīga, conquered the Mādiyas and the Twelve Manniyas, that is, the country extending as far as the frontiers of the present Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Tekkali was captured, and a great battle was fought at Bokkera in the Aska taluk of the Ganjam district, in which a famous warrior who bore the title of Gōdhumārāti was killed with all his followers. Another engagement took place near Udayagiri in the Peda-kimidi Agency; Paḍiyarāya, the ruler of the place, was put to flight, and the fort was taken. Gōdhumārāti and Paḍiyarāya have not yet been identified. It is not unlikely that they were subordinates of the Eastern Gaṅga king, Ṛājaraṇa III, who was ruling over Kalinjīga at this time. The Kākatiya army next marched into Bastar, reduced Chakrakōta, and crossing the Gōdāvaṇi took possession of Manthena on the south bank of the river; and having thus completed the conquest of the hill tracts, the army finally returned in triumph to Dākṣhārāmam, where Rājanāyaka, the commander of the Rēcherla forces, endowed, as a thank-offering, a perpetual lamp in the temple of the god Bhimēśvara, on Sunday, Vaiśākha, śu 11, Ś. 1154 (29 April, A.D. 1212).

Gaṇapati’s expedition against Kalinjīga was no doubt a brilliant demonstration of his military strength; but it produced no material results. No trace of the Kākatiya rule has so far been discovered to the north of Dākṣhārāmam. The Eastern Gaṅgas with whom Gaṇapati’s army must have come into conflict during the expedition soon asserted their authority, as will be shown immediately, and shook off all traces of his expedition against them.

1 Bhārati, xv, part i, pp. 143 ff.  
2 H. AS, No. 3, p. 18; SII, iv, 117; AR, 261 of 1893.  
3 A certain Vairī-Gōdhimāhāraṇa is mentioned in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription as an enemy of Jāyapa (EL, iii. No. 15. v. 41); but the identity of this chief and the occasion when he was defeated by Jāyapa are unfortunately not known.  
4 H. AS, No. 3, p. 18.  
5 Bhārati, xv, part i, pp. 143 ff.  
6 SII, iv, 1117 (AR, 261 of 1893).
**GANAPATI**

*Kammanādu*. The affairs of Kammanādu demanded immediate attention. Some of the chiefs in the district, most probably the Telugu Chōlas of Köpidera, appear to have defied Gaṇapati’s authority and begun to rule as independent princes. Ōpili Siddhi, a scion of the Pottapi branch of the Telugu Chōla family, was commissioned by Gaṇapati to reduce them to obedience and to bring the entire district under his sway. Ōpili Siddhi accomplished the task to the entire satisfaction of his master and obtained the governorship of the territory from him as a reward for his services.¹ The Chakrārvtaṇa princes who were ruling over Addaṅki and its neighbourhood seem to have been conquered about the same time. Though direct proof of this is lacking, the provenance of Gaṇapati’s numerous inscriptions leaves no room for doubt that this region also passed into his hands before A.D. 1217–18.²

*Eastern Gaṅga Incursion*. Rājarāja III, who was ruling in Kaliṅga at the time of Gaṇapati’s invasion, died soon afterwards. His son Anāṅga (Aniyaṅka) Bhima III, who succeeded him in A.D. 1211, freed his country from the Kākatīya yoke, and penetrated into Gaṇapati’s territories as far west as the frontier of Vēṅgi before his 8th year (A.D. 1217). In an inscription at Dāksha-rāmam dated in that year he claims to have already effected the deliverance of the *Trayi-vasundharā*, that is, the Tribhūṅga country.³ Anāṅga Bhima III was an ambitious monarch; he was not satisfied with the expulsion of the invaders from his native country but was desirous of effecting the conquest of the fertile land of Vēṅgi. Circumstances do not seem to have favoured the immediate prosecution of his designs. He had therefore to bide his time, awaiting a suitable opportunity for launching an expedition against that country.

*Conquest of Kolam*. It may be noted here that Vēṅgi, or at least a large part of it, remained independent until A.D. 1230 under the Kolam chiefs who had their headquarters at Kolam or Sarasāpuri. Mahāmanḍalēśvara Kolani Kēśava-dēva, who came to the throne in A.D. 1192, held sway over the country for thirty-six years until A.D. 1228.⁴ It was probably after the death of that chief that Aniyaṅka Bhima III, considering that the time was now propitious for realizing his long cherished desire, resolved to attempt the subjugation of Vēṅgi. The Kākatīya armies were at that time busy in the south waging war against the Hoysalas and other southern rulers on behalf of the Telugu Chōda Tikka of Nellore. In order to ensure the success of his enterprise, Aniyaṅka Bhima appears to have espoused the cause of the Velanāthī chiefs Kulottunga Rājendra Chōda and Gonka, descendants of Velanāthī Prithviśvara, and to have dispatched his army to effect the final conquest of Vēṅgi. Jēṣrājak, the son of Khaḍgaisinha, the commander-in-chief of his

1 *SII*, vi, 628 (AR, 183 of 1899).
2 *NI*, ii, O. 17, 43, iii, O. 139.
3 *SII*, iv, 1329, AR, 407 of 1893.
forces, arrived in A.D. 1230 at Dākshāramam, where he busied himself with carrying out repairs to the temple of the god Bhīmēśvara. His arrival at Dākshāramam was in fact the prelude to the outbreak of the war; and during the next three years he was fully engaged in accomplishing his purpose.¹

Gaṇapati did not remain indifferent to the aggressive activities of the Kaliṅga king. As soon as he had installed Tikka in Kāñchi in A.D. 1228, he recalled his army from the south and concerted measures for the expulsion of the Kaliṅgas from Vēṅgī and for bringing that country under his control. He dispatched an army under Indulōri Śōma Pradhāni, and Ėṛuva Bhīma, Kālpa Nāyaka, and Malyāla Hēmārdi Rēṇḍi who seem to have accompanied him, rendered him valuable assistance. A study of the find-sites of the Kākatiya inscriptions shows that the process of the conquest began as early as A.D. 1231. An epigraph of Gaṇapati engraved on a pillar in the temple of Pālīśvara at Iragavaram in the West Godavari district and dated A.D. 1231 shows that Kolanu was conquered by him in that year.² Velanāṭi Gonka, who suffered a defeat at the hands of Malyāla Hēmārdi Rēṇḍi, took to flight.³ Kulōttunāga Rājendra Chōḍa appears to have surrendered at discretion; for Kālpa Nāyaka, who, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1254, was appointed governor of Vēṅgī, claims to have been the saviour of Kulōttunāga Rājendra Chōḍa.⁴ What happened after this is not known. The death of Anāṅga Bhīma III during the course of that year, or early in the next, led perhaps to the suspension of hostilities.

The Eastern Gaṅga attacks on the Kākatiya dominions did not, however, cease with Anāṅga Bhīma’s death; for his son and successor, Narasimha I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1238, followed his father’s aggressive policy. In the Vallabhāḥyundayam, a late Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit Śrıṅkula-Māḥātmam, the ṣṭhala-pūrāṇam of Śrıṅkulaṁ in the Krishna district, it is stated that Narasimha sent a military expedition against Kāñchi under the command of his foster brother, Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla, and that the latter halted at Śrıṅkulaṇe during his march to erect a temple to the god Telugu Vallabha (Āndhra Vishnu), and thence proceeded to Kāñchi, where after defeating his enemies and exacting tribute from them he set up a pillar of victory describing his exploits and then returned home in triumph.⁵ No record of Anantapāla has so far been discovered; therefore, the information furnished by the ṣṭhala-pūrāṇam cannot be verified at present.

Gaṇapati, who had been preoccupied with the affairs of the western Āndhra country at the time of Narasimha’s invasion, having settled these to his satisfaction, sent his army across the Gōḍāvarī, and attacked the Eastern Gaṅga territories on the northern side of that river. Not much is known about

¹ AR, 1530, of 1893; SII, iv, 1252, AR, 357 A of 1893.
² This inscription which has been copied by Mr. M. Somaśekhara Sarma remains yet to be published.
³ SII, iv, 1333, AR, 283 of 1903.
⁵ Madras University, Āndhra Granthamālā, No. 8, pp. 63–65, 83–84.
this invasion, since the information available on the subject is extremely scanty. The Nandalūr inscription of Manuma Siddhi II dated A.D. 1257–8 merely alludes to it. It is stated therein that Manuma Siddhi II, desirous of acquiring the friendship of Gaṇapati, joined him with his forces on the banks of the Gōdāvari where he fought a great battle with the Kaḷināgas and forced them to retreat into their own country. It must have been on this occasion that Paḍikamū Boppadēva of the Chāḷukyan family, who was at that time paṭṭa-sāhiṇī and sakalasēṇādhipati in the service of Gaṇapati-dēva, slew in battle on the Gōdāvari Goṇṭūri Nāgadēva, a prince whose estate lay on the banks of the Krīṣṇā. Inscriptions show that the Goṇṭūri chiefs Nāgadēva and Nārāyanadēva were ruling somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bezwada at the time of Narasimha’s invasion. They probably joined him and made common cause with him against Gaṇapati; but they must have shared his defeat and probably lost their possessions in consequence. As a result of this victory the Kākatiya power remained undisturbed in the Gōdāvari valley until the end of Gaṇapati’s reign.

Gaṇapati’s Southern Expedition. The state of affairs in the south underwent a sudden change with the death of Tikka in A.D. 1248. The kingdom of Nellore was plunged into anarchy. Gaṇapati was soon called upon to intervene and to restore peace and order. On the death of Tikka the succession to the throne of Nellore was in dispute. The principal claimants were Tikka’s son Manuma Siddhi II and a certain Vijaya or Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, a prince whose relationship with the Nellore branch of the Telugu Chōḷa royal family is uncertain. On the death of Tikka, Vijaya seized the Chingleput and North Arcot districts then included in the kingdom of Nellore, leaving only the northern parts of it, comprising the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts, in the possession of his rival. To strengthen his position he then entered into an alliance with the kings of Drāviḍa and Karṇaṭaka. The former was no doubt the Chōḷa monarch, Rājarāja III or his co-regent Rājendra III, who had been recognized as heir apparent to the Chōḷa throne in A.D. 1246 and had since then been virtual ruler of all the Chōḷa dominions. The Karṇaṭaka was certainly Vīra Sōmeśvara (A.D. 1234–5–60). Though he was assisted in the administration of his Karṇaṭaka and Tamil possessions by his two sons Narasimha III and Vīra Rāmanātha respectively, he yet wielded supreme power over his entire kingdom until the very end of his reign. Sōmeśvara must have welcomed the preferred alliance with Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, since it gave him an opportunity to re-establish his hegemony over Conjeevaram and its neighbourhood. Having thus strengthened himself, Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla appears to have made an attempt to extend his authority northwards.

1 AR, 580 of 1907.
2 SII, x, 398; AR, 194 of 1905.
3 SII, iv, 715, 755, 763.
into the Nellore district.\footnote{NI, iii, Sl, 8.} At the same time a rebellion, headed by Padīhāris Bayyana and Tikkana, broke out in Nellore against Manuma Siddhi II, who was, as a consequence, driven from his capital.\footnote{AR, 769 of 1922.} Takkarasa Gaṅga, better known by his title Rakkasa Gaṅga, a scion of the Kulakaḍa branch of the Vaidumba family, attacked Manuma Siddhi’s territory in the Cuddapah district and having defeated Gaṅgaya Sāhīṇī, the commander of Manuma’s forces, and ousted him from his governorship, annexed his territories.\footnote{Tikkana, Nir-Uttara, 1, 41.} Manuma Siddhi II thus became, as a consequence of a combination of circumstances which he could not control, a king without a kingdom; he therefore appealed to Gaṅapatī for help. In his loyal minister, the famous Telugu poet, Tikkana, he had an able advocate. Tikkana’s fame as the greatest Telugu poet of the age had already spread to the most remote corners of the Āndhra country. When, therefore, he visited Warangal, he was warmly received by Gaṅapatī, who on hearing the errand on which the poet came, readily agreed to help his master Manuma Siddhi and sent a powerful army under his general Sāmanta Bhōja to the south to implement his promise. The outstanding events of the campaign are briefly described in an undated epigraph at Nāyanipalli in the Guntur district. The Kākatiya army set out, according to this record, on an expedition charged with the conquest of the southern countries.\footnote{AR, 769 of 1922.} It reduced Nellore to ashes, played a game of ball with the heads of all its opponents who had joined the Padīhāris Bayyana and Tikkana, and having entered Dravīḍa-maṇḍala captured Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra Chōda and received a gift of elephants from the king of Nellore. The Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra Chōda referred to in this inscription is believed by some to have been identical with the Chōla king, Rājēndra Chōla III, and if so, he must have been a different person from the prince of the same name whom Malyāla Hemādri Reḍdi defeated in Kaḷiṅga in A.D. 1237.\footnote{SII, iv, 1335; AR, 411 of 1893.} However this may be, it must have been during the course of this expedition that Manuma Siddhi II defeated at Prāyēṛu, i.e. Paḷaiyāṛu in the Tanjore district, the combined armies of the kings of Drāviḍa and Karṇaṭaka and of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpala.\footnote{Tikkana, Nir-Uttara, 1, 39.} Although Tikkana claims entire credit for this victory for his master, the part played by the Kākatiya army cannot justly be overlooked. If it was Rājēndra Chōla III who was taken prisoner by Gaṅapatī, as contended by some, it is more likely that he fell into the hands of the enemy after his defeat at Paḷaiyāṛu than at any other time or place. The enemy’s forces having been shattered on the battlefield of Paḷaiyāṛu, Sāmanta Bhōja turned back, and marching towards Kāṃchī captured that city without difficulty.
GANAPATI

Ganapati in Western Andhra. The victory obtained in the battle of Palaiyaru and the capture of Kanchi by Sambanta Bhoga in A.D. 1250 do not seem to have produced any permanent results, since the provenance of Vijaya-Gandagopala’s inscriptions leaves no room for doubt that he soon recovered his hold over Kanchi and its neighbourhood, and continued to rule there until A.D. 1282. What enabled him to regain his authority without difficulty was doubtless the preoccupation of Manuma Siddhi II and Ganapati with the affairs of the Western Telugu country. Rakkasa Gangra had, as may be remembered, defeated Gangaya Sahini, the Kayastha chief, whom Choda Tikka had appointed as the commander of his forces in Upper-Pakanadu, and had seized the territory under his rule. He was supported in this enterprise by the Telugu Choda chief of Jagatapi-Gutti (the modern Gutti in the Antanapur district), who, as a consequence, assumed the title of Gandapendera-Gangaya-Sahini-sarasvata-bandikarya or ‘the plunderer of the entire property of Gandapendera Gangaya Sahini’. Manuma Siddhi and Ganapati, after their victorious campaign in the Tamil country, marched against him by way of Kalahasti in the Chittoor district and attacked him there. In the war that followed Rakkasa Gangra was worsted and had to surrender the territories which he had wrested from Gangaya Sahini. Though Tikkana attributes the credit for the victory to the prowess of his master, Manuma Siddhi, the evidence of the inscriptions clearly shows that it was not achieved without the Kakaatiya support. Gangaya Sahini, after his defeat at the hands of Rakkasa Gangra and his consequent loss of territory, joined the service of Ganapati, who conferred on him the high office of bhattara-niyog-adhipati, or ‘the superintendent of seventy-two niyogas’ at his court. In an inscription at Tripuranakam, dated A.D. 1254, he claims to have vanquished Rakkasa Gangra and put him to flight. Ganapendera Jannigadева, a nephew of Gangaya Sahini, and a feudatory of Ganapatiidева and subsequently of Rudranbha, evidently assisted his uncle in the campaign against Rakkasa Gangra; for in a record dated a few years later in A.D. 1264 he is said to have pursued the latter after his defeat. It follows from this that Ganapati had lent support to Manuma Siddhi II and Gangaya Sahini to overthrow the power of the Vaidumba chief. His victory no doubt resulted in the reconquest of the territory seized by the Vaidumba; but Manuma Siddhi, to whom it had originally belonged, did not get it back again; he had to surrender it to Ganapati, who conferred it on Gangaya Sahini, apparently with Manuma’s consent, as a family estate, a transaction which is euphemistically described by Tikkana in his Nirvachan-Ottara-Ramayanam as a gift gracefully bestowed by his master on the Kayastha chief to demonstrate his affectionate regard for his faithful dependant.

1 AR, 137 of 1916.  
3 SII, x, 332; AR, 283 of 1905.  
4 Ibid., 343; AR, 251 of 1905.  
5 Ibid., 402; AR, 550 of 1909.  
6 Nir-Uttu, 1, 41.
Ganapati and the Senuas. The relations between Ganapati and his western neighbours the Senuas appear to have been on the whole peaceful. The Ganapēsvaram epigraph does indeed refer to the Senua king as one of the enemies conquered by him,\textsuperscript{1} but the circumstances in which he came into conflict with the Senuas are completely unknown. Very probably Ganapati lent support to his friend Chōḍa Tikka of Nellore to ward off the Senua attack on his dominions. However that may be, there is reason to believe that subsequent to the battle of Kurumalūr the relations between the two kingdoms underwent a change for the better, and that they even joined together to resist the attacks of the Pândyas. Among the enemies conquered by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pândya I, a king bearing the name Kshēma or Kṣhēmāsura is mentioned in connexion with the Senuas.\textsuperscript{2} The identity of this king has been a matter of considerable doubt. It has however been suggested on the strength of the phrase *Ganapati-kṣhēmāsura*, occurring in a fragmentary record on a temple at Tirupati, that he was none other than the Kākatiya monarch of that name.\textsuperscript{3} Accepting for the moment the soundness of this identification, it may be suggested that Ganapati and the Senua king joined forces and attempted to check the expansion of the Pândyan power in the early years of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pândya I. This is not at all unlikely, since a few years later, in A.D. 1263, when the Pândya king advanced on Nellore, he found arrayed against him the Telugu Chōḍa, the Kākatiya, and the Ārya (i.e. Senua) forces on the battlefield of Muttukūr.\textsuperscript{4}

Ganapati and the Pândyas. Ganapati’s alliance with the Telugu Chōḷa kings of Nellore involved him in a war with the Pândyas of Madura, who, under the able leadership of the famous Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pândya I, subjugated between A.D. 1231 and 1237 the whole of Southern India and established their hegemony over it. As the Telugu Chōḷa rulers of Nellore owed allegiance, even though only nominally, to the Chōḷa emperor, the Pândyas who had overthrown his authority considered that as his political successors they ought to bring the Telugu Chōḷa dominions also under their sway. Of the two Telugu Chōḷa chiefs who succeeded Tikka, his son, Manuma Siddhi II, known also as Vira-Gaṇḍagopāla, held the northern or Telugu districts, whilst Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla ruled over the southern or Tamil districts. The latter by reason of the proximity of his territory to the Pândyan kingdom, and also on account of his alliance with the redoubtable Kāḍava chief, Koppuruṇjiṅga, naturally became the object of their first attack. The steps taken by Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla to protect his dominion from the Pândyan invasion are not known. He ultimately had to submit to the superior military strength of the Pândyas and acknowledge their supremacy. An inscription at Kāṇchī of

\textsuperscript{1} EI. III, No. 15, v. 34, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{2} SII, iv, 625. Kṣhēmāsura-samam Sēruṇaīh.
\textsuperscript{3} TTDI, i, No. 53.
\textsuperscript{4} AR, 361 of 1913.
Jațāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, dated A.D. 1260, shows that the Pāṇḍyas had by that time overcome his opposition and entered his capital. They next turned their attention to Nellore; but the conquest of that place was not so easily effected, since the attempt to reduce it involved them in a war with the northern powers, especially the Kākatiyās, with whom Vīra-Gaṇḍagopāla, otherwise known as Manuma Siddhi II, was in alliance. Apprehending the danger of an imminent Pāṇḍyan attack on his territories, he appealed to the Kākatiya, the Sēuṇa, and the Bāṇa rulers for help. To weaken the forces of the enemy by means of a diversion, the Pāṇḍyas sent an expedition, consisting mostly of feudatory forces, into the Kākatiya kingdom. The inscriptions of Rājendra Chōla III, Köpperuṇjiṅga, and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla, who had been reduced to vassalage by the Pāṇḍyas, found at Tripurāntakam, in the heart of the Kākatiya kingdom, clearly indicate that these chieftains took part in the expedition. Köpperuṇjiṅga, who is believed to have led the advance guard of the Pāṇḍyan army, penetrated as far as Dāksharāmam in the East Gōdavari district, with the object probably of establishing contact with the king of Kaliṅga, the enemy of the Kākatiya monarch; but he suffered a defeat at the hands of Gaṇapati and was compelled to acknowledge his suzerainty. It was obviously after this defeat that Köpperuṇjiṅga, on the occasion of his paying homage to Gaṇapati, was honoured by him with the decoration of vīra-pāda-mudra or the anklet of the heroes. Rājendra Chōla III and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla, who probably suffered a defeat in an encounter with the Kākatiya nobles headed by the Kāyastha chief Jannigadeva, retreated hastily towards their dominions. That was apparently the reason why Vikrama Pāṇḍya relinquished the idea of invading the Kākatiya kingdom, though he attributes it to his unwillingness to attack Gaṇapati who had two carps (the Pāṇḍyan emblems) on his face and a woman who was ruling over it with a man’s name.

While the expedition under Köpperuṇjiṅga was still in progress in the north, the main Pāṇḍyan army led by at least three of their kings, Jațāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, Bhuvanaikavīra Vikrama Pāṇḍya, and Jațāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, advanced along the coast towards Nellore. They swept away all opposition and reached Muttukūr, a village situated near the sea at a distance of thirteen miles to the east of the city. In a fierce engagement which took place here in A.D. 1263 Vīra-Gaṇḍagopāla was killed and his allies sustained a crushing defeat and retreated towards Perāru (the Krīṣhṇā). The Kākatiya and Sēuṇa forces appear to have suffered terribly during the course of their retreat; their dead bodies, according to the contemporary Pāṇḍyan records, lay

1 AR, 483 of 1919.
2 AR, 201, 197, 198, and 272 of 1905.
3 SII, xii, 247; AR, 198 of 1905.
4 Ibid.
5 TTDI, i, 19.
6 AR, 365 of 1913.
strewn over the country as far as the banks of the Pĕrărū, and the Bāna sought safety in the jungle.¹ As a result of this victory the Telugu Chōla kingdom of Nellore was annexed to the Pāṇḍyan empire, though its administration was entrusted to the brothers of Vira-Ganḍagōpāla, who apparently were compelled to rule it as the vassals of the Pāṇḍyas.² In honour of his victory, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya celebrated virāhīshēka, or the anointment, as a conquering hero, both at Nellore and at Kāṭchī, these being the two alternate capitals of the kingdom of Nellore,³ and struck a coin bearing the Pāṇḍyan emblem of two fishes separated by a sceptre with the legend Sundara Pāṇḍya in Tamil on the reverse and the Kākatiya Boar facing right below the symbols of the Sun and the Crescent Moon on the obverse.⁴

Inter-State Relations. Gaṇapati is credited in some of his inscriptions with victory over the kings of several other countries. The Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāyapa, for instance, states that the Madra king, the Pāṇchāla, the Viṭēha king, the Hammirā, the Hūṇa, and the king of Kāśi were suppliants at his door.⁵ Similarity it is stated in the Pākhāl inscription that his heralds at each assembly announce before him the names of the Lord of Kāśi, the Kālinda, the Śaka monarch, the Ruler of Kērala, ‘the (King) of Tummāna, the Hūṇa King, the Prince of the Kurus, the Lord of Arimarda, the Ruler of the Magadhas, the Nēpāla, the Chōla Monarchs’ and present them to him.⁶ Gaṇapati’s relations with the rulers of the Kālinda and Chōla countries have already been noticed. Of the other kingdoms, Madra, Pāṇchāla, Viṭēha, Kāśi, Magadha, Kuru, and Nēpāla were situated in the north; and all of them, excepting probably the last, disappeared long before the time of Gaṇapati; for the whole of Northern India was at the time under the rule of the Muslim Sulţāns of Delhi. The Śaka rule which had been confined to Western India in ancient times was destroyed by the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II Vikramādiyā in the latter half of the fourth century a.D., and the Hūṇas were overwhelmed by Yaśōvarman and Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya early in the next. Neither the Śakas nor the Hūṇas are known to have ruled subsequently in any part of India. The inclusion of the kings of these countries among the princes who came to pay homage to Gaṇapati must, therefore, be attributed to a literary convention popular with the praśasti writers of the period and it may be dismissed without serious consideration. Tummāna was situated in the Madhya Pradesh adjoining Teliṅgāna, and Kērala in the extreme south on the west coast. Arimarda has been identified with Pegu on the Burmese coast; it is not unlikely that Gaṇapati may have had intercourse, friendly or otherwise,

¹ AR, 352, 340, 354, 361, and 365 of 1915.
² K. A. N. Sastri, The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 168.
³ AR, 1914, part ii, para. 18; SII, iv, no. 865.
⁴ PIHC, 1938, p. 42.
⁵ EI, v, p. 149.
⁶ HAJ, o. 4, p. 10.
with rulers of these countries. Of the Hammiras, who also figure in the Sêuṇa inscriptions as the opponents of Siṅghana, nothing is known, although they had been identified by some, but on very inadequate grounds, with the Muslims.¹

Achievements of Gaṇapati. Gaṇapati was the most powerful of the Kākatiya sovereigns. During his long reign of sixty-three years, he met with few reverses, except during the Pândyan invasion in A.D. 1263, though he was continuously engaged in warfare. At the time of his accession, the Āndhra country was in a state of complete political disorganization. The power of the Châḻukya-Chôlas and the Châḻukyas of Kalyâṇi had finally disappeared, leaving behind a congeries of feudal states, small and great, engaged in a confused scramble for supremacy. He set before himself the task of restoring the political unity of the country and succeeded in a large measure in accomplishing his object.

Gaṇapati was a good administrator; he concerted measures for improving trade and industries in general, especially agriculture. The petty chiefs ruling in the region round Môrâpalli had been scaring away the foreign merchants, who had been accustomed to frequent that harbour, by levying heavy duties on imports and exports and confiscating articles of merchandise which had been cast ashore. He put an end to these exactions; and by granting special concessions to the merchants who came to trade in the port and taking measures to ensure the safety of their lives and property he attracted them into his dominions. In consequence of this policy the economic prosperity of the country rapidly increased, whilst towns and cities became rich as trade and industry grew and prospered.

An important event in the civil administration of the country was the change of the capital from Anumakôṇḍa to Warangal. The foundations of the new capital were laid, as we have mentioned above, by Gaṇapati’s uncle Rudradêva in the last years of his reign. Gaṇapati continued his work, and built two forts one within the other, constructed respectively of stone and of mud. The new fort, if we can rely on tradition, was provided with seventy-five bastions, each of which was guarded by a nayaka in the service of the king.

Gaṇapati’s family. Gaṇapati had no male issue; but he had two daughters, the elder called Rudrâṃbâ or Rudramadēvî and the younger named Gaṇapâṃbâ or Gaṇapamadēvî. The former was given in marriage to a prince of the Eastern Châḻukyan lineage caled Virabhadrâ, and the latter to Bêta of the Köta family. Gaṇapati chose his elder daughter, Rudrâṃbâ, as the heir apparent; and regarding her as a son, named her Rudradēva and in A.D. 1260 or a little earlier made her his co-regent.

Gaṇapati’s Vassals, Generals, and Ministers. Gaṇapati was assisted in his wars and in the administration of the kingdom by a large number of feuda-

tories, generals, ministers, and officials. All of them, to whichever category they belonged, had to serve in the army, since the public services were organized on a military basis. It is not possible, therefore, to make any distinction between civil and military properly so called because no such distinction existed at the time. The feudatories may be divided broadly into two classes, old and new. The Rēcheḷas and the Malyālas were the oldest of the Kākatiya feudatories. Their fortunes, as we noted above, were linked up with those of the Kākatiya monarchs almost from the very beginning. Rudra, the head of the Rēcheḷa family, played an important part in the affairs of the Kākatiya kingdom in the opening years of Gaṇapati’s reign and indeed saved it from destruction. When, on the death of Kākati Rudra and his brother Mahādēva in the wars with the Sēuṇas, and the imprisonment of Gaṇapati at Dēvagiri, the nobles rose in revolt and warriors from beyond the frontiers swept the country, Rudra stood firmly loyal and took upon himself the task of preserving the integrity of the kingdom. He drove out the foreign invaders, put down the nobles with a stern hand, and governed the land until the return of his young master from captivity at Dēvagiri.¹ Rājanāyaka, the commander of his forces, followed the Kākatiya army to Kaḷīṅga when, after the death of the Velanāṭi king Prithviśvara, Gaṇapati invaded that country in A.D. 1212, and rendered distinguished service on several fields of battle.² Though several other members of the Rēcheḷa family are mentioned in the inscriptions they do not demand any special notice, since they do not seem to have had any considerable share in the affairs of the State. Of the chiefs of the Malyāla family, Chaumḍa, the son of Kāta, the conqueror of Kōṭa, deserves particular mention, for he took a leading part in the early wars of Gaṇapati with the Velanāṭi ruler Prithviśvara. The appellations dhīḥi-lumṭaka and dhī-vi-churakāra which are associated with his name in the inscriptions clearly prove that he took an active part in the overthrow of the Ayya family and the subjugation of Divi which was situated on the shore of the estuary of the river Kṛṣṇā.³

The feudatories of the second class came under the Kākatiya rule only during the time of Gaṇapati. Of these the Ayya chiefs of Divi are the most noticeable. Gaṇapati, it may be remembered, reduced the Ayya family to subjection about A.D. 1202, married, as mentioned above, two princesses, Nāramāṃbā and Pēramāṃbā, the daughters of Pīna Chōḍī, and took Jāyapa, one of the three sons of that chief, into his service.⁴ Jāyapa was a distinguished soldier who appears to have been specially skilled in training the war elephants and overseeing their employment on the field of battle. He became the gaja-sāḥiṣi of Gaṇapati and rendered valuable service in his wars, especially during

¹ HAS, No. 5, p. 9.
² Ibid., III, iv, 1117.
³ Corpus, Nos. 8–9.
⁴ EI, iii, pp. 82–93.
his campaign in Kalinjga. Jayapa was a connoisseur of art and a distinguished
man of letters; he composed a treatise on dancing and choreography called
the Nruttaratnāvali, which is considered by competent authorities to be the
best work extant on the subject by any Indian writer. The most important and
powerful feudatories of Ganaapatī, however, belonged to the various branches
of the Telugu Chōla family. Of these, the Telugu Chōlas of Nellore, who
must be regarded as subordinate allies rather than feudatories, demand atten-
tion first. The part played by Tikka and Manuma Siddhi II in the southern
wars of Ganaapatī has already been described and their activities need not be
considered afresh in this context. Next in importance were the Ėruva and
Pottapi branches of the family. How and when these were reduced to sub-
jection by Ganaapatī is not definitely known, but the former appear to have
come under the Kākatiya power soon after the overthrow of the Velanāḍus.
As Chōda Tikka, who took part in Ganaapatī’s last war with Prithvīsvara, is said
to have conquered the manniya chiefs of Ėruva in the early years of that king’s
reign, it is not unlikely that Tikka may have in fact undertaken the conquest
of the district at the instance of his ally. However that may be, it seems certain
that this conquest was effected before Ganaapatī’s invasion of Kalinjga in
A.D. 1212; for Ėruva Bhima, who must have entered into the service of the
Kākatiya monarch after the subjugation of his territory, took an active part
in it, as we have mentioned above. The Telugu Chōlas of Pottapi appear to
have come under the Kākatiya rule about the same time or a little later; and
Ūpili Siddhi of this family, at the instance of his master Ganaapatidēva,
defeated Mallidēva, the Telugu Chōla of Koṇidena, conquered Kamma-nāḍu,
and was granted possession of the Six-Thousand Country as a reward for his
services.1 The Chakranārāyaṇa princes of Addaṅki were probably forced to
submit about the same time. Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Mādhava Mahārāja of this
family, who was apparently ruling as an independent chief in A.D. 1208–9, is
said in an inscription of his son Šāṅgadharadēva, dated A.D. 1254–5, to have
been a vassal of Kākati Ganaapatidēva;2 a certain Mādēva or Mādhava
Nāyaka, who was ruling over this region as a subordinate of Ganaapatī in
A.D. 1239–40, has been identified with this Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Mādhava
Mahārāja.3 If this identification should be accepted, it would corroborate the
evidence of Šāṅgadharadēva’s inscription that Mādhava was indeed a
vassal of Ganaapatī. He was succeeded by his sons Śīṅgalaḍēva and Šāṅgag-
dharadēva, who ruled their principality jointly as the subordinates of Ganaapatī
until A.D. 1257.4 The Chakranārāyaṇa line has been wrongly taken by
modern writers to have been an offshoot of the Šeṇa family of Dēvagiri.
There is, however, absolutely no evidence in support of this view, though
since Mādhava Mahārāja and his descendants were members of the Śālana-
kāyana-gōtra or clan, it is not improbable that they had some remote connexion

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1 *AR*, 183 of 1899 (SII, vi, 628); *AR*, 245 of 1897 (SII, vi, 206).
2 NDI, iii, o. 76, NDI, i, Cp., 17.
3 NDI, iii, p. 1452.
4 NDI, iii, p. 1451.
with the kings of the Śālankāyana dynasty who held sway over the coastal Andhra country in the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era. Certain chiefs of the Eastern Chālukyan descent do in fact figure in the inscriptions of Gaṇapatī, but nothing of importance is known about them, though Gaṇapatī's daughter Rudrāmbā was given in marriage to Virabhada, one of the members of this family. Another member of the family, Bhimarāju who made the gift of a village to the temple of Tripurāntaka-Mahādeva at Tripurāntakam in A.D. 1257, appears to have taken an active part in Gaṇapatī's expedition to the South. His titles Drāvīla-bhayajvara, Karnāṭa-māṇḍalīka-vairī-gōdhuma-gaṭṭāna-gharāṭa, and Ballādaraṇya-dīśāpattra, clearly indicate that he participated in Sāmanṭa Bhūja's expedition in A.D. 1249. Another Chālukyan chief, whose name is now unfortunately lost, held the offices of the sakala sēnādhipati (commander-in-chief of all the armies) and paṭṭasākhī. He claims to have been the Gāṇḍīva (Arjuna) of the battle which was fought on the banks of the Gōdāvari and that he there cut off the head of Gōṇṭūrī Nāgadēva, who, as we have mentioned above, was probably an ally of the Eastern Gaṅga king Narasirha I. The names of several generals in the service of Gaṇapatī are recorded in the inscriptions of his reign, but since no information is available about their careers or the part they played in the wars of their master, most of them do not call for special notice; exception, however, must be made in the cases of a few. Sāmanṭa Bhūja of the Dōchi family led the Kākatiya armies during Gaṇapatī's expedition to the South in A.D. 1249. He defeated the southern rulers and captured the city of Kāṇchi, where he re-established the authority of the Telugu Chōla king of Nellore. It is not unlikely that he also assisted Manuma Siddhi II and Gaṅgaya Sāhini in overthrowing the Kalukaṇḍa chief Rakkasa Gaṅga. Bhāskara or Bhāskaradēva and Prōḷu Rautu also deserve mention. The former was the commander of the elephant force, and the latter held the office of tantrapala or war minister. Among the ministers of the king, Sōmaya of the Indulūri family was the most eminent. Though a brāhmaṇ by birth and ranking as a mahāpradhāna at the court, he, like several others of his community, followed the profession of arms and by sheer merit rose to the position of one of the foremost generals in the service of his master. If we can trust the evidence of the Śivayōgasāra, he commanded the Kākatiya expeditionary force against Kaḷinga in A.D. 1212, when he overran that country, and having destroyed the authority of the Kolanu chiefs, reduced Vēṇī to subjection. In recognition of his meritorious services, Gaṇapatī seems to have conferred on him the title of Kolanī-Sōmā. Another mahāpradhāna of this king was Prōḷa-Bhīma Nāyaka, who bore several distinguished titles, the most important of which was Ārvelle—dīshaka (destroyer of the Āuruvelu, i.e. the Vela-nādu Six-thousand Country), Sūryavamśa-pratishṭāḥchārya (the estisher of

1 SII, x, 360; AR, 740 of 1920.
2 AR, 203 of 1905 (SII, x, 355).
3 AR, 194 of 1905 (SII, x, 398).
5 SII, x, 398.
6 Kākatiya Samachikai, App., p. 12, v. 27.
the Solar family of kings), and Kāñchhi-chūrakāra (the plunderer of Kāñchhi). As this mahāpradhāna is said to have died in A.D. 1213, it may be presumed that he served in Gañapati's last war on Prithviśvara of Velanādu, in which he restored Chōḍa Tikka of Nellore to his ancestral kingdom, and helped this prince to reconquer the city of Kāñchhi from his enemies.¹ Muche-Nāyaka of the Musunduri-amayā, and Penuṅgula varisā and Manuma-kula, an ankkākāra of Kātageluva and Kāñchhipura-nirjita-jayāṅgā-vallabha, i.e. the lord of the lady victory won by conquering the city of Kāñchhi)² appears to have assisted Prōla-Bhima Nāyaka in recapturing Kāñchhi. Pōtana, Kuchena Preggeḍa, and Konḍaya Premgāḍa all held office as pradhānas.³ The position of Gaṅgaya Sāhīṇī who held office as bāhattara-niyog-adhipati in the official hierarchy of the State is not easy to determine. He would seem to have been, according to the literal interpretation of his official designation, president of the seventy-two categories of royal services, in which the sēnādhyaśikhas, mahā-pradhānas, pradhānas, &c., were included, but whether he actually occupied such an exalted place at Gañapati's court cannot be ascertained definitely, since the evidence on the subject is so meagre and fragmentary. Apart from his position as a bāhattara niyog-adhipati, Gaṅgaya Sāhīṇī was a distinguished military officer; he was probably in charge of the Kākatiya cavalry, for he is spoken of, in one of the Tripurāntakam inscriptions, as a turaga-sādhanaṇika.⁴ The early history of Gaṅgaya Sāhīṇī is obscure. He was originally, according to the Kaisiya of Īgūru, in the service of Chōḍa Tikka of Nellore, who appointed him as the governor of his territories above the Eastern Ghats.⁵ On the death of his master in A.D. 1248, he was attacked by the Kalukaḍa chief Rackasa Gaṅga who deprived him of his authority and drove him into exile. Thereupon he entered the service of Gañapati about A.D. 1250, probably with the help of his brother-in-law Arتبادva, and succeeded some time before A.D. 1253 in winning back his territory. Gañapati appointed him to the office of the bāhattara-niyog-adhipati, as we have just mentioned, and conferred on him an extensive tract of territory extending from Pānugal in the Nalgoṇḍa district of the old Hyderabad State to the fort of Kaivāram in the Kolar district of the Mysore State, which he ruled from Vullūru-paṭṭana in the Cuddapah district of the Andhra State as his capital.⁶ It may be noted here that this territory granted by Gañapati to Gaṅgaya Sāhīṇī as his fief became the nucleus of the short-lived Kāyastha kingdom of Vāllūr which rose to such power under his successors. Gaṅgaya Sāhīṇī is said in his inscriptions to have won victories over several enemies of whom, however, nothing more than their names is now known to us.

¹ ARE, 1929–30, para. 30.
² AR, No. 188 of 1917 (III, x, 265).
³ AR, Nos. 530 of 1925, 328 of 1934–5, Ins of Mad. Preas., ii, Gt. 586 E.
⁴ AR, No. 268 of 1905, III, x, 405.
⁵ See Ch. Virabhadr Rao, History of the Age of the Kākatiya Kings, p. 402.
⁶ AR, No. 571 of 1909, III, x, 334.
Gaṅgaya Sāhīṇī died in A.D. 1257 after serving Gaṅapati for eight years. As he had no issue, he was succeeded by his nephew Jannigadēva, the son of his younger sister Chandaladēvi. Gaṅgaya Sāhīṇī had in his service an able minister called Nāmadēva Paṇḍita, who helped him to carry on the administration of his territory. He stood high in the favour of Gaṅapati, who granted to him the standard of mūrṇa-rāya-jagadāla and the title chalamarti-gaṇḍa.  

Rudramadēvi

(A.D. 1259–91)

Rudramadēvī or Rudrāṁbā, who, it may be remembered, was nominated by her father Gaṅapatiḍēva as the heir to the throne, began to rule the kingdom, as already stated, conjointly with him as his co-regent from Ś. 1182 (A.D. 1259–60) onwards, under the name of Rudradēva Mahārāja. During the first two or three years of her joint rule with her father, whilst she was being initiated into the mysteries of government under his guidance, the country was thrown into confusion and disorder, as we have explained above, by the Pāṇḍyan invasion and the disastrous defeat on the battlefield of Muttukūr. Although Gaṅapati was, as we know, ultimately successful in vanquishing the Pāṇḍyan armies which had penetrated as far north as the banks of the Krīṣhnā, and in turning back the tide of invasion, he yet suffered considerable loss of territory, and his hold over his feudatories and nobles was very much shaken. In consequence of this they became more powerful and manifested an increasing tendency to act independently without reference to the central government. Realizing perhaps that he was too old and feeble to cope with the new situation, Gaṅapati appears to have withdrawn from

1. *AR*, Nos. 231 and 283 of 1905 and *SII*, x, 332 and 345.
2. *AR*, No. 194 of 1905 and *SII*, x, 358. The relationship between Gaṅapatiḍēva and Rudrāṁbā had been, until recently, a subject of controversy. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who visited the Telugu country in or about A.D. 1293 during the closing years of Rudrāṁbā’s reign, speaks of her as the wife of her predecessor, viz. Gaṅapatiḍēva (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India, p. 174). Similarly, Kumāraswāmi Sōmapīthī, the son of the famous commentator, Kolachelama Mallinātha Sūri, asserts in his celebrated commentary on Vidyānātha’s Pratāparudra-patābhūṣaṇam that after the death of Gaṅapatiḍēva, who had only female issue, his chief queen, Rudramadēvī, ruled the kingdom for several years without opposition (*Kakatiya Sanskritika*, App.).

His evidence is not, however, consistent; for in the Nāṭaka-prakaraṇam of the same work he states that Rudrāṁbā was the daughter of Gaṅapatiḍēva by his queen, Sōmapīthī, thereby contradicting his own earlier statement. How Kumāraswāmi Sōmapīthi came to commit himself to two contradictory statements about Gaṅapatiḍēva’s relationship to Rudrāṁbā is not easily explicable. The Pratāpacharitra and the Local Records (Śaiva-prachārīja Granthamāla, Warangal, No. 3, p. 40) also refer in the same manner to Rudramadēvi as Gaṅapatiḍēva’s queen. On the authority of the works mentioned above, especially the first, several scholars and historians of the last generation held that Gaṅapatiḍēva was succeeded by his queen Rudramadēvi. This view, however, is utterly untenable. The contemporary epigraphic evidence leaves absolutely no room for doubt that Rudrāṁbā was not the wife but the daughter of Gaṅapati. As this fact has now been universally recognized, it is not necessary to cite evidence or to embark on a fresh discussion of the subject here.
active politics about this time and to have retired into the background, leaving the government entirely in the hands of his daughter and her counsellors.

The king did not, however, as is generally assumed, die immediately after his retirement. There is reason to believe that he was alive at least until A.D. 1269–70, though he no longer took much part in the affairs of the kingdom. Two records call for special attention in this connexion. In an epigraph at Tripuranitakam dated \( \text{S. 1188} \) Kshaya (A.D. 1266) Pedda Mallaya Preggada, feudal lord of the donor Tammiraj, is spoken of as the Mahapradhana and the subordinate of Ganaapatidéva Mahārāja.\(^1\) It is evident then that Ganaapatí was still living at this time; otherwise the donor of the record would not have omitted the name of the ruling sovereign Rudramadévi and referred to his master as a Mahapradhána of Ganaapatidéva. More important still is an inscription of the Káyastha chief Jannigadeva at Duggi in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district dated \( \text{S. 1191} \) Sukla (A.D. 1269), in which Rudramadévi is spoken of as the Pattrōddhati of Ganaapatidéva Mahārāja and not as a queen formally invested with sovereign powers;\(^2\) for the term pattrōddhati, an obvious scribal error for pattrōddhrīti (pattā, royalty, and ud-drīti, chosen or selected), indicates that Rudramadévi was still at that time only queen designate and not yet formally anointed as sovereign ruler. Two important conclusions follow from this: (1) that Ganaapatidéva was alive until \( \text{S. 1191} \) (A.D. 1269); and (2) that Rudramadévi was not the crowned queen of the Kākatiya kingdom until that year. The time was not yet propitious for celebrating her coronation. The political situation in the country was indeed critical; both internal and external danger threatened the stability of the kingdom.

The nomination of Rudrāmba by Ganaapatidéva as his heir and successor, and her appointment as his co-regent, did not meet with general approval. Some of the nobles of the country who were unwilling to pay obeisance to a woman and submit to her authority took up arms against her and attempted to throw off her yoke. Certain other members of the royal house, according to the Pratāpacharitra, also made a bid for the throne. It is stated that Hariharadéva and Murāridéva, sons of Ganaapatidéva by another queen who was not the mother of Rudrāmba, gathered their followers together, captured Warangal, and ousted Rudrāmba from the capital city; but she had powerful supporters who rallied round her and helped her to put down the rebels with a stern hand. She marched on the capital with all speed at the head of a large army, persuaded the citizens to join her and abandon her enemies, and with their help easily effected entrance into the fort and put to death her half-brothers who there fell into her hands.\(^3\) This account, however, is not supported by other evidence. Nowhere excepting in the Pratāpacharitra do we find any mention of Ganaapatidéva's sons Hariharadéva and Murāridéva

\(^1\) AR, 207 of 1905; SII, x, 407.

\(^2\) AR, 573 of 1909; SII, x, 422.

\(^3\) Saişvaprachárīni-Granthisāla (Warangal), No. 3, p. 40.
in the numerous epigraphical and literary records of the time. Thus in the absence of supporting evidence of a trustworthy character no historical value need be attached to the story of Hariharadēva and Murāridēva, though it is not unlikely that the account preserves the memory of a rebellion against the authority of Rudrāmba. Most of the feudatories, generals, and officials remained firmly loyal to the queen. The Kāyastha chiefs, Jannigadēva and his younger brothers Tripurāri and Ambadēva, Prasāditya of the Rēcheḷa family, and some of the Rēḍī chiefs like Gōna Gannaya Rēḍī espoused her cause and helped her to defeat the rebels. According to the Veluguṇṭavirā-vanśāvalī Rudrāmba’s victory over the rebels was entirely due to the unswerving loyalty and soldierly prowess of Rēcheḷa Prasāditya. After vanquishing the queen’s enemies, he is said to have carried through her coronation and himself to have assumed the proud titles of Kākatiya-rajjya-śṭhāpanāchārya and Rāya-pitāmahānāka.¹

The Veluguṇṭavirā-vanśāvali, which is in fact the family chronicle of the Rēcheḷa chiefs, attributes the entire credit of suppressing the rebels to Prasāditya and ignores the parts played by others. But in fact Prasāditya was not the only chief who was distinguished by the titles mentioned above. Several other nobles and officers who bore the same or similar titles must have joined him in suppressing the rebels and in establishing the queen firmly on her father’s throne.² Of these Mahāpradhāna Kannara Nāyaka, Mahāpradhāna Gaṇapaddēva Mahārājulu, Nissaṅkamalla Mallikārjunā Nāyaka, and Ambadēva, who are all referred to as Rājaśṭhāpanāchāryas in their inscriptions ranging in date from Ś. 1196 (A.D. 1275) to Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290), deserve special mention.³ And beside these Gunḍaya Nāyaka and Mādaya Nāyaka, who bore the birudas of svamidrāhara-ganda, and Māchaya Nāyaka who, in addition to this, is called svamivanaḥchakara-ganda, may have also participated in putting down the intransigent chieftains.⁴

The external dangers were not less threatening. Some of the rulers of the neighbouring states seized the Kākatiya territory in the neighbourhood of their

¹ Veluguṇṭavirā-vanśāvali (University of Madras), 1939, Introd., pp. 3-4 and vv. 17-18.
² Dēvarī Nāyadu, son of Māchaya Nāyanāthgūrā, is spoken of as Kākēraśṭhāpana-śṭāpana-āchārya in his inscriptions dated Ś. 1235 (A.D. 1313) and Ś. 1239 (A.D. 1317) (SII, x. 505; AR, 79 of 1938-9). Similarly, Kāchaya Rēḍī ‘who vanquished the Muslim ruler who had penetrated into the Telugu country after conquering Gauḷa, Gūjara, Māḷaḷa, Mahārāṣṭra and other countries’ is styled Mahārāja-śṭhāpana-āchārya in an undated inscription at Sṛsālam in the Kumool district (AR, 54 of 1942-3). These two officers may have acquired their titles by the services which they rendered to the state after the incursion of the Muhammadans into the Telugu country, and had in all probability no connexion with Rudrāmbа’s installation on the throne.
³ Telugūṇḍa Inscriptions Revised (Unpublished), No. 114 (Ālupadapā, Nalgonda district), dated Ś. 1196 Raktākshi (A.D. 1275); AR, 804 of 1922; SII, x, 450, dated Ś. 1202 Pramāṇā (A.D. 1280) (Nāyāḷgūrā, Bapala tāluk, Guntur district); Corpus, 35 (Pāṇugal, Nalgonda district), dated Ś. 1212 Vīrkṛti (A.D. 1290); AR, 268 of 1905; SII, x, 465 (Tripurāntakam, Kurnool district), dated Ś. 1212, Vīrkṛti (A.D. 1290).
⁴ Telugūṇḍa Inscriptions Revised (Unpublished), No. 126 (Ś. 1219, A.D. 1297), No. 127 (Ś. 1220, A.D. 1298); and SII, x, 491.
frontiers and established themselves there permanently. The Kaliṅga Gajapati Narasingha I, it may be remembered, had suffered a defeat in or before A.D. 1157-8 at the hands of Gajapati in a battle fought on the bank of the Godāvari and had had to retreat into his own country, abandoning his conquests on the bank of the river. The Kākaṭiya authority lasted there until Ś. 1184 (A.D. 1262), as is clearly proved by Köpperuṇiṅga’s Dākshārāmam inscriptions of that date, in which he acknowledges the supremacy of Gajapatiṅga.\(^1\) No trace of the Kākaṭiya rule is found in any documentary evidence from the Godāvari valley until A.D. 1278-9, when a certain Kāraparti Sūraya Reṇḍī, a servant of Kākaṭiya Rudradēva Mahārāja, who is identical with Rudrāmba, made a gift to the temple of the god Bhīmēśvara of Dākshārāmam.\(^2\) It is obvious that the Kākaṭiya power must have suffered an eclipse in the Godāvari valley during the interval. What happened there during this period is not definitely known. It is not unlikely that the Gajapati Narasingha I of Kaliṅga, taking advantage of the then unsettled state of the Kākaṭiya dominions, led his forces into the Godāvari delta with the object of recovering his lost possessions. A short incomplete epigraph at Dākshārāmam dated Ś. 1184 (A.D. 1262) mentions a Nārasiṅga Narādhipa who may well be in fact the same person.\(^3\)

However this may be, no trace of the Kākaṭiya rule is to be found either in the Godāvari valley or in Vēṅgi during the first sixteen years of Rudramadēvi’s reign. The Eastern Chāḷukyan and the Haihaya chiefs who were ruling in the region during this period acknowledge no overlord. It is not possible to ascertain whether they were actually independent or were merely for some time allowed by the queen to govern as nominally autonomous princes because of their relationship to her through her marriage. During the latter part of her reign, at any rate, the Godāvari valley and Vēṅgi would appear to have come once more fully under her sway. The Gajapati Vīra Bhāṇudēva I, son and successor of Narasimha I, accompanied by Arjunadēva, the Matsya chief of Oḍḍādi, and others, invaded Vēṅgi in Ś. 1196 (A.D. 1274) and advanced as far as Dākshārāmam on the Godāvari.\(^4\) To check his advance and to defend the territories of the petty chiefs of Vēṅgi who were probably under her protection, Rudramadēvi sent an army to the east under two capable commanders, Pōti Nāyaka and Prōli Nāyaka, sons of Nallapa Nāyaka, to oppose the invasion. The Kākaṭiya generals met the Gajapati somewhere on the banks of the Godāvari and inflicted a crushing defeat on his army. They assumed as a mark of their victory the titles Gajapati-matta-mātaṅga-simha (lion to the rutting elephant, viz. the Gajapati) and Oḍḍiyarāya-māna-mardana (the destroyer of the pride of Oḍḍiyarāya, that is the Gajapati).\(^5\) Kākaṭiya authority was thus

\(^1\) SII, iv, 1341, 1342, 1342-B.
\(^2\) Ibid., 1152.
\(^3\) Ibid., 1097.
\(^4\) SII, iv, 1089 and 1375.
\(^5\) SII, x, 422; The Andhra Patrika, 1922, Kārtika ba. 30 Saturday, Literary Supplement, The Pulidinḍi Inscription.
re-established in the coastal Andhra country, and that it remained unchallenged there until the end of Rudrāmbā’s reign is shown by the provenance of the inscriptions of herself and her subordinates found in the region.1

The Pāṇḍyas were now in possession of a large part of the Kākatiya territory in the south which they had occupied after their victory at Muttukūr. Jáṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I is indeed said to have entrusted this country to the brothers of that Vīra-Gaṅḍagōpāla whom he had slain in the battle; apparently they were to govern it as the feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas.2 But in fact nothing is really known either of these brothers or of their reputed rule at Nellore. It is most probable that Vikrama Pāṇḍya, one of the co-regents of Jáṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, had actually made an unsuccessful attack on the Kākatiya dominions; the statement in one of his undated inscriptions at Chidadharam that he did not carry his arms to the north because a woman who had assumed the name of a king was then ruling there would seem to be a euphemistic cover for the failure of an abortive expedition led by him against the Kākatiya kingdom.3 The available epigraphic evidence shows that immediately after Jáṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I’s return to the south, Nellore and its dependencies passed into the hands of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Virarājendrā Chōla, who is identical with the last Chōla emperor Rājendra III,4 and who apparently held the territory as a subordinate of the Pāṇḍyan monarch. The inscriptions of Jáṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I at Nandalūr and Tirupati show that the eastern half of the Cuddapah district as well as the Chittoor district were also annexed by him.5 The Kalukaḍa chiefs Kēsava-dēva and his brother Rāyamurāri Sōmideva, sons of Rāyadeva Mahārāja whom Gaṅgaya Sāhīni had previously fought with and subdued, encouraged probably by the Pāṇḍyas, forswore their allegiance and proclaimed their independence. They made their way into the Kāyastha territory and succeeded in reducing a large part of it. Though in his inscriptions dated Ś. 1186 and Ś. 1191 Gaṅdapendēra Jannigadeva is said to have been then ruling the territory extending from Pāṇugal to Kaivāratikōta in the Kolar district, this


3 AR, No. 365 of 1913.

4 V. Venkayya is of opinion that this Virarājendrā Chōla is a different person from the Chōla emperor of the same name (IA, xxxvii (1909), p. 356). The chronological data furnished by his inscriptions, in which the Saṅka years 1174, 1178, 1185 are coupled respectively with his 9th, 13th, and 20th regnal years, show that he came to the throne in Saṅka 1165, that is A.D. 1243–4; and though he appears to have begun his reign some three years before the date of accession assigned to the Chōla emperor Rājendra III, yet the fact that he is mentioned as the overlord both of the Telugu Chōla chief Tikka I and of his son Munuma Siddhi II would seem to indicate that Virarājendrā Chōla and Rājendrā Chōla III are in fact identical (Nellore Inscriptions, G. 39, 85, 90; U. 48).

5 AR, 613 of 1907; TTDI, i, Nos. 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.
assertion is contradicted by the records of the two Kalukaḍa chieftains. It is stated in an epigraph at Ellāreḍḍipalle in the Kamalapur tāluk of the Cuddapah district, dated Prabhava corresponding to Ś. 1189 (A.D. 1267–8), that Bhujabala Viranārāyaṇa Sōmēśvaradeva Mahārāja, who is the Sōmidēva mentioned above, was at that time in control of the districts of Muliki 300, Horinnaḍi (Honnavāḍi) 90, and Penḍekallu 800 from the Kāyastha capital Vallūripaṭṭāṇam. Another inscription at Chintalaputtur in the Cuddapah tāluk of the Cuddapah district, dated Vibhava corresponding to Ś. 1190 (A.D. 1268–9), bears testimony to the rule of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras Murāri Kēśavadeva Mahārāja and Sōmidēva Mahārāja, the lords of Kalukaḍapura, over the Kāyastha territory at that time. If the Sōmidēva mentioned in a record at Gundluru in the Rajampet tāluk of the Cuddapah district dated Ś. 1206 is, as is very likely, identical with the Kalukaḍa chief of that name, then the Kāyastha territory must have remained under the Kalukaḍas at least until that year. The absence of any reference in the inscriptions of Tripurārīdēva and Āmbadēva, brothers and successors of Jannigadeva, to any victory over the Kalukaḍa chiefs prior to Ś. 1194 (A.D. 1272) seems to point in the same direction.

The most serious danger which threatened to subvert the Kākatiya monarchy came, however, from the west. The Sēṇa Mahādēva who succeeded his cousin Kṛiṣṇa in A.D. 1260 appears to have invaded the Kākatiya kingdom soon after his accession to the throne. In some of his inscriptions Mahādēva is said to have been ‘the uprooter of the stalk of the lotus of the head of Tilliṅgāryā’; he is also said to have ‘blown away like a tempestuous wind the heap of cotton, viz. the ruler of the Tilliṅga country’, and to have ‘captured in battle the elephants, and the five musical instruments of the ruler of Tilliṅga’; but to have left that ruler Rudrama free, ‘because of his reluctance to kill a woman’. These statements cannot possibly be accepted at their face value since they are clearly one-sided and, to say the least, highly exaggerated. In the first place, Mahādēva never in fact killed any ruler of the Tilliṅga country, as his title Teluṅgārya-sirah-kamala-mūlōṭpāṭana appears to suggest; for Rudrāṁbhā, his contemporary on the Āndhra throne, actually survived him for several years. The title was, as a matter of fact, hereditary; it had its origin in Jaiṭūga I’s victory over Kākati Rudra in A.D. 1196; and it was borne by at least one Sēṇa king before Mahādēva ever came to the throne. His invasion of the Kākatiya kingdom was, however, a fact; it was an attack which, though successful at first, seems to have ended, entirely contrary to the statement in the Sēṇa records, in utter failure; for according to the Pratāpa-

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1 AR, 530 and 572 of 1909; SII, x, 402 and 422.
3 AR, 622 of 1909.
4 AR, 168 and 248 of 1905; SII, x, 431 and 432.
5 Hemādri-Pratākhaṇḍa, Rājapraśasti I, vv. 48 and 52; see Bombay Gazetteer, vol. ii, i, p. 273.
6 EC, vii, Sk. 95.
charitra Mahādevarāja did indeed invade the Kākatiya kingdom and laid siege to the capital, Warangal; but Queen Rudrāmbā fought him valiantly for fifteen days during which she destroyed three lakhs of the Śeṇa infantry and a lakh of cavalry. In the end she completely defeated him in a battle fought under the walls of the fort and put him to flight, pursuing the retreating Śeṇa forces up to the walls of their capital Dēvagiri. Unable to oppose her advance, Mahādeva sued for peace and, agreeing to pay a crore of gold coins as war indemnity, he concluded a treaty with her. Rudrāmbā distributed the money thus obtained among the commanders of her army, and after setting up a pillar of victory returned to her own kingdom.¹ This account of the Śeṇa invasion seems at any rate to embody substantial elements of fact. The vast numbers of Śeṇa infantry and cavalry said to have been slain by Rudrāmbā in the battle may doubtless be dismissed as exaggeration; but the epigraphic and numismatic evidence available bears witness to the essentially authentic character of the narrative of the Pratāpacharitra. Two interesting facts so far ignored by scholars may be taken into consideration in this context. An inscription found at Pānugal in the Nalgonda district of the old Hyderabad State and dated Ś. 1189 (A.D. 1267) registers a gift of land to the temple of the Chhāyā-Somanātha of that place by Śrāṅgapāṇidēva, son of the Śeṇa king, Siṅghaṇa, a subordinate of Kākatiya Manuma-Rudradēva, who is Rudrāmbā.² We also learn from another epigraph at Hirē-Kōgilūr in the Channagiri tāluk of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State dated Ś. 1190 (A.D. 1268) that this Śrāṅgapāṇidēva was the father of Mahādeva.³ The fact that Śrāṅgapāṇidēva, the father of Mahādeva, was compelled to accept service under Rudrāmbā and enrol himself as one of her vassals clearly indicates that the Śeṇa king must have suffered a defeat, and thus the account in the Pratāpacharitra is confirmed. Evidently Śrāṅgapāṇidēva, who had probably seized the fort of Pānugal during the invasion, was unwilling to surrender it and return to his native country even after the defeat and subsequent retreat of his son. Having realized that under these circumstances it would be impossible for him to exercise independent authority there, he appears to have decided to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kākatiya queen and to pay homage to her as one of her vassals in order to retain the fort in his possession.

The buried treasure which was unearthed in 1922 at Rāchapaṭṭam in the Kaikalur tāluk of this Krishna district throws further interesting light on this

¹ Śāvita-prachārini-granthamāla (Warangal), No. 3, pp. 40–41.
² Corpus, No. 54.
³ EC, vii. The inscription which traces the descent of Mahādeva is of immense interest.

Svasti Śrī Śāmavatītattvadayaṁtī nṛpatiṁ jaiśurīrī-bhīṣmatī jātī-va Bhilam-adhyāt-ttadamo viṣayatī
Siṅghaṇa-Çakravarti tasmāt Śrāṅgapaṇiḥ prati nṛpati-maha-brāha viḍrāvakā-yaṁ vṝtta Śrī Mahādeva-Śrī nṛpatiṁ pratitīkṣāya akṝmaṁ ākṝmaṁ.

As the Śrāṅgapaṇi mentioned in this verse never ascended the Śeṇa throne and as Krishnapāṇi Kannara who succeeded his grandfather Siṅghaṇa is ignored altogether, it is obvious that the object of the composer of the pratātīti embodied in this record is to trace Mahādeva's descent and not to enumerate the names of rulers who preceded him on the throne.
subject. This find consisted of forty-three of the gold coins known as padma-
añkas bearing the legends Śiṅghana, Kāngha, Mahādēva, and Śrī Rāma in the Dēvanāgarī script. Attempts have been made on the evidence of these coins to build up a theory supporting the existence of Śeṣuṇa rule over the coastal Āndhra country at this time. Any such theory is, however, utterly untenable. No territorial claims can be put forward on the evidence of the place where the treasure trove has been found. Coins are remarkably migratory; they often travel vast distances from the places where they were minted. And it is in fact by no means unlikely that the hoard of Śeṣuṇa coins discovered at Rāchapaṭam actually represents a part of the money which Rudrāñbā, according to the Pratāpacharitra, received from Mahādēva as war indemnity and distributed among the officers of her army.

Very early in her reign Rudrāmādēvi seems to have recovered a part of the territory conquered by the Pāṇḍyas in the course of their invasion in A.D. 1263. Though no definite information is at present available about the events which took place at this time, yet the provenance of the inscriptions of Rudrāmādēvi and her subordinates in the eastern part of the Cuddapah and Nellore districts bears ample testimony to the triumph of the Kākatiya arms in this region. An epigraph at Nandālūr in the Rajampeta tāluk of the Cuddapah district registering a gift to the temple of Saumyanāṭhasvāmi at that place by Nāgarāja, the pradhāni of the Gandāpēndēra Jannigadevā, shows that the Kāyasthas had displaced the Pāṇḍyas in that neighbourhood as early as Ś. 1186 Raktākshi (A.D. 1264); another record at Aṭḷūru in the Siddhavatam tāluk of the same district dated Ś. 1190 Prabhava (A.D. 1268) indicates that the Kāyastha success was not temporary but involved the permanent dislodgement of the Pāṇḍyas from that area. This second inscription is unfortunately damaged, and the name of the chieftain at whose instance it was set up is lost; but the titles, Mandalika brahmārakṣasa, and Gandapendēra coupled with the date of the record leave no room for doubt that the ruler mentioned in it was in fact none other than Jannigadevā.

