

HISTORY OF THE AMBRAS

Durga Prasad

History of the Andhras

upto 1565 A. D.

DURGA PRASAD

P. G. PUBLISHERS

GUNTUR-10

Copies can be had from

College Book Centre
Guntur-4

Price Rs.40/-

Printed at :

Don Bosco Technical School Press,
Ring Road. Guntur - 522 007 A.P.

P R E F A C E

I have made an earnest attempt, in this book, to present a concise and clear account of the History of the Andhras upto A.D. 1565. I do not claim that this is an original contribution on my part in the field of historical research. I have simply tried to give a dependable compendium of the best works on the subject covering all aspects. This is neither a text book nor a guide. But I hope it serves the purpose of both the under-graduate and in particular the Post-graduate students of History as a study-material for the concerned paper in their examinations. Repetition of material is unavoidable keeping in view the nature of topic-wise treatment of the subject.

I express my deep sense of gratitude to all those writers whose publications I have made use of with great profit. Also I extend my grateful thanks to all those who have been behind me in providing the necessary spirit and enthusiasm in my endeavour and those who have seen the book through the press.

April, 1988.
Guntur.

J. DURGA PRASAD

CONTENTS

	Pages
CHAPTER I—INTRODUCTION	
1. Sources of History of Andhras till 1565 A.D.	1 -5
2. Aryanization of the Andhra country and its condition in the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan periods	6-8
CHAPTER II—THE SATAVAHANAS	
1. Identity of the Satavahanas	9-12
2. Homeland of the Satavahanas	12-17
3- Chronology of the Satavahanas	17-23
4. Later Sstavahana Chronology	23 - 31
5. Political History of the Satavahanas	32-36
8. The Satavahana—Western Kshtrapa Relations	36-40
7. Cultural condition under the Satavahanas	40 - 45
CHAPTER III—SUCCESSORS OF THE SATAVAHANAS	
1. The Ikshvakus of Vijayapuri	46-53
2. The Brihatphalayanans	53-54
3. The Ananda Gotras	55-56
4. The Salankayanans	57-60
5. The Early Pallavas	60-70
6. The Vishnukundins	70 - S4
CHAPTER IV—THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS	
1. Circumstances under which the Eastern Chslukyan rule was established	85 - 91
2. political history of the Eastern Chalukyans	91-96
3. Relationship between the Eastern Chalukyans and the Rashtrakutas	97 - 102
4. The relations between the Eastern Chalukyans and the Cholas (The interference of the Western Chalukyans of Kalyani in the affairs of the Vengi Chalukyans)	102- 108
5. General conditions of the Eastern Chalukyan period	108-112
CHAPTER V—THE AGE OF THE CHALUKYA-CHOLAS	
1. The condition of Andhra under the Chatukya-Cholas	113-118
2. The Chodas (Durjayas) of Velanadu	119-128
3. The Telugu Choda families	128-132

Pages

CHAPTER VI —THE KAKATIYAS

1. Early Feudatory Rulers	133-135
2 Rudradeva	135-137
3. Ganapathideva	137-142
4. Rudramadevi	142-146
5 Pratarudra II	146 -151
5- Pratarudra and the Muslim Invasions (The Muslim Invasions on Andhra)	151 - 156
7. General conditions of the Kakatiya period	156-164

CHAPTER VII —THE AGE OF THE MUSUNURI CHIEFS AND THE REDDIS

1. The Musunuri Chiefs	165-172
2. The Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry	172-180
3- The relations between the Reddis and the Reyas of Vijayanagara	180-187

CHAPTER VIII —THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

1. The origin of the Vijayanagara empire	189-198
2- Circumstances under which the Vijayanagara empire was established	193 - 205
3 The Sangamas	205-219
4. The Saluvas	219-226
5 Tuluva Dynasty	226 - 255
6. Vijayanagara after the battle of Bannihatti (1565 A.D.) (Aravidu Dynasty)	255-258
7 General features of the Vijayanagara empire	258 - 273
Appendix	
A Note on the Raya Bahmani Relations	274 - 275

ILLUSTRATIONS

1st Cover Page: Sculpture from Nagarjunakonda 3rd Century

3rd Cover Page : Monolithic Car, Hampi - 15th Century.

4th Cover Page : Telugu Thalli

Introduction

1. Sources of History of Andhras till 1565 A.D.

'History as a subject of study is more or less completely at the mercy of its sources'. It is a fact that we have no ancient or medieval literature created in Andhra which can be classified as truly historical. So it is but natural one has to depend heavily on 'Primary source material of incidental nature, created not for the purpose of communicating the history of contemporary times chronologically set forth, but to record events and impressions for political, legal and religious purposes like the epigraphs of medieval times, the quasi-historical literary works and so forth'.

Just like ancient Indian history, the history of the Andhras is still in the formative stage. Though the available source material is vast, it is incomplete and at the same time diverse in nature and variety. In the last 70 years, yeomen service was rendered by eminent scholars and organisations in recovering the records of the past with sustained effort and in reconstructing the history of the Andhras with judicious nature. Of course, the work is still going on.

The source material for the writing of ancient and medieval Andhra history can conveniently be classified under (i) archaeology including epigraphs and numismatics apart from monuments and other ancient relics, (ii) literature, native as well as foreign, and (iii) foreign notices.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES.

Among the available archaeological source materials, epigraphs or inscriptions are more copious for the ancient and medieval Andhra history. With Asokan edicts, our authentic history begins. These royal sage's rock edicts in Brahmi script at Erragudi, Rajulamandagiri, Amaravati and Kottam in Andhra reveal the extension of the Mauryan authority and its administrative system over the Andhra area. Bhattiprolu relic casket inscriptions datable to 200 B.C. reveal the fact that Buddhism spread far and wide in our province in that remote age. The Prakrit inscriptions in the Kanheri, Karle and Nasik caves, Naganika's Nanaghat record, Balasri's Nasik inscription and Kharavela's Guntupalli records help us a lot for the Satavahana history.

Among the post-Satavahana dynasties of Andhradesa, the Ikshvakus of Vijayapuri occupy an important place. Their Nagarjunakonda, Jaggayyapeta, Amaravati and Ramireddipalle Ayaka stone pillar inscriptions constitute the sole source of information for the political, religious and social conditions of the times. The Kondamudi copper plate grant gives information about the Brihatphalayanans. Most of the inscriptions of the early Pallavas, Anandagotras, Salankayanas, Vishnukundins, Matharas, Eastern Gangas and the Eastern Chalukyas are only copper plate grants. These records gave importance to the Sanskrit language. The Brahmi script underwent transformation and the Telugu script emerged. The Telugu language also found a place in the inscriptions. From the time of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, the number of stone inscriptions increased. In spite of some drawbacks on the part of all these inscriptions, these are the records which form the most authentic sources for the rulers, their dynastic succession, their chronology, extent of their respective kingdoms and the economic, social and cultural conditions more or less till 11th century A.D. The inscriptions in Brahmi and Vengi characters of the Hindu and the Buddhist Andhras who migrated to the South-East Asian regions from the Kalinga and Andhra coasts indicate that they established only our cultural traditions there. For the medieval

period of Andhra history, one can conveniently depend upon the inscriptions of the Chalukya-Cholas, Kakatiyas, Musunuris, Reddis and Vijayanagara rulers and their chieftains.

Though not to the extent of epigraphs, numismatics also helps us for our history reconstruction. Coins made of several metals like gold, silver, copper or other baser metals of different periods are available. Of the available coins of almost all the Satavahana rulers, the number of potin (coins of a mixed character) and lead coins is more. These coins bearing the figures of an elephant, a horse, a camel etc. indicate the probable means of conveyance commonly used in that period. The ship-mast coins of Yajnasri Satakarni reveal the brisk maritime trade of the Satavahana period. From the gold coins of the Roman emperors unearthed in some parts of Andhra datable to the Satavahana-Ikshvaku period, it may be concluded that the Romans carried on commerce with Andhra and paid gold dinars. Similarly some gold coins of the Eastern Chalukyan rulers Chalukya Chandra Saktivarma I and Rajaraja Narendra were discovered in Burma. The coins of the Kakatiyas were in Nandi-Nagari script while the Vijayanagara were in Nagari characters. Coins of different metals in different denominations issued in different periods help us only to some extent in knowing about the rulers, about the extent of the kingdom, and about the religious sentiments of the age.

The archaeological finds of the past include stone tools, pottery, bricks, megaliths, Buddhist structural remains, Jain relics, constructions of temples, forts and palaces, sculptures and paints. A careful study of these finds throws a flood of light on the religious beliefs, the social life and the artistic excellence attained by the Andhras in the past. They reveal the evolutionary process of the Telugu culture.

LITERARY SOURCES.

The literary sources for ancient and medieval Andhra history may be divided into indigenous and foreign. Early references to the Andhras were found in indigenous literature which includes sriti and smriti works like the Aitareya Brahmana,

the Epics, the Puranas, the early Buddhist and Jain works. Gunadhya's Brhatkatha, Hala's Gathasaptasati and Vatsyayana's Kamasutras reflected the social and cultural life of the Satavahana period. Mention was made to the details of the Rashtrakuta-Eastern Chalukya conflicts in poet Pampa's Gadeyuddha and Vikramarjuna Vijaya, both Kannada Kavyas, Historical data relating to the Kakatiya, Reddi and Vijayanagara times was obtained from the Sanskrit and Telugu literary works dedicated by poets and scholars to their royal and princely patrons. Purely literary works and quasi-historical kavyas like Prataparudra Yasobhushanam, Siddheswara Chantamu, Somadevarajiyamu, Saluvabhyudayamu, Rayavachakamu, Rangarajacharitra and others, after being purged of all exaggerations, provided some solid historical information relating to the deeds of the kings, princes and potentates. The Kalajnanas and Vamsavalis also rendered help in the reconstruction of history.

Apart from these works, some glorified popular ballads like the 'Siege of Bobbili' and ballads relating to Sarvaya Papadu and others threw light on the courage, heroism and reckless valour of the local heroes of different Andhra regions. Another interesting source of historical information relates to the 'Kaifiyats', These were local revenue records maintained by village karnams during the medieval and later periods relating to details of the village lands, their nature, ownership, and payable tax etc. Changes in the political set up, revenue assessment and life of the village were faithfully recorded in these village annals which are of great value now as sources of historical information. Colonel Colin Mackenzie and subsequently C.P. Brown, the two Britishers, rendered yeomen service in getting these records collected and copied. These local chronicles provided valuable historical material especially from the age of the Vijayanagara Rayas to the British period.

In the Indian Muslim historical writings of the medieval period, only passing references to the events in Andhra were made. For example. Allauddin Khilji's invasions of Andhra were referred as part of his southern conquests in Amir Khusru's Persian works especially in his Tarikh-i-Alai. Isami gave an

authentic description in his 'Fatuh-us-salatin' in verse, of the circumstances under which the Andhras revolted against Mahammad Bin Tughlak's authority and established independent kingdoms. Similarly Barani, Nizamuddin and Shams-i-Siraz Afif in their chronicles shed some side light on Andhra developments of the period. Among the Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi dynastic historical accounts, Mohammed Khasim H. Ferishta's Tarik-i-Ferista, though not devoid of narrow sectarian loyalty and rabidly violent animosity towards the Hindus, deserves mention for its references to his patrons Ahmadnagar and Bijapur sultans with the Vijayanagare and other Andhra rulers.

The earliest reference to the Andhradesa in foreign literature was found in the account of Magasthanes, the Greek ambassador in Maurya Chandragupta's court. Of the Greeco-Roman writings of the early centuries of Christian era, Pliny and Ptolemys' accounts and the anonymous author's the periplus of the Erythrean Sea' shed light on the ports, trade routes, markets and various items of trade, of Andhra during those times.

Among the two Chinese travellers who visited India in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D., Fahien, though did not visit the south, referred in his account to Andhra Parvata Vihara about which he heard. The other Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang came to the South and toured the coastal Andhra as well in the first half of the 7th century A.D. He left us a vivid account of the religious customs and ways of the life of the people. In 1293 A.D., Marcopolo, an Italian traveller, visited Andhra and wrote an excellent account of what all he saw in Kakatiya kingdom.

Ibn Batuta a Moroccan Muslim traveller (14th century A.D.), Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador, Nicolo-De-Conti, the Italian traveller, Nikitin, the Russian merchant (all in the 15th century A.D.), Barbossa, Paes and Nuniz—all Portuguese (16th century) and Barradas, Rubino and other foreigners (17th century) provided much useful information, in their travel accounts, reports and correspondence, about the conditions prevailing here and their experiences.

2. Aryanization of the Andhra Country and its Condition in the Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan Periods.

The historical period in Andhra starts with the famous Satavahanas. Prior to their emergence into power, during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., northern India was under the settled government of the Sisunaga and Haryanka rulers. The two famous reformist faiths, Buddhism and Jainism came to be founded during the same period. In Andhra, the Nagas who were definitely of a non-Aryan stock were having their republican states. Some other semi-civilised races also inhabited the thick jungle regions to the south of the Vindhya, known for a long time as Dandakaranya. It was during this period that the Aryans from the north were penetrating into this Dandaka area.

The coming of the Aryans into Deccan was peaceful. The progress of the 'Aryanisation' is reflected in literature and legend. Until about 600 B.C., works of North exhibit little knowledge of India, south of the Vindhya, but acquaintance increased with the progress of the centuries. Legends centring round the name of Agastya found in the Epics and Puranas appear in their own quaintest way to preserve the memory of this vast and important cultural movement. It seems the Vedic Rishis, in quest of peace and loneliness, ventured to enter Dandaka forest to establish hermitages on the banks of rivers in the thick of the forests. The local inhabitants who were described by the Aryans as 'Asuras and Rakshasas' might have raided their settlements, destroying their sacrifices and interrupting their penance. The memory of these episodes is preserved in tradition regarding the advent of Agastya into the South. The Ramayana when purged of all exaggerations, interpolations and anachronisms, proves the central fact that Rama championed the cause of Aryan culture fighting against the Asuras, thus giving an impetus to the spread of Aryan ideals and institutions in the Deccan. Regarding the origin of Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas, the Aitareya Brahmana treats them as descendants of Visvamitra's fifty sons condemned by his curse to live on the borders of the Aryan

settlements. The Mahabharata regards them as created by Vasishtha from his divine cow to be enemies and opponents of Visvamitra. The Sabaras were degenerate people, according to Sankhyayana Sruta Sutra. What lies behind these legends is the separation of a section of the Aryan community from the main stock and their fusion with the non-Aryans, the Dasyus or Rakshasas or Nagas, the early inhabitants of Deccan. The Mahabharata and the Puranas refer to the Andhras, Sabaras and Pulindas as the tribes of Deccan. During the age of the Brahmanas, the Aryans pushed their conquests into the Deccan. Panini and Katyayanas' references point out that they pushed further into, the south and even made contracts with the Pandya, Chola and Kerala peoples of Southern India.

The caste system accompanied the spread of Brahmanism from its stronghold in the Gangetic Doab into the Deccan and South India'. The people, who refused Aryan practices, dwelled in caves and forests where they have kept up their primitive customs, habits and languages to the present day.

Though we do not have definite information regarding the early history of the Aryan states that arose in the Deccan, it is evident that the imperialism of the Nandas and the Mauryas and the missionary activities of the northern Jain and Buddhist followers were the two forces that hastened the pace of the Aryanisation of the Deccan and South. The concept of imperialism in India had its origin in the age of the Brahmanas. It aimed at political integration of the country under ekarat (sole monarch). Celebrating its achievements by rituals like Aswamedha became a custom. The Nandas and the Mauryas from Pataliputra confined the concept first to Northern India but later extended to the Deccan and South India. According to Puranas, Ugrasena Mahapadma Nanda established himself as ekarat by bringing the whole earth under his umbrella. Inscriptions directly or indirectly point out the Nanda and then the Mauryan rule over the Deccan. The reference to the Nanda king in Kharavela's inscription (Hathi Gumpfa) to his carrying away to Magadha a Jina statue as a trophy from Kalinga and the existence of Nanded (Nau Nanda Dehra) on the Godavari testify that a large portion of the Deccan formed

part of the Nanda empire. Commercially also the South began to grow in importance for the sake of its diamond and gold mines, pearl and chank fisheries and numerous opulent marts'. (Kautilya).

The low born and unpopular Nandas were overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya with Kautilya's assistance about 322 B.C. This founder of the Mauryan rule, who established his sway over the entire north, pushed forward his conquests to the south. "Jaina references in literature and epigraphs associating his name with Sravana Belgola in Mysore (Karnataka) may be accepted as proof of his acquisition of this part of the Peninsula as well'. During this period, the Kalingas and the Andhras were powerful forces to reckon with. According to Megasthenes, the Andhras possessed numerous villages, 30 fortified towns and an army of 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. It is well known that Kalinga was conquered by Asoka after a terrible war. No other conquest is attributed to this ruler. However the provenance of his Edicts prove that the country upto the river Pennar in South was included in his empire. So it may be concluded that in all probability the rest of Deccan was earlier conquered by Asoka's grandfather, Chandragupta. "Beyond the Pennar lay the independent Chola, Pandya, Keralaputra and Satiyaputra states.

The Nanda and Mauryan imperialism influenced enormously the lives of the Deccan people. A uniform administrative system based upon Aryan polity came into vogue. The ideas of the people were gradually moulded in the cast of Vedic, Jain and Buddhist creeds. Asoka's missionary activities resulted in the establishment of the Chetyavada school of Buddhism at Amaravati. The prevalence of Asoka's edicts in the Deccan and South indicates the widespread literacy among the people.

With Asoka's death, the disruptive forces were let loose. The weakness of his successors, the insubordination of vassal states, the disloyalty of ambitious ministers and the aggression of foreign foes led to the loss of overlordship of Magadha on the Deccan. The progress of Aryanization was checked for the time being. The Satavahanas soon appeared on the scene in Deccan.

The Satavahanas

1. Identity of the Satavahanas

The Pauranic genealogies refer to the kings of 'Andhra-Jati'. Some Puranas style them as Andhrabhrityas. The Nanaghat and Nasik cave inscriptions and coins discovered in the Deccan mention the names of several kings of 'Satavahana-Kula'. On the basis of certain names, and their order of succession common to various kings mentioned in the two sources, some scholars identified the Satavahanas of the epigraphical records and coins with the Andhras of the Puranas. However the Puranas never use the term 'Satavahana' and the inscriptions and coins do not refer to the Satavahanas as the Andhras. On the basis of this, some scholars strongly objected to the identification.

According to R.G. Bhandarkar, 'The Andhrabhritya dynasty of the Puranas is the same as the Satavahana dynasty of the inscriptions'. The basis, he relied upon, is that the names occurring in the inscriptions and on the coins as well as the order (of their succession) sufficiently agree with those given in the Puranas under the Andhrabhritya dynasty. He explained the term 'Andhrabhritya' as meaning 'Andhras who were once servants or dependents.' Dr. K. Gopalachari asserted that the Satavahanas were Andhras by tribal connection. He suggested that either they were the scions of the royal family in the Andhradesa or Andhra fortune-hunters who accepted service in the western Deccan under the Mauryan suzerains, thereby getting the Pauranic appellation 'Andhrabhritya' and that after

Asoka's death their descendants might have struck a blow in their own interests in the land of their adoption.

J. Burgess, V.A. Smith, E.J. Rapson, L.D. Barnett and P.T. Srinivasa Ayyangar held the same opinion as that of Bhandarkar as regards the Andhra-Satavahana identity.

However V.S. Suktankar, K.P. Jayaswal, H.C. Roychaudhuri and V.S. Bakhle rejected the Andhra-Satavahana equation. Jayaswal regarded the Satavahanas as probable representatives of the Satiyaputras of the Asokan records. All these scholars who denied the identity of the Satavahanas with the Andhras put forth the following arguments :-

1. The Andhras were in the eastern part of Deccan. If the Satavahanas were Andhras, how was then the inscriptions end coins of the early Satavahana rulers were discovered only in Maharashtra but not in Andhra?

2. *Many* inscriptions and coins of the Satavahanas were found and no ruler is mentioned any where as the Andhra.

3. The language of the Andhras is Telugu. However the Satavahana records are in Prakrit. If the Satavahanas were the Andhras, then their records be issued in Telugu itself but not in Prakrit.

4. The kings mentioned in the Puranas were either Andhras or Andhrabhrityas but not Satavahanas.

5. The Satavahanas established their authority first in Maharashtra. After sometime, they conquered the Andhra country. Among these rulers, the last 7 or 8 rulers reigned only Andhra proper. Simply because of this the contemporary Pauranic writers might have mistaken and described the Satavahanas as Andhras.

However the above arguments may be refuted on the following grounds :—

1. The Andhras were not simply confined to the eastern Deccan, They were to be found even in Bastar area of Madhya

Pradesh, Northern Karnataka, some parts of Maharashtra and Orissa as well. The Satavahanas, starting from Andhra, conquered Maharashtra and settled there for sometime. Hence records of the early rulers were found there. However the recently discovered coins from Kondapur and Kotilingala (Karimnagar district) in the eastern Deccan refer to Simuka Satavahana, the founder of the Dynasty. In view of this, the argument of the Scholars who denied the identity on the basis that records of early Satavahanas are not found in Andhradesa does not hold good.

2. It is true that inscriptions and coins do not refer to the Satavahanas as Andhras. Generally rulers give the names of their dynasties and not the racial affinity. For example, the rulers of the Post-Satavahana dynasties like Ikshvaku, Pallava, Salankayana, Vishnukundin and even Reddi, which ruled over Andhra did not claim themselves in their inscriptions as Andhras. But there is no denying the fact that they were Andhras. The Nasik and Karle inscriptions refer to Nahapana's dynastic name (Kshaharata) and not his race (Saka-Pahlava known from other sources). Similarly the Kanheri inscription refers to Rudradaman's dynasty (Kardamaka) and not his race (Saka). Hence Satavahana is the name of the family (Kula). They might have been part and parcel of the Andhra race.

3. No doubt, Telugu is the language of the Andhras and it had its origins probably in the Desi of first century A.D. However the use of Prakrit might be the custom of that period. It was used in inscriptions not simply by the Satavahanas, but also by their predecessor Asoka, their contemporaries Sungas and their successors Ikshvakus and early Pallavas. Even the Buddhists also wrote books in Prakrit which was perhaps the language of the masses.

4. It is true the Puranas refer to them either as Andhras or Andhrabhrityas but not as Satavahanas. The term 'Andhrabhritya' need not be interpreted as 'the servants of the Andhras (as Dr. Suktankar did). It may mean the Andhras that were servants'. Further K.P. Jayaswal suggested that when the

centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha, the Puranas describe the imperial dynasties with reference to their place of origin as in the case of Vakatakas who were described in the Puranas as the Vindhyakas. So also the Satavahanas were called Andhras in the Puranas. Moreover Matsya Purana clearly states that Simuka was an 'Andhra Jatiya'.

5. There is evidence to show that the Satavahanas conquered Vidisa, Maharashtra and even Pataliputra. But there is no evidence to their conquest of Andhra area. This is because of the fact that they were Andhras and had their political career started first in the Andhra area and then extended to Maharashtra and other areas. The compilers of some of the Puranas were so near in point of time to the Satavahana kings that they could not have in their ignorance foisted the name Andhra on to the Satavahana princes simply because they found or knew them only as rulers of Andhra. The fact is that the Pauranikas were dealing with them in the larger context of their tribal or communal affinity.

Further, if the Satavahanas and Andhras are not identified as one and the same, then number of difficulties will arise. In view of certain common names and the order of succession, one has to say that two different dynasties with same names of kings ruled over the same area during the same period, which is impossible. Thus it appears most likely that the Satavahanas belonged to the Andhra Community.

2. Home Land of the Satavahanas

A subject of controversy regarding the Satavahanas is their homeland or origin. There are conflicting theories and contradictory opinions regarding this. Earlier scholars like D.R. Bhandarkar conjectured that the land of the Andhras must have at the early period consisted of certain parts of the Central Provinces together with the Visakhapatnam district and may have also included the Godavari and Krishna districts. The eastern Deccan was not called Andhra after its conquest by

the Satavahanas. Andhradesa existed where it is today even before the Satavahanas came into prominence.

BELLARY OR CANARESE ORIGIN

Dr. Suktankar viewed that the Satavahanas did not belong to the Andhra area as the field of their early activity was confined to the west of India and Paithan was their capital. He postulated the theory that Bellary was the original home of the Satavahanas. He based his theory on the evidence of Macadoni inscription of Pulomavi (IV), the last of the Andhra Satavahanas and the Hirahadagalli copper plate grant of an early Pallava ruler, wherein references were made to 'Satavahana ahara' and 'Satavahani rashtira' respectively. According to him, both these names might be derivatives from Satavahanas only. The Satavahanas reigned several regions but no other places were known after them. Hence, Suktankar concluded, those two places located in the Bellary region must be the area of original inhabitation of the Satavahanas and the latter subsequently conquered Maharashtra and later Andhra.

However V.S. Bakhle did not accept Suktankar's identification of the original home of the Satavahanas with the Bellary region which they made their home in later times. The two inscriptions prove that the Satavahanas ruled the Bellary region in their last years of rule. But they do not prove that it was their original home. There was a gap of more than 400 years between the time of the issue of the two inscriptions and the founder of the dynasty who had nothing to do with the Bellary region. Moreover there are several hills and villages in different parts of Deccan which were known by the name of the Satavahanas. So the argument of Suktankar that except the two places mentioned in the inscriptions, no other places were known after the Satavahanas is incorrect.

VIDARBHA ORIGIN

Vasudeva Vishnu Mirashi postulated the theory that Vidarbha was the home of the Satavahanas. His argument

was on the strength of two other inscriptions. One is the Nasik inscription of Bala Sri, wherein Gautamiputra Satakarni was described as 'the Lord of Bervakata'. Mirashi identified Benakata with the region on either side of the Wainganga. The other inscription is Kharavela's Hathigumpha inscription, wherein mention was made that Kharavela marched westwards, heedless of Satakarni, upto Kannabenna. According to Mirashi, Kannabenna is identical with the Kanner near Nagapur. Since Satakarni's dominions were mentioned to be in the west of Kalinga, Vidarbha wherein Kanner flows must have been the original home of the Satavahanas.

However the river Krishnaveni and the city of Dhanyakataka have better claims to be identical with Kannabenna and Benakata. Benakata or Benakataka just like Kalyana Kataka, can only be the name of a city but not of a region. With regard to the argument that Satakarni's dominions lay in the west and Andhra lay to the south of Kalinga, is not correct, Satakarni was 'Dakshinapathapati', i.e., the lord of the whole of Deccan. Then it must be understood that his dominions were not confined only to the west of Kalinga and moreover Bastar and the neighbouring regions which lay to the west of Kalinga were portions of Andhradesa from very early times.

MAHARASHTRA ORIGIN

There is a strong belief among some scholars that Maharashtra was the original home of the Satavahanas. P.T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, who accepted the Andhra-Satavahana identity, put forth arguments to show that the Andhras were a Vindhyan tribe, that their kings originally ruled over Western India and spoke Prakrit and not Telugu and that the extension of their authority was from the west to the east down the Godavari-Krishna valley. When their power declined in the west, the name Andhramandalam travelled to their eastern districts and became established there. Jogelkar further strengthened this theory. His contention was that the Satavahanas were Andhras, but not Andhras of the east coast. They were known as Andhras because they lived on the banks of a river by name

Andhra in Pune district of Maharashtra. These Andhras led a great revolution and drove away the foreigners (Kshaharatas), united the various tribes of Deccan and established a new rashtra. So Maharashtra was known as Navarashtra.

The protagonists of the theory of the Maharashtra origin of the Satavahanas put forth in general the following arguments:- (1) The Puranas describe Simuka only as Andhrajatiya but not as Andhradesiya; (2) politically Andhra then was not independent but part of Kalinga; (3) The metonymics and the Prakrit language of the Satavahanas indicate their western or Maratha origin; (4) the early Andhra Satavahana rulers were connected with Paithan and their records are found only in the west. On the basis of these arguments, scholars concluded that the Andhras lived with Rathikas etc. in Maharashtra and uniting all of them rose to political prominence. It was either Gautamiputra Satakarni or his son Vasisthiputra Pulomavi that conquered Andhradesa.

However the above arguments may ably be controverted. In the first place, the term Andhrajatiya applied to Simuka does not preclude the possibility of his being Andhradesiya. Secondly, the argument that the then Andhra was not politically independent but part of Kalinga is proved false by the Jatakas and Indica which mention Kalinga and Andhra as two separate and contiguous Janapadas. The Edicts of Asoka place the Andhras in present Andhradesa, and indicate it unreasonable to huddle them together with the others in Maharashtra. Thirdly, the metonymics argument is not strong one as only the later Satavahanas took them. Further Prakrit was inherited by the Satavahanas from the Mauryas along with political power. Fourthly, the early Satavahana connection with Paithan and the provenance of their records in the west only indicate that in view of the threat from the aliens like Yavanas, they bestowed more attention on the north-west.

ANDHRA ORIGIN

The theory that the eastern part of Deccan, i.e. Andhradesa was the homeland of the Satavahanas, is championed by

scholars like E.J. Rapson, V.A. Smith, R.G. Bhandarkar, J. Burgess and others. Suktankar and others held this opinion that the Satavahanas came to power from Andhradesa as unwarranted mainly on four grounds: (1) Their earliest records, epigraphic and numismatic, have been discovered at Nanaghat and Nasik in the Western Deccan; (2) In Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, the dominions of the contemporary Satakarni are spoken of as being to the west of Kharavela's own kingdom of Kalinga; (3) Bala Sri's inscription while recounting the territorial possessions of her son, Gautamiputra Satakarni makes no mention of any locality in the Andhra area; and (4) the first available Satavahana records begin to appear in Andhradesa only during the reign of his successor Vasisthiputra Pulumavi.

These arguments are the result of inadequate appreciation of the available information. The preconceived notion, that the Satavahanas had nothing to do with Andhradesa until the reign of Pulumavi I, blurred the vision of Suktankar and others in holding the Andhra origin as unwarranted. It is forgotten that Satakarni (II) of the Nanaghat record, who performed two Asvamedhas, one Rajasuya and other sacrifices, bore the title 'Dakshinapathapati', i.e. the lord of Deccan. Deccan naturally includes Andhradesa which is its eastern part. If it is conceded that the Satavahanas were Andhras and that they were masters of the Deccan, then the sentence 'heedless of Satakarni, he sent his forces to west' in Kharavela's inscription does not mean that Satakarni's dominions were confined only to the west of Kalinga and had no connection with the Andhra area. Further Bala Sri's record has not completely ignored the Andhra area. It refers to Siritana (Srisailam), Mahendra (the Eastern Ghats) and 'Assaka' (the south-east province of Hyderabad state and the Godavari district), as within her son's dominions.

Moreover the earliest coins known hitherto were those of Satakarni I, the third member of the dynasty. Some very important coins have come to light recently. Of such coins the Kondapur coins bear the legend 'Sadvahana'. On palaeographical grounds, this Satavahana can be placed in 3rd century B.C. Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastri collected very recently over

hundred early coins near the village Kotilingala on the eastern side of the hillock called Munulagutta on the right bank of the river Godavari in the Peddabankur taluk of the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. These included seven coins belonging to the first Satavahana ruler Simuka. This discovery is of momentous importance for the history of the Satavahanas. It leaves no doubt about the association of the Satavahanas with Andhra from the very start. The legend on these coins strengthens the possibility that king Satavahana of Kondapur coins is none other than Simuka himself who is called Simuka Satavahana in a Nanaghat label inscription also. The Jain sources mention Satavahana as the first Andhra king. The Kathasaritsagara contains a story about Satavahana. Therefore Satavahana or Simuka Satavahana of the Kondapur and Kotilingala coins respectively is the same Satavahana who founded the imperial Andhra line and his successors called themselves Satavahanas,

With regard to the capitals of the Satavahana kings, unreliable and much later legend points to Srikakulam in the Krishna district, which cannot stand for scrutiny. Dhanyakataka (Dharanikota in the Guntur district) seems to be the eastern capita] and when Maharashtra became part of Andhra empire and when the Satavahanas concentrated their more attention on western Deccan because of the Saka-pahlava menace. Paithan became the seat of their government in the west.

3. Chronology of the Satavahanas

Of the many complicated problems that the Andhras have presented, the most important one is the problem of their chronology. Divergent views have been expressed by different scholars about the beginning of the Andhra Satavahana rule, but so far no unanimous conclusion has yet been arrived at by the historian on this point of issue.

The foundation of the dynasty, which is known by its tribal name Andhra in the Puranas and by its family name Satavahana in the epigraphs, is attributed to one Simuka. The

2)

Puranas misspelt the name Simuka as Sisuka (Matsya) Sindruka (Vayu), and Sivraka (Vishnu). Five out of the 18 Puranas namely the Matsya, the Vayu, the Vishnu, the Bhagavata and the Brahmanda, furnish dynastic lists of rulers who ruled Magadha till the rise of the Guptas. Besides the mention of the dynastic lists, they recorded the reigning period of each dynasty and even the names of the princes. The Matsya and Vayu shed more light by furnishing in addition the regnal period of each prince. The statements found in the Puranas would have been accepted as the most authentic but for the glaring discrepancies in their versions, and also for their self-contradictory statements between the general and the specific statements in the same Puranas.

Regarding the Andhra dynastic list, the Matsya mentioned in its general statement 29 kings with a total reign of 460 years and in its particular statement, 30 kings with a total reign of 448 1/2 years. The Vayu's general statement refers to 30 kings with a reign of 441 years, while the particular statement mentions the names of 17 kings with a total reign of 272 1/2 years. Both the Vishnu and the Bhagavata, in their general statements gave the names of 30 kings with a total reign of 456 years. In these contradicting statements, there is at least one point of uniformity in the Puranic tradition, that the Andhra kings were 30 and that they ruled for over four centuries. There is another unanimous statement in all the Puranas, viz : 'Sisuka (Simuka) of the Andhra race, having destroyed Susarman of the Kanva family with main force, and whatever will have been left of the power of the Sungas, will obtain possession of earth', It has been agreed on all hands that the Kanva Susarman's rule was ended in 28 B.C. If the Puranic statement that Simuka was the Andhra king who slew Susarman of the Kanva family in 28 B.C. is accepted, then the most complicated problem would arise as to the duration of the reign of the Andhra kings. If the Puranic statement that the Andhras ruled for more than 4 centuries is taken into account, the rule of the Andhra dynasty would come to an end in the 5th century A.D.

which is untenable due to the claims of other dynasties which came to dominate over their territories. Therefore of the two statements, the most reasonable one should be taken into consideration, rejecting the other. In view of the fact that the rule of the Andhras cannot be extended beyond 2nd century A.D., the Puranic tradition, that Simuka ended the rule of the Kanvas may be rejected and the other statement that the Andhras enjoyed a reign of more than 4 centuries can be relied upon. V.A. Smith rejected the former tradition with an observation, "the Andhra king who slew Susarman cannot possibly have been Simuka'.

R.G. Bhandarkar accepted the first tradition, i.e., Simuka slew Susarman of the Kanva family. Yet he fixed 73 B.C. as the initial year of the Satavahana rule. Bhandarkar took Vayu Purana as his authority and relied upon its specific statement of 17 kings and 272 1/2 years rule. In his view, the Matsya furnished the names of those princes (who were 13 in number) belonging to the collateral branches of the dynasty in addition to the 17 kings of the main line, given in the Vayu Purana. By interpreting the clause 'Whatever will have been left of the power of the Sungas' to mean that the Sungas and the Kanvas were simultaneously ruling the territories. Bhandarkar placed the two successive dynasties as contemporary dynasties and came to the conclusion that the 112 year rule of the Sungas also included the 45 year rule of the Kanvas. On the basis of this reasoning, he fixed the initial year of the Satavahana rule at 73 B.C. ($137 + 112 = 249$; $322 \text{ B.C.} - 249 = 73 \text{ B.C.}$). Bhandarkar's reasoning cannot be accepted because his interpretation goes counter to the Puranic testimony which is confirmed by Bana that Devabhuti, the 10th and last Sunga king was slain by Vasudeva, the first Kanva ruler who usurped the throne of Magadha for himself. In such a case it would be impossible to make Susarman, the 4th and last Kanva king, a contemporary of Devabhuti. Another improbability in Bhandarkar's argument is that Matsya mentioned the kings of both main and collateral lines of the Andhra dynasty, while Vayu

gave only the kings of the main line, and that Vayu's statement that 17 kings ruled for 300 years. The point to be borne in mind is that Vayu also in its general statement mentioned 30 kings with a total reign of 411 years. If in Bhandarkar's view, Vayu gave only the names of the kings of the main line, it had surprisingly omitted the name of Pulomavi II, who was a king of the main line, succeeded to the throne after Gautamiputra. Therefore, the argument and the view expressed by R.G. Bhandarkar may be rejected and the Matsya Purana may be accepted in preference to the other Puranas as our authority, for it is fuller in details with regard to the number and names of the Andhra kings and also as it is in harmony with the general statements of the other Puranas including the Vayu which allot more than 400 years to the Andhra dynasty.

Dr. Smith accepted the general statement of the Puranas that there were 29 or 30 kings who ruled successively for a period of four and half centuries and placed the beginning of the Andhra rule in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. He observed, "the independent Andhra dynasty must have begun its rule about 240 or 230 B.C. long before the depression of the Kanvas about 28 B.C. and the Andhra king who slew Susarman cannot possibly have been Simutea". Rapson, like Smith, held that 'the most complete of the extent lists can only be interpreted as indicating that the founder Simuka began to reign before 200 B.C.

Prof. G.V. Rao, and Dr. O. Ramachandraiya while rejecting the views of Bhandankar and Roy Choudhury and agreeing with the conclusion of Dr. Smith and Rapson as nearer to truth, placed the beginning of the Andhra Satavahana rule in 271 B.C.

On the assumption that the 15th king of the Matsya list, Pulomavi I was the slayer of Susarman of the Kanva family and the conqueror of Magadha in 28 B.C., the learned professors came to the conclusion that 271 B.C. was the year in which the foundation of Andhra Satavahana rule was laid.

The reason for bestowing this greatness on Pulomavi may be imagined from two points : (1) The Vayu while giving only important names of the dynasty, by way of passing reference mentioned the first four rulers by name, kept silent till the advent of Pulomavi, and from him onwards gave a complete and fuller list of kings which fully corresponds with the detailed Matsya list upto Gautamiputra. By the very mention of Pulomavi as the first in the second group of its list, the Vayu indirectly hints the prominence of the ruler who in all probability might be the ruler who slew Susarman in 28 B.C.

2) The fondness shown by the Satavahana rulers in bearing that name undoubtedly indicate the importance of the king who first appeared with that name. His successors must have regarded him as a great ruler whose memory must be cherished. We find four rulers, who came after Pulomavi, with that name, and that name was very much coveted next to the name of Satakarni. The importance of the name is further heightened by the statement in the Matsya, viz: "As to the Andhras, they are the Pulomas". To cherish his memory by his successors and descendants, Pulomavi's achievements must have been very great and ever remembering. This memorable achievement in all probability might be his conquest of Magadha after slaying Susarma in 28 B.C.

On the assumption that Pulomavi I was the conqueror of Magadha and slayer of Susarman in 28 B.C., we may determine the initial year of Simuka, the founder of the dynasty. The total reign of the 4 immediate predecessors of Pulomavi, was 19 years. During this period, the dynasty had to face considerable decline in its fortunes. To regain the lost glory and to set the house in order, Pulomavi, must have spent a considerable part of his reign. If we allot a period of 15 years to entrench himself fully in his seat, his attack on Magadha and its conquest must have taken place in 28 B.C. + 15=43 B.C. Before him, there were 14 kings whose total reign covered a period of 228 years. Hence the first ruler Simuka, the founder of the dynasty must have come to prominence in 228+43 B.C.=271 B.C.

The accuracy of 271 B.C. as the starting point of the Andhra Satavahana 'defacto' rule by Simuka may be verified and found correct by following another independent line of reasoning, outside the equation of Pulumavi I with the slayer of Susarman. The Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela and the Nanaghat inscription of Naganika help us in this quest. In the Hatigumpha inscription, the name of one Satakarni was mentioned. King Kharavela (of Kalinga) in his second regnal year, sent his armies west "heedless of Satakarni". The date of the Hatigumpha inscription is not known. But it furnishes the scholars a clue, by mentioning Dimita, the name of a Yavana king who retreated before Kharavela in the later's eighth regnal year. This Dimita has been identified with Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus, whose invasion against India failed because of Kharavela's opposition and also on account of troubles at home. This fact has been confirmed by Gargi-Samhita of Yugapurana. According to Meyer the return of Demetrius occurred in 175 B.C. This was the 8th regnal year of Kharavela. Six years earlier Kharavela sent his armies against Satakarni. Therefore in 181 B.C., 'A Satakarni' was ruling the Andhra kingdom. ($175+(8-2)=181$ B.C.) The Nanaghat inscription of Naganika referred to one Satakarni. Both the inscriptions, the Nanaghat and the Hatigumpha, on palaeographical grounds, were accepted by all scholars as contemporary documents for 'the alphabet of the former agrees generally with that of the latter'. Satakarni of Nanaghat record had been styled as Aprathihatacakra, and Dakshinapadhapathi. The 6th ruler of the Matsya and the 3rd ruler of the Vayu was one Satakarni. Both the Puranas have given him identical reign of 56 years. The name of the third ruler in other Puranas was variously given. Satakarni of the Nanaghat record was a staunch follower of Brahmanism and is said to have performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, including two Aswamedhas and one Rajasuya. Therefore, Satakarni, who appeared in the Nanaghat and Hatigumpha inscriptions, can be equated with Satakarni, who appeared as the 6th of the Matsya and 3rd of the Vayu lists. On the basis of this identification, we can say that Satakarni of the Satavahana dynasty was the ruling king of the Andhra Kingdom in 181 B.C., when Kharavela sent his armies west.

with out paying any heed of his existence. To entrench himself in his seat and become a powerful rival to a great king like Kharavete, Satakarni must have come to the throne some 3 or 4 years before the dispatch of the armies by Kharavela against west. The five predecessors (according to Matsya) rules for 87 years. Therefore Simuka must have founded the dynasty in 271 B.C. ($181+3+87=271$ B.C.) This date is fully in accordance with the calculation made by supposing that Pulomavi I was the king who slew Susarman in 28 B.C. and that some 15 years before that he must have sit on the throne Of the Andhra country ($28 + 15 + 228 = 271$ B.C.).

4. Later Satavahana Chronology

The correctness of 271 B.C. as the starting point of the Satavahana rule under Simuka, may be verified and established from the known dates of Kshatrapas and other foreign kings. The foreign powers such as the Sakas and the Pahlavas in the closing years of the 1st Century B.C. and in the beginning years of the 1st century A.D. became powerful and established their sway in Malwa, Surashtra and other western areas. It was mainly on account of these foreign onslaughts, the power of the Satavahanas for sometime had to register a sharp decline, subsequent to the reign of Pulomavi. The king who once again retrieved the fallen fortunes of the Satavahana dynasty to its former glory was Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni, the 23rd king in the Matsya list. His mother Gautami Bala Sri, registering a gift at Nasik in the 19th regnal year of her grandson Pulomavi II, describes the great qualities of her son Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni as the destroyer of the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas and the annihilator of the line of the Kshaharatas. Another inscription at Nasik recorded in the 18th regnal year of Gautamiputra furnishes details of a campaign. A large number of Nahapana's coins found in the Jogelthembi hoard were restruck by Gautamiputra. All the regions mentioned in Bala Sri's inscription as belonging to Gautamiputra Satakarni were referred to in the inscriptions of Usavadata, the son-in-law of Nahapana and his minister Ayama, as were in the occupation of Nahapana. These inscriptions were issued in Nahapana's

years 41, 42, 45 and 46 at Nasik. Karle and Junnar. Whether the above years refer to Saka era or the regnal years of Nahapana is the problem. Prof. Rapson believing the years to be of Saka era, tried to fix the date of Gautamiputra on the basis of the Gimar record. The Girnar inscription dated 72 Saka, i.e. 150 A.D., shows most of the territories of Gautamiputra as included in the kingdom of Rudradaman, the Kardamaka ruler of Ujjain. Rapson who based his chronological scheme on Nahapana-Gautamiputra synchronism, and on the date of the Girnar record observed that it would not be improbable that Nahapana's reign could not have extended much beyond the last recorded year = 46 = 124 A.D. Gautamiputra's conquests of Nahapana seems undoubtedlyto have taken place in the 18th year of his reign. We therefore have the equation : Gautamiputra's years $18 = 124 \text{ A.D. or } 124 \text{ A.D.} + x$. On this synchronism, on the recorded regnal dates in the inscriptions of Andhra kings, on the known date 72 Saka = 150 A.D. of Rudradamana as Mahakshtrapa rests at present the whole foundation of the later Andhra Satavahana chronology. On the basis of the above observation. Prof. Rapson placed the starting year of Gautamiputra Satakarni's reign in 106 A.D. and as he is said to have ruled for 24 years, the reign, according to him came to an end in 130 A.D. But the discovery of Andhra inscriptions of Chastana and Rudradaman, the Kardamaka rulers proved Rapson's view erroneous. The Andhra inscriptions are dated 20 years earlier than Girnar record, i.e., 72 Saka — 20 = 52 Saka = 130 A.D. According to these inscriptions, Chastana was in possession of all lands between Andhra and Ujjain, i.e. from Kutch to Malwa. The Greek Geographer Ptolemy in his account (130 A.D.) referred to one Testenes', identified as Chastana as ruling at Ozene (Ujjain)- If, according to Rapson, in 124 A.D. Gautamiputra, in his 18th regnal year launched on a career of conquest after the death of Nahapana, we would have to ponder that could he have effected the conquest of so vast a territory, which according to Bala Sri's record of Nasik include Anupa, Aparanta, Akara, Avanti, Suratha and Kukura kingdoms, and extended his sway as far as the Aravalis in the north. To effect conquests of such a vast area in a short period of 6 years is hardly sufficient. Even if

we agree with the learned Professor that so great a warrior like Gautamiputra could have effected conquests of such magnitude with such lightening rapidity within a short span of 6 years, we must also agree to the fact that all these magnificent conquests were made only to be lost after 6 years, for the Andhau inscriptions of 130 A.D. tell us that all these lands, said to have been conquered by Gautamiputra, were in the occupation of Chastana and Rudradaman of the Kardamaka dynasty. From this we are to presume that the areas that were conquered by Gautamiputra between 124 A.D.-130 A.D. were occupied by the Kardamakas, immediately after his death. If this supposition is accepted, we must conclude that the glory of the Andhras was short-lived. But a close study of Bala Sri's record of Nasik would not allow us to cling to this supposition.

The Nasik inscription was issued by Bala Sri, the mother of Gautamiputra in the 19th regnal year of her grandson Pulomavi-II, the son and successor of Gautamiputra. In this inscription, she recounted the exploits of her son with pride. If by 130 A.D. Chastana could occupy all these lands between Andhau and Ujjain during the life time of Gautamiputra itself, according to Rapson, his mother would not have sung the glories of her son which were only ephemeral. Another supporting factor is that there is no scope to take the view that these lands were lost during the time of Pulomavi, for there is nothing in the inscriptions of Pulomavi to suggest any reduction of his dominions during his reign. Therefore it is inconceivable that Gautamiputra must have lost a part of his dominions to Chastana and Rugradaman in 130 A.D.

Like Rapson, R.G. Bhandarkar also thought that the years of Nahapana belong to Saka era and in order to avoid chronological improbabilities, suggested a conjoint rule for Gautamiputra and Pulomavi II. He came to this conclusion on the basis of Bala Sri's statement that she was 'Maharajamata and Maharaja Pithamahi'.

Neither the equation of Nahapana's years with the Saka era nor the conjoint rule of Gautamiputra and his son Pulomavi.

as postulated by R.G. Bhandarkar can be accepted. The mere mention of Maharajamatha and Maharajapitamahi, the appearance of Gautamiputra's name in the Nasik inscription of Pulomavi as 'Dhanakatakasami' and the mention of Ptolemy to Polemios (Pulomavi) as the ruler of Paithan cannot establish the fact of a conjoint rule of the father and son. The probable position would be that in the 24th regnal year, Gautamiputra had donated an excavated cave to the Buddhist monks at Nasik. After 19 years of his death, his mother who outlived him for a longtime, during the reign of her grandson Pulomavi II, gifted a cave and in the inscription that was issued on that occasion, praised the great qualities of her son, who was no more by that time. In the Nasik inscription issued in the 24th regnal year of Gautamiputra, Bala Sri referred to him as one living (Jivasuata). In another Nasik inscription, issued by Pulomavi II in his 19th regnal year, it has been stated that the merit of the gift is said to have been made over to his father (Pitupatiyo). Such transfer of the merit of gifts are made only in favour of deceased persons. Another point which disproved the supposition of a conjoint rule of the father and the son is that had Gautamiputra been alive and ruling over the territories as the senior king, the necessity of dating the inscription in the regnal period of Pulomavi II would not have arisen. Therefore the theory of conjoint rule of Gautamiputra and his son Pulomavi, as advocated by R.G. Bhandarkar cannot be accepted.

Regarding the years 41, 42, 45 and 46 of Nahapana, different views have been expressed. Some scholars like Banerji feel that they were the regnal years of Nahapana. Accepting the view of Cunningham, Prof. K.A.N. Sastri held them to be of Vikrama era. Rapson and Bhandarkar feel that they indicate the Saka era. This last supposition has been disproved by the discovery of Andhau inscriptions. If the view that they belong to Vikrama era is taken into consideration, we are forced to place the 41st year of Nahapana in 17 B.C. (58 B.C.—41 = 17 B.C.) and his last recorded date 46 in 12 B.C. If we agree with Rapson that Nahapana's reign could not have extended much beyond the last recorded year 46, 12 B.C. would be the

uppermost limit of Nahapana's rule. The interval between Nahapana and Gautamiputra must have been short which could not have permitted the successors of Nahapana to issue new coinage. But, if we accept the view that the years of Nahapana were of Vikrama era, we should place the end of his rule 12 B.C. in which case there would occur a gap of more than 95 years separating him from Gautamiputra. Therefore the reckoning of the years of Nahapana in Vikrama era cannot be made.

The mention of 'Nambanus' whom the scholars have identified as Nahapana in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea would help us to solve the problem of Nahapana's time. Schoff assigns the 'Periplus' to 60 A.D. According to 'Periplus', the kingdom of Nambanus lay on either side of the gulf of Combay. His power was great all along the sea board of 'Surastrane' (Saurashtra) and the Greek ships going to Satavahana ports of Kalyan were diverted to Barygaza (Broach). On the authority of 'Periplus', it can be told that Nahapana must be the ruling king of that area by 60 A.D.

Besides the mention of Nahapana (Nambanus), a reference has been made to two other kings, Sandanas and Saraganes whom the scholars have identified as Sundara and Chakora (33-35 A.D.) respectively who were of the Satavahana family and whose successive reigns were too insignificant to mention, for their duration was only 11/2 years. Chakora's successor, Sivasvati enjoyed a long reign of 28 years, during whose rule, the Satavahana power regained new strength and was on the road of recovery. According to the chronology adopted by us, Siva Svati's reign must have come to an end by 63 A.D. That was also the time of Nahapana's end if we agree with the supposition that Nahapana and Nambanus are one, and that the time of the Periplus is about 60 A.D. and that the 46th year of Nahapana was his last year as stated by Prof. Rapson. This supposition may be strengthened on other grounds as well. Gautamiputra is described in the Nasik inscription as the annihilator of the line of Kshaharatas. These Kshaharatas were the Kshatrapas of Saurashtra and Malwa.

In the opinion of V.S. Bakhle, the Kshaharatas were Pahlavas, and the Kardamakas were Sakas. The rulers of Kshaharata and Kardamaka families assumed the official titles as Kshatrapas and Mahakshatrapas respectively. Both these rulers were perhaps feudatories of the Saka-Pahlava power of Mathura, to which that great king Rajula belonged. Rajula passed away in 17 A.D. (if we presume Nahapana to be a Kshatraoa of Rajula, he must have become independent after his death and started his rule in his own right as an independent king in Saurashtra. His rule must come to an end by 63 A.D. (17 A.D. + 46 = 63 A.D.). That was the year also in which Gautamiputra Satakarni ascended the throne at Dhanakataka, according to the chronological scheme that we have adopted.

Gautamiputra, the successor of Siva Svati who became ruler in 63 A.D. in his 18th regnal year launched on a career of conquest and occupied all the lands that were once acknowledged the sway of Nahapana between 81 A.D. and 87 A.D. and after him his son Pulomavi II. The Kardamakas rose to power and their chief Chastana, with the help of his illustrious grandson Rudradaman succeeded in occupying the lands from Andhau to Ujjain between 115-130 A.D. These conquests must have been effected during the weak rule of Siva Sri and Siva Skanda (115 to 129 A.D.) In 129 A.D. Yajna Sri Saikarni occupied the throne and came into conflict with the Kardamaka ruler Rudradaman with a view to reconquer the lost territories. The Girnar inscription describes how Rudradaman defeated one Satakarni king twice and seized him but released him as he was closely related to him.

From the above discussion the following points can be gleaned namely (1) that Siva Svati and Nahapana were contemporaries and that their respective periods of rule came to an end by 63 A.D., (2) that Gautamiputra who succeeded Siva Svati, occupied all lands described in Bate Sri's inscription between 81 A.D. -87 A.D. from the Kshaharatas; (3) that these lands which were occupied by Gautamiputra were in possession of the Andhras till the end of Pulomavi II's rule; (4) that the said lands from Andhau to Ujjain were occupied by Chastana

and Rudradaman, the Kardamaka rulers after the death of Pulomavi II, and lastly (5) that Yajna Sri who was a contemporary of Rudradaman tried to regain the lost possessions from the Kardamakas, but was twice defeated.

The contemporaneity of Yajna Sri with Rudradaman has been accepted by Haricharana Ghosh. According to him, Yajna Sri's accession to the throne took place in 127 A.D. He came to this conclusion on the basis of Yajna Sri's Kanheri inscription and Rudradaman's Girnar inscription. According to him Yajna Sri was in possession of Aparanta upto 16th year of his sovereignty as may be inferred from his record at Kanheri. The Girnar inscription dated 72 Saka = 150 A.D. shows that the territory of Aparanta was in the possession of Rudradaman. Hence an inference can be made that Yajna Sri lost Aparanta some time after his 16th regnal year. This 'sometime' according to Ghosh may not be more than 10 years. He felt that the repairs to the lake were effected in 150 A.D. (72 Saka) but the issue of the inscription was made after some time which according to him was 3 years, i.e. in 153 A.D. (75 Saka). Hence Yajna Sri's accession to the throne must have taken place in $153 \text{ A.D.} - 16 - 10 = 127 \text{ A.D.}$

On the basis of Yajna Sri's year of accession to the throne, the initial year of the Satavahana rule may be fixed. Yajna Sri's rule was preceded by 26 kings, whose total rule according to Matsya was $396 \frac{1}{2}$ years. Therefore the year of Simuka's accession to power would be $396 \frac{1}{2} - 127 = 269 \frac{1}{2} + y$ or 271 A.D. This is in accordance with the chronology adopted by us earlier.

THE SATAVAHANAS

No. of Kings		Name of Satavahana Kings	Reigns in Years			Period assigned
			Vayu	Matsya	Accepted	
1	1	Simuka	23	23	23	B.C. 271-248
2	2	Krishna	18	18	18	248-230
3	3	Satakarni (I)	—	10	10	230-220
4	4	Purnotsanga	—	18	18	220-202
5	5	Skandastambhi	—	18	18	202-184
3	6	Satakarni (II)	56	56	56	184-128
7	7	Lambodara	—	18	18	128-110
4	8	Apilaka	12	12	12	110-98
9	9	Meghasvati	—	18	18	98-80
10	10	Svati	—	18	18	80-62
11	11	Skandasvati	—	7	7	62-56
12	12	Mrgendra	—	3	3	55-52
13	13	Kuntalavati	—	8	8	52-44
14	14	Svatikarna	—	1	1	44-43
5	15	Pulumavi (I)	24	36	24	43-19
6	16	Gaurakrishna	25	25	25	B.C. 19-6 A.D.