Vīra Rājēndra Chōla who, as we have seen, was ruling at Nellore from Ś. 1185 to 1190 (A.D. 1263–8) was ousted from power by a certain Mahā-
manḍalēśwara Nāgadevā Mahārāja, a vassal of Rudrādēva Mahārāja, who is Rudrāmādēvi. Evidently Rudrāmādēvi had effected the conquest of Nellore and the surrounding territory, and had placed Nāgadevā Mahārāja in charge of its government. His rule lasted there for a period of five years from Ś. 1193 to 1197 (A.D. 1271–5), at the end of which time he was compelled to retire northwards into the southern marches of Kamma-nādu, where he

3 Hoards of Roman coins have been discovered in several places in South India; similarly E. Chālukyan coins bearing the legend Chālukya Chandra (Saktivarman I) have been unearthed in Burma. It would be ridiculous to argue on the evidence of these that the authority of the Roman emperors or of Saktivarman I extended over South India and Burma respectively.
4 AR, 610 of 1907.
5 AR, 1 of 1939–40.
continued as governor at Maṇikēśvaram and in its neighbourhood in the Ongole tāluk of the Guntur district until Ś. 1202 (A.D. 1280).\(^1\) It would appear that he was displaced by Tribhuvanachakravarti Irumaḍī (Immaḍī) Tirukāḷattidēva, or Tirukāḷattidēva II, of whom a record dated in his second regnal year, corresponding to Ś. 1201 (A.D. 1279), was found at Maḍamanur in the Gudur tāluk less than twenty miles to the south of Nellore.\(^2\) He was the eldest son of Manuma Siddhi II,\(^3\) the Telugu Chōla king of Nellore who suffered death on the battlefield of Muttukūr during the Pāṇḍyan invasion in A.D. 1263. His antecedents are, however, completely unknown to us. How he managed to expel the Kākatīya governor from Nellore and to reoccupy his ancestral territory cannot be ascertained definitely in the present state of knowledge. Though his title Tribhuvanachakravarti is suggestive of independent status, he was probably no more than an instrument in the hands of some external power hostile to the Kākatīyas and cherishing designs on the Nellore country. An interesting fact which has so far escaped the attention of historians may well be noticed here. Irumaḍī Tirukāḷattidēva’s attack on Nellore synchronized with Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpālā’s invasion of the Kāyatsha dominions, as is shown by an epigraph at Nandalūr dated in his 29th regnal year (A.D. 1278–9).\(^4\) We may remind ourselves at this point that the whole of the Gudur tāluk of the Nellore district and parts of the Chittoor district comprising Kālahasti and Tirupati were included in Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpālā’s possessions.\(^5\) It is not unlikely that Tirukāḷattidēva’s attack on Nellore was somehow connected with Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpālā’s invasion of the Kāyatsha territory. How long after Ś. 1201 (A.D. 1279) Irumaḍī Tirukāḷattidēva continued to rule at Nellore is not known; his rule probably lasted until Ś. 1204, when he was succeeded by Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla, obviously another Telugu Chōla chief, whose relationship with Irumaḍī, however, cannot be determined owing to the lack of any evidence.

Arnbadēva: Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla’s attack on the Kāyatsha dominion was not perhaps an isolated act of aggression; probably it was part of an organized attempt made by the Pāṇḍyas to recover the territory recently taken from them by the Kākatīya queen and her Kāyatsha feudatories. Beside Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, Köpperuṇjiṅga and other Pāṇḍyan feudatories joined the expedition and marched against the Kāyatsha country under the command of Kulaśēkhara who had come to power in A.D. 1268. The attack naturally brought them into conflict with Arnbadēva, the ambitious and powerful Kāyatsha chief, who had succeeded his brother Tripurāridēva I in A.D. 1272. He seems to have

\(^{1}\) NI, O. 75.
\(^{2}\) NI, G. 45.
\(^{3}\) JTA, xvii, pp. 223; AR. 213 of 1893; SII, iv, 661.
\(^{4}\) AR, No. 423 of 1911.
\(^{5}\) NI, G. 57, 67, 69, 74, 75, 80, 91, 116; s. 3, 8, and 19. The latest regnal year quoted in these records is the 27th (A.D. 1276–7) (G. 80). The Tirupati inscriptions are mostly fragmentary and undated (TDI, i, Nos. 59 (9th year), 61 (4th year), 63, 67, 68, 69, 72, 76, 77 and 79).
resolved almost at the very outset of his career to resuscitate the fortunes of his family, which were then at a low ebb, and to carve out an independent kingdom for himself. In pursuance of these two objects, he was constantly engaged in warfare with his neighbours during his long reign of thirty-two years. Arhbadēva would seem to have forsworn his allegiance to the Kākatiya queen almost from the very beginning of his rule, since no mention is made of an overlord in any of his inscriptions. His achievements are fully set forth in an epigraph at Tripurāntakam dated Ś. 1212 Vikūti (A.D. 1290).¹ In the first part of the inscription, which is entirely in Sanskrit verse, Arhbadēva is said to have conquered a chief of the name of Śrīpati Gaṇapati and to have assumed the title Rāyasahasramalla which had been borne by him; he is also said to have cut off the heads of seventy-five kings, to have beheaded Ėruva Mallidēva in battle, and assisted by twelve kshōṇī-māṇḍalikas, to have put to flight Kēśava together with Sōmidēva and Allugaṅga; he killed Mallikārjuna, the enemy of gods and brāhmans; he gave his daughter in marriage to Rājaṇa, the son of king Bollaya, and conferred on him, probably as a marriage portion, the territory in the neighbourhood of Nandanapura; he also defeated all the Andhra kings and thereby acquired fame, and he re-established Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla who had been deprived of his kingship by his own followers at Vikramasīthapura (Nellore); and finally he churned the ocean of his enemies from which he obtained troops of horses and elephants, wealth, and immortal renown as well as the Pāṇḍya-kalpa-drums or wish-yielding trees, that is to say the (five) Pāṇḍyas. The long praśasti in Sanskrit prose forming the second part of the record enumerates several birudas or titles of Arhbadēva, some of which are important because they refer to real events which actually took place during the course of his career. Of these the titles (1) Rāyasahasramalla (the wrestler with thousand kings), (2) Ėruva-Mallidēvani-tala-gondu-gaṇḍa (the hero who had taken the head of Ėruva Mallidēva), (3) Praty-anika-prāśādāyamaṇa-Kulaśēkhara-gaṇḍa (the hero who vanquished Kulaśēkhara who made the opposing army his own palace), (4) Dēvagiri-rāya prasthātpita-prabhritamani-kanaka-bhūkṣaṇa (he who is adorned with ornaments of gold and gems sent as gifts by the king of Dēvagiri), (5) Mallikārjuna-saptāṅga-haṇaṇa (consecrator of the seven constituent members of Mallikārjuna’s royalty), (6) Kāḍavārya-vidvannasana (destroyer of the Kāḍava king), and (7) Ati Pāṇḍava-Parākama-Pāṇḍya-rājaya-prīya-prēṣhita chaṇḍa vētanda Vainatēya-jāmpaṅghāla-turanga-sārtha-virajamāṇa samipōshita-sauhārda (he whose friendship is nourished by the fierce elephants and the horses fleet as Vainatēya (that is Garuḍa) sent with affection by the (five) Pāṇḍya kings who have surpassed the Pāṇḍavas in valour) deserve particular attention. They not only confirm some of the statements made in the earlier part of the inscription but also furnish much fresh information which finds no place in it. The information contained in this record is of immense importance, since it throws considerable light on

¹ AR, 268 of 1905; SII, x, 465, 599.
certain events of the reign of Rudrāmbā which had previously been shrouded in obscurity. The chronological sequence in which they occurred cannot, however, be ascertained with perfect certainty, though it is not altogether impossible to determine it roughly from the data which we find in other records of the period.

Arbadēva seems to have come very early in his career into conflict with the Kākatiya feudatories who owed allegiance to the queen. The first enemy whom he vanquished, according to the Tripūrantakam epigraph mentioned above, was a chief named Śrīpati Gaṇapati who bore the title Rāya-sahasramalla. From the fact that he is spoken of as ‘Gurindāla-Gaṇadhīpa’ in Arbadēva’s Nilagāṅgavaram inscription, it may be surmised that he was the ruler of Gurindāla, that is Gurijāla in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district. This is confirmed by the evidence of another inscription at Mutukār in the neighbourhood of Gurijāla dated S. 1190 Vibhava (A.D. 1268) in which it is stated that Śrīpati Gaṇapati was then ruling at Gurindāla, obviously as a vassal of Rudradēva Mahārāja (Rudrāmbā); for according to another inscription engraved on the same stone on the same day, the local Vira Balāṅja community had at the same time made a gift to a temple in the village on behalf of the queen. Evidently Queen Rudrāmbā and Śrīpati Gaṇapati were both ruling over the district at the time, the former as sovereign lady and the latter as her vassal. The title (Rāya) sahasramalla which Śrīpati Gaṇapati bore throws light on the past history of this leader. It would appear to have appertained originally to a certain Mahādevvarāja who was ruling over a part of Palnāḍu in S. 1170 Kilaka (A.D. 1258). The designation of Rāya-dāṇḍādhipati which he bore in addition to the title sahasramalla seems to show that he had once held a command in the royal army under Gaṇapati. Mahādevvarāja was probably one of the recalcitrant Kākatiya nobles who had opposed Rudrama-devi’s coronation. It is not unlikely that Śrīpati Gaṇapati, who was loyal to the queen, took up her cause and attacked and defeated him, and that he then appropriated his enemy’s title as well as his estate. The circumstances in which he came into conflict with Arbadēva are not known. But he was certainly worsted in the battle which took place in A.D. 1273 and Arbadēva then seized his possessions and appropriated his title as a token of his own victory. Arbadēva’s victory over Śrīpati Gaṇapati led of course to his conflict with the Kākatiya queen. She seems to have sent a powerful army against him and to have made an unsuccessful attempt to put down his rebellion; for the seventy-five princes whose heads he claims to have cut off in battle are without doubt the seventy-five nāyaks in her service. It must not, however, be supposed that Arbadēva was actually involved in a fight with all the seventy-five nāyaks whom he is said to have put to death by cutting off their heads.

1 EI, xxv, 227. 2 AR, 87 and 87-A of 1929–30. 3 AR, 91 of 1929–30. 4 AR, 168 of 1905; SII, x, 432. Arbadēva is referred to in this inscription as Śrīman-mahā-sahasramalla-mandakalīvara, &c.
Ambadēva's claim of success is expressed in exaggerated language and must not be taken literally. The seventy-five nāyaks in this context should doubtless be understood as representing the whole of the Kāinatiya army and the cutting off of their heads perhaps really means no more than that he was in fact victorious over them.

Some time after his victory over the Kāinatiya army Ambadēva concerted measures to reconquer the ancestral territories of his family which had been under the occupation of the Kalukaḍa chiefs ever since the Pāṇḍyan invasion in A.D. 1263. Although the Kalukaḍas were strongly supported by their ally and kinsman, Allu Gaṅga the Telugu Chōla ruler of Jagatāpi Gutti, now Gutti in the Anantapur district in the Āndhra Pradesh, they seem to have felt that they could not by themselves successfully withstand the Kāyastha attack and therefore sought the help of the Pāṇḍyas who were at this time masters of the whole of South India. In response to his request, Vijaya-Gaṅḍagopāla and Kōpperuṇjīga were commissioned by the Pāṇḍyas, as recorded above, to march with their forces to the north and to help the Kalukaḍa princes to defend their possessions. They set out with their troops in A.D. 1278–9 and reached the frontier in due course. They seem to have met Ambadēva’s army somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nandalūr. In the engagement that followed they suffered a defeat; Kōpperuṇjīga was killed,1 and Vijaya-Gaṅḍagopāla withdrew into his own kingdom where he seems to have died during the course of the same year. Soon after this victory, an opportunity presented itself to Ambadēva which enabled him to extend his sway as far as Nellore in the east. Manuma-Gaṅḍagopāla, obviously a prince of the Telugu Chōla lineage, who had been driven out of his kingdom by his followers, sought his help. He immediately marched to Nellore at the head of his army, and having put down Manuma-Gaṅḍagopāla’s enemies re-established him on his throne. The date of Ambadēva’s intervention in the affairs of Nellore is not definitely known. It took place probably in A.D. 1282, in which year, according to the evidence of Manuma-Gaṅḍagopāla’s inscriptions, he began his reign.2

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1 In his Tripurāntakam inscription dated Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290) (AR, 268 of 1905; SII, x, 465) Ambadēva claims to have slain the Kādavarāya (Kādavarāya-viṭhwanisana). The term viṭhwanisana has been taken to mean defeat; and the event is said to have taken place in Ś. 1184 (A.D. 1261–2 (?)) during Kōpperuṇjīga’s inroad into Vēṅgli (SII, xii, Introd. xiii, n. 10). Now the term viṭhwanisana does not denote defeat as it is supposed to do here, but rather destruction, ruin, or death. Ambadēva succeeded his brother Tripurāṅgopāla only in A.D. 1272 and nothing is known of him, as far as the available evidence goes, before that date. It is not therefore reasonable to suppose that Ambadēva, some ten years before his accession, met Kōpperuṇjīga in battle at Vēṅgli and inflicted a defeat on him. The incident could have taken place only after Ambadēva came to power and indeed during Vijaya-Gaṅḍagopāla’s invasion in A.D. 1278–9; and as this also happens to have been the last year of Kōpperuṇjīga’s rule, his death in the battle with Ambadēva seems to be more than probable.

2 An inscription of Manuma-Gaṅḍagopāla at Koḍaḷalūr, in the Kouvū tāluk of the Nellore district (NI, N. 31, p. 794) couples Ś. 1206 with his 3rd regnal year. It is evident that the initial year of his rule began in Ś. 1204 (A.D. 1282–3).
The Pāṇḍyas did not, however, give up their designs on the Kāyastha dominions. The defeat of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla and Aṃbadēva's interference in the internal politics of the kingdom of Nellore spurred them on to make a fresh effort to reconquer the southern Āndhra country and to crush the Kāyastha ruler who was causing so much trouble on their northern frontier. The Pāṇḍyan army led by Jāṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc. A.D. 1276), Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. A.D. 1270),1 and Māravarman Kulaśēkharā (acc. A.D. 1268) marched into Pottapināḍu in A.D. 1282-3, while Aṃbadēva was probably still busy with the affairs of Nellore, as is shown by an inscription of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya dated in his 13th regnal year, at Lēpāka in the Rajampet tāluk of the Cuddapah district.2 An epigraph at Guṇḍāḷuru in the same locality dated Ś. 1284 Tārāṇa (A.D. 1282-3) of Sōmidēva, the brother obviously of Kēśavādēva of Kalukada, leaves no room for doubt that the Kalukena chiefs joined the invaders.3 The provenance of the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions in the Lēpāka-Nandālūr region shows that the rule of the Pāṇḍyas in this part of the country lasted for about five years during which time Piḷḷai Pallavarāya of Tuṇjaḷūr in the Pāṇḍya-mandalam was in charge of its administration.4 No definite information is available about Aṃbadēva's activities during this period. As a matter of fact he is not represented by a single inscription between the dates Ś. 1194 (A.D. 1272-3) and Ś. 1209. But curiously enough an epigraph at Akkāreddipalli in the Badvel tāluk of the Cuddapah district dated Ś. 1203 Svabhānu (A.D. 1283) refers to Gaṇḍapenḍēva Tripurāridēva Mahārāja as the ruling monarch and records the construction of a temple of Śiva by Gaurēvarabāyamāṅgārū for the worship of Gōśtriṅgeśvara enshrined therein.5 His relationship with Aṃbadēva and the circumstances in which he came to 'rule the earth' in the middle of Aṃbadēva's reign are not easy to understand. The Government epigraphist is inclined to believe that he was identical with Aṃbadēva's elder brother, though it is equally possible that he may have been his son and successor Tripurāri II.6 It may also be noted here that about this time Aṃbadēva lost the Ēruva country which he had to reconquer a few years later. He very probably came into conflict with the Pāṇḍyas and was defeated by them, as a consequence of which disorders broke out in his dominions and he temporarily lost control over the government. However that may be, it is certain that Aṃbadēva gathered his forces together and attacked the Pāṇḍyas in A.D. 1286, and that he inflicted a defeat on Māravarman Kulaśēkharā who had come to oppose him at the head of a powerful army, as a consequence of which the elephants and horses and all the equipment in the Pāṇḍyan camp fell into his hands.7 The Pāṇḍyas then appear to have retired from the Kāyastha territory, leaving

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1 Sewell, HI, p. 379.
2 AR, 425 of 1911. See Sewell, HI, p. 379, ARE, 1922, p. 92, for the date of the accession of the king.
3 AR, 622 of 1907.
4 AR, 590, 591, 592, 593, and 614 of 1907.
5 AR, 26 of 1941-2.
6 ARE, 1939-40 to 1942-43, ii, para. 76.
7 AR, 268 of 1905; SII, x, 463; EI, xxv.
Ambadēva free to deal with his other enemies. He first turned against the Kalukaḍa chiefs, Kēśavadeva and Śomīdēva, and having vanquished them in battle together with their ally Allu Gangā, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Jagāṭīpi Gutti, won back from them all the Kāyastha country including the capital Vallūrupaṭṭanā which had been in their possession ever since the Pāṇḍya invasion of A.D. 1263. He made Vallūrupaṭṭanā the headquarters of his government and strengthened and occupied Gaṇḍikōṭa-Manōrathapura, a strong hill-fort which commands the gorge through which the river Pennār forces its way into the plains below. Having thus destroyed the power of the Kalukaḍa chiefs and their allies and made himself master of the territories under their rule, Ambadēva next proceeded against Manu-Malliddēva, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Ėruva, who appears to have still defied his authority. Though two records of Manu-Mallidēva, both dated probably in Ś. 1189 Prabhava (A.D. 1267–8), are found at Tripurāntakam, they do not mention an overlord or reveal his political affiliations. Very probably he was a Kākatiya vassal owing allegiance to Rudrāṁbā and perhaps it was his loyalty to the queen that brought him into conflict with Ambadēva. Manu-Mallidēva could not withstand Ambadēva’s power, and in the conflict which followed between them he was killed and his possessions passed into the hands of the victor. After thus reducing Ėruva, Ambadēva proceeded against Peṇḍekallu (Peṇḍakallu), a tract of country comprising the old Bangānipalle State and the Dhone taluk of the Kurnool district which lay in its neighbourhood to the west. To ensure the success of his enterprise, Ambadēva formed an alliance with a chief named Bollaya and to strengthen the bonds of friendship bestowed on Bollaya’s son Rājananda the hand of his daughter together with the territory adjoining Nandanapura (Nandavaram in the Bangānipalle State) as her dowry. Ambadēva’s attack on Peṇḍekallu did not go unchallenged. Queen Rudrāṁbā seems to have sent an army to oppose his advance and frustrate his attempt. The princes of the whole of the Āndhra country who, according to his Tripurāntakam inscription, met him in battle somewhere in that neighbourhood were without doubt her feudatories; but in the combat which followed Ambadēva was successful; ‘he vanquished’, in the language of the inscription, ‘all the kings of Āndhra and acquired glory’. As a result of this victory the whole of Peṇḍekallu up to the river Krishṇā passed into his hands, and he became the master of an extensive kingdom. Ambadēva was then at the height of his power. According to an inscription dated Ś. 1209 Sarvajit (A.D. 1287) found at Attirāla in the Rajampet taluk of the Cuddapah district, he ruled from his capital Vallūrupaṭṭanā at that time all the countries of Gaṇḍikōṭa, Mulikināḍu, Rēṇāḍu, Peṇḍekallu, Sakili, Ėruva, and Pottapināḍu. His authority extended probably as far west as Gutti in the Anantapur district. One of the verses in the Tripurāntakam inscription seems almost to

1 AR, 189 and 190 of 1905; SII, x, 417 and 418.
2 AR, 268 of 1905; SII, x, 465.
3 AR, 406 of 1911; SII, x, 448.
suggest that the fort was under his protection.¹ He was served by a circle of twelve vassal princes and the rulers of the neighbouring states dispatched to his court elephants, horses, costly jewels, and other valuable gifts.²

The good fortune which had smiled on Ambadēva since the beginning of his career deserted him in the latter part of his reign. The tide at last turned against him. He met in Kumāra Rudradēva, the heir apparent to the Kākatiya throne, a foe who proved more than a match for him. Kumāra Rudradēva was a grandson of Rudramadēvi—the son of her daughter Mummaḍamma and her husband Mahādēva—whom she had adopted as her son and appointed as heir apparent.³ By the time that Ambadēva succeeded his elder brother Tripūrāri I in A.D. 1272, Kumāra Rudradēva appears to have been fully adult. According to one tradition preserved in the Telugurajula-charitramu, he was born in Ś. 1166 (obviously a mistake for Ś. 1176) Ananda (A.D. 1254).⁴ This is not unlikely, since he is mentioned in the Mālkapuram inscription of Rudramadēvi, dated Ś. 1183 Durmati (A.D. 1261).⁵ Ever since he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, he had made the rehabilitation of the kingdom his sole aim, and to achieve his purpose, had, if tradition can be depended on, reorganized the military force of the kingdom and had strengthened the nāyankara system which appears to have lost its vigour and efficiency during the previous administration. Ambadēva was not unaware of the danger threatening the security of his kingdom, and he took necessary steps to defend his possessions as soon as the danger took a concrete shape. Considering that his army, notwithstanding its strength and its tradition of continuous victory on several fields of battle, was unequal to coping with the Kākatiya forces, he entered into an alliance with the Senuṇas and the Pāṇḍyas, the hereditary foes of the Kākatiyas. The former, according to his Tripūrāntakam and Nilagāṅgavaram inscriptions dated Ś. 1212 Vikṛiti (A.D. 1290–1), merely sent him only presents of golden jewels set with gems presumably intended as tokens of their goodwill; but the latter showed their friendship by the dispatch of fierce elephants and fleet-footed horses as auxiliary forces to his assistance.⁶ This is corroborated by the evidence of three inscriptions at Nandalūr, one dated in the 15th and the other two in the 17th regnal year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II corresponding respectively to (Ś. 1208)

¹ SII, x, 465. Dārpanahā saṁbhrites jaga-treyapa-ugptim-danam
Dharmasya harasyam-siva janagamam—Ambadēvanā
Ā-Chandramā cha Ravi raktatamu Mūru-dhamam
Gaurisāvavī irita-todatu Tripura-pramāthī.

Jaga-treyapa-ugpti is obviously a Sanskritization of the vernacular name Jagatāpi Gotti.

² Ibid.

³ Praṭāparudra-nathāhām (Nāyaka Prakaraṇam).

⁴ JAHRS, vi, 168.

⁵ AR, 94 of 1917; SII, x, 391:
Śrī Viśvarūpa-dālīkandra-śiva-(śrī)-hastāva' si dārś-vikramaṁ
Trikṣaṇāśa-jagādahārṇa-pratibhā-pradhvaniṁ-jainmūttaṁ
Yataśā Kākati-rathropa-muṅkuṁya-vaṇṇam(ik) Śrī Rudradēvaṁ-
Tusamā kṣetram kathāmāva rivandhammanā Śrī Rudradēvāya paramāṁ.

⁶ AR, 268 of 1905; SII, x, 465; EL, xxv, pp. 270 f.
Vyaya, and (Ś. 1214) Nandana (A.D. 1279–92), which seem to indicate the presence of friendly Pândyan troops in the Kāyastha dominions.  

When Kumāra Rudrādeva, having completed his preparations for war, felt that he could take the field confident of victory, he proceeded most carefully to draw up his plans for the invasion. He was well aware that an attack upon Ambadēva would also involve him in a war with his allies, and it was his object to isolate Ambadēva from these allies and so to deal with each of them separately. Keeping this object in view, he concerted measures to launch a three-pronged attack on Ambadēva’s territories and at the same time to dispatch separate expeditions against his allies. In A.D. 1291 Queen Rudrāmbā set out for Tripurāntakam to attack Ambadēva, accompanied by a large army under Manuma-Gannaya, son of Kolani Sōmamantri, and his cousin Annaya-dēva, son of Indulūri Peda Gannayamantri. No details of the ensuing conflict are recorded. It is, however, certain that Ambadēva was defeated and retreated southwards into Mulinkinaḍu; for according to the Śivayōgasāram the Kolani and Indulūri chiefs mentioned above, inspired by the valiant leadership of Rudramadēvi, dispersed the dispositions of the enemy’s forces, and captured seventy-two forts during a single onslaught. As a result of this victory, Tripurāntakam and the surrounding country passed into the hands of Rudramadēvi, who concerted measures for re-establishing her authority firmly over the district. The exact date of the reconquest of the region is not definitely known; but a comparative study of the various Kāyastha and Kākatiya inscriptions found in the locality points to the middle of A.D. 1291 as the probable time when it was effected. The attack on Cheṣaku Rājanaṇḍra by the Chālukyan chief, Tāta Pinnama, ancestor of the later Āreviḍu family, which took place at this time, was apparently connected with Rudramadēvi’s Tripurāntakam expedition. Rājanaṇḍra was probably a vassal and ally of Ambadēva; he is referred to in the Telugu Dvipada Bālabhagavatam of Donēru Kōněrunātha as perpetrator of all kinds of evil deeds. Tāta Pinnama appears to have been a contemporary of Kumāra Rudrādeva; and it is not unlikely that he proceeded against the Cheṣaku chief at the instance of Rudrādeva and put an end to his evil career. It is interesting to note that the Cheṣakus who make their appearance in the inscriptions in the Nandikotkur

1. AR, nos. 190, 594, and 588 of 1907.
2. Śivayōgasāram. Part I. Introduction:
Akavamina vaṇu ripula
Vyūhamūbulu badalu-parachisyokkaṭa-ganarē
Bāhattari-durgambulu
Śiḥatulai Rudramamāmbha lauryamū cattanam.
3. The latest record of Ambadēva at Tripurāntakam (AR, 173 of 1905; SII, x, 466) is dated on Wednesday, șu. di. 15, Nija (Adhika-?)-Āśādha, Khara, Ś. 1213 (Wednesday, 13 June, A.D. 1291). The earliest Kākatiya inscription, which is that of Indulūra Annaya(Annaladēva (AR, 238 of 1905, SII, x, 467) and of Manuma-Gannaya (AR, 239 of 1905), is dated on Ma. (Mandavāra) at the time of the lunar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa, Khara Ś. 1213 (Saturday, 11 August, A.D. 1291). It is obvious that Tripurāntakam and its neighbourhood must have changed hands between 13 June and 11 August, A.D. 1291.
4. Bhāruti, vi, 848.
tāluk of the Kurnool district from 1212 Śaka (A.D. 1290-1) onwards invariably figure as vassals of the Kākatiya monarch owing allegiance to Kumāra Rudradēva (or Pratāparudradēva as he had come to be generally known by this time). The earliest record of the Cheṛaku family is found at Malyāla in the Nandikotkur tāluk of the Kurnool district and is dated Ś. 1212 Vikṛiti; it refers to Rudradēva, son of Mahāśāmanta Cheṛaku Bollaya Reḍḍi as a feudatory of Kākati Rudrakumāra, who is Kumāra Rudradēva.¹ This chieftain is very probably identical with Rācha Rudradēva, son of Mahāśāmanta Cheṛaku Vēḷūru Bollaya Reḍḍi, who is mentioned as a vassal of Kākati Pratāparudradēva in another inscription found at Liṅgāla in the same tāluk and district and dated Ś. 1213 Nandana (A.D. 1293).² Though it is tempting to identify Rāja Rudradēva with Rājanarēndra, the enemy of Tāta Pinnama, the available evidence does not lend itself to any definite conclusion about this. For the present, the connexion of Rājanarēndra with the Cheṛaku chiefs mentioned above must remain uncertain, though all these notables were undoubtedly members of the same family.

While Rudramadēvi and Tāta Pinnama were engaging Āṃbadēva and the Cheṛakus in the west, Āḍidam Mallu, the sakala-sēṇādhipati and the right-hand man (dakshiṇa-bhujā-danda) of Pratāparudra marched southwards along the coast towards Vikramasīhinapattana (Nellore), where Manuma-Gaṅḍagōpāla, the protégé of Āṃbadēva whom he had re-established on his throne in A.D. 1282, was still ruling, with the object of preventing him from joining forces with his patron or sending him military assistance. Manuma-Gaṅḍagōpāla opposed the advance of the Kākatiya army and was killed in the encounter, whereupon Āḍidam Mallu assumed the title of Manuma-Gaṅḍagōpāla-sirahkhanda (he who cut off the head of Manuma-Gaṅḍagōpāla) as a token of his victory.³ The date of Manuma-Gaṅḍagōpāla’s encounter with the Kākatiya general and his subsequent death in the battle is not known; but since a certain Madhurāntaka Pottapi Chōḍa Raṅganātha, otherwise known as Rāja-Gaṅḍagōpāla, who succeeded him on the throne of Nellore, began his rule, as is evident from his inscriptions, in Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290), it may be confidently asserted that the Kākatiya invasion and Manuma-Gaṅḍagōpāla’s death took place in that year.

The circumstances in which Rāja-Gaṅḍagōpāla ascended the throne of Nellore are obscure. Perhaps he owed his enthronement to the support of the Kākatiya monarch. If so, the choice proved most unwise; for Rāja-Gaṅḍagōpāla showed himself to be a treacherous ally; he soon joined hands with the Pāṇḍyas and turned against his benefactor. To chastise him for his perfidy, it became necessary to send a second expedition to Nellore and this naturally led to a war with the Pāṇḍyas. The command of the army was entrusted to Manuma-Gaṅḍagōpāla, a Telugu Chōḷa feudatory of Pratāparudra—not to be confused with his namesake, the protégé of Āṃbadēva who was killed

¹ AB, 321 of 1937-8. ² Ibid., 55 of 1943-4. ³ Ibid., 179 of 1905; SII, 8, 479.
in the previous expedition—and the ruler of a tract of territory in the neighbourhood of Narasārīopēṭ in the Guntur district. When Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla approached Nellōre at the head of his army Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla and his Pändyan allies offered stout opposition to him; nevertheless they seem to have been defeated, for according to the Narasārīopēṭ inscription of Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla dated Ś. 1219 Hēvalaṁbi (A.D. 1297) he ‘drank up like the baḍabānala or submarine fire the ocean of the Drāvīḍa (Pändya) army, and Raja-Gaṇḍagōpāla and his allies too were disgraced before him’.  

Another expedition under Gōna Viṭṭhala set out about the same time, apparently from Vardhamānapura, the present Vaḍḍamānu in the Mahaboobnagar district and the headquarters of the Gōna family, and invaded the Sēnuṇ territory on the western frontier of the Kākatiya kingdom. The Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla of Narasārīopēṭ mentioned above, and Prōḷī Nāyaka, son of Nallappa Nāyaka, two chiefs who bear the respective titles of Sēnuma-kāṭaka-vēṇu-kabalaṇa-dāva-pāvaka (one who is like the wild fire enveloping the bamboos, meaning the army of the Sēnuṇas) and Sēnuma-lavāṇi-paṅkāna (a mistake for Sēnuma-hariṇa-paṅchāna, he who is as a lion to the deer, i.e. the Sēnuṇa) obviously joined the expedition and both won distinction on the field of battle. Some of the important events which had taken place during the invasion are recorded in an inscription describing his achievements set up by Gōna Viṭṭhala in the fort of Rāichūr and dated Ś. 1216 Jaya (A.D. 1294). According to this inscription, Viṭṭhala captured the forts of Ādavāni and Turbūḷam in the old Bellary district of the undivided Madras State, together with Mānuva and Hāluva in the Rāichūr doāb. After reducing to subjection the chiefs who held sway over this region, Viṭṭhala finally entered the city of Rāichūr, where he erected a strong fort to protect the country and its inhabitants from further incursions. It is obvious that Viṭṭhala must have wrested the Krishṇa-Tūṅgabhadrā doāb from the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, and taken steps to prevent its reconquest by fortifying Rāichūr, from which he could effectively control the entire region.

The expedition against the Sēnuṇas described above would appear to have been the last military enterprise of Rudramadēvi’s reign; for the queen seems to have died in Ś. 1217 (A.D. 1295), some time after the conquest of the Krishṇa-Tūṅgabhadrā doāb and the construction of the fort at Rāichūr. Rudramadēvi was undoubtedly one of the greatest of the rulers of the Āndhra country. Though a woman, she did not allow the difficulties attaching to her sex to obstruct her in the discharge of the duties of her exalted office, and by her conduct of affairs fully justified the male name Rudradēva, which her father had conferred on her. She took an active part in the government of the country; attired in male garments she daily presided over the durbar,

3 Kākatiya Samāchika, App. 35, pp. 84–85.
gave interviews to foreigners, listened to the reports of the secret service, held consultations with her ministers, generals, and other high dignitaries of state and advised all these how they should act to promote the best interests of the state. On occasions of emergency she did not hesitate to take the field in person to lead her troops against the enemy. She was not only a valiant and courageous fighter but also showed great ability as a general especially in the war with the Sēṇa king Mahādeva, who invaded her kingdom fully confident that he could easily vanquish an army led by a woman. In spite of the wars which frequently disturbed the country, her people remained contented and happy under her rule.

**Vassals, Ministers, and officials of Rudramadēvi**: The Mālyālas, the Gōnas, and Rēchērlas, the great feudatory families who played such an important part in the early history of the Kākatiyas, appear at this time to have ceased to take much active interest in the affairs of the kingdom. Although Mālyāla Gunda, who had been a general under Rudradēva (Rudrāṁbā), was alive until Ś. 1196 (A.D. 1274), he seems to have been living in retirement, taking no part in the stirring events which shook the kingdom to its foundations during the first decade of the queen’s reign. His sons and other members of his family were now interested more in the construction of temples and the excavation of irrigation tanks and canals than they were in political matters.1 The Gōnas, however, unlike the Mālyālas with whom they had intermarried, took part enthusiastically in many important military enterprises and rendered valuable help to Kumāra Rudradēva in his reconquest of the Western Āndhra country. The victories of Gōna Gannaya and his general Viṭṭhala over the Sēṇa armies in the Bellary and Raichur districts and the construction of a strong fort at Rāichūr are of special interest in this connexion. No trace of the Rēchērlas is discernible in the numerous records of the time, though a Velama family of the same name appears to have taken its place as a political influence. The part played by Prasāditya, the son of Chevvī Reḍḍī or Bēṭāla Nāyādu, the founder of this family, has already been noticed. Another member of the family was Mahāmanḍalēśvara Mummaḍi Nāyādu, son of Kontāla Nāgi Nāyādu, who held the office of sakala-sēnādhipati, supreme commander of all the forces, during the last years of Rudramadēvi’s reign.2 His exact connexion with the family of Chevvī Reḍḍī is, however, not ascertainable in the present state of our knowledge.

The Kāyasthas were without doubt the most powerful of Rudramadēvi’s feudatories. As their history has already been narrated at some length, any detailed account of it here would be superfluous. But it may be pointed out that they remained steadily true to the queen and supported her stoutly until the accession of Arinbadēva in A.D. 1272. There is reason to believe that he

1 *Corpus*, 50.

2 *AR*, 183 of 1905; *SII*, x, 471.
also did not swerve from the path of loyalty until he came to power, but rendered valuable help to his sovereign in suppressing the recalcitrant nobles and in consolidating her position on the throne. The title Rāya-sthāpanāchārya which is associated with his name in some of his inscriptions is specially significant here since it indicates unmistakably that the part played by him in the war against the nobles was by no means inconspicuous. The circumstances which finally caused his rebellion against the queen and the assertion of his independence are still extremely obscure, even although the main incidents of his eventful career are for the most part pretty clearly described in the extant records of his time.

The history of the Telugu Chōlas of Nellore who played an important part in inter-state relations owing to the situation of their kingdom at the meeting place of the Pāṇḍya, Kāyastha and the Kākatiya dominions has already been described. Notwithstanding their temporary loss of power after the death of Manuma Siddhi II in the Pāṇḍyan invasion of a.d. 1263, they eventually managed to recover their ancestral possessions as we have seen above, and Raṅganātha, otherwise known as Rāja-Gaṇḍagopāla, a grandson of Manuma Siddhi II, was ultimately successful in establishing himself on his grandfather's throne.

Several Kshatriya families ruled in Vēṅgī at this time, but their position in relation to the paramount power is difficult to make out since they never refer to any overlord in their inscriptions. The total absence in Vēṅgī of any Kākatiya records between a.d. 1262 and 1278–9 lends colour to the belief that during this period Rudrāmadēvi had lost control over the country and that the various Kshatriya families mentioned above were exercising independent authority. Two families, the Eastern Chālukyas of Niḍadavolu and the Haihayas of Kōna, deserve special notice here, not so much on account of their political importance and military strength, as because of their relationship to the Kākatiya royal family. To the Niḍadavolu clan belonged Virabhadra on whom Kākati Gaṇapatidēva bestowed the hand of his daughter Rudramadēvi in marriage. The antecedents of this prince are not clearly known, though some information is furnished in the inscriptions about his parents and family. The earliest of the epigraphs inscribed on one of the pillars in the maṇṭapa in front of the Vāsuki-Ravi Sōmēśvara temple at Juttiga, in the Tanuku taluk of the West Gōdāvarī district, is dated Ś. 1181 (a.d. 1257); it records a gift by Vishnu, the minister of that Virabhadrēśvara of the Chālukyan family who married Rudramadēvi, the daughter of the Kākati king Gaṇapati. 2 Next in point of time comes an inscription found at Pālakol in the Narasapur taluk of the same district and dated Ś. 1186 (a.d. 1264), which registers a gift by Virabhadra's mother Udayāmbā so that he might acquire an increase of religious merit. It is here stated that Virabhadra was the grand-

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1 AR, 268 of 1903; SII, x, 465.
2 AR, 74 of 1920; SII, x, 360.
son of a certain Chālukyan chief Vishnuvardhana and the son of Induśēkhara by his queen Udayānība. The identity of this Vishnuvardhana cannot, however, be established, since this name was a title borne in common at this time by almost all the princes of Eastern Chālukyan descent.

Among the vassals of Rudramadēvi there were a good many noblemen of Āre or Mahārāṣṭra origin. Several families of Āre or Mahārāṣṭra descent appear to have migrated into the Telugu country from the Western Deccan in pre-Kākatiya times, especially from the region round Kalyāni, the capital of the later Chālukyan emperors, and to have settled down in the hilly tracts on the eastern fringe of the Śrīśaila mountains which came to be known subsequently as Āre-bhūmi or Āre-vīḍu, the country or habitat of the Āres. They attached themselves to the Kākatiya kings and rendered notable service in various wars. Vanaṅga and his younger brothers Dāvula and Peddiga, who flourished in the time of Gaṇapatidēva, took part in most of his battles, and the last two perished in a sanguinary fight against unspecified enemies in or before Ś. 1171 (A.D. 1249). It may be remembered that the Āyas along with the forces of Gaṇapatidēva and Manuma Siddhi II of Nellore had opposed the Pāṇḍyas, and had suffered defeat on the battlefield of Muttokur. Among the Āre vassals of Rudramadēvi, Śāṅgapāṇidēva, the son of king Śiṅghaṇa and the father of king Mahādēva of Dēvagiri, was beyond doubt the most important of all. Two other chiefs of Āre descent deserve notice. One of them was Rāṇaka Gopaḍēvarāja, mentioned in an epigraph dated Ś. 1195 Śrīmukha (A.D. 1273) found at Guntlapādu in Palnad tāluk in the Guntur district, and who held a command in the royal army, as his designation Rāya-dāṇḍādhipati denotes. The other, Pinnama or Tātā Pinnama, the progenitor of the later Āre-vīḍu chiefs, was in all probability a dependant of Kumāra Rudradēva and was employed by him in reducing the Cheṅkak chiefs to subjection, as we stated above.

The sāmantas probably belonged to a different category. They fall into two groups, sāmantas properly so called and the mahā-sāmantas or the great sāmantas. The Kōṭagiri plates of Rudramadēvi Ś. 1195 Śrīmukha (A.D. 1273) mention Sāmanta Sūra of the Viriyāla family. Sāmanta Pōti Nāyaṇḍu, the ornament of the Durjaya-kula, is referred to in an inscription dated Ś. 1199 Bahudhānaya (A.D. 1277) at Rāvipādu in the Narasaraopet tāluk of the Guntur district. The names of several mahā-sāmantas of the Cheṅkak family occur in the records of the time. They are found governing parts of the Nandikottkur tāluk of the Kurnool district in Ś. 1212–13 (A.D. 1290–1). How the sāmantas and mahā-sāmantas differed from the vassals mentioned above, and what their

1 AR, 509-A of 1893; SII, v, 122.
2 AR, 16 of 1943-4; ARE, 1943-4 and 1944-5, Part II, para. 24.
3 AR, 361 of 1913.
4 Corpus, 54.
5 AR, 68 of 1929-30.
6 HAS, No. 6, p. 9.
7 SII, x, 442.
8 AR, 321, 322 of 1937-8; 22 of 1942-3; and 35 of 1943-4.
status, privileges, and functions were, cannot be accurately determined at present.

Several mahāpradhānas of Rudramadēvi and Kumāra Rudradēva make their appearance in the epigraphic records. Amongst these Mahāpradhāna Indulūri Annayadēva son of Gannaya deserves mention first as being related by blood to the royal family.\(^1\) Next in importance was Mahāpradhāna Pōnkala Mallaya-Preggaḍa, the bāhattara-niyig-ādhipati of the queen.\(^2\) It may be noted that he was the first minister to hold this office subsequent to the death of Gaṇḍapaṇḍēra Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi in A.D. 1258–9. The post seems to have remained unfilled during the interval for reasons not quite clear to us, and was then revived by the queen after she had become firmly established on the throne. Two other ministers, Mahāpradhāna Gaṇapaddēva Mahārāja and Mahāpradhāna Gaṅgidēva, were also in the service of the queen. Kumāra Rudradēva, like his grandmother, had his own special ministers.\(^3\) Bolla-sēnāpati, one of his mantrins, is referred to in an epigraph dated Ś. 1212 Vikriti (A.D. 1290) found at Pānugal in the Nalgonda district.\(^4\) Several mahā-sēnādhīpatīs and sēnāpatīs and other officers of Rudrān-bā figure in the inscriptions of the reign; but as they have been spoken of elsewhere in the chapter on administration, it is not necessary to give an account of them in this context. However, Bolli Nāyaka, the lord of Ekkadīlī-Maḍapalle on the banks of the Gödāvari, who is spoken of as a vāhinīpati or commander of an army in an epigraph from Pinnali, in the Palnad tāluk of the Guntur district dated Ś. 1214 Nandana (A.D. 1292), deserves special mention.\(^5\) As the term ekkadīlu which is prefixed to the name of Maḍapalle, the village from which Bolli Nāyaka hailed, is the plural of the word ekkadī or ekkatī, meaning an unattached warrior, it is reasonable to presume that Bolli Nāyaḍu commanded a battalion of ekkadīs.

The angarakshas who are frequently referred to in the inscriptions probably formed a separate corps in the army. Their main duty was to guard the person of the monarch. It would seem that they fell into two groups, those who protected the persons of the queen and the co-regent, and those who guarded the palace. Paruvata Nāyaka, Appana Bolli Nāyaka and Chenna-sēnādhīpatī belonged to the former category, and Ballaya, Kālaya and Vallaya sons of Nili Nāyaka and Bolli Nāyaka, to the latter.\(^6\) The angarakshas were men of standing; they were appointed as commanders in the army and given fiefs under nāyankara tenure like the other officers of the crown.

Rudramadēvi's Family. Rudramadēvi, as we have seen, married the Eastern Chālukya Prince Virabhadra of Nidadavōlu. She had no male issue but only two daughters Mummadamma and Ruyyamma. The former, according to the Pratāparudra-yaṣōbhāśaṇam, married a certain Mahādēva who is otherwise unknown. To them was born a son called Vira Rudra or Pratāparudra

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\(^1\) SII, iv, 1307; ibid. x, 394, 467.
\(^2\) AR, no. 321 of 1930–1.
\(^3\) SII, x, 450, Tel-Ins.-Kāk., 43.
\(^4\) Corpus, 35.
\(^5\) SII, x, 472.
\(^6\) Ibid. iv, 705, 707, and x, 423, 424, 425, 444.

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whom Rudramadēvi, by the command of her father, Gaṇapatidēva, adopted as her son and as heir to the throne. Though called upon while still a youth to share the burden of the government of an extensive kingdom in troublous times, Pratāparudra, as we have seen, rose to the occasion and guided the ship of state with remarkable skill and ability. According to the tradition preserved in the Pratāpacharitra, he had a younger brother called Annamadēva, but no trace of this prince's existence is found in any of the contemporary records, although the rulers of the last dynasty of Bastar trace the origin of their family from him. Ruuyamma, the second daughter of Rudramadēvi, was given in marriage to Annaladēva or Annaya son of Gannaya of the Indulūri family. He was a mahāpradhāna and sēnādhipati in the service of the queen and rendered her invaluable help in the administration of the kingdom and in the wars which she waged against her enemies.

Pratāparudra
(A.D. 1295–1323)

Pratāparudra ascended the throne of Warangal at the beginning of the year A.D. 1295, on the death of Rudramadēvi towards the close of the preceding year. He was, at the time of his accession, about thirty-five years old; and as he had been associated with his grandmother for several years before her death in the government of the kingdom, he had already a great deal of military and administrative experience. As a result of the wars which he had conducted during the last years of the late queen, the enemies of the kingdom had been thoroughly subdued, and none dared to lift up his head against the energetic young monarch after his accession. Tradition has it that as soon as he ascended the throne he set about reorganizing the administrative system with a view to strengthening the defences of the kingdom. It is said that Pratāparudra recruited exclusively from the Velama community seventy-seven nāyaks, assigned them territories, and entrusted to each of them the defence of one of the seventy-seven bastions of the fort of his capital Warangal. Though this tradition is coloured by communal bias, it is undoubtedly based on authentic facts. A study of the inscriptions reveals that from the time of Rudrāmbā, if not earlier, the administration of the kingdom was carried on through nāyaks holding sway over districts called sthalas; but they belonged to no single community in particular but were recruited from all classes of the people; moreover, the number of nāyakships was actually seventy-five and not seventy-seven as tradition would have us believe; nor is there any evidence to show that they had any definite responsibility for the defence of the capital.

ARE, 1909, Part ii, para. 66.
2 Śānayāsūram; see the Kākaiya Samhika, Appendix, p. 14.
3 Makk. MSS., 13-4-30, pp. 54-60.
4 JTA, ii, p. 106.
Pratāparudra put his new-modelled army to test by pitting it against the Kāyastha chiefs. It may be remembered that Arībadēva suffered a defeat at the hands of Pratāparudra when he was still the co-regent of his grandmother Rudrāmbā about A.D. 1293, and was compelled as a consequence to retire from Tripurāntakam and its neighbourhood. He, however, continued to rule over his native Muliki-nādu until A.D. 1304. He was succeeded by his son Tripurārī II, who held sway over his ancestral kingdom until at least A.D. 1305. The relations between Pratāparudra and the Kāyasthas after Arībadēva’s defeat mentioned above are by no means clear. Though writers on the Kākatiya history declare that Arībadēva subsequently became a vassal of Pratāparudra, the available epigraphic evidence seems definitely to indicate that the status of himself and his successors as independent princes remained for the moment unaltered. Neither in the inscriptions of Arībadēva nor in those of his successors is there found any mention of an overlord. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that they stayed independent for a while. Their power, however, was not destined to endure very long. Pratāparudra sent an army against them under his general Mahārāya-Pattasahini Sōmaya Nāyaka in A.D. 1309, and Indulūrī Annaya as well as a number of other commanders accompanied him with their forces. In the war that followed, the kings of Mōpūru, that is, the Kāyasthas, were overthrown, and the government of their territories, which were annexed to the kingdom, was entrusted to Sōmaya Nāyaka.

The strengthening of the defences of the realm, in fact, called for immediate attention in the face of the Muslim incursions into the Deccan which at that time constituted a standing menace to the security of the southern Hindu kingdoms. Epigraphic evidence makes it quite clear that the Muslim armies first made their appearance in the Deccan about the middle of the thirteenth century. In an inscription at Pānungal in the Nalgonda district of the old Hyderabad State, dated A.D. 1267, the Sēuna prince Śāṅgāπāṇidēva, a subordinate of Rudrāmbā, is said to have rescued ‘the earth which was submerged under the Turushka deluge’. A similar feat is attributed, in another inscription found at Haluvāgalu in the Bellary district, dated A.D. 1282, to the Sēuna king Rāmachandrarāya, that is, Rāmadēva, who is described as the ‘rescuer of the earth from the depredations of the Turushkas’. Although the Deccan Hindus had been conscious of the Muslim danger from the North for several decades before his accession, what actually prompted Pratāparudra to reorganize the military resources of his kingdom was the attack by Garshāsp Malik on Dēvagiri in A.D. 1295, an event which occurred at the same time as his accession to the throne. It demonstrated, as nothing else had done before, how utterly inadequate and inefficient the Hindu military

3 Corpus, 34.
4 III, ix, 1, 380; AR, 224 of 1981.
organization was to cope with the new danger. Pratāparudra therefore provided himself, by remodelling the nāyānkarā system, which appears to have come into vogue during the reigns of his predecessors, with a well-equipped army of 900,000 archers besides cavalry and elephants. An opportunity to test the strength of his 'new-model' army soon offered itself. Garshāsp Malik, soon after his return to Hindustan from his expedition against Dēvagiri, treacherously murdered his uncle and sovereign, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khaljī, ascended the throne of Delhi, and having assumed the title of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī, began to rule the kingdom. He was the ablest and the most ambitious of the rulers of Turkish descent who ever sat on the throne of Delhi. Having resolved very early in his reign to make himself the master not only of Hindustan but also of the Deccan and the South, he initiated a policy of conquest which, under his successors, resulted in the subjugation of the entire peninsula as far as Śētubandha-Rāmēśvaram in the extreme South. According to contemporary Hindu sources, there were no less than eight Muslim expeditions against Teliṅgāṇa alone during the reign of Pratāparudra, in all of which, excepting the last, he withstood the invaders successfully, though in the final expedition he suffered defeat and was taken prisoner. The Muslim historians, however, speak of only five expeditions, of which three were victorious and two disastrous. It is just possible that the Muslim historians omitted to mention some campaigns which they considered unimportant; but the claim to an unbroken series of victories except in the case of the last expedition which is attributed to Pratāparudra must be rejected as untenable, since the available evidence on the subject definitely points to its inaccuracy.

The earliest of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's expeditions against Teliṅgāṇa took place in A.D. 1303. The objects of the invasion were plunder and territorial expansion. 'Alā-ud-Dīn wanted money to finance his wars against the Rajputs and the Mongols, who constituted serious menaces to the safety of the Sultanate of Delhi. He was eager to despoil the rich Hindu kingdoms of the South so that he might organize efficiently the defence of his own territories. At the time of dispatching his first campaign against Teliṅgāṇa, 'Alā-ud-Dīn was also engaged in besieging the fort of Chitor in Rajputana. Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn Jūna, dādīb-k-i-hazart, and Jhāju of Kara, the nephew of Nuṣrat Khān, were sent with all the available officers and troops of Hindustan to invade Warangal. The account of the expedition which has come down to us is indeed very meagre, since such of the Muslim historians as deign to notice it dismiss it hurriedly in a few words. The Muslim army commanded by the two generals

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1 Nava-laksha-dhanur-dhar-dāhināthī
Pṛthvīrāja śāstī Vīravardādī—Vidyānātha, Pratāparudra-yalū-bhūtānam.

2 Isāmi, Futūh-u-Salāfīn (Madras edn.), 294.

2 The Vilasa Grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka. ARE, cp. 5 of 1938-9, Part II, para. 10.
mentioned above is said to have marched by way of Bengal and to have suffered disaster in the course of the march owing to floods in which a large part of it perished. However that may be, the expedition did, as a matter of historical fact, reach Telīṅgāṇa. There is reason to believe that it was worsted in an encounter with the Kākatiya forces. The chronicles of the Velama chiefs embodied in the Velugōṭivāri Vanāśāvati allude to a Kākatiya victory over the Muslims of Delhi prior to the advent of Malik Nā‘īb Kāfūr. Pōtuṅgaṇi Maili, one of the officers of the court of Pratāparudra, claims to have destroyed the pride of the Turushkas of Delhi in a battle near Upparapalli in the Karimnagar district of the old Hyderabad State. As Maili is said to have visited the court of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī at Delhi on a later occasion, the victory at Upparapalli must have been won by him over the army commanded by Malik Fakhru-Dīn Jūnī. Venna, the son of Rēcheḷa Prasādītya, one of Rudrāṃbā’s ministers, is also said to have overthrown the Turushka army in battle. As Venna’s sons are reported to have participated in the later wars of Pratāparudra with the Muslims, his victory over the Turushkas must also have been won at Upparapalli. An epigraph engraved on a pillar standing in the fort of Warangal, copied by the Mackenzie Surveyors in 1806, refers to a victory of Manarāṅgōdāri Rāju and Layīṅgayadēva over the Muslims in Sarvat 1362 (A.D. 1304–5). It is evident from these records that Malik Fakhru-Dīn and Jhāju penetrated into the heart of Telīṅgāṇa, and reached Upparapalli in the neighbourhood of the capital Warangal. At that place their advance was checked by the Kākatiya army, and in the battle that followed the Delhi army, having sustained a crushing defeat, was compelled to retreat in confusion.

The failure of this expedition did not, however, affect 'Alā-ud-Dīn’s designs of conquest, although he could not at that time pay immediate attention to the affairs of the South, owing to the frequent Mongol attacks on his northwestern frontier and the outbreak of war in Rajputana and in Western India. The affairs of Hindustan and Western India had been settled satisfactorily by A.D. 1309: the Mongols had been finally crushed; Mālava had been conquered; Rāy Karan, the king of Gujarāt, had been defeated and driven out of his kingdom; the rebellion of Saṅgama, son of Rāmādeva of Dēvagiri, had been suppressed; and Mahārāṣṭra had been brought effectively under the control of the Sultān, who therefore felt that he could now devote himself without distraction to the conquest of the Southern Hindu States, and dispatched a large army under Malik Nā‘īb Kāfūr and Khwāja Hāji to effect the conquest of Telīṅgāṇa. Apart from his desire to plunder the rich Hindu kingdoms of the South, 'Alā-ud-Dīn had two other definite reasons for sending the expedition to Telīṅgāṇa. In the first place he wanted to wipe off the disgrace of the defeat formerly suffered by his army, and secondly he was

1 Mack. MSS, 15-4-3, p. 82.
2 Velugōṭivāri Vanāśāvati, 25.
anxious to chastise Pratāparudra for having given asylum to Rāy Karan of Gujarāt, who had come to seek refuge at his court. The Sultān, however, seems to have entertained some doubt about the success of the campaign, for he cautioned Malik Nā‘ib Kāfür against extreme measures and commanded him to leave Pratāparudra in possession of his dominions, if he should submit to him and agree to pay tribute.¹

The expedition set out from Delhi on the 25th of Jumāda, A.H. 709 (31 Oct. 1309), passed through Dhēvagiri where it halted for a few days, and then marched on to Teliṅgāṇa through the diamond-mining district of Basiragarh and reached the fort of Sarbar, which it captured after a siege. The commandant and the garrison resolved to perish rather than fall into the hands of the Musalmāns. They lighted a huge fire and threw themselves into it with their wives and children. The fort was handed over to Anā Nīd, the surviving brother of the late commandant, who promised obedience to the Sultān.²

Pratāparudra was informed of the Muslim invasion by refugees from Sarbar who had fled to the capital for protection. He was not, however, surprised, as he had been expecting an attack on his dominions by the Sultān sooner or later. He had a strong and well-equipped army of 900,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 100 elephants. Besides this some of the neighbouring chiefs had promised to join him. Malik Nā‘ib, however, did not give him time to gather his forces together in fighting array. He moved swiftly towards Warangal and laid siege to the city before Pratāparudra could complete his preparations.

Malik Nā‘ib Kāfür met with no serious opposition on his way. On his arrival near the Kākatiya capital on 20 January, A.D. 1310, he seized the hill of Aanumakonda, and having erected a katkhur or wooden palisade to protect his camp he established himself there. The city of Warangal had two forts, one within the other, and both were surrounded by a deep ditch; the outer fort was built of mud and was protected, according to the Pratāpacharitra, by seventy-seven bastions, the defence of each of which was entrusted to a nāyak. All the fighting men of the kingdom were assembled in it; the subordinate chiefs and the distinguished nobles with their treasures and elephants took up their residence with the king in the inner citadel, built of stone. The siege began on 19 January, A.D. 1310. Notwithstanding a counter-attack by the Hindus on the Muslim camp, it continued with unabated vigour for a period of twenty-five days when on 12 February, A.D. 1310, the mud fort was taken by storm, and the defenders who survived the fight retired into the inner fort. Pratāparudra, however, refused to surrender, and Malik Nā‘ib Kāfür had to lay siege to the stone fort. His attention was much distracted by the activities of Hindu soldiers who were operating in the countryside around him. The postal system, by means of which news passed between his army headquarters and

¹ Barani, ED, iii, p. 201.
² Khusraw, Khazā‘in-ul-Futūḥ, JIH, viii, 382-3.
Delhi, had been put out of action, and it was even apprehended that the communications might be entirely cut off. Nevertheless, Malik Nā'īb did not relax the vigour of his operations. He sent parties of soldiers out into the country to devastate it and to terrify the inhabitants. The condition of the besieged in the inner fort became increasingly difficult owing to lack of accommodation, and at last Prataparudra could hold out no longer. Thereupon he sued for peace and Malik Nā'īb agreed to raise the siege and to return to his own country on the condition that Prataparudra should hand over all his accumulated wealth and should further promise to pay the Sultān annually a stipulated sum of money and send a contingent of elephants as tribute. Prataparudra accepted these conditions and surrendered all his treasure and his elephants and horses. The Malik Nā'īb, who was now satisfied that he had fully carried out the instructions of the Sultān, set out for Delhi and arrived safely at the capital on 10 June, A.D. 1310.¹

Prataparudra discharged his obligations faithfully. Every year thereafter he sent the stipulated amount of tribute and the quota of elephants to the Court of Delhi. An interesting incident which took place in the court of the Sultān on one occasion when some of the officers of Prataparudra were there on a visit deserves notice, since it demonstrates the existence of friendly relations between the conquerors and the conquered at this time. Two officers of Prataparudra, Pūtuganti Maili and Teliṅga Bijjana, who had probably gone to Delhi in command of the troops conveying the tribute, fought an exhibition duel at the Dākhūl in the presence of the Imperial Court, perhaps in order to display before the Sultān and his courtiers the skill in swordsmanship for which the Deccanis had long been famous. Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn seems to have held Prataparudra in high esteem, since he later called for his assistance, as will presently be shown, in the execution of certain military enterprises in the South.

The failure of Prataparudra to ward off the Muslim invasion let loose the forces of disintegration in his kingdom, especially in the southern districts which had only recently been reduced to subjection. A rebellion appears to have broken out in the erstwhile Kāyastha dominions; and Raṅganātha, the Telugu Chōla ruler of Nellore, threw off the yoke and asserted his independence. Prataparudra concerted measures, as soon as circumstances permitted after the retirement of the Muslim invaders from Teliṅgāna, to suppress the rebels and bring back the southern districts under his control. He sent an army under Juṭtaya-leńka Goṅkaya Reḍḍi against Mallidēva, probably a scion of the Kāyastha family, who had established himself at Gandikōta, and had attempted there to revive his ancestral kingdom. He perhaps received some help from the Sēnuṇas, since Prataparudra is referred to in the inscription describing Goṅkaya Reḍḍi’s expedition as Odḍiyanāy-

¹ N. Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, pp. 31–41.
diśāpattā and Sēma-dhaṭṭu-vibhāla. Mallidēva was defeated and killed and Gāndikōṭa was captured. Pratāparudra appointed Goṅkaya Rēḍḍi as the governor of Muliki-nāḍu and the adjoining territories and posted him at Gāndikōṭa. But while he was further engaged in making preparations for invading the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom of Nellore he received a mandate from Delhi instructing him to accompany the Imperial Army with all his forces against the Pāṇḍyan dominions in the South.

The circumstances in which the Sulṭān issued his command to Pratāparudra to proceed to the South call for explanation. On the death of the Pāṇḍyan king Mārarvarman Kulaśēkhara in A.D. 1310, a civil war had broken out for the possession of the throne between his two sons Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya. While the struggle between the brothers was still in progress and the issue as yet undecided, Malik Nāʿīb Kāfūr invaded the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in A.D. 1311 at the instance of his master, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji. Owing to the confusion caused by the intestine conflict, he was able to overrun the country without opposition as far south as the Pāṇḍyan capital Madura. But though at first he swept everything before him, he was ultimately overcome, and had to retreat homewards, carrying with him whatever booty he could lay hands on. The civil war, which had been interrupted for the time being by Malik Nāʿīb’s invasion, was resumed after his defeat. And soon the situation was further complicated by the rise of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara of Quilon, a subordinate of Sundara Pāṇḍya, who rose against his master and drove him out of the kingdom; he next attacked Vīra Pāṇḍya, and having put him to flight in a pitched battle, had himself crowned at Kāṇchi in A.D. 1313. Sundara Pāṇḍya, thus dispossessed of his kingdom, fled to the Court of Delhi and solicited the help of 'Alā-ud-Dīn. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who was eager to bring the Pāṇḍyan kingdom under his suzerainty, readily undertook to restore him to his throne; but he was unable, owing to the outburst of a rebellion at Dēvagiri after the death of Rāmadēva in A.D. 1312-13, and the fact that the major part of his forces under Malik Nāʿīb were engaged in warfare in Mahārāṣṭra, to send a fully fledged expedition for this purpose. Therefore, while dispatching a contingent to accompany Sundara Pāṇḍya, the Sulṭān, in order to ensure the success of the enterprise, also, as we have mentioned above, instructed Pratāparudra to co-operate with the imperial troops in their effort to reinstate the Pāṇḍyan king as ruler over his lost territories.

The Sulṭān’s command fell in with Pratāparudra’s designs, since it would enable him not only to re-establish his authority over the kingdom of Nellore without difficulty but also to wrest from the Pāṇḍyas the city of Kāṇchi, which they had taken from his predecessors in earlier times. He therefore gathered together all his forces, and placing them under the command of Muppidi

1 SII, x, 506 and 536; AR, 328 and 329 of 1905.
Nāyaka, dispatched them to the South with instructions to take possession of Nellore and to restore Sundara Pāṇḍya to his kingdom. Although the available epigraphical evidence clearly indicates that the Sultān’s army participated in the struggle,1 yet the main burden of the expedition seems to have devolved on the shoulders of Pratāparudra himself, owing to the death of the Sultān in Delhi in A.D. 1316, and the subsequent withdrawal of all the Muslims from the Deccan by the orders of Malik Nā’īb Kāfūr.2 Operations during the campaign fell into three definite stages: (1) the subjugation of the kingdom of Nellore; (2) the fight with Ballāla III and the restoration of the Śambūvarāya; and (3) the war with the Pāṇḍyas and the restoration of Sundara Pāṇḍya. The Kākatīya army commanded by Muppudi Nāyaka’s son Pedda Rudra seems to have set out from Warangal and to have marched against king Śri Raṅganātha of Nellore, who was defeated and put to flight. The commander next came into conflict somewhere in the neighbourhood with a certain chief of the name of Kōṭa Tīkka, who was slain in battle together with all his followers. After this he proceeded to the forest tracts of Nārāyaṇavanam, and reduced the numerous manniya forts which then abounded in that region. The Nellore kingdom which Pratāparudra seems to have assigned to Muppudi Nāyaka as an appanage was quickly brought under control, and Pedda Rudra then advanced against Ballāla III, who seems to have been somewhere in the neighbourhood at that time. How he came to be there just then is not difficult to surmise. Ever since the death of his cousin Viśvanātha and the unification of his kingdom in A.D. 1300, Ballāla III had been making attempts, whenever circumstances appeared favourable, to recover his family possessions in the Tamil country. Thus on the death of Māravarman Kulaśekhara in A.D. 1310, and the outbreak of civil war between his two sons, Viṇa Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya, Ballāla set out toward the South on an expedition of conquest, but was compelled to retrace his steps by the unexpected appearance in his rear of the Malik Nā’īb Kāfūr at the head of the Delhi army. Although he had for a time to give up his project of annexing the southern country owing to his fear of the Sultān and the presence of the Malik Nā’īb in the Deccan, yet the death of the former and the withdrawal across the Narmadā to Delhi of the latter, with all his Muslim forces, emboldened him to make a fresh attempt to realize his ambi-

1 SII, viii, 247; AR, 642 of 1902. mwnnīl Rājarājan Sundara Pāṇḍyadēvar Tulukkar-uḍan vanda-nājil.  
2 Futūḥ-us-Salāfīn (Madras edn.), p. 348.
tion. This time he was evidently successful in his enterprise, since a large part of Tondaimanadlam, including perhaps Kāñchī, the capital of the district, seems to have passed into his hands, and some of the local chieftains, such as the Sambuvarāya of Paḍaiṇḍu and the Yādavārāya of Chandragiri, probably tendered their allegiance. Pedda Rudra, however, defeated Ballāla III and his feudatories, took possession of the territory recently conquered by Ballāla, and conciliated at the same time the Sambuvarāya by reinstating him in his hereditary dominion. He next proceeded to Kāñchī and occupied that city without much opposition.¹

The Kāktiya occupation of Kāñchī roused the Pāṇḍyas to fresh activity. The ‘Five Pāṇḍyas’, according to the Velugottivaram Vamsāvali, collected their forces and marched on Kāñchī to expel the Kāktiyas from the city and to re-establish their own authority there. Pratāparudra seems to have arrived in the city at this juncture to conduct the operations in person and to have taken over the command of the army. A great battle took place in the vicinity of Kāñchī in which both sides fought with great determination. The Pāṇḍyan elephant corps charged the Telugu infantry furiously and spread panic in their ranks; but the Velamas, under their chief, Recheqla Erqa Dācha, as well as the Rēḍḍi contingents, stood firm and averted disaster. Erqa Dācha is said to have excited the admiration of the famous warriors of Pratāparudra’s court by rushing on the leader of the Pāṇḍyan elephant squadron and arresting the charge. This act was the turning-point of the battle, and victory soon declared itself in favour of the Kāktiya monarch. Pratāparudra appointed Māṇavira as the governor of Kāñchī, and ordered Dēvari Nāyaka to carry the war into the interior of the Pāṇḍyan dominions and to install Sundara Pāṇḍya on his throne at Viradhāvala; he then returned to his capital.

Dēvari Nāyaka marched southwards in obedience to his master’s command. The movements of his army and the events which took place during the course of his march are not known. It is, however, certain that Vira Pāṇḍya made up his quarrel with his former rival, Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, and gathering together the other Pāṇḍyan princes under his banner prepared to withstand the advance of the Telugu army. The opposing forces met near the village of Tiruvadikunram in the Ginjee taluk of the South Arcot district, and a fierce engagement, elephants again playing an important part, took place, in which Dēvari Nāyaka inflicted a defeat on Vira Pāṇḍya and the Malayāla Tiruvadi Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and re-established Sundara Pāṇḍya on his throne at Viradhāvala.²

But whilst Pratāparudra was engaged in waging war on the Pāṇḍyas in the South, important political changes were taking place in Delhi. Malik Nāʾib Kāfür, who was carrying on the administration of the empire in the name of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Din, was murdered, and Qutb-ud-Din Mubārak

¹ Mack. MSS, 15-4-4, p. 37; JOR, xii, 213-16.
² AR, 79 of 1938-9; ARE, 1938-9, Part II, para. 8.
Shāh, another son of 'Alā-ud-Din, ascended the throne. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had consolidated his position, he set out in the second year of his reign (A.D. 1318) on an expedition to the Deccan to restore the imperial authority in Marhaṭṭa, where a formidable rebellion had broken out under the leadership of Harapāladēva, who had proclaimed his independence and attempted to revive the old Sēnḍa kingdom of Dēvagiri. A second object of the campaign was to collect the tribute from Pratāparudra, who appears to have omitted to forward his payments, having taken advantage of the revolution in the imperial capital and the breakdown of the Muslim power in the Deccan. The Sultaṅ soon arrived in Maraḥṭa and there put down the Hindu rebellion with a stern hand. He then dispatched his favourite slave Khusrau Khān to Warangal at the head of a powerful army with instructions to overthrow Pratāparudra unless he should immediately submit and pay the arrears of tribute due to the Sultaṅ. What happened during Khusrau Khān’s expedition to Warangal is not easy to determine, since the available evidence on the subject is conflicting in character. Amir Khusrau and 'Iṣāmī, the earliest historians who describe the events connected with the expedition, are unfortunately at variance with each other. According to the former, Pratāparudra refused to pay the tribute and offered resistance. Khusrau Khān, like Malik Nā'īb Kāfūr before him, marched at the head of the Delhi army from Dēvagiri, and halted in the neighbourhood of Warangal. Pratāparudra is said to have attacked him with 10,000 horse and innumerable foot, but to have been defeated and driven back into the fort by a small band of about 300 horsemen. Khusrau next laid siege to Warangal and captured the outer fort. A large number of Hindus of distinction, including Pratāparudra’s commander-in-chief Antil Mahta, were killed in the fight. The bold advance of the Muslim forces alarmed Pratāparudra, who realizing that it would be useless to resist further made peace with Khusrau Khān and agreed to cede five districts of his kingdom to the Sultaṅ and to pay an annual tribute of more than 100 elephants and 12,000 horses, together with gold, jewels, and precious stones beyond compute. Khusrau Khān then raised the siege and returned to Delhi laden with booty.¹

This seems to be an overdrawn picture of Khusrau Khān’s achievements in Teliṅgāṇa; for 'Iṣāmī, who also describes Khusrau’s Teliṅgāṇa expedition, does not refer to any hostilities; on the contrary, he states that Khusrau collected all the tribute due to his master without having any recourse to force.

When Khusrau Khān reached the frontier of Teliṅgāṇa, he dispatched a courier to Pratāparudra with a letter demanding the payment of arrears of tribute, threatening him with dire consequences in the event of refusal. When the courier arrived at Warangal, Pratāparudra received him with cordiality and respect. He sent a reply to Khusrau Khān affirming that he was a loyal

¹ Amir Khusrau, Nuh Sipīhr, ED, III, 330-61.
vassal of the Sulṭān; that his failure to pay the tribute was not due to any attempt at evasion but to the insecurity of the roads which were infested with malefactors, and that he would send the tribute to the Khān who had arrived in his kingdom and would add presents for the general himself. He sent back the messenger with this reply, and immediately dispatched the stipulated amount of tribute, together with more than one hundred elephants, to the Khān’s camp. Khusrav was satisfied, and in accordance with the Sulṭān’s instructions he presented to Pratāparudra an umbrella, a durbash, and a gaba set with gems. Having successfully accomplished the task entrusted to him by the Sulṭān, Khusrav Khān then marched away with his forces in the direction of Delhi.¹

It is hardly possible to reconcile these incompatible accounts. Amīr Khusrav was a contemporary historian; he could not have been ignorant of the events that had taken place during the expedition; but ‘Īṣāmī was himself a Daccanī; and he wrote his history within thirty years of the occurrence of the events. Having regard to the authentic character of his chronicle, his narrative cannot easily be set aside as untrustworthy. Whichever of the two accounts one may be disposed to accept, there can be no doubt that Khusrav Khān successfully executed the task entrusted to him; for Amīr Khusrav and ‘Īṣāmī both agree that he collected the arrears of tribute from Pratāparudra and restored the imperial authority in Telīṅgāna.

Pratāparudra seems to have sent an expedition against the kingdom of Kampilī some time after the departure of Khusrav Khān from Telīṅgāna. The circumstances in which he invaded Kampilī are not definitely known. According to the tradition preserved in the Kumāra-Rāmana-Sāṅgatyā and other late Kannada literary works, Kumāra Rāma, the son of Kampilīrāya, paid a visit to the court of Pratāparudra at Warangal to solicit that ruler’s help against Ballāla III, with whom he was in conflict at the time. Though Pratāparudra honoured him and treated him with consideration, he declined to join him in the war against Ballāla III. Kumāra Rāma returned to his country in great anger and offered an affront to Pratāparudra by assuming some of the Kākatiya titles. Pratāparudra, provoked by this act, declared war and sent his army to invade the kingdom of Kampilī. He was, however, defeated in battle by Kumāra Rāma and had to make peace with him and retire into his own territories.² This account is, however, contradicted by the evidence of Telugu literary works of the later centuries. Prōlaya Annaya, one of Pratāparudra’s commanders, destroyed, according to Śrīnātha’s Bhīmēsvara-Purāṇam, the pleasure gardens on the outskirts of Kummatha, the capital of Kampilīrāya.³ Koṭikāntī Rāghava, an elder brother of Sōmadēvarāja, one of the forebears of the later Ārevidū chiefs, is stated to have defeated Kampilī-

¹ Futūh-us-Salāfīn (Madras edn.), pp. 361-363.
³ Bīm, 1, 48.
räya in battle and deprived him of the 'seven members of his royalty'.
Taking into consideration all the evidence furnished by both the Kannada and the Telugu sources it is not unreasonable to conclude that victory leaned at one time to the side of Karṇpiliräya and at another to the side of Prataparudra, though it is not possible to conclude, in the present state of knowledge, what the ultimate issue of the war actually was.
Prataparudra, however, was not allowed to rule his kingdom long in peace. Within a year of their return from Warangal the Muslim armies were again on the move. Malik Ek-Lakhy, whom Sultan Qutb-ud-Din had appointed as the governor of Mahārāṣṭra, rose in revolt and proclaimed his independence; he assumed the insignia of royalty, adopted the title of Shams-ud-Din, and minted coinage in his own name. The Sultan, on getting news of this rebellion, sent Khusrau Khan out again with an army, and commissioned him not only to put down Ek-Lakhy and to restore the royal authority in Mahārāṣṭra, but also to reduce Ma'bar to subjection. The presence of the Delhi forces on his frontiers must have caused much anxiety to Prataparudra, but the storm passed away without affecting his territories. Khusrau Khan defeated Ek-Lakhy quite easily and sent him as a prisoner to Delhi. He restored order in the country and put in force measures for carrying on the administration. Next he proceeded to Ma'bar and had reached its capital Paṭtan, when he was taken back to Delhi as a prisoner by his mutinous followers, who suspected his loyalty to the imperial government. The Sultan, who was infatuated with him, set him at liberty and restored him to favour. Then followed a series of events which shook the Muslim empire of Delhi to its foundations. Khusrau Khan basely murdered his sovereign and benefactor and usurped the throne; but the Turkish nobles, who resented his usurpation, conspired against him and put him to death. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din Tughluq, their leader, then ascended the throne and proclaimed himself Sultan in A.D. 1320. During the first three years of his rule he was engaged in establishing his authority over Hindustan, and when that business had been successfully accomplished, he turned his attention to the South and, in A.D. 1323, sent an expedition against Telīṅga under his son Ulugh Khan.
The circumstances which decided Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din Tughluq Shāh to send his forces against Telīṅga are not definitely known; but Firishta, writing in the early years of the seventeenth century, states that 'Rudradēv, the rāja of Warangal, during the late disturbances had refused to send the tribute' and Ulugh Khan was therefore sent against him. This in itself is not unlikely, since Prataparudra had withheld the payment of tribute once before under similar circumstances. Ulugh Khan marched to Warangal by way of Dēvagiri. Prataparudra, according to Firishta, opposed the advance of the Muslim army with spirit, but was obliged in the end to retreat to his capital, which was immediately invested by Ulugh Khan. The succeeding struggle was indeed

1 Bhārati, vi, p. 848.  
2 Briggs, Firishta, i, p. 403.  
3 Ibid.
THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS

both protracted and fierce. Nor was the fighting confined exclusively to
Warangal and its neighbourhood. A part of the Delhi army under Majīr
Abū-Rīza was engaged in besieging Kōṭāgiri at the same time as Ulugh Khān
was vainly attempting to capture Warangal. It is not at all unlikely that other
places of importance in the country were also attacked by various detach-
ments. Nevertheless, Ulugh Khān failed to achieve his object and had to beat
a hasty retreat from Teliṅgāṇa, hotly pursued by the Kākātiya army. The failure
of Ulugh Khān is attributed by Muslim historians to the machinations of the
poet 'Ubaid, a treacherous companion and friend of the prince. According to
Barani, Ulugh Khān had closely invested Warangal, and had reduced the
defenders to extremities. Of the two forts that surrounded the city, the outer
or the mud fort was about to fall, when Pratāparudra sued for peace and
offered to submit to the authority of the Sultān and to pay the tribute de-
demanded; but Ulugh Khān, who had set his heart on the capture of Pratāparu-
dra and his capital, rejected the offer. In the meanwhile, a change came over
the spirit of the Muslim army. Since the postal system had broken down, no
recent news had reached the camp from the capital, and at this juncture the
poet 'Ubaid and Shaikh Zāda-i-Dimashqī, who were intimate friends of Ulugh
Khān, spread in the army the false rumour that the Sultān was dead in Delhi,
that a usurper had seized the throne, and that the Khān was about to arrest
some of the important chiefs of the army, their loyalty being suspect in his
eyes on account of their Kbaljī sympathies. This information, coming as it
did from the intimate companions of the Khān, created panic in their minds,
and they fled from the camp with their followers. The Muslim army was
thrown into confusion as a consequence of their flight, and the Hindus,
taking advantage of the sudden misfortune that had overtaken their enemies,
stormed into Ulugh Khān’s camp and plundered it. Unable to withstand their
attack, he rallied his troops and retreated in haste towards Dēvagiri.1 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,
who came to India some ten years after the conquest of Teliṅgāṇa,
attributes the disaster to the miscarriage of the ambitious designs of Ulugh
Khān himself, and represents 'Ubaid as the unfortunate victim of his treachery.
Ulugh Khān who, according to Baṭṭūṭa, was planning to stir up a rebellion
against his father, instigated 'Ubaid to spread in the army the false rumour of
the Sultān’s death, expecting that the leaders of the army would swear
allegiance to him as their sovereign; but his plan miscarried. The amīrs rose
against him and would have killed him; but Malik Timūr, one of the principal
amīrs in the army, offered him protection and helped him to flee to Delhi.
Though the Sultān was aware of the treacherous designs of his son, he
accepted the false accusations which the latter levelled against the amīrs,
and not only punished them severely but also sent him back with men and
money to Teliṅgāṇa to retrieve the disaster.2 Though Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited
India within a decade after the fall of Warangal, he actually wrote his

1 Tārīḵh-i-Firuz Shāhī. ED, iii, pp. 231–3.
2 ED, iii, p. 609.
Risāla from memory in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, after his return to his native Morocco. The accuracy of his account is not free from doubt; for it not only contradicts the evidence of the contemporary Indian Muslim historians but also runs counter to the character of the Sultān. Ghīyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh was a just and upright ruler. It is not likely that he would have condoned Ulugh Khān’s treachery and sent him back to Teliṅgāna with men and money, if the latter had really acted in the manner described by Batṭīṭa.

The most satisfactory account of the events mentioned above comes from the pen of ʿĪsāmī, the earliest writer on the subject, who finished his history in A.D. 1349. According to him Ulugh Khān plundered the country until he reached Warangal. He then invested the fort for six long months but could not reduce it. The Sultān at Delhi became impatient, and wrote letters to Ulugh Khān charging him with indifference in the execution of his commands. Ulugh Khān, in his eagerness to bring the siege to a successful end, consulted ʿUbaid, the astrologer, to find out the day on which the fort was destined to fall into his hands. The astrologer made his calculations, fixed the day of the fall, and declared that if the fort still remained unconquered on that day he would forfeit his life on the gibbet in its vicinity. The day fixed by ʿUbaid approached; but the defenders of the fort showed no signs of submission. ʿUbaid was greatly alarmed. If his prediction should fail, as it appeared certain to do, Ulugh Khān would certainly demand his head. To escape the evil consequences of the failure of his prediction, he devised a plan, and spreading in the army the false news of the Sultān’s death, of a revolution in the capital, and of Ulugh Khān’s secret resolve to kill the principal amīrs in the camp for their alleged ʿAlāʾi sympathies, he created a panic which led to their conclusion of peace with Pratāparudra and their subsequent flight from Warangal followed by that of Ulugh Khān himself.1

Although all the three Muslim writers mentioned above were contemporaries of Ulugh Khān (the later Muhammad bin Tughluq) yet the account of ʿĪsāmī, as already stated, is the earliest, and may probably be considered more trustworthy than the other two. What presumably happened at Warangal may now be stated briefly, though it is not possible, owing to the conflicting character of the available evidence, to present an indisputably accurate picture of the events. Ulugh Khān marched to Warangal with his army and besieged the city for six months, but failed to capture it. A rebellion broke out in his camp owing to the machinations of ʿUbaid who is variously spoken of as a poet and an astrologer, and Ulugh Khān was obliged as a consequence to raise the siege and retreat homewards, hotly pursued by the Hindus, who attacked him frequently, plundered his baggage, and followed him until he reached Khōtāgiri, where Majir Abu Riza, who was engaged in besieging the fort there, came to his help and saved his army from destruction.

Second Telengana Expedition. Ghiyāš-ud-Din Tughluq was a man of strong will and firm determination. Defeat did not discourage him, but rather urged him on to make a fresh effort to achieve his purpose. He severely punished the rebel amirs, and sent reinforcements to Deogiri, where Ulugh Khan had taken refuge, with instructions to his son to march again into Telengana and to subjugate the country. As soon as the reinforcements arrived in Deogiri, Ulugh Khan started for Telengana, which he reached by rapid marches to the frontier post of Badrikot (Bidar?). He seized that fort and several others along his route and posted strong garrisons in them under trustworthy officers with instructions to hold them to the last. Finally he came to Bōdhān which was distant ten days’ journey from Warangal. After a siege of three or four days the fort capitulated, and the governor and his followers saved themselves by embracing Islam. Ulugh Khan next proceeded to Warangal and laid siege to the city. Not much information is available about the second siege of Warangal by Ulugh Khan. It is disposed of briefly by Barani and the later Muslim historians who follow his account. It is stated that Ulugh Khan first laid siege to the mud fort and seized it; and that the inner citadel next fell into his hands. The fort was captured and Prataparudra was taken prisoner and sent to the court of the Sultan at Delhi. The capture of Warangal was not so easily effected as these historians would have us believe; but for the amazing lack of foresight of Prataparudra, it is doubtful whether Ulugh Khan would have effected its capture as quickly as he did. The siege, as a matter of fact, lasted for five months. 'Isami describes this siege and the circumstances in which the fort was captured. It appears that after the retreat of Ulugh Khan from Warangal at the end of his first expedition, Prataparudra held a feast to celebrate his victory over the Muslims. Believing that they would not again invade his kingdom in the near future, he opened the granaries within the fort and sold the whole of the grain stored up there; he also commanded his subjects to abandon their military activities and to busy themselves with their cattle and crops. But he was soon undeceived. Within four months of his retreat Ulugh Khan returned with a fresh army to Warangal and sat down before the walls. The fort was without any proper garrison to maintain its defence, and lacked adequate stores of corn to provision the garrison during the siege. No wonder the Muslims quickly succeeded in effecting its capture. Though taken by surprise Prataparudra put up a plucky fight; but the scanty stock of provisions which he hastily gathered together soon ran out, and the troops inside the fort began to suffer severely from hunger. Prataparudra was obliged to surrender. He threw open the gates of the fort, and delivered himself with the other members of his family into Ulugh Khan’s hands. The Muslims then entered the fort, plundered the houses, and demolished the public buildings.

Ulugh Khan did not allow Prataparudra to remain long in Telengana after his submission. Considering that it was not safe to keep him in the country,
where his presence might lead to popular revolts and other political complications, he sent him immediately to Delhi with all the members of his family, escorted by a contingent of his army under Qādir Khān and Khwāja Ḥājī, two officers in whom he had great confidence. They were not, however, destined to bring the fallen monarch into the metropolis, for before they could reach Delhi he died. Shams-i-Sirāj ‘Affif, who dispatches him to hell with a single sentence, does not disclose the circumstances in which he died. More information is furnished by the inscriptions. In the Vilasa grant of Musunūrī Prālaya Nāyaka (c. A.D. 1330) it is stated that Pratāparudra, while being carried away as a captive to Delhi, died on the banks of the river Sōmōdbhavā, i.e. the Narmadā. His death does not seem to have been the result of natural causes, for according to the Kaluvachēru grant of the Reḍḍī queen Anitallis, dated A.D. 1423, he departed to the world of Gods by his own desire. This seems to suggest that he either committed suicide or was slain by one of his followers at his own instance. Pratāparudra was a proud monarch, and it would seem that he could not reconcile himself to the changed conditions of his life in captivity. Considering perhaps that death was preferable to dishonour he seems to have voluntarily embraced it. With the defeat and death of Pratāparudra ended the rule of the Kākatiya line of kings; and the country passed into the hands of rulers belonging to an alien race and religion.

Pratāparudra’s Family. The available information about Pratāparudra’s family is scanty. None of his queens is mentioned in any of the numerous inscriptions and literary works of his time. The Pratāparudra, a late legendary account of the Kākatiya kings, no doubt refers twice to his chief queen Viśalākshi; but this document is so encrusted with legend that no real reliance can be placed on its evidence. The Kṛṣṇābhīrāmaṁ, a fifteenth-century Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit Viśdhiṇājakam, Prāmābhīrāmam of Rāvīpāṭi Tripurāntaka by Vallaḥarāya of Vinukonda, speaks of the beautiful and highly cultured hetaera, Māchaladēvi of Warangal, as his favourite mistress. Although persons alleged to have been his sons are referred to in the inscriptions and in the historical and quasi-historical works, he appears actually to have died without leaving issue. Of the various persons mentioned as his descendants Jūṭṭaya-lenka Goṅkā Reḍḍi, who is described in an undated inscription of his time found at Upparappalli in the Proddatur taluk of the Cuddapah district as ‘his [Pratāparudra’s] dear son’, deserves notice first. Juṭṭaya-lenka Goṅkā Goṅkā Reḍḍi cannot

1 Shams-i-Sirāj ‘Affif, Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, p. 395.
3 JTA, ii, p. 106: Tasmīn Pratāparudrī Svasthānam svēchchhayāvaya yāvatavi.
4 Pratāparudrītram (Sivaprabhārī-Granthamāla, Warangal).
5 Kṛṣṇābhīrāmaṁ, 181.
6 SII, x, 536.
possibly have been the son of Pratāparudra for, as his name clearly indicates, his father was a person called Juṭṭaya who was a leṅka by profession. Juṭṭaya-leṅka Goṅkā Reḍḍi is a compound word consisting of two names, Juṭṭaya-leṅka and Goṅkā Reḍḍi, signifying that the persons whose names are thus joined together are related to each other as father and son respectively, and obviously Goṅkā Reḍḍi could not have been the son both of Juṭṭaya-leṅka and of Pratāparudra. The truth of the matter is that Gonka Reḍḍi, like his father Juṭṭaya and his younger brother Rudraya, who is mentioned in an epigraph at Chanduvāyi in the Siddhavatam tāluk of the Cuddapah district,1 was a member of the order of the leṅkas; and by custom, like all the other persons belonging to this brotherhood, he is referred to in the inscription as a son of the king. The historian Firishta introduces a son of Pratāparudra called Kishan Nāyak, who headed a rebellion against the Musalmāns in Teliṅgāna in 1336 A.D., and having expelled them made himself master of the country.2 The name Kishan is the result of a scribal error. In actual fact, there never was any person bearing the name of Kishan Nāyak who played any such part at that time as is attributed to him by Firishta. On a careful examination of the text of available manuscripts of Firishta and a comparison of these with the accounts found in other Muslim histories, the real name of the author of the rebellion against the Musalmāns in A.D. 1336 is found to have been Kāpaya Nāyaka; and a study of the inscriptions left by him reveals the fact that he was a member of the Musunūrī family and was in no way related to the Kākatiyas. How Firishta came to regard Kāpaya as the son of Pratāparudra cannot be ascertained without further resources than we at present possess. His statement that Pratāparudra had a son of the name of Kishan Nāyak must therefore be discarded as completely unhistorical. The Pratāpacharitrām states that Pratāparudra was succeeded by his son Virabhadra. On the death of Pratāparudra, it is said that Annamadēva performed his funeral rites and himself renounced the world. In accordance with the wishes of his brother’s son Virabhadra, he had him crowned king and retired with Virūpaksha to the Vindhya hills in the north-east.3 There is absolutely no evidence to show that Pratāparudra either had a son called Virabhadra or that such a person was crowned king of the country on the death of his father. The author of the chronicle seems to have confounded Pratāparudra with the Gajapati king of that name who ruled over Coastal Āndhra and Teliṅgāna during the first half of the sixteenth century. This latter had indeed a son called Virabhadra, a celebrated warrior, who held sway over Kōṇḍavīdu-dāṇḍapatha as the governor of that territory under his father. It is not improbable that the author of the Pratāpacharitrām had this person in

1 AR, 5 of 1939-40.
2 Tarikh-i-Firishta (Naval Kishore edn.), p. 138.
3 Pratāpacharitrām (Sāivasvachchārinī-Granthamāla, Warangal), p. 79.
When he spoke of Virabhadrā as being the son of Pratāparudra. Although Pratāparudra seems to have had no children, he certainly had a brother named Annamadeva, who became the progenitor of the later rulers of Bastar in the present Madhya Pradesh.¹

His Vassals, Generals, and Ministers. Several feudatory princes, nobles, ministers, generals, and other officials played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom. Among the feudatories, the Kāyasthas deserve mention first. Ambadēva and his sons Jannigadeva II and Tripurāri II probably owed no allegiance to Pratāparudra. Mallidēva, who appears to have succeeded them, must have been forced to submit to his authority. Though the Kāyastha prince made an unsuccessful attempt, taking advantage of the invasion of Malik Nā‘ib Kāfūr in A.D. 1310, to regain his patrimony, he lost his life in the enterprise, and with him ended the short-lived dynasty of the Kāyastha kings of Vallūrupatana.

Next in importance are the Telugu Chōla families. Two branches of the Telugu Chōla family, those respectively of Nellore and Koṭiyadona, and particularly the former, demand special notice. The history of Nellore subsequent to the death of Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla at the hands of Adidam Mallu is obscure. This ruler was probably succeeded by Madhurāntaka Pottapi Chōda Ranjanātha, who bore the titles of Tribhuvana-Chakravarti and Rāja-Gaṇḍagopāla. From his inscriptions, which record his regnal years coupled with the corresponding dates in the Śaka era, he appears to have come to power in Ś. 1213 (A.D. 1291–2),² although the circumstances under which he did so are not known. Judging from his hostility to the Kākatiyas from the early years of his rule, it is not unreasonable to suppose that after Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla’s death he seized power with the help of the Pāṇḍyas, who took intense interest in the affairs of the Telugu Chōla kingdom of Nellore. However that may be, Pratāparudra found it necessary to take steps, immediately after his accession, to strengthen his authority in the southern districts of his kingdom, and sent an army there with this purpose. The command of this army was probably entrusted to Bōlnēningāru, who is said in an undated epigraph at Uppu-Māgalūru in the Narasārāopēt taluk of the Guntur district to have led at this time an expedition against the Pāṇḍyas.³ Manuma Gaṇḍagpāla of Koṭiyadona also accompanied the expedition. Some of the incidents which took place during this expedition are alluded to in one of Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla’s inscriptions at Narasārāopēt in the same district, dated A.D. 1297. Manuma Gaṇḍagopaḷa is said in this record to have been ‘the submarine fire under the ocean of the army of the Drāvijas’, and the destroyer of the enemies who were the friends of Rāya Gaṇḍagopāla.⁴ The Rāya Gaṇḍagopāla referred to in this

¹ ARE, 1909, Part ii, para. 66.  
² NI, vol. i, Gu. 50; vol. ii, N. 60, 62, and 71.  
³ SII, x, 540.  
⁴ SII, iv. 661.
record was no doubt Ranganātha-Rājaγaṇḍagōpāla of Nellore, and the Drāvīlas whose army Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla destroyed were his allies the Pāṇḍyas, whom Bōlīnēṅţīṅgāru in the Uppu-Māγajūru inscription cited above is also said to have vanquished. The expedition appears to have been completely successful, and Ranganātha most probably refrained from rising against his overlord for several years after this defeat. Malik Nā’īb Kāfūr’s invasion of Teliṅgāna, however, gave him a fresh opportunity to establish his independence. Taking advantage of Pratāpurudra’s defeat and consequent loss of prestige, he rose in rebellion once again, but fortune did not favour him. Mahāpradhāna Muppıḍī Nāyaka, at the instance of Pratāpurudra, set out, as already mentioned, at the head of a large army, accompanied by his son Pedda Rudra and other officers; he overran the kingdom of Nellore, expelled Ranganātha from his dominions, and made himself master of the coastal region extending as far as Kāṃči in Toṅḍai-manṭalam. With the defeat and flight of Ranganātha, the Telugu Chōja kingdom of Nellore disappeared, and Nellore finally lost its political importance.

The Kotyadona family was probably connected with Īpili Siddhi who conquered the district of Kamma-nāḍu at the instance of Gaṇapati. Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla, a scion of the Nellore Chōja family, has already been noticed. According to his epigraph at Uppu-Māγalāru he was the eldest of the five sons of Nalla Siddhi, the second son of king Manuma Siddhi II of Nellore. He was a loyal vassal of Pratāpurudra, to whom he attributes all his prosperity.1 The part played by him in the southern expedition of Bōlīnēṅţīṅgāru in A.D. 1296 has been described above; it is not known how long he continued to serve the king after this event.

Teluṅgū Bijjana was another Telugu Chōja prince who seems to have acquired great fame as a warrior under Pratāpurudra. His family affiliations, however, are not definitely known. Bijjana’s name is coupled with that of the Velama chief Pōtugānti Maili in the prastatis of the Velama families preserved in the Velugōţīrī-Vamīţīrī. He is said to have paid a visit to Delhi in the company of the seventy-seven nāyakaś of Pratāpurudra’s court, and to have fought an exhibition duel with Maili at the Dākhōl in the presence of Sulṭān ‘Alā-ud-Dīn and Malik Nā’īb, in which contest he was vanquished. The reason for this duel between these two nobles, both then in the service of the Kākatiya monarch in the imperial capital, is nowhere stated. It was probably arranged to satisfy the curiosity of the Sulṭān and his court, who desired to witness a display of the swordsman ship for which the Deccanīs had always been famous.2

Another clan of these feudatories which played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom in Pratāpurudra’s time was that of the Reḍdis of the Cheṇaku family. They were natives of Mālyāla in the Nandikotkur taluk of

1 SII, iv, 661. Pratāpurudra-bhūpaśya-prasād-ārjita-vaiṅhavan.  
2 The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, pp. 41–42.
the Kurnool district, and members of the family always bore the title mahā-sā-
manda, or 'the great feudatory'. The Mahāsaṃanta Cheṛaku Bollaya Reḍḍi,
son of Cheṛaku Peda Dēvaya, is the first member of the family to make his
appearance in the inscriptions; from the fact that he is referred to as Manuma-
Bollaya or 'grandson-Bollaya' it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was
called after his grandfather who had borne the same name. Bollaya had two
or three sons. One of these, Rājanna, became an adherent of the Kāyastha
king Ambadēva; for there is reason to believe that he went over to the side
of the latter and fought with him against Pratāparudra. In the introduction
to Dōneru Könerunātha's Dvipada-Bālabhāgavatam, Tātā Pinnama, the pro-
genitor of the later Ārēviḍu family, is said to have led an expedition against
the Cheṛaku chiefs; Rājanna, who is there represented as the perpetrator of
all kinds of evil deeds, offered resistance, but was overthrown in battle, as
a consequence of which he forfeited his right to the succession and was
deprived of his principality. The Cheṛakus themselves, however, did not
lose their possessions, since Rudradēva and Rācha-Rudradēva, both sons of
Bollaya Reḍḍi, as well as the Mahāsaṃantas Cheṛaku Jagaddālu Māraya
Gaṇapaya Reḍḍi, Cheṛaku Jagaddālu Annaya or Annama Reḍḍi, and
Cheṛaku Mahēśvara Reḍḍi, all continued to rule their hereditary estates as
Pratāparudra's vassals until almost the end of his reign.

The Velamas or Padmanāyakas, as they are sometimes called, especially
those of the Rēcherḷa family, played an important part in the history of the
Kākatīyas. A certain Mummadi Nāyaḍu, son of Mahāmaṇḍalēvara Kontāla
Nāgi Nayaḍu of the Rēcherḷa-kula, is mentioned in an epigraph at Tripurān-
takam dated Ś. 1213 (A.D. 1291). Although in the record he is styled sakala-
sēnāḍhipati, the commander-in-chief of the whole army, his achievements are
not known; nor is it possible to determine his place in the family pedigree
of the Rēcherḷa chiefs described in the Velugōṭivāri-Vanśāvalī. The services
rendered by several other members of the family in the wars of Pratāparudra
are, however, detailed at some length in this chronicle. Vennama, son of
Dāma, led his troops in a defeat of the Musalmāns, very probably during
'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji's first invasion of Telingāṇa in A.D. 1303. It is not un-
likely that this incident took place on the battlefield of Upparappalli, where
Pōtuṅṭi Maili is said to have put the Moslem army to flight. Erra Dācha
and Nalla Dācha, sons respectively of Vennama and his younger brother
Sabbī, distinguished themselves in the Pāṇḍyan invasion in A.D. 1316;
Śingama I, with Venna and Echa, sons of Erra Dācha, took a prominent part
in the defence of the kingdom at the time of the Tughluq invasions in A.D.
1323. Śingama I, according to the Paradārasūdara-Rāmanāthana-kathe, also led

1 AR, 321 of 1937-8. AR, 22 of 1942-3. 2 SII, x, 465
4 Bharati, vi, p. 848.
5 AR, 22 of 1942-3 and 55 of 1943-4.
6 SII, x, 489, 494, 508; AR, 44 of 1943-4. 9 SII, x, 471.
the Kākatiya expedition against Kampili where he suffered defeat at the hands of Kumāra Rāmanātha.  

The ministers of Pratāparudra may be classified under two heads, mahāpradhānas and pradhānas. The mahāpradhānas were the highest in rank. They served the state in different capacities, as the members of the king’s ministerial council, as heads of departments, and as governors of provinces. The Mahāpradhānas Vēpēti Kommayyaṅgāru, Gaṅgīdeva, and Indulūri Gannaya appear to have been members of the king’s council of ministers, and very probably it was they who guided the policy of the state. Mahāpradhānas like Pōchirāju Peddi, on the other hand, seem to have been mere administrative officers; for this person bore the title of sarvādhikārī, an office which was conferred even on such less exalted persons as Salakamu Ellaya Reḍḍi, Nēmānī Tammaya Preggaṇḍa, &c., who certainly did not belong to the ministerial cadre. Mahāpradhānas like Muppiḍi Nāyaka and Juṭṭaya-leṇka Goṅkā Reḍḍi were in charge of the government of the provinces; the former is also spoken of as the kāryakarta (agent) and the pratiniḍhi (representative) of the king and ruled over the Nellore-rājya, which extended from Addaṅki in the Guntur district to Kāṇchipuram in the South. The latter, who is said to have been anointed to the office by the king himself in person, governed several districts including Muliki-nādu, Sakti, Pottapi-nādu, and Gaṅdikōṭa; Kolani Rudradēva, although his name is not associated in the inscriptions with the government of any particular province, was in fact in charge of the Vēngi country with his headquarters at Kolantu, the modern Ellore, in the West Gōdāvari district. From the Śīnayōgasāram we learn that he was the son of Indulūri Sōmaya, one of the mahāpradhānas and commanders of Gaṅapati, whom that monarch appointed as the governor of Kolantu after its conquest. His son Rudradēva succeeded him in the office, and was given the surname of Kolani (or Koluṇu) on account of his official connexion with and continued residence in that town.

The pradhānas in general were probably mere administrative officers; the pradhānī Kāmanēni Boppaṅgāru for instance held the office of puravāri, superintendent of revenue, though in the case of Indulūri Annaya an exception seems to have been made, probably on account of his marriage with Pratāparudra’s maternal aunt Ruyyāma for he is described in an epigraph at Dākhshāramam as a saṃhīva and mantri-chadhāmanī. All the ministers and other officials held commissions in the army in virtue of the nāyankara system, and fought in the various wars which the king waged on his enemies, whilst some of them, like Muppiḍi Nāyaka and Juṭṭaya-leṇka Goṅkā Reḍḍi, won military fame as great commanders and conquerors; the first led a victorious

2 SII, iv, 1307; Tel. Int. Kāki, 43; SII, ix, 503.  
3 SII, x, 480, 497, 530.  
4 NI, vol. ii, Kr. 23, N. 8; JOR, xii, pp. 215–16.  
5 SII, x, 535, 537.  
7 NI, vol. ii, O. 49.  
9 SII, iv, 1307.
expedition against the Pândyas and brought the coastal region as far as Kānchi under the control of his sovereign, and the second put down the rebellion of the Kāyasthas and reconquered Muliki-nādu, Sakali, Pottapinādu, and Gaṇḍikōṭa.

The military officers also fall into two classes, the sāhīnis and the sēnādhīpatis. The term sāhīni, a derivative of the Sanskrit word sādhana through the Prakrit sāhana, denotes an officer appointed to oversee the training of animals, especially horses and elephants, for the purposes of war. Those who trained horses were known as asta-sāhīnis while those responsible for the elephants were called gaja-sāhīnis. Māraya Sāhīni and Pōtaya Sāhīni belonged to the former class, Gunḍaya Nāyaka, Dāḍi Viraya Nāyaka, Mādaya Nāyaka, and Māchaya Nāyaka to the latter;¹ some of the sāhīnis such as Dāḍi Viraya and Sōmayanāyanāṇgāru are termed patta-sāhīnis or nāya-patťa sāhīnis.² Bengaḷapūḍi Annaya, who is said to have been the chief of the elephant forces of the Kākatiya king, and the ‘moon to the ocean of the kingdom of the lord of nine lakhs of archers’, must be mentioned in this context. He was in all probability one of the mahārāya-gaja-sāhīnis in the service of Pratāparudra.³ How these officials differed from the two classes of sāhīnis mentioned above is not definitely known; it is not unlikely that they were attached to the king’s personal forces, whereas the others were assigned to the troops maintained by the nāyakas. Though the main duty of the sāhīnis was the preliminary training of the cavalry and the elephants, they were not exempt from active service in the field. Some of them, like Mācheya Sāhīni and Sōmayanāyanāṇgāru, were doughty warriors. The latter, for instance, led the expedition against the Kāyasthas in A.D. 1309 and overran their territories.⁴ Bengaḷapūḍi Annaya who was mentioned above appears to have rendered valuable services in some of these wars: he is said to have been ‘the fire of destruction to the Yavana (i.e. Muslim) army’; and ‘the ravager of the pleasure-gardens of the city of Kummaṭha’.⁵

There appear to have been two grades of sēnādhīpatis, the sakala-sēnādhīpatis and the mahārāya-sakala-sēnādhīpatis. Sōmayājula Rudradēva and Rēcherla Mummadi-Nāyaka held the office of sakala-sēnādhīpati in Ś. 1213,⁶ while Aḍīdam Mallu in Ś. 1216, Rudradēva in Ś. 1218 and Ś. 1219, and Sōmaya-leṇka in Ś. 1240 were mahārāya-sakala-sēnādhīpatis.⁷ The distinction between the sakala-sēnādhīpati and mahārāya-sakala-sēnādhīpati is somewhat obscure, their respective position and rank being undefined in our sources. The former was perhaps the commander-in-chief of the entire army, and the latter only the head of a section of it comprising the king’s personal forces.

¹ SII, x, 500; AR, 24 of 1929–30; NI, vol. i, D. 12; Teliṅgaṇa Inscriptions, Revised (but unpublished) 126, 125; SII, x, 488, 500.
² SII, x, 501; AR, 260 of 1933–6.
³ Srinātha, Bhīmēśvarapurāṇa, 1: 48.
⁴ Ch. Virabhadrā Rao, History of the Age of the Kākatiya Kings, pp. 748–9.
⁵ Srinātha, Bhīmēśvarapurāṇa, 1: 48.
⁶ SII, x, 469, 471.
⁷ SII, x, 479, 480, 482, 483, 522, and 523.
The exact position of some of the most distinguished generals of Pratāparudra such as Muppiṭi Nāyaka, Jutṭaya-lenka Gōṅkā Rēḍḍi or Dēvari Nāyanināgur in the Kākatiya army is not known to us. Inscriptions no doubt eloquently proclaim their titles and the offices they held in the civil administration of the kingdom, but hardly ever refer to their rank and status in the army. Muppiṭi Nāyaka indeed ranked as a mahāpradhāna; as we have mentioned above, he was the governor of the Nellore-rāja, and a kāryakarta and the pratiniḍhi of the king.1 Jutṭaya-lenka Gōṅkā Rēḍḍi, as we have seen, was the governor of Muliki-nāḍu, Sakili, Pottapi-nāḍu and Gaṇḍikōṭa; his titles, birudanika-Rudra, pratijñā-Paraśurāma, biruda-brahma-rākṣasa, and Mallideva-pratimalla, witness to his military prowess;2 Dēvari Nāyanināgur apparently held no administrative office as did the other two. He was a great warrior who defeated the Pāṇḍyas and carried the Kākatiya arms victoriously to the banks of the Kāvērī. He bore several high-sounding titles, as his father, Māchaya Nāyaka, had done before him, but none of them, excepting perhaps that of Kākati-rāya-sthāpanāchārya, ‘the establisher of the Kākatiya king’, which he received in addition to these, refers to any military achievement.3 Several other officers of the king such as Bēṇḍapūḍi Annaya and Immaḍi Mallikārjuna Nāyaka, son of a certain Mallikārjuna Nāyaka, laid claim to the same distinction.4 What it was intended to signify is not clear. The suggestion that it refers to his rescue of the kingdom from the Muslim invasions is hardly tenable,5 since it was borne by the Immaḍi Mallikārjuna Nāyaka just mentioned as early as S. 1212 (A.D. 1290).6

The Telugu poet Mārana mentions in his Mārkaṇḍeyapuraṇam certain officers in the service of Pratāparudra not known from other sources. Nāgaya Gannaya is said to have obtained from Pratāparudra the insignia of authority and the position of a nāyaka by his administrative ability and courage in the field. He became the kaṭakapāḷa (the governor of the capital) of the Kākatiya monarch. His two younger brothers Ellaya and Māchaya are also said to have been military commanders.7 Gannaya was probably identical with Kannu (Kattu), the officer who, according to the historian Shams-i-Sirāj ‘Afif, accompanied Pratāparudra to his captivity in Delhi and who, on the death of his master on the way during the journey, embraced Islām and was renamed Malik Maqbul Tilangi by Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq.8

Several lenkas who served under Pratāparudra in various capacities appear in the inscriptions. The most important of them was no doubt the Jutṭaya-lenka Gōṅkā Rēḍḍi of whom much has been said already. He had a younger brother called Rudraya who was also a member of the society.9 Yet another

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1 NI, vol. ii, Kr, 1, 25, 84, N. 80. O., 1291.
2 SII, x, 536; AR, 5 of 1939-40.
3 SII, x, 495, 505.
4 Srīnāṭha: Bhāmāśvara-puraṇam, i: 48; Corpus 35.
5 ARE, 1910, Part ii, 48.
6 Corpus, 35.
7 Mārkaṇḍeyapuraṇam, 1: 50-43.
8 Tūrīkīq-Fīrūz Shāhī, ED, iii, p. 367.
9 AR, 5 of 1939-40.
member of the lenka fraternity who occupied an exalted office in the state was the Mahārāya-sakala-sēnādhīpati Sōmaya-lenka, father of Pōchu-lenka, and probably identical with the lenka of the same name mentioned in an epigraph at Kārempūḍi in the Guntur district, dated Ś. 1225 (A.D. 1303). The lenkas, like the other servants of the state, held nāyaṅkaras granted to them for their maintenance. Māyidēva-lenka for instance held the Koṇḍūri-sthala consisting of eighteen villages, whilst a group of four lenkas consisting of Tikkaya Raudraya lenka, Māraya-lenka, Pichchiya-lenka, and Rudraya-lenka held the Koppāram-sthala as nāyaṅkara. Some of these were on the personal staff of the king. Pōchu-lenka mentioned above was the king’s aḍapam (bearer of the betel-bag), Peddeya-lenka was the holder of āḷavaṭṭam (a large fan), and Egṛeya-lenka was the aṅgaraksha (guard) of the palace. Besides these, the names of Arīnu-lenka of Anumakonda, Annaya-lenka a younger brother of Rāyagajāśāhini Mādāya Reddi, Immaḍi-lenka, Dēcheya-lenka and Pinnaya-lenka appear in the inscriptions; how these persons were employed in the service of the state is, however, not known.

1 SII, x, 522, 523.  
2 Ibid. x, 521.  
3 Ibid. x, 533.  
4 Ibid. x, 491.  
5 Ibid. x, 520.  
6 SII, x, 509.  
7 Corpus, 53.  
8 Telugu Inscriptions Revised (unpublished), No. 127.  
9 AR, no. 517 of 1930-1.  
III
KĀKATĪYA MILITARY INSTITUTIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

Sources

Much valuable information, though not of a precise character, is available about the Kākatiya administration and military institutions. Beside the inscriptions of the Kākatiya monarchs, and of their feudatories and subordinates, a few works on the rājanīti deserve consideration, since they throw some interesting light on the subject. Although the works on the rājanīti are generally based on the Sanskrit text-books on polity, they embody information on several topics not found elsewhere. Of these, two books, the Nitisāstramuktāvalī of Badden, and the Sakalanītisammataamu of Maṉiki Śīṅgana demand special attention. Badden was a feudatory of Gaṅapati and Rudrāmba; and as for Śīṅgana, though he flourished in the post-Kākatiya period, and composed his Sakalanītisammataamu very probably in the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D., yet his work is of inestimable value to the student of Kākatiya history. The Sakalanītisammataamu is not a single original composition but rather a collection of extracts culled from earlier books on polity such as Badden’s Nitisāstramuktāvalī, Śīvadevayya’s Purushārthasāram, Pratāparudra’s Nitisāram, etc., all of which were written during the Kākatiya period. It may be noted that the authors of these works were not scholars indulging in mere speculation, but statesmen devoting most of their time to the practical administration of the kingdom. Though they seem to lay emphasis on the theoretical side, their works call for serious notice, because their views must have exercised a profound influence on the political and administrative institutions of the period and have brought theory nearer to practice.

Military Organization

The Kākatiyas devoted much of their energies to safeguarding their dominions from internal troubles and foreign invasions. In dealing with the military organization of the Kākatiya kingdom, two important facts demand special notice. In the first place, forts played a dominant part in the defence of the realm. Considerable space is devoted in the contemporary works on the rājanīti to the description of these forts, their classification, and their strategic importance in the work of organizing the defence of the country. The Purushārthasāram points out that just as tigers, elephants, and lions are protected respectively by the shrubbery, the hills, and the caves, so a human being, however powerful he may be, needs a fort for protection; he who has no fort, it adds, resembles an elephant that does not rut or a snake devoid of its
fants. We know that it is hard to overcome a person surrounded even by a slight fence, and therefore how much more difficult it must necessarily be to vanquish a king who establishes himself within a strong fortress. According to the Nitisāra of Pratāparudra, it is a network of forts which enables a kingdom to endure for a long time. Following, no doubt, older Sanskrit works on polity, he divides forts into four classes. ‘They are’, says he, ‘of four kinds; sthala, jala, vana, and parvata (giri); that which is surrounded by a wall of fortification built upon the ground is called sthala-durga; and those which are surrounded by water and forests are known as jala and vana durgas respectively; whilst that built on the top or slopes of a hill is spoken of as a parvata or giri-durga. Although the last three are in themselves natural fortresses, they can be easily occupied by the enemy without walls of fortification. The forts, to whichever of the four classes mentioned above they may belong, must have special attalakas (rooms) over the gopuras (gates) fitted with sundry wooden contrivances (machines), guarded by warriors adept in military exercises and the use of sundry missiles and weapons of warfare, and well stocked with money, grain, condiments, &c. They should have several extensive open grounds inside to facilitate the free movement of large bodies of men; and they should be provided with plentiful supplies of grass, fuel, and water, and have passages for the entry and the exit of people without obstruction. A fort which is not so provided is but a ‘pig-sty’. The Nitisāra also describes the precautionary measures to be taken for the protection of the fort. Strong guards must be posted at the gates to watch them by day and by night; the garrison of the fort must be stationed at a suitable place; watches should be kept over the defiles or the passes in the hills (in the neighbourhood); efficient men should be posted to guard the central hall of audience; sentries should patrol around the palace; and talavars (watchmen) should be sent into the streets and the lanes. The daily life in army camps should be subjected to careful scrutiny; men with torches should go round the fort continuously at night; the captains, commanders, and all the fighting men should be well fed and properly treated, so that there may be no room for discontent. The four-fold classification of the forts mentioned in the Nitisāra was known in the Kākatiya times, as is attested by the evidence of inscriptions. The Kāyaṭha chief Anbadēva, for instance, is described in an inscription at Tripurāntakam dated Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290) as a giri-durga-vajra-nipāta (stroke of the thunderbolt to the hill-forts), a vanadurga-dāvānala (wild-fire to the forest-forts), a jaladurga-badabānala (submarine fire to the water-forts), and a sthaladurga-sanehurānana (pulverizer or smasher of land-forts). Anumakoṇḍa, Rāchitr, and Gandikōta among the giri-durgas; Kandūr and Nārāyaṇavanam among the vanadurgas; Divī and Kolanu among the jala-durgas; and Warangal, and Dharanīkōṭai among the sthala-durgas were reckoned as the most famous strongholds in the

1 Sakalakāśyapam 1: 48, 50, 52.  
2 Ibid., 60, 61.  
3 AR, 268 of 1903; SII, x, 465.
Kākatiya period. The regulations laid down by Pratīparudra for the protection of the forts envisage only the common precautionary measures indispensable for their proper defence; it is not unlikely that he embodied in his treatise the knowledge which he had gathered from his own practical experience.

Secondly, the administration of the kingdom was organized on a military basis. The Kākatiyās appear to have apportioned their territories among a number of military chiefs known as nāyakas. Several of these nāyakas, and the nāyaka-sthalas or the nāyaka-sthala-vṛittis, as the estates were called which were granted to these nāyakas to secure for them the requisite economic basis for the proper discharge of the duties pertaining to their office, are mentioned in the Kākatiya inscriptions. Obviously the nāyamkara system which became a prominent feature of the administration later under the Vijayanagara emperors was already in existence at this time, though its character and its political and military obligations are nowhere precisely defined. The Nītiśūra of Pratīparudra, however, seems to throw some light on the subject. The king, according to this work, should assign only small villages to the sāmantas, reserving the big ones for the upkeep of the four-fold army and the replenishment of the treasury.¹ This suggestion must not be dismissed as mere theoretical speculation. Pratīparudra seems to have kept in mind the administrative system obtaining in his dominions, while laying down these rules. The sāmantas are apparently the nāyakas who obtained grants of lands from the Kākatiya monarchs to enable them to support their position. It is interesting to note that the villages which they held as feudal vassals fell into two classes, small and large. The former were given to them in lieu of salary; they had to maintain themselves from the income derived from the rents whether in money or kind. From the proceeds of the latter, the larger estates, the nāyakas had to maintain for the service of the king a stipulated body of troops, elephants, horse and foot, and in addition to pay a sum of money into the royal treasury every year as tribute. Baddena urges that the king himself should maintain a stronger military force as his private guard than he should allow to any one of his sāmantas; since otherwise it would not be possible for him to enforce his authority in case of insubordination or revolt. The Kākatiyās were, as a matter of fact, always extremely apprehensive regarding the excessive growth of the power of their nāyakas; for this reason, they never allowed the nāyakas to remain in one place and strike root there permanently. From the tradition preserved in the Pratīpacherītra we learn that Pratīparudra entrusted the defence of the seventy-seven bastions of his capital city Warangal to seventy-seven nāyakas of the Velama community, allotting to them a fourth of his kingdom as estates to enable them to discharge efficiently the duties pertaining to their office.² This statement is in the main corroborated by the contemporary and near contemporary epigraphic evidence, despite differences regarding the number and the communal affiliations of the nāyakas. The

¹ Sukalanitisammatamu, i: 248.
number of the nāyakas is said to have been seventy-five and not seventy-seven;¹ nor did they all belong exclusively to the Velama community. The nāyaka system became a characteristic feature of South Indian Hindu polity in subsequent ages. The Rāyas of Vijayanagara who inherited it from the Kākatiyas bequeathed it to the Nāyaka kings of the South, especially to those of Madura, where it flourished continuously up to the advent of the British.

The Army

Though rājanīti works like the Nītisāra lay it down as a principle that kings should maintain an army comprising four classes of troops, viz. chariots, elephants, horses, and foot, the first of these had gone out of use long before the age of the Kākatiyas. The Kākatiya army, like that of the other Indian States of the period, was made up of three arms, namely, elephants, cavalry, and infantry. According to contemporary sources, it consisted in the days of Pratīparudra of one hundred elephants, twenty thousand horses, and nine lakhs of archers.² No definite information is available about the way in which the Kākatiya monarchs gathered their forces. The elephants were perhaps partly captured from the forests of the Eastern Ghats and partly acquired by purchase from such countries as Kalinga, Burma, and Ceylon, where they flourished in a wild state. As horses were not largely bred anywhere in India except in Sindh, they were necessarily imported from abroad, especially from Iraq, Iran, and Arabia. And since military service was not subjected to any communal restrictions, it was possible for anyone who wished to adopt the profession of arms to enlist as a soldier irrespective of the caste or creed to which he might belong. The existence of the offices of the gajasāhini and the asvasāhini indicates that the practice was in vogue of training both elephants and horses for the purposes of war. An officer of the name of pāṭtasāhini rāya- or mahānīya-pāṭtasāhini is sometimes mentioned in the inscriptions. Obviously he was an officer attached to the royal establishment, though it is not easy to find out exactly what his functions were. We have no evidence as to whether the practice of drilling the foot-soldiers and instructing them how to combine in mass movements on the battlefield was known at the time. But doubtless all persons desirous of following the military profession were able to get instruction in the gymnasia and to acquire skill in wielding the sword, the buckler, the lance, the bow, and other weapons of warfare.

The Kākatiya army fell into two divisions, the royal forces and the nāyaka levies. How these were officered and commanded is not known, though dandaśhipatis and sēnadhipatis are both frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. The king was the ipso facto commander-in-chief of the whole army by virtue of his office. Very often he actually took the field in person. Rudra and Mahādeva both fell in battle; Gaṇapati was taken prisoner while fighting by

² The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, p. 34.
the side of his father; and even Rudramadēvi, if we can rely on general tradition, donned male attire, put on armour, and fought with the Yādava king Mahādēva when he came to invest her capital. The king was usually accompanied by a number of officers called angarakshas whose special duty it was to guard his person and palace. Beside the angarakshas a body of leṅkas or companions-at-arms, who called themselves his sons and who shared his board, fought by his side. The leṅkas were slaves who had entered into a covenant with their lord to devote themselves exclusively to his service. They took an oath (bāsa) to look on their lord as their guru and deity in this world and the next, to have no regard either for their own property or for their lives in furtherance of his interests, to stand by him in the hour of danger, to fight his battles, either to perish with him in the clash of arms or to kill themselves if they should chance to survive him. However, no instance of the immolation of the leṅkas after the death of their master is actually on record in the Telugu country, though such occurrences did take place in the neighbouring Kṣrāṭaka, as illustrated by the example of the Garuḍas under the Hoysalas. The ideal of conduct which the leṅkas were expected to follow was indeed lofty. It will be of interest here to cite the chief characteristics of a leṅka as described in an inscription of A.D. 1045: “Truth should be his utterance, praise (of his master) his work, charity his recreation, succour of the distressed seeking his protection his merit, and unflinching attitude in a great battle his prime concern.” The duties and obligations of the leṅkas were collectively known as the leṅka-vāli and in return for their performance the leṅkas were granted estates by the king out of the proceeds of which they were to maintain themselves. The royal feudatories and the nāyakas dependent on the kings also maintained leṅkas in their private services, so that these retainers became a common feature of Ṭhānda society during the middle ages.

A number of commanders and officers are mentioned by name in the inscriptions, but no exact information is available about the way in which the military hierarchy was organized. Distinguished service in the army was frequently rewarded by the grant of landed estates and the conferment of titles and badges of honour by the king. Titles such as kūṭa gelpāta, dviṣ-punṭaka, velanatī-dūshaka, Kāṇchī-kavāta-chūrakāra, and Sūryavanśa-sthāpan-āchārya were bestowed on their respective bearers to commemorate important historic events with which they had been specially associated. Some of the birudas such as the mūru-nāya-jagaddala and probably also the chaṭamarthi-ganda had special insignia attached to them. The ganda-pendāra or ‘anklet of the heroes’ was a common decoration bestowed on distinguished men for meritorious service.

The Government

The Kākatiya government like that of the other Hindu states was a monarchy. Though the crown usually descended, as in the other states, in the
male line from father to son, the Kākatiya dynasty alone presents a unique example of a female ruler who sat upon the throne and exercised royal authority in her own right. Nevertheless the prejudice against the rule of a woman was so strong that even this lady had to adopt a male name and to attire herself in male garments, whilst holding court. The practice of a ruling monarch taking the heir to the throne into partnership in the governance of the kingdom appears to have come into vogue late in the history of the dynasty. Gaṇapati had made his daughter Rudramadēvi his co-regent during the closing years of his reign and she in her turn followed the example of her father by associating her grandson and heir Pratāparudra with herself in the administration of the kingdom. The king or the queen, as the case might be, was the supreme head of the state; he or she was the pivot about which the entire structure of government moved. The monarch was the source of all power, though his power was not absolutely unfettered autocracy. It was subjected, as in all other Hindu states, to the limitations imposed by the dharma and ancient custom of the land which he was not allowed to override. The dharma which he had to observe was mainly varṇa-dharma or dharma pertaining to the castes. It was the duty of the king to see that the members of each caste followed the dharma peculiar to that caste and to punish those who trespassed against it. Aṁbadēva, the Kāyastha ruler of Vallūrupaṭṭaṇa, for instance, speaks of himself in an inscription at Tripurāntakam dated Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290) as chatur-varṇa-samuddhārana and takes credit for putting to death a certain Mallikārjuna, sinner and violator of the dharma, who was the enemy of gods and brāhmans.¹

The qualifications required of a monarch by the composers of treatises on rājaniti are indeed very high. A king, according to them, should be well-versed in the Vedas and the śāstras and proficient in political science, art, and literature. He should be wise and just and regard himself as the father of his subjects, in whose interests he should rule the kingdom. He should be economical in his habits, and treat his servants and dependants with kindness and consideration. He should use his discretion and judgement with due propriety in the choice of his servants and should select the good and take care to avoid the wicked. How far the Kākatiya monarchs came up to the standard of the political thinkers of the age cannot be ascertained, though it is not improbable that some of them, such as Gaṇapati and Pratāparudra, judging from the great popularity which they seem to have enjoyed in their lifetime, attained very nearly to the ideal of the perfect ruler as laid down by the philosophers.

According to the Nittisāra of Pratāparudra the king should grant frequent audiences to his subjects at prescribed times. Since he does not hear complaints without a previous appointment, they will be left without redress unless they have regular opportunities of submitting their grievances to him. It is stated

¹ AR, 174 and 268 of 1905; SII, x, 464 and 465.
in the *Mudrāmātyam* that whilst a king holds a durbar the women-folk should stand behind him, the poets to his right, the *vandis* (the bards) who praise him to his left, and the singers in front of him. His ministers, his relatives, and the princes, with officers of the standing army and learned men, should surround him.¹

The Kākatiya monarchs were assisted in the government of the kingdom by a large number of ministers. Although *mahāpradhānas, pradhānas, preggedas, amātyas,* and *mantrins* are mentioned in the inscriptions and the Telugu literature of the period, yet unfortunately no information is available about the way in which they were organized or how they helped the monarch in transacting the business of the state. Much importance is, no doubt, attached to the office of the minister in the works on *rājaniti.* A *manrin* was recognized from very ancient times onwards as one of the *saptāngas* (the seven constituent members) of the body politic. A king who has no minister to advise him is compared to an elephant without its trunk. The king is required to exercise great caution in the choice of his ministers and the delegation of powers to them. He should, according to the *Nitiśāstramuktāvali* of Baddena, avoid an ignorant man even though he may happen to be a personal friend, and should appoint a wise and trustworthy person as the minister. He should place confidence in people noted for their discretion and loyalty, and should avoid fickle-minded individuals who are likely to divulge the secrets of the council. He should not make any minister head of the government of the state; for a minister entrusted with such unlimited authority would become too powerful and wealthy. The respective positions of the king and the minister in a state should not be reversed, for the excessive growth of the power of any single member of the body politic would destroy the majesty of the regal state and ruin the kingdom. The Kākatiya monarchs appear to have paid due regard in this matter to the maxims of the political thinkers, for during the period of their rule no instance is on record of any minister who passed the limits of his authority and usurped the power of his sovereign. At the same time the injunctions of the *rājaniti* were not invariably observed in all respects. The king, for instance, is required to appoint as his ministers brāhmans well versed in the Vedas, the *sāstras,* and political science. The Kākatiyas (who perhaps came originally from the Śūdra caste) do not seem to have paid much attention to this rule, for they did not restrict their choice to any single community in selecting their ministers. The instances of Malyāla Hēmādri Reḍdi and of Muppiḍi Nāyaka, who held the office of *Mahāpradhāna* respectively² under Gaṅapatidēva and Pratāparudra, show that they selected their ministers from all the principal classes and castes of their subjects. Merit was probably the criterion when making appointments to the public service; the example of Vellaki Gaṅgādhara, who, starting his career as an

¹ *Sakalanitisammatam: 1: 167, 168, 170.*

² *AR,* 411 of 1893; *SII,* iv, 1333; *NDI,* vol. 1, Kr, 1.
official in the royal palace under Prôla II, was subsequently promoted to the
office of an amâtya or minister by his son and successor Rudra on account
of his loyalty and his efficient discharge of his duties, indicates that weight
was attached by the king to pure merit when filling vacant ministerial posi-
tions. The appointment of a person to the office of a minister was invariably
accompanied by the conferment of special insignia such as the palanquin, the
white umbrella and a special dress, &c., beside the grant of jûvita or the
vritti (land) pertaining to that niyôga (office) and presents of valuable
ornaments and costly perfumes. The number of ministers in the service of the
king at any given time is not known. True, a passage in the Sakalânîti-
sammamattam, which is said to have been extracted from an old Telugu render-
ing of the Kâmamakam, mentions twenty-one (mûyyëdu) tîrthas or ministers;
but, in fact, it actually names only eighteen, viz. (1) mantrin, (2) purôhita, (3)
mantri-jan-âdhyaksha, (4) sainyâdhanîyaka, (5) samiîdhêtri, (6) âtavika, (7) praśâstra,
(8) âyadhâ-(? âyudha) nâyaka, (9) vîvahârîka, (10) samâhartri, (11) dandapâla,
(12) durgapâla, (13) prûntapâla, (14) prâdeshîtri, (15) karmânîtaka, (16) antar-
vamîik-âdhiikâra, (17) yuvârâja and (18) damvârîka. It is interesting to note that
this list of the tîrthas is not found in the available editions of the Sanskrit
and Telugu Kâmamakas. Probably the author of the Telugu Kâmamakamu
quoted in the Sakalânîtisammamattam copied this list into his translation from some
other work on polity, since we know that the institution of the tîrthas was in
existence in the country in his time. The term tîrtha, according to lexicogra-
phers, denotes a group of eighteen ministers, beginning with the mantrin, in
the service of the king. The institution of the eighteen tîrthas is, as a matter of
fact, not unknown to the ândhra polity in general. The Mângallu plates of
the Eastern Châlukyan king Amma II Vijayâditya VI (A.D. 945–970) mention
also eighteen such tîrthas including the mantrin, purôhita, sênapati, and yuvârâja,
whilst the inscriptions of his elder brother Dânârâva and his descendants
refer to the damvârîka, pradhâna, and adhyaksha in addition to the other ministers
cited above. Though some of the ministers included among the eighteen
tîrthas are mentioned in the Kâkatiya inscriptions, it is not possible, for lack of
definite proof, to state whether the institution as such actually flourished
under the Kâkatiyas. It seems probable, however, that the Kâkatiya ministers
constituted a council or cabinet, for in the course of his daily routine, the
king, according to the Purushârthasâram, should regularly join his ministers and
deliberate with them on the affairs of the state. Another institution which
deserves notice in this context is that of the niyôgas. Officials of all classes who
were in the employ of the court—both civil and military officers and the
royal household—were divided into niyôgas or categories, seventy-two in
number, referred to collectively as bâhuttara. They were under the super-

1 Corpus, 56.
2 Sakalânîtisammamattam, 2:373.
5 Sakalânîtisammamattam, 1:143.
vision of a high-ranking officer of State called the bāhattara-niyōg-ādhīpati. This is an ancient office going back to the early Chālukyan period. We find the niyōg-ādhikrita mentioned in Eastern Chālukyan inscriptions as early as the time of Amma I. This niyōg-ādhikrita is indeed the fore-runner of the bāhattara-niyōg-ādhīpati of later Western Chālukyan times. The Kākatiyas who in the early phase of their history were feudatories of the later Western Chālukyas, inherited the classification of officials into niyogas from their overlords with other political institutions. Gaṇapatī appointed the Kāyastha chief Gaṅgāya Sāhini to this important office in A.D. 1251, and bestowed on him the territory extending from Pānugal in the Nalgonda district to the fort of Kaivāram in the Kolar district. Subsequent to his death Indulūri Gannaya, son of Gaṇapaya, and after him the Kāyastha chief Tripurāri or Tripurāntaka and Mahāpradhāna Pōmkala Mallaya Pṛeggadā held this office under Rudrādevī. What exactly the functions of the bāhattara-niyōg-ādhīpati were is not definitely known. Whether he was a mere titular dignitary, or an officer ranking only below the king and wielding enormous power, cannot be ascertained in the present state of knowledge.

A full and accurate description of the territorial organization of the Kākatiya kingdom is not possible, because the data available on the subject are so scanty and meagre. However a few scattered notices collected from the inscriptions show that beside the village, which was the primary basis of the whole organization, the administrative divisions fell into two main classes, the sthala and the nādu. The former, which was the smaller of the two, consisted of a group of villages ranging perhaps from ten to sixty in number. The Mānuρu-sthala, for instance, comprised twelve villages, the Konduru-sthala eighteen, the unnamed sthala granted to Yeṛrama Nāyaka as his nāyanākara twenty-two, and the Pallināṇḍu-Gurindāla-sthala sixty.