7	17	Hala	1	5	1	A.D.	6-7
8	18	Mandulaka	5	5	5		7-12
9	19	Purindrasena	21	5	21		12-33
10	20	Sundara-Svatikarni	1	1	1		33-34
11	21	Chakora Svaticarna	1/2	1/3	1/2		34-34
12	22	Sivasvati	28	28	28		34-62
13	23	Gautamiputra-Satakarni	21	21	24		62-86
	24	Pulomavi (II)	—	28	28		86-114
	25	Siva Sri	—	7	7		114-121
	26	Sivaskanda	—	7	7		121-128
14	27	Yajna Sri	29	29	29		128-157
15	28	Vijaya	6	6	6		157-163
16	29	Chandra Sri	3	10	3		163-166
17	30	Pulomavi (III)	7	7	8		166-174

5. Political History of the Satavahanas

The vague, disputed and uncorroborated doubtful evidences form the basis for the history of the Satavahanas. The Jain sources mention Satavahana as the first king in the family. The Kathasaritsagara also contains a story about Satavahana. The Kondapur coins bear the legend 'Sadvahana'. On scriptural grounds this Satavahana is placed close to (either before or contemporaneous with) Simuka, the first ruler of the family mentioned in the Puranas. The latest discovery, Kotilingala coins (from Karimnagar district) included seven coins belonging to this Simuka. The legend on these coins strengthens the possibility that the king Satavahana of Kondapur coins is none other than Simuka himself who is called Simuka Satavahana in a Nanaghat label inscription also. It may be assumed that Simuka Satavahana was the founder of the dynasty and his successors called themselves Satavahanas.

Though Simuka Satavahana was the reputed founder of the Satavahana line of kings, he had not founded an independent state. He was probably the first to bring several Andhra family groups together and to oblige them to recognise him as their mutual and unique leader. He emerged as a prominent figure about 271 B.C. When the great Asoka Maurya, according to the Buddhist sources, was waging a bitter war of succession against his brothers. With Asoka's show of force in the Kalinga war, Simuka and his associates who held power for 23 years were content with their semi-independent status,

Kanha (Krishna), the brother and successor of Simuka, came under the spell of Asoka's increasing zeal for Dharma. A cave at Nasik for the Sramanas was constructed. Taking advantage of Asoka's death and the disturbed conditions in the Magadhan capital, Kanha probably broke off from the Mauryan yoke and acquired an independent status for the area under his authority.

The earliest of the Satavahana rulers to receive wide recognition was Satakami-II (184 B.C.—128 B.C.), the sixth of the Matsya corresponding to the third of the Vayu list and

also to Satakami of both Kharavela's Hathigumpha inscription and Naganika's Nanaghat record. The wide recognition was due to his policy of military expansion in all directions. He defied Kharavela of Kalinga. He was the 'lord of Pratishthana' (modern Paithan in the north-western Deccan). He conquered eastern Malwa which was being threatened by the Sakas and the Greeks. He gained control of the region of Sanchi. After conquering the Godavari valley, Satakami became the 'lord of the Southern Regions' (Dakshinapathapati). He supported the brahman orthodoxy and performed an Aswamedha to establish his claim to an empire.

The Satavahanas did not hold the western Deccan for long. They were gradually pushed out of the west by the Sakas (Western Khatrapas). The Kshaharata Nahapana's coins in the Nasik area indicate that the Western Kshatrapas controlled this region by the first century A.D. By becoming master of wide regions including Malwa, Southern Gujarat, and Northern Konkan, from Broach to Sopara and the Nasik and Poona districts, Nahapana rose from the status of a mere Kshatrapa in the year 41 (58 A.D.) to that of Mahakshatrapa in the year 46 (63 A.D.).

Gatitami putra Satakami, the 23rd king of the Matsya list, was one of the most illustrious rulers of ancient India. His reign is placed between 62 A.D. and 86 A.D. Some scholars attribute to him the foundation of the Satavahana era in 78 A.D. Gautami putra was credited with the restoration of the fallen prestige of the dynasty. The Nasik inscription of his mother Gautami Bala Sri and his own records at Nasik and Karte furnish us a vivid account of his accomplishments and achievements. His phenomenal success realized his ambition to recover the imperial position of the Satavahanas. He first won back the territories on his western borders from the Kshaharata successors of Nahapana. Nahapana's coins were restruck in his name. Bala Sri's record credits him with the extirpation of the Kshaharata family. It is solid that he humbled the power and pride of the Kshatriyas and destroyed the Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavans.



Gautamiputra Satakarni's dominions included the countries of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Surashtra, Kakura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Akara and Avanti, the mountainous regions of Virdhya, Achavata, Pariyatra. Sahya, Kanhagiri, Siritana, Malaya. Mahendra, Seta and Chokora and extended as far as the seas on either side. These details indicate the extent of his empire over the country between Rajasthan and Cuddalore and between the Rishikulya and Vijayanti. Gautamiputra made his horses drink the waters of the three oceans. He was uniquely skilled as an archer, absolute as a sovereign and a figure of the heroic mould.

Though an absolute monarch, Gautamiputra was kind to his subjects and a father to his people. He tried to fulfil the duties of the Trivarga-Dharma, Artha and Kama. He shared the sorrows and pleasures of his people. He is described as 'the abode of the Vedas'. A pious and orthodox Brahmin, he was meticulous in maintaining caste-purity.

Gautamiputra's son and successor Vasisthiputra Pulomavi (86-114 A.D.) could not maintain for long his hold over his vast inheritance. During the last years of his rule, he lost the north-western provinces of the Andhra empire to Chashtana, the founder of the Western Kshatrapa Kardamaka line. His successors, Siva Sri and Sivaskanda each ruled for seven years during which period the house of Chashtana expanded its authority upto Cutch in the west by 130 A.D. Chashtana's grandson Rudradaman made his substantial contribution in the growth of the Kardamaka power.

Gautamiputra Yajna Sri (128 A.D. - 157 A.D.) was the last of the great Satavahana rulers. He made attempts to recover the western (Aparanta) provinces. His efforts proved futile. Rudradaman won over the disgruntled Vasisthiputra Satakami, a relation of Yajna Sri, to his side by giving him his daughter in marriage. The two encounters between Yajna Sri and Rudradaman's forces went against the Andhras. The Saka suzerainty was acknowledged. The Satavahana rule was

confined to the Andhra area. The reigns of Yajna Sri's successors, Vijaya, Chanda Sri and Pulomavi (III), covering altogether a period of seventeen years, are of little significance historically. The rise of the Chutus in the west and south, the Abhiras in the Nasik area, the Ikshvakus in the east and the relentless pressure of the Kardamakas of Ujjain sounded the death-knell of the Satavahana empire. Thus came to an end the glorious phase of the rule of the Satavahanas who not only gave the area political integrity but protected it from foreign invaders who inundated the North at that time.

6. The Satavahana - Western Kshatrapa Relations

The Andhra Satavahanas ruled for four centuries and a half in the Deccan. During their rule they came into contact with their neighbouring kingdoms, the prominent of which was that of the Western Kshatrapas. During the Indo-Parthian rule, the Satraps or Governors were appointed to rule over various areas conquered by them. One of those satrapal seats was Malwa and Saurashtra. The chronology of the Satavahanas and the early phase of the Kshatrapa rule have been controversial. The Kshatrapa rule includes that of the Kshaharatas like Bhumaka and Nahapana and of the Kardanraka family from Chashtana onwards. Of the Kshaharatas, Bhumaka was the first ruler. From the palaeography of his coin legends, he is regarded as the predecessor of Nahapana; but the actual relationship between the two is not known. The coins of Bhumaka mention him as a Kshaharata Kshatrapa. The coins show the symbol of the Lion-capital. These coins were found in Gujarat and rarely in Malwa which might indicate the area of rule of Bhumaka. The figure of the thunder-bolt appearing on Nahapana's coins resembles that of the Mathura Kshatrapas. It is also known that some of the inscriptions of the Mathura Kshatrapas were incised on a lion capital. These show that the two families were alike. There are scholars who conclude from these resemblances that the Kshatrapa Kshaharatas were originally subordinates of the Mathura Kshatrapas and that they declared themselves independent after the death of the great Mathura Kshatrapa Rajula in 17 A.D.

Nahapana succeeded Bhumaka on the western Kshatrapa throne. During his rule, the kingdom seems to have been extended, as is known from the inscriptions. An inscription at Nasik refers to the gifts given by Ushavadata, the son-in-law of Nahapana at places like Govardhana, Sopara, Dasapura, Prabhasa, Barulachchhg and Pushkara. Nahapana's inscriptions were discovered at Nasik, Karle and Junnar. These taken together show that in the north Nahapana's empire extended upto Rajasthan and in the south to Maharashtra.

The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea composed in 60 A.D. records the hegemony of Nahapana in this area and refers to the trade activity of Western India with the Red Sea ports, which was grabbed by Nahapana after defeating the Satavahana rivals probably Sundara Satakarni and Chakora Satakami, The Satavahana ports like Kalyan and Sopara lost their commercial importance to Barygaza.

In the inscriptions, mention of Nahapana's years 41-46 was made. There has been a controversy with regard to the ere to which these years should be assigned. Scholars like R.G. Bhandarkar, D.R. Bhandarkar, Prof. Rapson, Roy Chowdhuri, D.C. Circar and V.D. Mirashi assign them to the Saka era. Another set of scholars like Cunningham, V.S. Bakhle, K.A.N. Sastry and G.V. Rao think that they were dated in the Vrkhrama era. But the difficulty in these two propositions is that Nahapana would be placed either in the 2nd century A.D. or in the 1st century B.C. respectively, both of which are improbable in view of evidence of the Periplus.

The evidence of the Periplus leading to a 1st century A.D. date for Nahapane has to be accepted. The difficulties in the assignment of Nahapana's years to one of the two eras have been exposed by scholars like R.D. Banerji, A.S. Altekar etc. Taking these years as the regnal years of Nahapana, these scholars placed him in the second half of the 1st century A.D. There is also a belief that these years could be the independent years of rule of the Kshaharatas in Malwa and Saurashtra, probably when there was weak succession on the Mathura

Kshatrapa throne. Anyway Nahapana's rule cannot be extended beyond 60 or 70 A.D. because at the time when Periplus was writing, Nahapana's power was at its zenith. So it is quite likely that the years referred to in the inscriptions could be equivalent to 60 or 70 A.D.

Nahapana's rule was put to an end by Gautamiputra Satakarni, the first of the later Satavahanas. His main credit was the destruction of Kshaharata power and the restoration of the fortunes of the Satavahana family. The Nasik prasasti issued in his son's reign gives a good description of the achievements of Gautamiputra over the Kshaharatas and the Sakas, Yavanas and the Pahlavas. It is not known as to whether the Scytho-Parthians who ruled until the establishment of Kushana power effectively in northern India, came to the rescue of the Kshaharatas who were definitely defeated by Gautamiputra.

In addition to the achievements recorded by Gautamiputra at a later time, we have a little information from one of the inscriptions. The Nasik inscription dated in the 18th year was issued from the battle field after his success over an unnamed enemy. The same inscription also records the grant of the land to the Buddhist monks and it is stated that the land was in possession of Ushavadata earlier. From this, scholars conclude that the erstwhile Kshaharata possession went into the hands of Gautamiputra by his 18th regnal year. The list of areas mentioned in his son's inscription shows that Saurashtra, Aparanta, Malwa and parts of Rajasthan were occupied by Gautamiputra. After this victory, he seems to have restruck the coins of Nahapana as is known from the Jogelthambi hoard of coins.

Gautamiputra retained all these areas during his life time. He died in circa dated 87 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Vasisthiputra Pulomavi. The latter ruled for 28 years, i.e. from 87 A.O. to 115 A.D. Till his 19th regnal year, the areas of rule under Gautamiputra must have been retained by Pulomavi,

because the Nasik inscription of that year refers to Gautami-putra's areas of rule and also styles Pulomavi as 'Dakshinapatheswara'. During the last 9 years of rule, he must have lost the Malwa region to Chashtana, who was the founder of the Kardamaka line. The Kardamakas were at first subordinates to the Kushanas. Later on they might have become independent.

According to Ptolemy, Chashtana of Ujjain was ruling at the time when Pulomavi was ruling at Paithan. So the seizure of some of the Satavahana possessions must have taken place between 106 A.D. and 114 A.D. The clashes between the Kardamakas and Satavahanas continued during the rule of Siva Sri and Siva Skanda on one side and Chashtana and Jayadaman on the other. During these conflicts must have occurred the death of Jayadaman who predeceased his father Chashtana. The latter could have obtained the territory in between Malwa and Kutch including Saurashtra by about 130 A.D. The Andhra inscriptions of Chashtana issued along with his grandson Rudradaman show the western limit of the Kardamaka empire.

Meanwhile by 129 A.D., Yajna Sri Satakarni came to the Satavahana throne. During his rule, he had to contend against the power of Rudradaman who came to the throne in or after 130 A.D. In the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman, dated in the year 72 corresponding to 150 A.D., the king is said to have defeated the 'Dakshinapathapati' Satakarni and liberated because of his non-remote relationship. This ruler could have been Yajna Sri Satakarni. The Aparanta region seems to have been the arena of conflict between the two empires. Yajna Sri's defeat must have occurred after his 16th year of rule because his inscription dated in that year comes from Kanheri. The Aparanta territory thenceforth became a Kshatrapa possession. After the reign of Yajna Sri, the rulers of the Satavahana family could not regain these areas and had to be contended with parts of the Andhra area.

While there had been conflicts throughout between the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas, evidence also points

to one matrimonial alliance between the two families (Kardamakas and Satavahanas). This is known from an inscription at Kanheri which mentions the daughter of one Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman, who was the queen of one Vasisthiputra Satakami. The identity of Vasisthiputra Satakami and his relationship with Yajna Sri are problematic. Scholars like Rapson and Smith identify him with Vasisthiputra Pulomavi. This is improbable because of the contemporaneity of Vasisthiputra Pulomavi with Chashtana. It is likely that Vasisthiputra Satakami was a successor of Pulomavi who must have had some clashes with the other Satavahana rulers for succession to the throne and who thereby must have entered into this matrimonial alliance with the Kshatrapas. This might also explain the absence of reference to his name in the Puranic list of the Andhra kings. He must have been benefitted by this alliance as an inscription at Nanaghat was issued by him in his 13th year which indicates that the Aparanta region went into the hands of Vasisthiputra Satakami with the consent of his father-in-law Rudradaman.

Thus during the first and second centuries A.D., fortune favoured for a time the Kshaharatas, later the Satavahanas and afterwards the Kardamakas in the possession of Western India. There had been throughout a conflict between the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas. The areas that were conquered by Rudradaman to a large extent retained by his successors. The Satavahanas confined themselves to the Andhra region for nearly a quarter of a century more when their power eclipsed finally.

7. Cultural Condition Under the Satavahanas

The cultural history of the period is the history of Aryanization of the country. 'Administration, social and economic life, religion and philosophy, art and literature—in fact every branch of human activity, was recast in the Aryan mould. The Vedic rishis, Mauryan officers and Buddhist missionaries alike by precept and example hastened the revolutionary change and served to implant Aryan institutions firmly in the Deccani soil.'

The Satavahanas accepted them and deliberately and consciously followed the policy laid down in the Sastras available to them.

ADMINISTRATION

The extent of the Satavahana empire fluctuated continually according to the political vicissitudes of the times. At its zenith, their empire stretched from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Arabian sea in the west and embraced the entire region between the Narmada in the north and the Krishna in the south. There is also archaeological evidence regarding the Satavahana conquest of Malwa and the Puranic evidence for their control over the ancient imperial capital of Magadha, i.e. Pataliputra. Being the political successors of the Mauryans, they borrowed much from the Mauryan administrative system. Their government was based upon hereditary absolute monarchy. They were not content with the simple title of Raja. Gautamiputra Satakarni bore the imperial title 'Rajarano' i.e. of King of Kings. The rulers regarded themselves as the guardians of social and political order and the welfare of their subjects.

For administrative purposes, the empire was divided into a number of Aharas or Rashtras (Govardhana, Sopara, Manrrala, Satavahana etc.), each of which consisted of at least one central town (Nigama) and a number of villages. The Amatyas governed these Aharas. The Maharathis and the Mahabhojas, the feudatory chieftains, were superior in rank and power to the Amatyas. The inscriptions refer to officers like Mahassnapati, Heranika, Bhandagarika, Mahamatra, Lekhaka and Nibandhakar. Gramas (villages) and Nigamas (towns) were the lowest administrative units. Considerable autonomy was there in managing the affairs of these units. The trade and merchant guilds (srenies) played an important part in this regard.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

During this period, the people were familiar with the Aryan fourfold division of society into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. Outside the Aryan influence were the indigenous

tribes, indifferent to Aryan ways of life and thought. People were known according to their professions such as the Halika (cultivator), the Sethi (merchant), the Kolika (Weaver) and the Gadhika (druggist). The Buddhists and the Saka-Pahlavas shook in social structure considerably. The foreigners were becoming absorbed in the indigenous society by adopting the faith and customs here and through intermarriages with the caste people. It is true Gautamiputra Satakami attempted in restoring the balance and stopping the contamination of the castes. Yet caste rules were not strictly observed.

Inscriptions and other records indicate the prominence of women in social life. Their lavish charity and assumption of the titles of their husbands like Mahatalavari signify their economic and social status. The sculptures of the period reveal their scanty dress and profuse ornamentation. Joint family system was another normal feature of society in the Aryan patriarchal mould. The prevalence of polygamy among the princes was revealed by the metronymic tithes (calling sons after their mothers), which some of the later Satavahanas bore along with the personal name.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In the economic sphere, agriculture was the mainstay of both the people and the government. The country abounded in agricultural products. The king collected the traditional one-sixth of the produce as the share of the state. Salt was a state monopoly.

Industry and commerce occupied the next place in the economic life of the state. Various classes of workers such as Kularika (potters), Kolika (weaver), Vasakara (bamboo worker), Dhanntka (com dealer) and ICamara (iron worker) are known from the inscriptions. Most of these crafts and trades were organised into guilds or srenis. These guilds provided banking facilities.

There was brisk inland trade and sea-borne commerce. Paithan, Tagara, Karahataka, Nasik, Govardhana, Vaijayanti,

D-hanyakataka, Vijayapura and Vinukonda were great inland market towns of the period. They were connected with each other and with the important parts by roads. Ptolemy described Barukachcha and Kalyan on the west and Maisolia, Allosygne and Apheterion on the east as great centres of foreign trade. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea notes that Barukachcha imported wines, silver vessels, fine cloth and ornaments while her exports included ivory, agate, silk cloth and pepper. The number and variety of the Satavahana coins also prove this vigorous commercial activity. The Roman gold flowed into the Deccan for articles of luxury.

The Satavahana period also witnessed an active maritime activity (as revealed by the ship-marked coins of Pulomavi and Yajnasri Satakarni) with the Far East, Ptolemy and the Periplus give descriptions of the Indian settlements in Burma, Sumatra, Arakan and Champa.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

Most of the Satavahana rulers were staunch followers of the Vedic religion with its ritual and caste system. Satakarni II of the Nanaghat record performed a number of Vedic sacrifices including Aswamedhas and Rajasuya. Gautamiputra restored the caste system and protected the Brahmins. Adherence to the Vedic creed is also indicated by the name of King Yajna Sri. The invocations to various gods like Indra, Sankarshana, Vasudeva, Surya, Varuna etc. show the transition from the Vedic to Puranic pantheon. This feature is prominently reflected in Hala's Gatha Saptasati wherein there are references to Pasupati and Gauri, Rudra and Parvati, Lakshmi and Narayana. The Aryanized foreigners and mixed castes had the solace in the Puranas. As PT. Srinivasa Iyengar observed, the two cults-Vedic and Agamic had coalesced completely during this period and modern Hinduism was born.

The Satavahana kings were renowned for their spirit of tolerance. They even extended their patronage to the Buddhist ascetics. Buddhism commanded greater influence with the

women folk (especially with the royal ladies) and with the masses. It was in fact the heyday of Buddhism in the Deccan. The Buddhist monuments at Nasik, Karie, Bhaja, Bedsa, Ajanta, Amaravati. Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunakonda show the Chaitya cult predomment in the South. Mehasanghika sects flourished. Acharya Nagarjuna received patronage from the ruler Yajna Sri and from his time Andhra became the stronghold of Mahayanism. Due to the patronage and great services of Kharavela of Kalinga, Jainism made considerable progress in the coastal region to the north of river Krishna.

LITERATURE

As regards the contemporary system of education and literary development, it is but natural that the Aryan, teachers and missionaries brought with them, into the Deccan their own literature and methods of instruction. The elaborate sacrifices performed by Satakarni II show how the priests were well-versed in the Vedic literature. The Asokan Edicts in the Deccan prove the familiarity of the people with the Brahmi script and the Prakrit language. Almost all the records of the Satavahana period are in Prakrit. Instruction in secular and sacred learning was imparted in the asramas of the Brahmins or the Viharas of the Buddhists and the Jains, which received liberal grants from the rulers. The craft and trade guilds too might have served the cause of education.

Among the literary works of outstanding merit produced during this period under the patronage of the Satavahana rulers, mention may be made of the Katantra, the Brihatkatha and the Gatha Sattasai. Sarvavarman, probably a minister of Hala composed the Katantra on Sanskrit grammer for the use of the King. Gunadhya made over his Brihatkatha in Paisachi Prakrit to the same king Hala. Hala himself compiled the Gatha Sattasai, an authology of 700 Prakrit verses of various poets and poetesses. This Sattasai contains many Desi terms. An unknown author composed another poem in Prakrit, called Lilavati Parinayam on the marriage of Hala. In the later part of the Satavahana period, with the revival of Brahmanical

Hinduism, Sanskrit became predominant. The Mahayana Buddhists including Nagarjuna wrote all their works in Sanskrit.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

With religion and that too Buddhism as the source of inspiration, the Satavahana period witnessed great building activity. The ancient monuments that have been brought to light south of the Vindhyas are almost all post-Asokan and Buddhist in inspiration'. They included Stupas, Chaityas, Viharas and Sangharamas discovered both in the Western and in the eastern dominions of the Satavahanas. The Bhattiprolu and Amaravati Stupas were the oldest brick built Stupas in the south. The brick-built Chaityagrihas were located at Chejerla and Nagarjunakonda in the east, whereas the rock-cut grihas were in the west at Karle, Nasik, Bhaja and other places.

The sculptural representations on most of the stupas, of the Jataka tales or the incidents in the life of Buddha and scenes from normal social life, are noteworthy. At Amaravati, the well known South Indian centre of Buddhism, a thoroughly indigenous school of sculpture grew up. For the conception of delicate beauty of human form and the technical skill and efficiency to realise that conception and for the wonderful imagination and sense of symmetry in depicting the most subtle human feelings, the Amaravati artist won universal praise. With regard to the minor arts, the articles like beads, terracotta figurines, pottery, shell ornaments, precious stones and jewels and coins excavated at Paithan, Maski, Kondapur and other places, indicate their progress during this period.

Successors of the Satavahanas

1. The Ikshvakus of Vijayapuri

After the downfall of the Satavahana power, the feudatory rulers declared their independence and established their own kingdoms in parts of the erstwhile empire. One among such new Kingdoms belonged to the Ikshvakus who ruled the eastern Andhra country from the last quarter of the second century A.D. The Puranas called them 'Sri Parvatiya Andhras' and 'Andhra Bhrityas'. From an inscription found at Nagarjunakonda, it has been made clear that in the beginnings of the Christian era, the mountain was called Sriparvata. But some scholars apply the term Sriparvata to the whole range of the Nallamala hills which stretch along the Krishna into Kurnool district.

The number of the Ikshvaku Kings and the total duration of their reign as mentioned in the Puranas were contradictory to scholars. On the whole, the Puranas gave a hundred year rule to the Ikshvaku line (with seven rulers). It is uncertain whether these Ikshvakus of the Andhra country represented a branch of the ancient Ikshvaku family of Ayodhya that might have migrated to the Deccan and settled down on the lower Krishna or not. The oriental scholars like Buhler and Rapson expressed the view that the former were the descendants of the latter.

The excavation of the site Nagarjunakonda from time to time resulted in the discovery of many Buddhist edifices containing numerous sculptures and inscriptions. To know

the history of the Ikshvaku Kingdom which flourished in the Andhra country along the Krishna river, the Prakrit inscriptions incised in Brahmi script found at Nagarjunakonda and at Jaggayapeta serve as the important authorities.

The sporadic distribution of the lead coins of Yajnasri Satakarni and of the last Satavahana king Pulomavi IV in the early Ikshvaku layers, the designations like Mahatatavara etc. of officials under both the Satavahanas and the Ikshvakus and the matronymies, the practice prevalent in the later Satavahana period and among the Ikshvaku rulers, sufficiently testify to the fact that the Ikshvakus of Nagarjunakonda were the immediate successors of the Andhra-Satavahanas in the Krishna valley. The Ikshvakus, eventually the feudatory nobility 'Mahatalavaras' became heirs to the political and religious traditions of the imperial Satavahana power.

THE GENEALOGY AND **CHRONOLOGY OF THE IKSHVAKUS**

From the inscriptions, the names of four rulers of the Ikshvaku race have been traced. Not only this, even some of the regnal years of these rulers are also known. The information is as follows :-

- a) Santamula I — 13th regnal year
son
- b) Virapurushadatta — 20th regnal year
son
- c) Santamula II — 24th regnal year
son
- d) Rudrapurushadatta — 11th regnal year
brother

Virapurushadatta as prince

Thus according to epigraphic evidence, the total years of the four known rulers come to not less than 69, whereas the Puranas give hundred years of rule to the seven Ikshvaku

rulers. in deciding the chronology of the Ikshvaku rulers, two things are to be kept in mind:— (1) The Nagarjunakonda inscription of the Abhira Vasusena dated in the 30th year of the Chedi era which might have begun in 248-49 A.D. refers to the installation of the image of Ashtabhuja Swamy in the presence of Saka Rudradaman of Avanti, the Yavana princess of Sanjayapuri and Vishnurudrasivalananda Satakami of Vanavasi.

(2) The two inscriptions of Nagarjunakonda, one issued in the reign of Virapurushadatta and the other in the reign of Santamula II, refer to the Cyclic year 'Vijaya'.

D.C. SIRCAR'S SCHEME OF CHRONOLOGY

He proposed the Abhira presence in the Ikshvaku territory in between 275 A.D. and 285 A.D. He also thinks that the two Cyclic years (Vijaya) referred to in the two inscriptions were different. He equates them with 273-74 A.D. and 333-34 A.D. respectively. Accordingly he gives the following scheme of Chronology —

1. Santamula I — 225-50 A.D.
2. Virapurushadatta — 250-75 A.D.
Abhirama interregnum — 275-85 A.D.
3. Santamula II — 285-333-34 A.D.
4. Rudrapurushadatte — 334-45 A.D.

However there are certain difficulties in accepting this theory. Sircar gives the years of rule assigned to kings differently which are not in consonance with the latest regnal years mentioned in the inscriptions of the concerned kings. He unnecessarily extends the rule of Santamula II to 49 years. This is because of the supposition that the cyclic years of the two inscriptions were different. Moreover, Sircar places the Ahira attack in between the reigns of Virapurushadatta and Santamula II. But the available evidence of the continuous building activity in the reigns of Virapurushadatta and Santamula II at Nagarjunakonda points to the contrary. The Abhira

attack thus can not be placed in between these reigns. It can only be placed in the last years of the Ikshwaku rule.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF DR. RAMARAO

Dr. Ramarao on the other hand takes into consideration the presence of Abhira Vasusena at Nagarjunakonda as a friendly visit. Regarding the cyclic years referred to in the inscriptions, he says it was not the practice to mention the cyclic years in the early inscriptions. Accordingly he suggests the following scheme of chronology :

1. Santamula I — 220-240 A.D.
2. Virapurushadatta — 240-60 A.D.
3. Santamula II — 250-84 A.D.
4. Rudrapurushadatta — 284-95 A.D.

However Dr. Ramarao's supposition of a friendly visit by Abhira Vasusena cannot be taken for granted. The Abhira inscription, which mentions some rulers who were present at the time of the installation of the image, does not mention the name of the Ikshvaku ruler and hence the hostile nature of the presence of the Abhiras in Nagarjunakonda must be accepted.

SCHEME OF CHRONOLOGY AS SUGGESTED BY DR. O. RAMACHANDRAIYA

Dr. Ramachandraiya suggests the following scheme :—

1. Santamula I — 180-193 A.D.
2. Virapurushadatta — 193-213 A.D.
3. Santamula II — 213-37 A.D.
4. Rudrapurushadatta — 237-48 A.D.
5. Three unknown rulers (on the basis of Puranic evidence) — 248-78 A.D.

4)

The basis for his chronology is as follows : (1) The Puranic evidence that the seven kings ruled for 100 years has been accepted and the corroboration from the inscriptions has been sought for four kings with a minimum total period of rule for 68 years. (2) The Abhira inscription is regarded as indicative of the victory of the Abhiras over the Ikshvakus and the event be placed in 278 A.D., which should also be the end of the Ikshvaku rule. (3) The cyclic years mentioned in the two inscriptions of Virapurushadatta and Santamula II need not be different but could be one cyclic year. It must have witnessed the end of Virapurushadatta's rule and the accession of the Santamula II, Since 278 A.D. is accepted as the last date of the Ikshvaku power, the cyclic year would be the year corresponding to 213 A.D. (4) The rule of the four kings known from inscriptions should be placed in between 180 and 248 A.D. From that date upto 278 A.D., when the Abhiras conquered the Ikshvaku territory, the three unknown Ikshvakus must have ruled in their own right.

POLITICAL FORTUNES AND THE CULTURAL DESTINIES OF THE DYNASTY

The Ikshvakus, who were the immediate successors of the Satavahanas, had performed the Asvamedha sacrifices with a view to proclaiming their independent and imperial status. It had become a common practice among the rulers of the subsequent dynasties to perform the Asvamedha sacrifice in token of their declaration of independent status. From this fact, it can be inferred that it was Santamula I who first declared his independence and established the Ikshvaku dynasty. So far not even a single inscription of Santamula I had been traced. The scanty information about him was gathered from the inscriptions of the reign period of his son Virapurushadatta.

SANTAMULA I : In the inscriptions, Santamula I was named as Vasistiputra Santamula. This is in accordance with the prevalent practice of the adoption of metronymy. This practice undoubtedly indicates the high social status accorded to women in those days. The numerous extolling epithets attached to the name of Santamula I indicates that he was the

most powerful monarch of the day in Dakshinapatha and he was regarded as Samrat in Dakshinapatha, both by his contemporaries and the descendants. He was a follower of Brahmanism. He is said to have performed besides the Asvamedha, Agnistoma, Agnihotra and Vajapeya sacrifices. He was 3 devotee of God Mahasena (Kartikeya). He was a great donor. He gifted away crores of gold coins, lakhs of cows and lakhs of ploughs to the donees. By donating vast tracts of land and ploughs, he encouraged agriculture in his Kingdom.

Santamula 1 had two sisters (his father's name was not given), Hammash and Chantisri. Crrantisri was the wife of Vasishtiputra Skandasri of the Pugiya family. Chantisri had also borne Mahatalavari and Mahasenapatni, the titles of her husband. This Chantisri had a son named Skandasagara and a daughter who was given in marriage to her nephew Virapurushadatta. The second sister, Hammasri of Santamula I, had two daughters namely Bapisri and Chatisri. Both these daughters were given in marriage to Santamula's son Virapurushadatta.

VIRAPURUSHADATTA: Virapurushadatta was the son and successor of Santamula I through his wife Madhari. He had a sister named Adavi Santisri. She was the wife of Mahasenapati and Mahadandanayaka. Skandavisakha of the Dhanaka family. From the Ikshvaku inscriptions the names of different families such as Pugiya, Dhanakas, Hiranyakas and Kulahakas can be traced. The territories that were colonized by these people were named after their family names. For example, the colony of the Pugiya was called Pugiya rashtra; this incourse of time came to be known as Pungi rashtra or Pakanadu. The inscriptions found at Nagarjunakonda and at Jaggayyapeta give the 20th regnal year of Virapurushadatta. The marriages of Virapurushadatta with his paternal aunts' daughters prove that there was the custom of cross-cousin marriages in the Andhra country. Among the queens of Virapurushadatta, three were the daughters of his paternal aunts. He entered into matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring kings and strengthened his position. One such alliance was made with the rulers of

Ujjain. He married Ujjainee Maharajabalika, Mahadevi Rudradhara Bhattarika, probably a near relative of Saka Rudrasena I.

EHUVALU SANTAMULA: Santamula II was the son and successor of Virapurushadatta. He had a sister by name Kodavalisri. She was the queen of the ruler of Vanavasi (Kamataka). Through this matrimonial alliance, Virapurushadatta strengthened his position. In the 24th year of the reign of Santamula II, his sister Kodavalisri erected a Vihara at Nagarjunakonda; the inference is that the reign of Santamula II must have lasted at least for 24 years,

RUORAPURUSHADATTA: An inscription found at Gurajala in Guntur district has revealed the name of another Ikshvaku ruler Rudrapurushadatta. This has been confirmed by another inscription which proved that he was a son of Santamula II. During his 4th regnal year, one Nudukasiri donated a piece of land to God Halampura Swamy. Some scholars identify this Halampura with Alampur in Kurnool district. But this conjecture is open to doubt. Halampura Swamy was no other than the Buddha himself. Halampura may be identified with the present Nagalapuram. Rudrapurushadatta must have ruled for more than 11 years. He was probably the last important ruler of the Ikshvaku family. After him there were three more unknown rulers according to the Puranas. In or about 278 A.D., the Abhiras might have put an end to the Ikshvakus.

Most of the inscriptions of the Ikshvaku period record either the construction of the Buddhist viharas or the gifts made to them. All the donors and builders of the Viharas were the female members of the Ikshvaku royal family. Though Santamula I is reported to have performed the Vedic sacrifices, nothing is stated about his son regarding his religious leanings. Not only that, neither he nor his son is said to have donated to the Buddhist establishments. From this it is inferred that Virapurushadatta and his successors were not Buddhists, but this was the period from which Andhra became a flourishing centre of Buddhism and a place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists all over the world. The patrons were ladies, many of them

being royal ladies, the merchants and artisans and the people at large.

A new era began with *the* Buddhists of Krishna-Guntur region. The great stupas of Jaggayyapeta, IMagarjunakonda and Ramireddipalle were built, repaired or extended and Buddhist monks were coming for pilgrimage from all the Buddhist countries of the world to Nagarjunakonda, the celebrated- religious centre. In short, it may be said that Buddhism was in its hey day here at the time of the later Ikshvakus. The chief object of attraction was the Mahachaitya raised over a dhatu of the Buddha on Sriparvata. Monks of many Buddhist sects like Aparamahavinasailiyas. Bahusutiyas and Mahisasakas were residing at this centre. The attraction for this Buddhist centre can be accounted for from the sea trade which was carried on between Ceylon and the ports of other countries on one hand and those situated on the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari on the other hand. During these days Nagarjunakonda was a renowned centre of higher education. What Dhanakataka was during the days of Satavahanas, Nagarjunakonda was the same during the days of the Ikshvakus. Students from different parts of Asia flocked around this great centre of higher learning to prosecute their higher studies in the Buddhist lore.

2. The Brihatphalayanans

After the fall of the Ikshvakus, some of the ruling families on the east coast of Andhra followed the practice of using their Gotras as their dynastic appellations. Among such families, the Vasishtha Gotras in Kalinga, the Salankayanas in the Krishna-Godavari basin and the Ananda Gotras in the region to the south of the river Krishna, are known from inscriptions. Similarly, Brihatphalayana was also the Gotra indicating the ancestry of the family.

The only king of this dynasty was Jayavarma. He was known from his Kondamudi copper plate inscription. The Kondamudi grant was in Prakrit and Palaeographically it is

nearer in time to Pallava Sivaskandavarma's Mayidavolu inscription. Dr. K. Gopalachari thought that Jayavarma belonged to one generation preceding that of Sivaskandavarma. Dr. K.R. Subrahmayam would make the Ikshvakus and Jayavarma contemporary and dated them to the 3rd century A.D. Jayavarma was identified with king Srivarma of Brihaphateyana Gotra, who was referred in one of the records dated in the reign of Ikstwaku Rudrapurushadatta. He is said to have raised a chhayastambha in memory of a great Ikshvaku queen, Mahadevi who was a Brihatphalayana Gotri.

The Kondamudi grant is dated in the tenth regnal year of Jayavarma. So Jayavarma must have ruled for minimum ten years and is believed to have ruled between 278 A.D. and 288 A.D. It is suggested that he had a large share in weakening the Ikshvaku rule. The solitary record furnishes some interesting information about Jayavarma and the nature of his rule. Jayavarma's kingdom is known to have included Kudura Ahara (Masula Taluk as far as Gudivada), Kolleru and the northern parts of Guntur district. His capital perhaps was Kudura which is identified with Koduru, a village near Ghantasala in Krishna District.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it was issued from Kudura and was addressed to a local official by the king. A village by name Panturu (Patur in Tenali taluk) was conferred as a gift on 8 Brahmins. The person, who caused the royal proclamation to be inscribed, was one 'Maha Tagavara, Mahadandanayaka Bapanavarma'. The gift of the village was accompanied by certain special privileges. The officials were forbidden from entering this Agrahara. No tax was to be collected from the village. Salt monopoly was also to be enjoyed by the Brahmin donees

It is evident from the inscription that after the fall of Ikshvakus. under the influence of the Pallavas, Brahmanism was revived once again and Jayavarma's learnings towards Saivism testify the same. After the death of Jayavarma, the Ananda Gotras occupied the Brihatphalayana territories to the south of the river Krishna and the Salankayanas to the north of the river.

3. The Ananda Gotras

A new line of kings of Ananda Gotra, claiming descent from one Kandaranripati, seems to have risen from the ashes of the Ikshvakus south of the river Krishna within the region of north Guntur, contending with those across the Krishna and probably with their own immediate neighbours, the Pallavas. One Kandara appears to be the founder of this line. His dauhitra's (daughter's son) Chezarla inscription speaks of him as the destroyer of enemy forces at the battle of Dhanyakataka causing offences to the lord of Krishnavenna by bringing out the widowhood of Andhra women. This lord of Krishnavenna evidently was the last Ikshvaku ruler and the battle of Dhanyakataka might be assigned to 278 A.D. These exploits of Kandara led to the rise of the Ananda Gotra kings.

All that is known of the Ananda Gotra kings is from the light thrown by a copper plate grant of Attivarma from Gorantla, another of Damodaravarma from Mattepad and the damaged stone inscription from Chezarla. All these three inscriptions are from the Guntur district itself. In the two copper plate grants, no filial affiliations are given. Attivarma claims descent from Kandara and Damodaravarma is silent on this. The two copper plate grants are in Sanskrit except that the names of the donees in the Mattepad grant and that of the donor in the Gorantla plates are spelt in Prakritic way. While Attivarma was a fervent devotee of Siva, Damodaravarma was a follower of Buddhist faith. While the former was a 'hiranyagarbha-prasava', the latter was a 'hiranyagarbhodbhavodbhava'.

On this meagre information, the historians have expressed varying and conflicting opinions about them. There is no general agreement on how many were of the line, how they were related, where they have to be placed in point time and on what basis the precedence of one to the other should be determined. It is now generally accepted that it was a transitional period and the language used in the inscriptions depended more on what the individual ruler favoured, most probably based

on either his brahmanical or Buddhist leanings. This consideration weigh much with scholars like Dr. D.C. Sircar and Dr. O. Ramachandraiya.

Since Attivarma was a 'hiranyagarbhaprasava' and Damodaravarma was admittedly born of the 'hiranyagarbhodbhava', it is right to conclude that Attivarma was the father of Damodaravarma. The Prakritic form of his name was what his parents gave to Attivarma. But he himself, because of his Brahmanical leanings, would prefer a Sanskritic appellation for his son and for the donees of his gifts. Damodaravarama, with his Buddhistic inclinations, prefers Prakritic denominations for his donees. With regard to the first ruler of the dynasty, Kandara, how he is related to Attivarma is not known. However they should have been very close in point of time. Both palaeography and provenance of the inscriptions would place them nearer to the last of the Ikshvakus. As already said, Kandara fought the battle of Dhanyakataka that saw the end of the Ikshvaku rule. Hence the three rulers of the Ananda Gotra line known from the inscriptions may rightly be placed in the last quarter of 3rd century A.D. or in the beginning of 4th century A.D. As they were nowhere noticed at the time of Samudragupta's invasion of the south in about 345-350 A.D. it may be surmised that their rule itself might not have lasted long.

Lastly, a word about the capital of the Ananda Gotra kings — It is declared to be Kapota Kandarapura. The standard of these kings bore the figure of the monkey. A temple dedicated to Kapoteswara is located at Chezaria in the Narasaraopet Taluk of Guntur district. Hence some scholars identify Kapote Kandarapura with this village. Some locate it at Chebrolu near Guntur. Dr. M. Ramarao held that Kandarapura should be identified with the village Kanteru in the Guntur district itself.

4. The Salankayanas

About the end of the third quarter of the third century A.D., there was utter political and military confusion in the coastal Andhra country, following the end of the Ikshvaku rule which was probably brought about by the Abhiras and their allies. To add fuel to the fire, the Ikshvaku feudatories like the Brihatphalayanans were making their efforts to assert themselves and to carve out for themselves a small but independent principality of their own. The Brihatphalayanans in Kudurahara, north of the river Krishna, the Ananda Gotras in Kandarapura, south of the river Krishna within the region of North Guntur and the Pallavas in the Prakasam-Nel'ore tract, were contending for extension of their sway at the cost of their neighbours.

After this almost three decade long political and military confusion, peace was restored in the region north of the river Krishna by the expanding Salankayana power from Vengi southwards. The Salankayanas ruled over the Vengi region for about a century in the third and fourth centuries A.D. The city of Vengi emerged as the seat of powerful empires from their times and commanded the prestige for about seven hundred years to come'. The revival of Brahmanism and the Sanskrit learning gradually progressed in Andhra country during this age.

The history of the Salankayanas remains a ground for keen controversies and conjectures. It is because of the insufficient and indefinite source material which consists of only nine copper plate grants and a recently discovered stone inscription from Guntupalli. Of all the records of the dynasty, four copper plate grants are in Prakrit and the remaining are in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit records are those of the last two rulers of the family, viz., Skandavarma and Nandivarma II.

It appears that the Salankayanas were an ancient people of Andhra country. Prof. Raychaudhuri identified them with the 'Salekenoi', a people referred to by Ptolemy's geography (130 A.D.) as the inhabitants of the region of Maisolia, which

is identified with the land on either side of the river Krishna at its mouth. The Salankayanas were, like the Pallavas, Brahmins who played the role of Kshatriyas. The word Salankayana which was actually their gotra name, denotes Nandi, the Bull of Siva. The crest-symbol of both the Paltava and the Saiankayana families was the Bull. Such similarities between them may point out either their friendly and matrimonial alliances or a common cultural background and a possible original home of the two.

The Salankayanas were first in the service of the Satavahanas as their feudatories and frontier guards in Andhra country. The Ikshvaku patronage to Buddhism that reached Jaggayyapeta and Ghantasala may indicate the extension of their suzerainty over the country north of the river Krishna in the third century A.D., in which case the Salankayanas might have been their feudatories. Subsequently when the Pallava paramountcy stretched over southern Andhra country and also across the river Krishna, the Salankayanas might have been their feudatories for some time. These kings took delight in proclaiming themselves as 'Bappabhattacharaka Padabhakta'¹ (worshippers of the feet of their exalted parents) and worshipped in particular Chitrarathaswami, i.e. Sun-God, enshrining him in a temple at their capital city Vengi which is identified with two tiny hamlets 'Pedavegi' and 'Chinavegi' quite close to Eluru in the West Godavari district.

Most of the scholars opine that Vijayadevavarma of the Eluru Prakrit plates was the founder of the dynasty. It is mostly because of the language of the inscription and his performance of asvamedha. It is generally accepted that Prakrit preceded Sanskrit as the language of the inscriptions. Further founders of several other dynasties like the Ikshvakus of the times in this region claimed to have celebrated such founding by the performance of asvamedha. Thus the first of the Salankayana rulers was Vijayadevavarma. He might have been a great conqueror as his performance of horse-sacrifice and the honorific Vijaya borne by him suggest. He ruled for 13 years in the last quarter of the third century A.D. During this period.

Brihatphalayana Jayavarma might have been killed and his Kudurahara was annexed to the Vengi kingdom.

Hastivarma I, who succeeded Devavarma, was a Maharaja and a great warrior and won victories on numerous battle fronts. After supplanting the Ananda Gotra kings in the region to the north of the river Krishna, he might have had some understanding with the Pallavas that both should follow a policy of live and let live. In the Guntupalli record, he is said to have built a number of Vishnu temples and 'Chaturvaidyasalas (houses for the study of four vedas). His son and successor, Nandivarma I is known to have ruled at least 14 years (318-332 A.D.). He was a valorous king. His unbounded generosity in giving a variety of gifts including gosahasras, is attested by his descendant's inscriptions.

It was in the reign of his elder son, Hastivarma II (332-367 A.D.), the Salankayanas faced the danger from the north in the shape of Samudragupta, the imperial Gupta ruler, who had his successful southern expedition. The Allahabad prasasti refers to him among the South Indian rulers, that were defeated by Samudragupta. Hastivarma II seems to have clashed in the early part of his reign with Mantaraja of Kurala, identified with Kolleru lake or the region around it in the vicinity of Vengi, for security as well as for supremacy. This was before the two were overpowered by Samudragupta about 350 A.D. At the same juncture, with his brother Achandavarna, grown up and ambitious, he tried to secure the claims of his son, Skandavarma to the throne after him. He did this by associating the boy with himself in the administration of the kingdom (Skandavarma described as Bataka Maharaja in Kanukollu plates, issued the Kanteru plates independently without reference to his father). However this associate boy-king died shortly thereafter and Hastivarma II had to be content with his brother Achandavarna as Yuvamaharaja. Achandavarna might have ruled on his own for some years after his brother's death. His son, Nandivarma II who was the last flicker of the Salankayana power, ruled for ten years (Pedavegi plates). The rule of the Salankayanas was brought to a close in the last

quarter of the fourth century A.D. with the ascendancy of the Vishnukundins.

During their rule for about a century over Vengi mandala, the Salankayanas contributed to the development of Indian culture and its spread to the neighbouring eastern countries like Burma, Siam and Cambodia. They were devout Hindus, honouring both Lord Siva and Lord Vishnu, Though Buddhism lost its hold on the Andhra people, eminent Buddhist scholars like Buddhapalita, Bhavaviveka and Dingnaga carried their activities without hindrance. Dingarvaga spent last years of his life in a Buddhist sanctuary near Vengi.

5. The Early Pallavas

THE ORIGIN OF THE PALLAVAS

The origin of the Pallavas still remains a mystery. Scholars like Lewis Rice and V. Venkayya put forward the view that the Pallavas of Kanchi were of Persian (Parthian) origin. Their consideration was based on etymological grounds. The Pallavas of Kanchi were identified with the Pahlavas of the Northwestern India. Dubreuil and V.A. Smith also pointed out that the Pallavas were foreign intruders, probably a branch of the Pahlavas or Parthians of North-western India. However the words Pallava and Pahlava may be the same philologically but historically they refer to different peoples. Rajasekhara, the great poet and play-wright in the Gurjara-Pratihara court at Kanauj, made a clear distinction between the Pallavas occupying South India and the Pahlavas (Parthians) occupying the trans-Indus Valley.

Dr. K.P. Jayaswal expressed the view that the Pallavas were a branch of the Vakatakas ruling in Central India. But the fact is that the Pallavas rose to independent sovereignty simultaneously with the Vakatakas, if not earlier. Hence Jayaswal's view is untenable. On the basis of a story fabricated by a commentator in the 14th century in the Tamil classic 'Manimekhalai', Rasanayagam concluded that the Pallavas were

an off-spring of the Chola-Naga alliance and their home should be located only in the south. Since the basis for this is a fabricated story at a later date, this view also cannot be accepted.

Prof. R. Sathianathaier opined that the Pallavas had originated in Tondaimandalam itself. He identified them with the Paladas or the Pulindas of the Asokan edicts. But the word 'Pallava' has philologically, greater affinity with the word 'Pahlava' rather than with 'Pulinda'. According to Dr. S.K. Iyengar, the Pallavas were the Tondaiyar tribe of Tondaimandalam. They were officers and governors in the south-eastern part of the Satavahana empire and after the fall of the Satavahanas, they succeeded in annexing a great part of the Chola territory by which their territory thereupon came to be known as Tondaimandalam. However it may be pointed out that the early Pallavas issued their inscriptions in Prakrit and not in Tamil and they patronised Sanskrit literature rather than Tamil literature. How then could they be given Tamil Origin?

Since the early Tamil literature treats the Pallavas as, different from the Tamils, scholars like N.V. Ramanayya conjectured the Telugu origin of the Pallavas on the basis of their early association with the Andhra country. The 'Mahavamsa' refers to Pallava Bogga as a stronghold of Buddhism and locates it at the mouth of the river Krishna. This description of Pallava Bogga agrees with the Palanadu region in the Guntur district. Moreover most of the inscriptions of the Pallavas before Simhavishnu are found in the Guntur-Nellore tract of the Andhra country. "The Telugu country, south of the Krishna, formed the bulk of the Pallava kingdom till the last quarter of the sixth century A.D." The Pallavas even maintained relations friendly or otherwise, with their contemporary dynasties in the rest of the land. Further their early administrative system was on the lines of the Andhra-Satavahana system. Hence the conclusion is that the Pallavas were the original inhabitants of the region at the mouth of the Krishna and that they went to Tondaimandalam as the Satavahana officers, consolidated their position with the help of the local Naga princes and became

independent subsequent to the fall of the Satavahanas, Whether this Telugu origin of the Pallavas is acceptable or not, one thing is certain that their political and cultural influence was felt by Andhra till it was swept by the Western Chalukyan invasion led by Pulakesin II, in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D.

THE PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS OF THE PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT CHARTERS

Scholars like Dubreuil, Fr. Heras, R. Gopalan, H. Krishna Sastri, B.V. Krishnarao, D.C. Sircar, N. Ramesan, T.V. Mahalingam and others presented conflicting theories on the Pallava genealogy and chronology. There is division among them regarding the issue whether the Pallavas of the Sanskrit inscriptions from the Nellore-Guntur area had ruled from Kanchi or not. D.C. Sircar and K.R. Subrahmanyam opined that the Pallavas ruling in the Andhra area were a collateral branch of the Pallavas of Kanchi. However the recently discovered Vesanta grant of Simhavarma makes it clear that they did rule from Kanchi.

There are four Prakrit inscriptions and fourteen Sanskrit copper plates, including the solitary plate of the Darsi grant, of the early Pallavas. All of them are dated in regnal years only. Hence palaeography is the only means to arrange them in chronological order. Of the four Prakrit records, the Manchikallu stone inscription of Simhavarma is palaeographically the earliest. Its script resembles that of the Ikshvaku records. Its similarity with the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli Prakrit plates of Sivaskandavarama makes it the missing link between the end of the Ikshvaku rule and the beginning of the Pallava rule in the Krishna valley. Obviously, Simhavarma becomes a predecessor of Sivaskandavarma.

The British Museum plates, the fourth Prakrit inscription, issued by Queen Charudevi of Yuvamaharaja Buddhavarma and the mother of Buddyankura, were dated in the reign of Maharaja Vijayaskandavarma. This record does not refer to the rule

of Buddhevarma and his son Buddhyankura at all. As regards Maharaja VijayaSkandavarma, taking Vijaya and Siva as honorifics, scholars generally identify him with Maharaja Sivaskandavarria. Thus on the basis of the four Prakrit charters the Pallava genealogy can be given as follows :

SIMHAVARMA

(Manchikallu inscription)

(SIVA [∨] OR VIJAYA) SKANDAVARMA
(Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli plates)

[∨]
BUDDHAVARMA

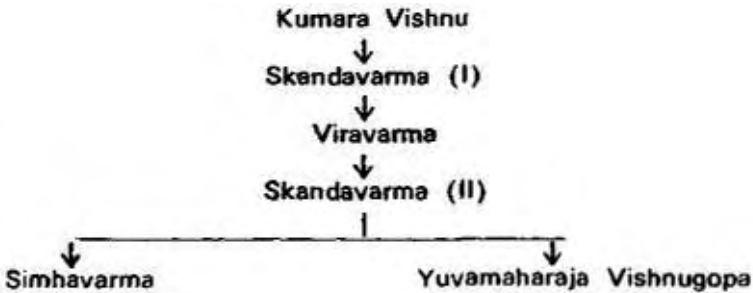
(Married Charudevi, the donatrix of the British Museum plates)

[∨]
BUDDHYANKURA

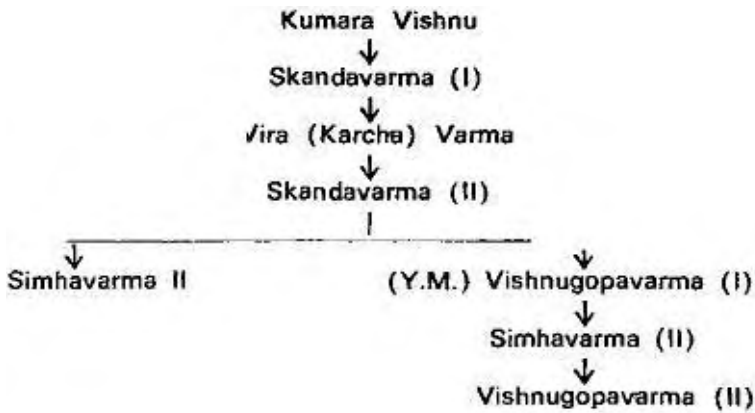
Of this list, only the first two were rulers. Since on the basis of scriptal resemblances, the nearness of Simhavarma to the Ikshvaku rulers is pointed out, tentatively the reign of Simhavarma may be fixed in the last quarter of the third century A.D. (290 A.D.) and the reign of (Siva or Vijaya) Skandavarma in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. (310 A.D.)

The fourteen Sanskrit charters, more or less give a continuous line of succession of kings. These are dated only in their regnal years. Hence, to arrange them in a precise genealogical and chronological order, one has to depend upon palaeography and other historical synchronisms. The Omgodu plates (I set) is considered the earliest of the Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas. (Vijaya) Skandavarma was the donor of this grant which gives the names of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather also. Paleographically and in the method of dating, this Omgodu plates (I set) is apparently closer to the Prakrit plates of the family. Hence, we may take Kumara Vishnu, who is mentioned at the top of the pedigree list in the record either as the successor or even as the predecessor of Skandavarma of the Hirahadagalli and the British museum plates.

The first three members of the Uravapalli and Nedungaraya grants tally with the latter three members of the Omgodu plates (I set). The Uravapalli and Nedungaraya grants were made by the donor Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa in the reign of Maharaja Simhavarma. This Maharaja Simhavarma can be identified with the donor of the two recently discovered Vesanta and Sakrapatna grants. The names of predecessors of Simhavarma of these two records totally agree with those of the predecessors of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa in his two grants. Then Maharaja Simhavarma can be taken, beyond any doubt, as the elder brother of the Yuvamanaraja. It was in his elder brother Simhavarma's regnal years, the Yuvamaharaja dated his records. Thus from the Omgodu plates (I set), Uravapalli, Nedungaraya, Vesanta and Sakrapatna charters, the following pedigree, in father-son relationship, is arrived:



The Mangadur, Pikira, Omgodu plates (II set) and Vilavetti grants were issued by Maharaja Simhavarma, the son of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa. On the basis of palaeography, it can be concluded that the Darsi fragmentary copper plate may be taken to be the grant of Simhavarma, the donor of the above Mangadur group of charters. Virakorchavarma of the Darsi record may be identified with Viravarma, the great-grandfather of Vishnugopa's son Simhavarma. Thus these five grants add only one more name, that of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa's son Simhavarma, to the pedigree already arrived at. Then the Chura grant gives the genealogy that tallies with that of Mangadur and other records of Simhavarma for the first three generations. Thus we get the following genealogy :



Then the scholars like K.R. Subrahmanyam, Fleet, S.K. Iyengar, R. Gopalan and others tried to adjust the kings of Chendalur and Udayendiram plates to the early kings of the Sanskrit charters. Some of them even suggested two or three sets (branches) of kings ruling contemporaneously from different headquarters. The Vesanta grant issued from Kanchi makes it clear that there were no branches but only one line. Further, palaeographically, the Chendalur and Udayendiram records are much later. D.C. Sircar tagged the kings known from these two grants to the later kings just before Simhavishnu line of the imperial Pallavas. Another thing is that Nandivarma, the issuer of the Udayendiram plates is definitely known from the Vayalur and Velurupalayam plates to be connected with the Simhavishnu line. Hence the kings of the Chendalur and Udayendiram plates cannot be connected with the early kings of the Sanskrit charters.