Chadalavāḍa, Chaṇḍrāru, Gurindāla, Kavilāsam-kōta, Kōṭa, Kövuru, Mahādeviĉheḷa, Nandyāla, Piṅgāḷi, Rāvintūla, Taṅgeḷa, Tēkurnbedḷa, Indulāḍāya, Ādara, and Velanādu are some of the other sthalas which are referred to incidentally in the epigraphic records. The name of an analogous sub-division called the kaṇipāṇa is also met with here and there. Several sthalas were combined to form a nādu. The names of twenty nāduś such as the Anumakoṇḍa-nādu, Ayija-nādu, Gondala-nādu, Kamma-nādu, Kanduru-nādu, Kan-nādu (Karīn-nādu), Kar-nādu, Kusala-nādu, Maraṭa-nādu, Miṅgala-nādu, Mulikī-nādu, Påka-nādu, Palli-nādu, Pottpā-nādu, Pūṅgi-nādu, Rē-nādu, Vela-nādu, Veṅgi-nādu, Visari-nādu, and Sabbi-nādu are known. Beside the nādu, two classes of territorial divisions called ‘pādi’ and ‘bhūmi’ as in Māra-
(Mahārāja)-vādi, Moṭṭa-vādi, Nara-vādi, Nata-vādi, Āre-bhūmi, and Magatāla-bhūmi also deserve consideration in this context. The former was a survival from the past, whilst the latter occurs more frequently in the succeeding period. Some of the provinces, such as Peḍakallu, Sheḍḍem, Mudunūrikōta, and Gaṅḍikōṭa, seem to have taken their names from the important cities and forts situated within their respective jurisdictions.

The villages in the kingdom fell into two main classes, according as they paid taxes to the government or were exempted from such payments. To whichever of these classes they belonged, they were invariably under the rule of a body of village officials called collectively the āyagārs. The origin of this system cannot be definitely traced. When and how these bodies supplanted the old village assemblies are questions about which we have no real information; by the time when the Kākatiyas were establishing their power over the Andhra country, the āyagārs had already taken firm root in the soil and had begun to exercise authority in all the villages throughout the land. The term āyam means ‘dimension, extent, or measure’ as of a field. The āyagārs, therefore, denote people who hold āyams or fields of a certain extent granted to them free of tax by the villagers or by the State as payment for undertaking public services. Their names varied according to the locality; but they were generally twelve in number, though this number is occasionally exceeded. They were:

1. Karaṇam
2. Pedda-kāpu or Reddi.
3. Talāri
4. Purōhit
5. Blacksmith
6. Goldsmith
7. Carpenter
8. Potter
9. Washerman
10. Barber
11. Veṭṭi
12. Shoemaker.

The name of Nirukatṭu or waterman is met with in some villages.

The karaṇam (like the northern paṭwāri) kept the accounts and plans of the village, called collectively gudiṇakatṭu or āyakatṭu, in which were set out the boundaries of each hamlet, the extent and the limits of the site, the crematorium, the lands owned by cultivators, the holders of the vrittiś and tax-free lands granted by the king to the brāhmans and to the temples, the origin and history of these, and in general everything concerning the land belonging to the village. Besides this he had to measure the extent and keep the accounts of the cultivable, the non-cultivable, and the waste lands, gardens, dry fields, and pastures. He was closely associated with the reddi or pedda-kāpu in the administration of the village. This reddi or the pedda-kāpu was the headman of the village. His main duty was to collect the taxes due to the State, as stipulated in the settlement of accounts, and he had to work in close co-operation with the karaṇam in realizing these payments. The talāri was the village policeman.

1. Ibid. x, 422, 504.
2. SII, x, 504, 536.
It was his duty to protect the life and property of the villagers; he had to watch the movements of vagabonds, wandering bands of players, dancers, &c. He was held responsible for any property that might be stolen from the villagers and he had to make good all losses sustained by them if he failed to catch the thieves and regain the stolen goods. The purōhīt was the village priest; it was his duty to conduct religious rites in the houses of the villagers and to fix auspicious days for ploughing the fields and harvesting the crops. The carpenter and the blacksmith made and repaired the agricultural implements. The goldsmith assayed the coin and measured the grain during the harvest. The potter supplied pots and jars, and the washerman and the barber performed the duties pertaining to their respective professions; the veṭṭi or waterman attended to various menial tasks, kept a watch over the tank-bund, and regulated the flow of water for irrigating the fields. The shoemaker, besides making sandals for the villagers, supplied the cultivators with leather ropes and buckets for drawing water from the wells.

The āyagārs, in addition to the tax-free lands granted to them in lieu of money payments, received also allotments of grain called mēras from the villagers. The cultivators had to measure out to each of them a quantity of paddy or other produce for every field, kapila, or khayḍuga, as fixed by the custom of the village. Some of the āyagārs, especially the washerman and the barber, received doles of food on various festive occasions.

It is evident from the duties of the āyagārs described above that they were primarily the servants of the village rather than of the government. Indeed most of the āyagārs, all in fact excepting the karaṇam, reddi, and talāri, had no direct connexion with the State. In the tax-free villages granted to brāhmans, temples, and other religious and charitable foundations, the first three, namely the karaṇam, the reddi, and the talāri, were also freed from any obligations of direct service to the government; they had instead to serve the mahājana-sabhas of the agrahāras, the sthanikas, and the committees of management in the devadēyas. Nevertheless, the importance of the āyagārs in the village administration should not be underrated. They served as a link between the village-folk and the government.¹

Very little is known about the government of the sthala. But the term ‘sthala-karaṇam’, which is occasionally met with in the records of the period, would seem to indicate that the sthala had its own office and staff of officials, including the karaṇam who was obviously responsible for keeping the registers pertaining to the land revenue of the district. Though several nāḍus are mentioned in inscriptions, little is known directly about their local organization. But if the nāḍu is in fact identical with the janapada of the Nitisāra, as seems probable, a few facts there related concerning this body may be of interest in this connexion. According to the Nitisāra, it is the function of the king to appoint adhikāris (superintendents or governors) of ministerial rank

to govern the janapadas, since it is not possible for the ministers of the court to visit these personally.¹ This suggestion must not be dismissed as mere theoretical speculation, since Prataparudra seems to have kept in mind the administrative system obtaining in his own kingdom whilst laying down these regulations; in fact, the Kākatiya provincial governors like Gaṇḍapenḍāra Gaṅgaya Sāhini, Juṭṭaya-lenka Goṅkā Reḍḍi, and Mahāpradhāna Muppiḍi Nāyaka, who were appointed by Gaṇapati and Prataparudra as the governors respectively of Mārjā(Mahārājā)-vāḍi, and the Nellore-nāḍya,² seem to correspond approximately to the adhikāris of ministerial rank mentioned in the Nitisāra.

Irrigation

The Kākatiyas like the rulers of Andhra in all ages paid much attention to the storage of water for the purposes of agriculture, which was of course the main source of the country’s prosperity. They inherited a system of irrigation which had been in use in the land from times immemorial. The main feature of the system was the existence of a network of tanks or reservoirs in which rain-water was caught and stored for utilization in the cultivation of the soil. Excepting perhaps in the valleys and the deltas of large rivers like the Tuṅga-bhadra, the Pennār, the Krishnā, and the Gōdāvari, where the fields derived their water supply from the channels dug from these streams, the rest of the country depended on storage tanks and on wells sunk deep in the earth. Every village in the country had one or more tanks, according to the extent of its arable land and the condition of the crops raised thereon. The village tank was usually called chernu, though its Kannaḍa equivalent ‘kere’ was not altogether unknown. In the case, however, of tanks constructed by persons on their own behalf or in honour of an individual or a deity, it was customary to call them after the name of the builder or donor himself, or of the individual or the deity in whose honour they had been constructed, with the suffixes ‘samudra’, ‘chernu’ or ‘kere’ attached to them.

Before the time of the Kākatiyas the tanks were small, the irrigation facilities were quite inadequate, and the area under cultivation was usually very limited in extent. The Kākatiyas were the first to realize that the red and sandy soil of Telingaṇa, lying on a bed of granite and crystalline rock, was extremely fertile and eminently suitable for wet cultivation, though its porous character demanded a plentiful supply of water to make it fruitful and to yield sufficient grain to feed the people. They also saw that if the waters flowing down the many rivers and streams in the country could be conserved and utilized for the purposes of agriculture, wet crops could be raised on a large scale, and the economic wealth of the country greatly increased. They accordingly conceived the idea of constructing large tanks or dams in which water sufficient

¹ Sakalanitissammatam, 1: 203.
² AR, 5 of 1939-40, SII, 556; NI, A, 56, Kr. 25; JOR, xii, p. 245.
to irrigate vast areas of land could be stored up. The kind of tank constructed by them became very popular in later ages on account of its suitability for the country; and the rulers who succeeded them followed their example by repairing old tanks and constructing many new ones in places where they did not already exist.

It must, however, be noted here that the State undertook no direct responsibility for the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. No mention of a public-works department or of officials directly appointed with the duty of carrying out irrigation projects is to be found in any of the records of the period. The construction of a tank was regarded as an act of charity which would acquire great religious merit, and as a matter of fact the building of such tanks is included as one of the sapta-saṁtānas or seven acts of righteousness which would perpetuate the name of the doer and establish his fame permanently in the world. The merit accruing from the construction of such tanks is clearly set forth in an inscription of the early 16th century which is of much interest in this connexion: 'the Gods, men, pītris, the gandharvas, uragas, rākshasas, and the permanent bhūtas, all depend on a tank. The person in whose tank men, beasts, and birds quench their thirst by drinking its water acquires the same merit as attaches to the performance of an ātavanīdha. The pīta of the excavator of a tank rejoices, the pītāmaha dances (with delight), and even the pītris of his cognates join him.' Influenced profoundly by this belief, the kings and the saṁantas, the nobles and officials, religious leaders, merchants, and wealthy men in general all busied themselves in the construction of tanks, and thus the whole country was provided with an adequate irrigational system. Bēta II is the first Kāskiya monarch whose name is associated in our records with the construction of tanks. He appears to have undertaken the building of two tanks called Seṭṭi-keśe and Kēsari-saṁudra and to have performed in that connexion the ceremony of Varuma-pratishthā or the installation of Varuṇa, the presiding deity of the waters, to ensure that his reservoirs might always be full. Rudra constructed an enormous and wonderful tank in the centre of the city of Chōḍḍodaya which he had destroyed. Gaṇapati, if the Pratāpaścharitra can be trusted, built several tanks in different parts of his kingdom, at Nellor, the Telugu Chōla capital in the south, at Ellore in the Kṛishṇa-Gōdāvari delta, at Gaṇapuram on the banks of the Gaṅgā (i.e., the Gōdāvari), at Gaṇapuram in the south-west of Ekaśilānagarā (Warangal), and at Vidaso to the west of the same city. Similarly, Pratāparaudra is credited with the construction of a big tank somewhere in the region about Pākhāl. This last statement, however, is not borne out by evidence of a trustworthy character. Even more than kings and royal personages did the nobles and officials in their service take great interest in promoting irrigation schemes. Two noble families of Teliṅgāna, viz. the

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1 Corpus, 56, Tel. Ins. Kāk, 6, 37.
2 LR, 48, p. 72.
3 Corpus, 5.
4 Ibid. 3.
5 JTA, vii, pp. 140-2, 289.
Malyālas and the Rēcheṛlas, deserve special mention in this connexion, since many of the surviving tanks which secured the name of the ‘tank-district’ for the region in later ages were the fruits of their enterprise and activity. The Chāvunḍa-samudram, Bācha-samudram (Bas-samudram), Gaṇapa-samudram, Kuppa-samudram, Buddhuni-kūṭa, Kuppāmba-kālva, Pōlreddi-kālva, Reḍḍi-kālva, Dāḍla-kālva, and the great tank at Pākhāl were all excavated by the Malyālas, whilst the Sabha-samudram, Nāma-samudram, Viśvanātha-samudram, Gaura-samudram, Erṛa-samudram, Lakumā-samudram, Kuḍikudiya-cherwū, Katyāre-cherwū, Nēṛṛa-cherwū, Erṛamarāju-kūṭa were constructed by the Rēcheṛlas. In the South, the Kāyastha princes, especially Arbadēva and his subordinates, similarly increased the prosperity of the country by providing it with fresh irrigation facilities. Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅgayadēva, the famous mahāpradhāna of Arbadēva, caused two tanks called Arba-samudram to be excavated in the name of his master at Balī (Ōbali) and Ītuṅkūru respectively. He also had a canal called Rāyasahasramalla-kālva dug from the bed of the river (Chēyyēṛu) at Lēṅbākā, and another named Gaṇḍapenḍāra-kālva excavated at Tāḍlapākā. And again Sāntasīva Dēṣīka, the rāyaguru, caused a tank called Gaṇapa-samudram to be constructed at Gaṇapāpuram.

Information regarding the way in which the tanks were built is indeed very scanty; different methods were doubtless employed varying with the terrain and locality.

The most important piece of work in the construction of a tank was always the erection of an embankment strong enough to withstand the pressure of the water impounded in it. This was a comparatively easy task and naturally involved less trouble and expense in the hilly tracts than in level country. Whereas in mountainous country a group of hills could be easily joined together, as for instance at Buddhapuri, by means of a bund made of stones piled on one another, it was necessary in the level plain to throw up earth banks all round the tank bed. In some places rows of trees called kattava were planted on or by the side of the tank-bund, evidently with a view to adding to its strength. Unfortunately no details of the means adopted by the tank builders in the accomplishment of their task are described in any records of which we have knowledge. There is reason to believe that, in some cases at least, they directly employed labourers and paid them wages in cash. In an inscription dated Śaka 1215 (A.D. 1293) at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district, it is stated that the construction of a tank called Kumāra-samudram involved an expenditure of 241 mādas whilst two other tanks, both named Tripurā-samudram, cost 7 mādas and 156 mādas respectively. The items of expenditure mentioned in this record were obviously incurred for the payment of wages to the labourers employed in the work of constructing the

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1 Corpus, 8, 50, 52.  
2 Ibid. 17, 28, 31, 38, 41, 42, 43.  
3 SII, x, 448.  
4 Ibid. x, 400.  
5 Corpus, 52.  
6 Ibid. 43.  
7 Second figure effaced.  
8 SII, x, 475.
said tanks. But doubtless the practice of *daśabandha*, so popular with the tank-builders of the age of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, cannot have been altogether unknown in the earlier period. According to this method the construction of the tanks was entrusted to persons who had to execute the work and to maintain the tank in good repair after its completion at their own expense. As a set-off they were granted tax-free one tenth of the area of the land irrigated by the tanks constructed by them, as a remuneration for their work. There is, however, no direct evidence to show that this practice was prevalent in the Kākatiya times.

Rain was no doubt the sole source from which most of the tanks derived their water supply. Water collected during the monsoon in the catchment area flowed into the tanks through streamlets called *vāgus*. Tanks situated in the vicinity of the rivers were fed from them by means of canals excavated for the purpose. The *Mūsēti-kālva*, the *Immaṅgaḍī-kālva* from the *Pērakamma*, the *Krishnaveṇī-kālva* dug by the *Reḍḍi of Penumbāka*, the *Antargāṅga-kālva* from the *Cheyyēru* excavated by Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅgayadēva at Lēṁbāka, &c., referred to in the inscriptions of the period, probably conveyed the waters of the said rivers to the tanks of the neighbouring villages.¹ The mention of *āna-kālva* and *kaṭṭunγommu-kālva*,² signifying temporary embankments of earth and stones, called *ānas* and *kaṭṭunγommus*, shows that the rivers and streams were dammed and canals were dug from them to lead the water into tanks or directly to the fields under cultivation. Subsoil water, from springs and *ūta-kāḷvas* or canals dug deep into the earth, was also utilized to fill the tanks in certain areas. The mention in an inscription from Teliṅgāṇa of an *ūta-taṭāka* and of the plentiful rice crops in the fields fed by a canal from it proves that tanks of this description were also found in the interior.³ Tanks were provided with sluices, and canals were dug from them to carry water to the fields; the mention of canals such as *Kūchinēni-kālva*, *Lontali-kālva*, *Ravi-kālva*, *Uttamagarindā-kālva*, *Bommakaṇṭi-kālva*, *Prōḷeṛḍḍi-kālva*, *Reḍḍi-kālva*, *Dāḍla-kālva*, *Meḍavirupurī-gāḷva*, *Maddi-maḍḍi-kāḷva*, *Rāyasahasramalla-kāḷva*, and *Gaṅḍapendāra-kāḷva*,⁴ all of which are found in the records, may properly be noted here since they provide striking evidence of the efforts made by the people of that age to promote agriculture and to increase the produce of the soil.

**Land Reclamation**

Besides providing irrigation facilities for the improvement of agriculture, the Kākatiya monarchs, especially Pratāparudra, attempted to increase the extent of cultivable land by cutting down forests and bringing large tracts of fresh territory under the plough. Local tradition preserved in the *kaṇḍiyatı*

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¹ Corpus, 29; *SII*, x, 395, 448.
² Ibid. 18; *SII*, x, 395.
³ Ibid. 2.
⁴ Ibid. 18, 31, 35, 42, 52; *SII*, x, 395, 448.
of several villages in what is at present known as the Rāyalasīma refer to the deforestation of much of this country by command of Pratāparudra and to the foundation of new villages on land they reclaimed from woodland and wild jungle. When Pratāparudra reached Kochcherlakōṭa in the north of the Nellore district during the course of his campaign against the Kāyastha chief Ambadēva, he ordered Irugappa Kēti Nāyaka, one of the officers in his service, to cut down the forests which then covered the neighbouring country and to build there the village of Dupīpāḍu, modern Dūpāḍu, which in the course of time became the headquarters of a district of that name; an officer of the king’s suite called Śrīnāṭharāju of Anumakoṇḍa was placed in charge of this township. The country to the west of the Śrīśaila mountain corresponding to a large part of the existing Nandid Kokkur tāluk of the Kurnool district of to-day was also at that time covered by dense woods which were cleared at the instance of the king, and several new villages were founded in the open spaces thus created; these in like manner were placed in charge of a kṣhatriya chief, Siri Śiṅgalarāja, who had migrated with his wife Siri Nāguladēvi from Kalyāṇi in the north. Viḍēmu Kommaya, to whom Pratāparudra had granted the territory in the neighbourhood of Kurnool as nāyainkara, felled the trees and established Nāgalaḷi near Dāmēgatla and several other villages in that region on land thus made available. Similar accounts are related in the kaifīyats regarding the foundation of a large number of villages in the Cuddapah and the Kurnool districts; these all bear testimony to the real and intense interest taken by Pratāparudra in increasing the economic resources of his kingdom.

But the establishment of new villages in the forest clearings proved to be a hard task fraught with many difficulties. It was not always easy to find suitable settlers who would consent to be transplanted to form the new communities. The government did not itself undertake this work; it was left to the efforts of enterprising farmers chartered by the State who would visit villages in their neighbourhood and gather together bands of men eager to break loose from the entanglements of the joint family, and to set themselves up in independent homesteads. The government also encouraged such movements by granting special privileges to the emigrants. They were allowed to cultivate the land at first for a term of three years free from the payment of any rent or fiscal charges; from the fourth year onwards taxes were levied at low rates which were gradually raised year by year until they came up to the level of those obtaining in the older established villages of the vicinity.

After recruiting families willing to move, the selection of the village site was the next important step: a suitable place provided with a good supply of water was chosen; the presiding deity was then installed in a temple, and a festival called urummu was held in his or her honour. Then the houses for the new settlers were erected; the ǎyakāṭ (the extent and the details of the
fields, &c.) of the village was determined, and the *dyağārs*, that is, the twelve village officers, were appointed. After this the land was parcelled out among the settlers according to the *visābādi*, and the cultivable fields were plotted. With the construction of a tank to store water for irrigating the fields, the formation of the village was finally completed.

**Taxation**

Very little is known about the incidence of taxation during the Kākatiya period, though the names of many taxes are mentioned in the inscriptions of that period. The main source of government revenue was the taxation of agriculture, the chief and most important occupation of the people. Next to it in value came charges levied on trade and industry and last but not least were the assessments of forests and pasture lands on their yield of timber and the value of grazing rights. Taxes were collected by regular officials (both from the sources of income mentioned above and from a number of others). Some of these taxes were conventional and customary and had been in existence from a long time before the appearance of the Kākatiya dynasty. *Dariṣanamu, appanamu,* and *upakriti* were such traditional and accepted charges, of which the first had to be paid to the king when visiting him on important occasions such as festivals and State ceremonials. This custom of offering presents to the king in kind or in cash at the time of darsan (seeing him) and of paying him kānikas in money on State occasions remained in vogue till very recent times, in the Native States. *Upakriti* was another offering consecrated by long usage, paid not only to the king but also to the officials of the State. Gifts thus offered in acknowledgement of some benevolent action on the part of the ruler were known as *upakriti*. They may be regarded as a kind of customary tax levied by the government on villagers or townsmen in return for some kind of service, permanent or temporary, performed for their benefit.

The government, as has been stated already, derived the bulk of its revenue from the land tax. More land was brought under cultivation in this than in any previous periods, as is proved by the *Local Records*. These state that much of the forest in the Śrīśailam and other regions was cut down by the Kākatiya monarchs Gaṇapatiḍēva, Rudramadēvi, and more particularly Pratāparudradēva, who thus vastly extended habitable and cultivable areas. Since the Kākatiya kings further encouraged agriculture by improving irrigational facilities, especially by the construction of large tanks called in regional language *samudrams*, and the extent of arable land thus rapidly increased, the income derived from the soil must have been augmented in due proportion. A study of the inscriptions of the Kākatiya period shows that land was divided, as at present, into dry (*veli-volamu* or *veli-chēnu* or *veli-bhūmi*), wet (*nīru-nēla*), and garden areas (*tōṇīta-bhūmi* for purposes of assessment,

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1 *SII*, x, 427, 499, 509.
in accordance with the nature and fertility of the soil. Tōṇita-bhūmi was also called tōṇita-polamu. After this preliminary classification the land was surveyed by means of a bamboo pole (gada or daṇḍaka or koḷa) usually of thirty-two jēnas in length.¹ A study of the inscriptions of the period reveals the fact that there were regional variations in the standard length of the pole in different parts of the Kākatiya empire; for instance, poles of eight and twenty-four cubits in length for measuring house sites and fields respectively are referred to in an inscription at Penumūli in the Guntur district.² The pole used for measuring or surveying lands in many places during the Kākatiya period was of thirty-two cubits in length, known as Kēsaripāṭi-gada, a pole which was in use in the village of Kēsaripāḍu. The assessment on wet land differed from that on dry land in accordance with the difference in standard measure. It was customary that the wet land should be measured in marturu or mattar, and its subdivisions, while dry land was reckoned in khāṇḍava, khāṇḍuka, or puṭṭi and its component parts; it is clear that the former comprised a comparatively smaller area than the latter. How the assessment was made is not known. The monarch had his own land called ‘rāčha-dōḍdi’ or ‘rāčhapolamu’ probably in each village in the district.³ This land as well as its produce was the exclusive property of the king himself.

Cheluka or Chelika bhūmi, fallow land which had been newly brought under cultivation, was taxed progressively in proportion to the yield of the crop after a period of three or four years had passed, no tax being levied during the first two, three, or even four years. The tax was collected both in kind and in money. The expressions ‘at the rate of one chinnamu per marturu of sowable ploughed field’ and ‘one chinnamu per puṭṭi of dry land’ occur in inscriptions of this period.⁴ It cannot be said that these were the invariable rates at which money payments were assessed on wet and dry lands respectively but these records do furnish us with definite proof that taxes were assessed not only in kind but also in cash. The tax on dry land and garden land (tōṇita-bhūmi or tōṇita-polamu) was always paid in cash and was respectively known as puṭṭi-pahindi and tōṇita-sunkamu.⁵

Taxes in kind were generally paid to the government in two instalments, one in the month of Kārtika (October–November) and the other in the month of Vaiśākha (April–May),⁶ these evidently being the two main crop-seasons. The king’s officers went round the villages to collect his share of the grain from them. There were kolakāṇḍru, persons engaged in measuring the king’s share of grain, and also tirparulu, umpires or judges, to see that no injustice was done to either party, the ryots of the village, or the government.⁷ The king’s share of a householder’s income in kind was called puṭṭi-koluchu and that of its income in cash, puṭṭi-pahindi.⁸ The govern-

¹ Corpus, 33.
² SII, x, 509.
³ Ibid. x, 510, Corpus, 26.
⁴ dukkivaḍḍa vittupāṭtunaku marturu chinnamu lekkāṇu, Corpus, 26.
⁵ SII, x, 509, 530.
⁶ Ibid. x, 468.
⁷ Ibid. x, 480.
⁸ Ibid. x, 509.
ment also collected a nominal rent even on lands which had been granted to gods and brāhmans. That which was collected from wet land was called *para* and that from dry land, *paṅgamu*. Paṅgamu, according to the Telugu dictionaries, means one-fourth part of the rent and *para* meant probably one-eighth part. Even this minimum rent was remitted in certain cases and the land was listed as entirely tax-free. The general term for land tax was *ari*, and those ryots who were subject to it were called *arigāpulu*.

*Sūṅkamu* is a term of broad import. It is used in inscriptions to denote taxes on garden lands, duties on exports and imports, customs duties collected on articles of merchandise brought to and taken from the *pēṭas* or market-towns or places, and excise duties. These tolls, either customs, duties, or others, collected on articles of trade, including salt, were farmed out to merchant-guilds or associations comprising members of the trading community like the Virabalaṇja-*samaya* or the Ayyāvaḷi guild of merchants, on payment of a fixed sum to the government. It is not known whether the right of collecting taxes was sold by auction, nor have we any information as to the exact length of the period during which the bidders were empowered to collect. These tax-farmers had their own branches in different localities, and their own officials, office establishments, and accountants to keep records of their transactions, receipts, and remissions in the course of the collection of tolls and duties. The tax-collectors were called *sūṅkarulu* and their accountants *sūṅka-karaṇālu*. Probably with the common consent of the members of the local branch, the money collected as duty on certain articles of trade in the locality was sometimes bestowed as a gift for charitable or religious purposes such as the setting up of lights before gods in temples, &c. The duty collected on sales effected in the *pēta*, market-town or marketplace, on articles of trade, was called *pēmṭa-sūṅkamu* or *magama*.1 These tax-collectors' guilds were held responsible only for the amount to be paid to the government, being allowed full freedom to manage their own affairs without any interference by the government or its officials. The extent of autonomy allowed to these trade guilds in managing their own affairs, and the limits to which the policy of non-intervention was followed by the government during the Kākatiya period, are revealed to us by two very interesting copper-plate records of the period dated in Śaka 1244, corresponding to A.D. 1322, and in Śaka 1225, corresponding to A.D. 1304, respectively. The inscription of A.D. 1322 mentions the Kākatiya monarch Pratāparudra of Warangal and records the grant of a privilege to trade in certain articles without paying duty, to a certain Attena, son of Lōkiṣeṭti, by the merchants of the Eighteen *Samayās* of all countries residing in the Nandyāla *sthala*, as a reward for having killed Annāmarāja and Siṅgarāja, the *Sūṅka-karaṇas* of Cherunāru in the Peḍakaṭṭidēśa.2 The other grant dated in Śaka 1225 is similar in its general terms to the above; but it does

1 *SII*, x, 429.
not mention King Pratāparudra. This document too records the grant of the same kind of privilege by the same body of merchants to a certain Puliyamaseṭṭi for having killed Kārapākala Kāṭināyaka who had shown himself a traitor to the samayās. These two records—if they are genuine as is generally supposed, and there is nothing to disprove this supposition—throw considerable light on these trade guilds. Even retail dealers were not exempted from paying these duties. It was left to the merchants of the Eighteen Samayās of all countries, who were the toll-farmers, to exempt any dealer from paying the stipulated duty or to grant such exemption to him as a privilege for some important service which he might have done for the guild organization.

The non-intervention policy of the government even when murders were committed, though these had been perpetrated flagrantly in the interest of the organization, is quite incomprehensible. The two records mentioned above show how much power these guilds wielded and how powerful they were during the last days of the Kākatiya empire. This complaisant policy on the part of the rulers was probably due to the help which these merchant guilds had given to the Kākatiya monarch during the Muslim invasions. Members of these guilds probably joined the army in times of need to form a distinctive component part—śrēṇi-bala—guild-force, one of the six divisions of the royal army which performed meritorious services for the king and were accordingly rewarded with these powers and privileges. The prāṣasti, or formal preamble, of the Virabalanja guild in their inscriptions always contains a long list of titles indicative of their valour and achievements, some of which, like those of the Ballāla-rāya-mardana, are historical. Whatever may be the case as to the origin of these immunities it is a fact that these merchant-guilds wielded unlimited powers and enjoyed full autonomy in the internal management of their own affairs.

Svīkams, that is tolls or duties with varying designations such as ammubāḍi-svīkamu, āmmu-kāḍa-svīkamu, perukā-ēḍa-svīkamu, gānuvala (oil-mills)-mudra-svīkamu, gānuvalu-āri-svīkamu, and uppu-perike-svīkamu, &c., find mention in the records of the Kākatiya period. These were all duties collected by toll-farmers and merchant-guilds in market-places, in places of pilgrimage, and in the precincts of shrines and temples of acknowledged repute. Ammubāḍi-svīkamu and āmmu-kāḍa-svīkamu appear to be equivalent terms for the same impost. If it is argued that they were in fact separate fiscal dues, then the former may be the duty collected at some specified rate, now unknown, on sales effected, and the latter the duty levied on each shop or kāḍa as a going concern. The tax on pack oxen (perike-ēḍa) laden with sacks containing articles of trade, was called perike-ēḍa-svīkamu. Gānuvala-mudra-svīkamu was probably the duty on oil mills paid as a registration fee, whilst gānuvalu-āri-svīkamu may be the annual or semi-annual tax payable

1 AR, Cp. 10 of 1918-19.
on an oil mill as such. Tolls were collected not only on the sale of all goods but also on the possession of many other commodities such as carriages (bandi), slaves (banisa), and horses (gurjana).

Salt was probably a monopoly of the State. Pedda Gaṇjāmu, Pinna Gaṇjāmu (China Gaṇjām), Kaḍakudura, Chorīparāla Kanuṣaṭi, Devarahupalli, and Pāṃdorti—all on the sea coast—were some of the places known from the records where salt was produced during the Kākatiya period. These salt pans were either managed by government officials like the accountants who collected the duty on salt, or were farmed out to merchants as explained above. Since this is a commodity which has to be measured like grain, there were also salt officials called kolakāṇḍru and tirparulu.

Another source of income for the State was the pullari or tax on pasturage lands (pullu = grass and ari = tax). The tax called pullari was collected on cattle grazing on the government pastures attached to each village or in the adjacent forest areas. Besides pullari some of the Kākatiya inscriptions mention another kind of sunkamu known as aḍḍaṭṭa-sunkamu. What this tax was is not definitely known. According to some scholars it was a tax on a herd of sheep and amounted to a kind of property tax on cattle. It is not known whether this term denoted a tax on all classes of cattle or only on certain kinds. If it referred exclusively to sheep, then it would have to be interpreted as an impost relating to industry, since blankets are woven with the wool of the sheep, and not as a pure property tax levied on all classes of cattle. Just as it was on the loads of pack-oxen, in general duty was also collected on each pack-load of salt (uppu perike sunkamu).

Besides those mentioned before, there are other taxes such as gadduga-māda, gadduga-kānika, upakṣiti, talāri-pannu, and bantela-(banṭula-)āyam. Gadduga-māda and gadduga-kānika are evidently the same, since the word means an offering (kānika) compulsorily made to the king as an act of homage, and generally it was a māda. What upakṣiti was, is not known. Could this be a mistake for upakṣiti? Talāri-pannu was the tribute collected from the public for the maintenance of a talāri or watchman. Banṭula-āyam was similarly a maintenance-rate and formed the allowance paid to foot-soldiers for their support.

Besides these taxes there were customary fees in money or in goods or grain known as mērālu or vartanalu to which the government servants and their menials were entitled, and which were collected periodically or seasonally.

1 SII, x, 358.  
2 Ibid. x, 427.  
3 uppu-sunkamu-itsi karaṇālu, SII, x, 480.  
4 Ibid. x, 427.  
5 pasula pullari, SII, x, 427 and 509.  
6 Ibid. x, 499, 509, 521.
IV

LITERATURE

Sanskrit

Sanskrit occupied, as in the previous ages, the first place in the educational system of the Andhra country. The inscriptions of the Kākatiya monarchs and their subordinates bear ample testimony to the flourishing state of Sanskrit learning when they were composed. The educational attainments of the donees who figure in the numerous land grants of the period show that besides the Vedic and the subsequent literature connected with them, the Upanishads, the Śāstras, the Itihāsas, the Purāṇas and the six Darśanas, as well as the various branches of classical Sanskrit literature, were all widely studied, and that in fact most educated persons in the country were very well versed in Sanskrit language and learning. The liberal patronage which the Kākatiya rulers, their nobles and their dependants, extended to Sanskrit scholars and men of letters, gave an impetus to this literary activity, and several works of outstanding merit which now serve as ornaments of Sanskrit literature were produced under the aegis of the court and the nobility dependent upon it. The time for assessing the extent and value of the Sanskrit literature which originated at this time has not yet come, since our knowledge of its history is still fragmentary. No systematic attempt has yet been made to collect and investigate the relevant material and to reconstruct a satisfactory history of the literature of the period on its basis, and until that shall have been done our knowledge can only be tentative and imperfect.

Several eminent Sanskrit writers and poets besides those whose works have come down to posterity are known to have flourished during the age of the Kākatiya rulers. Some of them figure as the authors of inscriptions which must be taken into consideration, on account of their literary excellence and manner of composition, as being kavyas in miniature. Of these writers Achintendra, son of Rāmēśvara Dikshita, and the pupil of the advaita-sanyasin Advayamrita, deserves mention first. He was a contemporary of Kākati Rudradēva and was commissioned by that king to compose the praśasti embodied in the Hanumakonda inscription dated A.D. 1163.² Nandi, son of Rēchi and grandson of Nandmitra of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, is mentioned as the author of the Gaṇapavaram inscription dated A.D. 1214;³ another poet

¹ This section is based partly on the account of Sanskrit literature in the Kākatiya period given by Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Madras, in his learned introduction to Jāya-senāpati’s Nyāttaraṭāvali. We are greatly obliged to him for placing it at our disposal though it is still unpublished.

² Corpus, 3.

³ Ibid. 22.
who is known only by his title, Kavi-Chakravartin, is said to have composed the undated Pākhāl inscription of Gaṇapatidēva which has been assigned to about A.D. 1245. Among the donees of the Kōtāgiri Plates of Rudramādēvi dated Ś. 1195 (A.D. 1273), the names of three poets, Drāvida Unjipira-kavi, Amīni-kavi, and Sūri-kavi, are enumerated, although nothing is known about their achievements. Anantasūri, the daughter’s son of a certain Gōvindabhaṭṭa, is said to have composed the Pāṇugal inscription of Immaḍi Mallikārjuna Nāyaka, a subordinate of Kumāra Rudradēva, in A.D. 1290. The most famous of the praśasti writers of the time was, however, Iśvarabhaṭṭopādhyāya or Iśvarasūri, the author of the Bōthpur inscriptions of the Mālyāla clan. Iśvara was the son of Mayūrārya of the Tārāñānti family, who appears to have been himself a notable scholar. He mastered the Pāṇiniyam Grammar and also the Yajur-Vēda together with its pada-krama, and was an adept in the chitras-kavīva. The Bōthpur inscriptions in which are inserted verses composed without gutturals (nīsh-kaṇṭhya), or without palatals (nīsh-ṭālanya), or without cerebrais (nīr-mūrdhanya), or dentals (nīr-danta), or labials (nīr-oṣṭhya), as well as bhramakas and bandhas, may be taken as examples of his skill in poetic composition.

The part played by these ‘epigraphical poets’, as they are called, in the growth of the Sanskrit literature during this period is not known; their praśasti-kāvyas, however, give us an insight into some of the prevailing literary fashions of the day. And quite apart from these, the contribution of the Kākatiya poets to Sanskrit literature in general is not inconsiderable. Important works in several branches of learning were produced. Agastya, who has been identified by some with Vidyānātha, wrote no less than seventy-four works, but only three of them have come down to us. Of these the most important is a ‘mahā-kāvyā’ called the Bālabhārata which is in fact a shortened version of the Mahābhārata. The poem appears to have been very popular and widely studied in the south during the following centuries. Sāluva Timma, the Śīrāg-Pradhāna of Krishṇadēvaraya of Vījayanagara (A.D. 1309-30), wrote a commentary on it called the Maṅghara. Agastya also produced a khaṇḍa-kāvyā named the Nalakīrtikāumṇdi in four cantos. Agastya had a distinguished pupil in the famous poetess Gaṅgādēvi, the wife of Kumāra Kampāna of Vījayanagara and the authoress of the Madhurāniyam or the Kampārraya-ekharitra. Another well-known kāvyā writer of the time was the renowned scholar and poet Sākalya Malla or Sākalya Mallu-bhaṭṭa, who is said to have been an ornament of the court of Pratāparudra. He composed two works, the Udāttarāghava-kāvyā and the Nirōṣṭhya-Rāmāyaṇa, of which the former appears to have attained great popularity, as evidenced by the two commentaries which were written upon it in succeeding centuries. Appayārya, a Jaina poet at the court of Pratāparudra, composed a kāvyā called the Jīnē-
Next in importance to the kārya is the nāṭaka. Though plays in all ten varieties of the Sanskrit drama were composed by the dramatists of the age, none of first-rate importance comparable to plays of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, and Bhavabhūti appear to have been produced. Judging, however, from the few which have come down to posterity, they deserve recognition on account both of their literary merit and of their artistic excellence. The first dramatist of the period who demands notice is Gaṅgādhara. He is known only through a reference in Gaṅgādēvi’s Madhurāṇījīyam, where it is stated that he dramatized the story of the Mahābhārata. The play itself is not extant, although it seems to have attracted much attention in his own time, and it is therefore not possible to estimate its value or the poetic talents of its author. Gaṅgādhara married a sister of the poet Agastya by whom he had two sons Viśvanātha and Narasimha, who both made their mark in the field of Sanskrit drama. The former wrote the Saṅgandhikāharana, which was obviously based on the well-known episode in the Aranya-parvam of the Mahābhārata dealing with the journey of Bhīmasena to the land of the Yakshas to fetch the Saṅgandhika flower for Draupadi. The latter was a more prolific writer than his elder brother. He is said to have produced plays in each of the ten varieties of the Sanskrit drama, but all of these with the exception of his Kādambari-kalyāṇa-nāṭaka seem unfortunately to have perished. Narasimha also wrote an historical work called the Kākatiyacharita. It is not known whether this was composed in prose or in verse. Rāvipāṭi Tripurāntaka is said to have been the author of a vidhi-nāṭaka, one of the ten accepted kinds of Sanskrit drama, called the Prēmābhirāmam. The original play itself is lost, but it is known through a fourteenth-century Telugu translation entitled Kriḍābhirāmam by Vallabhaṇya, the governor of the fort of Vinuṇḍa under Harihara II (A.D. 1378-1404) of Vijayanagara. Whatever may have been its merits as a vidhi-nāṭaka, it is undoubtedly of importance, since it describes the religious and social life of the Kākatiya capital Warangal during Pratāparudra’s reign.

The fourteenth century of the Christian era may be regarded as the golden age of the alankāra-sāstra in the Deccan, when very great progress was made in the study and investigation of the subject and several important treatises noted for their originality and profundity of thought were produced. Of these the Pratāparudra-yaśōbhūshaṇam of Vidyānātha, which is still used as the standard work on the subject in all the Sanskrit schools where alankāra-sāstra is studied, is easily the best. Vidyānātha was the greatest man of letters of his day; he was the poet laureate of Pratāparudra, to whom he dedicated his work; other writers like Sāyaṇa, Viśvēṣvara, and Sīṅga-bhūpāla followed in his wake; but since they wrote after the extinction of the Kākatiya monarchy in A.D. 1323, consideration of their works is not called for here.
Music and the fine arts flourished under the patronage of the Kākatiyas. How popular music and dancing were in Kākatiya times can be seen from the sculptural representations of musicians and dancers in some of the famous shrines of the age, especially the Rāmappa temple at Pālampēṭa in the Warangal district of the Āṇdrā Pradesh. Pāḷkuṟpiki Sōma enumerates various instruments of music in his Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra as well as the rāgas which were in vogue among the musicians of the day. Jāyana, the Gaja-sāhīni of Gaṇapatidēva, wrote the Gitaratnāvali; but this work, as also the Vādyaratnāvali, which he is said to have written on the subject of musical instruments, is no longer extant; however, his Nṛttaratnāvalī, a treatise on dancing, has fortunately survived the ravages of time. The Nṛttaratnāvali is divided into descriptions of the two modes of dance, mārga and dēśī, each being treated separately in four chapters. It is one of the best works on nṛtya, following Abhinavagupta and Kṛtitdhara for the mārga and Matalīga for the dēśī system. Though a work on a technical subject, the Nṛttaratnāvalī is not without literary merit. The author displays considerable poetical talent and remarkable command over both the Sanskrit language and its prosody.

Though verse was generally employed by the poets as well as by other men of letters, prose compositions were not unrepresented. Agastya wrote the Krishnacharita and his example was followed by his nephew (sister’s son) Narasiṁha, who produced a gādyā-kāvyā called the Malayavati. The former is available, whereas the latter is known only from a reference in an inscription in a Kākatiya temple at Warangal. Sanskrit grammar was widely studied. It may be remembered that the epigraphical poet Iśvarabhaṭṭopādhyāya claims expert knowledge of the Pāṇinian grammar. He would hardly have boasted of his proficiency in grammar had not grammatical studies been held in high esteem by the educated public of his day. The popularity of grammar is also attested by the appearance of several new works on the subject. Kolani Rudradēva, son of the mudrāśaka (seal-bearer) Ganna and a pradhāni of Pratāparudra, wrote a grammatical work in the form of a commentary on the Śloka-vārttika, called Rājarudriya. The Śloka-vārttika is not itself an original work; it sets forth the metrical data of a vārttika character quoted by Pataṉjlali in his Mahābhāṣya. Besides the Rājarudriya, several exegetical works on other subjects made their appearance about this time. The Kākatiya period was an age of intense religious activity, an activity which naturally led to the production of numerous philosophical and theological works of importance. Though most of these were written in the vernacular languages, a number of them were composed in Sanskrit also. Guṇḍayabhaṭṭa, the brāhmaṇ-ādhikārīn in the court of Pratāparudra, wrote a commentary on the Advaita classic Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa of Śrī Harsha. Guṇḍaya was a learned scholar, well versed in the Veda, Sāstra and Smṛiti; he appears to have inherited his love of Advaita from his father Rājamahēndra, who is said to have been a distinguished

Vēdāntin. The Māhēśvara-Sārōḍḍhāra, commonly known as the Sōmanātha-bhāṣya, and the Rudra-bhāṣya of Pālkiṣki Sōmanātha are, however, works of a different character. Of these the latter, which was apparently a gloss on the Rudrādhyāya of the Yajur-vēda, is not extant. The former is a treatise comprising twenty-five chapters in which the author attempts to establish the superiority of Śaivism to other creeds. He cites in support of his contention a large number of texts from the Vēdas, smritis, purāṇas and āgamas, as well as passages from Haradattāchārya’s Chaturvēda-sāra-samgraha. Although the Sōmanātha-bhāṣya displays the vast erudition and extraordinary skill in debate of its author, it has failed to win general popularity and is in fact scarcely known outside the Vīra-Śaiva community.

**Telugu**

Telugu literature appears to have suffered an eclipse for nearly a century (A.D. 1060–1160) after Nannayabhaṭṭa; for no writer who left his impress on the annals of our literature is known to have flourished during this period. Literary activity, however, did not completely cease. The evidence of inscriptions, several of which were composed partly or wholly in Telugu verse, indicates that poetry was still cultivated, and that the rulers and magnates of the age still cherished learning and extended their patronage to men of letters. Such documents frequently allude to the feudatory princes and their ministers as patrons and protectors of poets; but they seldom mention the names of any individual writers or the literary compositions by means of which they rose to distinction and fame. Occasionally, however, the name of a Telugu poet does occur here and there as the author of an inscription. Bhīmaya Paṇḍa, who is mentioned in an epigraph at Chēbrōlu in the Guntur district dated Ś. 1067 (A.D. 1145), is said to have been a poet capable of producing verses both in the mārga and the dēśī styles as the ancients had done. He was probably the author who composed the praśasti embodied in the record.1 Īsvara Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya, son of Mayūrarāya, who was employed by the Malayālas to compose the family praśasti incorporated in their Bōthpur inscription, was a famous poet. He is said to have been proficient in Pānini grammar, and skilled in śāda-vidya (philology) and the knowledge of vichiṭra-kavīvā (ornate poetry). Though his compositions are mostly in Sanskrit verse, they are interspersed with long passages in Telugu prose which show that he was as great an adept in the vernacular as he was in the classical language.2 Inscriptions in Telugu verse, though mostly anonymous compositions, demand particular attention on account both of their literary merit and of their linguistic, grammatical, and prosodical peculiarities. Some of them, for instance, the Gūḍūr inscription of the time of Bēta II, the Karimnagar inscription of Gaṃgādhara, the Upparapalle inscription of Kāṭa, the Konṇidena inscription of Ōpilisiddhi. and the Tāḷḷa-Prōḍḍutūr inscription

1 *SII*, vi, 103.
2 *Corpus*, 50, 51, and 52.
of Jagatāpi Gaṅgayadēva, display poetical qualities of a high order and may be regarded as excellent specimens of the epigraphical literature of the Kākatīya period.

Ithāsas. (i) The Rāmāyana. The intellectual ferment caused by new religious movements like Vaishnavism and Vīra-Saivism gave a fresh impetus to Telugu literature, and works of considerable literary value began to make their appearance in a continuous stream from the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. onwards, if not even earlier. The two great national epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, naturally claimed the first attention of the Telugu writers. Several works on the Rāmāyana were produced. These fall, according to the metres employed in their composition, into two classes; the pādyā- and the dvipada-kāvyas. The pādyā-kāvyas, whether on the Rāmāyana or any other subject, were not, with the single exception of Tikkana's Nirvachan-Ōttara Rāmāyanaam, written, as is suggested by their class-name, entirely in verse; they are chandās or mixed compositions in which verses in various metres excluding, of course, the dvipada, and pādyas, that is, ornate prose passages, are employed according to the whim of the author. Mantri Bhāskara, the grandfather of Tikkana, who must have flourished about the close of the twelfth century A.D., was probably the first writer to compose a poem in Telugu on the theme to the Rāmāyana. This belief is based on the statement of Tikkana in the introduction to his Nirvachan-Ōttara Rāmāyanaam that the learned public might look on his poem with an indulgent eye, if not on account of its intrinsic merit, yet in consideration of his kinship to Mantri Bhāskara, his own grandfather, who had been famous for the excellence of his poetry. The fact that Tikkana chose the Uttarā-kāṇḍa, leaving out the first six kāṇḍas, which constitute the Rāmāyana proper, as the theme of his Nirvachan-Ōttara Rāmāyanaam, coupled with the statement referred to above, lends colour to the belief that Mantri Bhāskara had composed a poem on the Rāmāyana consisting of six kāṇḍas and that Tikkana completed his grandfather's book by adding the Uttarā-kāṇḍa to it as a supplement. This poem, if it was, as is averred by tradition, actually written by Mantri Bhāskara, is now no longer extant. It is not, however, improbable that parts of it are incorporated with the later Bhāskara Rāmāyanaam of the fourteenth century A.D. Of the surviving Telugu works on the Rāmāyana, Tikkana's Nirvachan-Ōttara-Rāmāyanaam is no doubt the earliest. It must have been produced about A.D. 1260, since it was dedicated to King Manuma Siddhi II of Nellore, who ruled from A.D. 1248 to 1265, and alludes to certain historical events which took place subsequent to A.D. 1250. The poem, which is divided into ten āśvāsas or cantos, deals briefly with the subject-matter of the Sanskrit Uttarā-kāṇḍa excepting the final episode dealing with the nīryāna or the death of Rāma. The poem is still popular, and is eagerly read by the learned

1 Corpus, 23 and 36; H.A.S, No. 3; SII, vi, 628, and the Bhārati, vol. xv, part i, pp. 157-60.
2 Nir, 1, 12.
who hold it in high esteem. Though it exhibits all the characteristic features of Tikkana’s poetic art, it is considered immature when compared with the poet’s Mahābhārata. The style, no doubt, is terse and dignified, the diction simple and homely, the imagery graceful and charming, and the literary craftsmanship superb. Nevertheless, the ripeness of style, the grandeur of conception, and the sublimity of thought so characteristic of his Mahābhārata are little apparent in this poem. Next in point of time comes the well-known Bhāskara-Rāmāyana, a composite work which contains the productions of no less than five authors, Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, son of Bhāskara, Kumāra Rudradēva, son of Māraya, Bhāskara, Hulakki Bhāskara, and Ayyalarāya, a descendant of the celebrated Śākalya Mallubhaṭṭa. Contrary to the belief still generally held, these poets were not contemporaries; nor did they cooperate with one another in a joint literary enterprise. Of the five, Ayyalarāya, the last mentioned, lived at Dēvarakoḍa in the court of the Velama prince Peda-Vēdagiri Nāyaḍu at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.; he completed the Yuddha-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana which had been left unfinished by Hulakki Bhāskara at the instance of his patron as stated in the majority of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the work. Kumāra Rudradēva son of Māraya was, no doubt, identical with Māraya Sāhini Rudradēva, that is, Rudradēva, the son of Māraya Sāhini or Sāhini Māra, mentioned as a subordinate of king Pratāparudra in an inscription dated Ś. 1233 Virōdhikrit (A.D. 1311) at Nevalikallu in the Sattenapalle taluk of the Guntur district.¹ The time at which the other three poets flourished is not so definitely known, but there is reason to believe that Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, the author of the Bala-, Kishkindha- and Sundara-kāṇḍas, lived earlier than Kumāra Rudradēva and his father Sāhini Māra. It is generally believed that the Bhāskara Rāmāyana was dedicated by its authors to Sāhini Māra. The internal evidence indicates that this belief is not well founded. An examination of the dedicatory verses at the beginning and end of each of the three kāṇḍas composed by Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa shows that he dedicated them originally to the god Śiva, but that later someone attempted to re-dedicate them to Sāhini Māra by interpolating certain verses. Who the person was who thus attempted to re-dedicate them, is not difficult to discover. The Ayōḍhya-kāṇḍa is ascribed both in the printed text and in the majority of the palm-leaf manuscripts to Kumāra Rudradēva; but several manuscripts attribute its authorship to Bhāskara, the author of the Aranya-kāṇḍa. We find in the colophon of the Ayōḍhya-kāṇḍa in these manuscripts the praṇāsa and the name of Bhāskara; moreover the dedicatory verses at the end are similar to those in the Aranya-kāṇḍa with vibhaktvy-antas instead of the usual sambuddhi (vocative). In addition to this evidence, there occurs also at the end, as in the case of Aranya-kāṇḍa, a verse in the sīsa metre describing briefly the contents of the kāṇḍa and the religious merit accruing to the persons who should read it. From this

¹ AR, 307 of 1934-5.
it is clear that the *Ayodhya-kāṇḍa*, like the *Aranya-kāṇḍa*, was composed by Bhāskara, and subsequently under circumstances not at present known the dedicatory verses as well as the colophon of the former were altered by Kumāra Rudradēva so as to make it appear his own composition, and he then re-dedicated it to his father, Sāhini Māra. The clumsy attempt to inter-polate dedicatory verses addressing Sāhini Māra in the other kāṇḍas, especially the Kishkindha and the Sundara, must be attributed to over-zealous scribes and redactors of later ages who were profoundly influenced by the apocryphal legend of Sāhini Māra, according to which Bhāskara, being incensed with the king on account of the preference shown by that prince to Ranganātha, the author of the Dvipada-Rāmāyaṇam, dedicated his poem in disgust to the king’s groom Sāhini Māra. It is obvious that the Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇam as it has come down to us is a composite work to which several writers, who lived at different times, contributed. However, it may be regarded as the product of the Kākatiya age, since all the poets concerned, with the exception of Ayyalārya, flourished during that period.

The Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇam is not a translation of the great Sanskrit epic of Vālmīki but is a free and independent rendering of the story of Rāma in the Telugu language. The authors of the work no doubt followed Vālmīki’s narrative closely, but they retold it in their own fashion without lifting any passages directly from his poem. The style of the poem is of course not uniform, since it varies with the change of author from kāṇḍa to kāṇḍa, but it is dignified and majestic throughout, eminently in keeping with the epic grandeur of its theme. From a literary and artistic standpoint, the Aranya-kāṇḍa of Bhāskara is considered by competent critics to be the best. The style is severe and terse; the language is simple and direct, and is free from long Sanskrit compounds, and from excessive ornamentation; the flow of the verse is natural and spontaneous, and the narrative proceeds smoothly unclogged by superfluous descriptions. Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa’s style is more Sanskritic and ornate. He is at his best in the Kishkindha- and the Sundara-kāṇḍas. Hulakki Bhāskara’s style is vigorous and dignified; the flow of his verse is spontaneous; his narrative is direct and the description of battle-scenes is spirited and well suited to the theme. Ayyalārya’s poetry bears close resemblance to that of Hulakki Bhāskara whose unfinished Yuddha-kāṇḍa he completed. He seems to have made a deliberate attempt to imitate the style of his predecessor, so as to produce the impression that the whole kāṇḍa was the composition of a single writer. In this he was eminently successful. Ayyalārya was indeed a great poet. The fact that he was able to compose more than half of the Yuddha-kāṇḍa (1,556 out of 2,690 verses) in a manner quite indistinguishable from that of Hulakki Bhāskara bears ample testimony to his lofty poetical genius. Though several Padya-Rāmāyaṇas, both adaptations as well as literal translations of Vālmīki’s great poem, have been written during the succeeding centuries, yet none can approach in grandeur,
artistic perfection, and literary excellence the Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇam, which justly retains to this day its position as one of the great classics of the Telugu language.

The Kākatiya age also saw the birth of another great Rāmāyaṇa classic in the dvīpada metre called the Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇam. The dvīpada or two-footed verse, consisting of two lines knit together by jati and prāsa so as to form a unit like the English couplet, appears to have been perfected during this age. It is not definitely known how and when the dvīpada was at first evolved; but judging from the occurrence of analogous metres like the taruvōja in the inscriptions of Gunaga Vijayāditya (A.D. 848–92), it is not improbable that it came into vogue about the same time, although no example of a dvīpada composition anterior to the fourteenth century A.D. has come down to us. No trace of it is to be found in the literature or inscriptions. It is a dēśi or indigenous metre eminently suitable for singing and was largely employed by the propagandists of various religious sects to spread their respective doctrines among the masses, who were mostly illiterate. The authorship and the date of the composition of the poem have long been subjects of controversy. Tradition ascribes it to a poet by the name of Raṅganātha whose name it bears. In fact, there flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century a Vaishñava poet called Ranganātha, who, being defeated in religious disputation by the famous Vīra Śaiva divine, Pālkiṣṇi Śomanātha, enrolled himself as the disciple of the latter and embraced the Vīra Śaiva faith. In the prologue and the colophons of the poem it is, however, stated that it is the composition of a certain Buddhāraja who (in the prologue of his poem) traces his descent through Viṭṭhala, Buddha, and Rudra, his father and grandfather and an unnamed great grandfather respectively, to Kāta of the Gōna family. Though several chieftains of this family figure in the inscriptions of the Kākatiya monarchs as their feudatories and subordinates, very little is really known about Buddhāraja and his ancestors. It is perhaps not unlikely that the Gōna Kāta, one of the ministers of Gaṇapatidēva who is mentioned in an epigraph at Kaṭāchī dated in the 5th regnal year (?) A.D. 1255 of Allun Tikka Mahārāja Gaṇḍagōpāladeva, is identical with our Gōna Kāta; and that Gōna Buddhaya, who is said in an inscription dated Ś. 1198 Dhātri (A.D. 1277) at Bōthpur in the Mahboobnagar District to have been the father of Māyalā Gūnda’s wife Kuppāmbikā, was in fact one of the two Buddhārajas of the Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇam. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the poem is a genuine product of the Kākatiya period, and the time of its composition may be assigned roughly to the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. The Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇam is the greatest of the Telugu dvīpada-kāvyas and though it follows fairly closely the story of the Rāmāyaṇa as narrated by Vālmikī, it includes some episodes which find no place in his great epic. Buddhāraja is indeed a great poet. The uniform

1 Bhārati v, 473–84
2 AR, No 608 of 1919
3 Corpus, 50.
excellence and perfection of the style bear ample testimony to his consummate artistic skill and his mastery over the poetic art. His divipadas couched in mellifluous language glide along with ease and speed, and the narrative moves with majestic grandeur from episode to episode. In its gracefulness of expression, in the charm and the beauty of the imagery and in the aptness of illustration, there is hardly another divipada-kāvyam in Telugu which can bear comparison with Buddharaṇja’s Raṅganātha-Rāmāyanaṃ. Closely associated with this work is the Uttara-kāṇḍa of Kācha and Viṭṭhala, sons of Buddharaṇja, who composed this poem in order to complete the work of their father. But the Uttara-kāṇḍa, judged from a literary standpoint, must be considered far inferior to the Raṅganātha Rāmāyanaṃ to which it serves as a supplement. In addition to these, the Viddikūchi-Rāmāyanaṃ, so called evidently after its author Viddi Kūchi, comprising six kāṇḍas now no longer extant, deserves mention, since it appears to have been a composition of the Yakṣagāna type suited especially for singing and recitation.

(ii) The Mahābhārata. The Kākatiya age also saw the completion of the Āndhra Mahābhārata, begun and partly composed by Nannayabhaṭṭa, the court poet of the Eastern Chāluṣka Raṇarāja Narėndra in the eleventh century A.D. The work had remained incomplete from the time of its composition until it was taken up and finished by Tikkana Sōmayāji, the minister and the poet laureate of the Telugu Chōla king Manuma Siddhi II of Nellore, two centuries later, about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. Tikkana Sōmayāji, justly called the Kavi-Brahma, that is ‘Brahma (or the creator) among the poets’, is the greatest of the Telugu poets, and his Mahābhārata—fifteen out of the eighteen parvas from the Virāja-parvam to the Svargārōhana-parvam—is universally regarded as the grandest poem in the language. Though generally believed to be a translation of Vyāsa’s great Sanskrit epic, competent critics hold that notwithstanding its close connexion with Vyāsa’s work, it is not a translation but an independent poem far superior in its beauty and artistic quality to the Sanskrit work. Although Tikkana, like his great predecessor Nannayabhaṭṭa, followed generally the theme of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, he did not adhere to its text. He never hesitated to omit, abridge, or even frequently to expand the Sanskrit original and develop in his own way episodes which aroused his interest, displaying originality and charm so that his work reads like an independent poem recounting the story of the Mahābhārata rather than a translation. The Āndhra Mahābhārata is indeed a great masterpiece of Telugu literature. Tikkana’s language is much simpler than that of Nannayabhaṭṭa. Though a Sanskrit scholar of considerable erudition, he manifests a distinct partiality for simple and homely Telugu words, avoiding the excessive use of long Sanskritic compounds and phrases otherwise favoured so much by Telugu writers in all ages. His style is remarkable for its flexibility, varying according to the theme from the sublime majesty of the Virāja- and the Udyōga-parvas to the sūtra-like terseness of the
Sánti- and the Anuśasanika. Tikkana is very economical in his use of the language. Simple dēśya terms are employed with great effect in appropriate contexts and hardly a single superfluous syllable can be detected in the whole extent of this mighty epic. His verse resembles in its compactness and strength the cyclopean masonry in which well-chiselled blocks of granite are neatly placed one above the other without any adhesive material in between to hold them together. Though he depicts the whole gamut of the rāsas with perfect competence, he is at his best in dealing with vīra, śṛṅgāra, and duḥkha. His descriptions of battles and battle-scenes are unrivalled in the whole range of Telugu literature for their liveliness and grandeur. He makes use of the various figures of speech with conspicuous ability. His similes are specially noteworthy; they resemble those of Homer and Milton and recall to mind similar descriptions in the Iliad and in the Paradise Lost. The most important features of Tikkana’s Mahābhārata are the limpid flexibility of its narrative, the vigorous energy of its verse, and the vivid portrayal of the characters. The magic of his incomparable style brings even the most shadowy characters of the Sanskrit epic before us in fresh life and activity. The genius of Tikkana has imparted new beauty and grandeur to Vyāsa’s poem, and transformed it into an Āndhra national epic which occupies a unique place in every Āndhra heart.

The Purāṇas. Like the two great national epics (iṭṭāṭa) the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas also attracted the attention of the poets of the Kākatiya age. Mārana, a disciple of Tikkana Sōmayāji, produced the Mārkandēya-purāṇam based on the Sanskrit purāṇa of that name which he dedicated to Nagaya Ganna, the talārī of Warangal during the reign of Pratāparudra. Mārana’s Mārkandēya-purāṇam is not a translation of the Sanskrit original but, like the other āndhrikarāṇas of the age, is a résumé of the select parts in which the descriptive and the narrative elements predominate over the religious and the didactic. Mārana’s style is simple, free from long Sanskrit compounds; like his great master, Tikkana, he prefers to employ short dēśi words which he welds together with consummate skill into pithy sentences full of grace and charm. Avoiding excessive ornamentation, he narrates incidents of the purāṇa with the artless simplicity of a born story-teller.

The Kāvyas. The Telugu Kāvyas perhaps made its appearance about the beginning of this period. The Kumāradasābhavan of Nanne Chōḍadēva, the Telugu Chōla ruler of the Pākanādu, Twenty-one Thousand country, is, of course, the earliest of the Telugu kāvyas. We have no definite information as to when Nanne Chōḍadēva actually lived and composed his poem. The information which he gives us about himself and his family in the prologue does not lend itself to any definite conclusions, and has given rise, as a matter of fact, to considerable speculation and controversy. Some believe that Nanne Chōḍadēva flourished in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The archaic language and unusual grammatical forms, as well as the obvious influence on the work
of the earlier compositions of Kannada Jaina literature, would seem to strongly argue in favour of an early date. Nevertheless, most Telugu scholars and literary critics consider that Nanne Chôdâdeva was a comparatively late writer and that he could not have lived earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. Nanne Chôda mentions, in the eulogy of the ancient Sanskrit poets found in the prologue of his kâvyâ, Kâlidâsâ himself and another poet of the name of Udbhâta who are both said to have composed poems called Kumârasambhavam; but his poem is not based on the works of either of these, although translations of a few ślokas from Kâlidâsâ’s Kumârasambhavam are found scattered here and there. His is an independent poem in the kâvyâ style into which he has woven episodes connected with the marriage of Śiva and Pârvatî and the birth and the achievements of the War-God drawn from the Śiva-pūrânas and the Kumârasambhavams of Kâlidâsâ and Udbhâta. Nanne Chôda relates in his Kumârasambhavam the stories of the birth of Gañâeśa, Daksha’s sacrifice, the self-immolation of Śatî, her rebirth as Pârvatî, the daughter of Himavân and Mênakâ, the marriage of Pârvatî with the God Śiva, the birth of Kumâra and the destruction of the demon Târaka. Though his language is simple, it teems with archaic terms and expressions which are unintelligible to the modern reader. Although he declares in the introduction that the language used by him in his poem is Jânu-Tenugu, a term the precise denotation of which is not quite clear, it does not differ in any manner from the literary dialect that had come into vogue after the days of Guñaga Vijayâditya (A.D. 848–92) and which was employed by Nannayabhâta and all other writers in subsequent times. The term jânu prefixed to the word Telugu by Nanne Chôda does not perhaps carry with it any special significance regarding versification or prosody but means only beautiful or graceful Telugu. His style is dignified and flexible; it varies according to the situation, and adapts itself admirably to the nature of the subject dealt with; the diction is extraordinarily rich and varied; and the imagery and the descriptions are original and charming. His touch is delicate, and his handling of the emotions (rasas) is masterly and exquisite. His range is wide, and none of the eighteen varmanas and thirty-two alamkâras known in his day is left untouched. Nanne Chôda is indeed a great poet, and his kâvyâ deserves to be placed in the forefront of the species of composition to which it belongs.

Tikkana Sômâyâji also wrote a kâvyâ called the Vijayasênam, and Chimmapûdi Amarësvara, another famous poet of the period, produced the Vikramasênam, but neither of these is extant; only two verses from the former and a large fragment, consisting of about sixty verses, from the latter are preserved in the anthologies. Amarësvara’s poem describes the story of a prince of Ujjain called Vikramasêna. Though nothing more can be said of the incidents of the poem, and the manner in which he developed them, he yet left a great reputation behind him, though the work on which this was founded seems to have disappeared long ago. Judging from the quality of the few
verses which have survived, the opinion of Vinukonda Vallabharaya, who flourished in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., that Amarcesvara was as great a poet as Nannayabhatta, Tikkana and Hulakki Bhaskara, does not seem to be unjustified. His style is vigorous, and the language felicitous.