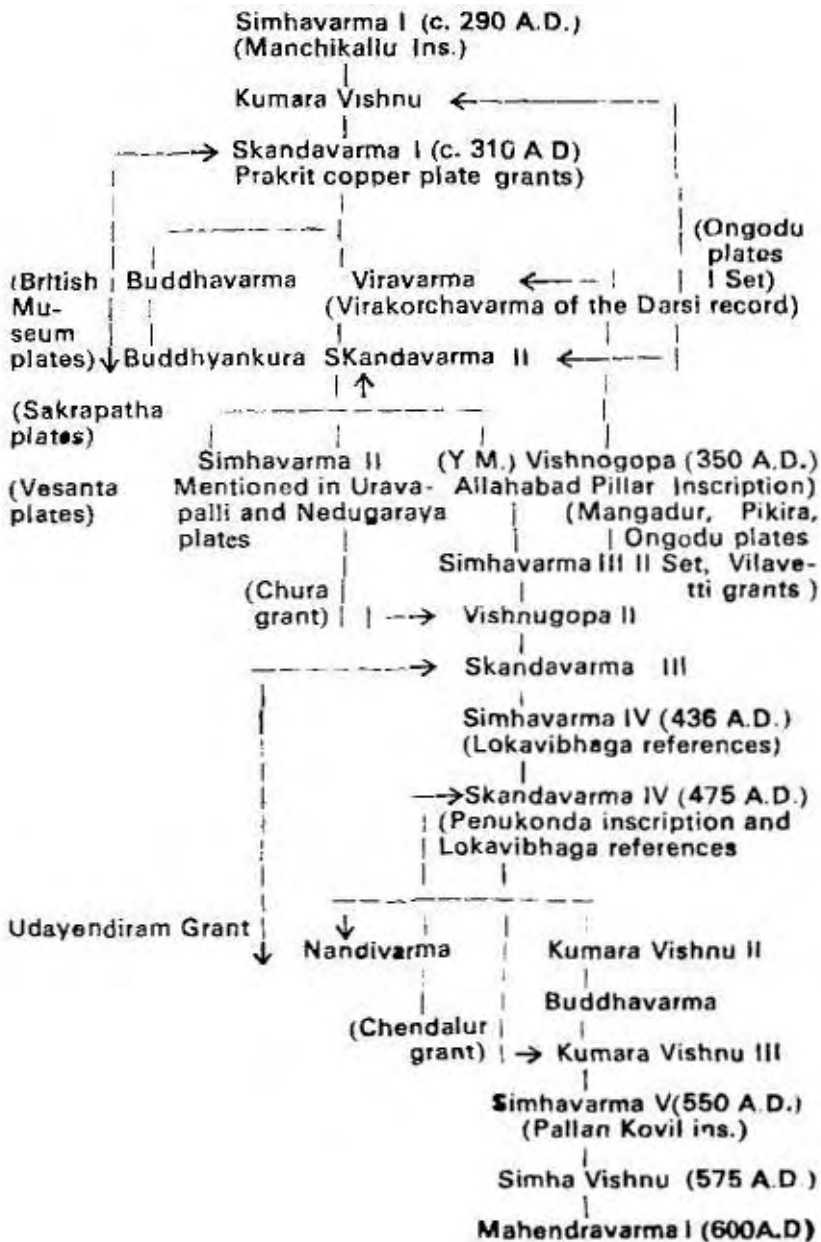
Moreover some synchronisms must be kept in mind. The Penukonda and Kudalur plates of the Western Ganga king Madhavavarma point out that he and his father Ayyavarma were anointed by the Pallava kings Skandavarma and obviously his father Simhavarma. Palaeographically, these plates may be assigned to the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. It implies that the two Pallava kings Simhavarma and his son Skandavarma must be placed somewhere in the close of the 5th

century A.D. This father and son (Simhavarma and Skandavarma) order of succession appears only in the Udayendiram grant. Hence Simhavarma and Skandavarma of the Udayendiram grant are the same as those of the Penukonda and Kudalur grants datable to about 475 A.D.

Another synchronism comes from the Jain work 'Lokavibhaga'. This Jain work was completed in the 22nd regnal year of the Pallava king Simhavarma, corresponding to the year Saka 380. It is equal to 458 A.D. and thus the initial year of the reign of Simhavarma comes to 436 A.D. As the Udayendiram grant mentions a Simhavarma followed by a Skandavarma (same as those of the Penukonda inscription dated about 475 A.D.), it is clear that Simhavarma mentioned here must be the same Simhavarma whose starting point can be fixed as 436 A.D. by the Lokavibhaga synchronism.

Further the Indrapalanagara plates of the Vishnukundin king Vikramendrabhattaraka II (555-69 A.D.) refers to a Pallava king called Simha (Varma), whom the Vishnukundin king claims to have defeated. This Pallava Simha (varma) may be identified with the issuer of the Pallankovil Jain Copper plate grant, who was the father of Simhavishnu and grand-father of Mahendravarma I of the imperial Pallava line.

Keeping in view all the above things and also the reference to Vishnugopa of Kanchi in the Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta (350 A.D.), the following genealogy and the possible dates of the Pallava kings may be given :



HISTORY OF THE EARLY PALLAVAS

The history of the early Pallavas is one of the controversial subjects in the ancient history of South India. It has not yet been satisfactorily settled. The Prakrit and the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas merely mention the royal names, their non-political grants and not their political achievements. But certain facts can be gleaned from the related sources. The provenance of the bulk of the Pallava Prakrit and Sanskrit charters from the southern Andhra country intimately connects them with the history of that area. The Political and cultural influence of the Pallavas was felt by Andhra till it was swept by the Western Chalukyan invasion led by Pulakesin II in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D.'

The Pallavas were not a recognised political power before the second century A.D. It has been widely accepted by scholars that they were originally executive officers under the Satavahana kings. After the fall of the Satavahanas, they began to get control over parts of Andhra and the Dravida country. By the close of the third century A.D., there was utter political and military confusion in the coastal Andhra due to the invasion of the Abhiras and their allies on the last Ikshvaku remnants on one hand and due to the rise of the Brihatphalayanans, the Anandagotras and the Salankayanans on the other. It was under these conditions that Simhavarma of the Manchikallu stone inscription probably founded the independent rule of the Pallavas in parts of the Krishna valley.

It was in the reign of Maharaja Sivaskandavarma of the Mayidavolu, Hirahadagalli and the British Museum plates, that the early Pallavas had their ascendancy in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. Sivaskandavarma seems to have been the first great ruler of the early Pallavas. He extended his dominions from the Krishna in the north to the south Pennar in the south and to the Bellary district in the West. He performed the Aswametha and other Vedic sacrifices. He administered the kingdom on the Mauryan and Satavahana lines.

At the beginning of their rule. Manchikallu, Mayidavoiu, Darsi and Ongodu were the centres of their activity Kanchi

gained prominence as the centre of their political and cultural activity by the second quarter of the fourth century A.D. Probably under the rule of Maharaja Simhavarma II, the issuer of the Vesanta and Sakrapatna plates. It was in his reign, his younger brother Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa issued his Uravapaili and Nedungaraya grants. This Yuvamaharaja, who subsequently succeeded his elder brother to the throne as Maharaja Vishnugopavarma, was defeated by Samudragupta by 350 A.D. Some scholars say this Pallava Vishnugopa of Kanchi formed a confederacy of some southern kings against the north Indian invader. However it was a futile attempt on the part of Vishnugopa.

With Samudragupta's expedition, the Paliava eclipse had set in. The Kandaras (Anandagotras) became independent in the Karma rashtra. The Cholas had their ascendancy in the Kavery valley in the south. The Talgunda inscription refers to the ambitious and aggressive activity of Mayurasarma, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty in the Karnataka. It was again in the reign of Simhavarma IV, who ascended the throne in 436 A.D. (references from Lokavtbhaga and Penukonda grant of the Western Ganga Madhavavarma), the fallen prestige of the Pallavas was restored. In the north upto the mouths of the Krishna, the territories were recovered from the Vishnukundins. In the West, to restrain the Sana aggressiveness in the Anantapur, Kolar and North Arcot regions, Simhavarma IV intervened in the Western Ganga-Kadamba conflict and enthroned Ayyavarma of the Ganga family.

With the accession of Nandivarman, issuer of the Udayendiram plates, in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D., the decline of the early Pallava family was seen. The Kadambas had their aggressions and even the headquarters of the Pallavas was occupied by them. In coastal Andhra the Vishnukundins established their ascendancy. The Pallava authority was confined to Tondaimandalam. With the accession of Simha Vishnu father of Mahendravarma I. probably in 575 A.D., the glorious imperial Pallava phase begins in the south.

The Pallavas were Brahmins of Bharadwaja gotra. The early Pallavas styled themselves as Brahma Ksnatriyas. i.e., the

Brahmins in Pursuit of arms The Kadamba records show that by the fifth century A.D., the Pallavas were regarded as Kshatriyas. They were followers of the Brahmanical religion. In tune with the imperial concept and the revival of the Brahmanic faith of the times, some of the rulers performed the Aswametha and other Vedic sacrifices. They had made gifts of lands to gods and Brahmins. Though their political history from 475 A.D. to 575 A.D. is somewhat obscure, yet during the same period Kanchi produced great Buddhist teachers like Aravana Adigal, Aryadeva, Dignaga and Dharmapala. 'Kanchi became famous as the spiritual and intellectual metropolis of South Indian Buddhism.'

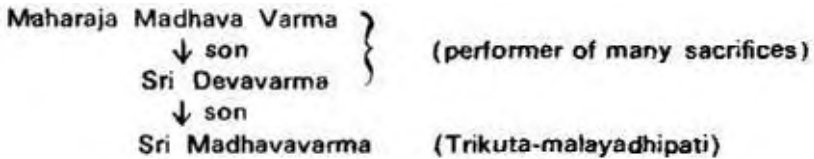
6. The Vishnukundins

THE GENEALOGY AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE VISHNUKUNDINS

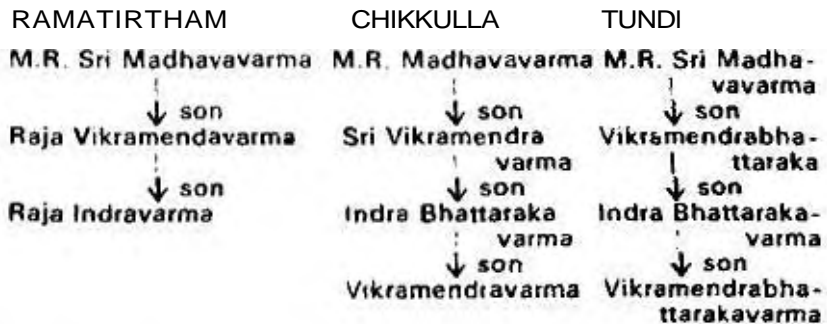
Since the fall of the Ikshwakus, the Vishnukundins were the first great dynasty, which held sway over the entire Andhra country including Kalinga and parts of Telangana and played an important and imperial role in the history of Deccan during the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era. So far 9 copper-plate inscriptions and one stone inscription pertaining to this dynasty have been discovered. Though they supply us a lot of information, they do not speak any thing about the origin and originator of the dynasty. Several attempts were made to solve the problem. But no definite conclusion has yet been reached. It is generally believed that the Vishnukundins were an Andhra family and they hailed from Vinukonda in the Guntur district. On the basis of the discovery of two Indrapalanagara grants, B.N. Sastri assumes that the early rulers of the dynasty migrated to the west in search of employment and under the Vakatakas they might have attained feudatory status with Indrapalanagara in the Nalgonda district as their capital. He further says that later in the time of Madhavavarma, the great, they became independent and conquered the coastal Andhra from the Salankayanas and might have shifted their capital to a place in the coastal Andhra.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE VISHNUKUNDINS : It has been a matter of controversy. The scanty source material does not give any clue to formulate a satisfactory theory. The inscriptions give the names of the two or more of their forefathers with their titles and achievements. But they do not speak of any thing about the founder of the dynasty and about the approximate date of their rule. Several writers have formulated their own schemes, some maintaining that there was unilateral succession and others proposing a scheme with collateral branches. The main difference between the two schools lies in the identification of Madhava Varma, who was the performer of many sacrifices. One school argues that there were two kings with the name Madhava Varma of great repute and the other schools point to the improbability of the two kings of same name and time performing equal number of sacrifices within a short span of time.

Prior to the discovery of the Indrapalanagara plates, of the earlier records, the Ipur plates second set was the earliest on the basis of palaeography. It gives the following genealogy—



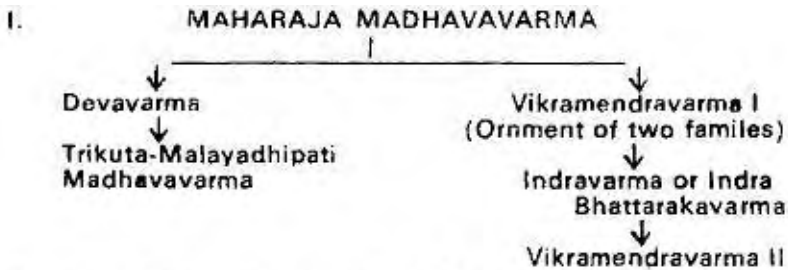
In point of antiquity, next comes the Ramatirtham plates of Indravarma and the Chikkulla and Tundi grants of Vikramendra Varma. These three records give the following genealogies—



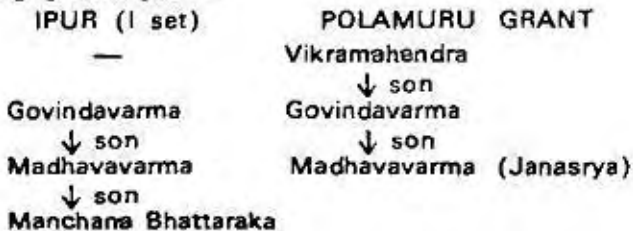
On the basis of the titles, the extolling epithets and other descriptions of the rulers of the above three records, the following genealogy may be arrived at—



Here M.S. Sharma and others identify Madhavavarma II of the Ipuru plates second set with Madhavavarma of the above three records. This is untenable because the Trikuta-malayadhipati' Madhavavarma of the Ipuru plates-II set was not a performer of many sacrifices and not Maharaja like Madhavavarma of the other grants. On the other hand the epithets given to Madhavavarma I of the same Ipur-II set and those attributed to the Madhavavarma of the three records seem to be similar. Therefore it is probable that Madhava Varma I of the Ipur second set and Madhavavarma of the other grants were one and the same. If so Maharaja Madhava Varma had two sons—Devavarma and Vikramendravarma (through the Vakataka princess). Accordingly the following genealogy may be derived—



The Ipur plates first set and the Polamuru grant give the following genealogies—



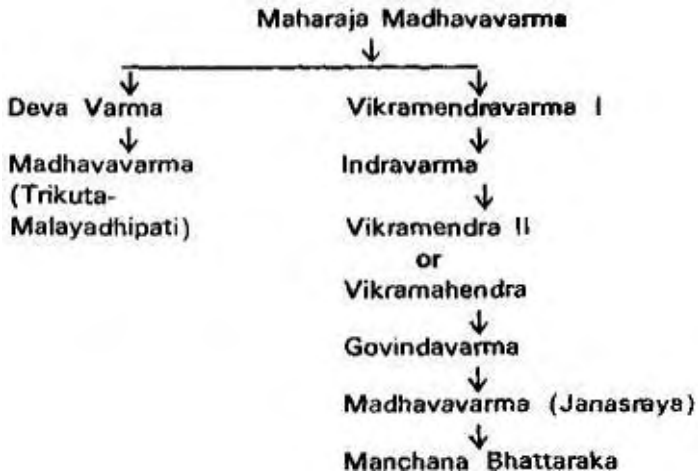
(2) The Ipur plates-I set and Polamuru plates indicate The matrimony of Madhavavarma with the princess of Tivaranagara whereas Maharaja Madhavavarma of the other records is said to have married the Vakataka Princess,

(3) The title 'Janasraya' given to Madhavavarma in the Polamuru grant is not given to Madhavavarma of the other records.

(4) Further the donee Sivasharma of the Polamuru inscription of Madhavavarma was the father of Rudrasharma, the donee of another Polamuru inscription of the Eastern Chalukya Jayasimha I. If this Polamuru Madhavavarma was the same as Maharaja Madhavavarma of the other records, there would be a gap of a century or more between Madhava Varma and Jayasimha I which is unwarranted.

(5) Moreover the reference to Madhavavarma in the literary work 'Sri Krishna Vijaya' of a later date and the reference to his rule in Saka 514 in an inscription of the 12th century A.D. in the Malliswaraswamy temple at Vijayawada definitely place one Madhavavarma at the end of the dynasty.

If these two Madhavavarmas were not one and the same, then how to combine the first and the second genealogical lists? Dr. N.V. Ramanayya identifies Vikramahendra of the Polamuru inscription with Vikramendravarma I of the other grants. But the epithets show that Vikramahendra was a more powerful king than Vikramendravarma I. On the other hand Vikramahendra may be identified with Vikramendravarma II because the titles given to the former were more or less similar to those of the latter. This identification alone would place Madhavavarma (Ipur I set) at the end of the dynastic lists, who was probably uprooted by the Eastern Chalukyan ruler, or it may be his son who faced this calamity. Hence K.A.N. Sastri and others give the following genealogy—

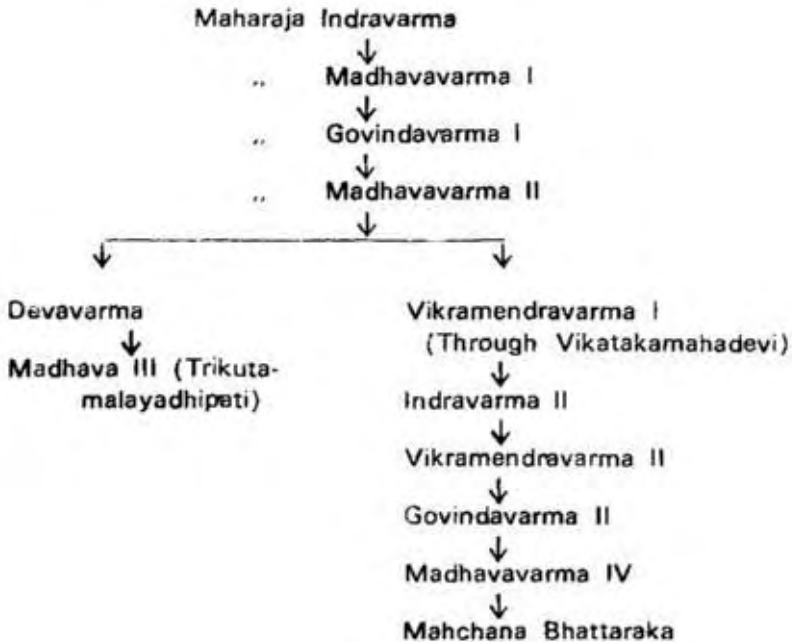


Almost all the scholars unanimously agree that the Indrapalanagara grant of Vikramendra II gives the same genealogy as we have already had from Maharaja Madhavavarma to Vikramendravarma II. But it adds one more name that of Govindavarma (prior to Maharaja Madhavavarma) to the genealogy already arrived at.

In regard to the place of the kings given in the Indrapalanagara grant of Govindavarma in Vishnukundin genealogy. Dr. Rama Rao thinks that the rulers mentioned in the grant of Govindavarma (Maharaja Indravarma, his son Madhavavarma and his son Govindavarma) could be collaterals who occupied the Vishnukundin territory after Vikramendravarma II. Or. Rama Rao and Prof. Mirashi try to fill in the gap between 569 A.D, and 615 A.D. or 624 A.D. the former being the last date of Vikramendravarma II and the latter being the date of the Eastern Chalukyan occupation of Vengi from these collecterals. However Dr. Ramacrandraiya and B.N. Sastri fill in this gap by placing here the genealogy of the Polamuru grant and the Ipur plates I set, i.e. by identifying Vikramendravarma II with Vikramahendra.

How are we then to explain the relationship of the three kings given in the Indrapalanagara grant of Govindavarma with

the other known kings? After a careful study of the two Indrapalanagara grants. Dr. Ramachandraiya and B.N. Sastri come to the conclusion that the Indrapatanagara grant of Govindavarma was the first record of the Vishnukundins and that Govindavarma of the Indrapalanagara grant (issuer) and Govinda Raja of the Indrapalanagara grant of Vikramendra Bhattaraka were one and the same. The basis for the identification is the leanings of the two Govindavarmas towards Buddhism. Thus with the above assumptions, we get—



CHRONOLOGY:— Opinion is actutely divided even with regard to the chronology of the Vishnukundins Their rule may be fixed between the end of the Salankayanas and the rise of the Eastern Chalukyan power in 624 AD "The last year of the Salankayana rule is dated differently by different scholars on the basis of varying theories of Satavahana chronology. So naturally the initial year of the Vishnukundin rule

varies from historian to historian". All the Vishnukundin grants with the lone exception of the Indrapalanagana inscription of Vikramendravarma II were dated in the regnal years. The Indrapalanagara grant of Vikramendravarma II was dated in his 11th regnal year corresponding to Saka 488, With the help of this date and taking into consideration the latest regnal years known from the inscriptions as the last years of rule of the rulers, the chronology of the Vishnukundins may be fixed.

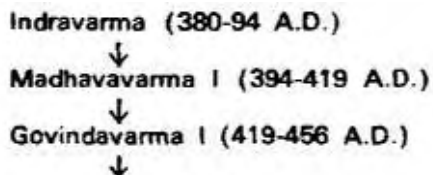
On the basis of the Indrapalanagara grant dated in the 11th regnal year corresponding to Saka 488, Vikramendravarma II may be said to have ascended the throne in Saka 477 i.e., 555 A.D. His Tundi grant gives his latest regnal year as fourteen. So his reign period may be placed between 555 A.D. and 569 A.D. His father Indravarma II, who issued the Ramatirtham plates in his 27th regnal year might have ruled from 528 A.D. to 555 A.D. Vikramendravarma I, the father and predecessor of Indravarma II was the off-spring of a political marriage between the Vishnukundin and the Vakataka families. In accordance with the general principle, he can be assigned 25 years rule i.e., from 503 A.D. to 528 A.D.

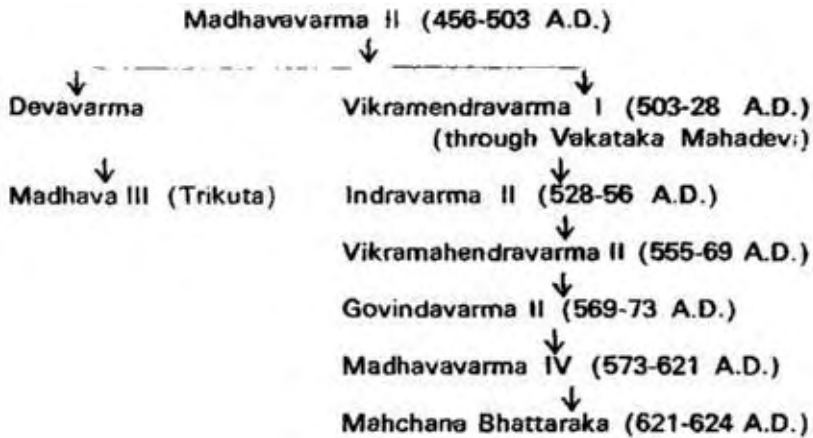
The father of Vikramendravarma I i.e., Madhavavarma II had no record of his son. But in the records of his descendants, he was described as the greatest ruler of the Vishnukundins. The year 47 mentioned in the Ipur plates-II set issued by Madhava, son of Devavarma and grandson of the above said Madhava II. may be taken to be the year of Madhava II. Scholars do not consider Devavarma a ruler because he did not possess any royal titles. Devavarma's son Madhava was referred simply as Adhiraja and Trikuta-Malayadhipati, indicating the subordinate position of a feudatory prince. Owing to the unusual longevity of the reign of Madhava II, his elder son, Devavarma predeceased his father and Madhava, son of Devavarma might have been made viceroy for the territory around Trikutamalaya. So the 47th year of the Ipur plates-II set should be that of Madhava II, who must have ruled from 456 A.D. to 503 A.D.,

Govindavarma I, father of Madhava II was the issuer of one Indrapalanagara grant dated in his 37th regnal year. So he might have ruled between 419 A.D. and 456 A.D. His predecessors, Indravarma I and Madhavavarma I who were having the title Maharaja should be deemed to have ruled in their own right. In general, 25 years rule, for each of them, may be allotted.

Now coming to the successors of Vikramendravarma II (555-69 A.D.), Janasraya Madhavavarma IV issued the Polamuru inscription in his 48th year on a full moon day in the month of Phalguna when Lunar eclipse occurred. 621 A.D. may conveniently be taken as the date of Potemuru record because it brings the Vishnukundins close to the beginning of the Eastern Chalukyan rule in 624 A.D. (which was fixed by Dr. N.V. Ramanayya and supported by Dr. N. Ramesan). So 621 A.D. was the 48th regnal year of Madhava IV. Consequently his reign period should be 573 A.D.-621 A.D. Madhava's father Govindavarma II was now left with only four years (569-573 A.D.). Because no special achievement was attributed to him, it may be said that he might have died at an early age.

As regards the last ruler overthrown by the Eastern Chalukyas in 624 A.D., there is no definite information. If it were Madhava IV, he might have ruled for 3 more years after the issue of Polamuru plates. If the 48th year is the last year of Madhava IV, Manchana Bhattaraka, as his dear son, might have succeeded him in 621 A.D. and the Eastern Chalukyan catastrophe fell on this victim in 624 A.D. Thus we get the Following chronology :—





POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE VISHNUKUNDINS

The Vishnukundins were the main orbit of power in the eastern Deccan during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. As their affinity with Sriparvataswami (Lord Mallikharjuna of Srisailam) and their family name Vishnukundin (derived from Vishnukundinapura which may be identified with modern Vinukonda in Guntur district) definitely trace their origin in Guntur district, it may be assumed that the early rulers of the dynasty migrated to the West in search of employment. Under the Vakatakas. They might have attained feudatory status with Indrapalanagara (Tummalagudem) in Nalgonda district as their capital. Later in the time of Madhavarma, the great, they became independent and conquered coastal Andhra from the Salankayanas and might have shifted their capital to a place in the coastal Andhra.

According to the Indrapalanagara plates, Maharaja Indravarma is considered to be the first ruler of the dynasty. He might have carved out a small principality for himself probably as a subordinate of the Vakatakas sometime about the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. Not much information is known about the next two kings, Madhavarma I and his son Govindavarma. They might have kept in tact the inheritance or extended their sway to some extent.

By the middle of the 5th century A.D., the dynasty began its imperial expansion under its most efficient ruler Madhavarma (II), the great. The reign of Madhavavarma (461-508 A.D.) nearly for half a century is a golden age in the history of the Vishnukundins. It was during this period, the small Vishnukundin dynasty was raised to the imperial dignity. A princess of the then powerful ruling family of the Deccan the Vakatakas was given in marriage to Madhavarma's son, Vikramendravarma. This alliance with the great power made easy the task of extending the Vishnukundin influence to the east coast and vanquishing the petty chieftains lingering on in that area.

Madhavavarma II led his arms against Anandagotrins who were ruling over Guntur, Tenali and Ongole Taluks, probably enjoying subordinate position under the Pallavas of Kanchi. After occupying these areas from the Anandagotrins, he made Amarapura (modern Amaravati) his capital. Keeping in view the constant threat from the Pallavas, he created an out-post to check their activities and appointed his son, Devavarma and after his death the grandson Madhavavarma III as its Viceroy. This southern out-post 'Trikutamalaya' is identified with Kotappakonda in Narasaraopet Taluk in the Guntur district.

Madhavavarma II next turned his attention against the Vengi kingdom which was under the Salankayanas. The Vengi region was annexed. The Godavari tract became part of the Vishnukundin territory. After these conquests the capital might have been shifted to Bezwada, a more central place than Amarapura. These extensive conquests entitle him to the title of the lord of Dakshinapatha. After these various conquests, Madhavavarma performed many Asvamedha, Rajasuya and other sacrifices.

The fortunes of the Vishnukundins were at a low ebb during the reign of next ruler Vikramendravarma I (508-528 A.D.). The next two and half decades also experienced the constant strife and dynastic struggles during the reign period of Indrabhattarakavarma (528-555 A.D.). Though Indrabhattarakavarma overcame the troubles from the dayadas like his cousin Madhavavarma III

(Trikutamalayadhipati), *he* could not withstand the hostile Kaling subordinate Indravarma of the Jirjingi plates and lost his life. The Vishnukundins lost their Kalinga possessions north of the Godavari.

With the accession of Vikramendravarma II (555-569 A.D.), the fallen prestige of the Vishnukundin family was restored. To have an immediate access to the Kalinga region, he shifted his capital from Bezvada to Lenduluru (modern Denduluru in the West Godavari district). He repulsed the attack of the Pailava ruler Simhavarman. He was successful enough to restore the fortunes of the Vishnukundins in the Kalinga region. After the victory, he donated Tundi (Tuni) village to a Brahmin and styled himself as 'Uttamasraya'. His son Govindavarma II enjoyed comparatively a short period of rule (569-573 A.D.).

The Vishnukundin empire set its way again to the imperial expansions and cultural prosperity under its able ruler 'Jansraya' Madhavavarma (IV) (573-621 A.D.). This prudent king spent his early years of rule in consolidating his position in Vengi. The later part of his reign is marked by wars and annexations. According to his epithets in Ipur I set and Polamuru plates, Madhavavarma IV conquered Tivara, the Somavamsi king of Mahakosala and married his daughter and spent sometime in their capital, Trivaranagara. In his 37th regnal year, he suppressed the revolt of his subordinate chief the Durjaya Prithvimaharaja in Guddadivishya (modern Ramachandrapuram Taluk in the East Godavari district).

Madhavarma IV had to face the Chalukyan onslaught in his last years of rule. By about 616 A.D., Pulakesin II and his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana conquered Vengi from Vishnukundins and the Pithapuram area from their subordinate Durjayas. In 621 A.D. i.e., in his 48th regnal year, Madhava crossed the Godavari probably to oust the Chalukyas from his territories. However he lost his life on the battle-field. His son Manchanabhataraka also might have been expelled by the Chalukyas. Thus the Vishnukundin rule was brought to a close by 624 A.D.

CULTURAL CONDITIONS

It is really a venture to try to speak, on the basis of a few records available, about the contribution of the Vishnukundins in various walks of life during that period. The society of the period appears to be based upon the traditional Hindu four-fold caste system. The Vishnukundins belonged to the priestly class committed to arms. The fourth class swelled the military ranks, in general people lived in harmony.

ADMINISTRATION

For administrative convenience, the empire might have been divided into a number of rashtras and Vishayas. Inscriptions refer to Palki rashtra. Karma rashtra, Guddadi vishaya etc. The ruler carried on administration depending upon the Sukraniti. Madhavavarma III as the Trikutamalayadhipati shows the appointment of members of the royal family as Viceroys for strategical areas. Vishayamahattaras might have been the heads of the vishayas. It seems that villages enjoyed autonomy within their jurisdiction.

In judicial administration, the king was the highest court of appeal. Endowed with the knowledge of law and intelligence, the Vishnukundin rulers established various kinds of ordeals (divyas) in trials of disputes. They were known for their impartial judgment and high sense of justice. Their army consisted of traditional Chaturangabala. Hastikosa (officer-in-charge of elephant forces) and Virakosa (officer-in-charge of land forces) were referred in records. These officers issued even grants on behalf of the kings. There might have been a well-organised administrative machinery for collection of land revenue. Agrahara villages enjoyed tax exemptions. Sixteen types of coins of the Vishnukundin rulers, brought to light by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, speak well of the economic prosperity of the kingdom.

RELIGION

All the records of the Vishnukundins throw a flood of light on the religious conditions of the period. The kings prior to

Madhavavarma II seem to be patrons of Buddhism. Govindavarma I was hailed as the Buddhist and builder of stupas and Viharas. His wife Paramabhattarikamahadevi also patronised Buddhism and built a monastery. Vikramendravaima II, though a 'paramamahesvara', made liberal grants to the same Mahadevi's Buddhist vihara. These things show that Buddhism was a considerable force to be reckoned with during the Vishnukundin period.

However from the time of accession of Madhavavarma II, an aggressive self-assertion of the Vedic brahmanism is to be seen in Andhradesa. Elaborate Vedic ceremonies like Rajasuya, Purushamedha, Sarvamedha and Aswamedha were undertaken. The celebration of all these sacrifices represents the militant spirit of the brahmanical revival. Some of the rulers styled themselves as Paramamahesvaras. The inscriptions refer to their family deity Sriparvataswami (Lord Mallikarjuna of Srisailam). The names of rulers like Madhavavarma, Govindavarma etc. show their Vaishnava leanings. Thus both the sects might have received equal patronage from them. Rock-cut cave temples were constructed at Bezwada, Vimdavalli and Bhairavakonda which were dedicated to both the sects.

LITERATURE

The Vishnukundins were also great patrons of learning. Learned brahmins were encouraged by gifts of lands and ghatikasthanas (colleges) were established for the propagation of Vedic studies. Being a great believer in the efficacy of sanatana dharma, Indrabhattaraka established many Ghatikasthanas for imparting education on Vedic literature. Performance of several elaborate Vedic ceremonies by Madhavarmas imply the faith of the rulers in Brahmanism and popularity of Vedic learning with the people during this period.

Apart from being patrons of learning, some of the Vishnukundin kings were by themselves men of letters of high cadre. Vikramendravarman I was described as 'Mahakavi' in a record. Further, an incomplete work on Sanskrit poetics called 'Janasraya Chhandovichhiti', was attributed to Madhavarma IV who

bore the title of 'Janasraya'. As is known from the available records, Sanskrit enjoyed royal patronage. Telugu had not yet grown to the stature of receiving royal patronage.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Being great devotees of Siva, the Vishnukundins seem to have been responsible for construction of a number of cave temples dedicated to Siva. The cave structures at Bezwada, Mogalrajapuram, Vundavalli and Bhairavakonds were dated to this period. Though some of these cave temples were attributed to the Pallavas (Mahendravarma I), the emblems found on the caves and the areas being under the rule of the Vishnukundins during this period clearly show that these were contributions of the Vishnukundins. The big four-storeyed cave at Vundavalli and the 8 cave temples in Bhairavakonda in Nellore district show however clear resemblances with the architecture of Pallava Mahendravarman's period.

CHAPTER 4

The Eastern Chalukyas

The Eastern Chalukyas were a branch of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi or Badami. Pulakesin II was one of the greatest kings of Badami, He conquered the whole of Eastern Deccan, corresponding roughly to the coastal districts of Andhra, quite early in his reign and appointed his brother Kirbja Vishnuvardhana as Viceroy. On the death of Pulakesin II, the Vengi Viceroyalty developed into an independent kingdom. Kubja Vishnuvardhana founded the line of kings called the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi which outlived the main Vatapi dynasty by many generations. They had their capital originally at Vengi near Eluru of the West Godavari district and later changed to Rajamahendravaram. They were lords of the Vengi country for nearly 500 years till destiny had taken them to the Chola kingdom in the South. However they continued to hold Vengi for several generations even after that. The five centuries of the Eastern Chalukyan rule of Vengi saw not merely the consolidation of this region into an unified whole, but also saw the efflorescence of Telugu culture, literature, poetry and art. It can verily be said to be the golden period of Andhra history.

1. Circumstances Under which the Eastern Chalukyan Rule was Established

ORIGIN OF THE CHALUKYAS

The word 'Chalukya' seems to have been derived from the word 'Chalkya' which was the original form of the dynastic

name. Like the Chutus and Kadambas, the Chalukyas were an indigenous tribe. They rose to importance in the later Satavahana period and asserted their independence after the downfall of the central empire. In the Maruturu inscription of Pulakesin II. a village that was granted by him is said to be situated in the Chalukya Vishaya. It is therefore clear that the original word of 'Chalukya' was applied to a territorial division or a Vishaya of a kingdom. Like the Pugiya, the Hiranyakas and the Dhanakas of the (Kshvaku period, the territorial division came to be known as Chalukya after the Chalukyan clan. The provenance of the Maruturu grant and also the other factors mentioned in it clearly prove that this Chalukya Vishaya must have comprised portions of the ceded districts of Andhra Pradesh including perhaps parts of the Mahboobnagar district of Telangana, Hence the Chalukyas were the original residents of this area.

According to the earliest Chalukyan legend preserved in an inscription dated 578 A.D. at Badami, the Chalukyas were worshippers of the feet of the sacred Lord Kartikeya and belonged to Manavyasa Gotra and had themselves purified by the performance of several yajnas. They belonged to a war like race of Kshatriyas. They were nourished by the Saptamatrikas, acquired great merit and prosperity and obtained the Varaha Lanchana by the divine favour and grace of Vishnis.

MANY A PROBLEM TO BE ANSWERED

Pulakesin II with whom the Western Chalukyan line of kings came to prominence was a warrior. He built up his kingdom from scratch, gave victorious battle to Harshavardhana in the north and held his vast empire in a close grip. A graphic description of his conquests is given in the Aihols inscription of Ravikirti. According to it, one is to believe that the Chalukyan conquest of the Coastal Andhra was effected in the course of a single campaign. This may not be true. The invaders met with stout resistance and it was only after a strenuous warfare of ten years that they could reduce the country to subjection. In this process of the conquest of the

East Coast, several doubts arise. When did the actual conquest of the coastal districts of Andhra take place? who were the enemies from whom the Chalukyas conquered these territories? When was Kubja Vishnuvardhana appointed as Viceroy of the region? When did he assume full titles as a Maharaja? Why was Vengi partitioned as a separate kingdom. These questions which sound simple evoke many and sometimes even conflicting answers.

THE DATE OF THE CHALUKYAN CONQUEST OF COASTAL ANDHRA

The Maruturu grant of Pulakesin II gives us some information regarding this. The grant was made immediately after the conquest by seizure of Pishtapuraka. This was indicated by the phrase in the inscription in lines 13 and 14. i.e. 'Pishtapurakadana Grahananantaryena'. 'Adana' means seizure, 'grahana' means capture and 'anantaryena' means immediately after. This phrase therefore clearly proves that the grant was given immediately after Pishtapuraka was captured. The inscription was issued in the eighth victorious reign of Pulakesin II. Dr. N. Ramesan who edited the inscription has come to the conclusion that it was issued in 616 A.D. So by 616 A.D. Vengi must have been conquered by Pulakesin II. The details of the Maruturu grant indicate the same. The King is described as granting the village Maruturu from Kallura and the Aluka Maharaja for whose benefit also the grant was made said to have come from Mangalapura. Pishtapuraka is the modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari district. Kallura is probably to be identified with the modern Kollur and Mangalapura with the modern Mangalagiri in Guntur district. The village that was granted was Maruturu, a famous village of Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur district.

However the Chalukyan conquest of the coast was not affected in the course of a single campaign. There must have been a strenuous warfare for some years.

WHO WAS THE ENEMY FROM WHOM THE CHALUKYAS CONQUERED THE COASTAL DISTRICTS?

Whether it was the Durjaya family or the Vishnukunndin family, there are doubts regarding the enemy from whom the

Chalukyas conquered the coastal region. No doubt, the Maruturu and Kopparam plates conclusively prove that in the first two decades of the seventh century itself, the Gunlur-Netlore region had been fully conquered by Pulakesin II and the Pallava king Mahendravarman might have been deprived of these territories during the early part of the reign of Pulakesin II. But with regard to the rulers of the region north of the Krishna river, uncertainly prevails. The conquest of Vengi by the Eastern Chalukyas from the Durjayas is referred by the tradition preserved in the Katlaparru grant of Gunaga Vijayaditya, the Pandipaka grant of Chalukya Bhima I and the Kandayam plates of Danarava. In no Eastern Chalukyan grant, the Vishnukundins were mentioned. But one cannot definitely conclude that the Chalukyas conquered from the Durjayas and got under their control a vast area stretching from Jaipur in Orissa to some parts of Krishna district. The inscriptions speak of the Chalukyan conquest of a small principality around Pithapuram from the Durjayas. What about the territory between the rivers Godavari and Krishna? Probably it was still during this period under the Vishnukundins. The proximity of the Polamuru inscription of the Vishnukundin Madhavavarma with that of the Eastern Chalukyan Jayasimha I suggests the same. So it is possible that the Chalukyas got success over the Durjayas in Pithapuram by which they got a footing on the east coast. Pithapuram might have been the first capital of the Eastern Chalukyas from where they marched their victorious banners into the Vishnukundin territory.

THE STARTING POINT OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYAN CHRONOLOGY

It may be remembered that Pulakesin II conquered Vengi country and sent his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana there as Viceroy and that Kubja Vishnuvardhana was the founder of the Eastern Chalukyan line, which held sway over the coastal districts of Andhra for nearly 500 years. The exact starting point of the Eastern Chalukyan chronology has been the subject matter of great doubt and discussion. Dr. Fleet remarked thus:

The historical event, which gave the starting point, was the installation of Kubja Vishnuvardhana not as the Maharaja or the independent ruler of a separate kingdom but as Yuvaraja associated, in the government with his elder brother Pulakesin II.'

Dr. Fleet proposed that Pulakesin II conferred the sovereignty (Viceroyalty) of Vengi on his younger brother in 615 A.D. But the Satara grant speaks of the presence of Kubja Vishnuvardhana on the banks of the Bhimaradhi as Yuvaraja in the 8th regnal year of Pulakesin II (616-17 A.D.). Sri M.S. Sarma on the basis of the Kopparam plates corresponding to 631 A.D. firmly assuming that they were the earliest evidence to the invasion of Vengi, fixed the starting point in 633 A.D. However this may be set aside in view of the later research and particularly of information furnished in the Maruturu grant.

The late B.V. Krishnarao arrived at 624 A.D. and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya accepted this date mainly influenced by the details given in the Terala (Palnad taluq) epigraph, Dr. N. Ramesan who also worked on the problem supports 624 A.D. as the date of appointment of Kubja Vishnuvardhana as Viceroy of Vengi. This date based on astronomical and other calculations tallies with other dates assigned to the later kings of the dynasty. This may also be confirmed by other means. As stated in the Maruturu grant of 616 A.D., Pulakesin II conquered Vengi. In the same year (8th regnal year) of Pulakesin II, Vishnuvardhana was a Yuvaraja in the West as is seen from his Satara grant. The Kopparam plates of Vishnuvardhana issued in the 21st regnal year of Pulakesin II clearly show Kubja Vishnuvardhana as Viceroy of the Andhra area. So the date of appointment of Vishnuvardhana as Yuvaraja of Vengi should be between the years 616 and 631 A.D., i.e. between the Maruturu and Kopparam plates and thus 624 A.D. which falls within the above mentioned limits, may be the most satisfactory year as the starting point of the Eastern Chalukyan Chronology.

WHY WAS VENGI PARTITIONED FROM THE WESTERN CHALUKYAN KINGDOM?

By the time of the Chipurupalli grant in his own year eighteen, Kubja Vishnuvardhana had assumed for himself the

title of a Maharaja. If 624 A.D. is taken to be the starting point of the Eastern Chalukyan chronology, the date of the above inscription has been calculated to be 641 A.D. What was the necessity for the partition of Vengi as a separate kingdom from the Western Chalukyan empire? Hitherto it has been tacitly assumed that this was a formal division and Pulakesin II conferred independent sovereignty of Vengi on his younger brother. It is improbable to hold that a great warrior like Pulakesin II could not have administered Vengi also as part of his kingdom and felt the need for a separate king. Kopparam plates make it clear that Kubja Vishnuvardhana was living only as Yuvaraja subordinate to his brother Pulakesin II in the Vengi area. A revolution of Kubja Vishnuvardhana can be ruled out of account since he seems to have been very loyal and affectionate towards his brother. Though the Chipurupalli grant of Vishnuvardhana was issued in 641 A.D. with the appellation of Maharaja, he was himself not quite certain about his title and did not mention his regnal year with the usual phrase Pravardhamana Vijayarajya Samvatsare etc.

In this connection one should bear in mind for a moment the course of history in the Western Chalukyan country to understand the reason. The last ruling years of Pulakesin II ended in a disaster. The great Pallava king Narasimhavarman I, in order to wipe off the disgrace which his father Mahendravarma had to sustain at the hands of Pulakesin II, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chalukyas and burnt Badami. Pulakesin II actually lost his life in this encounter. This event was placed some-where in 641 A.D. by Fleet. After this there was an interregnum in the Western Chalukyan power. The date 641 A.D. is exactly equivalent to the Chipurupalli grant of Kubja Vishnuvardhana where he also haltingly made a reference to himself as Maharaja. Just as the Chalukyas of Gujarat, the Chalukyas of the Andhra line also proclaimed their independence on the death of Pulakesin II and the eclipse of the Western Chalukyan power. Thus it was in 641 A.D. when Pulakesin II fell, Vishnuvardhana issued his Chipurupalli charter where he made a very halting and modest reference to himself just as a Maharaja and did not refer to the year as 'the Pravardhamana

Vijayarajya Samvatsare' since by that time his reign had not firmly been established. He gave only a reference to his 18th year of rule over Vengi perhaps counting his rule as a Viceroy. Hence there is no necessity at all to postulate a formal division of the kingdom into two. One important and interesting point is the three events, i.e. the sack of Vatapi, destruction of Pulakesin II, and Kubja Vishnuvardhana assuming the title of Maharaja, occurred in 641 A.D. itself. It is also probable that when the disaster fell upon his brother, Kubja Vishnuvardhana, who assumed full sovereignty over Vengi being 'Priya Anuja' of Pulakesin II, could not have kept quite, but must have rushed to the help of Badami and he too must have probably fallen in the same onslaught against the Pallavas.

2. Political History of the Eastern Chalukyas

The Beginnings

The Eastern Chalukyas, also called the Chalukyas of Vengi, were a branch of the Chalukyas of Vatapi (Badami). Pulakesin II had his extensive conquests which included the whole of the Deccan in the early part of his reign. Thereupon he appointed his younger brother Kubja (The Hump-back) Vishnuvardhana as viceroy of the newly acquired territory in the Eastern Deccan. Very soon this viceroyalty developed into an independent kingdom and Vishnuvardhana became the founder of a line which cultivated the main dynasty for many generations and is known to history as that of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. These Eastern Chalukyas were lords of the Vengi country for nearly five centuries, i.e. from the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. to the last quarter of the 11th century A.D., before their destiny called them to the Chola kingdom of Tanjore in the south. They continued to hold Vengi for several generations even after that. They identified themselves with the Andhras and became in fact the makers of the Telugu culture and literature.

KUBJA VISHNUVAROHANA

It is widely accepted that Pulakesin II completed the conquest of the Vengi country by 624 A.D. and appointed his brother as Viceroy over it in that year. Soon after, this brother

Vishnuvardhana had many successes in the eastern Deccan to his credit and became virtually independent. He ruled over a kingdom extending from Nellore to Visakhapatnam. He assumed the title of Vishamasiddhi (conqueror of difficulties). The wars between his brother Putekesin II and the Pallava Narasimhavarma I might have given him his opportunity to achieve all these things.

Vishnuvardhana observed the formalities of subordination to his elder brother carefully and did not presume independence till catastrophe overtook Vatapi. He ruled till 641 A.D. He died in that year probably fighting against the Pallava forces. His son JayasimhavaMabha though enjoyed a long reign of 33 years, had no achievement for his credit.

THE CHALUKYAS AND THE RASHTRAKUTAS

During the reign of Vijayaditya I (755-772 A.D.) the ninth king, there occurred in the Western Deccan the political revolution by which the Chalukyas of Vatapi lost their dominion and were succeeded by the Rashtrakutas under Dantidurga. The enmity of the Rashtrakutas with the Chalukyas soon began to manifest itself against the Vengi kingdom also. This meant merely a lot of fighting in which the Eastern Chalukyas fared mostly badly; the exceptional instances were very occasional. Vijayaditya I was defeated by the Rashtrakuta prince, Govinda at the confluence of the Musi and the Krishna rivers and was compelled to purchase peace. His son Vishnuvardhana IV (772-808 A.D.) became subordinate to the Rashtrakuta Krishna I. He made the mistake of supporting Govinda II against Dhruva, his competent younger brother and had to reverse his policy on Dhruva's success. He gave his daughter in marriage to Dhruva. Since he ruled for long, he had enough time to be subordinate to a number of the Rashtrakuta rulers.

But Vishnuvardhana IV's son and successor Vijayaditya II (808-847 A.D.) rebelled against Rashtrakuta aggression. It proved to be only an exhibition of valour without prudence since he was expelled by Govinda III. He had to accept humiliation till the accession of Amoghavarsha I, whose military in-

competence led the former carry the Chalukyan arms into the heart of the Rashtrakuta dominions. Amoghavarsha I made peace with him and gave his sister to the latter's son Kali Vishnuvardhana. Inscriptions say of Vijayaditya that he fought 108 battles and erected 108 Siva temples.

GUNAGA VIJAYADITYA (849-892 A.D.)

Vijayaditya III, better known as Gunaga Vijayaditya, the eldest son of Kali Vishnuvardhana born of the Rashtrakuta princess Silamahadevi, succeeded his father in 849 A.D. and ruled the Kingdom for forty four years. He had a number of titles of which Gunake-nallata (the lover of virtue), Parachakra-Rama (Rama in the circle of his enemies), Tripuramartya-mahesvara (the mortal Mahesvara to the three cities) and Vallabha (the lord), are the most important.

His reign began with a short period of victory and expansion. Soon after his accession to the throne, he sent an expedition against the Boya-Kottams in the Nellore district who attempted to assert their independence by defying his authority. His army under Pandaranga dismantled the fort of Kattem and reduced the Nellore fort to ashes and advanced triumphantly to the frontier of Tondaimandalam. This expedition resulted in the permanent annexation of the south-eastern Telugu country which was until that time a fief of the Pallavas. Vijayaditya bestowed the governorship of this conquered territory with Kandukur as the headquarters on Pandaranga who is said to have worsted another chief called Rahana (whose identity or country is not known) as well in battle.

Flushed with victory over the Boyas and Rahana, Gunaga had his inroad into the Rashtrakuta dominions and destroyed Stambhapuri (Cumbum in the Kumool district). This inroad naturally provoked reprisals. His cousin through his mother, Amoghavarsha I inflicted a crushing defeat on him in the battle at Vingavalli in the neighbourhood of Cumbum and made him his vassal. Now Gunaga Vijayaditya joined the forces of his

overlord and rendered him valuable service against the rebellious feudatories who attempted to overthrow his power. He slew Mangi, the Nolamba king and the ally of the Western Ganga ruler who stirred up a rebellion in Gangavadi about the year 866 A.D. Then he advanced upon Gangavadi and inflicted a severe defeat on the Ganga army and the Ganga ruler Nitimarga Permanadi was forced to oblige to make peace with Amoghavarsha I.

After the death of Amoghavarsha I in 880 A.D., Gunaga Vijayaditya repudiated the Rashtrakuta supremacy and reasserted his independence. He defeated the new Rashtrakuta king Krishna II and his brother-in-law and the Kalachuri Chedi ruler of Dahata, Sankila and set fire to Kiranapura and Achalapura, the two principal cities of the Dhala kingdom, In this connection itself, he worsted in the field the kings of Kalinga and Kosala and the Chalukya chief of Vemulavada, the feudatories of the Rashtrakuta and Chedi monarchs. After these brilliant victories, he took over the pali banner and the symbols of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna which constituted the insignia of Rashtrakuta imperialism and assumed the title Vallabha. He is also said to have scored victories over the Pallavas and the Pandyas in the south.

In the reign of the Chalukya Bhima I (892-921 A.D.), the nephew and successor of Gunaga, the Rashtrakutas attempted to avenge the defeats. Bhima, after putting down the internal rebels, defeated even the Rashtrakutas in the battles of Niravadyapura and Peruvanguru. The death of his grandson, Amma I (921-927 A.D.) was followed by a continually fought war of succession among many claimants. The Rashtrakutas continued to interfere in this internecine warfare to their advantage. One Ammaraja II (945-970 A.D.) suppressed all his rivals and ruled the kingdom from his new capital, Rajamahendravaram. He was overthrown by his own brother, Danamava who got help from the Rashtrakutas. However Danamava was defeated and killed by Jata Choda Bhima.

JATA CHODA BHIMA

Jata Choda Bhima was the Telugu Choda chief of Pedakallu in the modern Kurnool district. He was most probably a grandson of Chalukya Bhima II through his mother and a brother-in-law (wife's brother) of Amma II. Perhaps to avenge the death of Amma, he slew Danamava in battle in 973 A.D. and took possession of Vengi. Danamava's sons were driven into exile. For the first time in the long history of the Vengi Chalukya rule, an interregnum was recorded.

Jata Choda Bhima ruled Vengi for 27 years from 972 A.D. to 1000 A.D. He compares himself in an inscription with Gunaga Vijayaditya from whom he proudly traces his descent. He subjugated the kings of Anga, Kalinga, Vaidumba and Dravida. At the zenith of his glory, he exercised authority over the entire coastal region from Mahendragiri to Kanchi and from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Karnataka.

THE CHALUKYA-CHOLA CONFLICT IN VENGU

Bhima invaded Kanchi region in 1001 A.D. This was probably in pursuance of the ambitious and imperialistic Chola army of Rajaraja I who espoused the cause of Danamava's sons, and having given his daughter in marriage to the younger of the two princes (Vimaladitya), invaded Vengi in 999-1000 A.D. to restore them to their ancestral throne. Bhima laid siege to Kanchi and captured it in 1001-2 A.D. But soon he was expelled from the Chola territory. Rajaraja I then invaded the coastal Telugu country again and having slain Bhima in battle established Saktivarma I, the elder son of Danamava, firmly in Vengi. However Vengi ceased to be an independent kingdom and became a protectorate of the Chola empire.

This Chola hegemony over the Telugu country of the maritime plain was not liked by the Chalukyas of Kalyani who had just replaced the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan. With the result.

Vengi became a bone of contention and the battle arena of a long war for the Cholas and the Western Chalukyas. Saktivarman I (1000-1011 A.D.) faced the Western Chalukya inroad into Vengi in 1006 A.D. and with the Chola help, he secured his throne back.

In the reign of Rajarajanarendra (1018-22-61 A.D.) the Chalukya-Chola rivalry in Vengi reached a high pitch. His accession to the throne was challenged by his step brother, Vijayaditya (VII) who usurped the throne with the help of Jayasimha II, king of Kalyani. But his maternal uncle and the Chola emperor, Rajendra Chola, came to his rescue and after defeating the usurper and his Western Chalukya ally, reinstated Rajarajansarendra in Vengi in 1022 A.D. and gave him his daughter Ammangadevi in marriage. Vijayaditya VII continued his efforts to dislodge his counterpart and rule the kingdom during frequent intervals (1031-35 A.D.). With the accession of Somesvara I in Kalyani and that of Rajadhiraja in Tanjore, the conflict was revived. Somesvara compelled Rajarajanarendra to accept a subordinate position. The latter's death in 1061 A.D. was followed by confusion in Vengi. Vijayaditya VII placed his son Saktivarman II on the Vengi throne. But Chola Rajendra II killed Saktivarman and raised Rajarajanarendra's son, Rajendra to the throne and gave his daughter Madhurantaki in marriage to him.

On the death of Virarajendra and the assassination of his son and successor Adhirajendra a few months later in 1070 A.D. in Tanjore, the Eastern Chalukya Rajendra, a descendant through his mother from Rajendra Chola I, went to Tanjore and ascended the Chola throne as Kulottunga I. Later he reconciled with his uncle Vijayaditya VII and allowed him to rule in Vengi (1063-68 A.D.; 1072-75 A.D.) as an independent king. With Vijayaditya's death in 1075-76 A.D., the Eastern Chalukya line came to an end. Vengi became a Chola province under Kulottunga I.

3. Relationship Between the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas

The relationship between the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas was one of characteristic dynastic struggle, where the two dynasties tried to benefit each by itself at the cost of the other. The Eastern Chalukyan empire was founded by Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the brother of Pulakesin-II, who was the great Western Chalukyan ruler of Vatapi. The line founded by Vishnuvardhana held sway in the Telugu country for over four centuries from the first quarter of the 7th century A.D.

Rashtrakutas were feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. When the Western Chalukyan power received a set back in the reign of Kirtivarman II, Dantidurga, the Rashtrakuta prince began to assert his power at the expense of his over-lord and the final assault was given to the Western Chalukyan empire sometime in 753 A.D. The disappearance of the friendly house of Badami and the emergence in its place of the new Rashtrakuta power upset the equilibrium of the Southern Deccan. Vengi which enjoyed comparative peace since the time of its conquest under Pulakesin II, was drawn into vortex of an inter-dynastic struggle and became the arena of warfare between the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas during the succeeding two centuries.

Dantidurga though overthrew the Western Chalukyan power and conquered Kanchi, Kosala, Kalinga and Srisailem, he did not turn to himself against the then Eastern Chalukyan emperor Vijayaditya I. But towards the end of the reign, the Rashtrakutas became more aggressive and invaded Vengi from the west. Krishna I, the successor of Dantidurga sent his son Govinda. According to the Alas plates dated 769 A.D., the king of Vengi, Vijayaditya unable to resist the invading Rashtrakuta forces saved himself 'by the cession of his treasury, forces and his country'. The reason for this Rashtrakuta invasion was perhaps the desire of Krishna I to chastise Vijayaditya for inter-fering in the affairs of Karnataka, besides territorial ambition

Vijayaditya was succeeded by his son Vishnuvardhana IV. The Rashtrakuta ruler was Govinda II. But soon there was a dispute in the house of the Rashtrakutas between Govinda II and Dhruva. In the contest Govinda acquired the help of Eastern Chalukyas against his brother Dhruva. But finally Dhruva emerged successful defeating Govinda II along with the other kings who helped him. The defeat of Govinda and the enthronement of his rival in his place brought disaster especially to Vishnuvardhana IV, Dhruva soon after his settlement on the throne organised an expedition against Vengi. The Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions though ignored this invasion, Vishnuvardhana IV had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Rashtrakuta monarch by paying tribute. It was further cemented by a matrimonial alliance. Vishnuvardhana IV gave his daughter Seelamahadevi in marriage to Dhruva. The royal houses of Vengi and Malkhed were thus for the first time matrimonially allied in history. As a consequence, peace was restored between the two kingdoms till the death of Vishnuvardhana IV in 806 A.D.

The contest between Vijayaditya II and his brother Bheemasaluki provided again an opportunity for the Rashtrakutas to interfere in the affairs of the Eastern Chalukyas. Dhruva died in 794 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Govinda III. He had to face a rebellion during which Vishnuvardhana IV declared himself independent, Govinda III after putting down the rebellion turned his attention to the affairs of Vengi. The death of Vishnuvardhana and the outbreak of a war between his sons for the throne gave him an opportunity to reestablish his supremacy over the country. Therefore Rashtrakuta Govinda III supported the cause of Bheemasaluki who was not strong enough to stand before his brother Vijayaditya II. Meanwhile Rashtrakuta throne passed on to Amoghavarsha I. The Eastern Chalukya Vijayaditya II took advantage of the situation inflicted a crushing defeat on his rival Bheema and expelled him from the kingdom. Vengi now became an independent state. The Rashtrakuta boy-king Amoghavarsha who had to face an attack from Gujarat sued for peace with Vijayaditya and in the agreement, the regent's sister Seelamahadevi was given in marriage to Vijayaditya's son and successor Kali Vishnuvardhana.

After the brief rule of Vijayaditya II's son, the throne passed on to Gunaga Vijayaditya or Vijayaditya III. In spite of the ties of Kinship between Vijayaditya III and the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha I, they came into conflict with each other. This might be due to the set back the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty received. The contemporary records make us believe that Gunaga Vijayaditya sustained a defeat in the battle and was obliged to conclude a disagreeable peace acknowledging the Rashtrakuta supremacy. It is said that Vijayaditya marched at the behest of the Rattesa against the Gangas and defeated them in battle. Rattesa was no other than Amoghavarsha I himself and Gunaga Vijayaditya attacked the Gangas as his subordinate. This must have happened before 866 A.D. (Nilgund Epigraph). A close examination of the records of this period reveal that the war started with the Eastern Chalukyan invasion of Stamba (Kambam). The forces of Gunaga Vijayaditya and Amoghavarsha met on the battle field of Vingavalli where the Chalukyas faced a crushing defeat. Thus humbled by the Rashtrakuta king, the Eastern Chalukyan ruler Gunaga was forced to fight on behalf of the Rashtrakutas against the Gangas. However opportunity came soon for him to avenge his defeat. Amoghavarsha I died about 880 A.D. and his son Krishna II ascended the throne. His accession seems to have coincided with an invasion of the Gurjara Pratihara dynasty from the North. Taking advantage of this confusion. Gunaga Vijayaditya proclaimed his independence and declared war upon Krishna II. The Sataluru grant issued by Vijayaditya III alludes to his conquest of the Rashtrakuta kingdom and the establishment of his suzerainty over the whole Dakshinapatha including the Trikalanga country. The fact that he set up at the gate of his palace the symbols of Ganga and Yamuna and the Pali dhvaja and the assumption of the title 'Samadhigata Pancha Mahasabda' a special mark of permountcy, clearly establishes that Gunaga successfully displaced the Rashtrakutas. The Dharmavaram epigraph states that the battle is said to have fought in two distinct compaigns. The Attili grant of Chalukya Bheema I states that Gunaga set fire to the cities of Kiranapura and Achalapura. The Kaluehambarru grant of Amma II speaks of the worship offered by the Vallabha king (Rashtrakuta) to

Gunaga Vijayaditya. The Pithapuram inscription of Maltappa-deva mentions that Vijayaditya burnt Chakrakuta, restored to Vallabhendra his own exalted position and received elephants from the king of Kalinga. These inscriptions clearly show that Vijayaditya overran the Rashtrakuta dominion and accepted the submission of his rival Krishna 11-

The hostilities continued again between the two dynasties even in the time of Chalukya Bheema I, the successor of Gunaga Vijayaditya. From Koravi epigraph and Ederu plates of Amma I, it is inferred that Chalukya Bheema I had faced more than one Rashtrakuta invasion. The internal troubles faced by Bheema I from his Dayadas also encouraged the Rashtrakuta Krishna II to invade the Vengi country with the assistance of forces of Karnata and Lata. The Rashtrakutas reached the outskirts of the capital Vengi. Two notable engagements, one at Niravadyapura and the other at Peruvangu, took place. In these two engagements, Irimartiganda, son of Bheema I, was victorious; but he lost his life. After these engagements, the rest of the reign of Chalukya Bheema I passed on peacefully. The death of Chalukya Bheema I was followed by a period of turmoil and internecine strife during which the ambitious princes of the dynasty were engaged in fighting with one another. The Rashtrakutas had their intrigues by spousing the cause of some one or the other of the disgruntled princes and thus hectic activity on the part of the Rashtrakutas was seen. However even in the Rashtrakuta dominions, quick succession followed along with the internal strife. When Amoghavarsha II ascended the throne in 930 A.D., he set his heart upon the conquest of Vengi and sent an army with the Eastern Chalukya Yuddhamalla II to help him to regain the throne. The internal condition of Vengi was favourable for the success of this venture. At last, Yuddhamalla II occupied the Vengi throne. However the Rashtrakuta forces were kept in the Eastern Chalukyan dominions.

Yuddhamalla II had to give away and return to exile, when Bheema II, a powerful protagonist to the Vengi throne contested with him. The Malyampundi grant of Amma II refers

to the successful victory of Bheema II over Yuddhamalla II and his supporters, the Rashtrakutas. The result of this war was that the power of Rashtrakuta Govinda IV was undermined and he had to face rivalry from his Kinsmen. These disorders in the Rashtrakuta kingdom left Chalukya Bheema II free to consolidate his position and establish his power firmly in Vengi.

The Rashtrakuta king Govinda IV was succeeded by Krishna III and in Vengi Chalukya Bheema II was succeeded by his son Amma II (945-970 A.D.). Amma II had no smooth sailing. He had to face the Rashtrakuta invasion in 955 A.D. To ensure his success, he fostered dissensions in the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty and won over to his side Danarnava, the elder brother of Amma II. Amma II could not cope up with the situation. Unable to withstand the advance of the Rashtrakuta forces and turn the tide of the invasion, he abandoned the kingdom and saved himself by timely flight to Kalinga. Krishna III entrusted the Government of Vengi to Danarnava. Thus once again Vengi was brought within the fold of Rashtrakuta hegemony.

The invasion of the Telugu Chola ruler Jata Chola Bheema on the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom and his usurpation of the Vengi throne caused a set back in the fortunes of the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty. Danarnava's son took refuge in Cholamandalam. By this time, the Rashtrakutas who competed in the past with the Eastern Chalukyas had disappeared and the Western Chalukyan dynasty of Katyani was established. Thus after a vigorous career of almost two centuries and a quarter, the imperial Rashtrakutas disappeared from history.

From the above discussion, it can be said that the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas waged wars for 200 years with a view to dislodge each other. Both the dynasties tried to establish their hegemony over the other, whenever the opportunity came. The struggle was not strictly confined to these dynasties only. At times they took the help from the neighbouring kingdoms. The fortunes fluctuated from one dynasty to the other. Neither of the powers could establish their grip

over the other permanently. Even the matrimonial alliances concluded in between them proved to be more political than cemented with any bond of love.

4. The Relations Between the Eastern Chalukyas and the Cholas

(The interference of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani in the Affairs of the Vengi Chalukyas)

Towards the last quarter of tenth century A.D., the Deccan was ruled by two Chalukyan dynasties, the Western from Kalyani and the Eastern from Vengi (In fact, Rajamahendravaram was the new capital). The Eastern Chalukyan kingdom, founded by Kubja Vishnuvardhana, a brother of Pulakesin II. continued without break from the 7th to the 11th century A.D. (with the exception of the Telugu Choda interregnum). Tailapa II brought about the fall of the Rashtrakuta power in Western Decan in 973 A.D. He revived the Western Chalukyan kingdom and founded in Kalyani kingdom of the Chalukyan dynasty. The relations between the Kalyani and the Vengi Chalukyan kingdoms were mostly inimical.

To the South of the Vengi kingdom were the Cholas who became dominant having brought about fall of the Pallavas. Rajaraja, who is considered the greatest Chola ruler, ascended the throne of Tanjore in 985 A.D. He pursued his imperialistic ambitions with an aggressive attitude. He conquered and consolidated the southern provinces and then in a mighty sweep in the north, brought Gangapadi, Nolambapadi, Talaikadu and parts of southern Mysore under his rule. This Chola advance into Mysore brought them into conflict with the Kalyani Chalukyan power.

It is at this juncture Rajaraja thought that it was in the best interests of the Cholas to see that the Eastern Chalukyas did not make common cause with their cousins in the west, for such a coalition would constitute a challenge to the rising Chola power. He decided befriend the weaker as against the

stronger and create the traditional sphere of balance of power in South India. He took advantage of the situation when the sons of the Eastern Chalukya Danamava, being deprived of their parental kingdom by Jata Choda Bhima, sought his help. He espoused their cause and entered into matrimonial alliance with them. He gave his daughter Kundavai in marriage to Vimaladitya, the younger of the two princes and his was but a beginning of series of diplomatic marriages between these two dynasties. He invaded coastal Telugu country twice and in the second attempt in 1002-03 A.D., having slain Jata Choda Bhima in battle succeeded in establishing Darramava's elder son Saktivarma I firmly on the Vengi throne.

This Eastern Chalukyan alliance with the Chola monarch had its far-reaching consequences. It deprived the rulers of Vengi much of their individuality and autonomy. Vengi ceased to be an independent kingdom and became a protectorate of the Chola empire. The formation of the Chola-Chalukya alliance and the establishment of Chola ascendancy over the entire coastal Telugu country upset the political equilibrium of the Southern Deccan and plunged the land into interminable dynastic wars. The Chalukyas of Kalyani...challenged the Chola supremacy over the Telugu country of the maritime plain, and Vengi became the theatre of a long war which lasted, with few brief intervals, for the next 135 years, the history of Vengi during this period is a history of this war; the Eastern Chalukyas, the rulers of the country recede into the background, leaving the Cholas and the Kalyani Chalukyas to dispute the field.'

The first of the series of Kalyani Chalukyan invasions which was to devastate Vengi during the next century and a quarter occurred during the early years of rule Saktivarma I (1000-11 A.D.). Satyasraya (997-1008 A.D.) the son and successor of Tailapa II, sent an army led by one of his generals. Baya Nambi to invade the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom in 1006 A.D. to overthrow the Chola-Chalukya alliance and bring the east coast under his control. The general entered Vengi from the south, reduced the forts of Dharanikota and Yanamadala to ashes and established himself at Chebrolu (Guntur

district). At this juncture. Rajaraja distracted the attention of Satyasraya by sending his son Rajendra Chola to invade Rattapadi in the west and thus compelled him to withdraw his army from Vengi for the defence of his realm. After the Western Chalukyan army retired from the east coast, Saktivarman was left in possession of his kingdom.

At the close of the reign of Virmaladitya (1011-18 A.D.)-the succession to the Vengi throne was in dispute. His son Rajaraja Narendra, through the Chola princess Kundavai, was appointed crown prince and succeeded his father on the throne of Vengi. But Vijayaditya VII, who was the step-brother of Rajaraja Narendra, seized power with the help of Jayasimha II, the Western Chalukyan ruler. Rajaraja Narendra naturally sought the help of his maternal uncle and overlord, the Chola emperor Rajendra Chola I. The latter promptly dispatched forces to his aid. The tradition of fighting on two fronts in the north, which was started by Rajaraja Chola, was continued by his son as well. Rajendra Chola I sent a powerful army against Rattapadi to divert the attention of Jayasimha II and prevent him from sending effective help to Vijayaditya VII. With this, the king of Kalyani was compelled to take steps for the defence of his kingdom. On the Eastern Chalukyan front, the Chola army led by the general Soliyavarasan defeated Vijayaditya and his Kalinga and Odda supporters in several battles, took possession of the country on behalf of Rajaraja Narendra and proceeded afterwards on a grand military expedition to the Gangetic valley. To protect the rear of his army campaigning in the Gangetic valley, Rajendra Chola I had his sojourn on the banks of the Godavari, during which he enthroned his nephew Rajaraja Narendra as the ruler of Vengi and celebrated the latter's coronation on 16th August 1022 A.D. He even gave his daughter Ammangai in marriage to his nephew who had by her a son Rajendra named after him.

Rajaraja Narendra was constantly beset with difficulties during his long rule of 41 years. His half-brother Vijayaditya never gave up his designs upon the throne. He managed probably with the help from the Western Chalukya court to

oust his brother, seize the throne and keep himself in power between 1031 A.D. and 1035 A.D. Even after this, Rajaraja Narendra did not enjoy peaceful reign. About, the year 1042 A.D. the new ruler of Kalyani, Ahavamalla Somesvara I, with whom Vijayaditya VII allied himself, sent an expedition against Vengi. Rajendra Chola I sent some Chola forces to Vengi under his Brahman general Rajaraja Brahmamaharaja. A bloody battle took place at Kalidindi in the West Godavari district. The result of the battle was indecisive. A lull prevailed in the warfare after this battle.

Rajadhiraja I (1042-52 A.D.), the son and successor of Rajendra Chola I, in his eagerness to restore the Chola hegemony over Vengi to its former absolute state, led an expedition into the coastal Telugu country in 1044-45 A.O. He fought a battle at Dhannada (Dharanikota in the Guntur district) and compelled the Western Chalukyan army along with Vijayaditya VII to retreat in disorder. He then entered into the Western Chaiukyan dominions and set fire to the Kollipaka fort on the frontier between the Kalyani and Vengi territories. This relief for Rajaraja Narendra, however, was only temporary, for in 1047 A.O. itself, Vengi and Kalinga were lost by the Cholas. The Western Chalukyas held them almost upto the end of Chola Virarajendra's reign (1062-69 A.D.). It is very strange that somehow Rajadhiraja I suddenly lost interest in the Vengi affairs and never made any attempt to re-establish his authority in the Telugu country. Rajaraja Narendra realised that to continue fight with the Western Chalukyas was waste and hence concluded peace with Somesvara I. In order to show his respect towards Karnatakas, he assumed their titles like 'Satyasrayakulasekhara' and "Samastabhuvanaraya" Somesvara appointed one of his Pradhanis. Narayanabhatta as the Sthanapati in the court of Rajamahendravaram to look after his imperial affairs. This Narayanabhatta was a distinguished scholar. He assisted Rajaraja Narendra's court poet and purohit Nannayabhatta in the composition of his Telugu Mahabharata

The death of Rajaraja Narendra in 1061 A.D. offered another opportunity to the Kalyani court to strengthen its hold on

Vengi. Vijayaditya VII seized Vengi and with the consent of his suzerain of Kalyani whom he had served loyally for several years, established himself permanently in the kingdom. Meanwhile prince Rajendra, son of Rajaraja Narendra through the Chola princess Ammangai was brought up in the Chola harem. He married Madhurantakidevi, the daughter of the new Chola ruler Rajendra II (1054-55 A.D. —1063 A.D.), who was the brother and successor of Rajadhiraja I. In order to restore him on the Vengi throne, the Chola ruler Rajendra II sent his son Rajamahendra and brother Virarajendra against the Western Chalukyas and Vijayaditya VII. The Chola forces marched against Gangavadi and drove away the Chalukyas. Virarajendra then marched against Vengi and probably killed Saktivarma It, son of Vijayaditya VII.

Meanwhile, Rajendra II died and as his son Rajamahendra had predeceased him, his brother Virarajendra went back to Gangaikondacholapura and coronated himself there in 1062-63 A.D. Fortunes fluctuated for the Eastern Chalukya Rajendra during this period. For sometime he was found ruling in Chakrakuta, while his uncle Vijayaditya VII was allowed to rule Vengi. On the death of Somesvara I in 1068 A.D., Vikramaditya VI, one of his three sons, began to pursue his plans for securing the throne of Kalyani for himself. Accordingly he first got Vijayaditya to make his submission to Virarajendra Chola and make peace with him and soon after followed the same course himself. Virarajendra even gave his daughter in marriage to Vikramaditya VI.

On the death of Virarajendra and the assassination of his son Adhirajendra in 1070 A.D., Rajendra Chalukya, a descendant through his mother from Rajendra Chola I, went to the south and established himself on the Chola throne as Kulottunga Chola I. He reconciled himself with his uncle Vijayaditya VII and allowed him to rule Vengi during the remaining years of his life. With Vijayaditya's death in 1075 A.D., the Eastern Chalukyan line came to an end. Vengi became a province of the Chole empire. Kulottunga Chola I administered the province through his sons by sending them as Viceroys. However

there was a prolonged fight between him and Vikramaditya VI over the possession of Vengi which frequently changed hands. This perpetual struggle between the two great rulers ended in the Vengi kingdom slipping out of the Chola hands.

5. General Conditions of the Eastern Chalukyan Period

ADMINISTRATION

It may be assumed that in the initial stages, the Eastern Chalukyan court was more or less a replica of that of Badami, and as generations passed, local factors gained in strength and the Vengi monarchy developed features of its own; but still, external influences continued to be present since the Eastern Chalukyas had had long and intimate contact, either friendly or hostile, with the Pallavas, the Rashtrakutas, the Cholas and the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

The Eastern Chalukyan government was a monarchy of the class which is described in the Hindu works on Artha and Dharma sastras. The inscriptions refer to the traditional seven components of the state (Saptanga), and the eighteen tirthas (offices), such as mantri (minister), purohita (chaplain), senapati (commander), Yuvaraja (heir-apparent), dauvarika (door keeper), pradhana (chief), adhyaksha (head of department) and so on. No information is available as to how the work of administration was carried on. They probably followed the injunctions laid down in works on Rajaniti.

The Vishaya and Kottam were the administrative subdivisions known from the records. The Karmarashtra and the Boya-Kottams are examples of these. The royal edicts (recording gifts of lands or villages) are addressed to all naiyogikavallabhas, a general term containing no indication of their duties, as well as to the grameyakas, the residents of the village granted. The Manneyas are also occasionally referred in inscriptions. They held assignments of land or revenue in different villages. Anyway it is reasonable to hold that there was no settled administration worthy of the name in the kingdom as a whole. Fratricidal wars and foreign invasions

frequently disturbed the land. The territory was parcelled out into many small principalities (estates) held by the nobility consisting of collateral branches of the ruling house Such as those of Elamanchili, Pithapuram and Mudigonda, and a few kshatriya families (Kona Haihayas, Kolanu Saronathas etc.), closely connected by marriage ties with the Eastern Chalukyas and others (The Velanadus, Kondapadamatis, Chagis, Parichhedis etc.) who were raised to high position for their loyal services. When the Vengi ruler was strong, the nobility paid allegiance and tribute to him, but when the weakness was apparent, they were ready to join hands with the enemies against the royal house.

Regarding the village administration, the information is scanty. Probably the administration was in the hands of grameyakas or rashtrakutapramukhas (chief cultivators). In the Pabhuparru grant of Saktivarma I, gramani was referred as the representative of the crown.

SOCIETY

The population in the Vengi country was heterogenous in character. Yuan Chwang, who travelled in the Andhra country after the establishment of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom, noted that the people were of a violent character, were of a dark complexion and were fond of arts. The society was based on hereditary caste system. Even the Buddhists and Jains who originally disregarded caste, adopted it. Besides the four traditional castes, minor communities like Boyas and Saharas (uncivilized) were also seen. The Brahmns were held in high esteem in the society. They were proficient in Vedas and Sastras and were given gifts of land and money. They held lucrative posts such as councillors, ministers and members of civil service. They entered even army and some of them rose to positions of high command (Vajjayya praggada in the time of Gunaga Vijayaditya)

The Kshatriyas were the ruling and warring class. Their love of intrigue and fighting was responsible for civil war for

two centuries. The Komatis (Vaisyas) as a trading class, were a flourishing community. Their organisation into a powerful guild (Nakaram) which had its headquarters in Penugonda (West Godavari) and branches in seventeen other centres had its beginnings in this period. It seems there used to be a minister for communal affairs (samayamantri) in the government. The Sudras constituted the bulk of the population and there were several sub-castes among them. The army furnished a career for most of them and some of them, acquired even the status of samanta and mandalika. The Tamils and Kannadigas in the Vengi kingdom were telugised. Polygamy was a general feature of the society. Concubinage (having mistress-wives) was popular and it must have been a status symbol.

RELIGION

In the religious sphere. Buddhism which was dominant once was now in a decadent position. Its monasteries were practically deserted, when the Chinese traveller visited the Vengi country. Due to their love of sacred relics in stupas, a few might have lingered on, Ywan Chwang noticed some twenty or more Buddhist aramas in which more than three thousand Sramanas lived. He spent some time in Amaravati and studied Mahasanghika Abhidamma with the help of two sramanas. With the spread of Vajrayana Tantric cult and moral degradation. Buddhism had lost ground and the Buddha at Amaravati was in fact worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu.

Jainism. unlike Buddhism, continued to enjoy some support from the people. This is evident from the several deserted images in ruined villages all over Andhra. The inscriptions also record the construction of Jain basadis and grants of land for their support from the monarchs and the people. The rulers like Kubja Vishnuvardhana, Vishnuvardhana III and Amma II patronised Jainism. Vimaladitya even became a declared follower of the doctrine of Mahavira. Bezwada. Jenupadu (Aryavatam in East Godavari), Penugonda (West Godavari) and Munugodu (Guntur district) were the famous jain centres of the period.

As regards Hinduism which was the national religion throughout the Chalukya period, Vaishnavism was not popular. Saivism supplanted Buddhism and subsequently became the religion of masses. Some of the rulers, declared themselves as 'Paramamaheswaras'. The pancharamas, Amaravati, Draksharam, Bhimavaram, Palakollu and Samalkot which are believed to have been once famous centres of Buddhism, attained great celebrity as Saiva pilgrim centres. The Pasupata, Kalamukha and Kapalika sects were referred in the records of the period. The Mahasena temple at Chebrolu (Guntur district) was specially noted for its annual jatra. One of the features of this jatra was a grand procession of the image all the way from Chebrolu to Bezwada and back. The Eastern Chalukya rulers like Vijayaditya II, Yuddhamalla I. Vijayaditya III and Bhima I took active interest in the construction of many a temples. The temple establishments like dancers and musicians show that during this period, temple was not only a centre of religious worship but a fostering ground of *fine* arts.

LITERATURE

Before Nannaya, next to Sanskrit, Karmada is the language that commanded prestige and position in the literary world. Ponna (Santipurana). Pampa (Jaina Bharata, Adipurana and Vikramarjuna Vijaya) and Nagavarma (Chhandombudhi and Kadambari), the three great Kannada poets, who were Jains by faith, were closely associated with Kammanadu and Vangipuram (Guntur district).

Telugu literature owes its origin to the Chalukyas. Despoetry makes its first appearance in the Addanki and Kandukus inscriptions of Pandaranga in the time of Gunaga Vijayaditya (III) in the later half of the ninth century. However no literary work of any value appeared till 11th century A.D. Nannaya Bhatta's Mahabharata is the earliest extant work of Telugu literature. Nannaya was the Purohit and poet-laureatte of Rajarajanarendra in the middle of eleventh century A.D. being an erudite scholar, who was well-versed in Vedas. Sastras, Itihasas and Puranas, he undertook the Telugu version of the

Great Epic in order to counteract the influence of Pampa's Bharata (Jaina) in Karmada. He was ably assisted in his endeavour by Narayana Bhatta who was proficient in eight languages. Though incomplete, his work is universally acclaimed as a masterpiece of art. It remains unrivalled for its graceful end dignified diction and sweet, mellifious and elegant verse.

ART & ARCHITECTURE

Because of the widely spread Saiva bhakti cult and to some extent Vaishnava cult in the kingdom, construction of temples was seen on a large scale. Vijayaditya II is credited with the construction of 108 temples. Yuddhamalia I erected a temple to Kartikeya at Bezwada. Gunaga Vijayaditya constructed the Rajarajeswara, Golingeswara and Chandrasekhara temples at Biccavole (East Godavari). The Mahasena temple at Chebrole (Guntur District) was well known. Chalukya Bhima I constructed the famous Draksharbma and Chalukya Bhimavaram (Samalkot) temples. Rajarajanarendra erected three memorial shrines at Kalidindi (West Godavari). The Eastern Chalukyas, following the Pallava and Chalukya traditions, developed their own independent style of architecture which is visible in the Pancharama shrines (especially the Draksharama temple) and Biccavole temples. The Golingeswara temple at Biccavole contains some richly carved out sculptures of deities like Arthnariswara, Siva, Vishnu, Agni, Chamundi and Surya.

The Age of the Chalukya-Cholas

1. The Condition of Andhra Under the Chalukya-Cholas

On the death of the Eastern Chalukya ruler Rajaraja Narendra in 1061 A.D., his step-brother Vijayaditya VII usurped the throne and placed his son Saktivarma II as the ruler of the Vengi kingdom. But the Chola ruler Rajendradeva II intervened, killed Saktivarma and raised his nephew (sister's son) and Rajaraja Narendra's son, Rajendra Chalukya to the throne. He even gave his daughter Madhurantaki in marriage to the Chalukya prince. The sailing was not smooth for Rajendra at Rajamahendravaram. His uncle Vijayaditya VII again established his sway over Vengi in 1063 A.D. with the help of the Kalyani Chalukyas. Finding his position untenable in Vengi against his uncle, Rajendra Chalukya was induced to leave for the Eastern lands where he spent his time in military adventures. The Chola emperor Virarajendra utilised his services to reconquer Kadaram and the successful Rajendra Chalukya even visited the Chinese court representing the Cholas. In or about 1068 A.D., Rajendra overthrew Vijayaditya and took over the Government of Vengi.

When Virarajendra died and his son and successor Adhirajendra was assassinated a few months later in 1070 A.D. in the Chola capital without a lineal successor in the Vijayalaya Chola line, Rajendra Chalukya seized the Chola throne also and virtually became the ruler of both the Chola and the

Eastern Chalukya kingdoms, by right of conquest and also by virtue of belonging to both the families. This Rajendra, as already seen, married Madhuramaki, daughter of the Chola emperor Rajendra II. His father Rajaraja Narendra had married Ammangadevi, daughter of the Chola Rajendra I. His father Vimaladitya had married Kundavai, daughter of Rajaraja I Chola. Thus for three generations the Eastern Chalukyan princes had married in the Imperial Chola family and they came to feel that they belonged as much to the Chola family as to the Eastern Chalukyan. Further Rajendra of Vengi, according to 'Kalingal-tuparani', spent his childhood days in Gangaikondacholapuram and was a familiar favourite to the princes and the people of the Chola country'. Moreover the Chola kingdom was the more extensive, the more reputed and the more prosperous of the two kingdoms. It is under these circumstances, Rajendra Chalukya moved into the 'Political vacuum created by the death of Adhirajendra'. According to the recently discovered inscriptions, his accession to the Chola throne with the title Kulottunga Chola (I) must be dated after May, 1071 A.D. Since then Kulottunga I and his descendants came to be known as the Chalukya-Cholas in history.

Kulottung's acquisition of the vast and over-grown Chola kingdom also acquired him traditional hostility between the Cholas and the Western Chalukyas. So his natural enemy was Vikramaditya VI, the man in power in the Western Chalukyan kingdom. Since Kulottunga originally belonged to Vengi, he wanted to keep his relations with Vengi above any stress or strain. Hence he reconciled with his uncle Vijayaditya VII and bestowed the Vengi kingdom again on the latter, allowing him to rule almost as an independent king till his death in 1075/76 A.D. But soon after the demise of his uncle Vijayaditya, Kulottunga Chola assumed once more the sovereignty of Vengi. Thenceforth he sent his sons one after the other in succession to rule Vengi as his viceroys.

Kulottunga had seven sons by the Chola princess Madhurantaki of whom the names of only four are known from the copper-plate inscriptions of his time. They are Rajaraja

Chola Ganga, Rajaraja Mummadi Chola, Vira Chola and Vikrama Chola. Each one of them acted as Viceroy of Vengi at one time or other during the suzerainty of their father. They bore the Eastern Chalukyan titles like Vishnuvardhana and Sarvalokasraya.

Kulottunga appointed his second son Rajaraja Mummadi Chola to the rulership of Vengi, in succession to Vijayaditya VII and sent him to Vengi in 1076 A.D. This Mummadi Chola assumed, purely the Eastern Chalukyan title and name Sarvalokasraya Sri Vishnuvardhana maharaja at the time of his accession to the throne of Vengi. He celebrated his coronation at Jananathapura (Draksharama in the East Godavari district). Mummadi Chola's viceroyalty lasted at least for two years. The Velanati chief Gonka (I) of the Durjaya family was his trusted and faithful commander-in-chief. Mummadi Bhima was another officer.

During the year 1077-78 A.D. Mummadi Chola, as the viceroy, had to fight with the Kalinga and the Western Chalukyan forces. After the death of the Kalinga ruler Rajaraja Devendravarma, his agnates (dayadas) with the help of the Western Chalukyas attempted to occupy the throne. Mummadi Chola led his forces against Kalinga, crushed the enemies and restored Devendra's minor son Anantavarma Chola Ganga on the Kalinga throne. He granted twelve villages, free of all taxes, to his close friend and subordinate chief Mummadi Bhima for his help in this Kalinga expedition. These details of the grant were recorded in his Eluru grant. 'This is the first instance when the king, as the viceroy, exercised independent powers in issuing grants in his own name without acknowledging direct allegiance to his father, the Chalukya-Chola emperor'. This indicates his probable defiance of the central authority and so Kulottunga called him back to the Cholamandalam.

Mummadi Chola was replaced by his younger and more talented brother Vira Chola as the viceroy of Vengi. The new viceroy also had his coronation celebrated at Jananathapura. His viceroyalty lasted from 1078 A.D to 1004 A.D. During

this period, the Western Chalukyan troops forced their entry into the Vengi territory even upto Draksharama. Probably Tribhuvanamalla Pandya of Nolambapadi with Uchchhanggi as headquarters, who was a subordinate of the Western Chalukyas at this time, also marched on Vengi to help his lord's forces. The Kalinga general Banapati and Velanati Gonka's nephew Vedura rendered assistance to Vira Chola in repulsing the Western Chalukyan attack. The Pandyan forces were defeated by Vedura, for which he was made the chief of Kona country.

During the Viceroyalty of Rajaraja Chola-Ganga (1084-89 A.D.), the elder son of Kulottunga through Madhurantaki, the Chalukya-Chola sway was extensive from the river Manner to the Mahendragiri (in Kalinga), as is known from his Teki inscription. Velanati Gonka I continued to be the mainstay of the kingdom of Vengi. The only record of Rajaraja Chola-Ganga coming from Teki furnishes very interesting information about the social life and certain honorary privileges conferred on the descendants of Teliki families dwelling at Bezwada for their great devotion and for their services rendered in the past for the imperial Chalukyan family of Vengi. Probably the Teliki (Oilmonger) families helped Kulottunga and his children during the troubled times of foreign invasion and internal rebellion with their wealth and men, with courage and devotion.

About the year 1089 A.D., Rajaraja Chola Ganga's reign seems to have become troubled. The trouble came from the little but impregnable vassal-kingdom of Chakrakuta in the northwest of Vengi. Its chief Rajabhushana Somesvaradeva, who was the most powerful chief of his family, defied the suzerainty of the Chalukya-Cholas. He received assistance from Paramara Jagadeva, a vassal of the Western Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. Rajaraja Chola-Ganga's efforts to subjugate Somesvara proved unsuccessful and in the course of the struggle, according to B.V. Krishnarao, apparently lost his life on the battle-field.

The emperor Kulottunga at once despatched prince Vira Chola once more to Vengi as Viceroy (1089-94 A.D.) with a

large and powerful army, Somesvara returned to his country only to wait for a more favourable opportunity again to strike at Vengi. Vira Chola's vice-royalty in Vengi for the second time witnessed migration of several Tamil brahmanas into the Andhra country. He granted to 536 Brahmanas who were great Vedic scholars and masters of several branches of teaming, the great village of Virachodachaturvedamangala' formed by uniting three different villages, Malavelli, Ponnatorra and Alami. Most of these donees seem to be the Vsishnavas of Tamil origin on account of their peculiar names. These large scale migrations of the Vaishnava Tamil Brahmanas to the Andhra country were probably due to the disfavour in the Tamil country to Ramanuja Vaishnavism and the bigoted partiality of the emperor Kulottunga for the Saiva faith on one hand and due to the Vaishnava patronage of the viceroy Vira Chola who embraced the faith himself and founded great agraharas for the immigrants in Vengi. Vira Chola endowed the village Kaleru as a devabhoga to a temple of Vishnu at Chelluru (both in Ramachandrapuram Taluk of the East Godavah district).

The war of Vira Chola with Somesvara of Chakrakuta was a protracted one. It came to an end with the disgraceful defeat of the former's forces. Devendravarma III, usurper of Kalinga, also had his role in completely routing Vira Chola's army. Then Somesvara penetrated into the Vengimandala and sacked its capital Jananathapura. With this a state of anarchy prevailed in Vengi (now synonym for the Andhra country).

Under these circumstances, the emperor Kulottunga undertook the Kalinga expedition. About this expedition there is difference of opinion among the scholars. According to K.A.N. Sastri, Kulottunga fed expeditions twice against Kalinga. For his court poet Jayankondar's 'Kalingattuparani' the theme is this Kalinga war. The inscriptions of the times indicate only one expedition against Kalinga. Further M.S. Sarma's conclusion is that this expedition was against Devendravarma, who was the ruler of southern Kalinga (TriKalinga) and who was frequently making inroads into Vengi, with the encouragement of the Western Chalukyas. The person who organised this

successful expedition was Kulottunga's prime minister Karunakara-Tondaiman, the Pallava chief of Vandeinagara. The Chalukya-Chola prince Vikrama Chola, the vassal Parantaka Pandya and even the Haihaya, the Durjaya and the Kota chiefs in the coastal Andhra participated in this Karunakara's expedition. This expedition might have taken place in 1096 A.D. The Claim of Karunakara in his Draksharama record is that he drove away Devendravarman and his associates, burnt Kalinga and planted a pillar of victory on the borders of the Odhra kingdom. Kulottunga Chola's Simhachalam inscription dated 1039 A.D. clearly shows that southern Kalinga was under his suzerainty.

Some scholars believe that prince Vikrama Chola was the viceroy of Vengi at the time of the Kalinga expedition. However there is no supporting evidence for this. The inscriptions indicate that Vira Permadideva ruled Vengi with the usual titles like Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana etc. between 1094 A.D. and 1107 A.D.

Parantaka Chola was the last of the Chalukya Chola princes who acted as the viceroy of Vengi. During the period of his viceroyalty (1107-1119 A.D.), Vengi was in a turbulent state. The Western Chalukyan invasions were on the increase. Moreover mutual bickerings between Vikrama Chola and Parantaka ensued over the issue of succession to the Chalukya-Chola throne. Since Vikrama Chola was the son of Kulottunga through a princess of the Hoyasala family, the Hoyasalas extended their support to him. The records also indicate that about the year 1117 A.D. the forces of the Hoyasala ruler Narasimha I marched on Vengi. With all these developments, finding his dominion dwindling in the Vengi country, Kulottunga Chola lent support to his loyal vassal chieftains to bring the situation under control and rule over their respective territories peacefully. The allegiance of such mandalika-rajyas to any sovereign thereafter was only nominal. To safe-guard themselves from the attacks of the neighbouring kingdoms and other chiefs, they made it a custom to refer to one sovereign or the other in their inscriptions. Among such Mandalika-rajyas, the Velanati Chodas of the Rurjaya family gained upper hand.

2. The Chodas (Durjayas) of Velanadu

During the twelfth century of the Christian era there was no unitary government in Andhradesa. The peculiar political set up that was in existence was characterised by the government under the Mandalika chiefs. With the dwindling of the power of the imperial Chalukya-Cholas of Gangaikondacholapuram and Kanchi in the south and that of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani in the west by the middle of the century, the Telugu country was virtually under the control of the Mandalika rajas. Among them the families of the Polavasa chiefs, the Kakatiyas, the Kanduri Chodas, the Mudugonda Chalukyas, the Eruva Chodas, the Telugu Pallavas, the Yadavarayas, the Chodas of Pottapi and Komdena, the Durjayas of Velanadu, the Kota chiefs, the Haihayas, the Oddadi chiefs, the Kolanu chiefs, the Parichchhedis, the Kondapadumatis, the Chagis, the Malyalas and others deserve mention.

From this confused state of political disunity, the Kakatiyas under Prola II and his son and successor Rudradeva were trying to establish and extend their hegemony in the western parts whereas in the eastern parts, the Velanati Chodas were emerging as a power of some reckoning. The allegiance of these Mandalika rajas to any sovereign ruler was only nominal. It was just to safe-guard themselves from the attacks of the neighbouring kingdoms and the other chiefs, they made it a custom to refer to one sovereign or the other in their inscriptions. Later even under Kakati Ganapatideva, these chiefs were not prepared to change their status-quo and accept his unquestionable supremacy over them. Hence there was a remarkable change in the position of sovereignty. No more resounding titles of imperial status such as Rajadhiraja and Rajapameswara were borne. Even the great Ganapatideva, who by his extensive conquests brought the entire Telugu-speaking area under his rule and raised the Kakatiyas to the dignity of an imperial power, had assumed only the title of 'Mahamandalesvara'.

With regard to the details of the history of the Telugu Chodas of Velanadu. their inscriptions coming from Pithapuram,

Amaravati, Chebrolu, Chandolu, Draksharama. Tripurantakam and other places and also the records of the contemporary Chalukya-Chola princes who were deputed to Vengi as Viceroy, throw light.

The Velanati Chiefs were regarded as one of the Telugu Choda families which claimed their descent from the illustrious Cholas of South India. The words 'Choda' and 'Chola' are taken to be synonymous. Velanadu corresponds to the modern Guntur district. Some people regard it, as part and parcel of 'Aruvelanadu' whereas some believe both as one and the same. The chieftains who ruled over Velanadu came to be known as the Velanati Chodas. In fact they belonged to the Durjaya family, a Sudra clan. One of them, Rajendra Choda II had even assumed the title 'Durjayakulaparakara'. These Velanati chiefs were the subordinate allies of the Chalukya-Cholas of the south. They were entrusted with the responsibility of the governance of the Andhra region, which formed a part of the Chola kingdom in the twelfth century A.D. 'As a mark of their gratitude to their masters, the Cholas, the Andhra chieftains of Velanadu described themselves as Velanati Chodas and even named their children after their illustrious monarchs.' Their capital was Dhanadapura or Sanaduprolu, the modern Chandolu in the Guntur district.

The Velanati Chiefs rose to the foremost position among the vassals of the Chalukyas of Vengi during the early days of King Rajendra before he ascended the throne of the Cholas in the south as Kulottunga Chola. Subsequently after the death of his uncle Vijayadiya VII, Kulottunga assumed once more the sovereignty of Vengi. Thenceforth he sent his sons one after the other in succession to rule Vengi as his viceroys. The Velanati chiefs served these viceroys faithfully as their trusted lieutenants and generals. Finding his dominion dwindling, may be due to the ascendancy of the Kalyani Chalukyas, in the Vengi country, Kulottunga Chola lent support to his loyal chieftains of Velanadu to bring the situation under control and rule over Vengi as his vassals. Evidence is available to the effect that five chieftains of Velanadu ruled over the country

after which it was over-run by the Kakatiyas and became a part of their kingdom. These chieftains were Gonka I (1076-1108 A.D.) Rajendra Choda I (1108-32 A.D.) Gonka II (1132-61 A.D.), Rajendra Choda II (1161-81 A.D.), Gonka III (1181-86 A.D.) and Prithviswara (1186-1207 A.D.).

GONKA I (1076-1108 A.D.)

Gonka I was regarded as the first important chief of the Velanati family. When Kulottunga Chola sent his second son Rajaraja Mummadi-Chola as the Viceroy to rule over Vengi, he appointed, on the occasion, Mahamandalesvara Velanati Gonkaya, one of the most trusted and faithful subordinates of his father, as the commander-in-chief of the army. Gonka continued to serve the successive Chalukya-Chola princes of Vengi until his death in 1108 A.D. He had to fight battles along with his masters against the refractory vassal chiefs who treacherously joined hands with the Lord of Kuntala (Chalukyan ruler of Kalyani), Kalinga and Chakrakuta. It seems that in the first year of Rajaraja Chola-Ganga's viceroyalty (1084 A.D.), a number of local chiefs, under the orders of the general Velanati Gonka I, assembled at Draksharama (shortly after the arrival of the viceroy). To prevent any possible dissection of the cause of the impenat family in the hour of foreign invasion or internal rebellion, Gonka made those feudatory chiefs swear unswerving allegiance to king Chola-Ganga before the shrine of the God Bhimanatha. It was a clever move on the part the Velanati chief whose diplomacy and valour led them destroy the enemies and subdue the refractory vassals. Gonka assumed the title 'Chalukyarajya-mulstambha'. From his records it is understood that he exercised his authority as a vassal from the river Gundlakamma in the south to Tripurantakam in the west.

RAJENDRA CHODA I (1108-32 A.D.)

Rajendra Choda I succeeded his father Gooka I in the office of the commander-in-chief. He took active part along with the other Mandalika chiefs tike Manmandaraju of the

Kondapadamati family, Potaraju and Gonkaraju of the Kona country, in the Kalinga expedition of Karunakara Tondaiman, the prime minister of Kulottunga Chola, in which the Chalukya-Chola prince Vikrama Chola also participated.

However when the Western Chalukya Vikramaditya VI sent an expedition in 1115 A.D. under his general Anantapalaya to drive away the Chalukya-Chola forces from Vengi, in the battle that ensued, Rajendra Choda I was defeated and his son Gonkaya was taken prisoner by the enemies. The Kalyani forces continued their victorious march, occupied Bezwada, Kondapalli and other forts and fell on Jananathapura. Probably on this same occasion itself, Anantapalaya led his forces to the south also along the coast and ransacked Kanchi. As a result of all these campaigns, the entire Telugu country submitted itself to the suzerainty of Vikramaditya VI between 1115 A.D. and 1126 A.D. The Velanati chief also had to acknowledge the Western Chalukyan overlordship.

In 1126 A.D. Vikramaditya VI died and was succeeded by his second son Somesvara III (1126-38 A.D.) on the throne of Kalyani. The predicament of the Kalyani power had set in. Malla Bhupati a descendant of the Eastern Chalukya Yuddhamalla, probably with the help of Anantavarma Choda Ganga of Kalinga drove away the Western Chalukyas and occupied the territory between the river Krishna and Jananathapura. But to the south of the river Krishna, the Velanati chiefs, the Palanati Haihayas and the Kondapadamati Durjayas did not cooperate with Malla Bhupati and remained as vassals of Somesvara III.

However in 1132 A.D., the Chalukya-Chola emperor Vikrama Chola, on the request of the local chieftains in Vengi, sent his son Kulottunga II at the head of a powerful army on an expedition against Vengi. The rulers of Velanadu, Giripashchima and Konakandravada also joined hands with the prince Kulottunga II. The Western Chalukyan supremacy to the south of the river Krishna was put to an end with their crushing defeat in the battle of Manneru. Shortly after this battle.

Velanati Rajendra Choda I passed **away** and his son Gonka II succeed him to the throne.

GONKA II (1132-61 A.D.)

Gonkaraja II was the greatest prince of his family. He was a soldier and a statesman. He distinguished himself in many a battle even during the time of his father. After his accession to the throne, he accompanied Kulortunga II in his expedition on Vengi. The famous Godavari battle was fought about 1135 A.D. between the Chalukya-Chola forces and the Western Chalukyan troops. With this battle, the Western Chalukyan supremacy in Vengi came to an end.

Shortly after this, Kulottunga II succeeded his father Vikrama Chola as the emperor in the south. Because of his interest and preoccupation with the affairs in the south, he bestowed the overlordship of the Andhra country, extending from Mahendragiri in the north to Srisailam in the south, upon Gonka II. However this overlordship being conferred on the Velanati chief was not liked by the other Mandalika rajas of the region. They tried to defy Gonkaraja's authority and assart their independence. Hence the latter was involved in incessant warfare throughout his reign period.

Gonka II defeated Nanni Choda and Kannaradeva, sons of Tribhuvanamalla Choda of Konidena, who rebelled and declared their independence, in the battle of Kanchervulakota (Pedakancheria in the Vinukonda Taluk) and made them pay their allegiance to him. This happened sometime about 1150 A.D. During the same period, the Velanati forces marched on Pakanadu and after defeating the Telugu Choda ruler Nallasiddhi of Nellore, established Gonka's authority there. Katamanayaka of the Saronatha family of Kolanividu also accepted the suzerainty of the Chalukya-Cholas and submitted to Gonka's authority. When Lokaraja, one of the dual kings of the Haihaya family of the Kona country entertained the ambition of extension of his sway and led his forces on Vetanadu and marched upto Bapatia (1150 A D). he was killed by Goonka's

general Prolayanayaka. The Kona Haihayas also became vassals.

Gonka II pardoned Alugu Bhupati, the Haihaya chieftain of Palnad, who was repentant for the sins of his father and grandfather earlier in betraying their Chalukya-Chola overlord and acknowledging the sovereignty of the Western Chalukyas and even allowing their armies to invade Vengi through their territory. He gave his daughter Mailama to Alugu Bhupati. Nalagama, who became the Gurizala Chief about 1147 A.D., was the son of this Alugu through Mailama.

About the year 1158 A.D., Gonka II came into clash with the Kakatiya ruler Prola II. The latter, who expanded his kingdom in Telangana at the cost of the dwindling Western Chalukyan power, raided the Vengi territories. Gonka dispatched his vassal Kota Chodayaraja along with the prince Vira Rajendra at the head of a large army. Prola was slain in the battle and to commemorate this victory, Chodayaraja assumed the title 'Kakali Prola Nirdahana'.

Thus with all these measures Gonkaraja settled the disturbed country and established peace and order once more. He became the undisputed lord of the Andhra country. He was a paramount sovereign, though he acknowledged the titular sovereignty of the Chalukya-Chola emperors Kulottunga Chola II and later his son and successor Rajaraja II. He bore the titles 'Chalukyarajyabhavanamulastambha', 'Pekkandrano-kkettuganda' (a hero who defeated several at one stroke), 'Chalamartiganda' and several others. His name appears sometimes as 'Velanati Kulottunga Choda Gangeye Gonkaraja'.

RAJENDRA CHODA II (1161-81 A.D.)

The ascendancy and glory of the Velanati dynasty reached its zenith during the reign of Rajendra Choda II, the son and successor of Gonkaraja II.

Though Rajendra Choda's reign commenced in peace, it soon became troubled on account of the rebellions in the north

and raid from the west'. With the help of Amritaluri Devana Peggada, Rajendra subdued the Chalukyas of Pithapuram and the Haihayas of Kona mandate. Kolani Bhima was put to death.

In the south, attempts were made by the Kalachuris, who usurped the Western Chalukyan throne, to restore Pakanadu to their allies, the Telugu Chodas of Nellore by putting an end to the authority of the Velanati chiefs there. Kalachutr Somesvara sent an army under Choundaraya and Pommana Muppa Choda against Pakanadu. Nanduri Kommanamantri, who was administering Pakanadu as Rajendra's agent, imposed a crushing defeat on them and even their Marjavadi was raged to the ground. The Srisailam region was incorporated into the kingdom of Vetanadu.

THE BATTLE OF PALNAD (1176-1182 A.D.)

The reign of Rajendra Choda II, which witnessed the Velanati family's glory reaching its zenith, was also marked by the dwindling dominion of the family. The foremost cause of this was the battle of Palnad or Palanadu. This battle was due to the internecine fight within the family of the Haihayas of Palanadu, who were the vassals and close relations of the Velanati Durjayas. Strangely, there is no epigraphic evidence for this episode. All that is known is only from Srinatha's 'Palnativiracharitra' in dvipada metre and also from the local legends. When fact is sifted from fiction, the following details may be discerned.

Nalagama was the son of Alugu Bhupati of the Patanati Haihaya family through Mailama, the daughter of Gonka II. He succeeded his father to the throne about 1147 A.D. His step-brothers were Malideva and others. Doddanayudu and his son Brahmarrayudu, who were the agents of Velanadu at Gurizala, ushered in an era of great religious revival and social awakening in Palanadu. Especially Brahamanna. after becoming the Arbiter of Politics in Palnad as the prime minister of Natagama. attempted to establish a new religion and a new social order which did away with distinctions of caste. However his teachings caused an uproar in the country. Being a devotee of

Siva, Nalagama did not like and promptly checked Brahmanna's religious activity and social reform. Meanwhile Aravilli Nagamma, a woman-statesman and warrior of remarkable ability, popularly known as 'Nayakuralu', came upon the scene. Soon she managed to become Nalagama's chief adviser and friend at the court. Then she took up her place in the councils of the king. Differences arose within the court. The Virasaiva and Viravaishnava (Brahmanayudu was an advocate) faiths also played their part. Brahmanayudu took his supporters, the kings step-brothers Malideva and others along with him, retired from Gurizala and established a separate and independent court at Maoharla. Malideva was related to the Kalachuri dynasty of Kalyani, having married the the only daughter Rayamurari Sovideva.

Mutual suspicion and rivalry between the two courts reached a high pitch and Nagamma, on the pretext of defeat of Malideva's faction in a cock-fight, forced them to retire from Palanadu for a period of seven years into exile. After the expiry of the period of exile, Brahmanna sent Alaraja, son of Kalachuri Kommaraja and the son-in-law of Nalagama, to Gurizala demanding restoration of the share for Malideva. The demand was turned down and Alaraja was poisoned to death under the secret orders of Nagamma. The enraged Brahmanna declared war on Gurizala. The fierce and decisive battle was fought at Karempudi on the banks of the river Naguleru. The Kakatiyas, the Hoyasalas and the Kota chiefs who were the vassals of the Velanati chief, supported the cause of Nalagama, whereas Malideva got support from the Kalachuris. Nalagama appears to be the victor.

The civil war in Palanadu shook the Velanati kingdom to its foundations. 'A whole generation of powerful warriors, the flower of Andhra soldiery perished in the great slaughter on the field of Karempudi for nothing. The tragedy of Palanadu sealed the doom of the Velanati rule and paved the way for final disappearance of the last vestiges of the Chalukyan sovereignty in Vengi.' The battle exposed the weakness of the Velanati kingdom. The Kakatiyas of Anmakonda and the

Telugu Chodas of Pakanedu and Pottapi began their raids. The Kalachuri forces fell upon Velanadu. At the same time, Kakati Rudradeva led his forces into Vengi in support of the Chalukyan families there. Under these conditions, Rajsndra Choda II passed away and his son Gonka III succeeded to the throne of Vetanadu.

GONKA III (1181-86 A.D.)

During the short span of rule of Gonkaraja III, the kingdom Velanadu further weakened. The Kakatiya forces marched on Dhamikota. The Kota chief Ketaraja II, the vassal of the Velanati king became a subordinate of Rudradeva. The Kondapadamati family of Nadendla was liquidated by the Kota and Vipparta chieftains, the Kakatiya vassals. Thus Kakati Rudradeva conquered upto Srisailam and Tripurantakam in the south. In 1186 A.D., Gonka III might have lost his life in battle with Rudradeva.

PRITHVISWARA (1186-1207 A.D.)

The last important ruler of the Velanati Durjayas was Prithviswara. His earliest record dated 1186 A.D. is available from Pithapuram. With the help of his ministers Koravi Vennayamatye and Nanduri Ketana, Prithviswara made 8 vain attempt to restore the fallen prestige of the kingdom of Velanadu. In the initial stages, he occupied Vengi territory probably from Matlapadeva of Pithapuram. The southern Kalinga was occupied from the Eastern Ganga Rajaraja II Probably between 1196 A.D. end 1200 A.D., Prithviswara reoccupied Velanadu. The confusion and disorder that prevailed in the Kakatiya kingdom due to the Yadava invasions might have provided this opportunity for him.

However with Garrapatideva's raids on the coast starting from 1201 A.D.. Prithviswara faced reverses. Finally the Telugu Chodas of Nellore and the Kakatiyas defeated and killed *nan* in 1207 A.O, After this, the attempts made by **Kutottung** Rejendra Choda III to restore the prestige of Velanadu proved

futile and the great Kakatiya ruler Ganapatideva could bring the entire coastal Andhra apart from Telangana and Rayalasila regions under his sway.

During the period of hegemony of the Velanati Chodas for a century, according to the poetical work 'Keyurabahu-charitramu', the country enjoyed plenty and prosperity. The capital Dhanadapura (Chandolu) was a magnificent city with beautiful structures and opulent markets. It was comparable to the city of Kubera. The era witnessed aggressive Saivism and Vaishnavism. The religious influence made itself felt in temple architecture and the temples built in this age served as centres of promoting learning and fine arts like music and dance. Devadasi system was prevalent. Literature of this period also was deeply influenced by the religious notions of the people. Maliikarjuna Panditaradhya's 'Sivatatvasara' and Palkuriki Somana's 'Basava Purana' reflect the same.

3. The Telugu Choda Families

Many Telugu Chola families held sway over regions to the south of the river Krishna in the period between the seventh century and the thirteenth century of the Christian era. Their original home seems to be the region of Chola corresponding to the modern Mahabubnagar and Nalgonda districts of Telangana. They established their dominion over the Cuddapah region and began their career as local chieftains. The Cuddapah region in the seventh century A.D. was a backward and undeveloped area with thick forests inhabited by savage bandits. It may be identified with the area which was referred by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwng as 'Chuliya' during his visit to Deccan.

The Telugu Cholas were independent in the beginning of their *career*. Later they recognised the suzerainty of the Chalukyas of Badami. Since the region over which they exercised their authority was known in those days as 'Renadu', they were popular as the Renati Cholas. In course of time, they spread to other regions and established small principalities.

Among such families, the Pottapi, the Konidena and the Nellore Telugu Cholas deserve special mention.

The Telugu Chela rulers of Renadu had the unique honour of using the Telugu language in their official records. Those records (inscriptions) belonging to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. were discovered at Jammulamadugu, Prodduturu and other places. After the fall of the Renati Cholas, the Cuddapah region passed into the hands of the Telugu Cholas of Pottapi. The inscriptions in Telugu, belonging to the 11th century A.D., of these Pottapi Cholas were also discovered.

THE KONIDENA CHOLAS were also a branch of the Telugu Cholas of Renadu. They had their head-quarters at Konidena (Kotyadona) near Narasaraopeta in the Guntur district. They were to be seen from the middle of the tenth century A.D. They ruled over parts of Kammanadu and Pakanadu. Kannara Choda and Kama Choda were the earliest among them. Kama Choda's son and successor Tribhuvanamalla Choda was a subordinate of the Velanati chief Gonkaraja II. However when Malla Choda's sons Nanni Choda and Kannaradeva defied the authority of Gonka II and declared their independence, the latter through his generals defeated the former and forced them to be vassals.

Among the Telugu Cholas, there was another branch called the Nannuru Cholas. The famous Telugu Poet 'Kaviraja Sikrtamani' NANNIE CHODA belonged to this family. He was not a king, not even a local chieftain, holding authority in the region of Pakanadu. His mother appears to be a lady of the Haihaya family. Politically, Nanne Choda has no importance at all. For his high rank as a man of letters in the history of Telugu literature, he deserves special mention. The period, in which he flourished, is a matter of controversy. Did he live before or after Nannaya? This problem has now been set at rest and it is admitted by all now that he was later than Nannaya. Probably when the Andhra country was under the suzerainty of Vikramaditya VI of Kalyani, he flourished.

Nanne Choda was a Saivaite poet. His poem 'Kumara-sambhavam' in Telugu, might have been composed probably between 1120 A.D. and 1125 A.D. The poet dedicated his work to his preceptor Jangama Mallikarjuna Yogi. He blazed the trail for a new type of literary composition now called 'Prabandha'. He set up new traditions like 'Ishtadevatastuti' (invoking the blessings of a favourite deity), 'Sukavistuti' (adulation of worthy poets) 'Kukavininda' (condemnation of unworthy poets), which were followed by the poets of the subsequent ages. His racy Telugu and highly Sanskritised style are note-worthy. His idiomatic and delightful Telugu expressions and his description of nature with skill and distinction won laurels for him.