Story. The poet Ezra Pregada, writing about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., refers to the fondness of the Telugu people for the gathas or tales. Though this remark presupposes the existence of a gatha literature before his time, it seems to have perished almost completely. The Telugu gatha, like the other forms of Telugu literature, appears to have begun with translations and adaptations of the Sanskrit classics. The gatha writers, like their compeers in other fields of literature, adopted the Champu as their vehicle of expression, the nir-vachana compositions being unpopular and Telugu literary prose as such yet unborn. The earliest surviving collection of such stories is Ketana's Dasakumaracharitra, a translation into Telugu of Danadin's famous work of the same name. Ketana is generally praised for his skill in narration and the naturalness and sobriety of his descriptions; but much of this praise should be really credited to Danadin whom Ketana follows closely, though he deviates from the Sanskrit original in details here and there. The real importance of Ketana's poem lies in the impetus which it gave to story-writing in Telugu. Another poet who may be classed among the early story-writers is Manchana, the author of the Keypurabahucharitra, a translation or rather an adaptation into Telugu of Rajaekhara's drama the Vidhyasalaubhanika; but Manchana wove into the texture of his poem many tales drawn from the Paanchatantra and other Sanskrit works of the class. Manchana's style is simple and charming; his verse is nimble and graceful; and the consummate skill with which he recounts his tales has created for him a unique place among Telugu story-tellers.

Grammar and Prosody received due attention. The Andhrabhashabhushanam of Ketana is the first treatise on grammar in Telugu. Tradition, no doubt, attributes the authorship of the Andhraabhadachintamani to Nannayabhatta, but this is questioned by modern scholars. The Andhraabhadachintamani, unlike Ketana's work, is written in Sanskrit. Malliya Rechana's Kavijanashrayam is perhaps the earliest treatise on Telugu prosody; a work of the same name is attributed to Vemulavada Bhimakavi, but this is not extant. The Kavi-vagbandhanam, a short work on prosody attributed to Tikkana Somayaji, also deserves notice.

Dharma-Sstra and the Rajaniti. Ketana translated the Vyavahara-kanda of the Vijyaneshvariya, a commentary on the Yajnavalkya-smrti by Vijnanesvara, a great jurist who flourished at the court of the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI of Kalyani. He probably undertook this work in order to facilitate the administration of justice by the dharmasanas or popular courts of justice. The study and exposition of rajaniti, or politics, appears to have aroused greater interest among the people than did the dharmastras. Not
only were Sanskrit works on the subject, such as the *Pancatantra* and the *Kamandaka*, translated into Telugu, but several original treatises were also produced in both the languages. Some of these are of great importance because they throw interesting light on aspects of Hindu polity which are either completely ignored or only slightly touched on in the well-known Sanskrit textbooks on the subject. Of these the *Nitisara* of Prataparudra written in Sanskrit, the *Nitisastra-muktavali* and the *Sumati Satakam* of Baddena, and the *Purusharthasaram* of Sivadevayya in Telugu verse, demand particular attention, as they seem to have exercised profound influence on the Hindu system of government not only during the time of the Kakatiyas but also in succeeding ages. Most of these works have perished; only the *Nitisastra-muktavali* and perhaps also the *Sumati Satakam* of Baddena have come down to us. Fortunately extracts from these works as well as many others such as the *Mudramayam* and the *Nitibhushanam*, of unknown age and authorship, are preserved in the *Sakalanitisanmatamu*, a compendium on the *rajaniti* compiled by Madiki Simgana about the middle of the fourteenth century. The language of these works is simple and direct and the expression of the ideas is clear and unambiguous. They invite special notice as much for their literary excellence as for the light they throw on the system of government obtaining in the Andhra country in the age of the Kakatiya monarchs.

The contribution of the Saivas to the Telugu literature of the period is especially important, since it is associated with growth of the *Dvipada-kavya* and other types of *deti* compositions. It is not known how and when the *dvipada* had its origin, though it is not improbable, judging from the occurrence of analogous metres, like the *tarmובת* in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyan king Guanaga Vijayaditya (A.D. 848-92), that it was known from the tenth century A.D. onwards; of this, however, there is no clear proof.

Saiva contribution to the literature of the period is both important and extensive, though rigidly sectarian in character and narrow in its scope, being devoted mainly to the hagiology of the Saiva saints, the exposition of Saiva theosophy, and the eulogy of Siva and his attendant deities. Two important works by Palkuriki Somanatha, his *Basava-puranam* and his *Panditarradhyacharitra*, must be noticed here, since they not only describe the tenets of the Vira Saiva faith as expounded by Basava but also throw a flood of light on the religious and social conditions obtaining in the Andhra country during the period of the Kakatiya monarchy. To popularize the doctrines of Basava and convey his teachings to the masses Somanatha adopted the *Jānu-Tenugu* language, being Telugu with a large admixture of the spoken dialect, with the *dvipada* metre as the vehicle of his expression, so that his poems might be learnt by heart and sung and understood even by common uneducated folk. Though his *Basava-puranam* and *Panditarradhyacharitra* were designed to be the biographies of the two great Vira Saiva reformers and teachers of the twelfth century A.D., he made them compendiums of Vira Saiva legend and religious
lore by interweaving into them the lives of the Telugu, Tamil, and Kannada saints famous in the Śaiva tradition of south India. Pālkuṇiki Sōmanātha was an erudite scholar in Sanskrit and the Prākrit besides being conversant with all the South Indian languages, excepting probably Malayālam. He was a poet of great genius with a flair for controversy. The flow of his verse is unrestrained and its technique is uniformly excellent. Though capable of soaring to the highest flights of poetic fancy and imagination, he can be incomparably dull and prosaic and sometimes produces hundreds of mechanical couplets whose only merit is that they are couched in metrical form. Linguists and literary critics often confuse archaic terms and grammatical and metrical peculiarities with poetry; but old and forgotten words, unusual forms of grammar, and metrical peculiarities, though interesting in themselves, must not be taken as substitutes for good poetry; and in judging Sōmanātha’s works the good must be set against the mediocre and a balance struck. However, considered apart from their value as poetical compositions the importance of the Basava-purāṇam and the Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra cannot easily be overrated, for they present a vivid picture of the social and religious conditions of the age, and form an invaluable aid to students of the history of the Kākatiya period.

The stōtra literature is much more extensive. It consists of śatakas, and udāharaṇas which are exclusively devoted to the praise of the deities to whom they are addressed. Three important śatakas, viz. the Śivatattvasāram of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya, the Sarvēśvara-śatakam of Yathāvākkula Annamayya, and the Vṛishādhipa-śatakam of Pālkuṇiki Sōmanātha, are of special interest, since they are the earliest specimens of Telugu śataka literature available at present. In fact the composition and publication of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya’s Śivatattvasāram in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. may be said to have opened a new epoch in the history of Telugu literature. Though it is generally spoken of as a śatakam (a century) it contains, as available at present in an incomplete form, no less than 479 verses in the Kanda metre. It is a polemical work devoted to the description of the true character, as understood by the author, of Śaivism, and to the condemnation of rival creeds. Mallikārjuna was an unbending Pāṣupata dualist and shows little or no consideration for the advocates of the other schools of thought, whom he denounces in the fiercest terms. Mallikārjuna is, no doubt, a vigorous writer, but he sacrifices his poetic genius on the altar of fanaticism. To him poetry is not so much an expression of artistic feeling as a medium of religious thought. The nature of the subject is such that it hardly leaves any room for the exercise of poetic talent, and the author certainly makes no attempt to transcend the limitations imposed by his subject. His command over the language is perfect; his verse is free and spontaneous, and his style simple and terse. Mallikārjuna’s Śivatattvasāram, which he has himself translated into Kannāḍa, has exercised profound influence on Śaivism both in Āndhra and
Karnāṭaka. His other works, the Rudramahima, the Ganaśahasramāla, and the Parvatavarṇana, all devoted to religious topics, have not come down to us.

The Sarvēśvara-satakam of Yathāvākkuḷa Annamayya is far superior to Śivatattvasāram in artistic excellence. It is perhaps the best composition of its kind produced during the age. Annamayya like Mallikārjuna was an Ārādhya; and his poem, which is addressed to Sarvēśvara, the Universal Lord, was composed in Śaka 1164 (A.D. 1242); it consists of 142 verses in vṛtta metres which describe the greatness of Sarvēśvara (Śiva), his omnipotence, the superior sanctity of the votaries of Śiva to all the holy tirthas (holy places of pilgrimage), the greatness of the bhaktas, the happiness caused by the Śivayōga (yogic contemplation of Śiva), the greatness of the genuine bhakti, the bhakti yōga (devotional yōga), the control of the mind, the potency of the Paṇḍhākśhari, the fruit of bhakti-sanskāra (purification caused by bhakti), &c. This brief analysis of the subject-matter is enough to show that Annamayya like a true Vīra-Śaiva lays emphasis on bhakti and attaches greater importance to the bhaktas than even to the worship of the deity. Apart from its importance as an exposition of the Vīra-Śaiva conception of bhakti, the Sarvēśvarasatakam ranks high among all the satakams composed in the Telugu language. Annamayya is a thoughtful writer, and some of his ideas anticipate by two centuries Pōtana, the greatest of the devotional poets who have written in Telugu. His poetry occasionally rises to sublime heights not reached by any other Vīra-Śaiva writer of his age. His style is majestic; and his language is lovely and attractive and, though saturated with Sanskrit words and sāmāsas, is clear and easily intelligible; the spontaneous flow of his verse bears testimony to his natural gifts as a poet.

The Vṛṣhādhipa-satakam of Pālkūrki Śomānātha is another masterpiece of the sataka literature which was produced during this period. He was a younger contemporary of Pratāparudra and appears to have survived him by several years. He is said to have migrated, after the overthrow of the Kākatīya monarchy and the Muslim conquest of Āndhra, to Karnāṭaka where he continued his religious and literary activities. Sōmanātha was a devout follower of Basava, the founder of the Vīra-Śaiva faith for the propagation of which he laboured incessantly throughout his life. The Vṛṣhādhipa-satakam, as indicated by the maktu or the refrain which occurs at the end of each of its stanzas, is addressed to Basava. In it Sōmanātha describes certain aspects of Vīra-Śaivism. He lays stress on devotion to the Jāngamas (the Lingāyat mendicants) and the Liṅga, and expatiates on the greatness of Basava and the way in which he offers protection to the bhaktas (devotees). The most interesting feature of the satakam is the bahubhāśa-stuti or verses composed in several languages, Sanskrit, Prākrit, Mahārāṣṭri, Maṇi-pravāḷam, Tamil, Kannāda, &c., in praise of the spiritual eminence of Basava. The bahubhāśa-stuti shows not only Sōmanātha’s knowledge of various languages but also his many-sided scholarship. The style of the Vṛṣhādhipa-satakam is vigorous and forceful, and
the language, unlike that of his Basava-purāṇam and Paṇḍitāradhyacharitra, is shot through with Sanskrit words and samāsas. Sōmanātha is fond of śabda- and artha-alankāras and employs them frequently with great effect. Besides the Vṛṣhadhipa-śatakam, he composed thirty-four verses in the sīsa metre addressing the god Chenna-Mallu in which he describes the shaj-shalas or six subjects or topics about which the Vīra-Śaivas should occupy themselves in contemplation.¹ Another class of the stūtra literature is the udāharana, which is devoted to singing the praises either of the deity or of the person to whom it is dedicated. The udāharana is a species of dēsi composition which appears to have come into existence during the Kākatiya period. It falls into eight sections each of which comprises a vṛtta, kalika, and utkālika addressing the deity or the person, as the case may be, in each of the eight cases of the Telugu grammar. Two compositions of this class, viz. the Basavōdāhanaṇam of Pālkuriki Sōmanātha and the Tripurāntakōdaharanaṇam of Ravipathi Tripurāntaka, have come down to us. Though excellent specimens of their kind, they do not rank very high as literature. Tripurāntaka was a writer of considerable eminence. His Amābikā-Tārāvali, though short, is a work of rare merit and gives an insight into the character of his poetical gifts. He does not, however, seem to have produced any other Telugu work; this was probably due to his love of Sanskrit poetry, for the cultivation of which he seems to have employed most of his talents and energies.

RELIGION

Śaivism was the predominant faith during the Kākatiya period. Its origin is lost in antiquity. There are references to Rudraśiva in the Vēdas. He was the same as the Paśupati or Śiva of later times. The three fundamental concepts of Śaivism are Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa. Pati was Śiva himself, Lord of the Paśus, the creatures who are bound by the Pāśas or fetters. Śiva was the Supreme Lord of the Universe and the ultimate reality. The Pāśupata system is said to have been revealed by the Lord Śiva to his sishyas or disciples, in whom he himself, as the supreme teacher of the Universe, was incarnated. The Śiva Purāṇa and the Kūrma Purāṇa furnish a list of twenty-eight avatāras of Śiva called yogāchāryas, the first of these being the great guru Śvētāchārya and the last Lakulīśa or Nakulīśa. Each of these āchāryas had four devotees and hence the total number of the original disciples who followed the yogāchāra school was 112. Lakulīśa, the last and the twenty-eighth yogāchārya, came to spread spiritual knowledge in this Kaliyuga. By the efforts of these yogāchāryas and their followers Śaivism had become and remained the outstanding form of belief in the country from ancient times onwards. Out of the eighteen Purāṇas no less than ten were dedicated to Śiva.

Of the many schools of Śaivism like the Kālāmukha, the Kāpālika, the Śaiva, the Pāśupata, &c., the last mentioned gradually gained the upper hand, eventually securing the favour of the majority of the common people as well as that of the kings, in spite of the predominance enjoyed by the Kālāmukha doctrine at the beginning of the Kākatiya period.

Prōla I, the father of Tribhuvanamalla Bēta II, was a follower of Śaivism. He is said to have been ‘the best pupil of Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita’.

1 I.T.D. Corpus, No. 12, p. 55.

2 Ibid., No. 7. After l. 50 on p. 27, the following passage is missing in the inscription. It is copied from the Mackenzie Manuscripts, as it is, without any correction:

‘-ramaṁka-haliliyaṁ-mādi tamna-panura-dīvālayam gala nirmiśi yā Bēttēvaradēvar-angle-bhogakkum raṅga-bhōgakkum dīvālayada-khaḍapashṣati ta-nava-tudā-karma-nirmāṇakkum-allirpa to-pōdhanarg-annadānak-kum-atithi sa-’.
day of the dark fortnight, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. In this inscription the recipient is described as a Kālāmukha ascetic of the Parvat-āvalī, belonging to the famous Mallikārjuna Śiśāmātha situated on the Śripaṇḍava.

The existence of the Kālāmukha school of Śaivism in the Andhra country, even long before the Kākatiya period, is known to us from the Tandikonda grant of the Eastern Chālukya king, Ammarāja II (A.D. 945–70). This grant informs us that 'in every age (Śaiva) saints like Lakulī and others have taken upon themselves the forms of Rudra, that is, Śiva, and have become self-immolate in the world as a blessing to righteous men'. These teachers of the Kālāmukha school belonged to various sects called parshes (parshads), such as the Sinhaparsh, the Śaktiparsh, &c. There seem to have been further subdivisions called āmāya or āvalī and santati. One of the Ablür inscriptions of A.D. 1112 describes the Kālāmukhas as having attained fame in the Śaktiparṣhe of the Māvarakōṇya-santāna of the Parvat-āmāya. From a second record at the same place dated in A.D. 1101 we discover that Parvat-āvalī was in fact another name for Parvat-āmāya. In the line named Parvat-āvalī which was esteemed to be great (that is, undoubtedly) the leading (division) of the sect, celebrated in the world, named Śaktiparṣhe, it says, 'there became famous the eminent (Kālāmukha) ascetic, Kēdāra Śakti, an ornament to the succession, named Māvarakōṇya-santati'. Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, the Kālāmukha Śaiva saint and the rāja-guru of Prōla I and Bēta II, belonged, as we have just said, to the Parvat-āvalī line of the famous Mallikārjuna Śiśāmātha, one of the five famous Śaiva-māthas situated on the Śripaṇḍava. The names of the Kālāmukha Śaiva saints end in Śakti, Rāsi, Paṇḍita, and Rāsi-paṇḍita. Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita is said, in his Hanumakōṇḍa record, to have been proficient in the Lakulīsva-Āgama, which is no other than Lakula-Siddhānta, that is, the Āgama or the doctrine of the Śaiva teacher, Lakulīśa, Lakulīśvara, or Nakulīśvara. A certain Kālāmukha ascetic, Somēśvara Paṇḍita, is described, in one of the Ablür inscriptions, as one who is a very sun to (open) the great cluster of water-lilies (blooming in the daytime) that is the Nyāya Śāstra (Nyāya Śāstra-vistritra-sarūja-vana-Dinākara), who is a very autumn-moon to bring to full tide the ocean of the Vaiśēshikas (Vaiśēshika-vardhī-vardhayā-sarut-sudhākara), and who is a very ruby-ornament of those who are versed in the Sāṁkhya-Āgama (Sāṁkhya-Āgama-pravīna-māniyā-ābharaṇa). This description makes it clear that the Kālāmukhas were Naiyāyikas and Vaiśēshikas. Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, the guru of Kākati Prōla II, was probably identical with

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1 Ibid. The text from line 55 to line 59 should be as shown below: ‘palliyam Kālāmukha-stapīkānanam Śripaṇḍava-pratidhāha-Mallikārjuna-Śiśāmā-thāvṛty hasūnum-appa-Paṇḍita-paṇḍita Rāmēśvara-paṇḍita(gh)’, &c.


3 Ibid., p. 165, &c.

4 Ibid., v, 218, 220.

5 Ibid., pp. 219.

6 The translation of the passage from lines 54 to 60 of this inscription (as given in the Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts, H. E. H. The Nizam’s Dominion), which is as follows, is wrong: ‘(I. 54–60) to Aiyya-Rāmēśvara-paṇḍita of Appa-parvata, the head of the famous Mallikārjuna-Śiśā-māthā of Śripaṇḍava, an ascetic of the Kālāmukha (crest) . . .’

7 Corpus, No. 12, p. 55.

8 El, v, 220.
the Śaiva saint of the same name, who was the Sthanādhīpati of the temple of Bhūmēśvara Mahādēva at Dakšārāmam and a contemporary of Tribhuvanamalladēva, Vikramāditya VI.¹

The early Kākatiya princes who preceded Bēta II were also followers of Śaivism and of the disciples of Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita of the Kālāmukha school, which was at its zenith during the rule of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, particularly from the time of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I onwards, if not from a still earlier period.

Prōla II, the son of Bēta II, was apparently not as single-minded a devotee of Śaivism as his father and grandfather, whose benefactions seem to have been confined to the followers of this doctrine. Prōla, though himself a Śavite, was tolerant of other faiths. The Hanumakonda record of the Western Chālukyan king, Vikramāditya VI, dated in the Chālukya Vikrama year 42, may be cited in support of this statement. Mailāmba, the wife of his minister, Bēṭana Preggada, son of Vaijadaṇḍādhinātha, established a Jain basadi called Kadalaḷāya-basadi.² Kākati Prōla II made a grant of two mattars of land under the tank constructed by his minister in the name of his wife, to this same basadi. However, Prōla II’s son, Rudradēva, and his brother Mahādēva were paraṇa-mahēśvaras, like their grandfather, Bēta II.

The reign of Gaṇapatidēva, son of Mahādēva, is a memorable milestone in the history of the Śaiva religion of the Kākatiya period. The advent into the Andhra country of the Śaiva teachers of the Pāśupata school of the Gōlakī-matha brought about a change in the fortunes of the Kālāmukha sect.

In fact the Kālāmukha and the Pāśupata schools of Śaivism have actually very much in common.³ Nevertheless as systems of faith and custom their paths gradually took different ways and this divergence lay probably chiefly in matters of religious practice and ritual. Even as early as the ninth century A.D., Pāśupata Śaivism had split into four different sects: namely, the Śivas, Pāśupatas, Kaṇḍikas, and Kāruṇika-siddhāntins, all of which are referred to by Vāchaspasi Mīśra (A.D. 850). These divisions are also mentioned in the Āgama-prāmāṇya of Yāmunāchārya, but here the Kālāmukhas take the place of the Kāruṇika-siddhāntins. And in fact we already know that by the tenth century A.D. the Kālāmukha formed a distinct school of Śaivism.

During the reign of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva the Pāśupata Śivas, chiefly belonging to the Gōlakī-matha, gained popularity among the masses as well

¹ SII, iv, No. 1229.
² EI, ix, 256.
³ Both follow the doctrine of Lakula or Lakulliśvara, the twenty-eighth yōgāchārya. The Kaṇḍikas, Kālāmukha, &c., are said to have been the offshoots of the Pāśupata school.—A comprehensive History of India—the Manyas and the Sāttavāhanas—edited by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 397, n. 2.
⁴ The Lakula-Siddhānta is a Vaiśeṣika system; it is also a Vaiḍīka system. The disciples of Lakula were mainly followers of Nyāya, though in later days the two systems, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, merged into one another.—JAHRS, xiii, 177.
⁵ This system (Pāśupata) was then called by various other names such as Nakulliṇa or Lakuliṇa, Pāśupata, Kālāmukha, Yōgā, Śaiva, Naivāyika &c.—R. Anantakrishna Sastri in his introduction to The Pāśupata Śātras with the Paṇḍhārītha-bhāṣya of Kangḍinya, p. 5.
as with the reigning house, and the Kālacakrīya ascetics lost their hold both in the kingdom at large and in the royal court. Like the names of the Kālacakra kings those of the Pāṣupata teachers end in Śīva, Śambhu, and Paṇḍita, but never in Rāsi. Viśvēśvāra Śīva was the rāja-guru, the royal preceptor of Gaṇapatidēva. He confirmed this king as a Śaivite devotee through the initiation ceremony of Śīva-dīkṣā. Consequently Viśvēśvāra Śivāchārya is known as the dīkṣā-guru of Gaṇapatidēva.

The Malkāpuram inscription of Rudramadēvi, the daughter and successor of Gaṇapatidēva, gives an interesting and detailed account of the Śaiva teachers of the Gōjakī-mātha. The account runs thus: In the country known as Dāhala-maṇḍala situated between the rivers Bhāgīrathi and Narmadā, there flourished a line of Śaiva teachers whose founder was Durvāsā. In this line appeared Sadbhāva Śambhu. He received from the Kaḷachuri monarch Yuvarājādeva the Three-lakh Province (that is, a province in which there were three lakhs of villages) as a bhikṣā (maintenance gift). This Śaiva ascetic founded a Śaiva monastery (mātha) called Gōjakī-mātha, and gave away that province as the vṛitti for the maintenance of the teachers of that mātha. Śōma Śambhu, who was born as a member of the same line, composed, with a title taken from his own name, a work called Śōma-saṁbhupadīhata which was like the sētu to the ocean of all the Āgamas (‘Sakal-Āgama-sindhu-sētu’). After Śōma Śambhu came Vāma Śambhu, whose feet also were worshipped by the Kaḷachuri kings. In this Gōjakī-mātha appeared gurus and their disciples in thousands, who had the power to bless or curse the kings of the earth by their mere appearance before them. At time passed on there came into being in this line a sage called Śakti Śambhu. His immediate disciple was Kīrti Śambhu. Then appeared Vimala Śiva, a native of the Kērala country, who was highly respected by the Kaḷachuri monarchs. His favourite scholar was the Śaiva saint, Dharma Śiva. And in turn his spiritual son (‘dharma-tanaya’) was Viśvēśvāra Śambhu, the crest jewel of Pūrva-grāma in the province of Rāḍhā of the Gauda country, and a great Vedic scholar. It was he who administered the dīkṣā (initiation) to king Gaṇapatidēva. The Chōḷa and Māḷava kings too were devotees of this Viśvēśvāra-deśika, who was also the dīkṣā-guru of the Kaḷachuri monarchs. Gaṇapatidēva styled himself the son (or spiritual son) of Viśvēśvāra Śambhu, evidently after the initiation ceremony had taken place. This account comprises most of what we know of the Gōjakī-mātha and of the line of the Śaiva teachers connected

1 SII, x, No. 395, pp. 205-9; J. A. H. R. S., iv, pp. 146 ff.
2 Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his very interesting article on the Gōjakī-mātha discusses at some length how that mātha got this name. ’In this country (Chēṭi),’ he says, ’there was no Śaivite monastery which could claim to be such a grand institution as the Gōjakī-mātha, except the Chounsāṭha Jōgini temple at Bheḍaḡhāṭ, which is of a type suited for the Pāṣupata sect to which the teachers and priests of the Gōjakī-mātha belonged. The worship of the female energy is the prominent feature of this sect (Pāṣupata) and the Bheḍaḡhāṭ mātha enshrines the images of very many female deities even exceeding the traditional total number of sixty-four. The mātha is built in the shape of a goḷa or circle in form and the name
with it. These Śivāchāryas of the Gōjakī-mathā are also said in many inscriptions to have belonged to the Gōjakī-vanśa or religious lineage, and are called Bhikṣhā-mathā-saṅtāna or Lakṣhāḍhyāyi-saṅtāna, that is, ‘the descendants of gurus supported by a monastery endowed with a bhikṣhā or maintenance gift, or with the lakṣ-gift’. These Śaiva teachers exerted great influence on the Kalachuri kings of Chēdi, the Kākatiya kings of Warangal, and the kings of Mālava and of the Chōla countries.

Yuvārajādēva who made the Three-lakh gift was the Kalachuri monarch of Chēdi, Dāhala, or Tripuri. There were two kings bearing the name Yuvārajādēva in the Kalachuri dynasty. Yuvārajādēva I ruled in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D.,¹ that is, about A.D. 940, and his grandson Yuvārajādēva II during the last quarter of the same century, a period centring about A.D. 980. It was Yuvārajādēva I, the son of Mugdhatunga Prasiddhadhavala, who had brought Prabhāva Śiva, a disciple of Chūḍā Śiva or Śikhā Śiva of the Mattamayūra line of Śaiva ascetics, to the country of Chēdi and made him abbot of a monastery which he, the king, had built there.² Lakshmanarāja, the son of Yuvārajā I, established a Śaiva monastery at Bilhari in the Jabalpur district and his son, Śaṅkaragaṇa, founded another monastery at Deori Maḍhā. From Yuvārajādēva I onwards down to Narasimha and Jayasimha, sons of Gayākarna, all the Kalachuri monarchs were ardent Śaivites and pupils of those Śaiva teachers and their disciples. The spiritual lineage of these religious preceptors is named after illustrious gurus of the line or after the various celebrated monasteries which were founded or established by these gurus, or of which they were the heads. Of such spiritual lineages of Śaiva religious teachers of whom their disciples, the Kalachuri monarchs, were patrons, the Durvāś-ānvaya was especially famous. Vimala Śiva of that line was the religious preceptor of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha (A.D. 1170–80). According to the Jabalpur stone inscription of this monarch he constructed a temple to Śiva in the (Kalachuri) year 926 or A.D. 1174.³ This record furnishes much important information about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri from the time of Yaśaḥkarnādēva to that of his grandson, Jayasimha. It is interesting to note

Gōjakī fits in very well, if it was given on account of the structure of the hypathal cloister occupied by the jōginis. But the mention in some inscriptions of the alternative name Gōla-girī seems to indicate that the monastery took its name from the hill on which it was situated, which again is a very natural derivation. The Chounsatha Jōginī-mathā is situated on a roundish hillock which was probably called Gōla-girī or the round hillock. When the mathā was constructed on it the original name of the hillock was lost and it came to be called after the goddesses installed there. It must be remembered that the word Bhēḍagāthā cannot be the name of a hill. It plainly refers to a ghāt or ford of the Narmadā river at that place. Therefore it has no connexion whatever with the name of the Gōjakī-mathā. My view is that the original name was Gōlagirī-mathā, which in course of time got corrupted into Gōjakī-mathā. I should also state here that Mr. R. D. Banerji, a Superintendent of Archaeology and a competent paleographist, has recorded his opinion that “the script in which the names of the jōginis have been carved on the pedestals, belongs to the 10th century, the period to which Yuvārajādēva belonged.”Notes. xiII (1927), p. 138.

¹ MASI, No. 23, p. 9.
² Gurgi inscription, EI, xxii, 127.
³ EI, xxv, 309.
that the list of Śaiva teachers known from the Mālkāpuram inscription of Rudramadēvi¹ and from the Jabalpur stone record is identical from Śakti Śiva onwards. The only difference is that their names end in Śāmbhu in the former record and in Śiva in the latter. The Śivāchāryas who flourished in the interval between Vāma Śāmbhu and Kīrtti Śāmbhu are not mentioned in the Mālkāpuram record. Even from the information furnished by the Jabalpur stone inscription it is not possible to compile a complete record of all the Śaiva teachers who preceded Śakti Śiva, since part of that record is damaged and largely undecipherable (from the first to the eighth lines). Only the names of Vimala Śiva, Vāstu Śiva, and Purusha Śiva can be made out on the damaged portion. Therefore, it is not possible to construct a complete spiritual genealogy of Viśvēśvara Śāmbhu, the religious preceptor of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva, from the information in these two available documents. It is, however, certain that the doctrines of the Pāśupata school of Śaivism were preached and propagated in the Andhra country by Śaiva saints belonging to the Gōlakī-vanīśa monastery, who had come from the Chēdi or Dāhala country.

From the Mālkāpuram inscription we come to know that Rudramadēvi granted to the Śaiva ascetic, Viśvēśvara Śāmbhu, in Śaka 1183, Durmati, on Friday, the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Chaitra, and the first day of Mēsha (25 March, A.D. 1261), the village of Mandāram (now known as Mandādam in the Guntur tāluk of the Guntur district) together with the laṅka lands of the riverine country situated in the Kaṇḍravāṭī of the Velanāḍu-vishaya on the southern bank of the river Kṛishṇā, in accordance with the desire of her father, who had already made a gift of it by word of mouth to his guru.² After receiving this gift from the queen, Viśvēśvara Śāmbhu constructed at that village a temple to Śiva which he called after his own name, and also a monastery (Śuddha-Śaiva-maṭha) and a feeding house. In that village he settled many brāhmanaś and renamed it Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī or Viśvanātha-Gōlāgiri.² Provision was also made in this maṭha for

¹ JAHRS, iv, pp. 146 ff.; SII, x, No. 395.
² Ibid. It is interesting to note that the maṭha which Viśvēśvara Śiva established here is termed Śuddha-Śaiva.

"Trītāḥ vibhajya tat-tīrtham-ēkam bhāgam Pinākinī
Vidyārthihăhī parasam bhāgama Śuddha Śaiva-maṭhaya cha
Prasāity-drīgha-lālabhīyam vipra-satravya chētaranī
prādād-Viśvēśvara-Śivas-Śaiva-siddhānta-pāragalī"

The Śuddha-Śaiva seems to have been one of the two kinds of Pāśupata Śaivism, the Vaidika and the Tāṇtrika. According to the Kāray-Agama, the Pāśupata-vrata is said to be of two kinds, one Vaidika and the other Tāṇtrika. The former was prescribed to the deivas and the latter to others (other than deivas):

'Vaidikam Tāṇtrikam-ch-eti
vrataṃ-ātad-dvīdhā bharat
deivas m Vaidikam prāktam-
anyishām Tāṇtrikam śrītavan.'

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his article on Gōlakī-maṭha states: 'Of course the tenets of the sect
Besides furnishing the above information this record also mentions the charitable gifts and benefactions which Viśvēsvara Saṁbhau made at other places. He founded a monastery called Upala-matha at Kālliśvaram and granted to it as a perpetual sief the brāhmaṇa village of Ponna-grāma which he himself had founded. At Eliśvarapura (the present Eliśvaram in the Nalgonda district) to the north-east of Śrīsālam on the banks of the Krishnā he built a matha of sixteen avarakas (Śrīśail-ēśāny-Eliśvarapuri sa matham cha shoḍas-āvarakam), and his pupil Gaṇapatidēva granted the village of Kändrakōṭa in the Pallināḍu country (modern Palnāḍu in the Guntur district) as an ‘āchārya-
dakṣiṇa’, ‘the fee of the teacher’, for a feeding house and for a water-pandal (chaliwendra) there, as an annexe of the matha. Besides these, the Śaiva ascetic, Viśvēsvara Śiva, having set up liṅgas in various places such as Mantrakōṭa, Chandravalli, Kommu-grāma (Kommūru), Nivṛtti, and Uttara-Sōmasīla, granted villages whose rentals should support their worship.

There were many branches of this Gōjakī-matha at different places in the Andhra country, such, for example, as Bhaṭtiprōlu in the Guntur district, Tripurintakam and Śrīparvata in the Kumool district, and Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah district. At all these places śivāchāryas of this Gōjakī-matha were the sthānādhipatis of the temples constructed on the various sites, and exerted much influence not only on their own disciples and students but also on the common folk of the neighbouring communities. Viśvēsvara Saṁbhau and other śivāchāryas of the (aforesaid) Gōjakī-matha were celibates and Vaidikas. Pāspūtara Śaivism of the Gōjakī-matha of this pattern appears to have flourished almost up to the end of the reign of Pratāparudra, the last Kākatiya monarch of Warangal, who was himself a para-māheśvara.

The Muslim invasions which were directed against the Kākatiya kingdom during the period of the Delhi Sultanate in the first half of the fourteenth century may well have hindered the progress of the Śaiva religious institutions in the country whose growth was unchecked until that time. After the fall of Warangal we do not find even a single inscription in the whole of the Telugu country mentioning the śivāchāryas of the Gōjakī-matha or the Gōjakīmathas of the Andhra country so frequently referred to previously.

There is another school of Śrāuta Śaiva in the Telugu country, known as Ārādhya Śaivism. This is also said to have been propagated, from very ancient times, by twelve śivāchāryas, commonly known as dvādas-āchāryas. The first three of these, namely Rēvaṇa, Maruḷa, and Ekoṛāma, are known as Siddhhas (Siddha-traya). The next three āchāryas, namely Udṛheta-ārādhya, Vēman-ārādhya, and Viś-ārādhya, are collectively familiar as the Ārādhya-traya. Next to them come Śrīkaṇṭha or Nilakaṇṭhāchārya, Haradattāchārya,

(Gōjakī lineage) were Tāntrikas, which even made provision for human sacrifices for the general welfare.' Since the matha founded by Viśvēsvara Saṁbhau at Mandarām in the Guntur district was a Śuddha Saiva matha, the Gōjakī order in the Telugu country appears to have been non-Tāntrik, that is, Vaidika or Śrāuta Śaiva. The Śuddha Saiva order has nothing to do with Tāntrik Pāspūtara.
and Bhāskarabhaṭṭāchārya. These go by the generic name of the Āchārya-
traya, whilst lastly the three teachers Śripati Paṇḍita, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita,
and Maṇḍhana-Paṇḍita form the famous Paṇḍita-traya. All these were grihas-
thas and followed Vedic rites and ritual and yet at the same time preached
Śaivism throughout the country. Those brāhmaṇas who followed the Śaiva
school of these Āchāryas are called Ārūdhyas, and Lingadhāris. Their adherents
even now form a distinct sect among the brāhmaṇas of the Āndhra country.
They strictly observe caste distinctions up to the present time.

Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, who was one of the Paṇḍita-traya, was a contemporary
of the Chāṇukya-Chōla feudatory chief, Velanāṭi-Chōḍa of Chanda-
vōlu in the Guntur district, who ruled from Śaka 1085 to Śaka 1105.
Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, who flourished during the reign of the last Kākatiya
monarch, Pratāparudra of Warangal, composed a biography of Mallikārjuna
Paṇḍita in Telugu in the Dwipaḍa metre and thus immortalized him. Though
he did not feel himself able personally to relinquish brāhmaṇism and the
Vedic ritual, yet Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita greatly admired and respected Basava,
the minister of the Kalachuri king, Bijjaladēva, and the protagonist of the
Vīra-Śaiva school, which had rejected Vedic rites and ceremonies and de-
nounced caste distinctions. On the other hand, Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, his
biographer, is said to have become a Vīra-Śaiva of the Basava school of
Kanarese Śaivism, though he also seems to have been a brāhmaṇa by birth.

Though the Vīra-Śaiva school in the Kanarese country propagated by
Basava was at its zenith during this period it does not seem to have attracted
adherents from the common people of the Āndhra country to any con-
siderable extent. The Vīra-Śaiva school of Basava also, no doubt, still has its
followers in the Telugu country, but their number is now very limited. They
are called Vīra-Śayās or Lingāyats. The Vīra-Śaivism of the Basava school did
not flourish as widely in the Telugu country during the Kākatiya period as did
the Pāṣupata school; yet the worship of Śiva was widespread, and Śaivism, of
whichever school it may have been, was predominant during this whole period.

The Śaiva māṭhas of the time were also educational institutions. They
played a very important role in imparting religious teaching to their disciples.
All the important Śaiva māṭhas belonging to the Gōlakī order maintained
teachers who taught the Vēdas, the Śāstras, the various arts, and the Śaiva
philosophy to their disciples. Kings and nobles made liberal grants of lands
and villages to these monasteries for the support of the customary rites and
festivals in temples and for the education of the students. Each of these
Śaiva monasteries had a satra (feeding house) attached to it where free meals
were available for all those who visited the place as pilgrims.

Besides Śaivism there were of course other faiths such as the Arhatamata
and Vaishnavism. Arhatamata or Jainism, though in a declining stage, had
not disappeared completely from the Āndhra country as had its companion
faith, orthodox Buddhism. The Buddha had by this time become merely one
of the avatāras of Vishṇu and was thus reabsorbed into Hinduism; but Jainism maintained to some extent its individual character.

It is generally said that there was bitter persecution of the Jains and that their temples were totally destroyed during the Kākatiya period. The Basava Purāṇa and the Paṇḍitārādhyā-Charitra are cited in proof of this statement. These works mention some of the places at which such atrocious acts were perpetrated, and the names of some of the Śaivites who were responsible for such deeds. It is true that there was severe harassment of the Jains and destruction of their temples by the Vīra Śaivas of the Basava school in the Kanarese country. In fact the Jains had already encountered cruelty and bigotry in the Tamil country centuries before and had suffered terribly at the hands of the Tamil Śaiva saints such as Tiruḷaṇaḷaṅkaṅbadar and others. This last mentioned teacher is said to have vanquished the Jains in debate at Madura and it is related that on that occasion 8,000 Jainas were put to death by impalement. The growth of the intensely emotional Śaiva bhakti cult of the Tamil country in the seventh and succeeding centuries of the Christian era, and the aggressive Vīra-Śaiva school of the Kanarese country, whose doctrines were propagated by Baṅdāru Basava during the twelfth century, was largely responsible for the decline of Jainism in general and for such atrocities as are mentioned above. Most of the places at which such dreadful acts were perpetrated can be definitely located either in Tamil or in Kanarese country, and not in the Āndhra territory. These cruel deeds, however, necessarily had their repercussions in the Āndhra country. But evidence is lacking to prove that destruction and massacre on such an extensive scale as in the Kanarese country took place also in the Āndhra-dēta. There is no doubt that traditional stories and legends exist to that effect, but these are not confirmed either by inscriptions or by other authentic contemporary evidence. Some stray acts and a few outbreaks here and there, if there were any, even if they should in fact be confirmed by irrefutable evidence, cannot be regarded as of common occurrence. On the contrary, we know that Prōla II, the son of Bēta II, granted some land to a Jain basadi established by Mailaṅba, the wife of his minister, Bētana Preggaḍa. And in fact some unpublished inscriptions of the Kākatiya period from Telāṅgāṇa record the installation of Jain images in temples at this time. In addition there is literary evidence to show that there were Jains at Warangal, the centre of the Pāṣupata Śaivism, during the reign of Pratāparudra. A certain Appayācharya, a follower of Jainism and a resident of Warangal, wrote a work called the Jīnīndrakal-yānābhyudayam, otherwise known as Pratīṣṭhāpasāra, during the reign of Vīra Rudradēva or Pratāparudra. The author of that work was a pupil of Pūṣpa-paśeṇāchārya. He says that he completed that work in Śaka 1241, on Sunday, the 10th śīthi of the bright half of the month of Māgha. On the whole, however, Jainism was on the decline during the Kākatiya period.

1 EI, ix, 216 ff.
Next to Śaivism comes Vaishnавism. This faith is known to us at this time chiefly from the records of the construction of temples to the god Vishnu in his different aspects, and from references to his worship. The type of Śrīvaishnавism which was in vogue later during the Vijayanagara period is conspicuous by its absence during the times with which we are dealing. Very little is in fact known about the type of Vaishnavism prevailing in the Kākatiya period. No religious Vaishнavācharya is mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the Kākatiya princes and there is no evidence to show that there was any rivalry between Śaivism and Vaishnavism in the Kākatiya kingdom in general.

The Kākatiyas were great temple builders. Many temples of this period at Hanumakonda, Pālamipeta, Pillalamari, and several other places are still extant either in a half-ruined condition or in a good state of preservation.

The temple held a place of supreme importance in the socio-religious life of the period. It exerted much benevolent influence on the social life of the village. It developed into a great religious as well as an educational institution. It had its own services for conducting ānga-bhōga and ranga-bhōga of the god installed therein. Generally the temple establishment included the sthānādhipati, a śrīkaraṇa who was the accountant in charge of the temple treasury, 300 sānis (devadāśīs), nibandhakāru, who were engaged in performing services to God both daily and on special occasions, and a host of others. The temple services included generally musical interludes by the musicians; vāra-vanītas also performed dances; pipers, drummers, players on the jalaja-karaṇa, kāhalī both great and small, bhāri, ṛvaja, and vanīśa, umbrella-bearers, body-guards (āṅga-rēka), torch-bearers (dīvve-kōlāla-vāru), conch-blowers (ēka-sāṅkuḷavāru, dhaṅva-sāṅkuḷavāru), players on bell-metal bells (jōgaṇṭalavāru), mokhariś, &c. These services were paid for from the proceeds of endowments of land, or by the stipends received either in the form of cash or of food or of both. These temples were endowed liberally by those who constructed them—by nobles, kings, and rich merchants and landowners, with grants of lands, either wet or dry or both, and of villages, whose rents and produce were devoted to the upkeep of religious foundations.

Village and family deities, such as Ėkavira, Māhuramma, Kākatamma and Kāmēśvari, were very popular and their worship was general throughout this period.

During these times the performance of various religious acts such as vratams attained much importance. Some of these vratams, like the Āsīnya-śayana-vrata, Lakṣhmi-Nārāyaṇa-vrata, śukla and krishņa Dvādaśi-vrata, Anant-Ārundhati-vrata and Jalāśayana-vrata, &c., described in the Kalpa texts, are mentioned in Kākatiya inscriptions. The performance of vrata was an act from which the performer acquired much merit. Pilgrimages also were often undertaken with the same object. Those who were unable themselves to go on a pilgrimage used to perform it by proxy.
PART X
FINE ARTS
ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

By G. YAZDANI, M.A., LITT.D., O.B.E.

I. Preliminary Remarks, General Survey.
II. Architecture; origin and development, significance of religion in the evolution of the art.
III. Sculpture; Buddhist, Jaina, and Brähmanic: spiritual and artistic import of these.
IV. Painting; its rise, development, and decline.

APPENDICES:
A. Terracottas, discovered during excavations.
B. Art of Dancing, as represented in the Sculpture and Painting of the Deccan.
Royal Chamber, a lady dressing the hair of another lady in the group, Cave XVII, Ajanta
PRELIMINARY REMARKS

EARLY man of the Deccan has left some engravings on rocks which show his sense of the pictorial art in the drawing of both human and animal figures, however crude they may be. Some notable examples of these drawings are on a hill near Benkal (Plate I a), a village in the Gangāvatī taluk of the Raichur District. One of them represents a hunting scene, the figures of horses with riders being prominent in it. One hunter is armed with an axe which closely resembles a metal weapon, and on this assumption the drawing may not be considered to date back earlier than the Iron age, and may even be much later. Another class of ancient monuments which bear some relation to Buddhist architectural forms in regard to their origin is represented by the megalithic tombs of the Deccan. They exist in great abundance, and among them 'cairns', or tumuli with stone circles, show a striking resemblance to the Buddhist stūpas, and may be their earlier prototypes (Plate I b). But architecture as a fine art must possess certain aesthetic features and must also indicate a creative effort in the shaping of human actions towards the attainment of intellectual progress and elevation of life in its various aspects. The prehistoric monuments of the Deccan fall far below such a standard and therefore they cannot be studied in this chapter.

The earliest specimens of fine art of which the dates can be fixed on palaeographical grounds are Buddhist antiquities, representing painting, sculpture, and architectural themes. But these do not date back earlier than the second century B.C., although the art which they exhibit is of a well-developed type and must have taken one or two or more millenniums to reach that stage. To expand and justify this view it may be observed that the representations of four-storied buildings in the façades of the caves at Kondāne and Bedśā, with projecting balconies supported by curved brackets and deeply recessed windows fitted with latticed screens of elegant design, show a long tradition and continuous progress in the art of architecture, and could not have sprung up all of a sudden in the second century B.C., to which date the monuments have been assigned on the basis of the inscriptions carved on them (Plate II a). This opinion is further confirmed by the arrangement of the small and large rafters and cross-beams carved in the rock-ceiling of the vikāra at Kondāne. The arrangement suggests engineering

1 The best route by which to approach Benkal is from the Gangāvatī-Gīnjīra road; a kachka path branches off near the sixth milestone when coming from Gangāvatī.
2 Kondāne and Bedśā are both in the Bombay State now, but in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era they would have belonged to the Andhra kingdom of the Deccan.
principles ensuring the strength of the building on the one hand and economy of cost on the other by a judicious use of beams of suitable dimensions (Plate II b).

For the specimens of sculpture also, it will be convenient to refer to the above monuments again, although in the second century B.C. the art of carving seems to have reached a high-water mark all over the Deccan, and the sculpture of the eastern zone as shown in the statuary of Amaravati (Plate III a) is as vivid and graceful as that of the central and western zones. Among the sculptures at Beḍsā and Konḍāne, which will be described in some detail later in this chapter, the Yaksha and Yakshini riding on horses in the chaitya-cave at the former place are so bold in conception and so life-like in expression that they can be placed with advantage side by side with the best specimens of sculpture in the world (Plate III b). As the art is purely indigenous, it must have had its origin many centuries earlier in order to attain such perfection of technique and force of style. In the chaitya-cave at Konḍāne the dancing figures are not only delightful because of the grace of their pose but they also show an exuberance of spirit based on a fuller significance of life (Plates IV–V). The intellectual and technical qualities of these specimens represent a highly developed art, suggesting long practice and continuous progress of thought.

Fortunately some specimens of the painting of this period have also survived, and they too confirm the above view regarding the beginning of the art of the Deccan in a remote period, hundreds of years before the Christian era. These specimens are preserved in a chaitya-cave, No. 10, at Ajanta, which has two inscriptions that help to fix its date. One of them is carved on the façade of the cave, and the other painted on the wall of its left aisle. According to both Indian and European epigraphists, among whom the German savant, Prof. Lüders, is prominent, the painted inscription belongs to the middle of the second century B.C., while the inscription of the façade is still earlier, certain characters showing Aśokan forms. The painting connected with the former inscription represents a Buddhist story, the visit of a rāja to the Bodhi-tree under which the Buddha obtained enlightenment. The painting is a long one but the greater part of it has been destroyed by time. The portion near the Bodhi-tree is fairly intact, and represents the rāja with his family and attendants on the left side, and a large party of musicians and dancers, comprising fifteen artistes, on the right. The painter has attempted to present human life in all its aspects, religious as well as worldly, and the portrayal of the figures expresses not only spiritual feeling but also a joyful outlook on the beautiful features of the world. This painting further exhibits a happy combination of emotion on the one hand, and on the other of technical niceties such as are to be found only in well-developed art.

In emphasizing the antiquity of the fine arts of the Deccan two questions arise incidentally, first, whether these arts have any connexion with the Indus
Preliminary Remarks

valley culture, the date of which has been tentatively fixed in the middle of the third millennium B.C.; and secondly, whether the arts in their origin and essential features are indigenous or are based on those of the western Asiatic countries. The answer to the first question is not difficult to give, for there is apparently nothing in common between the styles or technique of the sculpture and architecture of the Deccan and those of the Indus valley. Unless the writings on the seals should, if ever deciphered, prove the contrary, it will be safe to assume that the Indus valley antiquities are more intimately connected with their prototypes in Babylonia and other ancient countries of Western Asia than with the specimens of art produced in the Deccan during the first millennium B.C.

As regards the second question, it may be observed that in the latter part of the first millennium B.C., or even earlier, foreigners who are known in history and contemporary records under the names of Sakas (Scythians), Pahlavas (Parthians), and Yavanas (Greeks) entered the Deccan in considerable numbers and became merged in the general population of the country. The earliest of these were probably Sakas or Scythians, who, after leaving their original home on the shores of the Caspian Sea, had settled down in the country to the east of Fārsistān, which was subsequently named after them Sīstān (Sakistān, Arabicized form Sajistān). They entered India probably both through Afghānistān and through Sindh, and the emigrants proceeding through the latter province spread towards the Deccan. The megalithic tombs of the Deccan have been attributed by some eminent archaeologists to such Scythian immigrants, because these tombs bear a close resemblance to their prototypes in other countries of the world wherever the Scythians went. If this view be accepted, the entry of the Scythians into the Deccan must be placed at several millenniums B.C., for the pottery and the iron and bronze implements which have been found in the majority of the megalithic tombs show a primitive culture.

As regards the Pahlavas, they would have come in the wake of the Sakas, and, as in North-west India, there may have been settlements of the Pahlavas in the Deccan and the provinces bordering on the north and north-west of it even before the Buddha preached his doctrine in the fifth century B.C. The Yavanas (Greeks) came to India first with Alexander and their migration to the southern provinces was probably connected with motives to extend their political power, as well as to propagate the Buddhist religion, for the names of many Yavanas are associated with the monuments of that faith.

Now studying the monuments themselves, we may note that although some archaeologists have connected the style of the rock-hewn shrines of the Deccan with the architecture of the rock-hewn tombs of Egypt and Persia, yet the idea of dwelling in caves, in the primitive period for personal safety and later, in a stage of intellectual and spiritual advancement, for contemplation and enlightenment, has been inherent in man in the East as well as in
the West. The natural caverns may have acquired sanctity as the abode of 
rishti, for whose comfort their devoted disciples may have removed the 
irregular features of the habitats of such pious gurus by dressing the walls 
and ceilings and levelling the floors. This process would have developed in 
course of time and a conventional style arisen of building shrines and 
replicas of tombs (stūpas) by cutting the rock. The cave temples of the 
Deccan are therefore indigenous in regard both to their origin and to their 
development and their architecture seems to have been copied from earlier, 
or contemporary, wooden or brick and stone structures. The influence of 
wood architecture is apparent not only in the shape of the pillars and their 
inward inclination, ¹ but also in the presence of semi-circular rafters of wood 
in the ceilings of the early chaitya-caves at Kārle, Konḍāne, and Ajanta, 
which are actually redundant in rock-hewn shrines but would have been an 
essential feature of the ceiling of a wooden building. Similarly, the beams 
and rafters of the vihāra-cave at Konḍāne clearly show that they have been 
copied from the flat ceilings of structures built of bricks or of stone. Bricks 
of large size and of strong texture were made in the Deccan from quite 
early times, and in the excavations at Ajanta the bricks found at the base of 
the façade of cave X probably date from the second century b.c., for the 
inscription referring to the construction of the façade is in second century 
b.c. characters. ² During the period extending from the first to the third 
centuries b.c., or going still farther back, the use of bricks for walls seems 
to have been quite common in the Deccan for both religious and secular 
buildings. Similarly, flat ceilings resting on wooden beams also came into 
vogue, although the majority of the dwellings were wooden structures with 
barrel-shaped or circular roofs. Some of these houses were of more than one 
story, and had, as we have noticed above, balconies and latticed windows 
opening on the front of the building. The bulk of the population lived in 
huts built of mud walls and straw roofs such as are seen in the villages today. 
The style of architecture, as shown by the archaeological monuments, or as 
represented in the early paintings of Ajanta, or the sculpture of the Buddhist 
caves, indicates no foreign influence as far as can be seen, except for the 
apsidal form of the chaityas, which bears a striking resemblance to the plans 
of the Roman basilicas, or to the still earlier Phoenician temples of Malta, 
although the latter have a semi-circular projection at both ends in the length 
of the structure. The Ka‘ba, which according to the Muslim tradition was 
built by Abraham, has an apsidal extension at one end, called at the present 

¹ The pot-shaped bases of the pillars also seem to have been copied from wooden columns, the 
ends of which were placed in pots to safeguard them from the attack of white ants or termites.
² The size of the bricks discovered at Ajanta is: length 22 in., breadth 12 in., and thickness 3 in. 
Bricks of similar dimensions have also been found in the excavations at Paithan, the ancient capital 
of the Sātavāhanas. Bricks, a little smaller in size but very strong in texture, have been found in 
the excavations at Konḍāpur. Among these, wedge-shaped and square bricks have also been 
found, the former used in the circular base of a stūpa.
time the Ḥatifm. In studying the old Phoenician temples one notices that the square or rectangular part of the building was meant for housing the images of gods, and the semi-circular or circular projections were sacrificial pits for holding offerings to deities. Phoenicians were expert builders and wood-carvers in King David’s time, and he invited a party of Phoenician artisans to assist him in building the temple at Jerusalem.¹ Phoenicians were also great sea-traders, and references in the Old Testament to gold, spices, and peacocks, which are specially associated with the western coast of India, indicate that there was some sea-borne trade between the western part of the Deccan and the western Asiatic countries. There is thus some possibility that the apsidal plan of the house of God of the Phoenicians was copied in India as it was at Mecca, which was situated in the middle of the caravan route from Palestine to the Yemen. The form may indeed have sprung up independently here, for the offering of sacrifices would have required at the beginning a circular pit, which at a later period might have become a conventional form for the altar. But against the latter view are the facts that the apsidal form of the temples disappeared from India with the waning of the Buddhist religion, and that except in the case of one or two temples in South India this plan is not to be noticed among Brāhmanic temples elsewhere. The offering of sacrifices to gods was an essential feature of the Brāhmanic faith from the beginning, and if the apsidal form of temples had originated and developed in the Deccan or in India, it would not have been given up on the extinction of the Buddhist religion.

Minor traces of western Asiatic influence may also be seen in the early sculpture of the Deccan, for instance in the winged animals at Pītalkhōrā, Aurangābād District, the crenellated or stepped parapet carved at Konḍāne, Kārle, Ajanṭa, and other early Buddhist sites, and the bell-shaped capitals of the pillars of many ancient monuments in the Deccan. Among these, the winged animals have a close resemblance to their prototypes in Assyria; the stepped parapet which is so common in North African Islamic monuments has recently been discovered on the monuments of Ur (Chaldaea) and must have come to India from the latter place. The bell-shaped capitals have a striking affinity to their prototypes at Persepolis, and this form may have been introduced into India by the early Parthian (Pahlava) converts to Buddhism. Such similarities are, however, few, and it would be a sad mistake to conclude from them that the architecture or sculpture or other arts of the Deccan are wholly or even largely of foreign origin.

As the specimens of art belonging to the early period are of a more developed character in the Deccan than are those to be found north of the Narmadā, and the Godāvari, it appears that the fine arts had not only an independent but a much earlier beginning in the Deccan than they had in Northern India. For example, the architecture and sculpture of the rock-

¹ 1 Chronicles, xxii, 2–4, 15.
hewn shrines of the Deccan are of a much higher quality than those of the rock-temples of Bihar and Orissa. As regards the superior workmanship to be noticed in the lion-capital of Sarnath, or the carving at Sanchi, it may be observed that it is doubtful whether the former represents Indian craftsmanship, while at the latter place there are inscriptions to show that artisans of the Deccan were employed to build and embellish the Great Stūpa. Āndhras were politically strong enough to resist the encroachments of the Mauryas, and after the fall of the latter dynasty they actually defeated their successors, the Šuṅgas, and took possession of a large part of their empire, almost up to the borders of Magadha. The gold industry of the Deccan was in a flourishing condition in the time of Aśoka, and the references to the export of jewels and fabrics by Kauṭilya and early foreign writers confirm the impression that during the centuries preceding the Christian era the Deccan was not only an emporium of trade but a great centre of culture and civilization.

It may further be observed that the human figures represented in the sculpture or painting of the Deccan are mainly aboriginal, showing that the sculptor or painter had before his mind the people of his own stock even when carving or portraying the figures of gods and goddesses. But this feature of the art of the Deccan is lost in the third century A.D., when the Āndhras were succeeded by the Vākṣṭakas who had matrimonial relations with the Guptas. In the later sculpture and painting of the Deccan the principal figures have Āryan features, while the aborigines appear only as servants or play a similar role.

The potter's craft was also fairly well developed in the centuries immediately preceding or following the Christian era, and the terra-cotta figurines discovered in the excavations at Kondāpur exhibit not only the skill of the craftsman in faithfully representing the facial features, but also a superior art in giving expression to the character and feeling of the semi-religious personages represented. The jeweller's art had also reached a high stage of elegance and many a decorative motif to be noticed in the early architecture and sculpture of the Deccan is borrowed from jewellery patterns and designs. All these crafts seem to have been closely correlated, and as a master-sculptor may have played the role of an expert architect in the designing of rock-hewn shrines, similarly a goldsmith would have acted in the same capacity for the decorative schemes which form such an important feature of these monuments. These questions will be discussed further when the architecture, sculpture, and painting of the Deccan are described separately in chronological order.

1 Figures of foreigners, Sakas or Pahlavas, are carved as donors of caves in some places, and they can be easily identified by their head-gear, dress, and foot-wear (Plate XXIII a).
II

ARCHITECTURE

In the preliminary remarks made above it has been shown that the earliest specimens of architecture to be found in the Deccan belong to the Buddhist faith, which flourished there from about the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D., when it became practically extinct. The Brāhmānic faith was patronized during this period by many of the rulers, but for the history of the architecture of the Deccan the revival of this latter system of belief begins in the sixth century A.D., under the Chālu kyas, who were enthusiastic patrons of architecture. They adorned their capital, Bādāmi, with rock-hewn shrines, some of which still exist and represent the earliest Brāhmānic monuments of this style in the Deccan. The Chālu kyas in the northern part of the Deccan were ousted by the Rāśṭrakūṭas, who built some temples of outstanding merit at Ellora during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. These shrines are hewn out of the living rock although their plans, comprising a forecourt, a room for the sacred bull, Nandi, a hall with a portico in front and the cela or shrine at the back, are copied from temples built of brick and stone which were being constructed on the same model about that time. At Ellora there are also rock-hewn shrines belonging to the Jaina faith, and these were probably carved in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Among them the Indra Sabhā group is the most important, and indeed, both in ornamental detail and in workmanship, it is in no way inferior to the Brāhmānic caves.

Among the oldest structural shrines which still exist, the temple at Aihole¹ is especially interesting, because, like the Buddhist chaityas, it has an apsidal plan, although the temple is dedicated to Vishṇu. It was probably built in the seventh century A.D., during the reign of Vikramaditya-Satyaśraya, the first Chālu kyyan king of this name.² About the same time, or a few decades later, was built the well-known Śaiva temple, Pāpanāth, at Paṭṭadakal.³ Its design comprises a square hall and a square cela with a porch of the same plan between them. The cela has a spire above it, the curvilinear form of which, although copied in the temples at Ālampur in the Raichur District, is more akin to the shape of the spires of Bhuvanesvar and Koṇārak temples, and also to the form of the majority of spires in North India. The general form of the spires of the Deccan temples is that of a storied building,

¹ Aihole, a village in the Bijapur district. It is not far from Bādāmi, the old capital of the Chālu kyas.
³ Paṭṭadakal is ten miles north-east of Bādāmi and eight miles south-west of Aihole.
the dimensions of which gradually decrease as it rises upward. The spires are finally crowned with circular caps and finials of artistic design.

The structural temples of the Deccan, built between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D., form a magnificent group, and their architectural features exhibit the influence of both North Indian and South Indian temples. The later Chalukyas, the Yadavas, and the Kakatiyas who ruled over the Deccan during this period were fond of architecture, and their buildings are characterized by a breadth of vision and loftiness of spirit on the one hand and by superior craftsmanship on the other. The majority of these temples are dedicated to Siva, but some belong to the Vaishnavite cult, while the number of fanes built by Jains is not inconsiderable.

To give the reader a clear idea of the artistic merits and special features of the architecture of the Deccan it will be best to describe some of the typical monuments of the country. Taking the Buddhist shrines first, which are the oldest chronologically, it may be observed that the stūpas were perhaps the most sacred, each having been raised on a relic of the mortal remains of the Buddha. Originally the form of the stūpa as a burial-mound seems to have been adopted from the hemispherical tumuli of the Scythians, or from the megalithic tombs (cairns) of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan and South India, for such tombs are found in great abundance there. Be this as it may, it is a fact that by the third century B.C., i.e., during the life-time of Asoka, the stūpa had assumed a definite form, i.e., a round base, rising perpendicularly up to a certain height, a dome-shaped structure resting upon this and being itself surmounted by a casket-shaped apex which ultimately was crowned with an umbrella, the emblem of both religious and secular dignity. Round the base of the structure was arranged a path for circumambulation, which was enclosed outwardly by a railing with gateways facing the cardinal points. The Andhra-deva, or the country adjoining the deltas of the rivers Krishnā and Godāvari, was a great stronghold of the Buddhist religion from the third century B.C. down to the sixth or seventh century A.D., and remains of several hundred stūpas have been traced in this part of the country, the latest discoveries having been made at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the southern bank of the Kṛishnā, in the present Guntur district of the Madras Presidency.

For the purpose of this chapter a short description of the central stūpa at Amarāvatī, which was perhaps the most magnificent in this part of the country, will suffice. Unfortunately, the stūpa does not exist now. It was in a ruinous condition in 1797, when Colonel Mackenzie first saw it, and since then the bulk of its fragments have been removed to London where they are

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1 As these tombs have a striking resemblance to their prototypes in Etruria, Spain, and Southern France, some archaeologists, as was observed above (supra, p. 719), are of the opinion that the megalithic tombs of the Deccan and Southern India were built by Scythians (Sakas) when they spread over this part of India.
preserved and exhibited at the British Museum, and the residue kept in the country are now housed and displayed at the Government Museum in Madras. According to the descriptions given by experts, it appears that the base of the stūpa was of considerable size, being approximately 162 ft. in diameter. It was wainscoted with sculptural marble, the artistic and iconographic features of which will be discussed at the appropriate place in this chapter. Above the circular base was built the dome, which seems to have been from 120 to 140 ft. in diameter. The lower portion of the dome, which rose almost perpendicularly from the base, was also encased with marble slabs containing representations of the stūpa itself and jātaka stories carved artistically in relief. The upper part of the dome was built of brick and covered with stucco on which floral designs and religious emblems were similarly executed in low relief.

The apex of the dome comprised a casket with an umbrella rising above it. Both of them were elegantly carved. The base of the stūpa projected some three feet towards each of the cardinal points; this plan was resorted to with the double object of breaking the monotony of the uniform surface of the base and of affording support to the five monolithic pillars which were built at those points, along the upper part of the drum of the stūpa. The monolithic pillars in their turn represented a decorative feature of the stūpa, and also added strength to the masonry of the building by serving as buttresses. A processional path was arranged round the stūpa so that the votaries might walk round the building in a ceremonial manner and also view with due respect and reverence the various emblems of the faith and the scenes from the life of the Master. The path was enclosed by a marble railing externally and there were gateways for entry and exit in different directions.

This stūpa when intact must have represented a vigorous style of architecture, based upon lofty religious ideals and a highly developed artistic sense. The latter two features of the early architecture of the Deccan are more impressively represented in the Buddhist chaityas, or cathedrals, the plans of which, as was observed above, resemble closely those of the Roman basilicas. Among such shrines the chaityas at Bhājā, Bēdsā, Pitalkhorā, Kārle, Kondāne, Nāsik, Junnar, and Ajanta constitute a magnificent group, and they all belong to the first two centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Being almost coeval in age they possess many common features, such as the use of wooden ribs in the vault of the ceiling, the wooden screen in the horse-shoe arch above the main entrance, the winged animals and sphinxes above the capitals of pillars (Plate VI a), the pyramid-shaped parapet carved on the façade (Plate VI b), the inward leaning of the jamb of doorways and columns of the hall, and the bell-shaped Persepolitan design of the capitals of pillars (Plate VII a). These temples vary in dimensions,

1 For a detailed account of the Amarāvati stūpa, see The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagannath, Archaeological Survey of Southern India, 1887.
and although the chaitya at Kārle is the most spacious, and also the most imposing in regard to its architectural detail (Plate VII b), yet as its façade has lost many of its original features, a description of the chaitya at Beḍāsā will be more suitable for the present review because this latter temple is comparatively in a better state of preservation. The plan of this chaitya resembles in arrangement to a certain extent the plan of the early Christian churches, comprising the nave, the side-aisles, and the apse containing the stūpa or dagoba. The side-aisles join in a semi-circular passage behind the dagoba. The chaitya at Beḍāsā has an imposing portico in front of it, the pillars of which rise to a height of 25 ft. and are crowned with figures of animals. Some of these have human riders, the latter being carved with consummate skill. These figures are not only bold in conception but also most vivid in expression (Plate III b). The shafts of the pillars are octagonal in design, and they spring from pot-shaped bases and are surmounted with fluted bells which, according to Fergusson, are more Persepolitan in design than the capitals of pillars at any other place in India. The portico, which is in the form of a veranda, measures 30 ft. 2 in. in length and 12 ft. in width. The ceiling, owing to the height of the pillars and side-walls, is too high, but the rich carving attracts the eye at once and the idea of any incongruity does not rise even in the mind of the most discerning critic (Plate VIII a). The designs include religious architectural motifs, such as the rail and the chaitya-window with its lattice-work; but they are repeated so often, and are carved in such a skilful manner, that the whole looks like a goldsmith’s work, and the love of the Deccan artist for richness of ornamentation is abundantly illustrated.