THE TELUGU CHOLAS OF NELLORE

Another branch of the Telugu Cholas was the family of the CHODAS OF NELLORE. The doyen of the Telugu poets, Tikkana, in the introduction of his 'Nirvachanottara Ramayanamu', gave an account of the history and antecedents of this family. These Chodas also claimed descent from the famous Karikala Chola. They ruled over their kingdom consisting of the Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittur and Chengalput districts with Vikramasimhapura (modern Nellore) as their capital.

The first important chief in the family of the Nellore Chodas was one Chola Bijjana. As a feudatory of the Western Chalukya Someswara I (1042-68 A.D.) of Kalyani, he took part in the wars of the Chalukyas and Cholas. In recognition of the loyalty and services of his descendants to the Chalukyas of Kalyani, Vikramaditya II (1076-1126 A.D.) appointed them as rulers of Pakanadu.

Later Tikka (1223-48 A.D.) father of the famous Manumasiddhi, extended the sway of the Nellore Telugu Chola family as far south as the river Kaveri. He owed nominal allegiance to the already crippled Chalukya-Chola emperors of the South, but was independent ruler for all practical purposes. Along with the Hoyasala Vira Narasimha, he rendered yeomen service

to the Chalukya-Chola ruler Rajaraja III in restoring him back to his throne by repulsing the attacks of Aniyanka Bhima, Kopperunjinga and the Pandyas. Subsequently, when the Hoyasala Vira Narasimha's successor Somesvara, desirous of making the Chalukya-Chola ruler a puppet in his hands, joined hands with the Pandyas and attacked Rajendra III, who ascended the Chalukya-Chola throne in 1246 A.D., Choda Tikka came to the rescue of the emperor. He defeated both the Hoyasala and the Pandyan forces and got thereby the Tondaimandalam region for himself. He even assumed the title 'Cholasthapanacharya'.

During the reign of Tikka's son and successor Manumasiddhi II (1248-63 A.D.), the power of the Nellore Chodas was at its low ebb. One Vijayagandagopala, probably a member of the Telugu Cholas, secured the friendship of Somesvara and Rajendra III and occupied the southern parts (Chengalput area) of the Nellore kingdom, defying Manumasiddhi's authority. In addition to this, Manuma was driven out from Nellore by his agnates Tikkana and Bayyana. The Vaidumba chief Rakkesa Ganga occupied the Cuddapah region. Under these circumstances, Manuma's well-wisher and minister Poet Tikkana, who was a diplomat as well, went to Warangal and secured the great Kakatiya monarch Ganapatideva's support for his master. The Kakatiya forces effectively tackled the rivals of Manumasiddhi and reinstated him on his paternal throne. Ganapatideva got of course a big slice of Manuma's realm in the process.

About the year 1260 AD., a dangerous feud broke out between Manumasiddhi and Katamaraju, the chief of Erragaddapadu in Kamgiri region. The feud was on the issue of the rights of the two princes to use certain wide meadows as grazing grounds for their flocks of cattle. It led to the fierce engagement of the two sides and the bloody battle was fought at Panchalingala on the Paleru river. Manumasiddhi's forces led by Khadga Tikkana, the cousin of poet Tikkana won the cattle, but the leader perished in the battle. This feud and the consequent battle formed the theme of the popular ballad entitled 'Katamaraju Katha'. Shortly after this disastrous battle, Manumasiddhi passed away.

With the death of Manumasiddhi II, the Nellore kingdom lost its individuality, became a battre-ground between the Kakatiyas and the Pandyas and changed hands frequently. In the reign of Kakati Prataparudra II, the Nellore region became part and parcel of the Kakatiya empire and lost its political significance.

The period of rule of the Telugu Chodas was in particular significant for the development it received in the Telugu literature under the patronage of the rulers. It was the age in which the great Telugu poets Tikkana, Ketana and Marana enriched the literature with their remarkable contributions, As-already referred Tikkana Somayaji was the well-wisher and minister of Manumasiddhi II of Nellore. His diplomacy helped his master in securing the help of Kskati Ganapatideva for getting back his throne. This great poet had for his credit two important works in Telugu. The first one is 'Nirvachanottara Ramayanamu'. Though a highly Sanskritised style was employed, it is characterised by excellent literary qualities and abounding elements of Pathos and heroism. However it is the 'Andhra Mahabharata' which brought for Tikkana undying fame and made him one of the immortals. Though it is a translation of the last fifteen parvas of the Mahabharata, left out by his predecessor Nannaya, yet Tikkana put life and blood into it with an avowed objective of making it a Kavya. His delineation of character, dramatic dialogue and lucid and at the same time suggestive exposition of facts are masterly in nature. His broad spiritual outlook, lofty idealism, high imagination and splendid diction made him 'Kavi Brahma' (The Supreme Creator among Poets).

'Abhinava Dandin' Ketana, who was a contemporary of Tikkana. dedicated his 'Dasakumaracharitramu', written in tasteful and sweet style, to him. He also translated Vijnaneswara's 'Mitakshari', a Sanskrit commentary on the 'Yajnavalkya Smriti', into Telugu under the name 'Vijnaneswaramu'. Another work of Ketana is 'Andhra Bhashabhushanam', a book, on metrical grammer in Telugu. Marana was another contemporary of Tikkana, He was also a desciple of the latter. He translated the 'Markandeya Parana' into Telugu. His work, became a source book to many subsequent Telugu poets who selected their themes from the many delightful stones incorporated in it.

The Kakatiyas

ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY

The Kakatiyas had their ascendancy during the dominion of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The earlier doubts expressed by certain scholars in tracing the descent of this dynasty from Kakartya Gundyana, a subordinate of the Eastern Chalukyan monarch, Amma II (945 AD.-970 A-D) were set at rest in view of the recently discovered Bayyaram Tank inscription. The names Kakartya, Kakatya and Kakaliya are etymologically connected. The dynasty derived its name either because of its association with a town known as Kakatipura (since the kings bore the title 'Kakatipuravallabha') or because of their worship of a goddess called Kakati. At Ekasilanagara (Warangal), the capital of the Kakatiyas, a temple was dedicated to Kakitamma. Hence there is reason to believe that Kakatipura was another name for Warangal itself. The inscriptional evidence points out that the Kakatiyas were Sudras and that they were members of the Durjaya family whose remote ancestor Karkkalahola founded or first settled in Kakatipura

1 EARLY FEUDATORY RULERS

Gundaya Rashtrakuta who was referred in the Magallu grant of Danamava (950 AD) was the first known historical figure among the Kakatiyas. He sacrificed his life in the service of the Rashtrakuta ruler Krishna II, while fighting against the Eastern Chalukyas. The grateful Krishna II placed Gundaya's

son Eriya in charge of Kurravadi in Koravisima near Warangal. Koravi, which was part of the Mudigonda Chalukyan kingdom under the suzerainty of the Eastern Chalukyas, was a bone of contention between the Rashtrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas. This Kurravadi kingdom was created as a check on the Mudiginda Chalukyas on the eastern borders of the Rashtrakuta empire. Eriya made Orugal (Kakatipura) his capital.

Eriya's grandson Kakartya Gundyana rendered help on behalf of his master Rashtrakuta Krishna III to Danarnava in setting aside his brother Amma II and occupying the throne of Vengi, as a result of which he got Nativadi as a token of gratitude. Later when Tailapa II put an end to the Rashtrakuta rule and restored the western Chalukyan authority with Kalyani as head-quarters, the Kakatiyas shifted their loyalty to them.

Gundyana's son and successor Betaraja I took advantage of the Chalukya Chola conflict and carved out for himself a small principality. He seems to have ruled upto 1052 A.D. His son and successor Prola I (1052 A.D. - 1076 A.D.) acknowledged the supremacy of Chalukya Somesvara I and fought successfully against the Nagas of Chakrakota, the Silaharas of Konkana- mandala, Bhadranga (probably Baddega of the family of the Chalukyas of Vemulavada) and killed in battle Gonna, the chief of Purukuta. In recognition of these services, Prola obtained permanently by way of grant, Anmakonda-vishaya from Somesvara I.

Beta II, son and successor of Prola, ruled between 1076 A.D. and 1108 A.D. With the encouragement of Vikramaditya VI, he conquered Sabbimandala. It was probably during this period, Anmakonda became the capital of the Kakatiyas. Beta II's eldest son Durgaraja (1108 A.D.-1116 A.D.) made an attempt to rebel against his Chalukyan suzerain. However his younger brother Prola II set him aside and occupied the throne of Anmakonda.

Prola II (1116 A.D.-1153 A.D.) was the most famous among the early Kakatiya rulers. In the early years of his

reign, he owed allegiance to Vikramaditya VI. When, after his death in 1126 A.D., the Chalukyan power began to decline, Prola II took advantage of the confused situation. He played an active part in the Kalachuri revolution at Kalyani and after the overthrow of Tailapa III, proclaimed independence. He made extensive conquests in Telangana. He defeated Govindaraja and handed his kingdom Kondapalli (in the Krishna district) over to Chododaya (whose brother was ruling as his feudatory near Panugai). He also defeated and killed Gunda, the ruler of Mantrakuta (Mantena in the Nuzvid taluk of Krishna district) and annexed it to his kingdom. However he failed in his attempts to push his arms further into the Veianati kingdom on the east coast. These attempts cost him his life at the hands of Rajendra Choda, the prince of the Velanati Telugu Chodas of Chandolu and their samantas.

2. RUDRADEVA (1158 A.D -1195/6 A.D.)

Rudredeva, who was also known as Prataparudra I. was the eldest son and successor of Prola II. 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. To pursue his policy of aggrandizement, he had to wage wars on many chiefs. A graphic description, of his achievements is given in his Anmakonds inscription, a document of great historical importance. It seems by the year 1162 A.D., the date of the Anmakonda record, Rudradeva vanquished a number of his enemies and transformed his petty principality into an extensive kingdom. The inscription mentions the names of Dommaraja (Nagunur principality in the Karimnagar district), Medaraja (Pakhal area to the north-east of Warangal) and Mailagideva (Polavasa territory in the Jagatyal Taluk of Karimnagar district) as opponents whom he had overcome in battle. These victories, all in the region to the north of Anmakonda. enabled him to extend his dominion north upto the banks of the Godavari.

Then turning his attention to the south, Rudradeva burnt the city of Chododaya. the ruler of Kondapalli (who died about

this time due to poisoning by his brother Bhima). After this, he marched on Vardhanapura, the capital of Bhima who had poisoned his brother Chodadaya to death. Bhima fled to the forest and the capital was easily captured by the Kakatiyas. These conquests were also consolidated.

Rudradeva seems to have devoted the later part of his reign to the conquest of the coastal region. He regarded himself as the political successor of the Western Chalukyan emperors and laid claim to the sovereignty over Vengi and other parts of the coastal Andhra country, earlier conquered and enjoyed by Vikramaditya VI and his son until 1133 A.D. He started making his efforts to avenge his father's death in the hands of the Telugu Chodas of Velanadu and their subordinates. The latter were ruling over the territory (comprising of the Kurnool, Guntur, Krishna and the Gddavari districts) to the south of the Kakatiya kingdom. By the time of Rajendra Choda II, the decline had set in for the Velanadu kingdom. The Chalukyas in the Vengi manetela were continuing their intrigues as usual. Apart from this, during the years 1176-82 A.D., the battle of Palanadu was fought. Rudradeva rendered military assistance to Nalagama's faction. In this battle, the military strength of Velanadu had got weakened. Exploiting the situation, Rudradeva led his forces into coastal Andhra and conquered upto Srisailam and Trpurantakam in the south. In 1186 A.D., Gonka III of Velanadu might have lost his life in battle with Rudradeva and his son Prithvisvara confined his rule to the north of Godavari (Pithapuram). According to Anmakonda inscription, his kingdom comprised the whole area between Srisailam and Tripurantakam in the south, the Malyavantam in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east and Kalyani in the west.

The history of the last decade of Rudradeva is a dark spectrum. However in the last year of his reign (1195-96 A.D.), he came into conflict with the Seunas (Yadavas) of Devagiri. Whether it is a defensive war or offensive war, it is uncertain. But one certainty is that Rudra suffered defeat and death in his encounter with the Seuna king Jaitugl or Jaitrapala I.

Being a powerful king, Rudradeva both up an extensive kingdom. He paved the way for the subjugation of Vengi by his successors by contracting diplomatic and matrimonial alliances with the great feudatory families such as the Kolas and the Natavadis. Sivayogasara refers to his founding near his capital Anmakonda of a new town called Orugallu, destined to become the principal city of the entire Andhradesa under his successors. Rudra was also a patron of art and letters. Many splendid temples built in the Chalukyan style rose all over the country. The famous Thousand Pillar Temple (known as the Rudresvara temple) at Anmakonda was built during this period. Rudra is described as the resort and refuge of learned men. The authorship of a work on rajaniti called 'Nitisaranm' in Sanskrit is attributed to him

After Rudradeva's death and the imprisonment of his nephew Ganapati in the hands of the Yadavas of Devagiri, his younger brother Mahadeva ascended the throne and ruled the kingdom for a short span of about three years (1195/96-1198/99 A.D.). He led an expedition against the Yadava kingdom to avenge Rudra's death and also get the release of his son Ganapati. He lost his life in the battle

3. GANAPATIDEVA (1199-1262 A.D.)

Following the death of Mahadeva and the captivity of Ganapati, disorders broke out in the kingdom. The nobles rose in revolt. The rulers of the neighbouring states, especially the Mudigonda Chalukyan king Nagati and the Chalukya-Chola emperor Kulottunga III, invaded the country. But Recherta Rudra, the commander-in-chief of the Kakatiya ruler, saved the kingdom from crumbling. His titles 'Kakatjarajyabharadhau-reya' and 'Kakati Rajyasamartha' indicate that he carried on administration in the name of his lord and sovereign

Ganapatideva's imprisonment did not last very long. He was set free and sent back to rule his kingdom. This might be due to sympathy and generosity of the Yadava king Jaitra-

pala, who had his own political considerations (like his desire to secure himself against an attack from Warangal side in the event of a conflict with the aggressive Hoyasalas in the south) in setting Ganapatideva at liberty.

Ganapatideva's reign, reckoned as beginning in 1199 A.D. lasted for 62 years. It is one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of Andhradesa. Being an energetic monarch, Ganapati during his long reign brought under his sway by war or diplomacy almost the whole land inhabited by the Telugu-speaking peoples. He took advantage of the dismemberment of the Western Chalukyan and Chola empires.

Ganapatideva started his successful career of conquest with the invasion of the coastal districts with strong contingents in 1201 A.D. The Velanati chief Prithvisvara, who exercised some sort of authority over his ancestral kingdom, was not strong enough to check the unruly nobility or to stem the forces of disintegration. Ganapatideva seized this opportunity. Accompanied by all the subordinate chiefs like the Kotas, Natavadis and Malyalas, first Bezwada was captured. Then the island fortress of Divi, the headquarters of the Ayya chiefs, was plundered. For the significant part played by the Malyala chief Chaunda in this expedition, he was conferred with the title 'Divichurakara' (the plunderer of the island of Divi) by Ganapati. Being an astute politician, the latter followed a policy of conciliation towards the vanquished chiefs. Ganapatideva restored their possessions, married Narama and Perama, the two daughters of Ayya Pina Chodi and took their brother Jayapa into his service. Subsequently he and the Telugu Choda chiefs, Tikka (of Nellore) and Ballaya (probably of Kammanadu) fought against Prithvisvara and killed him. With his death, the rule of the Velanati chiefs came to an end and their territory came into the possession of Ganapatideva.

Ganapati appears to have sent between 1212 A.D. and 1230 A.D. two expeditions against the kings of the southern region. The expansion of the Kakatiya power in the southern direction was the direct outcome of his alliance with the

Telugu cholas of Nellore. Taking advantage of the dismemberment of the Chalukya-Cholas, the Nellore Cholas asserted their independence in the Nellore, Cudapah and Chingteput districts. During the reign of Manumasiddhi 1 the Chalukya-Chola ruler Kulottunga III invaded the Telugu Chola kingdom, dislodged him and placed his younger brother Nallasiddhi on the throne of Nellore. Manumasiddhi I's son Tikka, the rightful heir to the throne, sought Ganapatideva's help to regain his patrimony from his uncles. In the war on Prithvisvara, this Tikka joined forces with the Kakatiya monarch. In return for this help, Ganapatideva marched against Nellore, drove away Tikka's uncle and his supporters and installed Tikka on the throne of Nellore. However during the years 1115-1128 A.D., Tikka had again been driven from the throne. It might be due to the Chalukya-Chola and Yadava menace. These troubles he could overcome again with the help of his friend Ganapatideva. The Seuna army was defeated in the Karumulur (Caddapah district) battle. Kanchi was plundered. Tikka was re-established at Nellore and Kanchi. Then to strengthen his position in the interior of his kingdom, Tikka appointed the Kayastha Gangaya Sahini, a relation of one of Ganapatideva's vassals, as the governor of upper-Pakanadu

Tikka, who kept on friendly relations with the Chalukya-Chola emperors, aided by Ganapatideva, marched to the south at the head of a large army and killed Karnata (Hoyasala) Narasimha II in battle at Jambai in 1139 A.D., defeated in the following year Narasimha's son Somesvara, who had attacked him to avenge his father's death, and assumed his (somesvara's) title 'Chola Sthapanacharya'.

Subsequent to his victory over Prithisvara, Ganapatideva wanted to bring the latter's possessions in Kalinga under his rule. In this Kalinga expedition, Bhima, the Telugu Chola chief of Eruva, and Rajanayaka, the commander of the Recherlas, also participated and conquered several places in Vengi, Orissa and Bastar state. Though this expedition of Ganapatideva was a brilliant demonstration of his military strength, it did not produce any tangible results from the view point of territorial

gains. For no trace of the Kakatiya rule has so far been discovered to the-north of Draksharama in the East Godavari district (Rajanayaka's Draksharama inscription dated 1212 A.D.), The eastern Ganga king Ananga Bhima III and his subordinates like Godhumarati and Padiyaraya soon asserted their authority

Ganapatideva reduced the Telugu Cholas of Konidena (Narasaraopet Taluk, Guntur district) and the Chakranarayana princes of Addanki to obedience by 1217-18 A.D. When, espousing the cause of the Velanati chiefs, the Kalinga ruler Ananga Bhima III led his march against Vengi, Ganapatideva sent Induluri Soma Pradhani along with Eruva Bhima, Kalapa Nayaka and Malyala Hemadri Reddi to expel the Kalingas from Vengi and bring that country under his control. In the course of this campaign, Kolanu or Sasasipuri was conquered in 1231 A.D. The Velanati descendants of Prithvisvara took to flight. Subsequent aggressive activities of Kalinga Bhima's son and successor Narasimha I were also effectively tackled by Ganapatideva's men and the Kakatiya power in the Godavari valley remained undisturbed until the end of Ganapatideva's reign.

When Tikka died in 1248 A.D., the Nellore kingdom was plunged into lawlessness. One Vijaya-Gandagopala seized Chingleput and North Arcot districts leaving only Nellore and Cuddapah districts to Tikka's son and successor Manumasiddhi II. He allied himself with the Chalukya-Chola heir apparent Rajendra III and the Karnataka ruler Vira Somesvara. At the same juncture, the agnates Tikkarra and Bayyana drove away Manumasiddhi II from his capital Nellore. Rakkasa Ganga, a scion of the Vaidumba family, ousted Manuma's general Gangaya Sahini from his governorship and occupied the Cuddapah region. Under these circumstances, Manuma sought, through his loyal minister and the famous Telugu poet Tikkana, the help of Ganapatrdeva. The Nayanipalli record (Guntur district) refers to the march of a powerful Kakatiya army under its general Samanta Bhoja to the south. Nellore was reduced to ashes. Tikkana and Bayyana were killed. The combined forces of the kings of Dravida and Karnataka and

of Vijaya-Gandagopala were defeated at Prayeru (Palaiyaru in the Tanjore district) and Kanchi was captured in 1250 A.D. Soon with the support of Ganapatideva, Manuma and Gangaya reconquered the territory seized by the Vaidumba chief, Rakkasa Ganga. With the consent of Manumasiddhi II, Ganapatideva conferred the reconquered territory on Kayastha Gangaya Sahini as a family estate.

Ganapatideva appears to have maintained on the whole cordial relations with his western neighbours the Seunas (Yadavas). Both the powers in fact joined hands and tried to check the expansion of the Pandyan power in the early years of the reign of Jatavarma Sundara Pandya I (of Madura) who aggressively subjugated between 1251 A.D. and 1257 A.D. the whole of Southern India and established the Pandyan hegemony over it. As a political successor to the Cholas, Jatavarma forced Vijaya Gandagopala of Kanchi; and his ally the Kadava chief Kopperunjinga to submit to the authority of the Pandyas. He next turned his attention to Nellore. Manumasiddhi II of Nellore appealed to the Kakatiya, the Seuna and the Bana rulers for help. To divert the attention of the foes, Jatavarma divided his army into two sections, despatched one section under his new vassals Rajendra Chola III, Kopperunjinga and Vijaya-Gandagopala into the Kakatiya kingdom and himself leading the main army advanced along the coast towards Nellore. The advance guard led by Kopperunjinga penetrated as far as Draksharama in the East Godavari district. The Kadava chief suffered reverses at the hands of Ganapatideva and was forced to acknowledge his suzerainty. Rajendra Chola III and Vijaya-Gandagopala were forced to retreat by the Kayastha chiefs. Jatavarma, who marched on Nellore with the main army, swept all opposition and reached Muttukur, a village near Nellore. In the fierce battle here, in 1263 A.D. Manumasiddhi II was killed and his allies the Kakatiya and Seuna forces suffered terribly. The Nellore kingdom was annexed to the Pandyan empire. Jatavarma celebrated Virabhisheka both at Nellore and Kanchi. This was a terrible blow for the ascendancy of Kakatiyas.

Ganapatideva was undoubtedly the greatest ruler of his dynasty. He succeeded to a large extent in restoring the political unity of the Telugu country. His rule was helpful to the prosperity of his realm, Warangal was further fortified and made capital. Ganapatideva provided irrigation tanks to the peasantry. He pursued an enlightened commercial policy. His Motupalli pillar inscription dated 1245 A.D. records an assurance of protection to merchants engaged in foreign trade. He was staunch saivite. He built temples and patronised teaming. The famous Ramappa temple near Palampeta in the Warangal district is of his period.

Though Ganapathideva was alive until 1269 A.D., he handed over the threads of administration to his daughter Rudramadevi in 1262 A.D. itself and retired from active politics.

4. RUDRAMADEVI (1259-1289 A.D.)

Ganapatideva had no male issue. But he had two daughters. Rudramadevi and Genapamadevi. Rudramadevi or Rudramba was given in marriage to a prince of the Eastern Chalukyan lineage (of Nidadavolu) called Virabhadra. The second daughter was given in marriage to Beta of the Kota family. Rudramadevi was nominated as heir apparent and she began to rule the kingdom conjointly with her father as his co-regent from 1259-60 A.D. onwards, under the name of Rudradeva Maharaja. In the first two or three years of her conjoint rule with her father, the kingdom was thrown into confusion and disorder due to Jatavarma Sundara Pandya I's invasion and the disastrous defeat of the Kakatiyas along with their allies on the battle field of Muttukur near Nellore. Though Ganapati was ultimately successful in turning back the tide of invasion, yet he suffered loss of territory and prestige and his hold over his feudatories and nobles was shaken. Under these circumstances, he retired from active politics.

Though Rudramadevi assumed full sovereignty in 1262-63 AD, she was not the crowned queen till the year 1269 A.D.. The date of Kayastha Jannigadeva's Duggi (Palnad Taluk) record

which speaks of Rudrama as Pattodhriti (queen-designate) of Ganapatideva Maharaja. It was only after the death of her father about the year 1269 A.D., she celebrated her coronation.

Rudramadevi's nomination and succession to the throne was not generally approved. Some of the nobles, who were unwilling to submit to a woman's authority took up arms against her. Ekamranatha's 'Pratapachantra' refers to her step-brothers Hariharadeva and Murarideva ousting Rudrama, and capturing Warangal, and Rudrama effectively tackling them with the help of the citizens and some of her powerful supporters. However no other evidence is available to prove the existence of her step-brothers. Even if it is believed that some intransigent nobles and near relations rebelled against Rudrama's authority, the Kayastha chiefs Jannigedeva and his younger brothers Tripurari and Ambadeva, Recherla Prasaditya and the Reddi chiefs like Gona Gannaya and a host of others who remained firmly loyal to the queen, espoused her cause and helped her to defeat the rebels.

With regard to the external dangers, the Kalinga King Narasimha I who suffered a defeat previously at the hands of Ganapatideva, taking advantage of the distracted condition in the Kakatiya dominions, marched with his forces into the Godavari delta to recover his lost possessions. His short and incomplete inscription at Draksharama dated 1262 A.D. attests the same. The minor Chalukyen families and the Haihaya chiefs, who were ruling in the erstwhile Vengi territories during this period, did not recognise any overlord. Whether they were actually independent or nominally autonomous princes (because of Veerabhadra's relationship), it is not certain. But the position is that no trace of the Kakatiya rule is to be found either in the Godavari valley or in Vengi until 1278-79 A.D. In the later part of the reign of Rudramadevi, the above provinces came back under her sway. Her commanders Poti Nayaka and Proli Nayaka fought against Kalinga Vira Bhanudeva I. son and successor of Narasimha I and his accomplices Arjunadeva, the Matsya chief of Oddadi and others and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. They even assumed the title 'Gajapatimattama-

tangasimha' (lion to the rutting elephant, viz. the Gajapati), and 'Oddiyarayamanamardana' (the destroyer of the pride of Oddiyaraya). The Kakatiya power was thus re-established in the coastal Andhra country.

In the south, after the victory of Muttukur, a large part of the Kakatiya territory was under the sway of the Pandyas. As a subordinate of the Pandyan monarch, the last Chalukya-Chola ruler Rajendra III ruled Nellore and its dependencies. Even the eastern part of the Cuddapah district and Chittoor district were under the Pandyan sway. The Kalukada chiefs Kesavadeva and his brother Somideva, encouraged by the Pandyas, proclaimed their independence and even made, successful inroads (1267-69 A.D.) into the Kayastha territory which remained under the formers at least for sometime.

Rudramadevi faced the most serious danger from the west. It threatened to overthrow the Kakatiya monarch. The Sauna ruler Mahadeva, who succeeded to the throne of Devagin in 1260 A.D., invaded the Kakatiya kingdom in the early years of his rule. The Yadava records credit him with victory against the Kakatiyas. According to Hemadri's 'Vrata-Khanda', he left her free 'because of his reluctance to kill a woman'. His title 'Telungarayasarahkamalamulotpatana' suggests that he 'uprooted the stalk of the lotus of the head of Telungaraya'. All these accounts are one-sided. The fact is that Mahadeva never killed any ruler of the Telugu country. It was only a hereditary title. One of the predecessors of Mahadeva, Jaitugi I killed Kakati Rudra in 1195/96 A.D. However, it may be said that though his attack was successful initially, it ended in dismal failure. 'Pratapachantram' mentions that Rudramadevi fought valiantly, put Mahadeva to flight, pursued the Seuna forces upto Davagin and forced him to conclude a treaty with her and pay a crore of gold coins as war indemnity. The epigraphic evidence from Panugal (Nalgonda district) and Hire-Kogilun bears testimony to this. A hoard of Seuna coins discovered at Rachapatnam (Kaikalur Taluk of the Krishna district) probably 'represents a part of the money which Rudramadevi, according to Pratapachantram, received from Mahadeva as war indemnity and distributed among the officers of her army'

In the south, the situation became still worse. As already seen, after the Muttukur conflict, the Nellore kingdom came under the sway of the Pandyas and was placed under their vassals. As the Pandyan inscriptions at Nandalur and Tirupati indicate, even the Vallum Kayasthakingdom came into the possession of the Pandyas (their subordinates the Kalukada Vaidumba chiefs were in charge). Though the Kakatiya vassal Mahamandalesvara Nagadeva Maharaja conquered Nellore and the surrounding territory, it was a temporary phenomenon which lasted just for five years (1271-75 A.D.). The area was reoccupied by the Telugu Cholas who paid allegiance to the Pandyas.

The Kayastha chief Jannigadeva re-occupied the territories of the Valluru kingdom and freed thus from the Pandyan sway. He and his brother Tripurarideva I (1270-72 A.D.) continued to rule the Valluru kingdom as the vassals of Rudramadevi. However with the succession of their younger brother AMBADEVA to the throne in 1272 A.D., the situation underwent a change. Ambadeva was ambitious and powerful. From the beginning, he resolved to resuscitate the fortunes of his family and carve out an independent kingdom for himself. To pursue these objects, he was in constant wars with his neighbours during his long reign of thirty-two years.

Ambadeva stopped paying allegiance to the Kakatiya queen almost from the very beginning of his rule. His Tripurantakam inscription dated 1290 A.D. records his achievements. It seems that he befriended himself with the Pandyas and the Saunas and with their military assistance proclaimed his independence. He is said to have successfully fought with the seventyfive kings. These kings might be the Kakatiya Nayankaras. Ambaya defeated the Gurindala (Gunjala in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur district) chief 'Rayasahasramalla Sripati Ganapati. He also subjugated the Kalukada Vaidumba chiefs Kesavadeva and Somideva and their ally Allu Gangu of Gutti (Anantapur district). He killed Eruva Mallideva Choda in battle and occupied Eruvanadu Pendekallu also came into his possession Kopperunjinga was put to death and thereby Ambadeva assumed the title 'Kadavarayi Vidhvamsaka' With these conquests. Gandtkota, Mulikinadu, Renadu. Sakilnadu, Eruva and Pottapi-

nadu were added to the Kayastha kingdom. He restored Manu-magandagopala on the throne of Nellore and made him his vassal. The Pandyas, who attempted to restore their sway here, were defeated and driven away. As a result of this, the Pandyan suzerainty in Andhradesa came to an end. But the establishment of a strong, extensive and independent Kayastha kingdom in the southern parts, gave a jolt to the imperial authority of the Kakatiyas.

Rudramadevi could not tolerate the headstrong and disloyal Ambadeva. She sent an army under her general Mallikarjuna against the rebel chief. However, as the recently discovered Chandupatla (Nalgonda district) grant dated 1283 A.D. indicates, Ambadeva seems to have killed Rudrama along with Mallikarjuna Nayaka in battle in that year. It was Prataparudra II, successor of Rudrama that succeeded in suppressing the Kayastha revolt later.

Rudramadevi was undoubtedly one of the greatest rulers of Andhradesa. Her sex did not come on her way in discharging the duties of her exalted office. She took an active part in governing the country and strove hard to promote the best interests of the state. In spite of the wars which frequently disturbed the country, her people remained contented and happy under her rule. Rudrama strengthened the Warangal fort still further. She had also a deep moat dug around it. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller who paid a visit to the kingdom probably a little later, speaks highly of her administrative qualities, benign rule and greatness.

Rudramadevi had no male issue out only two daughters Mummamma and Ruyamma. On the advice of her father, she adopted Mummamma's son Prataparudra (II) as her son and as heir to the throne. On her demise, Prataparudra II ascended the throne of Warangal

5 PRATAPARUDRA II (1289/90-1323 A.D.)

Dr. P. V. Parabrahma Sastri contended, on the basis of the Chandupatla (near Nakarikallu, Nalgonda district) inscription, that Rudramadevi died in the month of November, 1289 A.D. fighting battle against the rebel Kayastha chief Ambadeva. On the death of Rudrama, her grandson Prataparudra, who

was adopted by her as son and as heir apparent on the advice of her father Ganapatideva, ascended the throne at the beginning of the year 1280 A.D. At the time of his accession, he was about thirty five years old. Before his grandmother's death, he had been associated with her for several years in the administration of the kingdom with the names Kakati Rudrakumara and Kumara Rudradeva. If the contention of Dr. Parabrahma Sastri that Rudrama was killed at the hands of the rebel Ambadeva in battle, is accepted, then it must be agreed that even after his accession to the throne of Warangal in 1289/90 A.D., Prataparudra was referred as Kumara Rudradeva. In the Nataka Prakarana of 'Prataparudra Yasobhushanam', the author Vidyanatha refers that when the prince was born because it looked as if the Sun-rise took place, so he was named Prataparudra.

As Dr. M. Ramarao pointed out. his (Prataparudra's) is 'an eventful reign Like the reign of Aurangzeb, it shows high watermark of the Kakatiya glory and also witnesses inevitable but pitiable reaction in the opposite direction'. Prataparudra had to fight battles throughout his reign against either the internal rebels or the external foes. The caste-ridden factional rivalries among the Kayastha, the Velama and the Reddi communities might have incited the internal revolts. As a result of these constant internal troubles and the external dangers, especially the invasions of the aliens, the Kakatiya empire ultimately collapsed.

Eversince Prataparudra assumed the reigns of government. he made the rehabilitation of the kingdom his sole aim. To strengthen the defences of the kingdom, he set about re-organizing the administrative system. Tradition, based on authentic facts, points out that he recruited exclusively from the Velama community seventy five or seventy seven nayaks, assigned them territories and entrusted to each of them the defence of one of the seventy-seven bastions of the (on of his capital Warangal. He must have found the Velama (Padma Nayaka) chieftains eminently fitted to the duty. This well-meant reform and the special favour shown to the Velama

community, of course, excited the jealousy of the Reddi chieftains who grew sullen and discontented. Prataparudra even centralised power as far as possible.

Prataparudra put his new-modelled army to test by pitting against the rebel Kayastha chief Ambadeva. He proved more than a match to Ambaya. He knew fully well that an attack on Ambaya would also involve him in a war with his allies, the Seunas and the Pandyas. So he wanted to isolate Ambadeva from those allies and deal with each of them separately. For this, he launched a three-pronged attack on Ambadeva's territories and at the same time to dispatch separate expeditions against his allies, who sent fierce elephants and fleet-footed horses as auxiliary forces to the assistance of the Kayasthas. In 1291 A.D., a large army under Gannaya, son of Kolani Sornamantri and his cousin Annayadeva, son of Induluri Peda Gannayamantri, defeated Ambadeva and forced him to retreat southwards into Mulikinadu. As a result of this victory, Tripurantakam and the surrounding territory passed into the hands of the Kakatiya monarch. In the course of the same campaign, the Cheraku chief, Rajanarendra who was probably a vassal and ally of Ambadeva, was put to death. The inscriptions testify to the fact that subsequently the Cherakus continued to rule the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool district as vassals of the Kakatiya monarch.

While the encounter with Ambadeva and the Cherukus was in progress in the west, another section of the Kakatiya army under the command of Adidam Mallu marched along the coast towards Nellore to prevent its chief Manuma-Gandagopala from joining forces with his patron Ambadeva or sending him military assistance. Mallu killed Manuma in the encounter and placed Raja-Gandagopala on the throne of Nellore in 1290 A.D. But this Raja-Gandagopala soon turned against his benefactor and joined hands with the Pandyas. A second expedition was sent against Nellore by Prataparudra. Raja-Gandagopala and his Pandyan allies were defeated.

Another expedition, under Gona Vitthala from his headquarters Vardhamanapura (Vaddamanu in the Mahaboobnagar

district), was sent against the Seuna territory on the western frontier. Vitthala must have wrested the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab from the Seunas of Devagiri and fortified Raichur so that the entire region could effectively be controlled from that fort.

Ambadeva, who was compelled to retire by the Kakatiya army from Tripurantakam and its surrounding territories, continued to rule over his native Mulikinadu until 1304 A.D. He and his successors stayed independent. It was in the year 1309 A.D. that Prataparudra sent an army against them under his general Maharaya-pattasahini Somaya Nayaka, Induluri Annaya and others. The Kayasthas were overthrown and their territories were annexed to the Kakatiya kingdom, Somaya Nayaka was entrusted with the government of these territories.

Meanwhile the Kakatiya kingdom had to face the Turushka inroads (1303-10 A.D.) as a result of which the country was thrown into calamity and chaos. The failure of Prataparudra to ward off the Muslim invasion in 1309 A.D. under the command of Malik Naib Kafur, let loose the forces of disintegration in his empire. Taking advantage of this distracted condition, the Vadumba chief Mallideva of Gandikota and the Telugu Chola ruler Ranganatha of Nellore rebelled against the central authority. After the retirement of the Muslim invaders from Telangana, Prataparudra sent an army under Juttayalenka Gonkaya Reddi against Mallideva. Mallideva was defeated and killed. Prataparudra made Gonkaya the governor of Mulikinadu and the surrounding territories with Gandikota as headquarters.

In the meantime, civil war began in the Pandyan kingdom between Kulasekhara Pandya's two sons, Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya for the throne of Madura. As a mediator, Malik Kafur entered Madurai kingdom, plundered and desecrated the temples at Kanchi, Madurai, Chidambaram, Srirangam and other places and carried away much loot, shattering the economy of the Tamil country. This Mabar expedition of the Muslims proved to be a purely military raid. The aftermath confusion in the Pandyan kingdom provided an opportunity for the Kerala and the Karnataka rulers to intervene in its affairs. Ravivarman Kulasekhara of Quilon defied the Pandyan autho-

city. At the same time, the Hoyasala Ballala III invaded and occupied a large part of Tondaimandalam, including perhaps Kanchi, and forced some of the local chieftains, such as the Sambuvaraya of Padaividu and the Yadavaraya of Chandragiri to pay their allegiance. According to N.V. Ramanayya, at the instance of Ala-ud-Din Khilji, Prataparudra along with the generals, the Padma Nayak chief Erra Dacha Nayaka along with Induluri Rudra, Muppidi Nayaka and Devari Nayaka, marched on the Pandyan territory. Ranganatha was driven away and Nellore became part and parcel of the Kakatiya empire. Devari Nayaka occupied Kanchi from the Hoyasala forces, defeated both Ravivarma and Vira Pandya and anointed Sundara Pandya at Viradhavaia. The Kakatiya authority was thus established in the south upto Trichinopoly in the south.

On the banks of the river Tungabhadra one Singaya Nayaka, a vassal of the Yadavas, established an independent Kampili kingdom, at Anegondi. His son Kampilideva, who was ambitious and aggressive, desirous of extending his kingdom, came into conflict with the Hoyasala ruler Ballala III. In this endeavour, he even sought the help of Prataparudra. When he failed to secure the assistance of the Kakatiya monarch, he got angry with him and in order to humiliate him assumed his titles 'Mururayaraganda' and 'Virarudrnaganda'. Prataparudra became furious at this and sent Bendapudi Annayamatya and Recherla Singama Nayaka against Kampili. The Kakatiya generals humbled the pride of Kampilideva.

To augment the financial resources and replenish the treasury, which became empty due to many a war waged against the internal rebels and the external foes and the frequent inroads of the Muslims and also due to the continual payment of tribute to Delhi, Prataparudra tried his best. In the Cud-dapah, Kurnool and Palnad areas, trees were cut down, forests were cleared and new lands were brought under cultivation. Tanks and wells were dug to provide irrigation facilities. New settlements came into existence.

Prataparudra was a man of cultural tastes and pursuits. He patronised men of letters both in Sanskrit and Telugu. His

court poet Vidyanatha wrote 'Prataparudra Yasobhushanam' on poetics in Sanskrit. Agastya and Viswanatha had also their contribution in Sanskrit. Prataparudra's ministers and generals also patronised poets and scholars.

6. PRATAPARUDRA AND THE MUSLIM INVASIONS **(The Muslim Invasions on Andhra)**

The glory of the Kakatiya realm which was at its zenith during the reign of Prataparudra, excited the jealousy of his neighbours, especially the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Oriya rulers of Cuttack and led them even to make common cause with any power that sought to humble the pride of the Kakatiyas. 'Unfortunately for the Andhras such a mighty power came forth in the dynasty of the Imperial rulers (The Khaljis and then the Tughlaks) of Delhi.' Ala-ud-din Khalji was the first Sultan of Delhi to undertake expedition against Andhra. It is to be viewed as part of his grand scheme of invasions of the Deccan and South India. S.K. Aiyangar rightly observes in his work 'South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders' about the motives of Ala-ud-din in undertaking these expeditions thus: 'Ala-ud-din's object in these various invasions of the Deccan and the farther south appears to have gone on farther than making them the mileh-co for the gold that he was often much in need for the efficient maintenance of his army to keep Hindustan free from internal disturbances and invasion by the Mughals (Mongols) from outside'.

Ala-ud-din was by all counts, the first Muslim general who crossed the Vindhya and invaded the Hindu States of South India. Being the nephew of Jalal-ud-din Khalji, the founder of the Khalji rule in Delhi, he (Ali Gurbasp Malik was his real name) rendered his services to his uncle and father-in-law in crushing the revolt (Aug-Sept. 1290 A.D.) of the disaffected Turkish amirs led by Malik Chhajju-Kishlu Khan, governor of Kara. This young man, calculating, unscrupulous and aggressive, was eventually appointed governor of Kara. His domestic misery (due to haughty and arrogant wife) increased his thirst

for avenging himself on the family and his unsympathetic critics by deeds that would free him from the bitter family tutelage and ensure him an independent and glorious existence.

He realized that money was the first requisite and raid on the neighbouring Hindu states and beyond the Vindhya appeared to assue a working capital for the furtherance of his ultimate objective of capturing the throne of Delhi. In this process, he first captured Bhilsa (Vidisha) near Bhopal, plundered and destroyed the richly endowed temples and collected enormous booty. Here he 'assiduously gathered knowledge of the fabled wealth of southern Hindu kingdoms'. On the pretext of invading Chanderi, Ala-ud-din, as a fugitive prince, marched in the winter of 1295 A.D. to Ellichpur and then passed through Lasaura with his eight thousand picked cavalry. He had his assault on the capital Devagiri of the Yadava kingdom, when its main army had gone southwards under heir apparent Singhana Deva. The ruler Ramachandra sued for peace. Even Singhana who arrived from the south was also defeated. Enormous booty and huge war indemnity were extracted. Devagiri was reduced to a vassal state. This invasion 'not only provided Ala-ud-din with the money, he needed so badly to further his ambitious plans to succeed to throne of Delhi but also opened the way to South India to the Mahammadans, none of whom had dared to cross the Vindhyas so far'.

Ala-ud-din then hatched a plot, assassinated Jalal-ud-din, won the nobles over to his side with the Deccan money and usurped the Delhi throne in 1296 A.D. He was obliged to keep a large and effective army in order to keep the nobles under check, maintain law and order, subjugate and conquer the independent and semi-independent states, and to check the Mongol menace. His revenue reforms were due to his desire to increase state resources. The execution of his policy of conquest of north India drained mostly these resources. He soon felt the need to look for money outside his territory. His assiduously gathered earlier knowledge of the fabled wealth of southern Hindu kingdoms beyond Devagiri came to his help. Instead of conquering and annexing these kingdoms.

he shrewdly opted for squeezing them of their immense treasures and making them pay tributes regularly to augment the imperial treasury. The political situation in the south at that time was also encouraging to him. The rulers of the Hoyasala, Pandya, Yadava and Kakatiya kingdoms, which rose on the ruins of the Chalukyu and Chola empires, were engaged in war with each other. So Ala-ud-din turned his attention beyond Devagiri on the Telugu country first.

According to contemporary Hindu sources like 'Pratapacharitra', Vilasa and Kaluvacheru copper plate grants, there were no less than eight Muslim expeditions against the Andhra country alone during the reign of Prataparudra, The Muslim accounts, however, refer to only five expeditions, of which three were victorious and two disastrous.

The earliest expedition of Ala-ud-din against the Kakatiya kingdom took place in 1303 A.D. While he himself was engaged in sieging the fort of Chitor in Rajasthan, he sent Malik Fakhr-ud-din Juna and Jhaju of Kara with troops by way of Bengal to Telangana. The army, which already suffered disaster in the course of the march owing to floods, was worsted at Upparapalli (Karimnagar district) by Recherfa Venna and Potuganti Maili and was compelled to retreat in confusion.

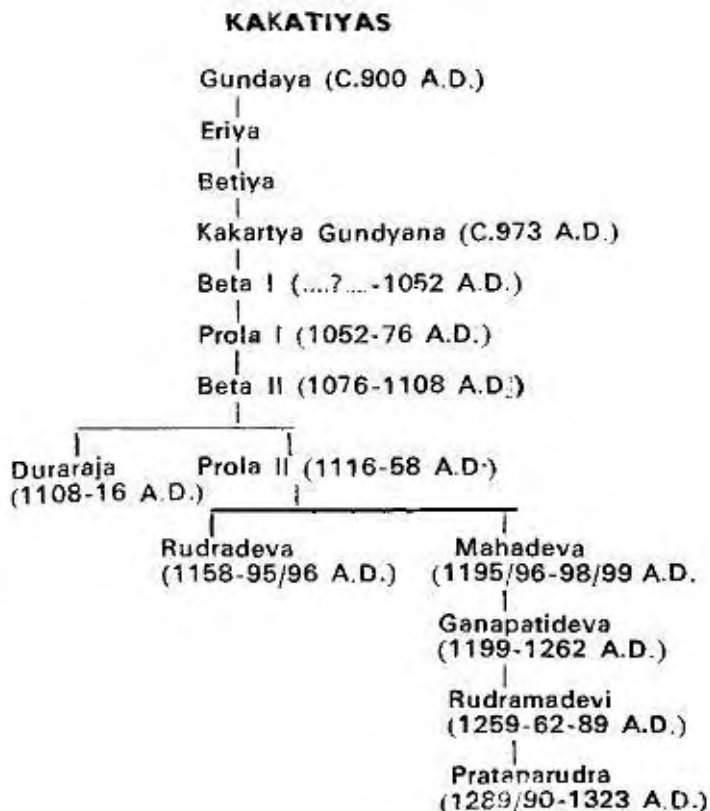
After settling satisfactorily the affairs of Hindustan and Western India and having brought effectively Maharashtra (Devagiri kingdom) under control, Ala-ud-din devoted his attention to the conquest of the Southern Hindu States. Amir Khusrau and Barani gave a graphic account of these expeditions commencing from 1309 A.D. The Sultan dispatched a large army under Malik Naib Kafur and Khwaja Haji to conquer Telangana to wipe off his earlier disgrace and also to chastise Prataparudra for giving asylum to the Hindu ruler of Gujarat. In tune with his policy towards the Southern rulers, he ordered Malik Naib to leave Prataparudra in possession of his dominions, if he should submit to him and agree to pay tribute. The Delhi army passed through Devagiri and seized the hill of Anmakonda on 20 January, 1310 A.D. After twenty-five days

fighting, the outer mud fort of Warangal **was** taken by storm. While laying sieze of the inner stone fort, the Muslim army devastated the country side, terrifying the inhabitants. Thus Prataparudra was forced to submit. Peace was restored. 'War and peace with Sultan Ala-ud-din made little difference, the former involved death and the latter the loss of everything that one possessed'. Malik Naib left Warangal with a high booty 'a thousand camels groaned, under the weight of the treasure'. Prataparudra remained a vassal of Delhi, paying the stipulated amount of tribute every year thereafter.

Following Ala-ud-din's death in 1316 A.D., the revolution broke out in Delhi, which finally led to the accession of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak to the throne. Taking advantage of this situation, Prataparudra stopped paying tribute to Delhi. The new Sultan sent his favourite slave Khusrau Khan to Warangal at the head of a powerful army to collect the arrears of tribute due to Delhi. With regard to this Khusrau Khan's expedition to Warangal, Amir Khusrau and Isami gave conflicting accounts, While an overdrawn picture of the achievements of the Muslim general in Telangana was given by the former, the latter simply states that 'Khusrau collected all the tribute due to his master without having recourse to force'. However both the accounts clearly point out that Prataparudra paid the arrears of tribute and the Delhi authority was restored in Telangana

Again when a series of events shook the Delhi empire to its foundations in 1320 A.D., Prataparudra, according to Firishta, did not pay tribute. After Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak established the rule of his family in Delhi, reversing the policy of his predecessors towards the southern kingdoms (squeezing as much money as possible), the Sultan wanted to bring the whole of Deccan peninsula under his direct control. In pursuit of this policy, he sent his son prince Juna Khan, who bore the title 'Ulugh Khan' (later Muhammad bin Tughlak), to the south. Ulugh Khan marched to Warangal in 1321-22 A.D. This was the fourth expedition against Warangal. Ulugh Khan marched to Warangal by way of Devagiri. Barani gives us details of this expedition. Warangal was invested. A pro-

tracted and fierce struggle followed. Kotagiri and other places were also besieged. When the Muslim arms were about to capture Warangal, rumours spread, might be at the instance of the astrologer Ubaid, to the effect that Ghiyas-ud-din died and the Delhi throne was captured by a usurper. Consternation and confusion followed in the Muslim camp. Some of the generals fled along with their armies. Uplugh had no alternative except to raise the siege and retreat towards Devagiri. Subsequently deterrent punishments were meted out to the detractors.



Ghiyas-ud-din did not get discouraged. He sent reinforcements to Devagiri with clear instructions to his son to proceed against Telangarva and subjugate the country. Ulugh Khan, now with the fully equipped reinforcements, marched towards Telangana, captured on the way several forts, siezed the strategic Bodhan and finally attacked the citadel of Warangal in 1323 A.D. The reappearance of Ulugh at Warangal within four months of the retreat caught the Kakatiya army unawares. The stock of provisions was meagre. The jealousy and rivalry of the Reddi chiefs with the Velamas played havoc. Still the sieze lasted for five months. The hardy and well-built Turkish soldiers with its swift moving cavalry caused havoc among the enemy ranks and ultimately Prataparudra had to yield. He was taken to Delhi along with all the members of his family. The Vilasa grant of Musunuri Prolaya states that Prataparudra while being carried away as a captive to Delhi, died on the banks of the river Narmada. He might have either committed suicide or was slain by one of his followers at his own instance. With the defeat and death of Prataparudra ended the rule of Kakatiya line of kings; and the country passed into the hands of rulers belonging to an alien race and religion.

7. GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE KAKATIYA PERIOD

The Kakatiyas with their conquering zeal and spirit of nationalism and patriotism united the while of Andhradesa—coastal Andhra, Telangana and Rayalaseema—all the Telugu-speaking parts of the Deccan under their paramount power. It was for the first and the last time also (before the formation of Andhra Pradesh State) that the Telugu-speaking people were united under one government. Their spirit of nationalism and patriotism stood them in good stead in their offering gallant resistance to the Islamic invaders. This radition and legacy of the Warangal kingdom was however continued by the Vijayanagara rulers.

ADMINISTRATION AND THE TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION

The Kakatiyas followed the traditional hereditary monarchical system. The practice of the ruling monarch taking heir into partnership in the administration of the kingdom was visible

at least from the time of Ganapatideva. A female succession to the throne, eventhough it was prejudiced by some, was the unique feature of the Kakatiya dynasty in the history of Andhradesa. Though the monarch was all powerful, his authority was subjected to the limitations imposed by vama-dharma and the customs of the land. The works on rajaniti prescribed high qualifications of head and heart for the king. The king's frequent audiences to his subjects at fixed times was made essential for fostering harmony between the ruler and the ruled. A large number of ministers used to assist the monarch in the administration of the kingdom. Merit was probably the criterion to make appointments to public service. The contemporary literary work 'Sakalanitisammatamu' lists 18 Thirthas (ministers). Officials of all classes in the court were divided into 'niyogas' (categories). They were seventy two in number and collectively referred as 'bahattara', placed under the supervision of the 'bahattara-niyogadhipati'.

With regard to the territorial organization of the Kakatiya kingdom, the primary basis was the village. Besides the village, the bigger administrative divisions like 'sthalas' and 'nadus' were known from inscriptions. The villages were under the rule of a body of village officials called collectively the 'ayagars' (generally 12 in number and include karanam, pedakapu, talari etc.). Little is known about the local organization of the sthalas and nadus.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND THE ARMY

In the military organization of the Kakatiya kingdom, fores played a dominant role in the defence of the realm. It is the network of forts which enables a kingdom to last long. The 'Nitisara' of Prataparudra refers to four kinds of forts-sthala. Jala, vana and giri durgas. The inscriptions of the period refer to the giri-durgas like Anumakonda, Rachur and Gandikota, the vana-durgas like Kandur and Narayanavanam, the jala-durgas like Divi and Kolanu and the sthala-durgas like Warangal and Dhamikota, These forts were the most famous strong-holds in the Kakatiya period.

The administration of the kingdom was done on military basis. The kings shared their territories out among a number of military chiefs called 'Nayakas'. This was the 'nayakara' system which became popular as a prominent feature of administration later under the Vijayanagara emperors. The 'Nitisara' states that the king should assign only small villages to the samantas, reserving the big ones for maintaining the four-fold army and for the replenishment of the treasury. The 'Pratapacharitra' informs us about Prataparudra II entrusting the defence of the 77 bastions of Warangal to 77 Nayakas of the Velama community, allotting to them a fourth of his kingdom as estates to enable them to discharge efficiently their duties (to maintain a prescribed body of troops for the service of the king and to pay annual tribute).

The elephants, cavalry and infantry constituted the Kakatiya army. The contemporary accounts refer to the strength of the army under Prataparudra II which consisted of 100 elephants, 20,000 horses and 9,00,000 archers. The military service was not restricted to any particular community. The Gajasahini and Asvasahini used to train the elephants and horses for the purposes of war. Maharaya-pattasahini was an officer attached to the royal establishment.

The army was divided into two sections, the royal forces and the nayaka levies. Being the commander-in-chief of the army, the king used to take the field in person very often. The 'angarakshas' used to guard the kings' person and palace. The 'lenkas' (companions-at-arms) with an ideal conduct used to serve and if required they were even ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the king. No correct information is available regarding the organization of military hierarchy. '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. The Gandapendera or anklet of the heroes was a common decoration bestowed on distinguished men for meritorious service'.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Agriculture was the main source of the prosperity of the Kakatiya period. No reference is given to any public works

department or the state undertaking either direct or indirect responsibility for the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. However the kings and their nobles, merchants and wealthy men and even the religious leaders took active interest in the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, especially tanks or reservoirs in which rain water was stored. It was because of their sentimental belief, that the construction of a tank was an act of charity which would acquire great religious merit, starting from Beta II, the rulers and their chieftains (especially the Malyala and Recheria chieftains) encouraged raising wet crops on a large scale in Telangana by providing large tanks or dams.

Besides provision of irrigation facilities to improve agriculture, attempts were made to increase the extent of cultivable land by cutting down forests particularly in the Rayalasima area during the reign of Prataparudra II. New settlements were encouraged in the forest clearings. The tax on agriculture and the charges levied on industry and trade were collected by regular officials. The land was, for purposes of assessment, divided into dry, wet and garden varieties. Tax was payable either in kind or in cash. Little is known about the incidence of taxation. Salt was a monopoly of the state. Apart from agriculture, industry and commerce were also promoted. Marco Polo, Amir Khusrau and Wassaf paid glowing tributes to the prosperous condition of Andhradesa during this period.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

The Kakatiya monarchs were well known for their policy of religious toleration. Among the reformist faiths. Buddhism was a thoroughly spent-up force by the eleventh century A.D. Due to the patronage of the early Kakatiya rulers, Jainism lingered on here and there, maintaining its individual character, in 'Panditaradhyacharitra' and 'Basava Purana', references were made to the persecution of Jains.

Among the Bhakti cults which replaced Buddhism and Jainism, though Vaishnavism also flourished, it was the hey

day for Saivism. The Kahamukha doctrine was predominant at the beginning, the Pasupata sect gained upper hand later. The first independent monarchs of the Kakatiya dynasty, Rudradeva and his brother Mahadeva were 'Parama-mahesvaras'. The reign of Ganapatideva was remarkable in the history of the Saiva religion during the Kakatiya period. The Pasupata Saivas belonging to the Golaki-Matha gained popularity among the people as well as with the royal house. The teachers of this Matha, like Visvesvara Siva (the royal preceptor of Ganapatideva) exerted greater influence on the Chedi Katechuris, Kakatiyas and on the Kings of Malwa and Chola countries. In Andhradesa, many branches of this Golaki-Matha were set up at Bhattiprolu, Tripurantakam, Sriparvata and Pushpagiri. This Pasupata sect of Saivism of Golaki-Matha continued to flourish almost upto the end of the reign of Prataparudra II. It is strange to find that after the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D., no Saivacharya of Golaki-Matha was heard of.

The famous Pandita-traya, Mallikarjuna Pandita, Sripati Pandita and Manchana Pandita, belonging to Aradhya Saivism had also some following in the southern parts of the Telugu country during the Kakatiya period. The Vira-Saiva school of Basava, which was at its zenith in the Kanarase country during this period, did not attract many people in the Andhra country.

The Saiva-Mathas, which were supported by liberal grants from the kings and nobles, imparted religious teaching to their disciples. Satras (free feeding houses) were attached to the Saiva monasteries. 'Village and family deities, such as Ekavira, Mahuramma, Kakatamma and Kameswari, were very popular and their worship was general throughout this period'. Performance of vratas and often undertaking pilgrimages also attained much importance during these times.