There are two cells at each end of the veranda towards the right and left, the first cell on the latter side being incomplete. They have stone benches, and the jambs of their doors slant slightly inwards, both features indicating the early age of the excavation. Above the lintels of the cell-doors there is first a floral lattice design, and above that the rood-screen pattern, such as is to be seen in original wood in the chaitya-windows of Konḍāgaṇe and Bhāja. Access to the interior of the chaitya is given by three doors, the middle one of which is larger in dimensions than the two in the sides. The gallery in the sill of the great window, above the main entrance, extends 3 ft. 7 in. into the cave, which, besides the two irregular pillars in front, has twenty-four octagonal shafts, 10 ft. 3 in. high, separating the nave from the side aisles. The entire dimensions of the chaitya are: length, 45 ft. 4 in., width, 20 ft. The pillars are plain in design and except for the few religious symbols carved on them, and the rail-pattern executed on the dagoba, there is a complete absence of ornamentation in the interior of the shrine, and this

2 The general dimensions of the interior of this temple are 124 ft. 5 in. from the entrance to the back wall; 45 ft. 6 in. the combined width of the central hall and the side-aisles; and 45 ft. the height from the floor to the rock ceiling.
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feature adds to its solemn dignity. The ceiling had originally wooden ribs but these have now completely disappeared. The dagoba is rather slim in proportions and differs in general appearance from the dagobas of Kārle and Ajanta. Another feature of the carving of the cathedral is that it has no representation of the Buddha, such as is to be seen freely in the chaityas of later date—fourth–sixth centuries A.D. Caves XIX and XXVI of Ajanta are excellent examples of the chaityas of the late Buddhist period, because they belong to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. respectively. In these temples the use of wood for the rafters of ceilings, or for the lattice-work of the chaitya-window, is entirely discarded; the pillars of the hall rise perpendicularly and the pyramid-shaped parapet does not appear. The pillars are round and they have spiral fluting with bands of floral or jewellery designs arranged at different levels in their height. The figures of the Buddha seated on a throne, or standing, are carved in a variety of poses (mudras) in the triclium as well as on the back of the aisles. Representations of the Master may also be noticed in niches carved on the dagoba itself. Both the exteriors and interiors of these temples are profusely adorned with sculpture, and the calm and solemn effect of the earlier shrines is replaced by magnificence and splendour. The carving taken by itself is exquisite both in design and workmanship, but its excess in the architectural scheme of the temples wearies the eye and also tends to disturb that tranquillity of mind which one would wish to feel in the interior of a religious shrine (Plates VIII b–IX).

The third type of the early monuments of the Deccan is the vihāra, or the monastery evolved from a natural cavern wherein a holy personage dwelt and meditated. The vihāras of the pre-Christian period are not only plain but rather austere in design, comprising a middle room with cells arranged on three sides of it. The cells are of small dimensions, and they are connected with the main room by very narrow doors. In the cells benches are cut in the rock, and on one side of them the surface of the rock is kept a little raised to serve the purpose of a pillow for the head when the Buddhist monks slept on these benches. Cave XIII of Ajanta is a very good example of an early Buddhist vihāra. Its middle room is 13 ½ ft. wide, 16 ½ ft. deep, and 7 ft. high. There are seven cells, which project from the main room, three of them being on the left side and two on each of the back and right sides. The monastic life permitted no ostentation, but the love of ornamentation being almost inherent in the people of the Deccan the bhikshus began to carve religious symbols, such as the dagoba, or the sacred balustrade, or the rood-screen, over the doors of their cells from the earliest times. The vihāras at Bhājā, Beṣā, Junnar, Nāsik, and Ajanta, which all belong to the second or first century B.C., are adorned with such emblems, but the ornamentation shows considerable restraint and there is no lavishness such as is to be noticed in the decoration of the façades of chaityas of the same period. As the popularity of the Buddhist faith increased the number of bhikshus, the
dimensions of the vihāras expanded quickly, and some early monasteries at Konḍāne and Nāsik have large halls in their centres. At the latter place, caves III and VIII, both of which are monasteries, and according to the inscriptions which they bear belong to the pre-Christian period, have spacious halls, and also pillared verandas in front of them for protection against rain and sun. Cave No. III, which seems to be the earlier of the two, has a hall which is 41 ft. wide and 46 ft. deep. It has also a bench on three sides and seventeen cells; seven on the right side, five at the back, and five on the left. The sculpture and the form of the pillars of these two caves resemble those of the chaitya-cave at Kārle, and it will not be wrong to infer that all three belong to the same period.

Vihāras, which in the beginning were only monasteries through the religious zeal of the bhikshus, developed into temples by the inclusion of an image-chamber in the back of the vihāra. Although dagobas are carved in some of the earliest vihāras, yet the introduction of a shrine with an ante-chamber into the general plan of the vihāra seems to have come into vogue when the Mahāyāna doctrine permitted the representation of the Buddha in human form for purposes of adoration. At Ajanta, cave IV is perhaps the earliest vihāra on this plan, and it has a spacious hall 87 ft. square in the middle with an ante-chamber and a shrine at the back. The large dimensions of this cave, combined with the massiveness of its architectural features (Plate X a), with the frugal use of decorative work, present a faithful picture of Buddhist religious dignity, reflecting the practical restraint of the Buddhist monastic life on the one hand and the expansiveness of spiritual life on the other. The vihāra was probably excavated in the third century A.D. or still earlier,1 but the work on the doorway and the windows may have been done at a later date. At this juncture it should be pointed out that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the first to the third A.D., some structural buildings also in the form of stūpas, chaityas, and vihāras were built in the Deccan. The chaityas at Ter, Konḍāpur,2 and Pāṇigiri3 belong to this period. They are built of large bricks, but the dimensions of these structures are so small that they can never have been examples of architectural grandeur, even when they were intact. The chaitya at Ter has undergone much alteration on account of its having been converted into a temple of another cult, and it is impossible to form any idea of the artistic merits of the original building.

1 This vihāra may have been built at the same time as the chaitya-cave X at Ajanta, for a temple of colossal size required a large monastery for the accommodation of monks. The ante-chamber and the shrine may have been added at a later date.
2 Konḍāpur is forty-three miles west-north-west of Hyderabad and the best way to approach it is to travel the first thirty-seven miles on the Bidār road and the remaining six by a fair-weather road which has been recently made motorable for the convenience of visitors by the Public Works Department of the Hyderabad State.
3 Pāṇigiri is a hillock in the Nalgonda district on which remains of stūpas were found in the course of excavations made by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad during the years 1942-5.
from present appearance. The chaityas of Kondāpur, which have been exposed to view in the course of excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad in 1941-2, are of insignificant dimensions, the western chaitya measuring 25 ft. 4 in. by 10 ft. 4 in. and the eastern 21 ft. 4 in. by 21 ft. These structures when compared with the grand rock-hewn chaityas of Kārle, Bhājā, and Ajanta betray a lack of the lofty idealism and breadth of vision which are to be noticed in the latter chaityas.

Apart from structural buildings, the rock-hewn shrines of this period (first to third centuries A.D.) also show no creative effort, the same architectural forms and designs being repeated and the artistic effect being rather one of imitation than of originality. With the waning of the political ascendancy of the Andhras the artistic impulse of the people of the Deccan seems to have deteriorated, and the passing of the sovereignty to the Vakāṭakas, who came from the north and had matrimonial relations with the Guptas, ultimately proved most useful by breathing a fresh spirit of life into art in all its forms. Further, the rigorous asceticism of the Hinayāna school had in course of time dimmed the original bright outlook on the joys of life, and the introduction of the Mahāyāna doctrine during the rule of the Vakāṭakas, fourth to fifth century A.D., saved the emotional aspect of the art of the Deccan from complete etiolation. The vihāras of Ajanta, belonging to this period, bear eloquent testimony to the joyous outlook which the votaries of the Buddhist faith had on the beauty of nature and the aims and ideals of life in general. Among these monasteries caves I—II and XVI—XVII deserve special notice; the last two bear contemporary inscriptions fixing their dates in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. Cave I is the largest of these four vihāras, comprising a porch, a veranda, a hall with corridors on all four sides, an ante-chamber, and a shrine in which a colossal figure of the Buddha is carved. There are also fourteen cells in the interior of this vihāra and two in the veranda, one at each end. The veranda is 64 ft. long, 9 ft. wide, and 12 ft. 6 in. high. A large door in the middle, with beautifully carved jambs and entablature, gives access to the great hall which is 64 ft. square, its ceiling being supported by a colonnade of twenty pillars, leaving aisles 9 ft. 6 in. wide all round. The ante-chamber, at the back of the hall, measures 10 ft. by 9 ft. and leads to the shrine through a richly carved door. The shrine is square in plan, measuring 20 ft. on each side.

The exterior view of this monastery has been somewhat marred by the destruction of the porch which was the prominent feature of it, but the several bands of carving on the architrave, representing scenes from the life of the Buddha, elephant-fights, and hunting expeditions, have been executed with consummate skill and show sculpture of a high order.

The pillars in the interior of this cave exhibit much ingenuity both in

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1 In Hyderabad Archaeological Series, Monograph No. 16, Ghatotkacha Inscriptions, V.V. Mirashi has tried to find their place of origin in the Eastern Deccan.
variety of form and picturesqueness of ornamental detail (Plate XI b), and these features, combined with the general effect of spaciousness, produced by the large dimensions of the monastery, make it one of the finest vihāras of its kind in India. Cave II is almost a replica of cave I, but its hall is a little smaller than that of the latter, and its pillars also do not indicate such a fine sense of proportion as is shown by the columns of cave I. As regards the form of the pillars and the artistic effect of some of the component architectural parts, caves XVI and XVII are superior to cave I, but taken as a whole the latter cave excels them in the beauty of its design. These vihāras, caves I–II and XVI–XVII, are adorned with both sculpture and painting, the merits of which will be studied in their appropriate place in this chapter.

The plan of the vihāra developed a variety of forms during the period fourth to fifth centuries A.D., according to the aims and ideals and the numerical strength of the monastic orders, and notable types of these plans may be seen in the designs of caves V, XI, and XII of Ellora. They all belong to the Buddhist faith, and although after this religion ceased to exist as a living force in the land of its birth, these vihāras were nicknamed Mahārśwāda or Dhedwāda, which name still sticks to them, they constitute one of the most imposing group of monasteries belonging to any faith in India. Among this group caves XI and XII, though called Do Thāl and Tin Thāl respectively, both consist of three stories and have a spacious court in front which is excavated out of the living rock (Plate XI). Cave V, called the Mahārśwāda or the temple of the Mahārś, is 110 ft. deep and 70 ft. wide, if the recesses cut on either side of the aisles be included. The hall is rectangular in plan and is divided into three apartments by two low benches, which may have served as tables for dining purposes or have been used as reading-desks by the bhikshus, for the cave has twenty cells for the accommodation of the monks and a fairly large number of them would have attended the services of the monastery. The plan of this cave resembles that of the Darbār Hall of Kāpārī and some experts are of opinion that the Mahārśwāda may have been originally a refectory, which may account for its plan (Plate XII).

The Do Thāl and the Tin Thāl, apart from their lofty and massive façades, exhibit a refined taste in the carving of their pillars, which are not crowded with patterns but have the lotus or pot design incised only in outline (Plate XIII a) in harmony with the simple dignity of a religious building. These two monasteries in their uppermost story are divided lengthwise into aisles at the ends of which are niches containing representations of the Buddha according to the Mahāyāna doctrine. The ante-chamber contains two tall dvārapālas with crossed arms and high crowns, and on the back wall three female deities are carved on each side of the door of the shrine. Inside the shrine beside the colossal figure of the Buddha there are statues of the Padmāpāṇi, Vajrāpāṇi, and other Bodhisattvas, shown as attendants of the Master.
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From the top floors of these two vihāras the view of the valley and the plains below is grand, and bhikshus sitting for meditation in these caves must have been inspired by the beauty of nature in its various aspects.

These two monasteries apparently belong to the seventh century A.D., because they are situated close to the chaitya styled the Viśvakarma, and this, apart from certain architectural features, bears an inscription which on palaeographic grounds has been assigned to the seventh century A.D. The revival of the Brāhmanic faith in the Deccan had begun during the rule of the Chālukyas, who built rock-hewn shrines of that faith at Bādāmi, the seat of their government; but they were tolerant to the followers of the Buddhist religion and the shrines of the latter faith continued to be built under their régime. During the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who ousted the Chālukyas from the greater part of their kingdom in the Deccan, an aggressive religious spirit seems to have prevailed, for they not only converted Buddhist vihāras into the temples of their own faith,1 but also built new shrines on such a grand scale as to eclipse in the eyes of their co-religionists the glory of the Buddhist religion. Religion is often associated with a certain amount of fanaticism, but at Ellora the religious fervour of the followers of the Brāhmanic faith has carved out in the living rock temples which might well have been considered to be the work of gods not only by the votaries of that religion but also by the most discerning critic of the period, because they are unique specimens of this kind of architecture in the world. Their gigantic dimensions, rich decorative detail, and perfect finish, are absolutely amazing. Kailāsa is the most remarkable of these temples; it is monolithic, isolated from the surrounding rock, and carved outside as well as inside. It stands in a large court, 276 ft. long and 154 ft. wide, with a scarp 107 ft. high at the back. In front of this court a curtain has been left, carved on the outside with large statues of Śiva and Viṣṇu, displaying ceaseless activity on the one hand and a sense of urgent vehemence on the other. The entrance to the temple is through a passage which has several apartments, and ultimately leads to the lower part of the court from the two sides of a vestibule arranged at its end. The lower court has the effigies of two life-size elephants carved at either side of the basement of the temple in order to give an air of majesty to the shrine. Two lofty dhvajastambhas, ensign staffs, each 45 ft. high, add further dignity to the temple (Plate XIII b). The basement of the temple is quite high and it is adorned with sculptures representing episodes from the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa as well as figures of lions and elephants which are very spiritedly represented. The basement measures 164 ft. from east to west, and 109 ft. from north to south, but the temple, in spite of its large dimensions, is designed like a chariot resting on the backs of elephants. The

1 Cave XV, called the Daśāvatāra, was originally a Buddhist vihāra, and the images of the Buddha, although chiselled off with care from many a niche, may still be noticed in some places. This cave has a long inscription of Dantidurga carved over its entrance.
style is South Indian, developed from the style of the rathas of Māmallapuram, but here it appears in such a perfect form that there is nothing missing in the component parts of the temple—such as the portico, the Nandi pavilion, the mandapa, the shrine, the court with its surrounding galleries and the entrance—which are to be found in a structural temple of this style. According to an inscription it was built by the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛishṇa, who succeeded Dantidurgā in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.

The main temple has two staircases in front which lead to a porch. The ceiling of the porch has several layers of painting, the undermost being contemporary with the building of the temple. The main hall is 57 ft. wide and 53 ft. deep and the ceiling is supported by sixteen richly carved pillars, which are so arranged that two passages have been formed, one leading from the entrance to the shrine and another crossing the former in the middle of the hall and connecting it with the balconies built at either side of it towards the north and south. The form of the pillars and their decoration show good taste, and as the rock out of which they are hewn is close-grained the carving is extremely sharp, and the floor of the hall is so finely polished that it shines like a mirror.

A door in each of the back corners of the hall leads to the terrace behind. A wide path is arranged there round the outside of the shrine, which forms the base of the vimāna or spire. This tower rises to a height of 96 ft. from the court below and is richly carved. Below are compartments between pilasters, with delicately sculptured finials over each, and the middle of each compartment is occupied in most cases by a representation of Śiva or Viṣṇu. On the wall above there are flying figures, and over them begin the horizontal mouldings of the sikhara. On the outer side of the terrace are five small shrines crowned by sikharas, which with the main spire in the middle give a picturesque effect to the general appearance of the temple.

Kailāsa has several adjuncts some of which may have been excavated at a later date. But the galleries running round the court are coeval with the central shrine, and their architectural effect when the visitor looks at the long rows of columns and the continuous series of sculptured panels from one end of them, is most fascinating (Plate XIV a). The eastern gallery is particularly striking; it is 189 ft. in length and has nineteen panels in its back wall adorned with figures of deities of more than human size. Fergusson has compared Kailāsa with the Śaiva temple of Paṭṭadakal, a comparison which may be valid in regard to the close resemblance between the structural features of the two temples, but the very fact that Kailāsa is hewn out of solid rock suggests an idea of solidity and everlastingness which, combined with the impression which it gives of patient industry and continuous devotion to the service of the gods, makes the temple rank in sublimity and grandeur with the great temples of Egypt, like those at Karnak and Edfu.

For vigour of style and boldness of design, the Dhumar Leṇa, cave XXIX
of Ellora, is also worthy of being described here, for it shows what giant strides the architects of the Deccan made under the patronage of the Rāṣhṭrakūṭa kings. The plan of this temple (Plate XIV b) has a certain resemblance to that of the great shrine with the Trimūrti at Elephanta, but Dhumar Leṇa is larger in dimensions and finer in architectural effect than the latter cave. The interior of the Dhumar Leṇa measures 148 ft. by 149 ft. and the height of the rock ceiling from the floor is 17 ft. 8 in. From the steps facing the west the visitor first enters a corridor which is connected with the central passage of the shrine as well as with the corridors running on either side of the passage. The side corridors continue to the end of the excavation and form a kind of pradakṣhina round the shrine. The main passage is crossed in the middle by another which is planned to run from north to south and connects the middle part of the temple with its adjuncts in those directions. These adjuncts comprise a pair of corridors, the outer ones leading to the steps being smaller than those behind them. The plan of the temple, notwithstanding the long aisles into which its interior is divided, is star-shaped, that being the predominant form of the medieval temples of the Deccan. The pillars with their fluted cushion-shaped capitals are a little top-heavy, but owing to the height of the ceiling and the vast spaces of the corridors this blemish is not felt obtrusively, and the general architectural effect of the interior of the temple is one of grandeur and timelessness.

In the eighth century A.D., the period during which the Dhumar Leṇa was excavated, some structural buildings of considerable magnitude were erected in the Deccan, but before reviewing them the Jaina group of rock-hewn shrines at Ellora should also be mentioned because they throw much light on the aims and ideals of the builders who held that faith. In this group of shrines the most notable are the Indra Sabhā and the Jagannātha Sabhā, which in their plans and architectural features show a striking resemblance to the Brāhmanic temples of Ellora. But the various adjuncts of these temples have been so crowded together, and are so overloaded with unnecessary ornamental detail, that the eye is bewildered and fatigued by the complicated intricacy displayed. For instance, in the court of the Indra Sabhā, the dhvajastambha is not only close to the door of the temple but also so near the central pavilion of the court that the whole looks cramped and confined. This effect is further enhanced by the small dimensions of the court and the tiny size of the pillars of some of the chapels which overlook it. These characteristics betray a sad lack of sense of proportion in the general design of the temple, although the architectural detail taken separately exhibits considerable industry and skill. Art in such instances is degraded into artifice, because the creative effort is replaced by a soulless striving after effect.

In studying the structural monuments of the Deccan, it will be helpful to keep in view also the political history of the country. It has been observed
above\(^1\) that the Andhras were followed by the Vākāṭakas, who came from the provinces to the north of the Deccan and had matrimonial relations with the Guptas. During their rule of some two hundred years (A.D. 300–500) many architectural decorative features of North India were adopted in the Deccan. The next dynasty to rule there was that of the Chāḷukyas, who extended their kingdom both in the north and in the south and were often at war with the Pallavas of Kānĉhi, the modern Conjeevaram. Their capital was first at Bāḍāmi (Vāṭāpipura), now a small town in the Bijāpur District. Apart from the rock-cut shrines which the Chāḷukyas built at Bāḍāmi in imitation of the Buddhist temples, they constructed several fanes of great magnitude in the suburbs of their capital, which may still be seen at Paṭṭadakal and Aihole. The Lokeśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal bears inscriptions of the Chāḷukyan king Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733–46), stating that this temple was built for his queen Lokamahādevī, in memory of his having thrice conquered the Pallavas of Kānĉhi.\(^2\) The temple bears a striking resemblance to the contemporary Rājasimhesvara temple of Kānĉhi, and there is a copper-plate grant of the reign of Kīrtivarman II (A.D. 746–57) which mentions that his father (Vikramāditya II) was much impressed by the sculpture of the latter shrine and probably had it overlaid with gold.\(^3\) It is likely that the magnificence of the Rājasimhesvara temple induced Vikramāditya to take some of the master-builders of Kānĉhi with him to his own capital at Bāḍāmi. This conjecture receives support from two inscriptions on the eastern gateway of the Lokeśvara, one of them clearly stating that the builder of the shrine was ‘the most eminent sutradhārī of the southern country’.

At one time the Pallavas also invaded the territory of the Chāḷukyas and reduced the capital, Bāḍāmi. But this state of affairs did not last long, and the Chāḷukyas soon regained their supremacy in the Deccan. In the middle of the eighth century A.D. the Chāḷukyas were, however, routed by another dynasty, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and their western territory, the Karnataκa-delā, was permanently lost to them. At Paṭṭadakal there is an inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Dhruva, stating that he humbled the pride of the Pallavas also, who, it appears, had taken advantage of the disruption of the Chāḷukyan kingdom to extend their territories within the borders of its former dominions.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were evidently fascinated by the architecture of the temples built at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal by the masons of Kānĉhi, because the great rock-hewn shrine of Kailāsa built at Ellora by Kṛṣṇa I, in the middle of the eighth century A.D., is almost a copy of the Lokeśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal. It is not unlikely that the king employed sculptors of South India in building the Kailāsa.

The later Chāḷukya kings as well as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were favourably

\(^1\) Supra, p. 729.
\(^2\) Supra, p. 729.
\(^3\) Indian Antiquary, x, 162.
\(^4\) South Indian Inscriptions, i, 146.
inclined towards the Jaina religion, and there are inscriptions extant which show that both rock-hewn and structural temples of this faith were built under the patronage of the kings of these two dynasties. In A.D. 973 the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were ousted by Taila II, a scion of the Chālukya family, who established his government at Kalyāṇi. The descendants of Taila ruled from there until A.D. 1161, when the country was temporarily occupied by the Kalachuris, whose seat of government was first at Annigiri and was afterwards shifted to Kalyāṇi. The śiva cult sprang up during the short reign of the Kalachuris, who, however, could not crush the Chālukyas, and they regained possession of the throne for some years during which time several kings of the dynasty ruled until A.D. 1189. But they had become so feeble that the southern part of their territory was occupied by the Hysalas and the northern by the Yādavas of Devagiri. The Yādavas ruled from A.D. 1187 to 1310, when the country was overrun by Malik Kāfūr, a general of the Delhi Sultan, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji.

In this historical review, however brief, it is necessary to mention the Kākatīyas, who in the beginning were vassals of the Chālukyan kings of Kalyāṇi and when the latter were dispossessed by the Kalachuris, the Kākatīyas became independent and the dynasty gradually rose into power and ruled over a large part of the Deccan for nearly three centuries. The last important king of the dynasty was Pratāpa Rudra II, whose dominions extended as far as the Western Ghāts, and from the Godāvari to the Pālar river. Muḥammad bin Tughluq conquered Telīṅgāna during the reign of this king and sent Pratāpa a prisoner to Delhi, but eventually he was allowed to return to Warangal and to rule as a vassal of the Delhi kings. The Kākatīyas were fond of architecture, and as they had sprung from the Chālukyas and were also allied by marriage with the Cholas of South India, it is natural that their temples should show a happy blending of the styles of North India and South India in their construction.

For the reasons given above it becomes clear that from the close of the third century A.D. up to the beginning of the fourteenth, the Deccan, owing to its political conditions, was influenced in artistic matters by both North and South India. To demonstrate this influence in the domain of architecture the salient features of the temples built during this period are given below. The Lokeśvara or Virūpāksha temple of Paṭṭadakal, referred to several times above, is one of the oldest structural temples of the Deccan and has a striking resemblance to its earlier prototype, the Rājasimheśvara temple of Kāṇchi. The type of architecture is pure Pallava evolved from the wooden ratha style, the earlier examples of which may be noticed in the rock-hewn shrines of Māmallapuram. The spire consists of a square pyramid, divided into distinct stories which decrease in dimensions as they rise one above the other and are ultimately crowned with a round tower. The storied or horizontal arrangement of the spire is a Pallava or South Indian
feature, while the North Indian spire has a perpendicular arrangement, the reduplication being obtained by vertical additions, clustering round the main structure of the spire. The architects of the Deccan in building their spires adopted a middle course; whilst retaining the storied arrangement of South India, they reduced the height of the stories but increased their number, and covered them with so great a profusion of ornamental detail that at first glance the storied arrangement itself is not apparent to the eye. Again, to make the spires resemble their prototypes in Northern India, the architects so manoeuvred the central panels, or niches on each story, as to form a more or less continuous vertical band, thus simulating the perpendicular arrangement of the North. The spire of the Mahādeva temple at Ittagi, in the Raichur District (Plate XV a), built in A.D. 1112, shows a middle course, but the spires of the temples of Ālampur, constructed about the same period (twelfth century A.D.), are so ingeniously overlaid with decorative detail that they appear to be almost replicas of the Līṅgarājā temple at Bhuvaṇeśvar, in Orissa (Plate XV b).

The internal plans of the temples of the Deccan comprise a shrine room, which generally faces the east with an ante-chamber in front of it, and a pillared hall adjoining the latter. The pillared halls of the temples in the south-western parts of the Deccan are generally screened and have windows of pleasing design for the admission of air and light (Plate XVI a). The halls of the northern and eastern parts of the Deccan are open, in imitation of the temple-halls of Northern India. As the majority of the shrines of the Deccan are dedicated to Śaivite worship, the plan of the building includes a separate hall or a projection in the main building itself, for the accommodation of the sacred bull, Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva. Further, the temples of the North and East Deccan have porches on three sides of the building which give the plan a star-shaped appearance, this being a special feature of Deccanese shrines. The ceiling of the interior of the building is generally flat, being divided into compartments by beams resting on the capitals of pillars supporting the roof. These compartments are square in plan, and where the space occupied by them is large, the architects have inserted triangular slabs at the angles of the squares for the greater safety of the building. This device has a pleasing effect because it removes the flatness of the ceiling which otherwise would have been apparent. The plan of the ceiling in some compartments is sixteen-sided, a device which has been carried out by the insertion of triangular pieces at the angles. The artistic effect of this plan is further enhanced by the rich carving of the masonry (Plate XVI b).

The ceiling of the central apartment of the hall is often dome-shaped, but it is not built of voussoirs with radiating joints. On the contrary it is constructed of ring upon ring of stones laid with horizontal or level bedding, each ascending ring being smaller than the lower, and closing in towards the top, which is covered by a single circular slab. These rings are held in position
by the immense weight of roofing material above them pressing down upon the supporting walls of the dome all round. The inside of the vault is carved into ascending concentric circles, each circle being beautifully cusped with a graceful pendant hanging from the apex, or with a rosette or some other pleasing design carved thereon.

The pillars of the Deccan temples show a large variety of designs, and in workmanship and artistic effect they far surpass the pillars of the temples elsewhere in both North and South India, the exceptional skill and refined taste of the sculptors of the Deccan being largely due to their continuous practice of, and long tradition in, stone-carving, stretching back for many centuries, as is proved by the existence of the early rock-hewn shrines in this region. The stone used for pillars is dolerite, which runs in trap-dykes like a backbone across the granite hills, and has a jet-black or greenish hue. The early men of the Deccan used it for their implements, and their heavy hand-axes, chisels, and other chipped or polished tools are all made of this stone. It is close-grained and takes a beautiful polish. Some authorities are of opinion that the pillars were actually turned on a lathe in order to secure this polished surface. This may be true, but the pillars of the main hall of the rock-hewn shrine, Kailāsa, which shine like a mirror, cannot have been turned on a lathe, the temple being monolithic. The fact is that the craftsmen of the Deccan had acquired consummate skill both in carving and in polishing stone from the early centuries of the Christian era onwards. The sculpture on some pillars is so sharp and crisp that it might have been finished only yesterday. The facets, the floral designs, and the religious motifs are all deeply cut; the human figures stand out from the main surface of the stone, while some floral designs have an almost fringe-like effect, being connected with the shaft only at one end, with the major part of the carving almost detached (Plates XVII–XVIII). For deep-cut carving the temple of Ittagi is perhaps unique, but in polish the pillars of some of the temples in Telengāna, notably those at Pālampet and Pillāmari, are superior to those of the Karnatak shrines.

The architraves, door-frames, and friezes above them are also richly carved, and they all illustrate the immense devotion and masterly skill of the architects in building and adorning the abodes of their gods. The walls are built of large slabs of masonry and they have a double shell, the core being hollow in the middle. This method of building is exposed to view where the outer shell of the wall has been destroyed by climatic or other causes. As the foundations of the walls have not been laid deeply enough, sinkage has occurred freely, causing the ruin of many temples. Even those which have survived have broken lintels, cracked walls, and out-of-plumb columns, this unfortunate state of affairs being entirely due to the insecure nature of the foundations.

The temples of the northern parts of the Deccan have lofty stylobates,
like those of the contemporary temples of North India, but the fanes of the Karnataka-
tāla have basements of moderate height, intended to keep the floor
immune from the damp of the surrounding ground during the rainy season.
The cornices (eabhajjas) are deep and curved like those of the South Indian
temples, and in some shrines they have figure-brackets for their support.
The brackets of the great temple of Pālampet in the Warangal District
represent dancing-girls in significant poses, showing both rich imagination
and skillful workmanship. The cornices are sometimes ribbed and divided
into panels in imitation of the cornices of a wooden ratha.1

To illustrate the above remarks, which are more or less general, a descrip-
tion of a few important temples in the Deccan, with plans and photographs,
is given below. To begin with the temples of the South-West Deccan, the
Mahādeva temple of Ittagi may be noticed first, because it is considered to
be the finest temple of its kind in that part of the country. It is situated
some three miles to the south of Bankop station on the M.S.M. Railway,
between Bellary and Gadag. The village was until recently included in
Nawāb Sālār Jung’s jagir in the Raichur District of the Hyderabad State.
The plan of the temple comprises a shrine with an ante-chamber, a closed
hall with porches on either side of it towards the north and south, and
a pillared hall which is open at the sides. The temple faces the rising sun,
and the great open hall at the east end was originally supported upon sixty-
eight pillars. Twenty-six of these are large ones, standing on the floor and
forming the main support of the roof: the rest, which were shorter, stood
on the stone bench surrounding the hall, and carried the sloping eaves. The
large columns are of different designs, but are arranged symmetrically with
regard to the shape and pattern of each. The four central ones have angular
carving arranged vertically both in the shafts and capitals; the design, al-
though very rich (Plate XVIII a), seems quite in harmony with the elaborate
pattern of the other architectural parts of the building. For instance, the
slabs of the ceiling of the middle apartment of the hall have been carved into
a rich arrangement of hanging arabesque foliage, and mukaras2 which spring
from the jaws of a kirtimukha mask.3 The convolutions of the design with
their circling excrences and bewildering whorls form a most luxuriant
pattern. The inner hall, which is closed, measures 27 feet on each side,
and beside the entrance from the outer hall has also doorways towards the
north and the south which are richly adorned with sculpture. The exterior
of the temple has deteriorated considerably and the carved masonry of the
outer casing of the walls has been carried away by the villagers for use
as building material for their own houses. The top of the sthākara is also

1 A canopied chariot used for taking the gods round the streets on the occasion of a religious
festival. They are profusely carved and may be seen to this day in all towns, and also in certain
villages, of Southern India.
2 Mukaras, dragon-shaped flowing motifs.
3 Kirtimukha, a conventional lion’s head.
missing, and the spire as it now stands is divided into three stories which are quite distinct and not so cut up and masked by decorative detail as in the temples at Ālampur. The little cusped niches, which decorate the centre of each story, rising one above the other, are exceedingly handsome, and the deep canopy of the roll moulding, which is pointed with little hanging buds, is designed in very graceful curves. Their delicate lace-like workmanship is further enhanced by the background of the rich, dark shadows of the niches.

These beautiful wreaths of filigree are repeated as ornament in the recessed panels of the walls below, and in two cases, one on either side of the shrine, serve as window-frames, the spaces between the rolls forming the lights. The three principal niches on the shrine walls, boldly accentuated by their deep projecting cornices, are now empty, their images having disappeared. Through the neglect of centuries the temple had fallen into a sad state of disrepair, but soon after the establishment of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad it was thoroughly repaired by means of a liberal grant made by the State's Government, although the temple, as was stated above, was situated in the jāgir of Nawāb Sālār Jung Bahādur.

According to the inscription carved on a slab the temple was built by Mahādeva, a high military officer, Dandanaśaka, of the Eastern Chāluṭykan king, Vikramādiya VI, in the Śaka year 1034 (A.D. 1112). In the inscription the temple is styled devālaya chakravarti, 'a very emperor among temples', a title which it amply deserves in view of the magnificence of its architectural style and its luxuriant decorative detail.

In passing from Ittagi to Ālampur, a town situated in the same district, that is Raichur, but some 150 miles to the north-east of the former place, one notices a marked change in the shape of the spire, which is more akin to the towers of the temples in Orissa than to those in South India. There are several shrines at Ālampur and their jīkharas have a curvilinear form outwardly, the storied arrangement having been concealed by a profusion of miniature architectural devices, such as pillars, niches, windows, and āmalakas, which have been arranged one above the other vertically (Plate XV β). The halls of these temples are closed, and in their plans they resemble the rock-cut shrines of the Deccan, with a central passage, a nāve, and aisles on either side of it. The shrine is built in the form of a square chamber at the end of the central passage and the two aisles extend round the shrine and serve the purpose of a pradaksīña for the votaries (Plate XIX a). The designs of the pillars of the hall and the figures of the apsarasas carved on the exterior of the temple further show the influence of the rock-hewn architecture of the Deccan (Plate XIX b). The general style of these temples is

1 Supra, p. 736.
2 Ālampur is the headquarters of a taluk and may be approached from Hyderabad or Kurnool. It is situated on the metre-gauge line of the N.S. Railway, between Secunderabad and Drona-chalam.
3 Āmalaka, a fluted capital.
very pleasing, and except for the elaborate detail of the carving of the śikhara the architectural features exhibit a refined taste. The temples at Ālampur, according to the inscriptions carved on them, were built during the twelfth century A.D.

Almost contemporary with the temples of Ālampur are the shrines at Anwa and Aundha in the Northern Deccan, both situated on the bank of an old stream which had its source in the Ajanta Hills¹ not far above Anwa and joined the Godāvari somewhere near Jalna.² Both the temples are very typical of their respective styles. The temple at Anwa has a lofty plinth, and its stylobate, the arrangement of its short pillars, and the circular design of the roof, are very artistic. The vault of the roof is 21 ft. in diameter, and is supported on twelve richly carved pillars with eight smaller ones interspersed. It is horizontal in construction as well as in ornamentation, and the general effect is quite elegant, although the vault has no pendant in the middle such as is generally found in such domes. The temple had much decayed and was overgrown with trees which had been the main cause of the ruin of the building, but the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad has since its establishment thoroughly repaired the building and saved it from further deterioration.

The temple at Aundha is much larger in dimensions than its rival at Anwa, but the spire of the former is modern, having been built after the original spire had completely disappeared. The basement of the building and the walls up to roof level are original, and they are built of large blocks of masonry richly carved. The temple itself has a plinth 5 ft. 6 in. high, and its entire length from the west portico to the back of the shrine is 126 ft., while the breadth from the north portico to the southern one is 118 ft. The inner plan consists of the icon-room and a hall with porticoes in three directions, as a result of which arrangement the interior has a star-like shape. This form has been further accentuated by the angular projections in the exterior of the building, and the whole has a very artistic effect (Plate XX). The temple at Aundha bears a close resemblance, in both structural and decorative features, to the famous shrine at Halebid (Plate XXI), regarding the architectural beauty of which Fergusson has observed as follows:

It must not, however, be considered that it is only for patient industry that this building is remarkable. The mode in which the eastern face is broken up by the larger masses, so as to give height and play of light and shade, is a better way of accomplishing what the Gothic architects attempted by transepts and projections. This, however, is surpassed by the western front, where the variety of outline, and the arrangement and subordination of the various facets in which it is disposed, must be considered as a masterpiece of design in its class. If the frieze of gods were

¹ The other towns situated on the stream are Assaye and Jā'farābād. Jā'farābād must have also an early Hindu name, because it abounds in ancient remains of the pre-Muslim period.
² Anwa may be approached both from Golegāon, a village on the Aurangābād–Ajanta road, and from Bhokardan, a taluk town in the Aurangābād District.
spread along a plain surface, it would lose more than half its effect, while the vertical angles, without interfering with the continuity of the frieze, give height and strength to the whole composition. The disposition of the horizontal line of the lower friezes is equally effective. Here again the artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines and the play of outline and of light and shade, far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what the medieval architects in Europe were aiming at, but which they never attained so perfectly as was done in the Deccan.

There are several bronze images in the shrine, but the chief icon, which has given so much importance to the temple, is a jyotirlinga, jyotis, light regarded as the supreme spirit. It is one of the twelve lingas of its kind scattered in various parts of India and held in great reverence by the votaries of the Śaivite cult.

The temples both at Anwa and Aundha in regard to their high plinths, the arrangement of their short pillars, and the style of their basement mouldings, are reminiscent of the temples in North Gujarat and Central India, notably the Teli-ka Mandir at Gwalior and the Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho, Chhatarpur State.

The temples in the eastern part of the Deccan are as numerous as are those in the south or the north, but they possess certain features which place them in contrast with their rivals in the latter two parts of the plateau. For instance, the ceilings of the central apartments of their halls are not circular; they are eight-sided or sixteen-sided, the latter shapes being secured by placing triangular pieces at the angles of the main design. The spires do not have the curvilinear form of the north noticed in the temples at Ālampur; nor do they have the pyramidal or the bombe shape of the gopurams of the south. They rise perpendicularly in a tapering form in which the vertical arrangement remains prominent, and there is no clustering of decorative detail to conceal the original design or to tire the eye. The plinths are high, but the effect of precipitousness has been judiciously avoided by building platforms midway in the height of the basement, and this arrangement has on the one hand given strength to the entire structure by serving as a sort of girdle or buttress, and on the other has provided a pradaksīna on which the votaries could walk round the temple and enjoy the beautiful sculpture of the exterior of the shrine.

The most important of these temples, like those at Hanamkoṇḍa, or Pālampet, or even the incomplete one in the Warangal Fort, show a vigorous style of architecture in which breadth of vision and loftiness of religious ideals are amply demonstrated. To illustrate this view a description of the Great Temple at Pālampet may be given. The main building of this temple has porches towards the north, the south, and the east, but the principal entrance faces the east, for in the same direction a hall is built on a platform

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1 J. Fergusson and Burgess, History of Indian Architecture, i, 448.
which rises 6 ft. 4 in. above the ground, and its plinth is divided into bands and grooves occurring alternately, the motif being taken from the rocky banks of a river the sides of which are worn away in a similar style by the continuous action of the waves. The platform affords a space 10 ft. wide all round the temple, forming a sort of promenade for devout pilgrims whence they may gaze on the long rows of figures which adorn the exterior of the building. These figures are of a heterogeneous character, comprising gods, goddesses, warriors, acrobats, musicians, dancing-girls, and maithuna pairs in indecent attitudes.

A striking peculiarity of this building is formed by the figure-brackets, which spring from the shoulders of the outer pillars of the temple and nominally support the chhajja slabs. They are mere ornaments and represent the intermediate stage between their earlier analogues at Śānchī and the later examples at Vijayanagar. Twelve of them represent dancing-girls in different poses, the carving showing considerable artistic merit both in conception and in execution.

The walls of the sanctuary are decorated outwardly with pilasters and niches, the latter being crowned with miniature spires, copies of the main spire of the temple.

To enter the temple from any of the three porches the visitor has to ascend several steps, as the floor of the building is 3 ft. higher than the platform on which it stands. The arrangement of the interior can best be understood with the help of the plan (Plate XXII). The main hall measures 41 ft. each way, and has a square apartment enclosed by four pillars in the middle—the place where musicians and singers recited the sacred hymns. The carving of the pillars is most elegant and it represents scenes from the Purāṇas. The idyllic scene of Kṛṣṇa surrounded by a troop of amorous girls (gopīs), whom the mischievous god deprived of their garments while they were bathing in a tank, is carved on a pillar of the central apartment. A platform about 3 ft. 6 in. high is built round the hall and on it are eight beautifully constructed niches which originally must have accommodated the images of the presiding deities of the temple. The front of the antechamber and the entrance of the shrine are richly carved, and the main icon in the interior of the latter is a liṅga, the emblem of cosmic energy. The general architectural effect of the temple is grand, and shows the high ideals and consummate skill of the builders.

A sad defect of these temples is that they are not provided with adequate foundations, and as they were built of large blocks of masonry sinking has occurred in the majority of cases, so that cracked walls, broken lintels, and out-of-plumb walls are features which frequently obtrude themselves on one’s notice.

The temple at Pālampet has an inscription dated A.D. 1213, which records the building of the temple by one Recherla Rudra, a general in the service
of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. This king built the great tank at Pākhal and also the magnificent temple in the Warangal fort, some features of which have recently been exposed to view by the excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad. The temple was built of large blocks of neatly chiselled masonry, and the fondness of the Kākatiya architects for using large slabs may be judged from the floor of the central apartment of the temple, which consists of a single stone 2 ft. thick measuring 16 ft. on each side. Further, the floor is beautifully polished and shines like a mirror. Another interesting feature of this temple is the four gateways which face the four cardinal points of the compass and in their design are reminiscent of the toranas of the Great Stūpa of Sāñchi, one gateway, at least, of which was built by the masons of the Deccan. It appears that the tradition of building gateways in this style continued in the Deccan down to the thirteenth century A.D.

The architecture of the Deccan, as represented by its structural temples built from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries A.D., is conventional to a degree, and also betrays a lack of spontaneity, but none can deny its magnificence, nor can anyone ignore the rich imagination, patient industry, and skillful workmanship of the builders of these temples.

1 According to an inscription the Southern Gateway of the Sāñchi Stūpa was built by the sculptors of the Āṅ德拉 king, Śrī-Satkarni, whose reign has been dated by scholars in the first half of the second century B.C.
III

SCULPTURE

We pass on to the history of Deccanese sculpture. There exist both in the eastern and western parts of the territory, which was once under the sway of the Andhras, specimens of a well-developed art dating back to the second century B.C. Its virility, its plastic beauty, its high intellectual qualities, and its skilful technique must have taken a couple of millenniums to reach that standard. As evidence for this view a few specimens from the sculpture of the chaityas at Konāgaṇe, Bhājā, Beḍsā, and Kārle, situated in the western parts of the Andhra kingdom, and Amarāvatī in the eastern territory, may be described. The chaitya at Konāgaṇe has a highly ornamented façade the design of which is essentially wooden in form and derivation (Plate II a). The projecting balconies supported by curvilinear brackets and the windows filled with lattice-work, although carved in stone, are absolutely wooden in form, and they accord well with the real woodwork of the main arch, fragments of which are still in situ. In the third row of balconies, carved along the springing points of the central arch, there are panels containing dancing figures. Of these panels there are four on each side of the arch, and those on the left side are comparatively in a better state of preservation.1 In the latter series the first panel contains three figures, a cavalier armed with a large bow being in the middle, and two dancing girls, one on each side of him. The girls have poised themselves to dance with their gay companion, apparently by turns, for in the first panel the girl on the right holds the fringe of the cavalier’s girdle in a loving manner while he is amorously stretching out his left arm to touch her chin. The body lines of both male and female figures show a rhythm suggestive of movement, while the vitality of the man and the happy serenity expressed by the girl make them seem almost living. The girl on the left has also poised herself and taken a short step with a view to joining her partner in the dance when her turn shall come. The second and third panels show the cavalier engaged in dancing with each of his two partners in succession. The attitudes of the dancers are pleasing, displaying a mood of amorous dalliance through the swing of the body and other gestures. In the fourth panel the cavalier stands by himself with a smile on his lips, and is inclining his body in a graceful gesture as if to acknowledge the applause which has been showered upon him by the spectators for his successful performance. Apart from the dramatic effect,

1 Photographs of these panels were taken at the author’s request by Mr. Q. M. Moneer, in 1941–42, the then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, and they are studied and published for the first time in this book.
there is so much grace and beauty in the carving of these four panels that their art in its intellectual qualities and technical skill must have needed the practice and cultural development of many centuries before it could reach such perfection of craftsmanship (Plates IV–V).

In this cave there is an inscription in Brahmi characters of the second century B.C., if not of an earlier period. The inscription records the name of one Balaka, the pupil of Kanha (or Kṛṣhṇā), who made the cave. The record is carved near the head of a statue which probably represents Balaka (Plate XXIII). The statue has been much knocked about and nothing now survives except a part of the head. This head is covered with an embroidered scarf, which is tied near the forehead with a band of the same design. The figure probably had long hair which was gathered above the head, as is shown by protuberance in its upper part.

In the centuries preceding the Christian era dancing was a popular art, as indeed it remained also afterwards, being encouraged and fostered by the rituals of the Buddhist and Brāhmanic faiths. The sculptor has therefore included dancing pairs in the decorative schemes of the exteriors of the early chaityas. In the interior Buddhist religious convention did not, perhaps, permit him to exhibit his skill in the representation of the lighter and more frivolous aspects of human life. In the chaitya at Kārle also there are some panels containing dance scenes. The stone being not close grained, the figures are a little rough in finish, but the joyous carefree attitude and the rhythm of movement are marvellous, and exhibit a highly developed art. The features as well as the dress, which is, however, extremely scanty, show the dancers to be inhabitants of the Deccan, and the art is thus indigenous (Plate XXIV a–b). In their head-gear and ornaments the dancers show a certain resemblance to the people represented in the carvings at Sāñchī and Bharhut, but they have no rigidity such as is generally to be noticed in the statuary of the latter two places; on the contrary the movement and lifelike effect of the dancers of Kārle exhibit a much more fully developed art.

The row of columns crowned by figures of elephant-riders is another feature of the art of the sculptor in this cave (Plate XXV a–b). The rampant elephants with their little twinkling eyes and gracefully carved trunks exhibit the ingenuity of the artist in the choice of pose and the enlivening of expression, while the riders, who are generally in pairs and have a gay and debonair appearance, show that according to the sculptor's ideals human life cannot be complete without the enjoyment of its pleasures.

The chaitya at Kārle has several inscriptions covering a period of fifty or more years, during which the ornamentation of the cave with carving must have been going on continuously. The earliest, however, mentions the name of some Sātavāhana kings who ruled in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, and the sculpture of this cave is not much later in date than its analogue at Konḍāṇe, described above. Almost coeval with, or
slightly earlier in date than, the pillars of the Kârle chaitya are the columns of the veranda of the Buddhist rock-cut temple at Beâsā,¹ but they are much larger in dimensions than their prototypes at Kârle, and the figures of animals and their riders carved on the abaci are not only colossal in size but most spirited in artistic effect. The main shafts of the columns are octagonal in design, being 3 ft. 4 in. in girth and 25 ft. in height. They taper slightly as they rise from pot-shaped bases, and are crowned by ogee capitals of Persepolitan type, grooved vertically. Upon the capitals are fluted tori enclosed in a square frame over which lie four thin tiles, each projecting above the one below (Plate VII a). At the top, immediately below the entablature, are carved rampant elephants, horses, bullocks, and mythical animals, with male and female human riders perched on them. The second column from the left has two horses with their heads and bodies facing in opposite directions. On one of them a râjâ or yaksha is riding and on the other his consort. The figures of horses carved in the early Buddhist monuments are generally crude in form, but here they are very realistic, and their glistening eyes, up-raised ears and manes, and almost quivering nostrils and parted lips show their sprightly character and impatient nature under their riders, who have apparently placed their hands on the animals' heads in order to quiet them. The human figures have also been carved with considerable realistic effect; the pair appear as if in a love-making mood, the yaksha holding one of the tresses of his mistress while she has thrown one of her arms round his back. Romantic affection is shown in the countenances of both, and the same feeling is expressed by the inclination of their heads and the general disposition of their bodies (Plate III b). The sculpture in consideration of its large size and artistic effect may be compared favourably with the best in the world. The chaitya cave at Beâsā also has an inscription which on palaeographic grounds has been assigned by epigraphists to the second or first century B.C., but the art represented by the sculpture of the cave is so advanced that to attain that standard must have required the intellectual and technical progress of hundreds of years.

In describing the sculpture of the eastern zone of the Deccan it should be observed that the country near the deltas of the rivers Godâvari and Kârishâ was the cradle of Aândhra art and culture from the earliest times, and some of the antiquities of the town of Amarâvâti, ancient Dharanikota (16° 33' N., 80° 24' E.), date back to the second century B.C. There are other old towns, like Jagayapet, Bhattiprolu, and Nâgârjunakoṇḍa, all situated at short distances from one another, which were important centres of the Buddhist religion from about the third century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. As the

¹ Beâsā (Poona District) is approached by a cart track beginning at the twenty-eighth milestone of the Poona–Bombay road. In 1941, immediately after his tour of investigation in Western India, the writer approached the Government of Bombay with a request that they should build a motor road to make access easy to the Buddhist monuments of this place.
sculpture of Amarāvati is the most typical of Andhra art, it will be sufficient
to study it in preference to that of other places in the neighbourhood. The
stūpa of Amarāvati, described already (supra, pp. 724–5), exists no longer,
but its sculpture, which is housed safely in India at the Madras Museum
and in England at the British Museum, has been praised in unstinted
terms by competent authorities for its beauty and workmanship. Fergusson’s
opinion that the sculptures of Amarāvati mark ‘the culmination of Indian
art’, however, was not accepted by Vincent Smith, but he has agreed with
Havell in stating that the marbles of Amarāvati present ‘delightful studies of
animal life, combined with extremely beautiful conventionalized ornament’,
and that ‘the most varied and difficult movements of the human figures are
drawn and modelled with great freedom and skill’. Further, both Fergusson
and Vincent Smith have pointed out a strong Hellenistic influence in the
development of the style, but Havell has rightly observed that except for a
few borrowed details and motifs to be seen here and there, it is essentially
Indian both in artistic expression and in technique and that there is nothing
foreign in the general style. Havell did not apparently see the sculptures of
Kondāne, Beḍā, and Kārle, studied above (supra, pp. 744–6), otherwise insteadd of observing that the style of Amarāvati showed ‘developments of the
Bharhut and Sānchī school’ he would have remarked that the style was
Deccanese in origin and evolved from the earlier phase of Andhra art. The
delight of the sculptor in the mobility of his figures, his anxiety to convey
the idea of volume, his love of ornamentation in the execution of even
minor detail, and above all his joyous outlook upon life are characteristics
which are to be noticed frequently in the early sculpture of the Deccan and
which found fuller expression at Amarāvati partly through the religious
stories of the Buddhist faith, and partly through the zeal, devotion, and
rich imagination of its votaries during a period of 300 years—first cent-
tury B.C. to second century A.D.

The sculptures of Amarāvati for the purpose of study may be divided into
four main classes. First the animal frieze carved on the plinth of the railing,
second the medallions and circular disks of the upright posts, third the wavy
scrolls carved on the coping, and fourth the bas-reliefs of the stūpa itself.
The stūpa according to some inscriptions was built in the second century
B.C., but it was extended, adorned, and encased with fresh bas-reliefs during
the following four or five centuries, and the greatest decorative schemes
were carried out during the period A.D. 150–250. Taking the earliest sculpt-
tures first, there are some fragments of the original plinth of the railing,
which represent a frieze containing mythical animals interspersed with
human figures. The human figures are shown as herdsmen, holding the ani-
mals by their tails or ears, and exhibiting considerable energy in controlling

1 V. A. Smith, History of Fine Art, p. 155.
2 E. B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, p. 102.
them. The subject closely resembles in design the painted frieze in cave IX of Ajanta,¹ and the carved band in cave VI at Kuda.² The latter two subjects belong to the first or second century B.C., and the frieze of Amarāvatī may be assigned to the same period. The figure of the winged beast resembling a lion seems to have been copied from an Assyrian prototype, and it was on the basis of such similarities in a few motifs that Vincent Smith and Fergusson sought to prove the influence of Western Asiatic countries on the art of Amarāvatī. Indian art at this period, however, was more highly developed than the art of any other country in Asia, and the assimilation of a few foreign motifs through the early conversions of Pahlavas and Sakas to Buddhism could not have vitally affected the originality of the Indian artists either in spirit or technique. In Plate XXVI a the herdsman in his dress, features, and pose is Indian through and through, and winged animals have been introduced either as a curiosity or to show the extraordinary ability of the herdsman to keep under control even fabulous monsters. The lotus creeper design carved in the form of a band above the central subject (Plate XXVI b) is again purely Indian, as regards both its intricate arrangement and its skilful workmanship.

Lotus designs occupying the circular or semi-circular panels of the upright posts of the railing (Plate XXVII a) exhibit greater dexterity and a more developed and refined art, which ultimately influenced the Gupta sculpture of Central and Northern India and also the sculpture of the Deccan, as is to be seen at Ajanta (Plate XXVII b). The delicacy and crispness of these carvings can be best appreciated with the help of a magnifying glass, for the naked eye may fail to perceive the subtle intricacies of their designs. Besides the lotus motif which occupies the prominent place, there are creeper designs of a charming pattern in which human and animal figures are most artistically arranged (Plate XXVIII a). The animals are generally mythical in form, and the human figures are dwarfs (ganas) whose quaint poses evoke smiles. According to the inscriptions carved on some of these posts the sculptures appear to belong to the first or the second century A.D.

A large number of posts have jātaka stories carved on them, the sculptures being arranged in circular panels or in rectangular or other shaped compartments, such as could be fitted in on the facets of the posts. The carving of these subjects in regard to drawing and modelling, and the general arrangement of the figures, resembles so closely the technique of Ajanta paintings that the arts of these places seem to be closely allied. It was apparently on account of this resemblance that Fergusson regarded the majority of the sculptures of Amarāvatī as belonging to the third or the fourth century A.D.

² Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples of India, Plate vii a. At Nasik it is carved in a slightly modified form on the outer wall of cave III, above the pillars. See also Burgess, Report on Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions, 1876–79, pp. 23–24 and Plate viii (9).
SCULPTURE

This view is confirmed by Vincent Smith\(^1\) and also in a general way by Codrington, who writes, 'The sculptures of Amarāvatī as a whole are nearer to those of the Gupta age than to Śāńchī and Bharhut'. The deciphering of contemporary inscriptions and a close study of the technical features of the sculptures in recent times, however, have now made it possible to fix their date with some certainty.

In Plate III \(a\), which is from the fragment of a post, the subject represented is apparently the scene from the *Campeya jātaka* in which the Bodhisattva, who was born as the Serpent King, came out of the osier basket in which a Brāhmaṇa had placed him, and surprised King Uggasena of Benares by his performance.\(^3\) The *jātaka* is also reproduced in a painting at Ajanta, in the back corridor of cave I.\(^4\) The astonishment of the rājā is shown by the characteristic gesture of his right hand. The faces of the ladies of the court also suggest the same feeling. The poses of the ladies in this subject show a striking resemblance to those of the wall-paintings of Ajanta, and a comparative study of the sculptures of Amarāvatī and the paintings of the former place reveals the fact that the art of Ajanta is essentially Āndhra, both in feeling and technique, so that the opinion expressed by previous writers who call it Gupta is not justifiable; on the contrary the development which took place at Amarāvatī paved the way for the appearance of that phase of North Indian art which is associated with the Guptas.

In this subject the way in which the rānī has stretched out her right arm and placed her hand on the seat shows identically the same gesture as is to be noticed in a wall-painting in cave I,\(^5\) which was executed three centuries later (fifth century), the tradition of Āndhra art continuing during the intervening period. The features of the Brāhmaṇa and his special style of kneeling may also be noticed in several subjects at Ajanta, and these similarities might lead one to assign a date for this sculpture not far removed from the paintings of Ajanta; but the heavy anklets worn by the ladies, the head-gear of the rājā, and the striped design of the foot-rests of the rājā and the rānī all suggest an early date, and the sculpture could not indeed have been executed at a later period than the second century A.D.\(^6\)

Another typical subject (Plate XXVIII \(b\)) is a group representing a horse with a prince attended by two ladies. There is also another figure who is holding the horse. He may be the groom. The prince may be Siddhārtha, or some other royal personage, engaged in conversation with the ladies. The topic is apparently a religious one, for the gesture made by the prince with his right hand is undoubtedly conventional. The pose of the prince as well

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\(^1\) Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art*, p. 154.

\(^2\) K. de B. Codrington, *Ancient India*, p. 36.

\(^3\) Cowell, *Jātaka* (English transl.), iv, 281–90.

\(^4\) G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pl. xxv.

\(^5\) Ibid., pl. xxvii.

\(^6\) Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, ii, pl. 109, appears to be correct in assigning this sculpture to the first half of the second century A.D.
as that of the ladies is natural, showing both ease and grace, although the legs of the ladies may appear to be unduly slender. Heavy anklets were in fashion during the early centuries of the Christian era and even during the centuries immediately preceding these, and the use of such ornaments would have both lengthened and attenuated the shins as the necks of Shan girls are lengthened and made slender by the use of heavy metal collars even today. The marble slab on which the subject is carved is much abraded, hence the beauty of the carving cannot be appreciated properly. At the foot of this subject is a band representing seven seated Buddhas in the Abhaya or Assurance attitude. The figure of the Buddha in a religious form was evolved by the Mathura sculptors some time about the second century A.D. They had modelled it on certain representations of the Bodhisattva of the Gandhāra School, which apparently found their way to Mathura under the Kushan kings. But the final stereotyped form of his features generally accepted was evolved by the artists of Amarāvati, and it was from the latter place that through the teachings of the Mahāyāna doctrine the conventional figure of the Great Being was copied in all parts of India, wherever the Buddhist religion was in vogue. At Amarāvati the figure of the Sublime One was being carved from about the second century A.D., and in these circumstances the main panel of the sculpture described above, because of its special features, cannot be the work of a later period.

The multiplication of dramatis personae resulting from the exuberance of the artist’s imagination is another feature of the art of Amarāvati which is frequently to be met with in the sculptures there. For example, note the crowding of figures in the circular panel representing the Alms-box of the Buddha in the Heaven of the Thirty-three (Plate XXIX a). Each figure has an attractive expression and a gay, carefree pose, the majority dancing from sheer joy in life, and those at the top, which are female figures, have interlaced themselves into a sort of garland. The latter arrangement as a decorative motif was often copied in later sculpture at Ajanta and elsewhere.

The artist’s love of ornamentation can be best understood from the numerous representations of the stūpa itself (Plate XXIX b), or from the many designs of the coping-stones of the railing in which plump gānas (dwarfs) and grown-up youths (yakshas) are carrying the heavy garland (Plate XXX a–b). In the former subject no inch of space is left without carving, and myth and nature and religion and art are interwoven in an intricate pattern. The figures are, however, mobile, and each plays its role in a significant manner in the general scheme.

The other subject representing a garland has a vast amount of decorative

1 In this attitude the right hand is raised with the elbow bent and the palm exposed, and the left hand placed in the lap.
2 Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer has discussed this subject in a very able manner, and students may read his dissertation in vol. i (pp. 110–14) of his book, Early Indian Sculpture.
3 G. Yazdani, Ajanta, pt. iv, pl. lxxviii b.
work; the garland itself, which is in the form of a roll, has an embroidered or chased surface, the designs being of the floral kind which is to be noticed on the scarfs of chiefs in the early sculpture of the Deccan. The artist has further decorated the garland with small panels, both circular and square in design, filled with alto-relievo sculptures. Between the loops are carved religious subjects representing the adoration of the Great Being by votaries, who are generally in pairs. The Master in these panels is not represented in human form, but his presence has been indicated by such symbols as the sacred tree or the stūpa. The workmanship is so neat that the entire pattern looks like the goldsmith’s or the ivory-carver’s work. It may also be borne in mind that both the goldsmith’s and the ivory-carver’s crafts were highly developed at that time, and the adepts in these crafts may also have practised stone-carving with equal success.

In comparing the sculpture of the western zone of the Deccan, namely that of Beşā, Konḍāne, and Kārle, with that of Amarāvati, one notices a marked progress, both in the intellectual and the technical qualities of the art. The sculpture of Amarāvati is more eloquent in telling the story and more significant in expressing the inner feelings than its earlier prototype of the western zone. The movement suggested in the sculpture exhibits softer grace and a more subtle rhythm, while the human bodies show a greater charm of suppleness. The crowding of figures and attenuation of limbs are obvious defects of the sculpture of Amarāvati, apparently due to the rich imagination and unrestrained fancy of the artist, but these blemishes were in course of time gradually removed from Indian sculpture, as will be noticed below in the study of the specimens of later periods, fifth to twelfth centuries A.D.

In passing from Amarāvati to Ajanta and Ellora, a remarkable change both in outlook and feeling may be perceived, due evidently to the change of climate and geographical environment. The hot, moist atmosphere of the deltas of the Godāvari and the Kṛishṇa, though it seems to have encouraged a lush fertility of imagination, enervated the artist’s general vitality and produced a morbidity of thought. At Ajanta and Ellora, amidst the rolling plateaux and the high cliffs, the vision was at once widened and the intellect gained strength. The colossal statues of the Buddha inside the shrines and the lofty façades of the various chaitya-caves convey a sublimity of spirit and grandeur of ideals which are not to be met with at Amarāvati, however charming and beautiful the sculptures of the latter place may be.

To illustrate the observations made above it will be appropriate to describe a few typical sculptures of Ajanta. Taking those of colossal size first, the Buddha in the shrine of cave I may be studied here (Plate XXX). The Great Being is represented in the teaching attitude, the dharmacakra mudrā. He is seated on a throne with the legs crossed and the soles of the feet

1 Cf. Plate XXIII, in which the decorative work of the head-gear of a chief represented in a sculpture at Konḍāne is shown.
exposed. He is clad in a robe of transparent material, but the lower margin of the garment is indicated by a line a little above the ankle. The hair is curled in the conventional style and at the top of the head is a knob, the ushnisha. Behind the head is a painted disk representing the halo, and two fat cherubs are bringing offerings of flowers from heaven. Behind the throne on either side of the Buddha is a princely attendant wearing a high crown. On the front of the throne the Wheel of Law is carved in the middle and there are also figures of stags, one on each side of the Wheel. The figures of some votaries may also be noticed behind the stags. The votaries are shown in different poses, some are squatting, some kneeling, and some sitting with their legs doubled, one touching the ground and another raised up. The subject carved on the throne evidently represents the sermon of the Buddha in the deer-park at Sarnath.

The figure of the Buddha is almost three times the size of an ordinary human being, and although the body is carved in a conventional style the expression of the face is marvellous, showing internal calm and sublimity of feeling. The spiritual effect of the image is considerably enhanced by the golden light of the lamps, which originally would have been kept lighted day and night. The light of the lamps also shows a smile on the lips of the Great Being indicating his benign nature.

The door of the shrine may appear to be over-elaborately carved, but the workmanship is exquisite and the entire design gives a superb setting to the splendour of the religious subject carved inside the shrine.

Another colossal sculpture of Ajanta worthy of mention in this brief survey is the death scene of the Buddha carved in cave XXVI. He is represented as lying on a couch with his eyes closed and his head resting on a pillow. The right hand of the Master is under his cheek, and the fingers, notwithstanding the gigantic size of the figure—23 ft. 4 in. in length—have been carved with a most realistic effect, which is also to be noticed in the creases of the sleeve of the robe and those of the pillow. The Master's face shows calm and peace as if he is fast asleep. The design of the feet of the couch has not changed much during the fourteen or fifteen hundred years which have elapsed since the subject was carved, and bedsteads with feet of this shape may still be seen in the towns of India. Another interesting piece of furniture is the stand for the water-flagon, which has three legs. By the side of the bed there are about twenty figures of monks and nuns mourning

1 The following measurements may be of interest to students:
   Height of the throne above the floor: 3 ft.
   Height of the Buddha (seated), above the throne: 10 ft. 3 in.
   Breadth of the image, chest and arms, front: 6 ft. 8 in.
   Breadth of the image, from knee to knee, above the throne: 8 ft. 10 in.

2 Hsiian Tsang, writing about A.D. 640, has observed regarding a similar sculpture at Kuśinara: 'In a great chapel is the representation of the nirvāṇa of the Tathāgātha. His face is turned to the north and has the appearance of one slumbering.'
the loss of the Master, their faces bearing distinct expressions of grief. Above
the bed, higher on the rock-wall, are representations of Indra, and other
gods of the heaven of the Thirty-three, and also of cherubs and heavenly
musicians who are shown as if descending from the sky to welcome the
Great Being on his return to heaven. There is a feeling of joy in the latter
part of the scene in contrast to that of the grief shown by the figures near the
bedstead. The general effect of the sculpture is, however, more of ‘pathos’
than of ‘ethos’, and it is the former aspect of the sculpture which appeals
most to the eye and to the mind (Plate XXXI).