DEVELOPMENT OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Kakatiyas were men of cultural tastes. They patronised men of arts and letters. They were fond of architecture. As they had sprung from the Chalukyas and were also allied by

marriage with the Cholas of South India, it is natural that their temples should show a happy blending of these two styles of temple architecture. With regard to secular architecture, since the forts began to play a dominant part in the defence of the realm, they were built at Warangal, Raichur, Golkonda, Rachakonda, Devarakonda and other places revealing the architectural skills of the times. The entrances of the mud-wall and the stone citadel at Warangal are magnificent examples of mediaeval defence arrangements.

Since the early Kakatiya monarchs were Jains by faith, some temples of Jain variety must have been erected at places like Kolanupaka (Warangal district) and Jogipeta (Medak) district) but later they vanished possibly due to Saiva malice and fury. However the Padmakshi temple near Anmakonda on a hill top, built during the reign of Prola II, still stands as a solitary example of the Jain architecture of the Kakatiya period. With modest size and simple design, it does not exhibit any architectural excellence.

The excellence of the Kakatiya architecture and sculpture is revealed in the constructions of a later age. They include the famous temples at Anmakonda, Warangal, Pillalamarri and Palampeta. The thousandpillar temple known as the Rudresvara temple at Hanumakonda constructed by Rudradeva in 1162 A.D. stands as a testimony for the great architectural triumph of the age of the Kakatiyas. The ceilings, the portals, the inner walls and pillars of this temple and the colossal image of Nandi-all built of granite and black stone were finely chiselled, elaborately decorated with intricate designs and perfectly proportioned with amazing skill and mastery, depicting the figures of animals, deities and scenes from the epics.

The great Ramappa temple at Palampeta is said to have been built in 1213 A.D. by Recherla Rudra, one the generals of Ganapatideva. At the eastern entrance of this temple raised on a high platform stands the beautifully symmetrical and life-like image of the monolithic Nandi with marvellous smoothness and polish, displaying extraordinary skill in carving the nume-

rous details of its ornamental hangings. The outside of the temple is decorated by a variety of figures including deities, warriors, musicians and dancers. The twelve figure brackets, springing from the shoulders of the outer pillars and nominally supporting the protruding eaves of the roof of the temple, represent the dancing artists in different postures. The other temples at Katakshpur, Nagnur, Nagulapadu, Panagal, Attirala, Manthani, and Bejjanki and the Toranas (gateways) at Warangal and Veerakals (hero-stones) at different places also exhibit the same artistic merit of the Kakatiya times. The fine arts of music and dance also received patronage at the Warangal court.

DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE

The Kakatiyas paid much attention on the spread of education and bestowed bounteous patronage on men of letters. Sanskrit continued to occupy the first place in the educational system of this period. The contemporary inscriptions bear sufficient evidence to this. This study of the Vedas, the other Vedic literary works and the various branches of classical Sanskrit literature was encouraged. The liberal patronage rendered by the rulers and their dependents gave an impetus to literary activity on large scale.

Among the epigraphical poets who composed prasastis (their inscriptions are regarded as kavyas in miniature), the names of Achintendra, Nandi, Anantasuri and Isvarasuri figure. Besides, important works in different branches of learning were produced. Among the Kavya writers, Agastya (Balabharatam and Nalakirtikaumudi), Sakalya Mallu-bhatta (Niroshthya Ramayana etc.) and Appayarya (Jinendrakalyanabhyudaya) deserve special mention. The dramatists in Sanskrit include Gangadhara, Visvanatha, Narasimha and Ravipati Tripurantaka. The poet laureate of Prataparudra II, Vidyanatha produced his famous treatise on poetics, 'Prataparudra-Yasobhushanam'. The authorship of the famous treatise on rajaniti, 'Nitisara' was ascribed to Prataparudra. On music and dance, Jayapa, the Gaja-sahini of Ganapatideva, wrote Gitaratnavali and Nrittaratnavati. Apart from these various poetical compositions.

some Kavyas in Sanskrit prose and commentaries on philosophical and theological works were also produced during this period.

The Kakatiya period constitutes an important chapter in the history of Telugu literature. It was under the patronage of the Kakatiya generals and feudatories, much religious and secular literature was produced in Telugu. The Bhakti cults largely contributed to the Telugu literature. In fact, after Nannayabhatta, the Telugu literature suffered an eclipse for nearly a century. But from the later half of the 13th century A.D., a continuous stream of literary output can be seen. Undoubtedly the period is described as the age of Tikkana, Tikkana Somayaji, who was in the service of the Telugu Choda princes of Nellore, visited the court of the Kakatiyas, sought and got the help of Ganapatideva for his master who was in distress. This great poet had for his credit two important works in Telugu. The first one is 'Nirvachanottara Ramayanamu'. Though a highly Sanskritised style was employed, it is characterised by excellent literary qualities and abounding elements of pathos and heroism. However it is the 'Andhra Mahabharata' which brought for Tikkana undying fame and made him one of the immortals. Though it is a translation of the last fifteen parvas of the Mahabharata, left out by his predecessor Nannaya, yet Tikkana put life and blood into it with an avowed objective of making it a kavya. His delineation of character, dramatic dialogue and lucid and at the same time suggestive exposition of facts are masterly in nature. His broad spiritual outlook, lofty idealism, high imagination and splendid diction made him 'Kavi Brahma' (The Supreme Creator among poets). Ketana who translated Dandin's 'Dasakumara Charitra' into Telugu, and Marana who wrote 'Markandeya Puranam' were his contemporaries and admirers.

Palkuriki Somanatha, who was an inhabitant of the Telangana region in the time of Prataparudra, was an erudite scholar and a linguist. In his later life, he espoused Virasaivism. His greatest Telugu poetical works include 'Basava Purana'. 'Panditaradhya Charitra' and 'Vrshadhpa Satakamu'.

Somanatha was the first poet who attempted to write in 'Desi' (Janu Tenugu). His 'Basava Purana' is in popular Dwipada metre. Gona Buddharaja's 'Ranganatha Ramayanamu' in the same two-footed verse, 'Bhaskara Ramayanamu' ascribed to Bhaskara, Mallikarjunabhatta and others and the works of Nanne Choda, Manchana, Malliya Rechana, Baddena, Sivadevayya, Madiki Singana and Yathavakkula Annamayya enriched the Telugu literature during the age of the Kakatiyas. New styles of Telugu poetry, like Prabhandha and Staka, made their appearance.

The Age of the Musunuri Chiefs and the Reddis

1. The Musunuri Chiefs

EXPANSION OF THE MUSLIM AUTHORITY IN THE TELUGU COUNTRY

With the defeat and capture of Prataparudra II in 1323 A.D., Warangal and Telangana lay at the feet of the conqueror Ulugh Khan of the Tughlak dynasty. Warangal was renamed as Sultanpur. The invader carried on campaigns for some more time for the thorough subjugation of the Telugu country. Within six months after the fall of Warangal, Kondapalli fort was taken. Then one after the other the strong holds on the east coast Rajahmundry, Nidadavolu, Kolanuvidu and Nellore were occupied by the Muslims. The Persian inscription dated in 1324 A.D. of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak inscribed on the main gateway of the big mosque at Rajahmundry, some coins of the same Sultan found in a village near Eluru and other evidences attest this annexation of the region from Nellore to Rajahmundry by 1324 A.D. The Muslim chronicler **Isami** referred to Ulugh Khan's conquest of Gutti and Kunti. Thus the entire Telugu country came under the Muslim rule almost by 1324 A.O. Apart from the Telugu country, according to Wassaf, the Mabar region extending from Nilawar (Nellore) in the east to Kulam (Quilion) in the west was also conquered by the Muslims during the same time.

THE EFFECTS OF THE MUSLIM RULE

This conquest of the Telugu country and the farther south and the subsequent destruction of Kampili and the subjugation of the Hoyasalaraja by Ulugh Khan (later Mohammad Bin Tughlak) had far-reaching consequences. When Ala-ud-din Khilji conquered the southern states, he was wise enough not to follow the policy of direct annexation. After conquering these territories, he left them all independent and accepted tributes from the defeated states. As long as these states regularly paid their tributes and acknowledged the supremacy of Delhi, they were let alone. However the Tughlak Sultans failed to appreciate and accept the wisdom of this policy. With the result, they followed the policy of annexation. Every attempt was made to create the defeated states as provinces of the Delhi empire.

With the advent of the Muslim rule in the Telugu country and other parts of the south, conditions underwent a drastic change. During the stay of Ulugh Khan in Telangana, he tried to consolidate his conquests and organise the administration. He appointed Malik, Amirs and other officers of state and placed garrisons in strategic centres. The overall supervision was entrusted to the Daulatabad governor. The Muslim rule was tyrannical and oppressive and the people began to groan under hardships. The plight of Andhradesa under the Muslim rule is graphically described in the contemporary Vilasa copper plate grant of Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka. The record says, "In a hundred sinful ways, the rich were tortured for the sake of money. Merely on beholding the Parasikars (Muslims) some abandoned their lives. Brahmins were disallowed to perform their religious rites and rituals. Temples were destroyed and idols were desecrated and broken. All the agraharas, which had long been in the enjoyment of the most learned, were taken away. Forcibly deprived of the fruits of their cultivation, the husbandmen, both the rich and poor, got ruined. In that great calamity, people could not regard their money, wives and other earthly belongings as their own. The wretched Yavanas (Muslims) revelled always in drinking wine, eating cow's flesh.

sporting in amour and killing the Brahmins. When such is the case, how could the world of living beings exist? Situated as the country was without the possibility of a saviour being conceived even in imagination, the land of Telinga, tormented in this way by those Yavana warriors who were exactly like Rakshasas, was in flames like a forest surrounded by wild fire".

Gangamba in her 'Madhura Vijaya' enumerates similar facts, describing the condition of the south under the Muslim rule characterised by oppressive nature, religious fanaticism and intolerance. The iconoclastic zeal spurred them to destruction of the Hindu temples. On those ruins, with the same materials, mosques were built. Alexander Rae referred to the big mosque at Rajahmundry as a good example of a Hindu temple (the temple of Venugopalaswami of the Eastern Chalukyan times), retaining its original features but converted into a Mohammadan mosque. Similarly at Eluru and Kondapalli also the Hindu structures were dismantled and mosques were constructed. Apart from this, there was a violent shake up of the entire social fabric. The traditional institutions of the land were overthrown and the age-long practices were upset. Under these circumstances, there was an outburst of national indignation and patriotic enthusiasm for driving out the aliens.

THE MOVEMENT OF LIBERATION

The widespread discontent among the people towards the Tughlak regime was exploited by the dislodged and disgruntled princes, both Hindu and Muslim of the south. The unrest was spearheaded into a general movement of resistance against the Delhi imperialism. Especially in the Telugu country, the movement of liberation got its fillip from the erstwhile generals of Prataparudra II, namely Ariyeti (Bendapudi) Annamantri and Kolani Rudradeva. These veteran generals and administrators did not aspire for leadership. They were anxious to liberate the country from the Muslim yoke. They could enthuse and rouse the younger nobles and chieftains to champion the cause. Anitalli's Kaluvacheru grant speaks of the descendants of ancient Mahasamantas and Mandalikas among whom •were

Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka, Koppula Prolaya Nayaka, Prolaya Vema Reddi, Recharla Singama Nayaka and Manchikonda Ganapatnayaka, being brought together by Kolani Rudra with Annamantri with the avowed purpose of rescuing the country from the Muslim domination and reestablish Hindu Dharma and guard it. Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka was the chosen leader, of this confederacy of the nobles.

The Musunuri family probably hailed from the village Musunuru in the Krishna district. They belonged to the fourth caste (Kamma). Prolaya Nayaka of this family was a valiant soldier. How he could rise to a position of eminence, how he could win the confidence of the people to become the leader of the confederacy of the nobles to put an end to the Muslim rule in the Telugu country, how he and the other leaders of the movement gathered armies, what tactics they employed and where they opposed and vanquished the Muslim armies, are not definitely known. However it is certain that Prolaya received conspicuous support from his cousin and also the right hand man Kapaya Nayaka and Vema Reddi and other leaders in his endeavour to liberate the coastal Andhra and parts of Telangana from the aliens.

Taking advantage of the death of the Delhi Sultan Ghiyasuddin and the preoccupation with affairs nearer home of his son and the new Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlak in the year 1325 A.D., Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka with the help of the confederate forces detached the Muslim armies in important centres, inflicted a series of defeats on them and established himself in the Godavari region with Rekapalle in the Bhadrachalam taluk. In appreciation of the services rendered by Annamantri in this war, the village Aredu in the West Godavari district was granted to him. Prolaya Vema Reddi assumed the epithet 'Mlechchhabdi Kumbhodbhava' (Agastya to the Ocean, i.e. the Mlechchhas), indicating his active participation in the same war of liberation.

Musunuri Prolaya Nayakas reign (1325 A.D. -1333 A.D.) was very short. He passed away about the year 1333 A.D.

without achieving completely his cherished ambition of freeing the entire Andhradesa from the Muslim rule. About the achievements during his short rule, the Vilasa grant says that he destroyed the Yavana power by irresistible strength of arms and revived the rule of the Dharma. It records that he restored to the worthy Brahmins all the land grants made to them by the former rulers but unrighteously taken away by the alien conquerors; the farmers gave him with pleasure the share of their produce declared as due to the king by law, just as ascetics gave one sixth (1/6) of the share of the fruits of their penance. It is during this period that many learned and pious Brahmins of the Telangana region (families like Mallampalli, Aripirala and Devulapalli) immigrated to the coastal districts. Prolaya rechristened the village in the Godavari delta region after himself and granted it to a learned and worthy Brahmin called Vennaya on a Lunar eclipse day. Vennaya gave away many agrahara lands to other Brahmins well-read in the Vedas and Sastras and settled them in that village.

As Prolaya had no children, he was succeeded by his cousin Kapaya Nayaka (1333 A.D.-1368 A.D.), who had his training in statesmanship, warfare and administration under the former. Kapaya had now before him the task of liberating the Andhra country lying to the west of the Eastern Ghats (Telangana). His Polavaram, Pillalamarri and Ganapesvaram inscriptions, Anitalli's Kaluvacheru grant and the literary accounts like Velugotivari. Vamsavali and Ferishta's and Barani's accounts help us to reconstruct the history of his career and also of the times. Kapaya is referred as Kanya Nayak or Krishna Naig in the Muslim accounts.

The situation at the time of Kapaya's accession, was tense. In pursuit of the rebel governor of Sagar, Bahauddin Gurshasp, Muhammad Bin Tughlak's forces attacked and destroyed Kampili in 1327 A.D. The Sultan stayed in the south (at Devagiri) for two years. His return to Delhi marked the outbreak of disorders here. All the land had risen against the Muslim governor and every one was lord of what he pleased. With amazing rapidity, Araviti Somadeva captured all the

fortresses in the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab and emancipated thus the Rayalasila region from the Muslim rule. Kapaya and Prolaya Vema Reddi might have rendered some valuable assistance to him in this regard. The Hoyasalas stopped paying tribute to Delhi and asserted their independence. The two Sangama brothers Harihara and Bukka, who were sent to Kampili to restore the Delhi Sultans' authority, shook off their allegiance to Delhi. Emboldened at these happenings in Andhra and Karnataka, Jalaluddin Hasan, the governor of Mabar raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed his independence at Madurai in 1334-35 A.D. With a fit of violent rage at these successive revolts in the south, Muhammad Bin Tughlak led his armies to Daulatabad and then proceeded to Warangal. But due to spread of plague in epidemic form in his camp, he had his hasty retreat to Daultabad. Before his hurried departure, he made fresh arrangements for effective administration of the region. He divided Telangana region into the eastern and western parts. Malik Maqbul was incharge of the eastern Telangana with Warangal as headquarters and the Western Telangana was under another governor with Bidar as headquarters. Both these governors were placed under the control of the new Wazir of Daultabad, Qawamuddin.

After the departure of the Sultan from the south, Kapaya Nayaka plunged himself into action. He reinforced his army. According to Ferishta, Kapaya received help from even Hoyasala Ballala III. With the allied forces, he drove away Malik Maqbul and occupied Warangal in 1336 A.D. He assumed the titles like 'Andhra Suratana' and 'Andhradesadhisvara.'

To consolidate his position in Telangana and coastal Andhra to the north of the river Krishna, he conferred high positions upon his close associates and relatives. He even had matrimonial alliances with some of them. He appointed his cousin Anapota Nayaka as the governor of the coastal area at first with Toyyeru and later Rajamahendravram as headquarters. Another associate Muppa was to rule over the north-western region of the kingdom with Ramagiri in the Adilabad district as headquarters. This Muppa was the patron

of the Telugu poet Madiki Singana. Another chieftain Manchikonda Kunaya Nayaka (Kuna Reddi) built the fort at Korukonda at the instance of Kapaya to guard it against the periodic inroads of the semibarbarious forest folk of mountainous tracts in the plains and render military assistance to the governor of the coastal region. Kapaya even married his niece to Kunaya's son. The loyal Koppula chieftains were at Pithapuram. The Ganapesvaram record indicates Kapaya's authority over the Padmanayaka of Anumanagallu and Pillalamarri. To guard against the future Muslim invasions, Kapaya repaired and fortified old forts and occupied strategic positions in Telangana and had his reinforcements.

In order to fortify his position, Kapaya Nayaka left no stone unturned. He went to the extent of rendering help to the foreign nobles at Daulatabad who revolted against the Sultan of Delhi. In 1347 A.D. Jaffar Khan, the leader of these rebels received some contingents from Warangal. He assumed the title of Alauddin Bahman Shah and founded the Bahamani kingdom with Gulbarga as headquarters. Kapaya thought that his joining the centurions would obviate the chances of attack on Warangal by Muhammad Bin Tughlak. However he soon realised that the assistance he had rendered to Jaffar was suicidal. Alauddin Bahaman Shah, in his policy of expansionism did not show any consideration of gratitude to Kapaya. According to Ferishta, he wrested the fortress of Kaulas with its dependencies from Warangal sometime about 1350 A.D.

Kapaya Nayaka faced Bahamani's attack again in 1356 A.D. Alauddin terrified the people of Telangana. Kapaya conceded the Bhuvanagiri fortress and agreed to pay tribute to the Bahamani Sultan. Alauddin's son and successor, Muhammad Shah I continued the same policy of antagonism towards Warangal. Kapaya joined hands with Bukkaraya I of Vijayanagara with the hope of retrieving much of the lost ground. However, this alliance also was proved of no use. In the war that ensued, Kapaya's son Vinayakadeva was taken captive and put to death in a cruel manner by Muhammad Shah 1 in 1362 A.D.

Much aggrieved Kapaya along with Buktareya I sent an appeal to Firoz Shah Tughlak seeking military assistance against the Bahamani Sultan. This was of no use. Muhammad Shan got enraged at this and struck a crushing blow on Warangal. Kapaya could not receive any help from Vijayanagara. A peace treaty was concluded in 1364-65 A.D., according to the terms of which he had to pay huge war indemnity and cede the Golconda hill fort. Golconda was fixed as the boundary between the Gulbarga and the Warangal kingdoms.

The successive defeats of Kapaya in the hands of the Bahamanis resulted in the weakening of his prestige and power. The Kopula chieftains asserted independence in Pithapuram area. The Manchikonda chieftains made Rajamahendravaram part of their territory after the death of Kapaya's cousin Anavota Nayaka. However the march of the Gangas of Kalinga upto the banks of the river Krishna put a check to the aggressiveness of both the Kopula and the Manchikonda leaders. Subsequently the Reddis of Kondavidu extended their sway over these areas. Kapaya lost his authority on the east coast. The Recharla Velama chieftains asserted their position in Telangana with Amanugallu as headquarters. When the Recharla chief Singama Nayaka was assassinated by the Jallipalli rulers, Singama's son Anavota Nayak suspected the hand of Kapaya in it and marched on Warangal in fury. The battle between the two was fought at Bhimavaram near Warangal in 1368 A.D. Kapaya suffered a reverse and lost his life. The Vetamas became the masters of Telangana with Rajukonda as headquarters. The rule of the Musunuri family came to an end. Warangal lost its political prominence. The Velamas, however reaped the fruits of their unwise policy of animosity with Kapaya. For, they had to struggle for their bare existence with the Bahamani Sultans till the annexation of Telangana to the Bahamani kingdom.

2. The Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajahmndry

The fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D. led to the occupation of whole of Andhradesa by the Tughlaks (Tughluqs). The

latter administered the country through their own officers. The establishment of Muslim rule was followed by religious persecution, temple destruction and oppressive taxation. This tyrannic rule led to the formation of a confederacy of Hindu chiefs to free their land from the alien rulers who were bent upon destroying their ancient culture and traditions. Soon a movement of liberation was organised. The Musunuri, the Velama and the Reddi chiefs were able to restore their rule in coastal areas and parts of Telangana. Araviti Somadeva was successful in the western Andhra country. Subsequently, with the exception of Devagiri, entire south freed herself from Muhammad Bin Tughlak's yoke. Out of this wide-spread movement, sprang up the Reddi Kingdoms of Andhradesa.

The Reddis, who played a conspicuous part in the post Kakatiya history of Andhradesa, belonged to the Panta Kapu community. Panta was the name of a territorial division (in the modern district of Nellore). Desati was the family name of these Reddis. Errana and Srinadha referred to these aspects. Inscriptions and local records also made reference to these things. PROLAYA VEMA REDDI was the founder of the Reddi Kingdom with Addanki as headquarters. The establishment of his rule appears to have taken place by 1325 A.D. The Kaiuvacheru grant of Anitalli, the Reddi queen of Rajahmundry dated Saka 1345 (1423 A.D.) states that Prolaya Vema Reddi was originally one of the 75 Nayaks of Kapaya Nayaka and he began to rule the region between Penna, Krishna and Ahobalam independently only after the death of his overlord Kapaya Nayaka. However, Prolaya Vema issued grants in his own independent capacity from 1325 A.D. to 1353 A.D., the dates of his Mallavaram and Manikesvaram inscriptions respectively. It may reasonably be concluded that Prolaya Vema, though worked in close collaboration with the Musunuri chiefs in liberating the Telugu country from the Muslim yoke, asserted his independence and became sovereign in the Nellore-Guntur tract including the Srisailam area.

Prolaya Vema, as his Manikesvaram record indicates, ruled upto 1353 A.D. Detailed accounts about the political events

of his reign period are not available. Ever since the establishment of the two kingdoms of the Rayas of Vijayanagara and the Reddis of Addanki, they were locked up in a territorial struggle for supremacy in the coastal region. An inscription of Kampana, younger brother of Harihara I dated 1346 A.D., indicates that the Vijayanagar generals wrested from the Reddis the region north of Pennar, that is to the south-west of Kanigiri and Kandukur. Similarly hostility existed between the Reddis and the Rajukonda Velamas (the Recherla chiefs).

In order to strengthen the defences of the realm, Prolaya Vema built several forts at places like Dharanrkota, Chandavolu, Vinukonda, Kondavidu and Bellamkonda and stationed strong garrisons there. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to Eruva Choda Bhima, son of Bhaktiraja. Being a pious Hindu, he gave protection to the pious Brahmin and the sacred cow. He built temples and tanks and gave liberal grants to Brahmins. Public welfare activities were undertaken. Prolaya Vema was also a patron of learning. The famous Erra Pragada was his court-poet.

Prolaya Vema was succeeded by his son **ANAVOTA** (1353 A.D. - 1364 A.D.). Anavota, throughout his reign, was engaged in wars with the Bahamanis, the Recherlas and the Vijayanagar kings who made encroachments in his territories. Probably owing to the pressure of Vijayanagara after its conquest of Vinukonda, he changed the capital to more impregnable Kondavidu. With the assistance of his friend and ally Choda Bhaktiraja, he advanced with his troops into the heart of Kalinga relentlessly carrying fire and sword. This aggression might be a counterblast to the earlier one of Kalinga Ganga Narasimhadeva IV on the former Vengi kingdom. As a result of this campaign, the Haihayas of Kona country, Mummadi Nayaka of Korukonda and Rajamahendravaram and Koppulas of Pithapuram were made aware of the powers of the Reddis. However, his success was short-lived. He was soon obliged to surrender to Choda Bhaktiraja all his territorial gains to the north of the river Krishna. He successfully resisted the Bahamanis and the Recherlas. Taking advantage of his preoccupations with the

Bahamanis and the Recherlas, the Vijayanagara ruler Bukkaraya I occupied Srisailam and Markapuram areas.

In spite of the problems of security beset to his kingdom, Anavota paid much attention to the prosperity of his realm. He renewed in 1358 A.D. the charter of security (abhayasasana) granted earlier by Kakati Ganapatideva. As a result, the traders of Motupalli got absolute safety and security. All vexatious exactions were abolished. Only reasonable taxes and tithes were collected from the merchants. Like his father, Anavota too fostered the Hindu way of life.

Anavota was followed by his younger brother ANAVEMA (1364 A.D. - 1386 A.D.) as his son Kumaragiri was quite young at the time of his father's death. Anavema was the greatest ruler of the Kondavidu line. His attention was first drawn towards the Vengi affairs. In order to help his brother-in-law Choda Bhima who was driven away from Vengi by his brother Choda Annadeva, he crossed the river Krishna and captured the fortress of Divi. Then he marched on Niravadyapura (Nidadavolu) and defeated Annadeva and handed over the kingdom to Choda Bhima. He occupied the Godavari delta (Panara and Kona Kingdoms). Rajamahendravaram also came into his possession. His Simhachalam record informs us about further successful campaigns under his Brahmin general Chennama Nayaka against the local chieftains like the Manchikonda, the Koppula, the Chalukya and the Matsya families. The Reddi armies were led as far north as Simhachalam.

Anavema also defeated his traditional rivals the Recherlas in a pitched battle and conquered some parts of their territory. Probably as part of his campaign against the Recherlas, he recovered Srisailam and the neighbouring areas lost to Vijayanagara during the reigns of his predecessors. He was also a great giver of gifts and patron of men of letters and other cultural pursuits.

Anavema was succeeded by his nephew **KUMARAGIRI** (1386 A.D. - 1402 A.D.). The latter's succession to the throne

was not undisputed. His right to the throne was challenged by his cousins Vema and Macha, sons of Pedakometi Reddi. The kingdom was plunged into a civil war. Kumaragiri emerged victorious thanks to the active support given by his brother-in-law Kataya Vema Reddi. The civil war came to an end only when Pedakomati Vema was promised that he would be Kumaragiri's successor at Kondavidu.

Kumaragiri was an easy-going prince, who took delight in a life of comfort and luxury. He led a care-free life. So the responsibility of the governance of his realm was now shouldered by his trusted generalissimo and brother-in-law KATAYA VEMA. Kataya at the head of large army proceeded to deal with the inroads of Harihara II of Vijayanagara upto Tripurantakam and Vinukonda. In the battle that ensued, the Vijayanagara troops suffered a severe defeat. However the war was not pursued to its logical conclusion. The conflict was brought to a close by an agreement to the effect that Harihara II should give up Tripurantakam and Vinukonda, while retaining Srisailam region for himself. This was further cemented by a marriage alliance. Harihara II gave his daughter in marriage to Kataya Vema's son Kataya.

After his success against the Padma Nayaka chieftains of Telangana, Kataya Vema had his extensive eastern campaign. Aply assisted by Dodda Reddi and Vema Reddi, the princes of the Rajahmundry kingdom, he overran all the territory in the trans-Godavari region right upto Simhachalam and annexed it permanently to the Reddi kingdom and thereafter constituted into a separate province called the Eastern Kingdom (Rajamahendravara Rajya), a province of the kingdom of Kondavidu. After the premature death of his son who was the viceroy of this area, Kumaragiri conferred it on his brother-in-law Kataya Vema in appreciation of his great and numerous services to the state. His Gopavaram grant states that the province was given to Kataya Vema with full rights but only as a military chief.

This division of the kingdom and the subsequent oppressive rule of Kumaragiri resulted in the widespread discontent. Pedakomati Vema took advantage of the situation and challenged the authority of Kumaragiri. Once again the Kondavidu kingdom was thrown into the throes of civil war. In spite of Kataya Vema's best efforts, Kumaragiri could not withstand the might of Pedakomati Vema and he retired to Rajamahendravaram in 1402 A.D. where he died subsequently.

PEDAKOMATI VEMA (1402 A.D. -1420 A.D.) was a distinguished warrior. His deposition of Kumaragiri was resented by Kataya Vema, who defied the authority of the central government and asserted his independence. Pedakomati Vema tried in vain to bring back Rajahmundry into his fold. With the internecine war between two divisions of the Reddi kingdom, it became an easy prey to its neighbours. With the support of the Velamas of Devarakonda and Pedakomati Vema, Choda Annadeva succeeded in recovering his principality in the West Godavari district by 1408 A.D. The forces of Devaraya I of Vijayanagar and the Bahamani troops of Firoz Shah also moved into the Telugu country to participate in the internecine war. Pedakomati Vema fought the last of his battles with Kataya Vema and slew him in 1414 A.D. Subsequently he faced a humiliating defeat in the hands of Allada Reddi, the chief of Rajahmundry. Devaraya I sent his forces into the coastal area and occupied Motupalli, the famous sea port. Komati Vema appears to have lost his life in a battle in 1420 A.D. with Lingama Nayaka, the Velama prince of Devarakonda.

His son and successor Racha Vema (1420 A.D. -1424 A.D.) was cruel and oppressive towards his subjects. He was murdered by one of his own subjects. 'With him ended the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu which subsequently became the theatre of war and conquest among the three leading powers of the south, the Narapatis of Vijayanagara, the Asvapatis of Gulbarga and the Gajapatis of Orissa'.

THE REDDIS OF THE RAJAHMUNDRY KINGDOM

The Reddi dynasty of the Rajahmundry principality was one major subsidiary dynasty that branched off from the main

stem of the Kondavidu family. The Ganapavaram inscription indicates that this line was founded by Kataya Vema by about 1395 A.D. When Pedakomati Vema usurped the Kondavidu throne in 1402 A.D., Kataya Vema of Rajahmundry defied his authority and asserted independence. The internecine war between the two factions weakened the Reddi power considerably. The Vijayanagara and the Bahamani powers were also involved in this conflict. In one of these fratricidal battles, Kataya Vema was slain by Pedakomati Vema in 1414 A.D.

In spite of certain mistakes which Kataya Vema might have committed as a soldier and statesman, he was taken to be one of the finest specimens of the Reddi aristocracy of that age. He remained loyal and grateful to his benefactor Kumaragiri. He was also a man of great erudition and wrote a commentary on the dramas of Kalidasa.

Though Kataya Vema died, the Rajahmundry kingdom was well defended from Pedakomati Vema by Allada Reddi, who became the regent during the minority of Kataya Vema's son Kumaragiri (II), Allada Reddi successfully waged wars with Komati Vema and others and after the death of Kumaragiri II, entrusted the governance of the Rajahmundry principality to Kataya Vema's daughter Anitalli who was the wife of his second son, Veerabhadra Reddi. He died in 1420 A.D. and was followed by his sons Allaya Vema and Veerabhadra (1423 A.D. -1448 A.D.) who followed their father's general policy of aggrandizement at the expense of Kalinga. However during this 25 years rule of Veerabhadra, nominal suzerainty of the Kalinga rulers was to be recognised. It was during this period, the celebrated Telugu poet Srinadha was patronised at Rajahmundry. About 1448 A.D. the Gajapatis conquered and annexed the Rajahmundry Reddi kingdom.

IMPORTANCE OF THE REDDI PERIOD

The Reddis played a prominent part for a century in the Post-Kakatiya Andhradesa. Having established the kingdom as a bulwark of Hinduism against Islam, they promoted and

patronised Hindu institutions and art and culture. An attempt was made to present a united front to the invaders by consolidating the Hindu social order. The religious observance which were hitherto the exclusive privilege of the Brahmins were thrown open to all the three castes. Emphasis was laid on observance of rituals by individuals and charity'. The Vedic studies were encouraged and the Hindu pilgrim centres like Srisailem and Ahobalam were provided with more facilities. A number of festivals like Vasantotsava (spring festival) were celebrated with great solemnity.

The Reddi rulers along with the aristocracy and the merchant princes enthusiastically extended their patronage to Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hindu religion and culture. One unique feature of these kings is that almost all were great scholars and distinguished authors themselves. Kumaragiri, Kataya Vema and Pedakomati Vema were the most outstanding among them. Kumaragiri was the author of Vasantarajiyam, a famous treatise on the art of dancing. Komati Vema wrote Sahitya Chintamani, Sangita Chintamani and Sringaradipika. His court poet Vamanabhatabana wrote Vira Narayana Charita in Sanskrit prose.

As a result of the royal patronage, Telugu literature made abundant progress during the age of the Reddis. Telugu began to replace Sanskrit at the court. Saiva and Vaishnava works in Telugu appeared profusely. Errapragada, Srinadha and Potana were the most remarkable poets that flourished during this period. Errapragada was the last of the Kavitraya. He completed the Telugu translation of the Mahabharata (third Canto). With his deep erudition and high literary skill, he successfully completed the third book (Aranya Kanda) of the Andhra Mahabharata in a manner worthy of his two great predecessors, Nannaya and Tikkana. Errana's two other independent and complete works are Hari Vamsa and Narasimha Purana. Among these, the Narasimha Purana is an epic with Prabandha treatment. Potana through his Mahabhagavata preached Bhakti cult.

SRINAOHA was by far the most distinguished writer of the Reddi period. 'His life is a saga of the triumphant march of scholarship and poetical genius, a long period of kingly and princely patronage and adoration, which helped him to produce a series of brilliant works.....'. His master-piece is the 'Naishadha Kgyya.' Though it is a translation of Sriharsha's Sanskrit work, the Telugu version is superior in some respects. Srinadha produced this piece while he was in the service of Pedakomati Vema as officer in charge of Public Learning. His 'Palnadu Viracharitra' deals with the Reddi dynasty and is known as the 'Reddi Bharata'. His other works include 'Panditaradhy Charita', 'Sivaratrimahatmya,' 'Haravilasa', 'Bhimakhanda' and 'Kasikhanda'. His visit of Vijayanagara court, Arunaginadha's (Gauda Dindima Bhatta) admission of Srinadha's pre-eminence in scholarship and Devaraya rendering great honour to him—all are well known historical facts. It is aptly remarked that in Srinadha's hands Telugu poetry attained a majesty and dignity unapproached ever since."

3. The Relations Between the Reddis and the Rayas of Vijayanagara

During the days of freedom-struggle waged by the confederacy of Hindu chiefs against the Delhi Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlak, the Reddi kingdom with Addanki as headquarters was founded. Prolaya Vema Reddi was the founder of this new kingdom. Though the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli states that he was originally one of the seventy-five chiefs of Kapaya Nayaka and began to rule the territory under him independently only after the death of his overlord, he issued grants in his own independent capacity between 1325 A.D. and 1353 A.D. Since no overlord was referred in these records, it can be said that Protaya Vema Reddy ruled the kingdom independently .during this period.

Ever since the establishment of the Vijayanagara Kingdom in 1336 A.D., its rulers aimed at the extension of their sway towards the east coast. So their coming into clash with the Reddis on the southern coast of Andhra was inevitable. The

Udayagiri fortress which was already in their possession became a standing menace to the Reddi kingdom ever threatening its existence. The two rising kingdoms were thus locked up in a territorial struggle for supremacy in the coastal region and this conflict fasted for over a century.

The relationship between the Rayas of Vijayanagara and the Reddis of Kondavidu was one of characteristic dynastic struggle where the former tried to benefit itself at the cost of the latter. This was more so when the two kingdoms were in their infancy. One noteworthy feature of the conflict was that while the Vijayanagara power which was aggressive and ambitious was on the offensive side throughout, the Reddis remained on the defensive side. The Kondavidu kingdom had to face the feelings of jealousy and hostility not only from the Rayas of Vijayanagara but also from the Padmanayaks (Velamas) of Telangana and the Bahamani rulers.

The struggle between the Rayas of Vijayanagara and the Reddis of Addenki (later Kondavidu became the headquarters) which lasted for over a century and which was terminated by the absorption of the territories of the latter by the former, seems to have commenced at the infant stage of the two kingdoms. Sometime before 1343 A.D. the Vijayanagara generals must have wrested from Prolaya Vema Reddi the lower Pennar valley which was the ancestral home of the Reddis. An inscription of Kampanna, younger brother of Harihara I dated 1346 A.D., shows this extension of the Vijayanagara authority to the region to the south-west of Kanigiri and Kandukur

In the reign of Prolaya Vemas' son and successor Anavota (1353 A.D.-1364 A.D.), he joined hands with the Jallipalli Kshatriyas when the latter assassinated the Recherla chief Singama Nayaka. To take revenge on the Reddis, Singana's sons Anavota Nayaka and Mada Nayaka attacked the Reddi kingdom. Mada Nayaka is said to have defeated Anavota Reddi in the battle of Dharanikota. Thus began a feud between the Velamas and the Reddis which raged with the unabated fury till the middle of the fifteenth century. As a result of this battle, the Reddis lost the Srisailam area in the west. Round

about the same period (1361 A.D.), the Bahamanis attacked from the west. However this attack was repulsed by Mallaya Vema, the minister of Anavota Reddi.

These entanglements of Anavota Reddi with the Recherla chiefs and the Bahamani Sultans made his position some what weaker than before. Taking advantage of this, Bukka Raya I of Vijayanagara led expedition into the eastern country to the south of the river Krishna in 1363-64 A.D. In the course of this campaign, the Vijayanagara forces dislodged the Velamas and occupied the Srisailam region from them. They continued their march and seized some outlying provinces of the Reddi territory (Ahobalam and Vinukonda with their dependent territory). Probably owing to this pressure of Vijayanagara, the Reddis were made to shift their capital to a more secure place Kondavidu. The Manyapuram record of Anavema, brother of Anavota dated 1364 A.D., mentions the same.

Anavema (1364 A.D. -1386 A.D.) succeeded his brother on the throne of Kondavidu. He had his triumphal tour to the east upto Simhachalam. This was followed by his successful campaigns in the west to wipe off the disgrace inflicted on his family by the Velamas of Rajukonda. Next Anavema turned his attention towards the Vijayanagara rulers who caused greatest damage to his house in the past. The details of the war are not available. However Anavema's Srisailam record of 1377 A.D. by its very existence, points to the limit of his victory. The territory upto Srisailam was regained.

Taking advantage of the civil war between Kumaragiri, nephew of Anavema and his cousin Pedakomati Vema during the years 1386 - 90 A.D. for the throne of Kondavidu, Harihara II of Vijayanagara recovered the Srisailam region which remained thereafter under the rule of Vijayanagara. The fortress of Vinukonda also passed under his control. However after the conclusion of the civil war, the ruler of Kondavidu Kumaragiri sent his generalissimo Katayavema with a large army against Vijayanagara. In the battle that followed, the Vijayanagara forces suffered a severe defeat. Both the parties did not pursue

the war to its logical conclusion since they were badly in need of friends against their arch rivals the Bahamani sultans and the Velamas of Rajukonda who formed a mutual alliance. Hence an agreement was reached according to which Harihara II had to give up Tripurantakam and Vinukonda and Katayavema had to agree to give away a major portion of Srisailam region to Harihara II. This alliance was further cemented by a matrimonial alliance. Harihara II gave his daughter in marriage to Katayavema's son Kataya.

Katayavema, strengthened by the alliance with Vijayanagara, subsequently led an extensive and victorious eastern campaign as far north as take Chilaka. Kumaragiri constituted these northern conquests of Katayavema into the Eastern kingdom or Rajamahendravara Rajya and later bestowed it upon its conqueror. This unpopular division of the kingdom was resented by Pedakomatj Vema who removed Kumaragiri and usurped the throne in 1402 A.D. Kumaragiri retired to Rajamahendravaram where he died subsequently. At these developments, Harihara II got enraged against Pedakomati Vema and marched his armies again into the kingdom of Kondavidu. The Enamadala record of Harihara II and the Murukondapadu and Paruchuru grants of his son Devaraya I all dated in 1400 A.D. attest the same. The Vijayanagara forces under the command of Chaundapa penetrated as far as the capital Kondavidu. However Chaundapa was put to flight and the kingdom of Kondavidu was saved for the time being by Gajaravu Tippa, one of the (ova! generals of Pedakomati Vema.

Katayavema did not recognise Pedakomati Vema as his overlord. He defied the authority of the central government and asserted his independence. The internecine war between the two Reddi kingdoms was exploited by Annadeva Choda who was defeated and driven away on a previous occasion by the Reddi forces. With the support of the Velama king Pedavedagiri, son of Mada Nayaka I of Devarakonda and also probably of Peda Komati Vema, Annadeva Choda succeeded in recovering his Vengi principality by 1408 A.D. from Katayavema.

Shortly before this, Pedakomati Vema, who resented the family and political alliance into which the Vijayanagara rulers entered with his rival Katayavema, utilising the opportunity of the war of succession among the sons of Harihara II and supported by a strong contingent from the Bahamani sultan Firoz Shah, attacked the eastern provinces of the Vijayanagara empire. Devaraya I who finally became king in the month of November in 1406 A.D. had to pay his attention on the Doab. So the eastern provinces were weakly defended. With the result, Pedakomati Vema's forces occupied Pottapinadu and Pulugunadu in the south-east of Cuddapah district which continued to be under the Reddis of Kondavidu for seven years until their final expulsion by Devaraya I in 1413-14A.D.

Meanwhile Katayavema of the Rajahmundry kingdom, unable to defend himself against the combined strength of Pedakomati Vema and Annadeva Choda, sought the help of Devaraya I. Annadeva invited the Bahamani sultan to invade the Rajahmundry territories. In order to divert the attention of his foes and get himself relieved of the pressure in the north and in the east, Devaraya I moved some of his troops into the heart of the Kondavidu kingdom by 1411 A.D. (date of his inscription at Inkollu in the Guntur district). The alliance of Annadeva, Firoz Shah and Pedakomati Vema brought in dividends to the partners. Firoz occupied some portions of the Rajahmundry kingdom (inscription of Vedadri in the Nandigama taluk of Krishna district). The allied forces won victory in the Attili and Kakaraparru (both in the Tanuku taluk of West Godavari district) battles against the Vijayanagara and Rajahmundry troops. Devaraya I's intervention did not contribute to the success of Katayavema. In one of the subsequent encounters in 1414 A.D., Pedakomati Vema slew Katayavema.

After the death of Katayavema his near relative Allada Reddi placed Kumaragiri II, the minor son of Katayavema, on the throne of Rajahmundry and himself acting as the regent, effectively organised the defences of the realm. He put up a heroic fight against the enemies and appears to have killed Annadeva about the year 1415 A.D. Pedakomati Vema had

no other 90 except to depend upon Firoz Shah. However Allada, defeated and drove out the enemies from Rajahmahendravara Rajya. In the meantime, to help the Rajahmundry power, Devaraya I sent some of his divisions and captured Motupalli the famous seaport of the kingdom of Kondavidu. Panugal in the Nalgonda district was the base of his operations against the Bahamani sultan. Some of his forces marched into the Bahamani territory. Firoz Shah retreated from the coastal districts and hastened to attack Panugal. Now free from the Muslim pressure, Allada turned his attention solely to destroy Pedakomati Vema's power. The latter was decisively defeated on the field of Rameswaram (Razole taluk of the East Godavari district) and was forced to retire to his own territory.

While Firoz Shah was laying siege to Panugal which lasted for two *years*, Devaraya I negotiated with the Velama chiefs the subordinates of the Sultan, who were totally opposed to Pedakomati Vema—Firoz Shah alliance. The Velamas accepted the hand of friendship extended to them by Devaraya I. The strategy yielded fruitful results. The Muslim forces were virtually routed. Pedakomati Vema's brother Macha Reddi, who came along with troops to assist the sultan in the siege of Panugal, was slain by the Recherla chief Kumara Vedagiri, an ally of Devaraya I. As a result of this, a great feud raged, between Pedakomati Vema and the Recherla Velama chiefs. According to Velugotivari Vamsavali, Komati Vema killed Kumara Vedagiri in battle. In one of the subsequent encounters with the Recherla chiefs, Pedakomati Vema lost his life about the year 1420 A.D. By the time of the reign of Racha Vema, son and successor of Pedakomati Vema, the country in the neighbourhood of Kondavidu was fully subjugated by the forces of Devaraya I. About the year 1424 A.D. the unpopular Racha Vema was murdered by one of his own subjects. 'With him ended the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu which subsequently became the theatre of war and conquest among the three leading powers of the south, the Narapati of Vijayanagara, the Asvapatis of Gulbarga and the Gajapatis of Orissa.'

During the year 1422-23 A.D., Bhanudeva IV king of Orissa carried a raid and subjugated the Rajahmundry kingdom which was under the rule of Kataya Vema's son-in-law Veerabhadra Reddi. The Velamas of Devarakonda might have joined hands with Orissa. After Rachavema's assassination, Kondavidu was left without a ruler. Though some of the Vijayanagara officers and nobles seized large parts of the country, the Raya was not yet able to enforce his authority effectively owing to the invasion of the Bahamani sultan. Bhanudeva therefore crossed the Krishna and with the help of Linga of Devarakonda overpowered the Vijayanagarg officers and made himself master of the territories of the erstwhile Kondavidu kingdom.

As soon as Devaraya II freed his kingdom from the Muslim invaders, he launched an attack on the Kalingas and the Velamas. Old Kondavidu territories were reconquered and incorporated into the Vijayanagara empire. The power of Veerabhadra Reddi, the king of Rajahmundry (in abeyance during 1423-27 A.D.) was completely restored in 1428 A.D.

Devaraya II of Vijayanagara was called upon to intervene once again in the affairs of Rajahmundry about the year 1443 A.D. The Reddi rulers Allaya Vema (defacto) and Veerabhadra Reddi (de jure) made constant encroachments on the territories of Orissa. Kapilesvara Gajapati, who usurped the throne of Orissa in 1435 A.D., was ambitious and powerful. With a firm determination to put an end to the Reddi aggression, he formed an alliance with the Velamas, the inveterate foes of the Reddis. Then taking advantage of the preoccupation of Devaraya II with the invasion of the Bahamani sultan, he launched an attack on the Reddis. But Devaraya II, who was the real protector of the Rajahmundry kingdom, sent a strong contingent under his general Maliappa Udaiyar to drive away the Gajapatis and reestablish the Reddis firmly in the Godavari delta. The Draksharama inscription of Vijayanagara general dated 1444 A.D. and Gangadhara's Gangadasapratapavilasam indicate that Kapilesvara was defeated and the Vijayanagara general stayed for sometime at Rajahmundry to restore the Reddi power.

Devaraya II died in 1446 A.D. since his son and successor Mallikarjunaraya was beset with many difficulties at home, the Vijayanagara forces were recalled from Rajahmundry. Sometime about 1448 A.D. Virabhadra Reddi died. Kapilesvara must have been overjoyed at these developments. He sent promptly his forces under the leadership of his son Hamvira into the Rajahmundry kingdom. The Reddi power fell. The Gajapati rule was established over these territories. Thus the Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry was liquidated. With this, the Vijayanagara hegemony over the coast of Andhra especially to the north of Krishna received a set back. The Gajapatis began to dominate the scene in Coastal Andhra.

The Vijayanagara Empire

The Vijayanagara empire may be said to represent the era of civilization when the destiny idea, characteristic of the Indian soul had worked out its potentialities and the spring and summer of Indian culture had been succeeded by the phase of civilization characterised by the rise of a new industrial system, an imperialism and a city state with a megalopolitan culture.' It marks the period of conservation and preservation, standing as a splendid rampart safeguarding and fostering the Indian and Hindu way of life against the onslaughts of the outlandish and Muslim way of life. It is considered the last, the greatest and the most glorious Hindu empire of the South. The empire has left an ever-lasting mark of its existence in the fields of religion, literature, art and polity.

The Vijayanagara state was tri-lingual, with a greater leaning towards Kannada than Telugu and Tamil. It is true that its rulers could not achieve the political unification of all the Telugu-speaking areas. Their rule was mostly confined to the south of the river Krishna. With the fall of the Musunuri and then the Padma Nayaka kingdoms, Telangana went into the possession of the Bahamanis. After the fall of the Reddi-kingdoms, the coastal Andhra to the north of the river Krishna became a battlefield between the Gajapatis and the Bahamanis and witnessed unprecedented difficulties.

1. The Origin of the Vijayanagara Empire

The early history of Vijayanagara is wrapped up in obscurity and the origin or the national affiliations of the founders of the Vijayanagara empire is still a matter of controversy. Literary traditions and historical inscriptions prove the fact that the empire was founded by Harihara and Bukka, the two Sangama brothers, in 1336 A.D. But how these brothers founded the Kingdom and what political circumstances led them to the founding of the city were subjects of keen controversy and several theories had been built up on these issues.

From the confusing mass of source material, Robert Sewell, who was the pioneer on Vijayanagara history, could trace seven traditions about the origin of the city and the empire:

1. According to the first tradition, the two brothers Harihara and Bukka, who were in the service of the king of Warangal at the time of destruction of that kingdom by the Muslims in 1323 A.D., escaped with some cavalry men to Anegondi area. They were being accompanied by Brahmin Madhavacharya Vidyaranya and by some means not stated became lords of that tract and afterwards founded the city of Vijayanagara.

2. The second tradition asserts that the two brothers were in the service of the Mahammadan governor of Warangal, subsequent to its first capture in 1309 A.D. They were despatched against the Hoyasala Ballala under the leadership of Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D., which resulted in the capture of the Hindu capital Dwarasamudra; but a portion of the force, to which these brothers belonged, suffered defeat and the brothers fled to the mountainous tract near Anegondi. Here they met holy Madhava and with his help, they established the kingdom and the capital city.

3. According to the third tradition, the two brothers, for some reason, fled direct from Warangal to Anegondi. This account contributes more to their honour as the Hindus. Though compelled first to accept service under their conquerors, their

patriotism triumphed in the end and they threw in their lot with their co-religionists to protect South India from the Muslim penetration.

4. The fourth tradition refers to the hermit Madhava himself founding the city after the discovery of a hidden treasure, ruling over it himself and leaving it after his death to a Kuruba family member who established the first regular dynasty (i.e., Sangama).

5. The fifth one, referred by Couto, a Portuguese historian, states that while Madhava was living in the forest leading his ascetic life, he was fed by a poor shepherd called Bukka. Madhava foretold that Bukka one day would become a king. In accordance with this prediction, Bukka became king of all land and called himself Bukkarao.

6. Another version is that Harihara and Bukka may have been feudatories of the Hoyasala Ballalas.

7. Nikitin, a Russian traveller who was in India in 1474 A.D., seems to favour the view that the founders belonged to the old royal house of the Kadambas of Banavasi, since he speaks of '...the Hindoo Sultan Kadam who resided at Bichenegher.'

Robert Sewell observes, 'Perhaps the most reasonable account would be culled from the general drift of the Hindu legends combined with certainties of historical facts.'

Regarding the national affiliations of Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the Vijayanagara empire, there are two groups of scholars sharply opposed to each other. Some opine that the two brothers were refugees from Telangana; they fled from the court of their sovereign Prataparudra when the latter was taken prisoner by the armies of the Sultan of Delhi. They established themselves at Anegondi on the banks of the Tungabhadra and with Vidyaranya's help founded a new city Vijayanagara or Vidyanagara on the opposite bank of the river. This approach is based on tradition derived from the Kannada sources.

The other group of scholars rejects this tradition completely and hold the view that the founders were Karnatakas, subordinates of the Hoyasala king Ballala III. They were posted to the northern frontiers of the Hoyasala kingdom to defend against the Muslim attacks. They discharged this task satisfactorily. After the death of Ballala III and his Son Baltate IV, they quietly ascended the throne and ruled the erstwhile Hoyasala territories without opposition. This view seems to be based on gratuitous assumptions and false identifications.

THE THEORY OF KARNATAKA ORIGIN

Rev. Fr. Heras, S.K. Aiyangar, B.A. Saletore, P.B. Desai, G.S. Gai and a host of others have asserted the Hoyasala origin of Vijayanagara, Fr. Heras affirmed, "The foundation of the city of Anegondi which formed the cradle of Vijayanagara empire was laid by the Hoyasala king Ballala III, and Harihara, a near relative of the Hoyasala ruler was a frontier officer with his headquarters there". The exponents of this theory argue that the city of Vijayanagara itself was established by Ballala III after the destruction of Dwarasamudra in 1327-28 A.D. by Muhammad Bin Tughlak. This view is based upon the statement of Ferishta that Ballaladeva built a great fort in 1344 A.D. in the hilly tract of his own northern frontier and named it after his own son Bijan Rai. Basing on this Muslim chronicler, the scholars assert that the five sons of Sangama were in the service of Ballala III and when the latter established the new city after the name of his son to protect the northern frontier of his kingdom, he appointed the Sangama brothers Harihara and Bukka as his generals there and himself made Tiruvannamalai as his capital, S.K. Aiyangar argued that the brothers worked in cooperation, if not in subordination to Ballala III. The foundation of the Vijayanagara as such is the outcome of that policy of the last Hoyasala who dislodged the garrisons of Muhammad Bin Tughlak and getting south India free from the Muslims. When the Hoyasala king passed away, it is these brothers who would stand out as having rendered yeomen service to the empire.

B.A. Saletore expressed the view that the sons of Sangama, whom the feudatories and generals of the Hoyasalas readily acknowledged as the rightful successors of the Hoyasalas, should have been intimately associated with the Karnataka country. 'It was only their profound sense of responsibility as successors to the rich heritage of the Hoyasalas that made the founders themselves give extraordinary prominence to the royal city of their great predecessors—Dorasamudra.' The exponents of the Kannadiga origin of the founders of Vijayanagara further point out that the historic city of Vijayanagara itself is now a part of the Karnataka State and the area, though, is bilingual, inclines more towards Kannada than Telugu. Even the Telugu poets like Srinatha describe the Vijayanagara kingdom as 'Kannada Rajya Lakshmi' and Devaraya II as 'Karnata Kshiti-pala'. The Sangama kings assumed Kannada titles and patronised the Kannada language and out of the total about 5000 Vijayanagara inscriptions almost half the number are in Kannada. Hence, it is concluded that the Sangama founders of the Vijayanagara empire were only Kannadigas.

However, the very basis for the Karnataka origin of the founders of the Vijayanagara empire is defective. The same Ferishta, who stated that Ballala III built in 1344 A.D. the Vijayanagara fort after the name of his son in the northern frontier of his kingdom, also said that the city was founded by a Hindu prince who had been taken captive and set free by the Muslims. With regard to Ferishta's date 1344 A.D. for the foundation of the Vijayanagara city, it is against all the known chronological facts. Ballala III died in 1342 A.D. itself. Further the Delhi Sultan was having his dominion exercised from 1328 A.D. to almost upto 1336 A.D. over the Anegondi region and subsequently Harihara I held his sway over the same area. Hence, for any sound historical argument, such ill-informed and self contradictory statements of Ferishta cannot be taken as the basis.

Further, there is no concrete proof to show that the Sultan of Delhi destroyed Dwarasamudra in 1327-28 A.D. On the other hand, the Muslim chronicles affirm that Ballala III handed

over the rebel Bahauddin to the Sultan and made peace with him. This fact clearly indicates that there was no necessity for the Sultan to destroy Dwarasamudra, There is also no evidence to prove that Harihara and his brother were ever in the service of Ballala III. Contrary to this, there is epigraphical and literary evidence to show that Harihara and Ballala fought with one another. Another thing is that simply because the area, over which the Sangama brothers established their authority, relates to Karnataka, and the language which was patronised by them and in which half the inscriptions were issued happened to be Kannada, and the titles borne by them happened to be Kannada, one should not jump to the conclusion that the founders of the empire were Kannadigas. It is but natural for the rulers of any dynasty to develop and promote, to issue their records in and to assume their titles in the local language especially in the land of their adoption. Further, though somewhat late in composition and legendary in nature, the very Kannada chronicles like 'Keladi Nripavijayam', 'Rajakalanirnaya', and 'Siva tatva Ratnakara' assert the tradition that the founders of the Vijayanagara empire were officers in the court of prataparudra. Thus the theory of the Karnataka origin of the Vijayanagara appears to be untenable.

THE THEORY OF KAMPILI ORIGIN

Numerous traditions like 'Kumararamana Kathe', 'KampdJ-Yuddha' etc. in Kannada refer to Kampilidevaraya who ruled Kampili in the early decades of the 14th century. A.D., successfully resisting the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Hoyasates. His son Kumara Rama was a great hero. His brother-in-law was Sangama, the father of Harihara and others. Kampili gave shelter to Bahauddin, the rebel nephew of Muhammad Bin Tughlak. Ibn Batuta, the celebrated contemporary Moorish traveller and a friend of the Sultan, states that Kempili was sieged by the Sultan and Kampilidevaraya and Kumara Rama perished in the battle. The town was taken "and eleven sons of the Rai were made prisoners and carried to the Sultan, who made them all Musalmans." Two of them, Harihara and Bukka, became favourites

of the Sultan and were set free for their upright conduct in prison. When the people of Kampili revolted in 1334-35 A.D. against the Muslim governor, the two brothers were sent back to quell the revolt and administer the region as governors. But they established their independent government with the help of a sage at Anegondi,

Some scholars take this account as historical and consistent. According to them, Ibn Batuta was an eye-witness. With the exception of some discrepancies, Ziauddin Barani, who held an important post in the revenue department in the court of Muhammad Bin Tughlak, narrates more or less the same theme. Further, from the very beginning, the Vijayanagara rulers never described themselves as subordinates of either the Hoyasalas or the Kakatiyas. The Hoyasala epigraphs are totally silent about their relationship with Vijayanagara. The final conclusion of the supporters of this theory is that the founders of the Vijayanagara empire were of Kannada stock, but the empire was neither a fulfilment nor a continuation of the Hoyasala kingdom.

However the narration of Ibn Batuta mingles historical facts with hearsay accounts. As far as the close association of the two Sangama brothers with the realm of Kampili is concerned, one may not find objection. But the two brothers being spoken of as the sons of Kampili Rai is not acceptable since no corroborative or confirmative evidence is available. Further in the traditional Hindu account given by Nuniz, it is stated none of the royal princes escaped from death in the hands of the Muslim invaders. Ibn Batuta states about the survival of the eleven sons. Even with regard to the reason for the Sultan's attack on Kampili, while the Muslim accounts say it was a campaign against the rebel nephew, according to the traditional Hindu account it was a war undertaken from pure greed of conquest. In view of such discrepancies and lack of confirmative evidence, the theory of Kampili origin also cannot be taken as valid and final.

THE THEORY OF ANDHRA ORIGIN

Rabert Sewell, who performed the miracle of 'making the dry bones live' through, his pioneering work 'A Forgotten Empire' on the history of Vijayanagara asserted that the two brothers Harihara and Bukka of the Kuruba caste (shepherd community) were men of strong religious fervour. They were the treasury officers in Warangal under Prataparudra II. After the Muslim's sacked Warangal in 1323 A.D., they fled and joined the court of Anegondi or Kampili. In the subsequent developments, Kampili was sacked by Muhammad Bin Tughlak; the two brothers were taken captives to Delhi and were forced to embrace Islam. When the people revolted in Kampili against the Muslim governor, the Sultan sent Harihara and Bukka to restore order in Kampili and rule the country. Soon after their arrival, they renounced Islam and embraced the old faith. Afterwards they founded the city of Vijayanagara.

Of late, N. Venkataramanayya, more or less on the lines of Sewell, developed and postulated the Andhra origin of the founders of Vijayanagara. Taking into consideration the evidence of tradition furnished by works like Vidyaranya Kalajnana, Vidyaranya Vrittanta, Rajakalanirnaya, Piraamah-samhiti and Sivatatva Ratnakara, the evidence of the Muslim historians like Ziauddin Barani, Isarni and Ferishta, the evidence of the foreign visitors like Ibn Batuta and Nuniz and the evidence of inscriptions like Gozalavidu record, Venkataramanayya states that "the founders of Vijayanagara were at first in the service of Prataparudra of Warangal, and that when that monarch was defeated by Muhammad Bin Tughlak and taken prisoner, they fled to Kampili and took refuge in the court of Kampilideva. They were, however, captured by the Sultan after the sack of Kampili in A.D. 1326 and were carried away to Delhi where they were forcibly converted to Islam. On the outbreak of a rebellion in Kampili and the collapse of the provincial government, they were released by the Sultan from prison and sent with an army to Kampili to reconquer it from the rebels and rule the province as his deputies. This they successfully accomplished; but they did not long remain loyal

to the Sultan. They came under the influence of Vidyanaraya who persuaded them to renounce Islam, and threw in their lot with the Andhra nationalists who had just then succeeded, under the leadership of Kapaya, in expelling the Muslims and reestablish their national independence. Harihara and Bukka then reverted to their ancient faith and, having declared their independence, assumed the leadership of the Hindus of Kampili in their fight against the Muslims."

THE ORIGIN OF THE CITY OF VIJAYANAGARA

Tradition attributes the foundation of the city to Vidyanaraya, and Vidyanagara, the alternative name by which the capital city was known lends colour to the tradition. But the inscriptions of Harihara I and his successors refer either to Harihara I or Bukka I as the builder of the city of victory. The conflicting evidence gave rise to several speculative theories to explain the circumstances under which the city was founded. However it is certain that Vijayanagara was functioning as the capital of the new kingdom from at least 1344 A.D., the same time from which at least Bukka I was associated with his brother in the administration of the kingdom as his co-regent. According to one of the Kalajnanas, it took full seven years to complete the construction of the city. From this it is logical to conclude that the foundations of the future imperial city were laid in 1336 A.D. itself when Harihara I declared his independence at Anegondi.

Harihara I after declaring his independence in the Kampili region, wanted to consolidate his position and organise his kingdom for effective defence. In the medieval times, the security of a kingdom depended on the strength of its forts. The capital Anegondi, on the northern bank of the river Tungabhadra was not impregnable. Especially in those troublous times, it was not a safe place as the capital of a Hindu kingdom newly established against the interests of the Muslims. It fell into enemy's hands twice within a decade. So Harihara I wanted to shift the capital to a place inaccessible to the enemy. He selected the site on the opposite bank of the Tungabhadra in

the neighbourhood of the Virupaksha temple, around the Hemakuta hill for the new capital. His brother and right hand-man Bukka I shouldered the task, carried it into execution and completed it by 1343 A.D.

VIDYARANYA

While the tradition stresses the significant role played by the sage Vidyaranya in the founding of the Vijayanagara empire and the imperial city, epigraphic evidence is not available on this subject. In the local records, his original name was given as Madhava Bhatta. He was a Smarta Brahmin of Karnataka born poor in a town on the banks of the Krishna in the last quarter of the 13th century A.D. He went to Kanchi along with his brothers Sayana and Bhoganatha for study at a very early age. After return from Kanchi, he settled down as a married man. At that time south India witnessed the onslaughts of the Muslims from the North. Vidyaranya developed religious spirit and did even penance for more than five years in the surroundings of Hampi. Subsequently his coming into contact with the Sangama brothers, their reconversion into the Hindu faith, founding of Vijayanagara empire and the city—all these were recorded in the local accounts. Nuniz also refers to the significant role of Vidyaranya.

However there are certain inaccuracies in the local records. At the time of founding Vijayanagara, Vidyaranya was mentioned as the head priest of the Sringeri Pith. But the epigraphic evidence asserts that at last upto 1376 A.D. Bharati Tirtha was the chief pontiff of the Advaita-Matha at Sringeri. In an inscription of Bukka I dated 1356 A.D. Bukka is mentioned as making a request to Bharati Tirtha to see that Vidyaranya would come to south from Varanasi. Gangamba's 'Mathura Vijaya' makes reference to Vijayanagara city twice but does not refer to Vidyaranya. The account mentions Kalamukha Kriyasakti as the Kulaguru. Even the inscriptions of Harihara II issued in the years 1380 A.D., 1384 A.D., and 1386 A.D. eulogising Vidyaranya, make no reference to his role in the founding of Vijayanagara. No doubt, some inscriptions refer to Vidyaranya

and Vidyanagara, but the genuineness of these records is questioned by Fleet, Rice, Fr. Heras, Narasimhachari and Gopinathnarao. According to these scholars, taking advantage of the weakness of the last Sangama rulers, the pontiffs of the Sringeri Matha fabricated and propagated these stories and even the inscriptions were deliberately forged by these gurus to highlight the Hindu religious fervour in the founding of the empire and the city. Hence these scholars treat Vidyaranya as a person of no consequence as far as the origin of the empire and the city is concerned.

2. Circumstances Under which the Vijayanagara Empire was Established

PENETRATION OF THE TURKS IN THE SOUTH

Ala-ud-din was by all counts, the first Muslim general who crossed the Vindhya and invaded the Hindu States of South India. Being the nephew of Jalal-ud-din Khalji, the founder of the Khalji rule in Delhi, he (Ali Gurshasp Malik was his real name) rendered his services to his uncle and father-in-law in crushing the revolt (Aug-Sept. 1290 A.D.) of the disaffected Turkish amirs led by Malik Chajju-Kishlu Khan, governor of Kara. This young man, 'calculating, unscrupulous and aggressive', was eventually appointed governor of Kara. His domestic misery (due to haughty and arrogant wife) increased his thirst for avenging himself on the family and his unsympathetic critics by deeds that would free him from the bitter family tutelage and ensure him an independent and glorious existence.

He realized that money was the first requisite and raid on the neighbouring Hindu states and beyond the Vindhya appeared to assure a working capital for the furtherance of his ultimate objective of capturing the throne of Delhi. In this process, he first captured Bhilsa (Vidisha) near Bhopal, plundered and destroyed the richly endowed temples and collected enormous booty. Here he 'assiduously gathered knowledge

of the fabled wealth of southern Hindu kingdoms'. On the pretext of invading Chartderi, Ala-ud-din, pretending as a fugitive prince, marched in the winter of 1295 A.D. to Ellichpur and then passed through Lasaura with his eight thousand picked cavalry. He had his assault on the capital Devagiri of the Yadava kingdom, when its main army had gone southwards under heir apparent Singhana Deva. The ruler Ramachandra or Ramadeva sued for peace. Even Singhana who arrived from the south was also defeated- Enormous booty and huge war indemnity were extracted. Devagiri was reduced to a vassal state. This invasion 'not only provided Ala-ud-din with the money he needed so badly to further his ambitious plans to succeed to throne of Delhi but also opened the way to south India to the Muhammadans, none of whom had dared to cross the Vindhya so far.'

Ala-ud'din then hatched a plot, assassinated Jalal-ud-din, won the nobles over to his side with the Deccan money and usurped the Delhi throne in 1296 A.D. He was obliged to keep a large and effective army in order to keep the nobles, under check, maintain law and order, subjugate and conquer the independent and semi-independent states, and to check the Mongol menace. His revenue reforms were due to his desire to increase state resources. The execution of his policy of conquest of north India drained mostly these resources. He soon felt the need to look for money outside his territory. His assiduously gathered earlier knowledge of the fabled wealth of southern Hindu kingdoms beyond Devagiri came to his help, instead of conquering and annexing these kingdoms, he shrewdly apted for squeezing them of their immense treasures and making them pay tributes regularly to augment the imperial treasury. S.K. Aiyangar rightly observes in his work 'South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders' about the motives of Ala-ud-din in undertaking the southern expeditions thus : "Ala-ud-din's object in these various invasions of the Dekkan and the farther south appears to have gone no farther than making them the milch-cow for the gold that he was often much in need for the efficient maintenance of his army."

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE SOUTH at that time was also encouraging to the Khalji Sultan. The Yadavas of Devagiri, who were already reduced to a state of vassalage by Ala-ud-din, were masters of the entire western Deccan from the Tapti to the Krishna. The Kakatiyas of Warangal were the rulers of the eastern Deccan excluding the entire Rayalasima and almost touching Kanchi in the south. The Hoyasalas of Dwarasamudra and the Pandyas of Madura divided between themselves the rest of the peninsula'. Besides these four great Hindu kingdoms, there was a petty but valourous Kampili state in the Raichur Doab.

Financially, all these states were well off. The Kings possessed immense riches. They considered it religiously meritorious to build temples and endow them richly. Famous shrines came up. Their accumulated wealth was the pride of south India, There was complete religious freedom. 'But. unfortunately, the clash of interests of rival dynasties rendered harmonious progress of the country impossible. The Yadavas against the Kakatiyas, the Kakatiyas against the Pandyas, the Pandyas against the Hoyasalas and the Hoyasalas against the Yadavas carried on generations of warfare with a zeal worthy of a better cause.....Their mutual animosities had taken such deep roots that even in the face of foreign invasions they could not eschew their quarrels and present a united front against their common foe'.

Ala-ud-din turned his attention beyond Devagiri on the Kakatiya country. While he himself was engaged in sieging the fort of Chitor in Rajasthan, he sent a huge army via Bengal to invade Warangal. This expedition was a failure and the Muslim armies were defeated by the Kakatiya ruler Prataparudra II in 1303 A.D. The effect of this defeat was that the king of Devagiri who had been paying tribute to the Sultan stopped paying that. He even gave refuge to the ruler of Gujarat and his daughter who fled their kingdom to save themselves from the Sultan. As soon as Ala-ud-din was free from the problems in the north, he sent his redoubtable general Malik Kafur, to realize the arrears of tribute from Devagiri.

Kafur's forces defeated the Yadava king in 1307 A.D. and established the supremacy of Delhi over Devagiri. Malik Kafur even made captive the family of the ruler Ramadeva. Ramadeva was, however, well-treated at Delhi and sent back to south with heavy presents. He felt obliged to Ala-ud-din and remained loyal to him. This was a diplomatic move by the Sultan and it paid dividends and Ala-ud-din was thus able to get a loyal ally in the south who proved to be of great help in his later campaigns.

To wipe out the disgrace of defeat which the Delhi army faced in the hands of Prataparudra II, Malik Kafur, assisted by Ramadeva, entered Telangana, defeated Prataparudra in January, 1310 A.D., seized all his accumulated wealth and forced him to pay annual tribute to the Sultan. He then spent the subsequent two years in subjugating the Hoyasala and the Pandyan kingdoms. Among other things even temples were not spared from loot in these victorious expeditions. Malik Kafur once again marched on Devagiri in 1312 A.D. when Ramadeva's son and successor raised the standard of revolt. Devagiri was conquered.

Following the death of Ala-ud-din in 1316 A.D., there was anarchy in the country due to war of succession and palace intrigues. Taking advantage of this, Devagiri declared itself independent. Soon after restoring order in the north, Ate-ud-din's successor Qutb-ud-din Mubarak personally took the field against Devagiri. The Yadava kingdom came into the possession of the Sultan. Mubarak's general Khusrau Khan collected the arrears of tribute from Prataparudra; Gulbarga, Dwara-samudra and Madura were once again reduced to submission.

Again in 1320 A.D. when Khusrau Khan killed Mubarak Khalji and made himself Sultan, the country was plunged into disorder. The peninsula threw off the Muslim yoke. The Hindu princes in the south reasserted their independence. As soon as Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak established himself on the Delhi throne in September, 1320 A.D., he wanted to bring the whole of Deccan peninsula under his direct control. Previously

the Khalji Sultans satisfied themselves simply with the establishment of their supremacy over the southern states. But with the accession of Ghiyas-ud-din to the Delhi throne, there was a change in the policy of the rulers of Delhi towards the southern states. All attempts were made to create the defeated states as province of the Delhi empire.

Ghiyas-ud-din sent his eldest son Jauna, entitled Ulugh Khan (later Muhammad Bin Tughlak), to reconquer the Hindu states of the South. Ulugh Khan failed in his first attempt in his mission against Warangal in 1321 A.D. In 1323 A.D., he was sent again to Warangal. This time the Kakatiya kingdom was overthrown and Prataparudra committed suicide in captivity. Then followed the defeat and humiliation of Mabar. 'By 1325 A.D. the Yadava, the Kakatiya and a major part of the Pandyan dominions were incorporated into the Delhi Sultanat and Devagiri, Warangal and Madura became the seats of Muslim provincial governors.' However the Hoyasala kingdom somehow survived the Muslim occupation. The overthrow of the Yadavas provided a sigh of relief for Kampilidevaraya, the ruler of Kampili. He and his brave son Kumara Rama could withstand the three successive attacks of the Hoyasala Ballala III on their territory in the Raichur Doab between 1320 A.D. and 1325 A.D.

In 1325 A.D. Jauna became the Sultan with the name of Muhammad Bin Tughlak. In pursuit of his cousin and the rebel governor of Sagar, Bahauddin Gurshasp, the imperial forces marched on Kampili, the chief of which gave him shelter. Kampili was attacked and destroyed in 1327 A.D. Kampilidevaraya and his son perished in the battle. The female members of the royal harem already threw themselves into the pyre to save their honour. The other members were taken captives to Delhi, They included Harihar and Bukka, the two Sangama brothers who, after the destruction of Warangal in 1323 A.D. migrated to Kampili, entered into matrimonial alliance with its king and became his treasurers.

After subjugating Kummata and capturing Hosdurg, the imperial forces turned towards the Hoyasala kingdom, where

Bahauddin had taken shelter. The Hoyasala ruler Ballala III was *not* prepared to risk his kingdom for the sake of a refugee. He made peace with the Sultan by handing over Bahauddin and accepting the sovereignty of Delhi. Thus the entire peninsula from Tapti to Cape Camorin with the exception of Jainagar or Orissa, was included in the Delhi Sultanat. The Sultan stayed in Deccan for two years and made arraignments for the administration of the newly acquired territories.

THE EFFECTS OF THE MUSLIM RULE

With the advent of the Muslim rule in the south, conditions underwent a drastic change. The administration under the Maliks, Amirs and other officers was tyrannical and oppressive and the people began to groan under hardships, if the new masters had remained content with the acquisition of more political power, the Hindus would have passively accepted them. But the soldiers of the Turkish conquerors behaved as plunderers. The plight of Andhradesa under the Turkish is graphically described in the contemporary Vilasa copper plate grant of Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka. The record says "In a hundred sinful ways, the rich were tortured for the sake of money. Merely on beholding the Parasikars (Muslims) some abandoned their lives. Brahmins were disallowed to perform their religious rites and rituals. Temples were destroyed and idols were desecrated and broken. All the agraharas, which had long been in the enjoyment of the most learned, were taken away. Forcibly deprived of the fruits, of their cultivation, the husbandmen, both the rich and poor, got ruined. In that great calamity, people could not regard their money, wives and others earthly belongings as their own. The wretched Yavanas (Muslims) revelled always in drinking wine. Bating cow's flesh, sporting in amour and killing the Brahmins. When such is the case, how could the world of living beings exist? Situated as the country was without the possibility of a saviour being conceived even in imagination, the land of Telinga, tormented in this way by those Yavana warriors who were exactly like Rakshasas, was in flames like a forest surrounded by wild fire".

Gangamba, in her 'Madhura Vijaya', enumerates similar things, describing the condition of the south under the Muslim rule characterised by oppressive nature, religious fanaticism and intolerance. The iconoclastic zeal spurred them to destruction of the Hindu temples. On those ruins, with the same materials, mosques were built. Alexander Rae referred to the 'big mosque' at Rajahmundry as a good example of a Hindu temple (the temple of Venugopaldaswami of the Eastern Chalukyan times), retaining its original features but converted into a Mohammadan mosque. Similarly, at Eluru and Kondapalli also the Hindu structures were dismantled and mosques were built. Apart from this, there was a violent shake up of the entire social fabric. The traditional institutions of the land were overthrown and the age-long practices were upset. The people could not reconcile themselves to the new dispensation. There was an outburst of national indignation and patriotic enthusiasm for driving out the aliens.

THE MOVEMENT OF LIBERATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

The widespread discontent among the people towards the Tughlak regime was exploited by the dislodged and disgruntled princes, both Hindu and Muslim of the South. The unrest was spearheaded into a general movement of resistance against the Delhi imperialism. Especially after the Sultan left for the North due to Kishlu Khan's rebellion, the movement picked up momentum. The Musunuri chiefs, the Padma Nayaks and the Reddis took the lead in Telangana and coastal Andhra and established independent kingdoms. In the ceded districts, Araviti Somadeva drove away Malik Naib from Anegondi and freed Kampili from the Muslim rule. Ballala III also repudiated his allegiance to the Sultan and began to attack Kampili. In 1334 A.D. the Nawab of Madura declared independence.

Barani, Isami and Nuniz and the local records recorded the events that led to establishment of the Vijayanagara empire. It is recorded that when the revolt broke out in Kampili and the position of Malik Naib, the deputy of the Sultan was made

extremely precarious, the Malik informed his master about his pitiable plight and appealed for immediate action. Then the Sultan's choice fell on Harihara and Bukka. The two Sangama brothers, who were related to and officers under Kampilidevaraya, were previously taken captives to Delhi and forced to embrace Islam. The Sultan, impressed by their upright conduct, set them at liberty and sent with an army to Kampili to reconquer it from the rebels and rule the province as his deputies. The two Sangama brothers thus returned to Kampili but they initially faced many difficulties. The locals could not immediately trust them by reason of their conversion into Islam. Therefore they established themselves at Gutti and probably securing the blessings of the celebrated Vidyatirtha, the pontiff of the Sringeri Matha, and through the instrumentality of the latter, apostatized and soon endeared themselves to the people. Then they occupied Anegondi: As Barani mentions, when Musunuri Kapaya Nayaka captured Waragal from Malik Maqbul. Harihara proclaimed independence in Kampili and thus in 1335 A.D. established his independent kingdom at Anegondi.

Since Anegondi on the northern bank the river Tungabhadra was as a capital not impregnable to the enemies, Harihara I thought of a new well-fortified and safe capital. On religious and strategical considerations, the foundations were laid down in the same year for the new city of Vijayanagara where the ruins of Vijayanagara now exist opposite to Anegondi, on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra. The task of completing the construction of the city was entrusted to Bukka I.

3. The Sangamas (1336 1485 A.D)

HARIHARA I (1336-56 A.D.)

The Vijayanagara kingdom, thus founded by Harihara, expanded into a mighty empire under his successors. The dynasty to which the founder-brothers belonged came to be known as the Sangama dynasty after the name of their father, Sangama. Harihara had four brothers namely Kampanna, Bukka I,

Marappa and Muddappa, All the brothers had undivided interest and so actively assisted Harihara I in all his endeavours to consolidate and expand the newly established kingdom.

Harihara's first task was to consolidate his position and organize his kingdom for effective defence. Apart from entrusting the task of building the new Vijayanagara fort to his brother Bukka, he strengthened the fortifications of Badami, Udayagiri, Gooty and Anegondi for the security of his realm. Bukka I completed the construction of Vijayanagar in seven years and by 1344 A.D. the capital was shifted from Anegondi to Vijayanagara. To increase the economic resources of his dominions, Harihara encouraged the farmers to cut down forest and bring fresh land under cultivation by leasing it to them on easy terms. He created a hierarchy of officials to collect revenue and carry on local administration.

Then a great era of conquest and territorial expansion began. Sometime after 1340 A.D., Bukka wrested Penugonda fortress from the Hoyasalas and made it his provincial headquarters. After the treacherous murder of Ballala III in 1342 A.D. by the Sultan of Madura, his successor could not withstand the aggressiveness of the Sangama brothers and so sought safety in flight. By 1346 A.D. the loyal chieftains of the Hoyasalas were subdued and all the erstwhile Hoyasala territories were annexed to the Vijayanagara kingdom. This was the most notable achievement in the reign of Harihara I. There was a commemorative victory jubilation grand festival at Sringeri in that year at which all the brothers and the nobles of the realm attended.

In 1347 A.D., Marappa defeated the Kadambas and annexed their territories. Bukka I marched on the Tamil country and conquered Mabar. But this conquest proved to be a short-lived one. After the withdrawal of the Vijayanagara troops, Sultan Adil Shah asserted himself at Madura in 1356 A.D. However the northern most part of Tamil land, the region around Tirupati must have formed part of the Vijayanagara territory.

In the south-east, the Reddis were driven out from their ancestral house, the lower Pennar valley. Meanwhile in the north of the Krishna, the Deccan amirs revolted against Delhi and founded the Bahmani kingdom in 1347 A.D. under Ala-uddin Bahman Shah. Ferishta and Tabataba mention that Ala-uddin waged war against Harihara I and defeated him. But there are no evidences to prove this war between Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdoms at this stage.

Thus Harihara I laid the foundation of the empire on sound basis. As Sewell observes "We see the first chief of Vijayanagar quietly and perhaps peacefully acquiring great influence and extensive possessions".

BUKKARAYA I (1356-77 A.D.)

Bukka, the younger brother of Harihara, did yeomen service to his brother in founding the empire and the city, in consolidating and expanding the Vijayanagara power. Before accession to the throne, he acted as Yuvaraja and was placed in charge of the Western districts of the Telugu country. However he did not confine his activities to the administration of the territory directly under his charge. He took active interest in the affairs of the kingdom as a whole. When Harihara I died without issue, being an affectionate brother a trustworthy general and a capable administrator, Bukkaraya I succeeded him as the sole sovereign of the kingdom.

After his assumption of power, to check the power of his nephews, to unify the kingdom and strengthen his position, Bukka appointed his own sons as governors of some of the outlying provinces and made them responsible for maintenance of the royal authority. Then he sent an expedition under the leadership of his son Kumara Kampana against Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya, who asserted his independence in the Rajagambirarajya. Sambuvaraya died in the early stages of the war and his son was also ultimately killed in 1360 A.D. With this Vijayanagara became the mistress of the Tamil province.

Rajagambirarajya consisting of the Chenglaput, North Arcot and South Arcot districts.

The fierce and protracted Bahmani-Vijayanagara conflict commenced in the reign of Bukka. Whether the religious antagonism played its own part in the struggle between the two powers or not, the strategically important Krishna-Tungabhadra doab, with its impregnable forts of Raichur and Mudgal and places like Bankapur, the control of which would give the one an advantageous position over the other for the ultimate overlordship of the whole peninsula, became a bone of contention. The greed of the Sultans at the wealth and prosperity of the Vijayanagara empire also dragged the two states into a long-drawn war.

In 1358 A.D., Bukka, after entering into an alliance with the Musunuri chief Kapaya Mayaka of Warangal, invaded the Raichur doab. The allied forces were totally defeated by the Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shah I. Finally Kapaya Nayaka capitulated and gave an immense treasure as indemnity and a magnificent throne set with precious stones. To punish Bukka, the ally of Kapaya, the Sultan ordered him to pay the musicians who had given the entertainment in his Gulbarga court. But the proud Bukka insulted the messenger of the Sultan, invaded the doab, captured Mudgal and ravaged the territory (1366 A.D.). The infuriated Sultan crossed the Krishna and recaptured Mudgal. Bukka fled to Adoni and later retreated to Vijayanagara. The Sultan ordered a general massacre of the Hindus around the city and this made Bukka sue for peace. A treaty was concluded (1368 A.D.) and both the parties agreed to the river Krishna to be the boundary between the two kingdoms and in future wars, the non-combatants should not be molested.

War again broke out in 1377 A.D. between the new Bahmani Sultan, Mujahid Shah and Bukka over the question of the Raichur doab. Mujahid marched on Adoni and later the city of Vijayanagara. He could not succeed in seizing either one. Meanwhile he was murdered by his hostile uncle Daud Khan.

In 1364-65 A.D., shortly after the first phase of his war with the Bahmani Sultan came to an end, Bukka was engaged in a war with the Reddis of Kondavidu. Little is known about the causes and events of this war. The Reddi ruler was defeated. Ahobalam and Vinukonda with their dependent territories were annexed to the Vijayanagara kingdom.

KUMARA KAMPANA'S SOUTH INDIAN CONQUEST (1368-71 A.D.)

After his conclusion of peace treaty with Muhammad Shah I in 1368 A.D., Bukkaraya turned his attention to the south. The overthrow of the Sambuvarayas and the annexation of Tondaimandafam brought Vijayanagara directly into conflict with the Sultanate of Madurai. Bukka could not remain indifferent at the miserable plight of the Hindu population in the Mabar country. He sent his valiant son Kumara Kampana at the head of an expedition. The expedition which was undertaken between 1368 A.D. and 1371 A.D. was vividly described by Kampana's wife Gangadevi in her 'Madhuravijayam'. Kumara Kampana was accompanied by great generals like Gopanna Dannayak and Saluva Mangu. He set out from Gingee and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Madura forces at Samayavaram near Srirangam, next captured Kannanur-Koppam, restored the gods Sriranganatha and Hoyasaleswara to their respective shrines and finally defeated and killed Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, the Sultan of Madurai, in 1371 A.D. Thus the whole of the Tamil country was annexed to the Vijayanagara kingdom. This conquest was regarded as one of the greatest achievements in the history of Vijayanagara. It soon raised a small principality to the dignity of an empire. It was after these conquests Bukka, assumed the imperial titles like 'Maharajadhiraja', 'Rajapameswara', 'Lord of the three seas' etc.

'Side by side with these political events, the empire was pulsating with great religious and literary activities'. Scholars were invited from far and near and royal patronage was rendered to them to work on a variety of subjects. Bukka's title 'Vedamargapratisthapaka' indicates his interest and endeavour to

restore the Hindu dharma. Madhavacharya and his brother Sayana wrote their commentaries in Sanskrit on Vedic works. Nachanasonra, the Telugu poet received Bukka's patronage. The embassy which the ruler sent to China in 1374 A.D. shows his interest in foreign affairs. By all counts, Bukkaraya 1 was considered the real architect of the Vijayanagara empire.

HARIHARA II (1377-1404 A.D.)

Bukkaraya's son Harihara II ruled for 27 years and consolidated the supremacy of Vijayanagara all over southern India. Soon after his accession to the throne, he replaced his cousins by his own sons as governors of provinces and made an attempt thus to forestall the tendencies to disruption due to the ambitions of his more distant relatives. He succeeded in putting down rebellions and enforcing his authority. His son Virupanna played an important role in bringing back the Tamil country to subjection. The final extinction of the Madurai Sultanate took place in 1378 A.D. After the subjugation of the Tamil country, Virupanna led an expedition to the island of Ceylon and exacted tribute from its ruler,

Harihara II, through his son Devaraya I, who was the governor of Udayagiri, deprived the Kondavidu Reddis of their possessions in Kurnool, Nellore and even parts of Guntur during the period 1382-85 A.D. When the alliance between the Velamas of Rajakonda in Telangana and the Bahmanis spelt danger to both Kondavidu and Vijayanagara, Harihara II allied himself with the Reddis through a matrimonial alliance. He gave his daughter to a son of the valiant Reddi general Katayavema. Two expeditions were sent into Telangana before the end of 1390 A.D. Finally it was in the year 1397 A.D. Panugal was taken.

Sometime before 1380 A.D. the Vijayanagara forces under Madhava Mantrin captured the Goa port and its neighbouring areas, Saptakonkans and important ports of Chaul and Dabhoi. With this, Harihara II became the master of the entire west coast of Deccan. According to Ferishta, Firoz Shah, who

ascended the Bahmani throne in 1397 A.D., defeated Harihara II and the latter paid an indemnity. It might be a reference to some initial victories of the Sultan against the Vijayanagara forces.

Harihara II was a worshiper of Virupaksha (Siva) but he patronised the Saivas, Vaishnavas and Jains alike. Irugappa, a Jain scholar, was his general.

After the death of Harihara II in 1404 A.D., the war of succession broke out among his surviving three sons and it lasted for about two years. At first, Virupaksha succeeded in securing the throne, but was soon removed by Bukka II, who ruled for two years. Finally, Devaraja I became the king and celebrated his coronation on 5th November 1406 A.D.

DEVARAYA I (1406-22 A.D.)

Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, refers that Bukka I and Devaraya I extended the city of Vijayanagara by raising new walls and towers and by strengthening the fortifications. But the great achievement of these two brothers was the construction of a dam across the Tungabhadra, diverting the waters of the river into the city. For several miles a channel was cut out of solid rocks from the base of hills and it may be regarded as one of the most remarkable irrigation works in South India.'

Early in his reign Devaraya I had to face the invasion of the Bahmani Sultan, Firoz Shah. Ferishta says that it was the result of Devaraya's infatuation for a beautiful goldsmith girl who lived in Mudgai. But other accounts attribute it to the Sultan's determination to wage a Jihad (holy war) against the Vijayanagara king. Sayyad Ali states that Firoz returned with a huge amount of money collected from the Raya. This discomfiture of Devaraya I was taken advantage of by the Reddis of Kondavidu. Peda Komati Vema Reddi occupied the rich territories of Udayagiri. He was in league with Firoz and the Velama ruler Anadeva. To counteract this tripple alliance.

Devaraya I and Kataya Vema Reddi of Rajahmundry joined hands together. In the subsequent war, Kataya Vema was defeated and killed. Soon the war became a war between the Raya and the Sultan. The Bahmani forces attempted for two years to capture the fort of Panugal. At this juncture, by a diplomatic revolution, Devaraya I broke the traditional friendship of the Velamas of Rajakonda with the Bahmanis. Plague and famine prevailed. Finally Devaraya I defeated the Bahmani forces. The territories of Kondavidu were partitioned between Devaraya I and his new ally, the Velamas of Rajakonda.

NICOLO DE CONTI, an Italian traveller, visited Vijayanagara in 1420 or 1421 A.D. and described the court, its festivals, its currency and other matters. He called Vijayanagar 'Bisnegalia'. He described, "the city of Bisnegalia is situated near very steep mountains. . . . The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried upto the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot. In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms."

"The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all other kings of India. He takes to himself 12000 wives, of whom 4000 follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen, A like number, more handsomely equipped ride on horse back. The rest are carried by men in litters, of whom 2000 or 3000 are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him which is considered to be a great honour for them".

The death of Devaraya I was followed by the reigns of his sons Ramachandra and Vijayaraya I. Vijayaraya ruled for about five years and as Nuniz says, he 'did nothing worth recording'. He was assisted by his son Devaraya II in the administration almost from the beginning.

DEVARAYA II (1422-46 A.D.)

Devaraya II was associated with his father in the administration of the empire since 1422 A.D. His coronation might have taken place sometime later. He assumed the title 'gajabetekara' (Hunter of elephants). This has been explained in two ways—as a metaphor referring to his victories over enemy kings who were as strong as elephants, and more literally as indicating the king's interest to the sport of hunting elephants.

Devaraya II was by far the greatest ruler of the Sangama dynasty. He was involved in a series of wars with the Bahmani rulers. Ahmad Shah (1422-36 A.D.), the brother and successor of Firoz Shah, soon after his accession to the throne, desirous of avenging the humiliating defeat at Panugal, invaded the Vijayanagar empire. Devaraya II, with his new ally Anavota II of Warangal, penetrated as far as Etgir in the Gulbarga district. While he was successfully attacking the enemy on his own soil, the king of Warangal deserted on the battlefield. The Vijayanagara army suffered defeat. Moreover, Bhanudeva IV, the king of Orissa, invaded the coastal Andhra country. Ahmad Shah took the offensive and laid waste the Vijayanagara territories. According to Ferishta, the Raya sued for peace. It must be noted in this context that the Sultan shifted his capital from Gulbarga, near the Vijayanagara frontier, to Bidar, situated in the hilly tract farther north in the interior of his dominions. This transfer of the capital was not without significance. The incessant wars with Vijayanagara and some sudden attack on Gulbarga probably compelled the Sultan to transfer it.

An epigraph from South Kanara district dated 1429-30 A.D., refers to two victories of Devaraya II against the rulers of Andhra and Orissa. The Velamas, who deserted Devaraya, joined the Orissa ruler Bhanudeva, invaded the coastal Andhra country and established themselves there. First the Rajahmundry Reddi chiefs had to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Orissa king. Then the Orissa and the Velama forces crossed the Krishna and occupied the territories of the erstwhile kingdom of Kondavidu from the Vijayanagara officers.

Soon after the Muslim menace was over, Devaraya II launched an attack on Bhanudeva IV and the Valamas. The territories of the old Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu were reconquered and incorporated with the empire of Vijayanagara and the power of the Reddis (Virabhadra Reddi) of Rajahmundry, which was in abeyance between 1424 A.D. and 1427 A.D. was completely restored.' This task was completed by Devaraya II by 1428 A.D.

K.A.N. Sastri mentions that during the reign of Devaraya II, the Vijayanagara dominion spread to the extreme south of India into Kerala and the ruler of Quilon was subjugated. The Zamorin of Calicut, however, seems to have retained his independence. Abdur Razzak, the Persian envoy, who visited South India in 1443 A.D., states that the Zamorin lived in great fear of Devaraya II and when he received a letter from the latter to tire effect that the envoy should be sent to Vijayanagara court without delay, he instantly carried out the order. The same envoy states that Devaraya was supreme over the whole of South India and his dominions extended from Ceylon to Gulbarga and from Bengal (Orissa) to Malabar. Nuniz asserts that the rulers of Quilon, Ceylon, Pulicat, Pegu and Tennaserim paid tribute to Devaraya II. According to these accounts, the Ceylonese expedition was led by his minister Lakkana Dandanayaka who occupied Jafna.

Devaraya's relations continued to be hostile with the Bahmani power. With the death of Ahmad Shah and the accession to the throne of his son Ala-ud-din II in 1435-36 A.D., tranquility was broken. The Muslim chroniclers recorded two wars, one in 1435-36 A.D. and another in 1443-44 A.D. In the first war Ala-ud-din attempted to recover the arrears of tribute. There was no decisive outcome. But this Bahmani raid led to the reorganisation of the Vijayanagara army in 1442 A.D. The causes for the repeated reverses of the Vijayanagara army were analysed in a council and steps were taken introducing reforms to remedy the deficiencies in the Vijayanagara military set up. The Muslims were recruited into service. Complete religious freedom was given to them. Jagirs were allotted to them. A

mosque was built for their use in Vijayanagara. A copy of the Koran was placed before the throne so that they might perform their obeisance to the ruler without sinning against the Muslim law. The Hindu archers also received better training than before. Attempts were also made to improve the quality of horses.

Abdur Razzak relates an attempt on the life of Devaraya II in 1443 A.D. This attempt was made by a scion of the ruler in a banquet probably at the instigation of the Bahmani Sultan. The conspiracy was a failure and many of the nobles involved were killed. While the Vijayanagara was plunged in this confusion, the Sultan Ala-ud-din II demanded the usual payment of tribute money then amounting to 7 lakhs of Varahas. Devaraya returned a defiant answer and his commander Lakkanna invaded the doab, captured Mudgal, plundered the Sultan's territories as far as Sagar and Bijapur and returned with a large number of prisoners. But Ferishta gives a different account of the war, and claims victory for the Sultan. Devaraya retained Mudgal finally.

ABDUR RAZZAK'S VISIT to Vijayanagara in 1443 A.D. was an important event of the reign of Devaraya II. The Persian ambassador in his 'History of Persia' gives an account of Vijayanagara relating to topography, administration and social life. He refers to the limits of the empire, the attempt on the life of the emperor and other details. He observes : "The city of Bijanagar is such that eye had not seen, nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth." He mentions king's absolute powers and his high admiration and esteem for the Brahmins, the defence of the city, the splendour of the houses, the physique and personal accomplishments of the king. Above all, Razzak gives an admirable account of the brilliance of Mahanavami festival in which he was a spectator

As already referred, Devaraya II, though had leanings towards Vira Saivism, was tolerant in religious matters, He gave freedom of worship to the Muslims. He also caused a Jain temple to be erected in the capital in 'Pan Supari Bazaar'. His

name is associated with beneficial reforms like the discontinuation of Varasulka and the enforcement of Kanyadana (free gift of the bride).

Himself a scholar and an author, Devaraya II was a great patron of men of letters in Sanskrit and vernacular languages. He was delighted in holding literary debates. On one such occasion, the Telugu poet Srinatha defeated Dindima. Devaraya II honoured him with Kanakabhisheka and the title of 'Kavisarva-bhauma'. The authorship of 'Mahanatakasudhanidhi' and a 'Vritti' on Badarayana's Brahmasutras, both in Sanskrit, was attributed to the ruler. Of the Kannada poets, Kumara Vyasa, the author of Kannada 'Bharata' and Chamarasa, the author of 'Prabhu Lingalila', were famous in his court. Thus the reign of Devaraya II marks the golden age of the Sangama dynasty.

FALL OF THE SANGAMAS

The glorious reign of Devaraya II came to an end with his death in 1446 A.D. The immediate political situation at Vijayanagara is not definitely known. The general assumption is that he was succeeded by his son Mallikarjuna. But literary and epigraphic evidence shows that Devaraya's brother Vijayaraya II ruled for a short time in 1466-67 A.D. The dissensions in the royal family and the patricidal wars from 1446 A.D. onwards proved disastrous to the Sangama dynasty, which was finally replaced by the Saluvas.

The reign of Mallikarjuna (1447-65 A.D.) 'marks the beginning of a long period of decline of the royal power which only terminated with the disappearance of his dynasty about 1485 A.D.' The weak and incompetent rule gave the enemies of Vijayanagara a golden opportunity to regain their lost hold. The refractory nobles began to assert independence. The Velamas made a new home for themselves in Velugodu (Kurnool district) when their capital Rajakonda was seized by the Bahmanis.

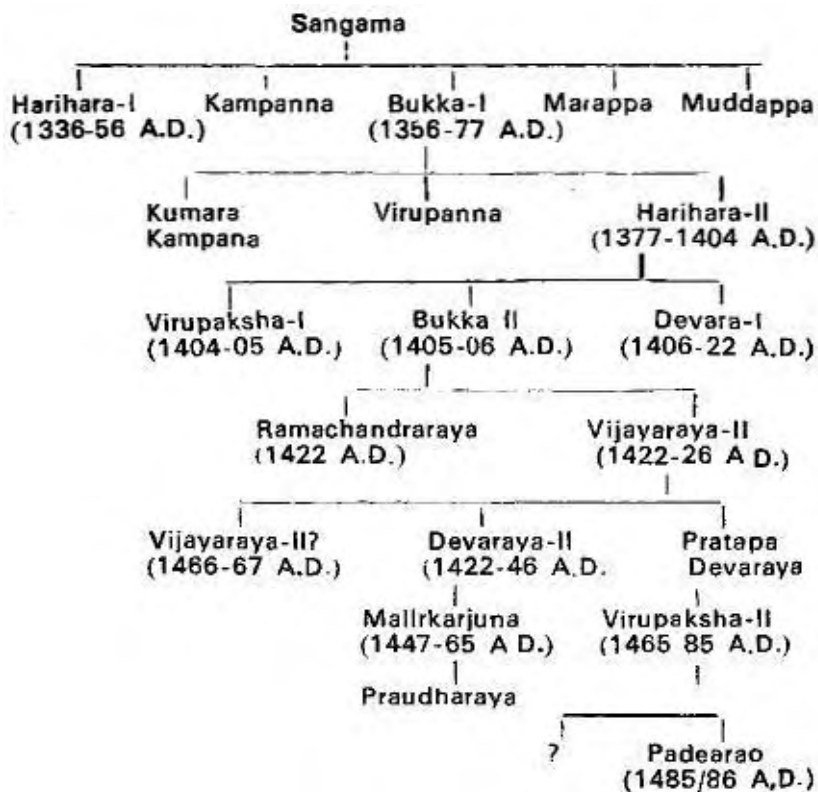
Kapilesvara, the Gajapati ruler of Orissa, made a common cause with the Bahmani Sultan and invaded the kingdom. Both

laid siege to Vijayanagar but the city defied all their efforts to capture it. The invading armies had to retire without accomplishing much, Kapilesvara, however, reduced the Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry and took Kondavidu before 1454 A.D. The Kshatriya and Velama chieftains of Telangana helped him in his enterprise. Subsequently, Kapilesvara extended his conquests upto Srisailem and included a large part of the Kurnool district. His son Hamvira proceeded against Mahmud Gawan, defeated the Bahmani forces, captured Warangal and later, on Humayun's death in 1461 A.D, Bidar also. He then conquered Udayagiri in the Nellore district and Kanchipuram and Trichinopoly in the southern provinces of the Vijayanagar empire (1463 A.D.). The Telugu districts became part of the empire of Orissa for some years, But the sovereignty of Vijayanagara in the southern lands was upheld by its powerful nobles such as Tirumalaideva Maharaja and Saluva Narasimha. Tirumalaideva held Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Pudukkottai and Narasimha, the governor of Chandragiri, was prominent in the centre and in the eastern parts of the empire. These nobles rose into prominence and resisted the Bahmani and Gajapati aggressions.

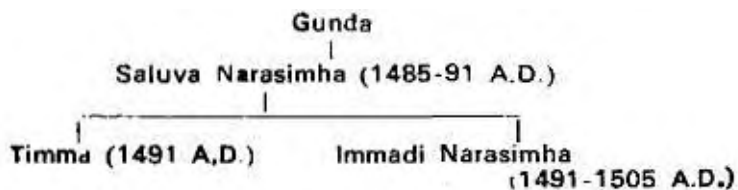
Mallikarjuna was murdered and the throne was usurped in 1465 A.D. by his own cousin Virupaksha II ('Prapannam-ritam'). Nuniz describes Virupaksha as a weak and unworthy sovereign. He was sensuous 'caring for nothing but women and to fuddle himself with drink'. During his days large tracts of land were lost to the Muslims, including Goa. Chaul and Dabhol. On the east coast also, the Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shah III successfully led his daring adventure to the south as far as Kanchi. One important event of Virupaksha's reign was the recapturing of Udayagiri from the Gajapati forces with the help of Saluva Narasimha,

Disgusted with the misrule of Virupaksha II, his eldest son murdered him. The patricide placed his younger brother Padearo on the throne. The first act of this new ruler was to get his benefactor assassinated. Then Padearao plunged into debauchery, neglected the affairs of the state and repeated the crimes and follies of his father. The succession of weak

SANGAMA DYNASTY



SALUVA DYNASTY



and unworthy niters after Devaraya II impaired the sound internal administration that prevailed in the kingdom. The authority of the central government, continued to decline, was heading towards disruption. The total disruption was however averted by Saluva Narasima'. To save Vijayanagara from extinction, Narasimha with the support of the nobles and leading members of the realm drove away Padearao and usurped the throne and with this, the rule of the Sangama dynasty came to an end in 1485 A.D.

4. The Saluvas (1485—1505 A.D.)

The Telugu and Kannada lexicographers give the meaning of the term 'Saluva' as a hawk used in hunting. The literary works like Jaimini Bharatamu. Saluvabhyudayam, Ramabhyudayam and the copper plate grants of Immadi Narasimha clearly state that 'Saluva' was a title conferred for the first time on Mangideva, the great-grandfather of Saluva Narasimha who was the founder of the Saluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. Mangideva is said to have made the world of enemy-birds know that he was a Saluva. He played an important role in Kumara Kampana's conquest of Madurai during the reign of Bukkaraya I. After Mangideva, the title was adopted by his descendants.

Tradition points to Kalyani in northern Karnataka as the original home of the Saluvas. The Gorantla inscription, the earliest of the Saluvas, traces their origin from the Chalukyas and the Kalachuris who ruled over Karnataka with Kalyani as their headquarters. These references connect the Saluvas of the east coast to Kalyani, implying their migration from northern Karnataka to Andhra. But none of the records mention this migration.

The Saluvas make their first appearance in Andhra in the first half of the 14th century A.D. simultaneously with Harihara and Bukka, the founders of Vijayanagara. As noted above. Mangidejva of the family took a leading role in the Madurai campaign of Kumara Kampana and thereby got the title 'Saluva'. From then onwards, his descendants came to be known as

the Saluvas. They were of Atreya gotra and disciples of the Vaishnava teacher Tatacharya. They claimed themselves to be Kshatriyas.

The Sangamas and the Saluvas were drawn closer to each other by matrimonial alliances which paved the way for closer collaboration in the maintenance and preservation of Vijayanagara empire'. Nuniz states that Narasimha, captain of Padea-rao (the last Sangama) was in some manner related to him. Confirmative evidence for this relationship comes from literature and inscriptions. Harihara II seems to have married the daughter of his general Saluva Ramadeva. Later, Harima, sister of Devaraya II was married to Saluva Tippha, an uncle of Saluva Narasimha. It is but natural that as a result of these relations, the Sangamas gave a favoured treatment to the Saluvas. Saluva Narasimha seems to have no such special relationship with his Tuluva generals Isvara Nayaka and Narasa Nayaka.

SALUVA NARASIMHA (1485-91 A.D.)

Prior to the Usurpation of the throne of Vijayanagara, Saluva Narasimha, son of Gunda, was the ruler of Chandragiri rajya. Nuniz states that Narasimha reigned forty four years, probably taking into consideration his years of rule over Chandragirirajya and the consequent five years of rule as the emperor. Hence it may be said that he succeeded his father to the hereditary estate in about the year 1448 A.D. He was related to the Sangama rulers through his uncle Saluva Tippha. Tippha, who had a distinguished record of service to the empire, was offered in marriage Harima, the elder sister of Devaraya II.

Apart from the family estate Chandragiri (Chittoor district), Saluva Narasimha acquired the estate of Nagar (South Arcot district) as well. His inscriptions started appearing from the year 1452 A.D. Soon after, anarchy and confusion prevailed in the south-eastern parts of the Vijayanagara empire due to the repeated attacks of the Gajapatis of Orissa. Due to the disturbed conditions in Vijayanagara under the weak and incompetent ruler Mallikarjuna, Kapilesvara Gajapati ventured to

invade the coastal Andhra. Before 1448 A.D, he occupied the entire Rajahmundry kingdom. Sometime between 1454 A.D. and 1455 A.D. Kondavidu, Addanki and Vinukonda which formed part of the Vijayanagara empire, were also occupied. Later, the Bahmanis also suffered territorial loss. Then Kapilesvara commissioned his son Hamvira to lead the grand army to the south. Udayagiri Kanchi, Padaividu, Veludilampatti—Savidi, Tiruvaruru and Tiruchirapalli, one after the other fell into the hands of the Gajapatis. Chandragiri thus passed into the hands of the Gajapatis before 1464 A.D. The 'Oddiyan Galabhai' for a time shook the very foundations of the Vijayanagara empire.

But soon Saluva Narasimha, the general and viceroy of Mallikarjuna, asserted himself and revived the Vijayanagara authority in the southern lands. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Gajapati army and recovered Chandragiri also before 1467 A.D. Meanwhile, Virupaksha II seized the Vijayanagara throne from his cousin Mallikarjuna. He was weak, sensuous and unworthy sovereign. So the task of completing the liberation of the country from the foreign yoke was now on the shoulders of Narasimha himself. His general Isvara Neyaka defeated the Gajapati army under the command of Hamvira and captured Udayagiri in 1469 A.D. and the followed up war of succession among the Gajapati's sons provided this excellent opportunity for Saluva Narasimha to win back the lost dominion.

Then it seems that Narasimha led his southern campaigns probably to quell a revolt by the Bana chief Bhuvanaika Vira Samara Kolahalan bearing the Chola titles in the Pudukkottai region. He marched on to Tiruvannamalai, Kumbakonam, Srirangam, Madura and Ramesvaram, receiving tributes from the chiefs of the region all along the way. The Bana chief fled before him. All these series of victories led Saluva Narasimha emerge as the saviour of the empire and the officers and nobles began to recognise him as the defacto sovereign in the south.

The civil war in Orissa and the Bahmani intervention in that war enabled Narasimha to extend his authority in the

north-east. While the Bahmani army was busy conquering Rajahmundry and Kondapalli, Narasimha established his authority over all the region extending from Udayagiri to Musulipatam in the north-east before 1475 A.D. Then probably at the request of Purushottama Gajapati, Narasimha, accompanied by Araviti Bukka marched into Telangana and made the Bahmanis and their ally Hamvira helpless. Taking advantage of this situation, Purushottama deposed his brother Hamvira and recovered his throne by 1476 A.D. Having achieved the object, Narasimha's forces withdrew from Telangana into the Godavari region. But his secret understanding with Purushottamadeve to destroy the Muslim authority along the east coast by means of a simultaneous attack from the south and north could not be realised due to the swift and unexpected arrival of large Muslim army in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry. Subsequently, the Sultan Muhammad Shah III undertook the Kanchi raid in 1480-81 A.D. Narasimha's general Isvara Nayaka defeated the Muslim troops at Kandukur. Again at Penugonda also the Sultan's forces were totally crushed.

The Oddian Kalabhai, the Bana occupation of Kanchi, the loss of Goa and the Bahmani raid on Kanchi discredited the authority of the ruling dynasty (Sangama) thoroughly.' The drunken revelries and senseless hatreds among the members of the royal family undermined the prestige and security of the realm. The integrity and the very existence of the Vijayanagara empire was threatened during the reigns of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha II. Especially the reign of weak, cruel, sensuous and unworthy Virupaksha II witnessed the shaking of the very foundations of the empire. The whole country was roused to indignation and rebellion. The situation was further accentuated when Virupaksha was murdered by his eldest son. The parricide had his younger brother Padearao (Praudha Devaraya) crowned king. The most infamous deed of this new sovereign was to slay his very benefactor. His preference to stay at the capital most of the time, drowning himself in an ocean of pleasure and repeating the crimes and follies of his father, further worsened the situation.

In the circumstances Saluva Narasimha could not remain indifferent and resolved to save the empire from further degeneration and disintegration. The only way for this was to put an end to the old dynasty and assume the royal title himself. Having assured himself of the support of all the nobles in the empire, Narasimha sent his trusted general Tuluve Narasa Nayaka to Vijayanagara to take possession of the city and the throne. The 'craven' king Padearao fled and the city and the treasures passed into the hands of Narasa Nayaka. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya aptly remarks, "That Narasimha usurped the throne cannot be gainsaid; but if usurpation was ever justified by the conditions that necessitated it, it was in this case". On some day in the month of August, 1485 A.D. this Saluva usurpation took place and Narasimha ascended the throne.

After succeeding to the throne, Saluva Narasimha's immediate task was to recover the lands alienated during the lawless regime of former times. 'The support of the captains and the chiefs of the kingdoms which enabled him to oust the old dynasty did not outlast the act of usurpation'. To enforce his authority he was obliged to fight against his erstwhile supporters and friends. The Samabeta chiefs of Peranipadu in the Gandikota Sima, the Saluva chiefs of Bommavaram and the Palaigars of Ummattur and Talakadu deserve special mention among them. Narasimha had to spend time and energy in fighting and subduing these chieftains. These internal troubles, which he certainly overcame, greatly weakened his capacity to check external enemies.

Taking advantage of the weakness that crept into the Bahmani kingdom after the death of the Sultan Muhammad Shah III in 1482 A.D., Purushottama, the Gajapati king of Orissa invaded the eastern coastal country, captured Kondavidu, advanced upto the Gundlakamma and laid siege to Udayagiri. His minister Ganganamantri succeeded in getting Saluva Narasimha trapped through his wiles and acquired Udayagiri during the year 1490-91 A.D. This fort continued to remain under the authority of the Gajapatis until 1514 A.D. when Krishnadevaraya captured it back.

Saluva Narasimha undertook the reorganisation of the defence-mechanism. The loss of the Western ports like Goa during the reign of Virupaksha II was compensated when he conquered the Tulu country. He revived the horse trade of the Arabs by building up the ports of Honavar, Bhatkal, Kakanur and Mangalore. "He caused horses to be brought from Ormuz and Aden into his kingdom, and thereby gave profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they had asked." Further, he took measures to strengthen the efficiency and the martial spirit of his forces. Narasimha died sometime in 1491 A.D.

Saluva Narasimha evinced keen interest in cultural pursuits also. He was a scholar in Sanskrit and a devotee of the Madhava saint Sripadaraya. Under his patronage Rajanatha Dindima wrote 'Saluvabhyudayam' in Sanskrit. Narasimha also extended his loving care and patronage to the development of Telugu literature. Pillalairrari Pinavirabhadra wrote 'Sringara Sakuntalamu' and 'Jarmini Bharatamu' in Telugu. Thus by his timely saving of the empire from total disintegration, by his reorganisation of the defence mechanism, by keeping up the cultural traditions and building up the peace and prosperity, Saluva Narasimha carved out his own niche in the history of the Vijayanagara empire.

THE REGENCY OF TULUVA NARASA NAYAKA (1491 A.D. - 1503 A.D.)

Saluva Narasimha, at the time of his death, entrusted the care of the empire and of his two young sons to his loyal general and minister Tuluva Narasa Nayaka. On his death, Narasa Nayaka raised his elder son Timmabhupa to the throne and himself began to act as the Rakshakarta (protector). This elder prince was murdered by an enemy of Narasa Nayaka in order to foist the crime on the head of the Regent. But the younger prince was crowned and he came to be called **Immadi Narasimha**. But Narasa Nayaka remained the Regent and retained all the powers in his hands in the best interests of the realm and even 'assumed the royal style along with his Saluva titles'.

When his bonafides were suspected by Immadi Narasimha. the Regent and the ruler fell apart. Narasa Nayaka retired to Penugonda. In order to rescue his reputation, he planned the seizure of Vijayanagara, marched with his troops and seized Vijayanagara. Immadi Narasimha was ill-prepared for measuring swords with his Regent and agreed to the terms of the latter. Narasa Nayaka, to insure against any future risks from the king, removed him to Penugonda and kept him there under close watch. Some scholars depict this as the second usurpation. But S.K. Aiyangar opines that Narasa Nayaka appears to have carried out his trust loyally in accordance with the wishes of his master, notwithstanding attempts to damage him both physically and morally.