Among the sculptures of Ajanta there is a large number of representations
of Nāga kings, but two of them are of outstanding merit from an artistic
point of view. In a panel carved at the extreme end of the left wall of cave
XIX is a subject representing a Nāga king and Nāginī seated on a throne
(Plate XXXII).1 Another Nāginī is shown as an attendant, standing by
the side of the throne with a fly-whisk in her right hand. The stone being
soft and porous, the sculpture has deteriorated considerably, but the pose of
the two Nāginīs and the expression on the faces of all three figures be-
token such internal calm that the subject is ranked for its spiritual effect
amongst the best sculptures of Buddhist art.2

The other subject (Plate XXXIII) represents two Nāga kings carved as
dvārapālas, one on each side of the door of cave XXIII.3 The figures are not
very large, but it is the modelling of their heads which exhibits the consum-
mate skill of the artist. The features are refined and the expression of the face
suggests both dignity and internal peace. The spiritual aspect of Buddhist
sculpture may also be noticed in the figures of the Master carved on the
rock-wall, on either side of the doorway of cave XIX (Plate XXXIV). But
the most attractive feature of this cave is its decorative work, which shows
an infinite variety of design, embracing mythical subjects, geometrical
patterns, floral devices, and figures of birds and animals, the latter through
the fancy of the sculptor having been carved into quaint shapes and bedecked
with unusual ornaments, particularly the representations of the makaras and
the geese. The rich imagination and perfect skill of the sculptor have caused
the façade of this cave (XIX) to be considered one of the most magnificent
examples of Buddhist art.

The figures of animals carved at Ajanta show a close study of their habits
as well as complete ability to represent them with realistic effect, whenever
the artist’s fancy was not prepossessed by religious convention or mythical
lore. The elephant is shown in a variety of poses characteristic of the animal,

2 It may be of interest to note that in the Vākāṭaka genealogy a king named Bhavanāgā is
mentioned as the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I (c. A.D. 335–360). This Bhavanāgā has
been identified with the King Bhavanāgā of the Nāga dynasty of Padmāvati in the Gwalior State.
but sculptures of other animals also are equally lifelike, proving the keen observation of the artist. For example, in the hall of cave I above the capital of a pillar is a panel representing four deer with a common head (Plate XXXV a). It may be considered to be a mere freak to combine four bodies with one common head, but what is really admirable is that the pose of the animal in each representation is absolutely lifelike. In the lower two representations, the one on the left shows the animal sitting on the ground and looking in front with his head raised, as if he has scented danger; that on the right also shows the alertness of the animal, because he has curved his neck and is looking backward in the direction from which he fears the coming of the enemy. In the upper two representations, that on the left again shows the animal in a state of alarm; he has lowered his neck and stretched out his muzzle in front, and is looking sharply as if to watch the approach of his enemy and to determine in which direction to run away. The fourth figure, on the left, shows the deer in a characteristic attitude; he has turned his neck and head backwards in order to scratch his muzzle with the hoof of his foot. The bodies of the deer in all four figures have been carved in a realistic style with due regard to the three dimensions.

In passing from Ajanta to Ellora, one may notice a striking change in the religious aspect of the sculpture; although at the latter place all the three great religions of early India, the Buddhist, the Brāhmanic, and the Jaina, are represented, yet the Brāhmanic faith predominates over the other two. The early Buddhist caves of Ellora do not possess any sculpture of outstanding merit. Viśvakarma, the Do Thāl, and the Tin Thāl, which were hewn in the seventh to eighth centuries A.D., of course contain representations of the Buddha and other deities of that religion, quite impressive in regard to their size, religious expression, and decorative features. But somehow they lack that spiritual dignity and artistic grace which is to be noted at Ajanta and other early centres of Buddhist art. The Brāhmanic sculpture of Ellora on the other hand has tremendous force and boundless energy, features showing the gods to be superhuman rather than human beings, which characteristic is also emphasized by the multiplication of their heads and arms. Again, since in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Śaivism was the popular religion in the Deccan, the teaching of this faith, which regards God as a 'Destroyer', led the imagination of the artist to associate with the god the most horrid aspects of life which could be conceived. To elucidate this view further it will be best to describe in some detail some of the typical sculptures of Ellora. We begin with the Daśāvatāra, which was originally a Buddhist shrine and was later converted into a Brāhmanic temple and adorned with both Śaivite and Vaishnavite bas-reliefs. In the upper hall of this temple, the first sculpture on the north side, near the door, represents the Bhairava. It is carved with great boldness and power, and the figure, which is gigantic in size, lunges forward with threatening ferocity. The god holds up his elephant
hide, with the necklace of skulls (muṇḍamālā) falling below his loins; round him a cobra is knotted; his open mouth shows his large teeth, while with his triśūla he has transfixed one victim who, writhing on its prongs, seems to supplicate pity from the pitiless. He holds another by the heels with one of his left hands, raising the damru as if to rattle it in joy while he catches the blood with which to quench his demoniac thirst. To add to the elements of horror Kāli, gaunt and grim, stretches her skeleton length below, with huge mouth, bushy hair, and sunken eyeballs, having a crooked knife in her right hand, and stretching out the other with a bowl, as if eager to share in the gore of the victim. Behind her head is an owl or vampire, a fit witness of the scene. On the right, in front of the skeleton, is Pārvatī; and higher up, near the foot of the victim Rātnasura, is a face putting out its tongue. The group is a picture of the devilish; the very armlets of Bhairava are ogre faces. The subject was a favourite one, for it is carved in several cave-temples at Ellora, the ghastly aspect of the scene being accentuated by varying detail. For example, the ugly teeth and protruded eyeballs of Bhairava in cave XXIX (Plate XXXV b) indicate an attitude of fury and devilish joy, which mood of the god has frightened his consort Pārvatī, who to calm her disconcerted mind and palpitating heart has placed her hand on her bosom. The sculpture in its force and dramatic effect is indeed marvellous, but at the same time its aggressive religious character cannot be overlooked. This aggressiveness is also to be noticed in the Vaishñavite sculpture of the period seventh to eighth centuries A.D., although after a couple of centuries (tenth century onwards) through the teachings of the latter cult the statuary of the Deccan acquired much grace and beauty. In the Daśāvatāra, as well as in the Kailāsa, Vaishñavite sculpture has the same relentless feeling and demoniac effect as the Śaivite statuary, and we find such subjects as Viṣṇu taking the giant stride and thrusting his rival Bali down to hell, or in his incarnation as Nṛsiṁha tearing out the entrails of his enemy, or as Varāha, the boar-incarnation, trampling on a snake demon and rescuing Pṛithvi, the Earth, from destruction. Both Coomaraswamy and Havell have reproduced the Daśāvatāra sculpture in which Viṣṇu as man-lion subdues Hiṁśa-Kaśipu, the king of Asuras, who according to the myth had obtained from Brahma a kind of immortality. Inflated with pride he attempted to occupy the position of Viṣṇu, and tormented his son Prahlāda who refused to worship his father in place of the god. The sculpture represents Viṣṇu, the man-lion, eight-armed, attacking his opponent Hiṁśa, who is inclined on one side as if admitting his defeat. The lower part of the sculpture is broken but the devilish growl of Nṛsiṁha and the helpless subdued mood of Hiṁśa are abundantly clear and make the subject a typical example of the Brāhmaṇic art of this period, the eighth century A.D.¹

¹ E. B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, pl. xxiii; A. K. Coomaraswamy, Viśvakarma, pl. xliii; K. de B. Codrington, Ancient India, pl. 50 b.
But even amidst the Brāhmanic sculptures of Ellora of the eighth century A.D., one may notice here and there some subjects reminiscent of the soft grace, joyous expression, nimble movement, and elegant poses of the Buddhist statuary of the fifth century. Among such sculptures the pairs of flying figures carved on the upper walls of the Kailāsa, and the representation of a river-goddess at the upper end of the court, towards the left, in the Rāmeśvara, cave XXI, are of outstanding merit. The pairs of flying figures with their refined features, happy serenity, and appearance of movement have all the charm and grace of the Buddhist apsarasas, and the tradition of the sculptor's art in carving such figures seems to have continued even after the decline of the Buddhist faith, for figures in an equally effective style are to be noticed on the walls of the Vaishnava temple at Aihole (Plate XXXVI a), which is almost contemporary with the Kailāsa at Ellora, and also on the exteriors of the shrines at Ālampur,1 which are of a much later date, eleventh or twelfth century A.D. (Plate XIX b). The sculpture of the river-goddess in the Rāmeśvara, cave XXI, at Ellora, is almost classical in artistic effect both in regard to its technique and its higher intellectual qualities (Plate XXXVI b). The goddess stands on a lotus flower resting on the back of an alligator, whose muzzle and the lower part of whose body have been transformed into decorative motifs by the artist's love of ornamental vagaries. The pose of the figure is delightful, the outline curving in such a way as to suggest combined grace and vitality. The left hand of the divinity rests on the head of a dwarf whose face bears an expression of devout adoration, an emotion further indicated by the set of his folded hands. There are also cherubs, who are descending from heaven with presents to the goddess. One of these, however, has been partly effaced by the weathering of the rock. There is unfortunately a crack across the face of the goddess, but her graceful features and spiritual expression can still be admired. To the right proper of the goddess is a female attendant holding a fly-whisk. Through the weathering of the rock this figure also has suffered much damage and the facial features have been completely obliterated. The grace of the pose and the plastic beauty of the limbs, however, attract the eye.

The above sculpture, belonging apparently to the eighth century A.D., reminds one of the Buddhist sculptures in the vihāra cave (No. 7) at Aurangābād. In these there has been an attempt to express vitality by depicting large breasts and stout limbs (Plate XXXVII a). The face of the Rāmeśvara goddess has a fitting appearance of calm serenity, but the sculptor has indicated more human emotion in the carving of the rest of the figure, notably in the pose of the right foot. The dwarf in the Aurangābād subject has a comical expression, as though he is feeling the weight of the heavy arm of the goddess who, to maintain her balance, has placed her elbow on his head. The crossed legs, the crooked stick, and the exposed teeth of the dwarf add

1 Supra, p. 739.
to the grotesque effect of the subject. This sculpture may belong to the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century A.D., when Buddhist art was gradually losing its intellectual qualities, but in this subject the bold conceptions of the artist are amply exhibited, as is also his flair for the quaint and bizarre.

To return to the Brähmanic sculpture, it may be observed that, due to the doctrines of Śaktism and the influence of the Purāṇic literature connected with this teaching, the aggressive character of Śaivite sculpture gradually softened down with the passing of time after the eighth century A.D., and in the tenth century A.D. we see Śiva dancing, not as a fiercely aggressive figure but in sheer joy of living, and often accompanied by musicians and his gentle consort Pārvatī. Teaching based on the worship of the active producing principle, as inculcated by Śaktism, led the artist to introduce into religious sculpture a variety of subjects some of which may be considered to be obscene, such as the maithuna pairs; but for command of grace in moulding outlines and for charm of decorative features Indian sculpture of this class undoubtedly reached its high-water mark during the tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D.

But before describing Brähmanic sculpture of the above style it will be correct chronologically to point out the salient features of the Jaina sculpture of the Deccan. The Jaina faith existed here from very early times, but flourished especially during the period of the ninth to eleventh centuries A.D., when important centres of the cult were established at Ellora, at Patancheru, nineteen miles to the north-west of the present city of Hyderabad, at Kulpāk, the Kollipaka of the inscriptions, forty-five miles north-east of Hyderabad, and at Kopbal in the Raichur District of the Hyderabad State. All these sites are ancient, and at Kopbal some inscriptions have been discovered which show that the latter town had acquired fame as a tīrtha of the Jaina religion in the ninth century A.D. Some scholars have found evidence for asserting that Kopbal (Kopana) was noted as a Jaina sanctuary in the seventh century A.D. At Ellora the temples of this faith, being rock-hewn, are intact, except for a few which owing to the weathering of the rock have deteriorated somewhat. At other places, however, great havoc was wrought through the rivalry of contemporary faiths and there is epigraphic evidence to prove that some Jaina shrines were burnt and razed to the ground. Such acts of vandalism seem to have been perpetrated at Patancheru, Kulpāk, and Kopbal, where the Archaeological Department has dug out from the ground, and also collected from the surface, a large number of Jaina images.

As regards the general character of the Jaina sculpture of the Deccan it may be observed that it shows competent workmanship and also conveys to some extent a feeling of religious serenity; but it suffers by comparison with

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Buddhist statuary, or with Brāhmanic images, because it possesses neither the majestic dignity of the former, nor the vigour and zeal of the latter. The art seems to be schematic, representations being classed according to certain religious principles and showing no creative effort on the part of the artist. To illustrate this view two images may be described (Plates XXXVII b–XXXVIII a); one of them is now exhibited in Sālār Jung’s palace at Sururnagar in the suburbs of Hyderabad, and the other is displayed in the Sculpture Gallery of the Hyderabad Museum. The former was found at Kopbal and represents Pārvānātha standing under a mystical canopy comprising seven cobra-hoods joined to the body of a single dragon whose coils are spread behind the god and whose tail touches the ground. Above this canopy there is another, probably of metal, divided into several tiers and finally crowned with a pointed finial.

On one side of the figure of the god, near his feet, is the representation of a yaksā and on the corresponding side the figure of a yaksini, both being much smaller in size than the main figure. There are miniature representations of the twenty-three Tirthaṅkaras of the Jaina faith seated in small niches, which are arranged in a scroll adorning the margin of the slab on which the image of Pārvānātha is carved. There is also a Kanarese inscription at the foot of the slab mentioning the name of the votary, Bopanna, at whose instance the image of the god was carved.

The figure shows good modelling with regard to the treatment of the head and the limbs, while the face bears an expression of internal calm derived from moral austerity such as is inculcated by the Jaina religion. The sculpture is of hornblende of the same variety as that used for the pillars and friezes of the Deccan temples of the eighth to thirteenth centuries. It is jet black and beautifully polished.

The other sculpture, exhibited in the Hyderabad Museum, is also of hornblende, and the god is shown seated in the dhyāna mudrā, the attitude of contemplation. The modelling of this figure also shows technical skill of a high order. Although the god is carved in a meditative mood, his neck and head are held firmly upright and convey by this pose an impression of spiritual dignity. In Jaina sculpture the figures of gods do not generally possess any decorative features, but this artist’s leaning towards ornamentation may be noticed in the treatment of the hair, which has been shown as if dressed with a fine brush. The small chakras carved on the soles of the feet also show the same tendency.

In purely decorative designs, such as floral and jewellery patterns, or conventional motifs based on mythical or real animal figures, or miniature scriptural subjects, the skill of the Jaina sculptor is in no way inferior to that of the Buddhist or the Brāhmanic artist. It perhaps even surpasses that.

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1 Each of these two figures has a nīga hood above it in the form of a small canopy.
2 For this inscription see Monograph 12, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, p. 11.
of his rivals of the latter two faiths in richness of design and exuberance of complicated ornamental detail. But this lavishness of Jaina art is often out of proportion in relation to the general scheme of a subject as a whole, and thus betrays a lack of balanced judgement and refined taste.

In coming to the Brāhmaṇic sculpture of the tenth to thirteenth centuries we appear to have passed beyond the times of acute controversy, since the artist does not seem to have been possessed during this period by any such feelings of acrimony towards a rival faith as might arouse his passions and cause him to dwell on violent and aggressive themes. Nor does his impulse seem to be oppressed and fettered by any traditional devices and rules which might make his creation feeble or lifeless. His love of the beautiful is further developed, but beauty to him is not restricted within the narrow limits of symmetry of limbs or elegance of features. He notices it in the vigour and movement of the fullness of life, and his heart expands and his imagination is stirred by visions and experiences emanating from a wider outlook upon art and a broader conception of beauty.

To enable the student to grasp the full artistic import of the sculpture of the Deccan of this period—tenth to thirteenth centuries—seven typical subjects are described below, four of which are from the well-known temple near the Rāmappa Lake in the Warangal District, one from a Vaishṇavite temple at Peḍampet in the Karimnagar District, and two from the Pañchiśvara temple, near the embankment of the Pāngul tank at Nalgonda. As the number of temples adorned with sculpture of a high artistic quality is unlimited in the Deccan, it appears that carving as a folk-art must have made tremendous progress during this period. Almost every village, whether in the Marātha zone or in the Telēṅgāna or Karnatak areas, possesses a temple decorated with sculpture of exceptional beauty and elegance.

Of the four sculptures from the Rāmappa temple three represent dancing-girls. They are carved on blocks used architecturally as struts for the support of eaves (chhajjas). The faces of these dancers do not possess such refined features as might appeal to those who appreciate Greek ideals of art, nor do the figures exhibit any fine symmetry of limbs, but the suggestion of movement and pulsating life conveyed by the gestures of fingers and the poses of the bodies appeals to the artistic sense, more particularly because the sculptor has managed to give a wonderful impression of youth and rhythm. The outline of the body seems to move in curves, indicating in each pose, or dancing-step, an emotional grace and a mood of exultation seldom to be met with in Indian sculpture of the earlier periods. This temple, according to a contemporary record, was built in A.D. 1203; and what art is now trying to express in the West was perhaps expressed in India 800 years before (Plates XXXVIII ʙ—XXXIX ₐ—₉).

The idea of the exuberance of youth combined with unfettered emotion is further illustrated in the next two sculptures (Plate XL ₐ—₉), one from
the Rāmappa temple and the other from the shrine at Peşampet. The former represents the nude study of a woman (nāgini) intoxicated with the fervour of youth. Impetuous joie-de-vivre is conveyed in the treatment of the legs, which are gracefully extended at full length, or in that of the arms which are lifted lightly to bring into prominence the charm of a youthful bosom. There is a delightful swaying in the line of the body between the chest and the hips which enhances the emotional effect of the sculpture. The artist, to give further mythical significance to the sculpture, has placed a serpent in her hands and one or more round her neck, arms, and body, as if she had clasped them with ecstatic frenzy in her mood of exultant joy. The serpent held by her delicate fingers has a large hood to be seen to the left of her right hand.

The other sculpture, which is from Peşampet, possesses some very striking characteristics, notably the extraordinary plumpness of the hips, which feature is further exaggerated by the sharp curve of the body line near the waist. The waist is thin, as is usual in Indian sculpture, but in this subject this characteristic has been accentuated by the over-development of bosom and abdomen. The arms have been thrown up and the hands gracefully joined above the head. But in carving the arms the artist has again exaggerated their girth in contrast to the elbows, which look comparatively thin but more shapely. This exaggeration of certain parts of the body, as if to suggest an exuberance of life, or swirl of emotion, combined with the bold sweep of the line of the body may perhaps be held to confirm the view of certain critics of modern Western art that the influence of Indian sculpture is unmistakable in the symbolic and impressionistic aspects of the latter.

The next two sculptures (Plate XL a–b), which are from the Pañchiśvara temple at Pāngul, represent Śiva and Ganeśa respectively; Śiva has a victim trampled under his feet, but the swing of his figure, the litheness of his many arms, and the sensitive appearance of his fingers and toes have given the entire subject an aspect of light-hearted enjoyment, and the idea of anger or ruthless revenge felt in the sculptures of Ellora of the late seventh or eighth century is not to be perceived here. The same carefree attitude is evident in the next sculpture, in which Ganeśa is shown riding on a rat. The bizarre nature of the scheme has issued in a most grotesque creation. The workmanship of both sculptures is neat, and the artist’s love of ornamentation may be appreciated from a study of the minor details of the sculptures. Grace of poise, suppleness of limbs, sense of movement, and elegance of minute ornamentation are the salient features of the sculptures of this period—tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D. They also suggest an idea of well-being and felicity, not the solemn spiritual joy of the Buddhist, but a more human feeling resulting from overflowing vitality or from the emotions of sex attraction.

In concluding this review of the sculpture of the Deccan it may be ob-
served that the fine bronze figures which are to be seen everywhere in the temples of South India are rarely to be found in the Deccan, but this scarcity does not necessarily prove that the sculptor of the Deccan did not use bronze at all as a medium for the successful exhibition of his talent. In A.D. 1932 a small bronze image was accidentally discovered during excavations of the foundations of a house in Warangal. The image is only 6½ inches in height, but the modelling of the head and the expression of the face show both technical skill and intellectual qualities of a high order, and the figure seems to belong to the period ninth to tenth centuries A.D., for it has neither the harshness of the early Brähmanic sculpture nor the soft grace of the later statuary of the same faith. The face shows an inner determination and calm based on an austere religious discipline. The expression has some resemblance to the calm of some of the Jaina images of Ellora, but this bronze statuette belongs to the Brähmanic faith, and perhaps represents Lakshmi in the form of a lamp-bearer (Plate XLII a). The lamp is missing, but the manner in which the hands are stretched out shows that they originally held something.¹

¹ The image is described in greater detail in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, June 1934, pp. 11–12, pl. xiii. See also the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad, 1933–4, p. 13, pl. xi.
IV

PAINTING

It is difficult to state precisely when painting as an art began in the Deccan, but the specimens of wall painting which exist on the left wall of the chaitya-cave X at Ajanta show a fairly well-developed craftsmanship. This chaitya, according to two contemporary Brāhmi inscriptions, was cut in the rock about the end of the second century B.C. The paintings on the left wall of cave IX, which is also a chaitya, are similar in style to those of cave X and may be at the most fifty to a hundred years later than their prototypes in the latter cave. They represent aboriginal people with long hair, which is tied with ribbons in the form of crests of serpents’ hoods on the crowns of their heads. They have scanty clothing but elaborate jewellery, the latter comprising large ear-rings and metal necklaces of various designs. The features of the women and of some of the men resemble those of the Marāthas of the present day, with oval faces, short noses, fairly thick lips, and medium stature. These paintings apparently represent contemporary people, a hybrid race, i.e. a mixture of the aboriginal Dravidians (or the pre-Dravidians) and the Scythians, who seem to have entered the Deccan in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C., if not earlier. Men wear narrow loin-cloths to cover their bodies; women have a similar garment for the lower part of the body, but they also wear a brassière (choli) and have a scarf (orhni) to cover the head in the present Indian style.

The colours used in the paintings of caves IX and X are red ochre, yellow ochre, terre-verte, lamp black, and white of lime, which have been used pure or mixed to produce the desired effect in the scheme. For the lower lip and the corners of the eye the artist has used a kind of bright vermilion, apparently made from red ochre. The drawing is firm and accurate and shows due regard to the three dimensions. But there are no light or dark colour washes to accentuate any particular detail, or to show the body in the round, such as one notices in the wall-paintings of caves I and II, which belong to a later period, the fifth century A.D. The grouping shows a balanced judgement, and there is both life and movement in the figures drawn.

Let us describe the scene painted on the left wall of cave X: first there are some soldiers armed with spears, maces, bows and arrows, swords, and sickle-like scimitars. They are clad in short-sleeved shirts or jackets, and one of them has an elaborate head-gear which is in the form of a turban at

1 Prof. Lüders is very definite in his opinion and he states that the painted inscription on the left wall belongs to the middle of the second century B.C., while the inscription carved on the façade is still earlier. Ajanta, iii, 1, and appendix, pp. 86–87.
the top with flaps for the protection of the ears, and also a band which
passes below the chin, and is apparently meant to keep the helmet firmly
fixed to the head. The soldiers belong to the bodyguard of a rājā who with
a group of ladies is seen immediately in front of them. The rājā is shown in
front of a tree which is bedecked with flags. The tree evidently represents
the Bodhi-tree under which the Buddha received his 'enlightenment'. In
early Buddhist sculpture and painting the Buddha is not represented in
human form, for according to the Hinayāna doctrine it was considered
sacrine so to present him. The rājā has come to fulfil some vow connected
with the boy who is standing close to the tree. He is reciting a prayer and all
the ladies of the party are taking part in the ritual. The head of one lady is
decorated with three peacock's feathers (Plate XLII b).

On the other side of the tree, towards the right, is a large party of musicians
and dancers, comprising fifteen artistes, all of whom are female. Women are
reported to have joined the Buddhist saṅghārāmas as nuns during Gautama's
lifetime, or shortly afterwards; but the presence of a well-developed
orchestra, such as is shown in this painting, in the second century B.C.,
indicates that the organization of female dancers and musicians attached to
religious shrines existed in the Deccan earlier than the advent of the Buddhist
faith. Two of the party in this painting are blowing trumpets and the rest
are clapping or dancing. Clapping is still used in India and in other Oriental
countries to mark time, or to produce the high pitch effect in music. Among
the dancers the one nearest the sacred tree has raised and curved her arm in a
peculiar style as if to give the body a whirl like the eddying motion of water,
or the writhing of a serpent. The poses and steps of the other two dancers
are typically Indian and may be noticed in the dancing of the present day
(Plate XLIII a).

The drawing of this subject shows a well-developed art, both in conception
and execution, and it must have taken many centuries to reach that
stage. There is a close resemblance in the representation of the human
figures, in regard to their dress, ornaments, and ethnical features, between this
painting and the sculptures at Kondāne and Kārle, which are contemporary
with it and belong to the second century B.C., or about that date.¹

On the right wall of cave X is painted the Shad-Danta Jātaka, or the story
of the Six-Tusked Elephant, with an inscription which palaeographically
cannot be earlier than the third century A.D. If the inscription is connected
with the painting, it appears that the latter is some four centuries later than
its prototype on the right wall of this cave, which has already been described.
The people represented in this painting are also non-Āryans, like those of
the former, but the artist's delight in the scenic beauty, or his close study of
animal life, or his skill in expressing feelings of pathos with a religious

¹ The dancing figures carved at Kārle and Kondāne have already been described in the section
on sculpture, infra, pp. 744-5.
effect, or his love of ornamentation in minor detail, are qualities which show that the art of painting had made much progress, both intellectually and technically, during the period of 400 years which intervened between the paintings of the left and the right walls.

The artist has painted all the incidents mentioned in the Shaḍ-Danta Jātaka, but he has changed their order. He begins with the wild life of elephants in an impenetrable forest with marshy soil infested by crocodiles and pythons (Plate XLIII b), and terminates with palace scenes, crowded with human figures and a royal procession to a place of worship comprising a stūpa and a vihāra (Plate XLIV). In the middle he has delineated the bath of the royal elephant in the lotus-lake, and his favourite resort under a colossal banyan tree (Plate XLV). This arrangement has a certain significance from the point of view of the artist, who for an impressive demonstration of his skill has kept the scenes relating to animal life and to the beauty of natural scenery almost separate from those depicting human feelings, wherein the gloom of sorrow and suffering is illumined by the light of faith and devotion.

Among the scenes of animal life in a forest the artist has painted with great effect a fight between an alligator and an elephant, the elephant having thrown his rival on its back and placed one of his forelegs on its belly, and being in the act of exerting further pressure with his trunk in order to crush the alligator. Close by a huge python has caught one of the legs of an elephant, who seems to be in great agony and has raised his trunk as if to shriek and call to his companions of the herd for help. A delightful scene is the bath of a herd of elephants in a lotus-lake, where they are shown raising and curving their trunks in a variety of characteristic styles as they revel in the comforting luxury of the water.

For dramatic effect the most impressive is the court-scene wherein the rāṇī faints at the sight of the tusks, for the Shaḍ-Danta elephant in a previous incarnation had been her beloved husband and in a fit of revenge she had sent hunters to bring the tusks of the elephant, since according to her fancy he was more devoted to his other wife than to herself. The rājā of Benares, who is her husband in the present incarnation, is seated next to her, and is supporting her by placing one of his hands behind her back and holding her right shoulder with the other. A maid in attendance is fanning her, another has brought water to pour on her head, or to sprinkle on her face, a third nearest to the rāṇī is offering her a drink, and a fourth at the right side of the scene has placed her hand on her mouth in characteristic Indian style to subdue her feelings of grief. The maid holding the umbrella is looking towards the tusks, which have struck the entire court with consternation. A woman who is squatting on the floor is massaging the soles of the rāṇī’s feet in order to revive her. Apart from the general effect of pathos which pervades the entire scene, the grouping of the figures, the graceful poses, the beautiful coiffures
and ornaments of the ladies, and the scanty but artistic dress of the various persons in the picture all illustrate the lively imagination and refined taste of the painter, as well as his highly developed technical skill and his power of portraying a subject in any manner he may desire according to the dictates of his fancy.

The subject on the right wall of cave X marks an important stage in the history of the painting of the Deccan, because this form of the art, as regards both the representation of racial types in human figures, and the technique and material of the painting itself, is essentially indigenous and is not dominated by any alien influences, even from as near as Northern India. About the close of the third century A.D. the Ændhras, the then rulers of the country, were overthrown and succeeded by the Vâkâtakas, who hailed from the territory north of the Deccan and had matrimonial relations with the Guptas. During their administration of some two hundred years Buddhism flourished in the Deccan, but in dogma as well as ritual it was much influenced by the co-existing Brâhmanic faith throughout this period.

The prevalence of the Mahâyâna doctrine in the Deccan from the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (it was evolved nearly a century earlier in North India) was largely due to this impact of the religious beliefs and culture of the north on those obtaining to the south of the Narmadâ up to the end of the third century A.D. As a result of this blending of cultures and religious ideals the art of painting made rapid progress intellectually, although its technique remained indigenous, for there was apparently no school of painting in Æryan India from whose practice it could have benefited.

On the wall and pillars of cave X at Ajanta there are some paintings which on the ground of palaeographic evidence or technical development may be assigned to the fourth century A.D., such as the Śyama Jātaka delineated to the left of the Šaṭṭ-Danta Jātaka on the right wall, or some representations of the Buddha on the pillars of the side aisles. But to be absolutely sure of this date it would be best to compare it with some of the typical paintings of caves I, II, XVI, and XVII, which all belong to the fifth century A.D., because there are both painted and rock-cut inscriptions in these caves in which occur the names of some Vâkâtaka kings who ruled during the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. 1

With regard to the time-sequence of these four caves it may be observed that in the matter of technique caves I and XVI appear to be almost contemporary, cave XVII immediately following them, and cave II coming last in the group. In cave I the stories of the 'renunciation' of the Buddha predominate, in cave XVI the stories of his birth and childhood and some

1Vâkâtaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta, 'Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14, pp. 2–10; J.B.B.R.A.S., vii (1862), 56 ff.; 'Cave Temples of Western India,' A.S.I., 1882, pp. 69 ff., and the Archaeological Survey of Western India, iv (1883), 124 ff.
legends connected with the monastic life are delineated, whilst cave XVII contains mainly the stories of the Buddha's previous incarnations in different forms, as a generous prince or a benevolent animal—elephant, monkey, deer, goose, fish, or serpent. Cave II contains some stories of the Buddha as Prince Siddhārtha, and also some tales of his previous incarnations as the sagacious Brāhmaṇa, Vidhuraparṇḍita, or the hermit Kṣāntivādī.

The ideals of art represented in the paintings of the above-mentioned four caves are characterized by a divine majesty and serenity on the one hand, and by human emotion and feelings of affection on the other. In the subject 'Mother and Child before the Buddha' one receives an impression of the sublimity of the Great Being from his colossal size as well as from his calm and dignified expression, but the motive which has brought him to beg at his own door is intensely human, and this human feeling, in a more lively manner, is conveyed to us by the love-light in the eyes of Yaśodharā, his wife, and by the astonished looks of Rāhula, his son (Plate XLVI). The figure of the Buddha must originally have measured some 10 ft., while that of his wife is somewhere near 5 ft., the difference in size denoting that the former is superhuman, whilst the latter is but a mere human being. There is not a large variety of colours in the painting, but the few which have been used show refined taste. The Buddha is dressed in an orange robe, his own complex being brown with a golden effect. The hair, which is shown curled conventionally, is jet black. The background is of a dark colour, originally being dark green, or dark red, but its darkness makes a happy contrast with the orange colour of the robe and the golden brown of the face. The figure, owing to the dark background, appears almost in relief. This dullness of the background, however, has been relieved by flowers of bright colours which are being showered from heaven over the head of the Master. A cherub supports a canopy over his head. The Buddha himself holds a begging-bowl in his right hand, which he has stretched out towards Yaśodhārā. She has pushed the child lovingly in front of her to be blessed by the Great Being, and herself seems to be overpowered by feelings of reverence as she contemplates the exalted position of her beloved husband. The painting admirably represents spiritual greatness combined with human emotion such as is expressed in the following words of the legend: 'O Siddhārtha, that night Rāhula was born, you renounced the kingdom and went silently away. Now you have a more glorious kingdom instead.'

In the portraits of the Mother and Child there is actually very little colour, but the line work is so perfect and the ornaments are so tastefully adjusted that the result is a masterly specimen of the delineation of feminine grace imbued with tender feelings of love.

In cave I, the subject painted in the back corridor to the left of the ante-chamber again represents the Buddha as Prince Siddhārtha, but in this case

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1 He is also identified with the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, because in Buddhist temples, on either
the scheme is more subtle and varied than in the painting of cave XVII described above, both in regard to its intellectual and to its artistic qualities (Plate XLVII). The prince is shown here on the eve of his ‘renunciation’; he is determined but still in the midst of his royal attendants and is also accompanied by his wife, whose portrait here suggests the grace of a mother rather than that of a young girl-wife.

The figure of Prince Siddhārtha does not possess the perfect anatomical symmetry of a Greek Apollo, yet it has a physical beauty all its own, shown in the broad chest, the well-developed shoulders and arms, and the handsomely set neck and head. The chief attraction of the figure is, however, its religious expression, which has made it perhaps unique among specimens of contemporary art in India and abroad. The half-closed meditative eyes, with the eyebrows slightly stretched upwards in the broad forehead, and the lips closed as if in a divine silence, indicate a majestic indifference to the charms of worldly life on the one hand and a spiritual tranquillity on the other. The high lights on the forehead, nose, and chin heighten the effect of serenity. The dress of the prince is scanty, but the garment covering the lower part of his body is of a rich material, probably of silk, with check patterns worked out in different colours. His princely dignity is asserted by the rich crown set with jewels, the necklet of pearls, the large ear-rings, the wristlets and arm-bands, and above all by a rope of pearls in which the strings have been tastefully intertwined and which is hung round the shoulders and the waist. The long black hair, which is spread in locks behind the shoulders, by the contrast of colour has made the head stand out in relief; and to produce a similar effect the artist has placed dark green dots, close to one another, behind the golden crown, so that a sort of perspective is obtained. Further, to delineate the body in the round the painter has darkened the outline of the drawing, and has also used washes of a deeper colour along the outline in contrast to the colour used for the main part of the body.

The features of the prince are Āryan, refined and elegant, but the lady who stands close to him and is probably his wife Yaśodharā has a swarthy complexion. The idea of the painter in making this difference in the complexions of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā was apparently that Buddhism in its teaching made no distinction of colour and that the fair complexion was therefore as attractive as the dark one. Variety of racial types is further indicated in the figures of the guard and the maid in attendance, the former apparently being an Abyssinian and the latter a Persian. The maid seems to be a lady of distinction, for she is clad in a long, full-sleeved coat of blue silk or velvet, and has a crown on her head. The guard is also dressed in a long coat with tight sleeves, and has an ornamental band round his head, above which his

side of the entrance to the shrine, the figures of the Bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi are generally carved or painted. The Bodhisattva in this cave holds a lotus-flower (paṇḍma) in his right hand.
curly hair is visible. The nose and lips of the guard are thick. Yaśodhara herself is shown wearing a tight bodice (choli) of a transparent, gossamer-like material, and it may be interesting to note that while the royal personages, male and female, are so scantily dressed with regard to the upper parts of their bodies, the guards or maids in attendance are generally fully clothed. This economy in the draping of the royal personages is amply compensated by the profusion of the jewellery worn by them, which, however, shows good taste in regard to design, whilst the wealth of the wearers is suggested by the size and quality of the gems.

The figure of the prince bears marks of both worldly state and religious distinction, and his expression of calm tranquility is that of one unaffected by joy or sorrow; but the faces of Yaśodhara and of the Persian maid and the Abyssinian guard clearly reflect their depression, Yaśodhara being grieved by the idea of approaching separation from her beloved husband, and the maid and the guard at the thought of losing their royal master through his renunciation of the world. The artist has, however, planned to mitigate the general impression of sadness by showing the denizens of forest and hills in a happy mood, resulting from their delight that the prince has taken the right step in relinquishing secular honours and riches and has not been deceived by their attractions. Monkeys are frolicking about on the ledges of conventional hills; a pair of peafowls, which are to be seen a little higher, have raised their heads towards the sky and their open beaks suggest that they are crying out in joy; even a tiger has come out of his den to join the group of exultant beasts and birds. Kinnaras, whose bodies are half human being and half bird, and who are mythologically the musicians of heaven, are playing on harps and other musical instruments to express their rejoicing. A happy human pair have chosen a secluded corner for sipping wine and for amorous dalliance. The religious theme of the subject has combined all these different elements so judiciously that each has a significance in the entire scheme and none appears to be superfluous. The artist has also shown a highly refined taste in the choice of colours: the red of the conventional hills contrasts well with the green of the various trees, plants, and bushes growing on them, and the splashes of blue and the gleam of pearls brighten the darker tints of the human faces and forms. The painting in both its artistic and religious significance has perhaps the same importance in the history of art as the paintings of Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, or the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci at Milan, although the latter frescoes were executed some 900 years after their prototype at Ajanta.

The artists of Ajanta have painted women in a variety of delightful poses, but her moral dignity is always maintained. She appears as a princess, a maidservant, a peasant, a nun, or even a dancing-girl, but in none of these roles has the painter made her mean or pitiful; on the contrary he has always
presented her as worthy of being admired and adored. As Indian ladies are in the habit of sitting on the ground, some of the poses may appear somewhat unusual to a European connoisseur who is not familiar with ways of life in India. For example, the pose of the lady delineated on the left wall of the front corridor in cave I may strike a European as rather uncomfortable, the legs being bent in an extraordinary manner (Plate XLVIII a). The balance exhibited in the drawing of the head and the other parts of the body is, however, so perfect that it displays not only the suppleness of her limbs but also a happy grace of mind and manner, particularly evident in the dignity of the way in which she regards the male figure (the Bodhisattva) seated by her.

Another delightful representation of woman in cave I is the subject, styled the Black Princess, painted in the back corridor, to the right of the ante-chamber (Plate XLVIII b). The contour of the body is here most graceful and the features are highly refined, whilst the delineation of the eyes is extremely realistic, the hazel-brown of the irises and the faint touches of red in the corners giving a most life-like effect. The treatment of the hair at the temples and the nap of the neck shows not only rich imagination but also marvellous brushwork. The jewellery further exhibits exquisite taste, the pearl tiara with a fine sapphire ornament in the middle being especially pleasing. For grace of poise, elegance of decorative features, and restful expression there are few paintings in the contemporary art of the world which can be regarded as on an equal footing with this masterpiece of the art of Ajanta in the fifth century A.D.

Artists during this period not only possessed consummate skill in delineating both human and animal figures in a vivid style, but their decorative genius in adorning ceilings, pedestals of columns, and door- and window-frames created patterns and motifs of kaleidoscopic variety, each exhibiting extraordinary powers of conception and a highly developed technique. The panel in the ceiling of cave I (Plate XLIX a) representing two freakish animals sporting with one another, or the parrot in the ceiling of the same cave perched on a lotus-stalk, or the arhat shown flying in the ceiling of cave II (Plate XLIX b), or the panel of fabulous animals in the hall of cave XVII (Plate L a), or the delightful pairs of merry-makers on the door-frame of the latter cave (Plate L b), as well as hundreds of other subjects similar to these, show the versatility of the artist's mind, his love of beauty, and his joyous outlook upon life.

A sensitive feeling for whimsical motifs is a distinguishing feature of the art of Ajanta in the fifth century A.D., and this tendency has often given a new complexion to otherwise more sombre religious stories. For instance, in the Viśvantara Jātaka, painted on the left wall of cave XVII, the ugly features of the avaricious Brāhmaṇa, Jūjaka, his goat-like beard, broken teeth, bald head, and cringing attitude at once evoke a smile (Plate LI a)
and make one forget the inner cruel nature of this Brähman as shown in the story by his inhuman treatment of the young children of Viśvantara, who had given them to him as an act of charity.1 Similarly, the grotesque features of the monsters of Māra’s army, who Satan-like wanted to turn the Buddha aside from the attainment of enlightenment, change the serious religious effect of the scene and add to it an incongruously comic element. For example, who will not be diverted by the red monster with a large head and small body, who is glaring fiercely and opening his mouth with his little fingers as if to frighten the Buddha? A white owl is perched on the head of this monster: in India the owl is considered to be the harbinger of ill fortune.

Some critics have complained of the lack of perspective in the paintings of Ajanta. This may be true to a certain extent of the earlier frescoes, but in the fifth century A.D. the painter understood how to convey the idea of depth or distance in his work. In the Abhisheka scene, painted in the back corridor of cave I, the drawing of the pillared hall shows that the artist was by then familiar with perspective since he has admirably conveyed the idea of distance in the drawing of the pillars. Similarly, on the right wall of cave XVI, in the birth-scene of the Buddha, wherein Māyā is shown lying on a couch in a circular pavilion, the drawing of the pavilion is perfect (Plate I I b), and it is apparent that one who did not possess a sense of perspective could not have drawn a circular object so accurately. But it is not for such petty distinctions that the art of Ajanta of the fifth century A.D. is to be admired. The skill of the painter should on the other hand be appreciated in the charming sweeps of the brush line, comprising subtle curves and undulations; in the lovely contrasts of colours, whether bright or dark, all suggesting a refined taste; in the large variety of poses showing the keen observation of the artist and his delight in the manifold phases of life; in the vivid expressions of the human figures, and in the exquisite decorative work, such as is to be seen in the lovely coiffures of the ladies, or the beautiful designs of their jewellery and dress; or in the fascinating representations of flowers, birds, and animals, real or mythological. The grouping of figures may appear bewildering to one unacquainted with Indian life, but each figure or design has its own significance in the telling of the story, and if any one of them were omitted the story would lose its zest.

In the sixth century A.D. the Vākāṭakas were succeeded by the Chāḷukyas as rulers of the Deccan. The Chāḷukyas professed the Brähmanic faith, but in the beginning they were not only tolerant to the votaries of the Buddhist religion but emulated them in the styles of their rock-hewn architecture and painting. The temples carved by them in the living rock at their capital Vārāpī, modern Bādāmi, exist to this day, and although they contain Śaivite and Vaishnavite sculpture, yet their architectural style is in imitation of that of a Buddhist vihāra, and one of these cave-temples, cave No. 3, bears traces

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1 For the full story see Jātaka (English Translation), vi. 246–305, Cambridge edition.
of painting which are analogous in style to those of Ajanta (Plate LII a). But a strict observer cannot help remarking that the paintings of Bādāmi, though not much later in date than those of caves I and XVII of Ajanta, show a distinct falling off in the standard; the elegance of the features, the vividness of expression, and the freshness of the colours have all appreciably deteriorated, and artistic fancy and creative effort are replaced by insipid conventionality and soullessness imitation. The sixth-century paintings of Ajanta itself, as shown on the pillars, ceilings, and friezes of caves IX and X, comprise floral designs of a stereotyped pattern, or the representations of the Buddha in the teaching attitude, seated on a throne and attended by two chauri-bearers, one on each side. The latter figures convey religious dignity to a certain extent, yet by frequent repetition they become monotonous, and further, such themes betray a lack of freedom and narrowness of vision in artistic effort. The apparent reason why the artists abandoned the wider field of the jātakas which allowed full opportunity for the display of their powerful imaginations and superior technical skill, was that the ruling class and their officials professed a different religion and had therefore no interest in themes which reflected the glory of Buddhism; while such subjects as gods or kings seated on richly bedecked thrones and accompanied by princely attendants suited the idea of the majesty and grandeur of their own faith. Representations of this class are found in great abundance both in Buddhist and Hindu art from the latter part of the sixth century A.D. onwards, and notable imitations of them may be seen in the murals of Padmanābhapuram in Travancore State, which belong to the eighteenth century or even later.

In cave XXVI, which is supposed to be one of the latest caves at Ajanta, there are inscriptions which palaeographically cannot be assigned to a later period than the sixth century A.D., and it appears that for political reasons the monasteries and the temples of Ajanta lost their religious importance about this period although Buddhism survived at Ellora for another century, i.e. down to the close of the seventh century A.D., or even somewhat later. In the ceilings of the Buddhist temples and monasteries of Ellora there are traces of painting, but the designs are of a set type, representing floral and creeper patterns, geometric devices, including the key-pattern in several forms, jewellery designs, and wood-work motifs, all of which can be seen in their original forms on the ceilings of the earlier temples at Ajanta. The colours at Ellora are dull and insipid, perhaps owing to deterioration caused by weather conditions, since the caves of Ellora are more exposed to the sun and the rains of the monsoon than are those of their rivals at Ajanta.

In the ceiling of the porch of the great Brāhmaṇic temple, Kailāsa, there are some layers of painting which may be contemporaneous with the original cutting of the temple, about the middle of the eighth century A.D., or a little later. In one of them a Brāhmaṇic deity is represented in the act of adoration (Plate LII b). He is riding on a jārādula, a mythical monster with the head,
mane and paws of a lion, and the horns of a bull or a buffalo. The head of this god bears a striking resemblance, both in conception and treatment, to the heads of the Bodhisattvas in the earlier paintings at Ajanta, but the other figures of this painting have been shown in such ugly attitudes that the beauty of feature and the religious expression conveyed in the delineation of the heads have lost their effect owing to the uncouthness of the poses. The treatment of the limbs further exhibits a disproportionate attenuation; and the conventional forms of clouds, though copied from Ajanta, add in this subject to the general crudeness of the scheme. The colours also do not show a refined taste and the deterioration of the artistic sense is felt in every feature of the painting.

In a circular band on the ceiling of the above-mentioned porch, another design may be noticed in which Yama and his consort are shown riding on a buffalo. There are two attendants in front of the buffalo, and some other figures behind the animal. The treatment of the hair, particularly the coiffures of the women, is in the Ajanta style, but the angular curves of the elbows and knees and the ghastly stare of the eyes show that the artist has lost his skill in giving proper shape to the limbs and appropriate expression to the faces. As the paintings of Kailāsa have been found in several layers, one above the other, it appears that the paintings of the temple were executed at different periods, and the picture representing Yama should doubtless because of its debased style be assigned to the ninth or tenth century A.D.

In the porch of the Kailāsa are some more paintings executed on the architraves below the ceiling. Their date can be fixed with greater certainty, for they contain inscriptions mentioning the Paramāras of Malwa, who wielded much authority during the twelfth century A.D. The paintings of the architraves represent battle-scenes which both in spirit and technique appear to be allied to the North Indian (Rājput) paintings, and their connexion with Ajanta seems to be somewhat remote (Plate LIII a). The drawing of the elephant in these subjects suggests rapid movement, but the figures of the horses have become rather conventional owing to the artist’s freakish fancy in painting them all in a rearing attitude.

At Ellora the ceilings of the Indra Sabhā group of Jaina temples are also adorned with painting, and the representations of the apsarases as shown therein are more akin to their prototypes at Ajanta than to their parallels in the Brāhmanic cave at Kailāsa described above. Owing to the heat of fires kindled for domestic as well as religious purposes, and the blackening effect of smoke, the original colours of these paintings have suffered much, but in places where they are in a comparatively better state of preservation the colours show the fondness of the artist for the use of vermilion (Plate LIII b).

1 For a description of these paintings see the author’s paper, The Fresco Paintings of Ellora (p. 9), read before the XVIIIth International Oriental Congress, held at Oxford, 1928, also the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad, 1933–4, pl. i.
The figures of the *apsarasas* with dark brown or swarthy complexions floating in the midst of the scarlet clouds of the evening appear with considerable perspective effect, and the grace of their limbs and the charm of their jewellery and dress, however scanty, are also admirably represented. Jaina artists were good copyists, and as the spirit of their religion has much in common with that of the Buddhist faith, the figures of the *apsarasas* in the ceilings of the Indra Sabha suggest almost the same beauty of pose, grace of movement, and love of decorative detail as one notices in the figures of the *apsarasas* painted in the monasteries of Ajanta. The art of Ellora is, however, purely imitative and does not show any creative power. In the chapter on sculpture it has already been stated that the Jaina group of Ellora caves was hewn during the ninth century A.D.¹ and the painting of the ceilings of the Indra Sabha appears to belong to the same period.

In concluding this brief survey of the painting of the Deccan it should be observed that the art of the country in the best period of its history is essentially Buddhist, both in spirit and in its outlook upon life. It must have originated, as has been stated above (p. 763), many centuries earlier than the advent of the Buddhist missionaries,² but the humane teaching of this faith and the doctrine of unity binding the different aspects of nature into a common organism, inculcated in the sacred Buddhist literature, inspired the artist with visions embracing every phenomenon of the physical and the spiritual worlds. The majestic elephant, the beautiful swan, or the carefree deer with their nimble movements, the mischievous monkey, or even the venomous serpent, are all alike, as members of the family of life, capable of showing forth the divine qualities of sympathy and mercy. In the artist’s themes they are represented with all their natural characteristics, proving a close study of their instincts and physical features. The rajās and rānis play the religious role, but are pictured with all the desires and inclinations, and in all the adventures, of their normal life, including hunting expeditions, love episodes, the life of exiles in the forest, battle-scenes, and the gay life of the court.

The domestic life of the ordinary people is also fully represented, and the artist has shown the same zest in delineating their bamboo huts and earthen utensils as he has in depicting the gorgeous pavilions of royalty with all their paraphernalia. The beauty of trees and natural scenery made a special appeal to his imagination, because the Buddha had attained enlightenment sitting under a banyan tree, while several other stately trees are associated with him in his previous incarnations, or in his next life as Maitreya. The painter has therefore delineated them in a variety of styles, in their spring grandeur, and also in autumnal beauty with red and pale brown leaves.

¹ Supra, p. 737.
² In the Raichur District, since A.D. 1914, three Aśokan edicts have been discovered, one at Maski and the remaining two at Kopol, both places being situated in the ancient gold area of the Deccan. For further information regarding these edicts see Monographs Nos. 1 and 10 of the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*. 
Human emotion is the salient feature of the art of Ajanta; but the religious element has given it on the whole a solemn tone and there is no air of wantonness in the entire panorama of Ajanta paintings. There are lovely women daintily arrayed and shown in delightful poses but the environment is instinct with the tears of things, and the dread solemnities of life are ever felt as present in the background. The subtle pattern of life has been executed with sympathy and love, with all its dark shades of pain and sorrow, anguish and disappointment, and its bright colours of joy and ecstasy, glory and success, controlled by a divine law, but responsive to the longings and needs of man through the power of religious faith and devotion.

The standards of beauty of the human body do not of course coincide with those of Europe in the classical period, but the drawing of the Ajanta figures is not less effective than that of their European prototypes in regard to feminine grace of form and charm of pose, or masculine vigour and strength, activity and effort. In vividness of expression generally, and in religious feeling in particular, the paintings of Ajanta far excel their contemporaneous rivals in Europe. Such technical details as 'cast shadows' are rarely to be seen at Ajanta, but in the ceiling of cave II the cherubs, plump, rosy ganas, at the four corners, have their necks below the chin painted in vermilion of a dark shade which contrasts with the fair complexion of their faces to give rounded effect.¹

The high level of intellectual and technical development in the art of painting attained near the end of the fifth century began to lose its excellence about the middle of the sixth century A.D., when Ajanta gave place to Vatāpi, with a new dynasty professing a different faith. At Ellora in the work of another dynasty, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, an after-glow of the art of Ajanta may be seen, but it had lost its splendour and was soon to fade. An aftermath is also to be noticed in the ceilings of the Indra Sabha and Jagannātha Sabha at Ellora, and that was perhaps its last phase in the Deccan.

¹ The glories of this art shone forth in far distant lands, in the rugged mountains of Afghanistan, in the lonely deserts of Central Asia, in the age-worn cultural climes of China and in the sea-girt lands of Ceylon, Java and Japan, but in the Deccan, the province of its own birth, its light grew dim by the eighth century A.D., and we see the last flickering of it in the frescoes of Aurangabad and Ellora.²

¹ See Ajanta, ii, pl. xxx.
² The wall-paintings of Bāgh in the Gwalior State and of Sittannavasal in the Pudukottai State show the influence of the art of Ajanta in Malwa and Southern India. The paintings of Bāgh, being earlier (fifth or sixth century A.D.), exhibit the art in a more vigorous form than do the murals of Sittannavasal, which have been assigned by experts to the seventh century A.D.
APPENDIX A

TERRACOTTA

The potter’s craft, like that of the goldsmith, seems to have been intimately connected with the art of sculpture in ancient times. Potter and sculptor apparently had common religious ideals, and often executed identical or similar forms and artistic motifs through different mediums, the sculptor’s being stone or metal or wood, and the potter’s clay, which was baked and finally finished with slips in different shades.

In the excavations carried out at ancient religious sites in the Deccan terracotta figurines have been found in great abundance, notably at Kondāpur, a village some forty-three miles west-north-west of Hyderabad. It was apparently one of the thirty walled towns to which Pliny has referred in his work, because coins and other relics showing a well-developed culture have been discovered there in very large numbers. The number of terracotta figurines alone amounts to several hundred. These statuettes represent Bodhisattvas, yakṣas, yakṣīnas, and other religious or semi-religious beings (Plate LIV a–d). Animals are also represented, and they include the bull, the horse, and the ram among tame animals, and the lion among wild ones (Plate LV a–c). The figure of a parrot has also been found. Among other articles discovered are pieces of pottery with ornamental designs. They are very slender in manufacture with artistic shapes and fine polish. Some pieces on examination show that they were made of kaolin, while others are of fine reddish clays. The ware was coated with slips of varying thickness, the colours of the slips being cream or light pink. The designs worked out on the ware are very pleasing; besides ornamental motifs, there are several religious symbols, one of them being a half-opened lotus shown at the left hand in the third row on Plate LVI. Another represents the sacred wheel, to be seen in the fourth row, second from the right, and another the fully opened lotus blossom which occurs so frequently on the sculpture of Amarāvatī, with which the antiquities of Kondāpur seem to be contemporary.

The figurines representing deities or religious personages are made of kaolin, and show fine modelling and delightful lines. As the features of these deities are non-Āryan, with thick short noses, thick lips, and round or oval faces, the potter had apparently people of his own stock in mind when he moulded the figures of the gods. The hair and head-gear are more conventional than realistic. In Plate LIV a the hair of the figure representing a Bodhisattva is shown in traditional stiff coils, a fashion which had become an essential feature of the hair of the Buddha in Northern India from about the second century A.D., and which reached the Deccan in that period or perhaps a century later. The other head in the same Plate (LIVb), representing another Bodhisattva or a yakṣa, has a very elaborate head-gear; but the salient feature of this statuette is the look of innocence and serenity so admirably expressed by the face. In Plate LIV c–d two different personages are represented whose head-gear is of different types; the expressions of their faces speak of inward serenity. One of them has a smile on his lips. Another figure has his hair dressed straight down to his ears and neck and finally curled
up in a roll. This style of dressing the hair is more prominent in the two heads reproduced in the lower half of Plate LVII. The broad, prominent noses as well as the style of dressing the hair are reminiscent in these two figures of the representations of dandified fools and drunkards sometimes found in European art, as in the illuminated margins of medieval manuscripts, the stone carvings of gargoyles in cathedrals and churches, or the later didactic paintings of Hogarth. There is even a possibility that the craftsmen of the Deccan copied such features from contemporary Roman classical models, because at Kondapur several baked clay ornaments on which the figures of Roman coins are impressed have been found; and there is literary evidence also to prove that a large trade was carried on between the Deccan and Mediterranean countries through the ancient port of Barygaza (modern Bharoch) on the western coast of India.\(^1\)

The head of a Bodhisattva in Plate LVII a is modelled like many other Deccanese sculptures of the fifth century A.D., but the thick nose of Dravidian type shows it to be of earlier origin, some time in the third. The repose and internal calm of this figure are marvellous. The bulky yakshā (Plate LVIII a–b) represented with elaborate head-gear may be Kuvera, who was a popular god among the Buddhists during the early centuries of the Christian era. The style of the ornamentation of the head-gear resembles to some extent that of the decoration of the head-dresses of Saka or Parthian donors of cave-temples in Western India, whose statues may be seen at Kōnāgaṇe and other Buddhist religious sites (Plate XXIII).\(^2\)

The terracottas representing animal figures show neat workmanship and a definite trend towards realism. The head of the ram (Plate LV b) is a good example of the latter tendency, although the rolls of wool around the animal's neck have made the presentation somewhat conventional. The mane of the lion (Plate LV a) has somewhat the same stereotyped effect. The figure of the lion in general is rather dumpy, as are also the representations of the horse and the bull. The short, thick horns of the bull, its muzzled, and neck ornaments resemble very closely those of the bulls (nandis) of the Śaivite temples of Teliṅgāṇa of the tenth to thirteenth centuries, and it appears that the traditions regarding the above features established by the potters of the early centuries of the Christian era were followed by the sculptors of the Deccan for over a millennium afterwards.

At Kondapur terracotta figurines of a primitive type have also been found; they represent Hāriti and the mother goddess, Earth (Plate LVIII c–d), the latter having been found in very large numbers. Their workmanship is somewhat crude, and they are made of red earth, being solid in form in contrast to the kaolin figurines described above, which are hollow and were made in moulds.

In the excavations which have been carried out by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad at Paithan and Maski a considerable number of terracotta figurines has been discovered, but they do not exhibit that fine craftsmanship which is to be noticed in the Kondapur statuettes. The elaborate style of dressing and decorating the hair, as shown in these terracottas at Maski and Paithan, closely resembles the style of some of the early sculptures of the Buddhist vihāras, notably that of the head-dress of the figure carved at Bhājā.

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1 Pliny, xii, 84. Strabo reports that 120 ships sailed from Myos-hormos for India, when Gallus was prefect in Egypt (25 B.C.).
2 See also J. Burgess, 'Buddhist Cave Temples', A.S.W.I., 1883, p. 9.
APPENDIX A

The poorness of material, the insignificant size, and the frail nature of the terracottas are obvious defects because of which they can hardly be considered as definitely works of art, but none can deny the skill of the craftsmen in giving the figurines such vivid expressions, or in shaping them with such realistic effect.

APPENDIX B

THE ART OF DANCING AS REPRESENTED IN THE SCULPTURE AND PAINTING OF THE DECCAN

REFERENCES have already been made to certain dancing scenes in the sections of this chapter on Sculpture and Painting. Similar references may also have been made by other contributors to this volume who deal with the cultural and literary activities of the Deccan in the early period. The object of the present note is to familiarize the student with certain phases of dancing as it was actually practised, and as it is shown in the sculpture or painting of the Deccan. The history of Indian dancing based on literature or tradition is, however, not to be found in this essay, and the student must look for it in standard books on the subject.

The sculptures of the chaitya-caves at Konḍâne and Kârle belong to roughly the same period, that is the first or second century B.C.; and these sculptures are also contemporary with, or slightly later than, the painting on the left wall of the chaitya-cave (No. 10) at Ajanta, which on palaeographic grounds has been assigned to the early part of the second century B.C. As the dancing steps and attitudes of the performers in the latter painting are not so clear there as in the sculptures at Konḍâne and Kârle, it will be advantageous to the student if the steps and poses shown at the latter sites are studied first.

At Konḍâne the art, as represented in Plates IV–V, is of a primitive type, comprising only leaping and whirling such as is to be seen in the dances of primitive tribes in India and its borderlands to this day. The four episodes carved at Konḍâne however exhibit a considerably developed art in which reciprocity and balance are admirably maintained, both in the graceful movements of the limbs of the performers and in the attractive display of their emotional gestures. In subject (a) there are three artistes, the man being in the middle, with two women, one on each side of him. The swing and movement suggested by the bodies of the male dancer and the woman on his left are in happy consonance with their hints of amorous dalliance; the man stretches out his arm to caress the chin of the woman with his hand, while she has coquetishly lowered hers to finger the fringe of his girdle. The other arm of this woman is gracefully moulded with the hand on the hip. The bent knees of both figures suggest movement, as if they are dancing—perhaps taking alternate steps forward and backward like a swinging pendulum. The third artiste in this panel, to the left of the male figure, is also dancing but seems to be executing a figure of her own. She is, however, evidently a part of the group of

1 Supra, pp. 744–5, 759. 2 Like Bharata’s Nātya Śāstra. 3 Supra, p. 762.
three since she has her hand on the bow-string of the male dancer. She may have been taking short steps forward and backward, or moving in a semi-circle while keeping her hold on the bow-string and thus her connexion with the other two in the dance.

In panel (b) the male artiste appears with one female dancer only, who has grasped his sash in the movement of the dance. That the man is a soldier was indicated by the bow in panel (a) and is shown in this panel by a heavy mace or club which he carries. The inclination of the heads of both figures and the way in which their arms are stretched out towards one another suggest graceful dalliance and convey a sense of balanced poise, while the bent knees and pressure of the body on the toes might be the prelude to any movement from the rhythmic easy step of a minuet to the swift whirl of a reel or a polka.

In panel V a the male artiste has occupied the alternate position, keeping the woman dancer to his left and inclining his own head towards her and also holding her waist-girdle with his outstretched hand. The poise of the male figure in this panel suggests violent activity, while the woman when left alone by her partner in the course of the dance would have floated softly with a graceful, swan-like movement.

In panel V b the male dancer appears alone; he has a square shield tied to his arm. His left arm is gracefully curved, and he has bent his left leg and placed it behind the right in such a manner that the toes of his left foot rest on those of the right. The right leg and foot are placed firmly on the ground and the entire body seems to rock on it in a most attractively graceful fashion. This may be a special dancing step, or an accepted way of acknowledging the applause of the spectators, since it is evidently the final episode of the performance shown in the previous three panels.

The dancer has a smile on his face, and as his features as well as his accoutrements are completely non-Aryan, it is interesting to note that dancing was clearly a well-developed art among the people of the Deccan even in the centuries preceding the Christian era, since it has already been pointed out that the chaitya-cave at Kondane was hewn at some time during the second century B.C.¹

On the façade of the chaitya at Kārle, which is nearly the same age as its rival at Kondane, are carved figures of dancers in twelve panels. It will not be possible, owing to limitations of space, to describe them all here, but four of them which most vividly exhibit grace of poise and agility of movement are studied below. The dancers appear in pairs of male and female figures. They are aborigines, as is shown by their costumes and ornaments. The male figures have narrow pieces of cloth wound round their heads like turbans or pugarees; their loin-cloths are also very narrow, but artistically draped, and the scarfs round the arms and shoulders of all the figures are tastefully arranged. The ornaments are heavy and solid but plentiful, matching the exuberant spirit of the dancers (Plate XXIV a–b).

The use of heavy anklets by Indian women from their girlhood has perhaps an adverse effect on the shape of their legs, and this may be the reason why they are generally represented as disproportionately thin in their lower part both in the sculpture and the painting of the Deccan, particularly in the early period (Plate XXVIII b).

¹ Supra, p. 717.
In Plate XXIV a both the man and the woman have curved their bodies, but the position of their legs suggests active movement, some kind of one- or two-step or fox-trot. Their arms are placed fondly round each other's shoulders and the inclination of the head of the woman with the expression of contentment to be noticed on her face is very effective. She is wearing a large set of ivory or conch bangles round her wrists,¹ and heavy metal anklets above her feet. The five-string ornament round her waist is attractively executed.

The next subject (Plate XXIV b) perhaps represents reversing in the dance; the woman dancer who was on the left of her male companion in the last scene is now on his right. She has raised her arms and joined her hands to suggest that she is tired of her partner and desires to run away, although he is still clapping her. In the mimic struggle her dress has become disarrayed, a device to suggest sexual feeling.

The third subject (Plate LIX a) shows the pair again dancing. The woman's steps, from the poise shown, appear to be short but quick, the man's comparatively long but slow. The woman has placed her arm round the waist of her male partner to maintain her balance in dancing, while with the other hand she has raised her head-scarf, or ornament, to suggest an emotional mood. The male dancer has placed his arm in a caress round the shoulders of his partner while his bent head suggests that he reciprocates her advances.

The last subject (Plate LIX b) shows both the figures as if they have just come to a halt, their poses showing that the dance is that moment over. The waist ornament of the woman and the cloth girdle of the man have been disarranged by the movement of dancing. The girl wears an expression of pleasure and happiness while her companion's features also show enjoyment. He holds a bouquet or a large lotus flower in his left hand. Among the ornaments of the woman the anklets especially are extremely thick and heavy.

The earliest painting at Ajanta in which dancing is represented is that on the left wall of cave X, which, as was stated above, belongs to the second century B.C., if not earlier.² The painting has a religious significance, for the dancing is shown near the Bodhi-tree under which Gautama received the enlightenment. There are fifteen artistes, of whom three are dancers and the rest musicians. They are all female. These women apparently belong to the orchestra attached to the monastery in the garden of which the Bodhi-tree is shown. Two of the musicians have long trumpets, which may be either of horn or of metal. The others are clapping their hands, an action which is still used in India and other oriental countries to mark time, or to produce the high pitch effect in music. Among the dancers one has raised and curved her arms in a style which suggests that she is about to revolve on her toes. The other two have inclined their bodies on one side by bending one leg, and have curved their right arms gracefully upwards and placed the tips of their thumbs on their heads, while the left hand is placed on the hip on the same side, the object being primarily to keep the balance of the body while dancing in short wavy steps, and also to produce an effective pose by making two beautiful loops (or curves), one with the right arm and the other with the left. Just this pose and just such steps are quite common in India and may be observed in the dancing of the present day.

¹ Such sets of ivory bangles are still worn in the Deccan by Lambarka women and other primitive peoples.
² Ajanta, pt. iii, p. 1, n. 1.
but it is interesting to note that they were practised in the second century B.C. and must have originated still earlier.

Dancing in the same style is shown in a clearer manner in an episode of the Mahâjanaka Jâtaka, painted on the left wall of cave I, which is some seven centuries later than cave X. In this subject the dancer is wearing a skirt of striped silk and a full-sleeved jacket of brocade or some other embroidered stuff (Plate LX a). Her ornaments include rich jewels and her crown and hair decoration further suggest that dancing-girls received handsome fees for their performances. The pose of the artiste in this subject is almost the same as that of the two dancers in cave X, but the curves of her arms, wrists, and hands suggest an emotional intensity, evidently in accord with the movement of the other parts of the body, which shows a distinct advance upon the previous ideals and psychology of the art. The dancer has a band of musicians to help her in the performance; they are again all women. Two of them are playing cymbals, one a pair of tablas (tympanum drums), another the mirdang (a double drum with a narrow ring between the two parts), and a third a guitar or some other stringed instrument with a bowl at the end, and two flutes. The variety of musical instruments also shows development in the art of music. The two drums pictured in this painting have the usual leather strips round their bowls, such as are to be noticed tied on the tablas even at the present time. Sir C. V. Raman, the eminent physicist, is of the opinion that the Indian tabla was the first instrument of its kind from which all the seven notes of music could be produced, and that this effect was secured by dividing the top leather covering into three circular bands, brown, white, and black, each of varying thickness. Further, for the purpose of stretching the top leather, sixteen strings were tied round the bowl of the tabla. This drum travelled to the West from the East, and although the seven notes of music can be produced by the kettle-drum, or tympanum-drum, and although Beethoven has also used a tympanum-drum as an independent instrument of music, yet in India the tabla was used much earlier, as is shown in this painting of the fifth century A.D.

In cave I there is another dance-scene delineated on the left wall of the front gallery. The painting is much damaged but the figures of two dancers can easily be made out (Plate LX b). The performance is shown as taking place in a royal pavilion in which a Nâga king and queen are seated on a cushion in a mood of dalliance, and a large number of maidservants and male guards are either occupied in serving refreshments (?) or watching the dance. A princely person dressed in a long coat of embroidered stuff, among the designs of which the figures of geese and oxen can be made out, may be seen sitting between two pillars on the opposite side to the Nâga king and his royal consort.

The steps of the dancer near the Nâga pair are not clear to us because she has moved behind the cushion to let the pair have full privacy in their love-making. But her raised arm, and the hand, in which she holds a short stick, indicate that she is still dancing, while a mischievous side-long glance of her eyes suggests that she is showing amusement at the conduct of the royal pair.

The principal dancer may be seen near the feet of the Nâga queen, but the face of the artiste is towards the chief dressed in the long embroidered coat. The lower part of the body of the dancer is considerably damaged in the original painting, but the right hand placed on the hip, and the right leg bent at the knee and raised
APPENDIX B

up to the knee of the left leg can easily be made out, and suggest that the dancer had poised herself on one foot, in readiness for a sinuous undulating movement. The head of the dancer is charmingly posed in this painting.

About a century later than the two dance-scenes of cave I at Ajanta, described above, is the Aurangabād sculpture of cave VII, which represents a group of seven artists, of whom the one in the middle is a dancer. As the subject is carved in the shrine of a monastery, it would seemingly represent a performance which was in vogue in Buddhist temples as a part of the ritual on the occasion of certain feasts. The sculpture has much in common, in regard to the pose of the dancer and the musical instruments of the orchestra, with the dance scene painted on the wall of the left corridor of cave I at Ajanta (Plate LXI a). The artistic dress of the dancer noticed in the Ajanta painting is, however, not to be seen in this sculpture, but the poise of the body and the suggestion of movement are more effective in the sculpture than in the painting. The dancer has only the toes of her right foot touching the ground, but the right leg, although bent at the knee, would have supported the body when the dancer moved herself in graceful curves, and took steps forwards and backwards, or sideways. The musical instruments shown in this group are the cymbals, the flute, the pair of jābals, and a round drum.

Under the influence of Śaktism the organizations of dancers and musicians attached to the Brāhmanic temples developed both in magnitude and artistic qualities during the medieval period (eighth to thirteenth centuries), and large numbers of most lovely dance-poses may be seen on the exteriors of temples in the Deccan. The Great Temple at Pālampet, which was built during the reign of the Kākatiya king, Gaṇapati, in A.D. 1215, has figure-brackets representing female dancers in characteristic attitudes. Four of these sculptures, which are of black stone of a close-grained variety, will be described here. Emotional gestures, which are an essential adjunct of the art of dancing in India, are shown with much effect in these representations. In Plate XXXVIII b the curves of the body alternate rhythmically; the loop made by the right arm, which is raised, is balanced by the curve of the left arm, which slants in the opposite direction; similarly the curve of the right leg, which has been made by raising the foot, is matched by the outward inclination of the hip on the left side and the bend of the left leg. The exquisite manicured fingers with their delicate movements, suggestive of an emotional temperament, and their symbolic bendings, add to the artistic effect of the pose; and the attitude of the body appears to have changed at each step taken by the dancer.

Subject (2) perhaps represents the second step in the course of the dance, because in this representation (Plate XXXIX a) the artiste has raised and bent her left leg instead of the right, as in the previous subject. Her two arms are raised and the fingers are spread and joined in a most expressively charming way. The beauty of a slender, pliant waist and well-developed breasts is accentuated by the curving, wavy line of the entire body, which rises and falls with gentle and sinuous grace.

The third subject (Plate XXXIX b) evidently represents an intermediate step, in which the dancer has curved her right leg in front of the left; but only her toes rest on the ground, the heel being raised above it. The gesture made with the fingers is significant and apparently corresponds to the meaning of the steps as

1 Supra, p. 719.
part of an artistic pattern. The fourth subject (Plate LXI b) also represents a
dancer, whose lower garment has slipped down in dancing, while a mischievous
little monkey is pulling at it. The representation may possibly have some mythical
reference, but to a layman the subject seems to be un pleasingly erotic, and
sculptures demonstrating sexual love are indeed to be seen in great abundance on
medieval Brähmanic temples; in the Great Temple at Pālampet also, described
above, there exists a vast array of maithuna pairs, most of them in indecent
attitudes. Otherwise the lines of the body of this particular dancer are so drawn as
to give a rhythmic effect.

The art of dancing reached its high-water mark in the Deccan in the thirteenth
century A.D., and although it has survived in some of the South Indian States up to
the present day, much of its grace and vitality are lost. Only the semblance still
exists; the spirit has vanished.
PART XI

THE COINAGE OF THE DECCAN

by PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT.

I. Introduction; Punch-marked coins; Roman coins.

II. Sātavāhana Coinage; Early Sātavāhana Rulers, the different types of their coins—coins of Sāti, Sātakana or Satakani (Elephant type, Lion type, Bull type, Homo type); coins of Apilaka and Meghasvāti. Later Sātavāhanas; Gautamiputra Sātakarnī's coins, popular type in potin issues, an Elephant with upraised trunk and legend on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse; some coins bear an Elephant on the obverse and a Tree on the reverse; some lead and potin coins have a Lion or an Elephant on one side and the Ujjain symbol or a Tree on the other; this king also counterstruck the silver coins of Nahapāna with Chaitya, having the former's legend on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other. Vasishthiputra Pulumāvi, his coins being generally of the Elephant and Chaitya type, but the round lead coins bear a Three-arched Hill and the legend on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. A silver coin of this king has been found in Bhelsa. Sivaśri, his lead coins found in Andhra-ñāla bear a Three-arched Hill and a River with the legend on the obverse and the decorative Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Sivaskanda Sātakarnī, one coin bears the Three-arched Hill and the Ujjain symbol, and another a Horse to the right and the Ujjain symbol. Yaśa-śri Sātakarnī issued coins of different types—one type shows a Three-arched or Six-arched Hill together with other symbols on the obverse, and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Another type has a Horse on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Sometimes the Horse has a Crescent above it. A third type shows an Elephant, with the trunk hanging down, on the obverse. He also issued coins of the Vidarbha type and lead coins with the symbol of a Ship with two Masts. This king issued silver coins as well, their type being imitated from the Kshatrapa coinage. Vijaya and Chandaśri Sātakarnī, the coins of both show the Elephant with upraised trunk on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.

THE COINAGE OF THE DECCAN
(c. 400 B.C. to c. A.D. 1300)

I
INTRODUCTION

In the present chapter we propose to make a survey of the coinage of the Deccan from c. 400 B.C. to c. A.D. 1300, which is the period covered by this volume of the History of the Deccan. The Deccan and Southern India are remarkably rich in epigraphical material bearing on their history; the inscriptions of the Sàtavàhanas, the Vàkàtakas, the Chàלukyas, the Ràshtràkûtas, and the Yàdavas are much more numerous than those of their contemporaries in the north, the Sùngas and the Kañvas, the Guptas and the Vardhanas, the Pràthàras and the Gàhadàvàlas. In the realm of sculpture and also in that of architecture, art made striking progress in Deccan and Southern India, but strangely enough it had little influence on the coinage. In this realm the North can well claim superiority over the Deccan. Not a single dynasty of the Deccan or of Southern India produced a coin series which can compare with the Gupta coinage in artistic beauty, variety, and fine workmanship.

The Sàtavàhana coinage is numerous, but it is generally crude. The Vàkàtakas and the Ràshtràkûtas do not appear to have issued any coins at all; the coinage of the Chàlukyas is scarce and intermittent. The Yàdavas indeed did issue a regular series of coins in gold, but these have been handed down only in very small quantities. The gold coins of the Chàlukyas and of the Yàdavas can only have been employed in big monetary transactions. The ordinary man of the Deccan did not, it would seem, derive much benefit from the coinage which the different states issued from time to time. He apparently had to carry on his daily business by means of barter and with the help of cowries. However, we come across silver punch-marked coins in the Deccan, and the Sàtavàhanas minted a great mass of coinage in lead and in copper. These latter types may well have been used in some daily transactions.

Punch-marked coins

The earliest coinage of the Deccan probably consisted of silver punch-marked money.¹ The antiquity of this medium of exchange was once referred

¹ As in Northern India, the Deccan had no punch-marked coins in gold. There were small gold spherules in circulation with minute marks on the obverse, which will be referred to later (p. 799); but they cannot strictly be called punch-marked coins. In Gibb's collection there was a gold coin about 1 in. in diameter and 17½ grains in weight, which had several punched marks such as an Arrow-head, a Cross, a Conch, two Śrīs, &c. (Elliot, Pl. II, 60). But the presence of two Śrīs shows that the coin does not belong to any regular punch-marked series. Copper punch-marked coins have not so far been found in the Deccan.

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3 E
to prehistoric times on the strength of such coins having been found in megalithic tombs. But subsequent evidence has shown that the money found in these tombs sometimes included not only punch-marked pieces but also Roman coins, making it quite clear that not all such megalithic constructions could be dated back to prehistoric times. The antiquity of the punch-marked coinage of the Deccan and Southern India cannot thus be assigned to a date earlier than that of the punch-marked coinage of Northern India; they were in fact probably not struck earlier than c. 500 B.C.

Hoard of punch-marked coins have been found in the Deccan at Singavaram and Gudivada in the Krishna district; at Venna, Bhimlipattan, and Rothulpalem in the Vizagapattan district; at Karmanehi in the Kurnul district; at Karimnagar in the Hyderabad State; at Shinh in the Kolhapur district, and at Sultanpur near Wai in the Satara district.

Among these hoards, the Sultanpur find is especially unusual and distinctive; it consists entirely of silver coins, double, single, and half-Kârshâpaṇas being the denominations. They have only one large symbol on the obverse and none on the reverse (Pl. LXII, 1–2). The weight of these coins is 50 and 49½ grains respectively. These coins are usually regarded as early, but their precise date is difficult to determine.

The silver punch-marked coins of the Singavaram hoard, believed to have been discovered in 1934, were apparently 40,000 in number. The hoard is said to have filled a pit 3 x 3 ft. in dimension. But only seventy-one coins could eventually be procured for the collection in the Madras Museum. If these are truly representative of the hoard, we may conclude that all the coins were probably half-Kârshâpaṇas in denomination; their weight varies from 20 to 30 grains. These coins constitute a variety peculiar to Andhra-deśa. They are thin and struck in repoussé; thus the symbols are convex in appearance and the coins have become cup-shaped.¹ The number of symbols on these coins is four and not five (Pl. LXII, 3–4). On Pl. LXII, 3 we have Elephant at the top and two Bulls yoked to a plough at the bottom; on either side there is a Knob with circles or crescents around. On Pl. LXII, 4, Branch symbol replaces the Bulls yoked to a plough. The symbols occur on one side only and the reverse is blank. In a few cases four symbols appear on both sides, where those on one side appear very indistinct and faded. In the case of these rare coins it appears that when the original symbols became worn out, a new set of four symbols was stamped on the original blank reverse.²

The coins of the Singavaram hoard bear a curious resemblance to those of the Paila hoard discovered in the Kheri district of U.P. Both have only four symbols on the obverse, among which the Sun and the Six-armed symbol, so common on most of the varieties of the punch-marked coins, are conspicuous by their absence. The coins of the Paila hoard, however, follow the 24 ratti standard, whereas those of the Singavaram hoard are struck to the

standard of 32 *rattis* or about 56 grains. There is a greater resemblance between
the coins of the Singavaram hoard and those of the Sonepur hoard discovered
in Orissa. Both are half-Papas, weighing about 20 to 25 grains each. The Sun
and the Six-armed symbol are absent from both. Both have the Elephant and a
pair of Bulls yoked to a plough among their symbols. It is likely that these
coins may be a pre-Mauryan issue. Such coins as those found in the Sonepur
hoard may possibly have been issued by the Nandas after their conquest of
Orissa and the type may have been later imitated and modified in Andhra-*deśa*,
as suggested by the Singavaram hoard. The number of symbols on the Singavaram hoard coins is also four, but they are in relief and not in depression, as is
the case with the coins in the Sonepur hoard.

The remaining hoards of punch-marked coins found in the Deccan are
of the usual type, having five symbols on the obverse and weighing about
52 grains each. They are Kārshāpanas of the 32 *ratti* standard. An analysis
of 2,846 punch-marked coins in the Madras Museum shows that about
20 per cent. of them belong to the pre-Mauryan type of five-symbol coins,
and the rest to the Mauryan varieties. The same is probably true of other
hoards found in the Deccan.

The Mauryan punch-marked coins of the Deccan seem to have been
introduced into that country as a natural consequence of the Mauryan con-
quest. Pre-Mauryan five-symbol punch-marked coins were not withdrawn
from circulation by the Mauryas, and so some of them must have travelled
to the Deccan with the Mauryan armies. They are therefore naturally found
in the Deccan, though in a small percentage.

How long punch-marked coins remained in circulation in the Deccan is a
difficult question to answer. The Sātavāhanas introduced their own coinage
soon after the establishment of their dynasty, but this did not oust the punch-
marked silver currency. Down to c. A.D. 110 the Sātavāhanas issued coins
in lead and copper only, and these of course could not take the place of silver
punch-marked coins. During the second century A.D. four Sātavāhanas
kings issued silver coins, but they are extremely rare and were perhaps in-
tended to meet the needs of northern Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt, which were
accustomed to a silver currency. Punch-marked coins, therefore, may have
continued to circulate in the Deccan even after the disappearance of the
Mauryan rule. In the Mambalam hoard, found in Madras, there were 770
punch-marked coins of the pre-Mauryan type, together with one coin of
Augustus. In the Tondananathan hoard found in the South Arcot district
there were twenty-seven punch-marked coins in association with three *aurei*
of Tiberius. It is therefore clear that punch-marked silver coins continued in
circulation down to the end of the first century A.D. The majority of them
were struck by the usual method of first preparing flans of the requisite weight
and size and then punching the symbols on them. But in some localities, as at

1 I owe this information to Miss Vanaja of the Madras Museum.
Kondapur, moulds were used and punch-marked coins were cast from them. In the Kondapur excavations, both the moulds and the punch-marked silver coins cast from them were discovered; their date is approximately the first century A.D.

There is no archaeological evidence to show that silver punch-marked coins continued in circulation in the Deccan after c. A.D. 200. A verse in the Nāradasmṛiti (c. A.D. 500) states that the silver Kārshāpaṇas were then current in the south.¹ But so far we have not found any punch-marked coins which can be confidently ascribed to so late a date.

Some copper punch-marked coins have been found in Malwa, as also cast copper coins. But none of these have so far been found in the Deccan.

Roman Coins in the Deccan

There was steady and continuous trade between the ports on the coast of Āndhra-deśa and the Roman Empire, and several Roman coins have been found in the Deccan at places like Athirāla in the Cudappah district; Gumad, Kolpad, Salihundam in the Vizagapattan district; Mallyapalem, Ongole, and Vinukonda in the Guntur district; Nāgārjunikondā and Vidyadurrapuram in the Krishna district; Nadyal in the Kurnul district, and Garparti in the Nalgonda district.² The Roman emperors represented in the hoards were ruling during the first and second centuries A.D. and their coins are found in territories over which the Sātavāhanas were ruling. The Sātavāhana currency, however, remained uninfluenced by the patterns and designs of the Roman coinage; no gold or silver coins were minted in the Deccan in imitation of the Roman types.

II

SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

Among the ruling families of the Deccan, no other house has left us so varied and numerous a coinage as the Sātavāhana dynasty. The Sātavāhanas issued coins usually in lead and copper. They minted no gold coins and their silver coins are very rare.

The Sātavāhana coinage occurs in great quantity and usually it shows no foreign influence. But it also shows hardly any artistic merit or originality. Busts of the issuers do not appear on copper and lead coins. Silver coins were issued only by four rulers, Gautamiputra Sātakarni, Vāsishtiputra Sātakarni, Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, and Gautamiputra Yajña-śri-Sātakarni, and only eight specimens of these have been found so far. Some of them show good portraits and are not without some skill in design. The representations of the lion, the horse, the bow and arrow, the elephant, the homo sign, &c.,

¹ Kārshāpano dakṣinyaṇyāṃ diīi rautyaḥ pravartate, i, 57.
² Ancient India, ii, 116 ff.
which figure among Sātavāhana motifs, are usually very crude and inartistic. Some of the coins bear legends, but usually they are either too fragmentary or too short to help in the reconstruction of history. The Sātavāhanas did not borrow the practice of their northern neighbours, the Western Kṣatrapas, of introducing the name of the father of the issuer. Thus it is often difficult to identify the ruler concerned, since there were in many cases several kings of the same name, such as Kaṭha, Sātakarni, Pulomā, Svāti-karna, &c. There are also various kings of the dynasty, for example Simuka, Pūrṇotsāṅga Lambodara, Hāla, and Maṇḍalaka, who are not represented in the coinage; on the other hand there are some kings like Kumbha Sātakarni, Śaka Sātakarni, and Kaṇa Sātakarni, who are known from the coinage alone and are unknown to the Purāṇas and the inscriptions. It is no doubt often true that the Purāṇas, inscriptions, and coins help to some extent in reconstructing the history of the dynasty, but sometimes the data which they afford merely serve to introduce uncertainty, since in several cases there is no mutual agreement.

We propose to describe only the important types of coins issued by the rulers of the dynasty.

**Early Sātavāhana Rulers**

The question as to which king initiated the Sātavāhana coinage cannot yet be satisfactorily answered. The third king of the dynasty, according to the Paurāṇic list, was Sātakarni, and he was a powerful ruler known as the lord of the entire Deccan. It is usually assumed that the copper and lead coins which bear the legend *Siri Sāta* or *Sātakarni* or *Sātakarna* were issued by him. The palaeographical evidence of these coin legends suggests that they were minted some time during the period 150 to 50 B.C.

The Paurāṇic list, however, shows that there were several kings of the dynasty who bore the name of Sātakarni. The sixth ruler had this same name and it is possible to argue that kings like Meghasvāti, Svāti, Skandasvāti, and Svāti-karna, the 9th, the 10th, the 11th, and the 14th in the Paurāṇic list, may also have abbreviated their names into Sāti or Sāta and issued some of the coins bearing the legends Sāta or Sāti.

During the last decade three coins of a king named Sātavāhana have come to light; one of these was found at Kondapur and the other two were probably obtained in the former Hyderabad State. Professor V. V. Mirashi holds that the king Sātavāhana who issued these coins was the founder of the dynasty and ruled earlier than the king Sāta or Sātakarni of the coins mentioned earlier. The Paurāṇic list of kings in fact does not mention Sātavāhana as the founder of the dynasty, but inscriptions describe it as the Sātavāhana-kula, suggesting that it was brought into prominence first by Sātavāhana. It is quite possible that Sātavāhana was an earlier or immediate predecessor.

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1. EI, viii, 93.
of Simuka, the first king, and he might have issued these coins which bear his name. The fact that his coins are found so far only in the Hyderabad territory, while those of Sāta or Sātakarnī are found in Western India, Malwa and Tripuri, would seem to show that the latter was a later prince, who ruled the empire after it had expanded beyond the Vindhyas. Sātavāhana was an earlier ruler and might have been the founder of the house. A son of queen Nāganikā, who was the wife of the third king of the dynasty, was also named Sātavāhana, and might perhaps have been called after an earlier and more glorious ancestor.

Unless, however, more decisive evidence should become available, the above theory cannot be accepted. If king Sātavāhana of the new coins was indeed a predecessor of Simuka, one wonders why coins of Simuka and his brother Krishṇa should also not have been found. Secondly, it is quite possible that king Sātavāhana of the coins in question might have been one of the sons of Nāganikā, whose name actually occurs in the Nanaghāt inscriptions. Pūmtasaṅga, who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the successor of the first Sātakarnī, might have been his biruda. Until we get further evidence, we cannot solve this problem.

We shall now proceed to describe the chief types of Sātavāhana, Sāta, Sāti, and Sātikarna.

**Coins of Sātavāhana**

*Elephant type*

Copper; square; 0.80 in.; 110 grains; Malwa; **JNSI**, vii, 1.

**Obv.** Elephant with trunk upraised; legend, diagonally across the coin, *Raṅga sari Sadavaha*[na].

**Rev.** Ujjain symbol and some other minor symbols.  

Pl. LXII, 5.

Lead; oval; 1.2 x 0.35 in.; 98.9 grains; from Kondapur; **JNSI**, xi, 3.

**Obv.** Elephant, facing right, with trunk hanging down; legend, *Siri Sadavaha*[na].

**Rev.** Big Ujjain symbol, with a circle between two orbs.  

Pl. LXII, 6.

**Coins of Sāta**

*Elephant type*

Lead; round; 1.5 in.; 101 grains; Malwa; **BMCAK**, p. 1, pl. i, 1.

**Obv.** Elephant standing to right; below, River with fish; above, the legend *Raṅga siri Satasa*.

**Rev.** Blurred (not illustrated).  

Pl. LXII, 7.

*Homo type*

Potin; round; 0.8 in.; 86 grains; Western India; **BMCAK**, p. 1, pl. i, 2.

**Obv.** Man standing facing l.; Ujjain symbol; legend, *Raṅga siri Satasa*.

**Rev.** Elephant standing to right; above, Tree within railing; in front, Three-arched Hill; below, River.  

Pl. LXII, 8.

**JNSI**, iv, pl. ii, 4-6, publishes three other Elephant type coins of Siri Sāta from the Allahabad Municipal Museum. Their provenance is unknown.
THE COINAGE OF THE DECCAN

Coins of Sāti

Homo type

Lead; round; 1·01 in.; 218·7 grains; from Tripuri; JNSI, xiii, 35, pl. ii, 13.
Obv. Homo sign on left; Ujjain symbol in centre; legend, XI to VIII, Raño siri Satasa.
Rev. From left to right, Three-arched Hill; Tree within railing; River with fish placed vertically; and again Three-arched Hill. (Not illustrated.)

Coins of Sātakana or Satakani

Elephant type

Copper; round; 0·9 in.; 211·8 grains; provenance unknown; JNSI, iv, 27, pl. ii, 7.
Obv. Elephant with trunk upraised walking to left; Svastika above it; circular legend, Sātakani.

Square potin coins with Elephant with trunk upraised on the obv. and Tree within railing and Ujjain symbol on the reverse, found in Western India, have the legend .. kasa. They may have been issued by this ruler. See BMCAK, p. 3, pl. i, 9.

Lion type

Potin; square; 0·75 in.; 83 grains; Bhagwanlal collection; BMCAK, pl. i, 9.
Obv. Lion springing to r. Svastika above; legend reversed [Raño] Sātakanisa.
Rev. Within square border of dots, Ujjain symbol surmounted by Nandipada; Tree within railing.

Homo type

Copper; round; 0·92 in.; 109·3 grains; from Tripuri; JNSI, xiii, 36, pl. ii, 14.
Obv. Homo sign on left; Ujjain symbol in centre; legend from VII to X, Raño siri Satakani.
Rev. Three-arched Hill, a vertical line, probably indicating a Tree; Tree within railing; Three-arched Hill.

Bull type

Lead; round; 0·9 in.; 282 grains; Hyderabad region; JNSI, viii, 18, pl. ii a, i.
Obv. Humped Bull in the centre with a blurred triangle-headed standard in front; legend above the Bull, Raño sara Satabanasa.
Rev. Tree within railing; Triangle-headed banner; Svastika, &c.

The Bull type bears a striking resemblance to the Bull type of Sadakani Kajalāya (Pl. LXIV, 8). The arrangement on the obverse of the Bull and the legend are both strikingly similar, though the Bull faces to the left on the coin of Kajalāya and to the right on the coin of Satakarni. The tree with large leaves on the reverse of both coins is similar, though other symbols are different. These coin types show that the rulers named were not far removed from each other in time, and indeed it is most probable that Sadakani Kajalāya was actually the father-in-law of Satakarni.

The coins of Satakarni found in Gujarāt and published in JNSI, xii, 26,
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would appear to be the issue of some later ruler such as Gautamiputra Satakarni or Yajña-sri-Satakarni.

Coins of Apīlaka and Meghasvāti

According to the Purānic list of kings there were thirteen rulers between Satakarni II and Gautamiputra Satakarni, but we have discovered the coins of only two of them, Apīlaka and Meghasvāti. Of these Apīlaka is represented only by a single coin found in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. The Purānas do not attach any affix to the name of Apīlaka; the coin on the other hand supplies the affix Śiva-siri. This fact, however, does not justify us in assuming that these names belong to two different rulers. Copper coins do not as a rule travel long distances; the discovery of the coin of Apīlaka in the Bilaspur district is probably a proof that the Śatavāhana kingdom was fairly extensive even during this period, of which we have no other records. We shall now describe this unique coin.

Copper; round; 1 in.; 65 grains; Bilaspur district; JASB, 1927, 94N.

Obv. Elephant walking to right; an indistinct symbol above, circular legend, Raśo Śiva-sirisāpīlakasa.

Rev. Blank (not illustrated).

It is possible that the square lead coin having a Bull or Horse on the obverse with the reverse obliterated (BMCAK, p. 28) may have been a coin of Meghasvāti, the successor of Apīlaka according to the Purānas. The legible part of the legend reads ghasada, and this may stand for [Me]ghasada or Meghasvāti.

Later Śatavāhanas

Gautamiputra Satakarni, who reasserted the Śatavāhana power, naturally issued a large number of coins. His coinage is mostly in potin and his most popular type shows an Elephant with trunk upraised with the legend above on the obverse (Pl. LXII, 12) and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.1 Out of 1,160 coins of this type in the Tarhala hoard, on which the legend was legible, 525 belonged to Gautamiputra Satakarni. Though the legend on these coins is only Sātakaṇiṣa, their attribution to Gautamiputra Satakarni is fairly certain; for the same hoard contained other coins with the full legend Raśo siri Yaśa Sātakaṇiṣa.

Potin coins found in Western India with an Elephant on the obverse and a Tree with large leaves on the reverse seem to have faint traces of the legend Raśo siri Sātakaṇiṣa on them (BMCAK, p. 17). They were most probably issued by Gautamiputra Satakarni.

Some lead and potin coins have been found in southern Gujarat at Karavan and Kamrej, which have traces of the indistinct legend, Raśo siri Sātakaṇiṣa. Very probably these coins were struck by Gautamiputra Sāta-

1 BMCAK, No. 171; the weight of this coin is 36.3 grains.
karṇi after his conquest of Nahapāṇa. These pieces have either an Elephant or a Lion on one side and the Ujjain symbol or a Tree within a railing on the other (JNSI, xii, 28–29).

When Gautamiputra Sūtakarṇi crushed the power of Nahapāṇa and annexed his kingdom, he took the rather unusual step of recalling the silver currency of his vanquished foe and stamping it with his own symbols, bust, and legend. A hoard of about 15,250 such counterstruck silver coins was discovered at Jogalthembi near Nasik in 1906. On the original hemidrachms of Nahapāṇa the obverse had a bust of the king with a corrupt Greek legend RANNNW IAHAAPTAC NAHA PANAC (giving a transliteration of the Indian legend); and the reverse had Thunderbolt, Arrow, and Pellet with legends both in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī Rajīṅa Kshaharātasa Nahapāṇasa and Raṅa Chkaharatasa Nahapāṇasa respectively (Pl. LXII, 13). Gautamiputra Sūtakarṇi counterstruck one side with Chaitya and his own legend and other with the Ujjain symbol. We describe and illustrate below two such coins.

Silver; round; 0·65 in.; 33·6 grains; BMCAK, no. 253

**Obv.** Chaitya superimposed over the bust of Nahapāṇa; Brāhmī legend, beginning at XII, Raṅo Gotami . . . . ri Satakarnis; traces of Greek legend.

**Rev.** Ujjain symbol struck over the reverse of Nahapāṇa’s coin, leaving traces of Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends, Raṅa Khaharatasa Nahapāṇasa.

Pl. LXII, 14.

Silver; round; 0·65 in.; 31·2 grains; BMCAK, no. 257.

**Obv.** Chaitya superimposed over the reverse of Nahapāṇa-type; Brāhmī legend, beginning at XI, Raṅo Gotamiputara; traces of Brāhmī Nahapāṇasa and Kharoshṭhī hapanasa of the original legend are also visible.

**Rev.** Ujjain symbol counterstruck over the face of Nahapāṇa; faint traces of corrupt Greek legend.

Pl. LXII, 15.

When Gautamiputra Sūtakarṇi found a silver currency so profusely in circulation in the new provinces annexed by him, did he himself then proceed to issue his own independent silver coinage? It is by no means improbable that he did so, and in fact a unique silver coin was published by the present writer, which has on it an incomplete legend containing the word Gotami. But Gautamiputra was also the matronymic of a later ruler named Yajñaśrī, and since the legend on the piece in question is incomplete, it is difficult to say whether it contained or did not contain the name Yajña-śrī. Gautamiputra Yajñaśrī’s silver coinage, however, has usually a bust on the obverse and is therefore of a different type; it is thus not improbable that the present coin may indeed have been struck by Gautamiputra Sūtakarṇi.

We describe the coin below.

Silver; round; 0·7 in.; 30 grains; from Ujjayini; JNSI, viii, 111.

**Obv.** Six-arched Hill with dot in each orb on a platform; Brāhmī legend commencing from the top of the hill, Raṅo Gotami.

**Rev.** Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Pl. LXII, 16.
Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi

Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi's son and successor Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi has left us a fairly large number of coins. The Tarhala hoard of 1,160 legible pieces contained 175 coins of this king and the Chanda hoard of 183 coins had 24 pieces issued by him. They are of the Elephant and Chaitya type, the legend being Pulumavi(sa) (Pl. LXIII, 1). This type has already been referred to. The type of round lead coins, which he had issued for Āndhra-deśa, had a Three-arched Hill above a wavy line with the legend Rāṇo Vasiṣṭhiputasara Pulumavisa on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse (Pl. LXIII, 2–3). The weights of these coins vary from 78 to 85 grains. The Shipmast type, once attributed to this ruler (BMCAK, p. 22), has now been shown to be an issue of Yajiṇaśri Sātakarṇi; see p. 796.

A silver coin of this ruler was found in the river-bed at Bhelsa in 1949. We describe it below; its size has been magnified in the Plate.

Silver; round; 0·65 in. in diameter; 28 grains; JNSI, xiv, 1.

Obv. Bust of king to right; circular legend around beginning at I [Vasiṣṭhi] putasa sara...

Rev. In the middle, Ujjain symbol and six-arched Chaitya; legend, fragmentary and blurred, but sara Puḷu clear from VIII to XI.

Pl. LXIII, 4 (enlarged).

The nose of the king is aquiline and the portrait shows grim determination in the face.

Śīvāśrī

According to the Purāṇas, Pulumāvi was succeeded by Śīvāśrī and we may reasonably identify this ruler with Vāsishṭhiputra Śīva-śrī of the lead coins found in Āndhra-deśa. On his coins, which weigh about 90 grains, the obverse shows a Three-arched Hill and River with the legend Rāṇo Vasiṣṭhiputra Śivaśirīsa, and the reverse has an ornamental Ujjain symbol (Pl. LXIII, 5).1 Rapson read at the end of the legend the word Sātakaṇiśa, but it is not visible on any coin known to us. Vāsishṭhiputra Śīva-śrī was probably a brother of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi and might have ruled as a sub-king in Āndhra-deśa.

Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi

Śīvāśrī was succeeded, according to the Purāṇas, by Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, and we may reasonably identify this prince with King Vāsishṭhiputra Śrī-Chandra Sāti or Sri Chandra Sāti known from coins found in Āndhra-deśa. He also was probably a brother of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi ruling over a small sieff in Āndhra-deśa. On one of his coins we have a Three-arched Hill and the Ujjain symbol and on the other a Horse to the right and the Ujjain symbol.

1 BMCAK, 29.
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Vāśishṭhiputra Sātakarni

It will be convenient here to discuss a silver coin of Vāśishṭhiputra Sātakarni published by the present writer in JNSI, xi, 59. Very probably he was a brother of Vāśishṭhiputra Pulumāvi who succeeded him as supreme overlord. I had once thought that he might be identical with Śiva-śri-Sātakarni, whose coins we have discussed above, but we cannot be sure about this point. We shall now describe his unique silver coin.

Silver; round; 0.6 in.; 28 grains; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, JNSI, xi, 59, pl. ii. 5.

*Obv.* Bust of the king to right; circular legend beginning at I *Raño Vāśishṭhiputasa*.

*Rev.* Ujjain symbol; Six-arched Hill, River, &c.; legend starting at XII, *Ara* . . . .

. . . na Hatakanisha.

The reverse legend is probably identical with that on the obverse, but is in a different script and dialect.

Pl. LXIII, 6.

Vāśishṭhiputra Sātakarni was the son-in-law of Rudradāman and seems to have been the first Sātavāhana king to imitate the bust type coinage of the Western Kshatrapas.

Yajña-śri-Sātakarni

In the Paurānic list Yajña-śri-Sātakarni succeeds Śiva-Skanda Sātakarni, and we can therefore confidently identify him with the Gautamiputra Yajña-śri-Sātakarni of the coins. There was a revival of the Sātavāhana power during his reign and it is reflected in his coinage. He issued several types of coins and they have been found over a large area.

In the Andhra country, lead coins of this ruler are found in large numbers. One type is that of the Three-arched or Six-arched Hill above a river on the obverse with the legend giving the king’s name, occasionally along with some symbols. The reverse has the Ujjain symbol (Pl. LXIII, 7). These coins are in different denominations, as suggested by their varying weights, such as 244, 72, 40, 20 grains. The full legend on this type is *Raño Gautamiputasa siri Yañā Sātakanisa* (Pl. LXIII, 7–8).

Another type in lead (?) struck by this ruler in the Āndhra-deśa has a Horse on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Sometimes there is a crescent above the Horse; sometimes the Horse faces left, and sometimes to the right (Pl. LXIII, 9). The legend is intended to be *Raño Gautamiputa (Yañā) Sātakanisa*.

A third lead type minted in the Āndhra-deśa shows an Elephant, facing right, with the trunk hanging down on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse (Pl. LXIII, 10).

Yajña-śri issued a fairly large number of potin coins of the Vidarbha type,

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1 Pl. LXIII, 7 is *BMCAK*, 140 and Pl. LXIII, 18 is *BMCAK*, 139. Their weights are 83.5 and 71 grains respectively.
showing an Elephant with the trunk upraised on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse (Pl. LXIV, 1–2). The Chanda hoard of 183 coins contained 42 pieces of Yajña-śrī and the Tarhala hoard of 1,125 legible coins had 248 pieces of this ruler. The legend is sīraYaṅaSata and the average weight is 41 grains.

The lead coins of the type with a Ship with two masts were ascribed for a long time to Vāsiṣṭhiputrapi Pulumāvi, though it was admitted that the reading of the name of this king was by no means certain. Fresh coins since discovered show that the issuer of these coins was in fact Yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi. We describe the type below; the photograph in the plate is an enlarged one.

Lead; 0.8 in.; 12.5 grains; JNSI, iii, 45.

Obv. Ship with two masts; legend Raṅa Sāmisa sīri Yaṅa Satakanīsa.

Rev. Ujjain symbol.

Pl. LXIV, 3.

One of these coins was found in the Coromandel coast area and the other in the Guntur district.

Yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi issued silver coins imitating the Ksatrapa type. Originally only three such coins were known, of which one came from Sopara near Bombay and the second from Amreli in Kathiwar; the findspot of the third is unknown. Subsequently a fourth coin was discovered at Besnagar by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and a fifth one was afterwards acquired near Tripuri by Dr. Katarē.

We shall describe this important type:

Silver; round; 0.6 in.; weight not known; Sopara, BMCAK, vii e. 1.

Obv. Bust of king to right; legend in ordinary Brāhmī characters, Raṅa Gotamiputasa sīri-Yaṅa Satakanīsa.

Rev. Ujjain symbol surmounted with a crescent; Six-arched crescented Hill to right; River below. Sun above. Legend in a different script and dialect, [..] Gotamiputasah kira Yaṅa Hatakanīsa.

Pl. LXIV, 4.

The reverse legend was read by R. G. Bhandarkar (B.G., I, ii, p. 153) as Gotamiputa Kumara Yaṅa Satakanī Chaturapaṇasa, ‘of Chaturapaṇa Yaṅa Satakanī, prince of Gotamiputra’, the reverse legend giving the name of the prince viceroy Chaturapaṇa and the obverse one of the ruling king Yajña-śrī. Bhagwanlal Indrajit read it [Chaturapaṇa] Gotamiputasah kumaru Yaṅa Hatakanī. He thought that the legend showed that Yajña-śrī was the son of Chaturapaṇa. D. R. Bhandarkar’s reading was Gotamiputa Kshahara Yaṅa Hata(kaṇī). He connected Kshaharu with Chhabharu occurring in the Taxila plate of Patika.

It may be pointed out that the lacuna on the coin is not sufficient to accommodate a word of five Nāgari letters such as Chaturapaṇa. Only three letters could have been engraved and these were probably Araka (Āryaka, honourable). The word kumar does not exist; in the reverse legend the

1. BMCAK, 166, 165.

2. ASLAR, 1913–14, p. 217.
three characters read *shaharu*. The reverse legend is identical with that on
the obverse except that it uses *arakā* instead of *raño*, and *hiru* instead of *siri*,
and *Hatakaisṇha* instead of *Satakaniṣa*.

**Vijaya and Chandaśri Sātakarnī**

According to the Purāṇas, Yajñaśrī was succeeded by Vijaya and the latter
by Chandaśrī Sātakarnī. Coins of both these kings were discovered in the
Tarhala hoard; they show the Elephant with trunk upraised on the obverse
and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The name of Vijaya appears without
any change in the coin legend; the Sanskrit original of Chandaśrī was probably
Skandaśrī. Coin No. 179 in BMCAK, though attributed to Rudra Sātakarnī,
is probably an issue of this ruler. The first character in the legend is off the
flan and so does not appear.

The last king of the Paurāṇic list is Pulumāvi III. Probably the coins of the
Tarhala hoard giving the name Pulahamavi were struck by this ruler.

**Coins of Kings not mentioned in the Purāṇas**

Several kings of the Paurāṇic list are not represented in the coinage shown
above. The reverse is also true; some kings of the coins are not represented
in the Paurāṇic list or inscriptions. Kumbha Sātakarnī, Śaka Sātakarnī, and
Karna Sātakarnī of the Tarhala hoard\(^1\) belong to this category. The last-
mentioned king is probably identical with king Kaṇha Sātakarnī of the
BMCAK, no. 180.

Kosikiputra Sātakarnī is another king unknown to the Purāṇas but rep-
resented in the coinage. The solitary piece of his, known so far, is of the
Chanda hoard type, showing an Elephant with the trunk upraised on the
obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse (*JNSI*, VIII, 116). The actual
legend is *Kosikiputra Sa*, which is to be completed as *Kosikiputra Sātakaniṣa*.
It is possible to argue that the issuer may not have been a Sātavāhana ruler,
the legend being really *Kosikiputasa*, and the proper name being altogether
wanting. But the type shows that the issuer was indeed a Sātavāhana ruler
and so the last letter *sa* would seem to be the initial character of the word
Sātakarnī.

A very big lead coin\(^2\) 1.55 in. in diameter and weighing 559.5 grains was
found in the Godavari district, with one side plain and the other side show-
ing a lion and an incomplete inscription, *Raño . . . varasa* (Pl. LXIV, 5). The
name . . . vara does not occur in the Paurāṇic list of Andhra kings.

As was the case with most of the ancient empires, the Sātavāhanas con-
trolled a number of feudatory princes, and some of these were permitted to
issue coins. One such feudatory family ruled at Kolhapur and is known from
the coins of three of its rulers, namely (1) Vāsishṭhiputra Viśvīyakura, (2)

\(^1\) *JNSI*, II, 90-92.  \(^2\) BMCAK, 4.
Māḍharîputra Śivalakura (Pl. LXIV, 6), and (3) Gotamîputra Vilivāyakura (Pl. LXIV, 7). No. 3 among the above rulers restrikes the coins of No. 2; and No. 2 those of No. 1. It is therefore clear that the above kings ruled in the order stated above.

These coins have usually a Ten-arched Hill, Tree, and River on the obverse and a Bow and Arrow on the reverse, with the circular legend, Râño Gotamîputasa Vilivāykuras, &c. (Pl. LXIV, 6–7).\(^1\) Coins were issued both in copper (Pl. LXIV, 6) and lead (Pl. LXIV, 7). It was once supposed that these kings were Sātavāhana rulers and different attempts were accordingly made to identify them with the kings of the Paurānic list. Smith identified Gautamîputra Vilivāykura with the great Gautamîputra Sātakarni, Māḍharîputra Śivalakura with Śivasvāti, and Vāsishṭhiputra Vilivāykura with Chakora Sātakarni, the predecessor of Śivasvāti.

We cannot enter into the details of this controversy. It is essential to point out that the mere matronymics like Gautamîputra and Māḍharîputra cannot make these rulers Sātavāhanas; for example, Gautamîputra and Vāsishṭhiputra appear as epithets of the Magha kings Śivamāgha and Bhīmasena; a Mahārathi chief at Karli has the matronymic Vāsishṭhiputra. The rulers who struck the Kolhapur coins need not therefore be identified as Sātavāhanas merely because they are described as Gotamîputra and Vāsishṭhiputra. Ptolemy states that Polemaios of Paithan and Baleukuros of Hippokura were contemporaries. It is clear that Polemaios is the Greek form of Puḷumāvi and that Baleukuros is Vilivāykura. These were two different though contemporary kings. It is therefore very likely that the Vilivāykura and Śivalakura of the Kolhapur coins were members of some local feudatory ruling family.

Another feudatory family attached to the Sātavāhana empire ruled in the Chitaldurg district of Mysore. It issued large lead coins having a Bull on one side and a Tree within a railing and a Three-arched Hill on the other (Pl. LXIV, 8).\(^2\) Only one king is known from the legends of this coinage, viz. Kaḷalāya-mahārathī. The type of his pieces has a close resemblance to one of the types issued by King Sātakarni and described above (p. 791).

Another feudatory family was ruling at this time in the North Canara district. The lead coins of two of its kings have so far come to light, Chuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda (Pl. LXIV, 9–10). The type is an Eight-arched Hill on one side and a Tree within a railing and double trident on the other.

The legend on Pl. LXIV, 9 is Râño Chuṭukulānandas, and that on Pl. LXIV, 10 is Râño Muḍānandas.\(^2\)

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1. Pl. LXIV, 6 is BMCAK, 31 and weighs 60 grains; Pl. LXIV, 7 is BMCAK, 50 and weighs 164-6 grains.
2. Pl. LXIV, 8 is BMCAK, VIII. 233 and weighs 211-5 grains; Pl. LXIV, 9 is BMCAK, VIII. G.P. 2 and weighs 210-4 grains; and Pl. LXIV, 10 is BMCAK, VIII. 236 and weighs 250 grains. Photographs are to size.
III

POST-SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

Introduction

Little is known so far about the post-Sātavāhana coinage of the Deccan. The coins available for study are few in number, and those among them which are inscribed are very much fewer. Types do not help us very much. The Varāha, Padma, and Bull types persisted for many centuries. The Varāha type, for instance, was no doubt first introduced by the Chālukyas, but it was continued by later dynasties as late as the time of Vijayanagar; thus we cannot assign all coins of this type to the Chālukya dynasty. The term Varāha became in the course of time a common synonym for gold currency in general. Pieces of this type must once have been issued in large quantities, but the Varāha coins now available for study are not many. It has been suggested that a fabulous number of them must have been included in the booty carried to Delhi from South India by Malik Kāfūr, leaving very few behind in their province of origin. This explanation does not carry conviction. U.P. was also occupied by the Muslims and yet quite a large number of gold Gupta coins have been found in that State.

There was hardly any silver coinage in Southern India. Nārada no doubt does say, as pointed out above, that silver kārshāpanas were common in the south, but the archaeological evidence does not support his assertion. Silver bullion or coins are rarely mentioned in connexion with the booty collected by Malik Kāfūr in the Deccan. The dynasties of the Deccan dealt with in this volume rarely issued silver currency. Copper currency of the Deccan of this period is also very scarce.

(1) Early Gold Coins

Smooth and minute spherules with tiny marks consisting of four dots on the obverse and none on the reverse appear to be among the earliest extant gold coins of the Deccan. Their weight is about 52 grains and their diameter about 0.45 in.; they are obviously of the Kaļanju denomination, so popular in Southern India. These spherules were known as *gullige* or little balls in old Canarese and several of them were found in the Sunda Pargana of Dharwar district in 1828.¹ There are more than 25 of these in the Hyderabad Museum.² Two spherules are illustrated on Pl. LXV, 1 and 2.

A second early type is that of the *padma-pāhkas*: they are flat and round. They have a lotus in the centre, which gives them their name, and four punched marks on the obverse; of these two are the letters *śrī*, the third is a conch, and the fourth is usually a bow (Pl. LXV, 3).³ In one variety of this

¹ Elliot, *Coins of South India*, p. 33; pl. i, 2. ² ARHAD, 1925, p. 17. ³ Elliot, pl. i, 7-8.
type we have scroll work stamped from a die on the reverse, and among the punches on the obverse there are two retrospectant lions (Pl. LXV, 19). These coins, which are usually found in Banavasi, are generally attributed to the Kadambas, but the attribution is by no means certain. Their diameter is 1 in. and their weight about 60 grains.

The gold _fanams_ having a Bull surmounted by the Sun and the Moon on the obverse and a large Sun on the reverse have been attributed to the early Pallavas, since they are found on the Coromandel coast. This view is probable but not yet proved.

Some tiny gold coins were found in the Maski excavations, with an Elephant on one side and a Lion on the other. Their attribution is difficult to determine, and the more so as they have not yet been adequately published.

(2) The _Ikṣvāku_ coinage

At Nāgārjunikonda, in the excavations of 1955–6, some lead coins of two _Ikṣvāku_ kings, Virapurushadatta and Śāntamūla, were found; they imitate one of the types of the Sātavāhanas, showing an Elephant with trunk upraised on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other. The fragmentary legend is above the Elephant.

(3) The _Vākāṭaka_ coinage

The Vākāṭakas rose to power soon after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas and were soon ruling over a large part of the former dominion of that dynasty. They must have been familiar with the Sātavāhana coinage, but apparently they did not make any attempt to issue a currency of their own. We have so far found no coins of the dynasty, nor are they referred to in its records.

(4) The _Śālaṅkāyana_ coinage

The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled in Āndhra-deśa during the fourth and the fifth centuries. A copper coin of Chandravarman has recently come to light. It has a Bull on the obverse and the legend _Śri-Chandrarvan_ (rman), giving the king’s name, on the reverse. Its size is 0.7 in. and weight 94 grains.

The Bull was the _laṅchhana_ of the Śālaṅkāyanas and the palaeography of the coin legend belongs to the fifth century. The coin therefore may have been an issue of the Śālaṅkāyanas. The issuer Chandravarman was probably a grandson of Hastivarma, the opponent of Samudragupta.

(5) The coinage of the _Chālukyas_ of Badāmi

The Chālukyas, who held sway over the Deccan for several centuries, had accepted the _laṅchhana_ of the boar, and there can be no doubt that they initiated the coin type which had the Boar on its obverse. Their currency with

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1 Elliot, pl. ii, 67.
2 Ibid., pl. i, 31-36.
3 _ARHAD_, 1939, p. 18.
5 _Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume_, pp. 213–16.
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this symbol must have been very common, since Varaṅga soon became a common word applied to gold coins in general. Not many specimens of this type, however, have been handed down to our age.

We have no inscribed Varāha coins which can be ascribed to any of the rulers of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. Dr. M. H. Krishna did indeed attribute some uninscribed coins to Pulakeśīn II, but the attribution is very doubtful.¹

Some uninscribed gold coins² have been discovered in the Southern Maratha Country and the Bellary district, which have in the centre a Boar surrounded by punched symbols such as a Sankha (conch), a Chakra (wheel), a Bow, two Srīs (Pl. LXV, 5). The reverse has some indented lines. There are other coins also found in the same area, having a Boar with trappings on one side and a Floral design (Pl. LXV, 6) or the Sun on the other (Pl. LXV, 7). The weight of these coins varies from 3 ½ to 5 ½ grains and they might possibly have been struck by some rulers of the House of the Chālukyas of Badāmi.³

(6) The coinage of the Rāśṭrakūṭas

The Rāśṭrakūṭa dynasty was a mighty power; for some time it ruled all the territory from the Vindhyas to Rameshwar. On some occasions its armies even penetrated into the Gangetic plain and crossed swords with the forces of northern dynasties like the Pālas and the Pratihāras. Its princes were lovers of art; they built magnificent temples adorned with beautiful sculptures. But it would seem that they were not interested in coinage. At any rate no coins have so far been found, inscribed or uninscribed, which can be definitely attributed to any ruler of the dynasty. Certain silver hemidrachms from Nasik district having a bust of the Kshatrapa type on the obverse and a Bull on the reverse with the circular legend Parama-māheśvara-Mātāpitrī- pādānudhyāta-s'ri-Krishnaraṇa-ya⁴ were once attributed to one of the three Rāśṭrakūṭa emperors named Krishṇa. But these have now been shown to have been the issues of the Kaḷachūrī ruler of that name, who flourished during c. A.D. 550–75.

Drāma, swarna, gadyāṇaka, kaḷaṅju, and kāṣu are the five coin denominations mentioned in Rāśṭrakūṭa records. Of these the last two were not current in the Deccan, but in Southern India. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV mention a gift of 1,400 villages yielding a revenue of seven lakhs of swarnas;⁵ the average revenue of a village was thus 500 swarnas. Whether the Rāśṭrakūṭa administration issued any gold coins, and whether, like the swarnas of Northern India of the earlier period, they had a standard weight of eighty ratis or 1.44 grains, we do not know. It is quite possible that the sum of seven lakhs of swarnas, which was the revenue of 1,400 villages, represented

¹ ARMAD, 1933, p. 98.
² Elliot, pl. i. 19; 22.
³ Ibid., pl. i. 21–23.
⁵ EI, vii, 26.
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the approximate gold value of the land revenue in kind collected from these villages. In that case, suvarna would have been a conventional coin of account. The gadyānaka was equal to two kalanjaus and weighed about 100 grains. No specimens of this coin issued by the Rāṣṭrakūtās have yet been found. Dr. M. H. Krishna attributed four gold coins of a weight standard of about 60 grains to the Rāṣṭrakūtās.\(^1\) These have an elaborate floral design on one side and four lions punched round a tank with lotuses on the other. But as the coins bear no legend, this attribution can only be conjectural.

One Kanheri Rāṣṭrakūta inscription refers to a golden dramma and distinguishes it from ordinary drammas mentioned earlier.\(^2\) These ordinary drammas were probably silver pieces. The Uruli hoard of Gadhaiya coins discovered in the Poona district belongs to the eighth or the ninth century. Punch-marked types were copied mechanically in the earlier period, and it is not impossible that the Rāṣṭrakūta administration might have merely re-produced the Gadhaiya silver type in this unimaginative way, as was done by the Śīlāhāra king Chhittarāja. It is, however, also possible that the Uruli hoard may have been the earnings or loot of some Rāṣṭrakūta captain participating in the northern campaigns of Govinda III or Indra III. The question whether the Rāṣṭrakūtas issued any gold or silver currency cannot yet be answered.

\(\text{(7) The coinage of the later Chāluukyas of Kalyāni}\)

Among the pieces struck by the later Chāluukyas of Kalyāni we have gold coins of Jayasimha Jagaddeka, (1019–40), Someśvara I Trailokya, (1068–76), and Tailapa III (1150, 1182).\(^3\) It is quite likely that other rulers of this dynasty issued coins, but if so, they have not so far been found. Dr. M. H. Krishna tentatively suggested that some of the coins with the legend para may have been the issues of Tailapa II, but when we remember that the title Paramesvara was common both in the Rāṣṭrakūta and the Chāluukya dynasties, his suggestion must remain merely an unproved conjecture for lack of supporting evidence.

Dr. Krishna also attributed certain coins to Vikramāditya VI and others to Someśvara III, but these attributions are also doubtful.\(^4\)

The coins of Jayasimha Jagaddeka occur in two types. In one type we have five Lions punched by five different punches, large Spear-head, and the letters ya, ja, obviously standing for Jayasimha. In the other type there is a temple in the centre with a domed tower and a Chakra above it. Between the pillars of the temple is the Kannada legend in two lines: (1) Śrī ja ga de; (2) ka ma lla (Pl. LXV, 8). There are nine punches round the temple. The reverse is blank. The diameter of this coin is 1 in. and weight 69 grains.\(^5\)

Someśvara I Trailokya issued coins in two types. On one there are

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\(^1\) *ARMAD*, 1933, p. 99

\(^2\) *JAS*, xii, 133.

\(^3\) *ARMAD*, 1933, p. 88.

\(^4\) Ibid., 1933, p. 162.

\(^5\) Ibid., 1938, Pl. XXI, 7.
five Lions and Tre, lo, ma, lla, punched by separate punches. On the other there is a spearhead with a dot in the centre and four dots to its right standing perhaps for a lotus, and the Nāgarī legend around it (Pl. LXV, 9).

In the treasury of the former state of Bhor there were some gold padma-tankaś on a few of which the legend Sri-Lashuma is legible. It has been suggested that these coins might have been issued by Lakṣmīdevi, the chief queen of Vikramāditya VI.² Coins minted by queens are otherwise so far unknown in the Deccan. These coins seem to be padma-tankaś of the Rāmaṇa variety, bearing the names and figures of some of the Rāmayana heroes.

(8) The Kalachuri coinage

The later Chālukyas were superseded by Kalachuri Bijjala by about the middle of the twelfth century. After the murder of this king in 1167, he was in turn succeeded by his son Soma or Rāya Murāri. A few rare gold coins have been found in the Satara district, weighing on the average about 55 grains, and having on the obverse a dancing figure facing to the right and on the reverse a legend in three lines in old Canarese characters, of which the second line reads Murāri (Pl. LXV, 10). This coin type had been attributed to the Kalachuri ruler Soma or Murāri,³ and the attribution is quite probable.

(9) The coinage of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi

The Eastern Chālukya dynasty was founded by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the brother of Pulakesin II, in 618 and maintained its sway continuously for about 450 years. There were 40 kings in the dynasty, but we possess inscribed coins of barely half a dozen of these.

Kubja Vishṇuvardhana had the biruda of Vishmasiddhi and it is usual to attribute gold coins with the legend Vishmasiddhi to him. This attribution is probable, but not certain, for this same biruda was later adopted by some of his successors.

Vishmasiddhi’s coins are in two types. On one there is a Lion in the centre and the legend Vishmasiddhi above it in early Chālukya characters. The reverse has a sceptre. The metal is brass, the coin being 0.65 in. in diameter.

The second type is similar to the first, but its reverse has a double Trident within a border of rays, surmounted by a Crescent and flanked by two Lamps (Pl. LXV, 11).⁴ A hoard of these coins was found in Daulatābād in the Nalgonda district of Hyderabad. It weighed in all 4,920 tolas and therefore must have consisted of more than 12,000 coins. These coins are not silver; they are an alloy of 71 per cent. copper and 21 per cent. tin, with iron and zinc in negligible quantities. The average weight is 50 grains.

¹ Ibid., XXI, 9. The diameter of this coin is 1 in. and weight is unknown.
² JNSI, iii, 53.
³ Elliot, Coins of South India, p. 152; pl. iii, 87.
Among the later rulers of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty some are known to have issued coins. The first among these to have done so is king Śaktivarman Chāḷukya-chandra (A.D. 1000–11), whose coins have been known for a long time from the hoards found in the islands of Ramree and Chequba situated off the coast of Burma and Siam. These coins were probably taken to these places either by pilgrims or by traders. Coins of this ruler have been found more recently at Masulipatnam in the Krishna district.¹ His coins are in gold; there is a Boar in the centre with an Umbrella above and a Chourgi on either side and the name of the king Śrī-Chāḷukya-chandrasa inscribed all round, each character being separately punched. The diameter of these coins is 1·4 in. and the weight about 66 grains (Pl. LXV, 12).

The kings Rājarāja (A.D. 1018–60) and Rājendra Kulottunga (A.D. 1070–1120) also issued coins with the same type. They are rather big, being 1·6 in. in diameter and about 66 grains in weight. They are cup-shaped. A coin of Rājarāja is illustrated on Pl. LXV, 13. Its obverse is like LXV, 12 and around the edge there are six punch-marks with one Telugu-Kannaḍa letter in each, Śrī Ra ja rā ja sa.

¹ IA, xix, 79.

(10) The coinage of the Yādavas

The coins of the Imperial Yādava dynasty were once attributed to the Kadambas, but subsequent discoveries have shown that they were issued by the Imperial Yādavas; this is rendered absolutely certain by the legends inscribed on them, which give the names of all the rulers from Śīṅghaṇa onwards, with the exception of Ammaṇa, whose rule lasted only for a few months. These coins are punched on one side only, their reverse being blank, and thus they have become cup-shaped. Their weight is about 57 grains and the diameter measures 0·6 in. The obverse bears a lotus in the centre and four marks punched in four corners. At each end of one diagonal there is the letter Śrī in Telugu-Kannaḍa script. At one end of the other diagonal is found the king’s name in the Devanaṅgari script and at the other end usually a Conch or a Bow or a Sword. Padmapāṇkas issued by Śīṅghaṇa, Mahādeva, Krishna, and Rāmadeva have been found. The Hyderabad Museum possesses more than 150 of them, which originally belonged to the State Treasury. The hoard discovered at Rachpatan in the Krishna district in 1922 contained 43 coins with the legends Śīṅghaṇa, Kaṇhara, Mahādeva, and Rāmadeva.² Three padmapāṇkas of Śīṅghaṇa were found buried in a field in the Kharsia circle of the former Raigagh State together with a coin of Nasiruddin Mahmūd (1246–66). This find would seem to show that the Yādava sphere of influence included southern Kośala during the reign of Śīṅghaṇa.

The name Śīṅghaṇa is also spelt as Seghaṇa, that of Krishna as Kaṇhapa or Kaṇhara, that of Mahādeva as Mahadeva and that of Rāmadeva as Śrī

² J.ASB, n.s., 1923, pp. 6–10.
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Rāma. Pl. LXV illustrates the coins of Siṅghaṇa (14–15), Kṛṣṇa (16), Mahādeva (17), and Rāmadeva (18) respectively. Their weight is about 58 grains.

(11) The coinage of the Śilāhāras

Certain feudatory families of the Deccan also minted scanty coinages during our period. Among these are the Śilāhāras of Western India. King Chhittarāja of the Thana branch of this family issued silver coins of the Gadhāiya type with the bust of the king on the obverse and his own name in two lines, Śri-Chhittarāja-deva, on the reverse. A hoard of his coins was discovered below a gutter in Thana (Bombay State).

Two inscribed gold coins came to light during the excavations at Kolhapur in the year 1946. Their weight is 22.5 grains and they have symbols on both sides. On the obverse there is a trident with a hand, whose forks enclose the Sun and the Moon. The reverse shows the figure of a standing Gāruḍa facing right, with legs bent, carrying a flowing banner in his left hand and a serpent in his right.¹

The Śilāhāras had Gāruḍa as their lāṅchhana, and thus the reverse motif of these coins and their findspot would seem to indicate that they might have been issued by the Śilāhāras. As, however, they do not bear any legend, it is difficult to ascribe them to any particular ruler.

(12) The coinage of the Kadambas

Gold coins of several Kadamba rulers have come to light. On the obverse they have usually a Lion in the centre, with its leg upraised; the reverse has a legend in four or five lines giving the name of the king, who is usually described as the recipient of the favour of Saptakoṭiṣa. We illustrate here a gold coin of Jayakeśi II of the first variety (Pl. LXV, 20).

Gold: circular, 12 in.; weight unknown; Elliot, Pl. II, 71.

Obv. Within dotted border, Lion looking to front; before it in Nāgarī letters, Pramoda, apparently giving the name of the cyclic year of issue.

Rev. Within dotted border, Nāgarī legend in five lines:

(1) Śrīsaptako, (2) Tisalabḍhavaravi, (3) Jayakeśi, (4) deva-Mallava, (5) ramārī.

On another variety the central figure is that of Gajasimha and the reverse legend is Śrī-Malage-Bhairva. These coins usually weigh between 60 and 65 grams.

(13) The coinage of the Kākatīyas

The question of the Kākatīya coinage is veiled in obscurity. Early scholars like Elliot had attributed the coins having a Bull between two candelabra to the Kākatīyas, on the ground that their copper plates have a similar emblem.² But this assumption is now shown to have been mistaken.

¹ JNSI, xiv, 15, pl. iv, 14.
² Elliot, iii, 93–95.
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The crest of the dynasty was a Boar. The Kākatiyas were, however, devotees of Śiva and there is therefore nothing improbable in the theory that they adopted the Bull as the main motif on their coinage. But this motif is in fact fairly common in South Indian coinage in general, and its presence therefore does not by itself furnish sufficient justification for ascribing the coins to the Kākatiyas. Recent writers on the subject like Mr. Gopalachari have argued that we have no coins which can be definitely ascribed to the Kākatiyas. The āṇāmas ascribed to the dynasty have a modern look and appear to be actually coins struck by the Nāyakas of Madura.

A few coins have been found, bearing fragmentary legends, which have been attributed to various Kākatiya rulers. Certain pieces were found in the Southern Konkan bearing the motif of the Lion. They have legends in Telugu characters; on some coins it is Balaya-Śri and on others Rudra written in a circle. These latter coins are commonly attributed to the Kākatiya ruler Rudra.1 This attribution may well seem probable in view of the fact that the legend is written in Telugu characters; but it is not easy to explain how the coins of a king ruling in Warangal come to be found in the south of the Konkan. We must not forget, however, that gold coins often travel long distances. A copper coin, now lost, is stated to have had the device of the Bull and a fragmentary legend, Srimat... ka... kakati... Pratapa-ra... ya.2 This piece was attributed to King Pratīpa-Rudra of the Kākatiya dynasty. But the legend seems to be unusually long, and as the coin is no longer in existence, we cannot be sure whether its legend has been correctly reported.

In a treasure-trove found at Kavaiyadavalli3 in the Nellore district, a solitary coin was found weighing 56.25 grains. There was a Lion on its obverse and a fragmentary legend [Ka]ti-gana in Telugu characters. The attribution of this coin to King Gaṇapati is a possible suggestion, but at present it lacks confirmation.

In the hoard referred to above, three cup-shaped gold coins were found, having apparently had a Lion in the centre and a fragmentary legend, which, when pieced together, seemed to read rayasamu. Ambaḍadeva, who had usurped the throne after the death of Rudrāmbā, bore the title Rāyasahasramalla. It is suggested that the legend rayasamu may be a contraction of Rāyasahasramalla and that these coins might have been struck by him.4 But the reading of the legend is by no means certain and therefore we cannot be sure of the attribution.

1 JBBRAS, ii, 63.  2 Elliot, p. 85.  3 J. Andhra Hist. Soc. i, 137.
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