The records of Narasa Nayaka's descendants enumerate his numerous military campaigns, by dint of which he restored the integrity of the empire, and the enemies, whom he conquered during the thirteen years of his regency. About the time when Saluva Narasimha died, the authority of the Bahmani Sultan completely collapsed. Qasim Band, the Prime Minister of the Sultan, made his master a *mere* tool in his hands. To curb the growing power of Adil Khan of Bijapur, he, in alliance with Konkan and Vijayanagara attacked Bijapur. Narasa Nayaka captured the forts of Raichur and Mudgal. Adil Khan was forced to buy peace by ceding these two forts. Subsequently, he tried to recover them and sustained a severe defeat and was forced to seek shelter in the Manava fortress. Pretending submission, he invited Narasa and others for a peace conference and treacherously attacked them. Narasa managed to escape and the doab once again passed into the hands of the Muslims.

All the Tuluva records credit Narasa Nayaka with victory over the Gajapati. Probably when the Gajapati king Prataparudra led an expedition against Vijayanagara and advanced upto the Pennar, Narasa Nayaka defeated and drove him back.

In order to assert the effective central authority in the south, Narasa Nayaka undertook an expedition against the chiefs and nobles in the south. He defeated the tyrannical and oppres-

sive governor of Trichi and Tanjore, Koneriraja. He also compelled the Chola, Chera and Manabhusa Pandya to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara. He next proceeded against the rebellious Palaigars of Ummattur and their allies. The island fort of Srirangapatnam was captured and the leader of the rebels was taken prisoner. Thus the Vijayanagara authority was firmly established in the Tamil country and Karnataka.

An important event of historical significance that took place during the period of regency of Narasa Nayaka was the arrival of the Portuguese on West-coast of India. Not realising the significance of this event, Narasa did not extend any protection to his Bhatkal chief and left him to his fate when, in 1502 A.D. Vasco-da-Gama imposed commercial restrictions on the chief. Narasa Nayaka died in the month of November, 1503 A.D.

Narasa Nayaka was a patron of letters and several eminent poets flourished at his court. The Telugu literature received a fresh impetus from the Regent. Thus Narasa Nayaka who found the empire in a convalescent condition, 'imparted fresh strength to it and left it fully vigorous pulsating with new life.'

5. Tuluva Dynasty (1505-76 A.D.)

VIRA NARASIMHA (1503-05-09 A.D.)

After the death of Narasa Nayaka, his eldest son Vira Narasimha succeeded him as the Regent of the empire. By this time, the king Immadi Narasimha was grown up and capable to manage his own affairs. But Vira Narasimha maintained status quo for sometime and served the interests of his master loyally. By 1505 A.D., 'Power without privilege must have galled him greatly, and he conspired to get rid of his master'. Accordingly, he got his master in Penukonda assassinated and declared himself king in 1505 A.D. This was described as the second usurpation in the history of Vijayanagara empire. With this came to an end the brief rule of the Saluva monarchs at Vijayanagara, yielding place to a new line of kings called the Tuluva dynasty,

Vira Narasimha ruled as king for five years. His usurpation of the throne evoked much opposition. Nuniz states that the whole land revolted under its captains. His years of rule were almost entirely spent in fighting. Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur, who sought to extend his dominion beyond the Tungabhadra, allied himself with Kassapa Udaiyar, the Vijayanagara governor of Adoni, marched on the Vijayanagara territory and laid siege to the fort of Kandnavolu (Kurnool). However the Aravidu chief Ramaraja and his son Timma, the able generals of Vira Narasimha defeated him and expelled him from the Vijayanagara territory.

Vira Narasimha next turned towards the rebels in the Karnataka and Tulu districts. His attempts to put down the revolts of the Palaigars of Ummattur and Talakadu ended in failure. However, he succeeded in dealing with the rebels on the west coast. He conquered the whole of Tulunadu and took possession of all its ports. Varthema, an Italian traveller of Bologna records the Vijayanagara attempt (1506 A.D.) to recover Goa from the Muslims. The attempt might be a futile one. Even before the erring chieftains of Ummattur and other places could be taught a lesson, Vira Narasimha died in 1509 A.D.

Vira Narasimha, in spite of his continuous engagement in warfare throughout his reign period, improved the efficiency of his army by introducing changes in the methods of recruitment and training of his forces. He offered attractive prices to the horse dealers to get good horses for his cavalry. He maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese. He encouraged all kinds of military exercises including duel-fights. He took steps to promote the welfare of the people. He abolished the marriage-tax on an experimental basis. He made magnificent gifts to all the important temples of south India.

LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA, an Italian traveller of Bologna travelled in India between 1502 A.D. and 1508 A.D. He visited Vijayanagara in 1506 A.D. He describes Vijayanagara as a great city, "very large and strongly walled. It is situated on the

side of a mountain, and is seven miles in circumference. It was wealthy and well supplied, situated on a beautiful site and enjoying an excellent climate. The king keeps up constantly 40,000 horsemen and 400 elephants. The elephants each carry six men and have long swords fastened to their trunks in battle. The common people go quite naked with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle. The king wears a cap of gold brocade two spans long....His horse is worth more than some of our cities on account of the ornaments which it wears,"

Nuniz records that while Vira Narasimha was on his death-bed, he sent for his minister Saluva Timma and ordered him to put out the eyes of his half-brother Krishnadevaraya so that his own eight year-old son might succeed him to the throne and that the minister satisfied the dying king by producing before him the eyes of a she-goat. But there is no evidence to prove this. On the other hand, local traditions maintain that Vira Narasimha himself chose his brother as his successor.

KRISHNADEVARAYA (1509-29 A.D.)

Robert Sewell says, "From the accession of Krishnadevaraya to the throne of Vijayanagar in 1509 A.D. we once more enter into a period when the history of the country becomes less confused and we are able to trace the sequence of events without serious difficulty. This was the period of Vijayanagar's greatest success when its army everywhere was victorious and the city was most prosperous." Krishnadevaraya's reign marks, 'the grand climax in the development of the empire, and the successful achievement of the objects for which it was actually founded.'

According to Prof. O. Ramachandraiya, Krishnadevaraya was born on 16th February 1487 A.D. As already noted, Nuniz mentions the circumstances under which Krishnadeva was raised to the throne of Vijayanagara. Paes, the Portuguese chronicler who was in Vijayanagara about the year 1520 A.D., also remarks that Saluva Timma brought up Krishnadevaraya

and made him king. About the personality and character of the king, he described glowingly—"The king is of medium height and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he was on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to 'sudden fits of rage; and this is his title—Krishnarao, the great, king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and land". Sewell also narrates, "Krishnadevaraya was not only monarch de jure but was in very practical fact an absolute monarch of extensive power and strong personal influence. He was the real ruler. He was physically strong in his best days and kept his strength upto the highest pitch by hard bodily exercise. He rose early and developed all his muscles by the use of Indian clubs and the use of sword. He was fine rider and was blessed with the noblest presence of which favourably impressed all who came in contact with him. He commanded his immense armies in person, was able, brave and statesman-like; and was withal, a man of much gentleness and generosity of character. He was beloved by all and respected by all."

Krishnadevaraya's coronation was celebrated, in all probability, on the birthday of Srikrishna of Saka 1432, corresponding to August 8, 1509 A.D. His first act on coming to the throne was to send his nephew, son of Vira Narasimha, and his own two brothers, Achuta and Ranga to the Chandragiri fort to secure his own position free from all plots and intrigues of the rival claimants. Before he set on his expeditions, he remained at the capital for a year and a half teaming the affairs of his kingdom.

Krishnadeva did not succeed to a peaceful kingdom. Troubles from within and attacks from without haunted the Vijayanagara ruler. Some of the Polaigars were still at large contesting the overlordship of the best part of Mysore region. The Gajapatis of Orissa were still in possession of the eastern

districts of the empire and Prataparudra was openly hostile and aggressive. In the north, though the Bahmani kingdom virtually ceased to exist, still the Muslim pressure, especially from Bijapur, continued unabated in its strength. The newly-risen power of the Portuguese was rapidly establishing control over the routes and the maritime trade of the west coast and seeking profitable contacts with the 'country powers'. But Krishnadevaraya rose to the occasion and with the help of his mentor and minister Saluv Timmarasa, handled the situation with great tact and foresight.

At the outset of his reign, Krishnadeva had to fight with the Muslim forces which declared a jihad on the infields of Vijayanagara and invaded his territory. The Bahmani Sultan was joined by all the chiefs and nobles who nominally acknowledged his sovereignty. Krishna was equal to the task. His forces checked the progress of the Muslims on the frontier, defeated them at Dony and inflicted another crushing defeat on the retreating army at Kovilkonda. Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur lost his life with the result Bijapur was thrown into confusion and disorder.

Taking advantage of the anarchic conditions prevailing in Bijapur, Krishna invaded the doab and captured Raichur. He then advanced on Gulbarga and captured the fort. He pursued Barid, the minister and jailor of the Sultan, defeated him and captured the fort of Bidar. He restored the Sultan Mahmud Shah to power and to commemorate this act of resuscitation of the Bahmani monarchy, assumed the title of 'Yavanarajya-stapanacharya'. This restoration he did to weaken his Muslim neighbours by throwing an apple of discord in their midst since he knew that so long as the shadow of the Bahmani monarchy persisted, there would be no peace among the Muslim rulers of the Deccan.

Krishna then set out on an expedition against the rebels. He marched against the Kadava chieftains of the Kanchi region. After reducing them, he advanced against Gangaraja of Ummattur who had been in revolt since the last years of Vira Nara-

simha's reign. He first attacked Penukonda which had passed into the hands of the rebel. The capture of this fort was followed by Ummattur and Sivasamudram. When Gangaraja fled and was drowned in the Kaveri, Krishna made the conquered territory into a province with Srirangapatna as its capital and appointed Saluva Govindaraja as Governor with three local chieftains to assist him.

The eastern campaign of Krishnadevaraya against the Gajapati power of Orissa was a seven years' affair (1512-19 A.D.). Krishna's aim was to recover the two provinces of Vijayanagara, namely, Udayagiri and Kondavidu, which his predecessors failed to recover from Orissa. It is curious to note that while the Vijayanagara sources describe the defeats and losses suffered by Prataparudra Gajapati at the hands of Krishna, almost all the sources from Orissa are silent about this. Krishna's Kalinga expedition falls into five definite stages.

a) The expedition began with an attack on the impregnable fort of Udayagiri in the month of January 1513 A.D. According to Nuniz, Krishna laid siege to this fort 'for a year and a half. The fort was under the command of Tirumala Rautaraya, a paternal uncle of the Gajapati king. Stubborn resistance was offered to the assaults of the Raya's forces. The Raya's generals, even after great exertion, failed to achieve anything. Then Krishna took up the lead in person. He widened the narrow path and erected a wall of circumvallation around it. He defeated Prataparudra who came to defend the fort and pursued his army as far as Kondavidu. He captured the Udayagiri fortress finally on 9th June, 1514 A.D. Rautaraya was taken captive. The event was celebrated on a grand scale and Krishnadevaraya visited Tirumala and paid homage to Lord Venkatesvara. After the fall of Udayagiri, he reduced Kandukuru also and appointed Rayasam Kondamarusayya as his regent at Udayagiri. At the capital he built a new shrine and installed the Balakrishna image brought from Udayagiri.

b) With the object of reducing the Kondavidu fortress, the headquarters of the southern viceroyalty under the Gajapatis.

Krishnadevaraya once again marched against the king of Orissa. On the way to Kondavidu, he reduced some of the forts including Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunakonda, Tangeda and Ketavaram sometime between February and June 1515 A.D. Simultaneously, Kondavidu was laid siege, The Gajapati ruler was obliged to divide his forces and send them to defend the different forts and with the remaining forces when he attacked the Raya in open battle, he was defeated.

Krishna then blockaded the Kondavidu fort which was defended by a powerful garrison under prince Virabhadra, son of Prataparudra Gajapati. According to an inscription at Aho-balam, "he surrounded the fort with his army, having erected movable wooden platforms (nadachapparams) to enable his soldiers to stand on a level with the defenders and demolish the walls; he scaled them on all sides and captured the fort". Prince Virabhadra was taken prisoner along with many others. The fort fell on 23rd June, 1515 A.D. Krishna entrusted its administration to Saluva Timmarasa. He then conquered the coastal region upto the river Krishna. He offered worship at Amaravati.

c) The third satge in Krishna's Kalinga campaign began with the siege of Bezwada. After capturing it, the Raya made it an advance base for further operations. Then he proceeded to Kondapalli, a strong and well-defended fort with very high walls, situated a few miles away to the north-east of Bezwada. He besieged the fort and the army sent to relieve it by Prataparudra was thoroughly defeated. After a siege of two months, Kondapalli was taken and the Gajapati commander Praharesvara Patra and other chieftains were made prisoners and sent to the imperial capital. According to Nuniz, a wife of the King of Oriya was also included among the prisoners.

d) "Till he conquered Kondavidu, Krishnaraya was bent upon driving the Gajapati from the region to the south of the Krishna. Subsequent to the fall of this fort, there appears a change in the policy adopted by the Vijayanagara monarch towards the Gajapati. It was not the greed for territory that was behind

Krishnadevaraya's campaigns in the distant regions of Potnuru Simhadri and further north but his determination to weaken the Gajapati so that there might not be any more danger to Vijayanagara Kingdom from that quarter".

With this objective Krishnadevaraya crossed the Krishna and after capturing Bezwada and Kondapalli proceeded to conquer Telangana and Vengi both of which formed part of the Gajapati kingdom. He took in a 'single assault' Anantagiri, Undrakonda, Utlagonda, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kandikonda, Kappalavayi, Nalagonda, Kambhammettu, Kanakagiri, Sankaragin and other fortresses. He reduced Rajahmundry and finally arrived at Potnuru Simhadri. With the help of his minister Timmarasa, who by adopting 'bheda' brought about a split between the Gajapati king and his subordinate Patras and made the enemy flee from the field, Krishna won victory. He set up a pillar of victory and made rich presents in company of his wives to God Simhadrinatha on 29th March, 1516 A.D. Then he returned to Vijayanagar leaving his army behind.

While at Vijayanagara, the Raya who had love for martial exercises including duel-fencings, arranged for the sword-fencing. According to Nuniz prince Virabhadra Gajapati, who was taken captive at Kondavidu, was invited to fence since he was famous as a dexterous swordsman. But Virabhadra, with the misunderstanding that his opponent was not of royal blood but a man of humble birth, felt offended and put an end to himself.

e) The Gajapati ruler, burning with rage and sorrow for the death of his son at the Vijayanagara court, continued hostilities with Vijayanagara. Since he did not come to terms with Krishna, the latter resolved on the Cuttack expedition. The inscriptions and the contemporary Telugu literary works like 'Manucharitra' and 'Amuktamatyada' refer to the invasion of the Raya and the devastation of the country of the Matsya chiefs of Oddadi and the burning of the capital town Kataka (Cuttack) thus sufficiently humiliating the Gajapati to sue for peace.



"Successive disasters in all battles against the Raya, the death of his son, the captivity of his wife and the burning of his capital, all these must have compelled Prataparudra to sue for peace and save the country from further devastation". Since Krishnadevaraya's object was to secure permanent peace in the eastern frontier, in the peace treaty that was concluded in August, 1519 A.D., he gave back all the territories to the north of Krishna to the Gajapati ruler. The latter gave his daughter Bhadra (or Tukka) in marriage to the former. Thus ended one of the most brilliant episodes in the military history of India, in the 16th century.'

After subduing Orissa, Krishnadevaraya had to fight with the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur. Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda was ambitious and wanted to make himself the master of the Telugu country. Taking advantage of the defeat and discomfiture of the Gajapati king, he occupied the Telangana districts and the coastal areas between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. Then he crossed the Krishna and besieged Kondavidu. Strong contingents of Vijayanagara under Timmarasa marched against the enemy and successfully repulsed the Golkonda forces.

While Krishnadevaraya was busy with his Orissa war, Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur recaptured Raichur. The Raya, therefore, made a campaign in 1520 A.D. for the recovery of Raichur. Nuniz gives an elaborate account of this war. With a large army the Raya marched into the Doab. The decisive battle was fought on 19th May, 1520 A.D. and Ismail's camp was seized and he himself barely escaped with his life. The fort of Raichur was taken. Afterwards the Raya conducted a raid into Bijapur and his troops occupied the city for sometime. Then he marched on to Gulbarga and razed its fortress to the ground. Here he liberated the sons of Mahmud Shah Bahmani and made the eldest of them the Sultan. But this attempt of the Raya to revive the Bahmani Sultanate only served to irritate the five Deccan Sultans

Thus with all these series of victories, Krishnadevaraya humbled the pride of his foes and extended the limits of his

empire. The Vijayanagara empire under him was in shape a triangle with its apex at Cape Comorin comprising the whole territory south of the river Krishna, Travancore and Malabar besides other regions being subordinate states.

As regards Krishnadevaraya's relations with the Portuguese, he tried to maintain friendly relations with them. But he never lent support to their political designs. By the time Krishna ascended the throne, they already established their supremacy over the Indian Ocean. With their command of the sea, the monopoly of the west-coast trade, especially in horses, passed into their hands from the Arab merchants and Muslim traders. They used the supply of horses as a powerful weapon in their diplomatic dealings with the native powers. The Raya was also anxious to secure horses. Albuquerque, the Portuguese governor, in 1510 A.D. offered help to Krishnadevaraya at the start of his war with the Muslims and requested, in return, the Raya's help against his enemy, the Zamorin of Calicut. He further promised to supply the Arab and Persian horses to Vijayanagara only, and not send them to Bijapur. The Raya agreed to the Portuguese request only when it was made at a second time and only after the Portuguese captured Goa from Bijapur at the end of 1510 A.D. The Raya also agreed to the Portuguese request to erect a fort at Bhatkal. In his capture of Raichur in 1520 A.D. from the Bijapur Sultan, the Raya received valuable assistance from the Portuguese musketeers. In the engineering field also, he sought the services of the Portuguese. It was during the reign of Krishnadevaraya, there was large inflow of the Portuguese travellers, merchants and adventurers, flocking to the city of Vijayanagara.

Nuniz says that Krishna made his six-year old son Tirumaiaraya as the king (Yuvaraja) in 1524 A.D. At the end of the coronation festivities, the son took ill and died under suspicious conditions. Saluva Timmarasa and his sons were suspected of poisoning the prince and were thrown into prison. Three years later, a son of Timmarasa escaped from the prison and raised the standard of revolt. He was captured with great difficulty and the eyes of the rebel, his brother and their father

Timmarasa were put out. The Raya, then, nominated his half-brother Achyutaraya to be his successor.

In the meantime, in 1526 A.D. when Nagama Nayaka, a trusted lieutenant of the Raya, who went to south to put down the aggression of a vassal, occupied Madurai and became in-subordinate to the Raya, However, he was brought to his senses by his own son Visvanatha Nayaka. Thereby Visvanatha was appointed viceroy of the south.

During the last days of Krishnadevaraya, Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur again made a futile attempt to recover Raichur. The Raya wanted to teach him a lesson. But while he was preparing for an attack on Belgaum, he fell seriously ill and died in 1529 A.D.

'Pre-eminent as a warrior, Krishnadevaraya was equally great as statesman.' His uniform success against all his enemies was largely due to his capacity for his organisation and skilful generalship. 'He showed amazing resourcefulness in overcoming obstacles besetting his path.' His equanimity of mind and extra-ordinary courage even in the face gravest danger is praiseworthy. N. Venkataramanayya writes, "But even more than his personal bravery, or his skilled management of troops, what enabled him to overthrow hostile forces was his devotion and attachment of his soldiers to his person. Krishnadevaraya was accustomed, after the conclusion of every battle, to go to the battlefield, looking for the wounded; he would pick them up and make arrangements for their medical help and other conveniences needed for their recovery-Those that specially distinguished themselves in the fight were placed directly under his supervision so that he might bestow particular attention on them and help them regain their health as quickly as possible. The care with which Krishnadevaraya nourished the wounded soldiers and warriors did not go unrewarded. It won him the affection of the rank and file of the army. The soldiers as well as officers were prepared to throw themselves into the jaws of death in executing his commands."

The Raya, as a practical politician and administrator, brought in changes in Vijayanagara polity. His ideas are contained in his own composition 'Amuktamalyada' in Telugu. The work contains every aspect of royal duties, the mode of appointing ministers, controlling the frontier tribes, conducting an assembly, treatment of the vanquished ruler, administration of justice and foreign policy. The Raya paid greater attention to the civil administration of his empire. He checked the mal-administration of the provincial governors and the inefficiency and negligence of the other officials as well. He redressed the grievances of ryots and punished the evil-doers. He used to conduct tours of inspection in various parts of his empire. He improved the facilities of communication.

Krishnadevaraya 'could set himself to investigate the rates and taxes which proved oppressive, and abolished some of them which were regarded as such'. He took keen interest in constructing irrigation tanks and in digging canals to provide water for agricultural operations. With the help of a Portuguese engineer, he constructed in 1522 A.D. the great dam and channel at Korragal and the Basavanna channel, both of which are still in use. He dammed up the lake at the capital and used it for the supply of water to the new township 'Nagalapura'.

With regard to his religious policy, though he was a staunch Vaishnavite, he was devoted to Siva and patronised the Saivites, Madhvas and Jains. Among the 'Diggajas' whom he patronised in his court, three were Saivites and Peddana was an Advaitin. Virupaksha was still regarded as the god of the city and the empire. The Vittobha cult of the southern Maratha country also gained some prominence in Vijayanagara. According to Peddana, the Raya's favourite deity was Lord Venkatesvara of Tirupati. He seems to have visited Tirupati as many as seven times and endowed the shrine richly. His grand religious trip to the shrines of the south, remittance of taxes, construction of many Rayagopurams and thousand pillared halls at different places highly speak of his religious devotion and patronage of art.

The Raya was a munificent patron of arts and letters. As a great patron of men of letters, he was known as the 'Andhra-Bhoja'. His extension of patronage to the writers in all languages—Sanskrit as well as the South Indian vernaculars—was well known. He was himself a scholar both in Sanskrit and Telugu. 'Jambavati Kalyanam' and 'Ushaparinayam', the two Sanskrit dramas are the only extant works of the emperor in Sanskrit. Lakshmidhara, Lakshminarayana and Nadendla Gopa produced their works in Sanskrit. Vyasaraya, the preceptor of the king, wrote his works on dvaita philosophy and logic in Sanskrit. The Kannada poet Timmana completed the Kannada Mahabharata of Kumara Vyasa. The Tamil poets Haridasa, Kumara Saraswati and Jnanaprasa also flourished during this period.

The Raya had his contribution much to the development of Telugu literature. His own work 'Amuktamalyada' easily ranks with the greatest of the Telugu Prabandhas. His court 'Bhuvanavijayam' was adorned with the eminent Telugu poets called 'the Ashtadiggajas' (the elephants supporting the eight cardinal points of the Telugu literary world). Allasani Peddana was the poet-laureate. Apart from Peddana, Dhurjati, Mallana, Surana, Timmana and others produced their outstanding works in the Vijayanagara court.

Krishnadevara's constructions of new townships (Nagalapura etc.), shrines (Krishnaswami, Hazararama and Vitthala temples at Hampi), Rayagopurams and thousand pillared halls, enormous statues of Ganapathi and Ugra-Narasimha and the various structures in the Palace-complex stand as a testimony to his keen interest in art, architecture, music, dance and other cultural pursuits.

ACHYUTARAYA (1529-42 A.D.)

In spite of nomination of Achyutadevaraya to the throne by Krishnadevaraya, after the latter's death, the nomination was challenged by Ramaraya, who sponsored the claim of his infant brother-in-law, ostensibly with the idea of seizing power

in the name of the infant. But Achyuta's brothers-in-law, the Salakaraju brothers helped by Satuva Vira Narasimha foiled his designs and kept the throne vacant till Achyuta could come up from Chandragiri after his release. Finally Achyuta made up his dispute with Ramaraya by giving him a share in the government and ascended the throne.

Prataparudra Gajapati and Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur renewed their attacks on Vijayanagara in the hope of recovering what they had lost during the previous reign at Vijayanagara. This happened early in the reign of Achyutaraya. The Gajapati ruler was defeated and driven back. But Ismail invaded and conquered the Raichur doab. Achyuta had to leave the Adil Shah alone for the time being as he was confronted with the formidable rebellion led by his minister, Sellappa alias Saluva Vira Narasimha Nayaka, who had the support of the chieftains of Ummattur and Tiruvadiraaja (Travancore).

Achyutaraya marched against the rebels, resolved to stay at Srirangam and entrusted the campaign to his brother-in-law Salakaraju China Tirumala. The Vijayanagara forces had a victorious march upto the banks of the Tambraparani river. There they set up a pillar of victory. The Pandhyan ruler of Tenkasi was restored to his kingdom. The Travancore ruler was forced to pay tribute and Sellappa was pardoned. By 1532 A.D. the entire south was brought back to allegiance.

In 1534 A.D. the dispute between Mallu and Ibrahim for the throne of Bijapur following the death of their father Ismail Adil Shah, encouraged Achyuta to make an attempt for the recovery of the Raichur doab. According to 'Achyutaraya-abhyudayam' and the accounts of Barros and Nuniz, Achyuta reestablished his hold over Raichur and Mudgal. An inscription dated 1534-1535 A.D. also confirms this.

During the later half of his reign, Achyuta was domineered over by his brothers-in-law. Ramaraya led the opposition to the de facto rule of the tyrannical Salakaraju brothers. He and his brothers advanced the claims of Sadasiva (who was the

son of Achyuta's brother Ranga) as the infant son of Krishna-devaraya died about 1533 A.D. Taking advantage of this confused political condition at Vijayanagara, Ibrahim I of Bijapur marched upon Vijayanagara and razed Nagalpura, a suburb of the city, to the ground. On the advice of his brothers-in-law, Achyuta refrained from offering resistance to the invader. Ibrahim got Raichur and large sums of money.

Ramaraya's opposition to the de facto regime of the Salakaraju brothers did not produce any immediate result. The moral tone of the administration deteriorated further. An atmosphere of selfishness and brutality prevailed. The imperial hold over the southern provinces became lax and Madura, Tanjore and other places began to dominate politics in the south. About the same period the Portuguese established themselves on the coast in and around Tuticorin. It was feared that the empire would crumble at any moment. Achyuta died in 1542 A.D. amidst those precarious conditions.

Achyuta was an ardent Vaishnavite and made donations very generously to the temples and Brahmins. He was also a liberal patron of art and letters. His court poet Rajanatha Dindima wrote 'Achyutarayabhyudayam' in Sanskrit, Achyuta's queen, Tirumalamba wrote 'Varadubika-parinaya' on the king's marriage with queen Varadamba. The famous Purandhara Dasa visited Vijayanagara in the reign of Achyuta. The famous Lepakshi temple, containing some specimens of late Vijayanagara paintings, was a construction of this period.

It was during the reign of Achyutaraya that Fernao Nuniz, a Portuguese horse trader and chronicler, visited Vijayanagara. He stayed in the city during 1534-37 A.D. He was the first among the travellers to evince keen interest in the early history of Vijayanagara and he recorded the history on the basis of the traditions current at that time. Of the 23 chapters of his chronicle, the last five chapters deal with the contemporary social condition of Vijayanagara and the rule of Achyutaraya.

Nuniz gives a low estimate of Achyutaraya. He says, "After ascending the throne, he gave himself over to vice and tyranny". "He is a man of very little honesty...." "....he has never done anything that is not desired by his two brothers-in-law". Nuniz also describes Achyuta's tyrannical activities and he concludes his account by declaring that Achyutaraya was very negligent of the things which most concerned the welfare of his kingdom and state. As K.A.N. Sastri observes this harsh judgement on Achyuta by the traveller might be due to the Raya's blunder in relaxing his personal hold on the administration which fell under the control of his two brothers-in-law.

THE ASCENDANCY OF RAMARAYA (1543-65 A.D.)

Achyutaraya was succeeded by his infant son Venkata I. The infant Raya's maternal uncle, the younger Salakaraju became regent in spite of the opposition of Ramaraya and his brothers. The queen-mother, Varadambika suspected her brother's intentions and to free her son from the clutches of her unscrupulous brother, she sought the help of the Sultan of Bijapur. But the regent bribed the Sultan when he was marching to Vijayanagara. As a counter move, Ramaraya freed Sadasiva, the nephew of Achyuta, from the Gutti prison, proclaimed him emperor and sought the Bijapur Sultan's help against Salakaraju Tirumala. At this juncture, Tirumala assassinated Venkata I and other members of the royal family and declared himself ruler. From then onwards Salakaraju Tirumala's tyranny became unbearable. He indulged in the most atrocious cruelties. He invited Ibrahim Ad/1 Shah I of Bijapur to his rescue against the machinations of Ramaraya. He even seated the Sultan on the throne of Vijayanagara.

The patriots could not bear this humiliation and many of them now rallied round Ramaraya to retrieve the honour of their land. They played a trick on Salakaraju Tirumala, promising submission and loyalty for ever provided the Sultan was sent away. The plighted word was believed by Tirumala and he sent away the Sultan after paying him huge compensation. Soon after the Sultan's departure from Vijayanagara, Ramaraya

and his supporters marched on Vijayanagara, defeated and caught the usurper and beheaded him on the spot. Ramaraya, with the consent of all parties, raised Sadasiva to the throne of Vijayanagara and himself became the Regent in 1543 A.D.

Ramaraya was the great-grandson of Araviti Bukka, an officer of Saluva Narasimha. Since these people originally hailed from Aravidu in the Kurnool district, the family came to be known as the Aravidu family. Ramaraya's two surviving brothers were Tirumala and Venkatadri. According to an anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, it was in the kingdom of Golkonda in the service of Quil Qutb Shah, Ramaraya rose to importance for sometime. The Sultan rewarded him suitably for conquering some of the outlying provinces of the Vijayanagara empire. He gave him Jagir of Mast-Sonti and placed him in charge of the conquered areas. Three years later, when Ramaraya was defeated in one of the Bijapur-Golkonda wars, he was dismissed from service. During this short period of service at Golkonda, he gained first hand knowledge about the politics of Golkonda and acquired many Muslim and Hindu friends.

Later, Ramaraya entered the service of Krishnadevaraya. He pleased him by his talents and married his daughter. His brother Tirumalaraya married another daughter of Krishnadevaraya. The Portuguese writer Couto says that Ramaraya was a great general in Krishnadeva's army and was the governor in Badaghas and Teligas. According to 'Ramarajiyamu', he had also been 'Kalyanapuravaradhisvara' (Kalyandurg in Anantapur district). After Sadasiva's enthronement, he became "the Agent for Affairs". His brothers Tirumala and Venkatadri became minister and general respectively.

Inscriptions of the period show that Sadasiva was recognised by everyone as the real sovereign, but was only nominally. The whole power was in the hands of Ramaraya and his brothers. Being the son-in-law of the great king Krishnadevaraya, he was popular as 'Aliya' (son-in-law) Ramaraya. He was also called 'Kodanda Rama'. One notices three

definite stages in his ascendancy. In the first stage from 1543 A.D. to 1549-50 A.D., he was nothing but the Regent on behalf of the king. He showed respect to the king, who mostly resided at the capital, and carried on administration as 'the Agent for Affairs' of Sadasiva's empire. In the second stage, in 1550 A.D. he imprisoned Sadasiva in a strongly fortified tower with iron doors surrounded by sentries; but treated him as King, showing to the public only once a year. During this stage, which lasted almost upto 1563 A.D. inscriptions put the power of Ramaraya on equality with that of Sadasiva. It was during this period, Ramaraya strengthened his position by elevating his relatives to high offices. In the third stage, from sometime in 1563 A.D. he stopped the annual ceremony of exhibiting the emperor to his subjects. He assumed imperial titles and issued pagodas (gold coins) in his name. But there is no evidence of his coronation as emperor. Cauto writes that the Aravidu brothers used to go once a year to Sadasiva's prison like palace in order to do homage to him as their sovereign.

Ramaraya's enemies in the land to the south of Chandragiri could not bear his ascendancy and made attempts to defy his authority. Ramaraya had to send **expeditions to Travancore and the Fishery Coast** in the south between the years 1543 A.D. and 1558 A.D. to subdue the defiant and aggressive activities of those rebels. He put down all the centrifugal forces with a stern hand and his cousin, Vitthala restored the central authority over Travancore and the Fishery coast. Visvanatha Nayaka and his son Krishnappa I of Madura tent support to Vitthala in his endeavour.

"**With the Portuguese Ramaraya's relations** were by no means always friendly." After the advent of Martin Alfonso de Sousa as Governor of Goa in 1542 A.D., the Portuguese attitude towards Vijayanagara changed to the worse. He attacked and plundered the port of Bhatkal. He organised a plundering raid on Kanchi. In 1544 A.D., Martin made a plan to rob the temple of Tirupati. It was not executed due to the vigilance of the imperial authority. But in 1547 A.D., the

friendship between The Portuguese and the Vijayanagara was renewed by a treaty, especially when Castro succeeded Martin as governor. By this treaty, Vijayanagara secured the monopoly of the horse trade with the Portuguese. But in 1558 A.D., the Regent marched to the Portuguese settlement at St. Thome (Mylapore) to plunder it as he got complaints of the destruction of several temples on the coast down to Nagapattinam by the Christian Portuguese missionaries. This expedition did not effect the relations of Vijayanagara with the Portuguese Viceroy. But it is not clear that what steps were taken by Vijayanagara to afford protection to its vassals and subjects from their forcible conversions into Christianity carried on by the Portuguese missionaries.

RAMARAYA'S FOREIGN POLICY

(Relations with the Deccan Sultans) AND

THE BATTLE OF KRISHIMABANNIHATTI (1565 A.D.)

Ramaraya was an ambitious master politician, well versed in power politics. It appears that he subscribed to the view that 'the end justifies means'. This was the principle that governed his foreign policy. His clever, cunning and diplomatic foreign policy was aimed at making Vijayanagara supreme, safeguarding the interests of the empire at any cost and placing himself at the helm of affairs. Ramaraya was determined to restore the power of the Vijayanagara empire to what it was during the days of Krishnadevaraya. This led him to interfere in the inter-state politics of the neighbouring Deccan Sultanates. Mutual jealousy, rivalry and old family feuds that appeared among the Deccan Sultans were exploited by Ramaraya to the advantage of Vijayanagara, The Deccan States "among themselves cherished the ambitions of their own,—and these showed themselves in various degrees of activity according to the circumstances of the moment. They often fought with each other for aggrandisement and sought the assistance of the neighbouring Hindu ruler". Ramaraya availed himself of this advantage and supported one party or the other according to the exigencies of the time. He was not desirous of territorial expansion in the northern or the eastern direction of his

empire. His objective was to maintain balance of power in Deccan. This was evident from the fact that he was every day to go to the help of the victim of aggression. He firmly believed that the safety and security of Vijayanagar lay in the rivalries of the Deccan Sultanates. This was nothing but a shrewd diplomacy of the modern type. As a part of this, he always tried to keep his opponents divided so as to weaken their power. This policy of 'divide and rule' and himself diplomatically assuming the role of an arbitrator paid rich dividends. His insight into the Muslim politics while in service under the Sultan of Golkonda came to his help. For twenty-three years, he successively made war against the Deccan Sultans and in all but the test, he was victorious.

In 1543 A.D., Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, in alliance with Ramaraya and Qutb Shah of Golkonda, attacked Bijapur. Ramaraya's brother Venkatadri proceeded to reduce the Raichur doab. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was able to detach Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar from the alliance through his general Asad Khan's well-tryed elderly statesmanship. Then Asad marched on Golkonda, defeated the Qutb Shah and wounded him.

In the following year, at the instigation of Ramaraya, Burhan again attacked Bijapur, but was completely defeated. Four years later, Burhan, with the assistance of Ramaraya, captured the fort Kalyani from Bidar and the fort remained in Burhan's possession till his death in 1553 A.D.

In 1549 A.D., when an alliance was formed between the Sultans of Bijapur and Bidar, Burhan sought the alliance of Ramaraya. In the war that ensued, the Vijayanagara forces captured the Raichur doab once again.

In 1557 A.D., Hussain Nizam Shah, the son and successor of Burhan of Ahmadnagar, in alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda, attacked Bijapur and laid siege to Gulbarga. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur sought the help of Vijayanagara. Ramaraya marched in person at the head of a big army. But

he felt anxious to avoid bloodshed. He brought about a meeting of all the parties and this resulted in the treaty of 'collective Security' by which if any one of the contending parties became a victim of an unjust attack, the others were to join him against the aggressor. Thus Ramaraya played the part of an 'honest broker.'

When Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur died, his young son All Adil Shah renewed his father's alliance with Ramaraya by entering into a new treaty. In 1560 A.D., when Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar broke the four kings' peace of 1557 A.D. and attacked Bijapur, Ramaraya took an active part in the league organised by Ali Adil Shah I against Ahmadnagar. The allied army captured Kalyani and later on defeated the Nizam Shah in the battle of Jamkhed. Finally Hussain concluded peace by ceding Kalyani to Ali Adil Shah. According to *Ferishta*, in this invasion, the Hindu soldiers committed horrible atrocities in Ahmadnagar. The country was laid waste. The honour of Muslim women was insulted. Mosques were destroyed and even the sacred Koran was not respected. The victorious army invaded and devastated Bidar as well.

Immediately after the allies left, Hussain allied himself with Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda and laid siege to Kalyani. But Ramaraya and Ali Adil Shah forced him to retreat from Kalyani. While the Bijapur army chased the Golkonda troops, Ramaraya pursued the Nizam Shah. Ahmadnagar was besieged a second time, but owing to floods in the adjacent river, could not succeed. In this second invasion of Admadnagar, *Fensta* states, "The Hindus of Vijayanagar committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in mosques and performing their idolatrous worship in holy places". Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda, who was beaten back from Kalyani, attacked Kondavidu to divert Ramaraya's attention from Golkonda, but with no success. He surrendered Kovilkonda, Ganpura and Panugal forts in 1563 A.O.

Ferishta observes, "Ramaraya also, at the conclusion of this expedition, looking on the Islam Sultans as of little consequence, refused proper honours to their ambassadors. Then

he did not offer them seats and treated them with most contemptuous reserve and haughtiness. He made in public in his train on foot not allowing them to mount till he gave orders. On return from the test expedition the officers and soldiers of his army in general treated the Muslims with insolence, scoffing and contemptuous language."

Endorsing these observations of Ferishta, most of the scholars opine that the series of the military and diplomatic victories of Ramaraya over the Deccan Sultans made him arrogant and that it was his insolent behaviour that brought the Deccan Sultans together against Vijayanagara. They hold Ramaraya solely responsible for the battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi (1565 A.D.). He is considered the villain of the tragic drama.

Robert Sewell goes a step forward and observes that the character of Krishnadevaraya after his victory in the battle of Raichur (1520 A.D.) led to the confederacy of the Muslim Sultans to crush the Vijayanagara empire. After the Sultan of Bijapur was worsted in that battle and sued for peace, the Raya demanded that the Sultan should visit him and kiss his foot. This hardened the attitude of the Sultans towards Vijayanagara. Sewell writes, "The Hindu victory so weakened the power and prestige of Adil Shah that he ceased altogether to dream of any present conquest in the south, and turn his attention to cementing alliances with the Muhammadan sovereigns, his neighbours. The victory also caused all the other Muhammadan powers in the Deccan seriously to consider the political condition of the country; and this eventually led to a combination without which nothing was possible, but by the aid of which the Vijayanagara Empire was finally overthrown and the way to the south opened. It further more greatly effected the Hindus by raising in them a spirit of pride and arrogance, which added fuel to the fire, caused them to become positively intolerable to their neighbours, and accelerated their own downfall."

However this charge cannot be taken as serious because it was the confirmed policy of the Bahmani Sultans to humiliate

the Vijayanagara rulers by waging constant wars and taking them as Jihads. Whether it was Krishnadevaraya or Ramaraya, they had done only that which the Bahmani Sultans and their successors had followed. The victor becoming somewhat haughty and arrogant towards the vanquished, and the victorious army, whether it was Hindu or Muslim, ransacking and plundering and devastating the enemy's country and committing excesses were nothing but common during those days.

However, the point that Ramaraya insulted Islam cannot be accepted. It was the legacy and heritage of the Vijayanagara's past from the days of the Sangamas which Ramaraya inherited and followed. Large number of Muslims were recruited into the Vijayanagara army. They were given complete religious freedom. Ramaraya built a mosque for them, treated them generously and even assigned a special quarter of the city, Turkavada, for them. As a matter of fact, both Ramaraya and his wife treated Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur as their adopted son. Hence there is no substance in the argument that he showed disrespect to Islam.

Then what were the factors that prompted the formation of the confederacy by the Deccan Sultans against Vijayanagara? The existence of the Vijayanagara kingdom was found to be irksome from the beginning to the Muslims. As long as there was one Bahmani kingdom, the power of Vijayanagara was contained within certain limits and there was no fear of its expansion at the cost of the Muslims. But when the kingdom itself broke into five independent Sultanates, the Muslim power weakened much, thus making united resistance to Vijayanagara a difficult task. It was this element that was exploited by Krishnadevaraya and for the first time he humbled the pride of the Muslims. Ramaraya went a step ahead. He established his mastery over them and even made them prostrate before him. In the course of the inter-state struggle, the Deccan Sultanates grew weaker and weaker and their counterpart Vijayanagara grew stronger. By the close of 1564 A.D. The Deccan Sultans realised that they were fighting among themselves to the advantage of Vijayanagara. They formed a strong confederacy.

As the authors of the 'Further sources of Vijayanagara History' observes, "the real cause (for the formation of the confederacy) was the fear engendered in the mind of the Deccan Sultans by the rapid growth of Ramaraya's power. Taking advantage of the frequent quarrels which engrossed their attention, he not only recovered the territory which they had seized during his struggle with Achyuta and Tirumala (Salakaraju), but succeeded in establishing his hegemony over them. Ramaraya's supremacy was most galling to the Muslim rulers. His great power coupled with their individual helplessness against him had driven them to resort to combined action. This was the real cause for the confederacy which brought about Ramaraya's downfall".

In the strong league that was organised for the overthrow of Vijayanagara, Berar was not a partner. According to Basatin-us-Salatin, it was because of her deep-rooted hatred towards Ahmadnagar, Berar did not join the coalition. The contemporary chroniclers say that Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda took the leading part in the formation of the confederacy, because they alone had suffered most. In order to cement their political alliance, Ali Adil Shah married Chand Bibi, the daughter of Hussain Nizam Shah, Hussain's eldest son married one of the sisters of AM Adil Shah. There was probably a third marriage alliance between Ahmadnagar and Golkonda. Sholapur which was the bone of contention between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur was ceded to Hussain by Ali. Complete war preparations were made. An easy excuse for the war was found when Ramaraya refused to return the Raichur doab. Consequently, the confederate forces reached and encamped at Tallikota about 30 Kilometres north of the Krishna and after negotiations for 33 days the rival forces began the battle on the banks of the river Krishna.

The controversial name of the battle itself calls for discussion. It is a misnomer to call it 'the battle of Tallikota'. Tallikota was the place where the Muslim forces numbering 50,000 cavalry, 3,00,000 infantry along with 6,000 Maratha

horsemen besides some elephants and a few hundreds of canons encamped and where the allies were entertained by All Adil Shah with great splendour. It is on account of this, though the battle was not fought at that place, the name of Tallikota assumed much importance. The Hindu accounts unanimously refer to the battle as 'the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi' since it was on the plains between these two villages to the south of the river Krishna, the battle was fought. But this name also is a misnomer. The Vijayanagara forces, numbering 70,000 cavalry and 90,000 infantry besides elephants and artillery (the actual number swelled into lakhs with the reinforcements coming from the south at the time of actual battling), encamped near these two villages. The actual battle was fought on the open grounds of Bannihatti village on the sangam of Maski and Hukeri on the southern bank of the river Krishna. Hence it would be appropriate if the battle is called 'the battle of Krishna-Bannihatti.'

Even with regard to the duration of the war, the Muslim accounts say that it was a very short affair, that the fierce engagement took place on 23rd January, 1565 A.D. and that the battle lasted for a few hours, less than four hours. Taking into consideration the extent, resources, man-power and past military record, it is inconceivable to conclude that the fate of Vijayanagara was decided in the four hours' engagement. How could the Deccan Sultans, who severally and conjointly suffered repeated reverses on previous occasions, overthrow the indomitable Ramaraya in less than four hours' fight? The Hindu accounts seem to be right since they say that the war lasted for more than six months and one battle with intense fury was fought for twentyseven days continuously.

Anyway Ramaraya, even at a ripe old age (according to Ferishta, he was seventy years old, and according to the Portuguese writers Couto and Fairy Sousa, he was ninety-six years old), along with his brothers faced the situation with great confidence. In one of the engagements, they practically defeated the confederates and compelled them to beat a retreat. To dupe the Hindu army, the allies had a cunning

stratagem. They gave out the impression that they would like to come to terms with Ramaraya and seemed to start negotiations. In the meantime, they recouped their strength. More important than this is that they opened secret communication with the Muslim officers in the army of Ramaraya and a secret understanding was arrived at with them.

In the end the allies made a treacherous night attack upon the Vijayanagara camp. In spite of this and irrespective of his age, Ramaraya directed the operations in person. But at the crucial moment, the two Muslim commanders of the Vijayanagara army, each in charge of a large contingent, deserted to the enemy side. Neither Ferishia nor Ali Ibn Aziz referred to this treason. However Ceaser Frederick, who visited Vijayanagara shortly after the war, and later Perron also referred to this fact of treason by the two Muslim generals of the Vijayanagara army. Frederick says, "when the armies were joined, the battle lasted but a while, not the space of four hours, because the traitorous captains, in the thick of the battle, turned their face against their king and made such a disorder in his army that they were bewildered." The artillery of the allies under Chalabi Rumikhan of Asia Minor also played havoc. Ramaraya was captured in the midst of confusion and Hussain, with great vengeance, put him to death instantaneously, in that panic and confusion, the Vijayanagara army took to flight. 'So great was the confusion that there was no attempt to give battle'. Venkatadri died. Tirumala who lost an eye in the contest hastily withdrew to Vijayanagara and left it with the king and others, carrying away as much treasure as possible first for Penugonda and then to Tirupati. The camp of the Vijayanagara army was plundered. As Ferishta observes, "The plunder was so great that every private man with in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses and slaves, as the Sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking elephants for their own use."

The left-outs in the defenceless Vijayanagara city became a prey to the robber and jungle tribes of the neighbourhood. Then the victorious Muslims entered the city. The armies

of the Sultans stayed in Vijayanagara for about five months footing and plundering everything that they came across. Sewell writes, "They slaughtered the people without mercy, broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls nothing now remains...They demolished the statues...Nothing seemed to escape them...with fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought, so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full of plentitude, of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amidst scenes of savage massacre and horrors begging description."

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya remarks, "The battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi was the Waterloo of the Vijayanagara history. Though Vijayanagara empire flourished for nearly another century with the fall of Ramaraya on the field of Rakshasi-Tangadr in 1565, its glory began to wane and it ceased to be the dominant power in the deccan and the Rayas never attempted once again to recover their lost ground."

However these observations of the scholars, especially of Sewell have been questioned by Fr. Heras and Sathianattaiar. According Fr. Heras, Sewell completely misdescribed the condition of Vijayanagara as caused by the Muslims during their stay there after the battle, completely basing on the Muslim chronicles particularly that of the biased Ferishta. Ferishta's saying that the chief buildings were razed to the ground in an exaggeration, for the simple reason that the chief buildings of the capital like the huge imposing basements both in the royal enclosure and in the zenana, the partly destroyed gopurams of the Vitthala, Krishna, Achyuta temples, the beautiful well-kept tower of the Virupaksha temple and even the two small shrines of Ganesa may be partly seen even now. "His religious prejudice against the idols and the temples of the unbelievers made him suppose things done in the imperial city

of which its invaders were never guilty.' it is true that almost all the idols of worship were broken and several structures of the city were destroyed by the invaders, partly while searching for treasures and partly by order of Hussain Nizam Shah who set on fire a number of houses. Besides, one should not forget that more than four centuries have elapsed since those memorable days and time is as sure a destroyer as man. It was the desertion of the city by the Rayas that gradually ruined the city.

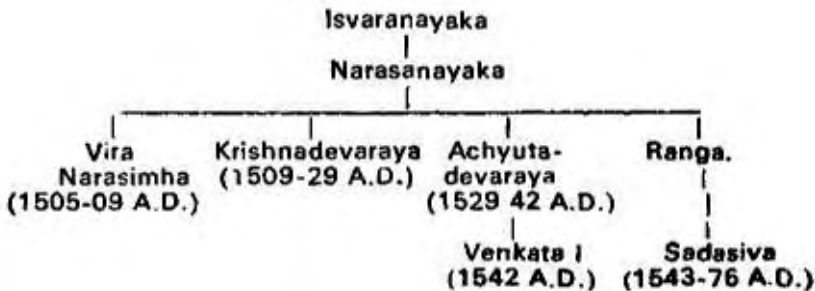
Fr. Heras opines that the Deccan Sultans did not intend to destroy Vijayanagara. This was evident from two aspects—their about five months' long stay within the walls of Vijayanagara, indicating their intention of retaining the city for themselves, and secondly their construction of new structures there like the queen's bath, elephants' stable, the lotus mahal etc. with mortar, marvellously combining both Hindu and Muslim styles. Yet six months after their triumphal arrival, the Sultans left Vijayanagara. "They departed to their own kingdom," Frederick relates, "because they were not able to maintain such a kingdom as that was so far distant from their own country."

Undoubtedly, the battle of Krishna-Bannihatti (1565 A.D.) "did vital damage to the empire, but the empire was still intact and could go on for another century almost with a comparatively brilliant epoch of a generation before it got weakened by the constant invasions from the north, and dismembered by the dissatisfaction and rebellion of the viceroys within. This is the sad tale of the end of Vijayanagara; the actual ending of which is marked by the beginning of the Maratha power in the south". The battle of Bannihatti was no doubt the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric of the Vijayanagara empire. It necessitated the desertion of the imperial capital and resulted in the loss of the Raichur derail. Peace was concluded—Tirumala returned to the capital after the Sultans' departure and tried to repopulate it. His efforts could not succeed. Hence he shifted to Penukonda and ruled as the regent of Sadasiva. It is said that Sadasiva continued to live in the deserted Vijayanagara where he died in 1576 A.D.

The battle of 1565 A.D. had its own direct or indirect impact on the Deccan Sultanates. Since the danger from Vijayanagara was minimised after the battle, the unity forged among the Sultans disappeared and they weakened themselves in their mutual wars and with the result ultimately fell an easy prey to the Mughal aggression from the north-

It is also said that the ruin of the city of Vijayanagara and the shrinkage in the power and prestige of the empire adversely affected the Portuguese trade. Sewell observes, "Goa rose and fell simultaneously with the rise and fall of the Tuluva dynasty." Partly, it may be true. However the Portuguese monopoly of the Indian Ocean remained unbroken till 1595, fifteen years after the fatal union of Portugal and Spain. Subsequently, Philip II of Spain neglected the Portuguese dominions in India and involved Portugal in costly and disastrous European wars. By 1602, the Dutch deprived Portugal of their hold over Spice islands etc.

TULUVA DYNASTY



6. Vijayanagara after the Battle of Bannihatti (1665 A.D.) (Araridu Dynasty)

The defeat of Vijayanagara in the battle of Bannihatti (1565 A.D.) simply reduced the empire's military prestige, economic prosperity and the extent of its territorial jurisdiction. The empire itself did not perish. It continued to linger on for

nearly a century more with ever diminishing territories and languishing revenues. Ramaraya's brother Tirumala carried away much of the wealth to Penugonda before the entry of the victorious Muslim army into the imperial capital.

After the departure of the Muslims from Vijayanagara, Tirumala returned to the city along with the king Sadasiva. His attempts repopulate the city and restore it to its former glory did not yield any fruitful result. Keeping in view the ambitions of the intriguing sons of Ramaraya and the constant threat of further Muslim aggression, he moved back to Penugonda, leaving behind the king, and began to govern the state in the name of Sadasiva, who was a nominal sovereign till 1568-69. There upon he started his independent rule, crowning himself at Penugonda.

In order to strengthen his hold on the southern portions, Tirumalaraya divided the empire into three divisions on linguistic basis and appointed his sons as viceroys over them. As a part of his attempts to revive the glorious traditions of Vijayanagara, he maintained a splendid court at Penugonda which was adorned by the Telugu poet Bhattumurti (Ramarajabhushana), the author of 'Vasucharitra'.

The Vijayanagara empire began to shrink during the reign of his son Sri Ranga I (1572-85). The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda made further inroads into the Vijayanagara territory. However in the reign of Sri Ranga's brother Venkatapati II (1585-1614), the original boundaries of the empire and its prosperity and grandeur, were restored. He was the most powerful ruler of the Aravidu dynasty and his reign may be considered the last flicker of the Vijayanagara empire. He compelled the Sultan of Golkonda to recognise the Krishna as the boundary between the two states. The Bijapur Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah's two invasions were repulsed. Venkatapati II waged incessant struggle against the internal rebels of the empire almost from the beginning of his rule. By force of arms, he brought back to allegiance the Nayaks of Madura, Gingee and Vellore. Probably to exercise a greater control over the vassals

of the south, he transferred his capital to Chandragiri by 1602 A.D. Later, for all practical purposes, Vellore became the capital.

in the later part of his reign, Venkatapatiraya faced two problems arising from the Mughal emperor Akbar's imperialism and the advent of the Dutch traders in the eastern waters. He was prepared to measure swords with the Mughals. When the Mughals crossed the Vindhya, there was considerable diplomatic stir in the south. But with Akbar's death in 1605, there was a sigh of relief. Venkatapatiraya displayed great tact and firmness towards the European traders. He was friendliest with the Portuguese, exchanged embassies with them, gave protection to the Jesuit mission in his empire and even supported them against the Dutch. Yet when required, he did not hesitate to put down the unruly behaviour of the Portuguese at St. Thome. Later he supported the Dutch against the Portuguese to establish settlements at Pulicat-

Venkatapati made sustained efforts to reorganise the Government and increase its economic prosperity. He maintained a brilliant court and rendered patronage to men of arts and letters. Eminent scholars and poets like Tatacharya, Matla Ananta and Tarigoppula Mallana flourished in his court.

Venkatapati's death was a signal for the civil war. His brother's son was to succeed to the throne. But his queen Bayamma, with the support of her brother Jaggaraya of the Gobburi family, put forward the claims of her putative son. In the civil war that ensued, Sriranga's son supported by Velugoti Yachama Nayaka, was successful in getting the throne. But he was soon murdered and his successor Ramadeva could not keep his vassals under check. Exploiting the situation, the Bijapur Sultan made repeated inroads, and subsequently collected tributes from the chieftains of Keladi and Bangalore. The last ruler of the Aravidu family. Sriranga III lost even the capital Vellore and thus was reduced to the position of 'emperor without empire'. He was forced to retire to Balur. With his death in or about 1678, the end of the empire came.

However the Marathas under Shivaji continued the Vijayanagara traditions.

7. General Features of the Vijayanagara Empire

ADMINISTRATION

A tiny state of Vijayanagara which was founded in 1336 A.D. had grown in course of time into a mighty empire. With this expansion, its rulers at the same time recognised the fact that its strength and stability depended to a large extent on sound administration. So they organised an efficient system of administration, introducing changes from time to time depending upon the exigencies of the period. The government is characterised by a strong centre with a scheme of decentralisation.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Commenting on the administrative set up of the Vijayanagara empire, T.V. Mahalingam says, "It is generally said that in medieval Europe, feudalism was a necessity of the times. Similarly, the particular form of government that obtained in Vijayanagara was a necessity of the period. The very fact that, in the Vijayanagara empire there existed side by side with one another various heterogeneous elements, diverse interests and communities necessitated a strong monarchical form of government." It was a hereditary monarchy. But, when times arose, the able and ambitious ministers and generals did not hesitate to remove the incompetent kings, whose policies undermined the stability of the kingdom, and to usurp the throne. Coronation was an important ceremony since it provided legal sanction.

'Amuktamalyada' says that the King was the pivot of the entire administrative machinery and was the most important limb of the body politic. He was the supreme authority in civil, military and judicial affairs. The people of Vijayanagara showed their respect to the kings for their personal bravery, character

and integrity. They did not, at the same time, lag behind to exhibit their dislike towards the weak, cruel and sensuous usurpers and patricides.

The kings had an enlightened conception of their duties and responsibilities as the head of the government. Krishna-devaraya in his 'Amuktamalyada' says, "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards Dharma, the lives of gods like Indra, Varuna. Vaisravana, Vayu and Agni are the results of their actions. The various worlds as Bhuh, Bhuvah and Suvah owe their positions to Dharma". He writes "he should transform the Kali age to Krita age". Protecting the people and redressing their grievances were the primary duties of the king. That is to say dushtanigraha and sishtaparipalana was his most important duty. He was permitted to use danda (force) to discharge properly this function. He must see that the people would adhere to the rules of Vama and Asrama. He considered that to look to the economic prosperity of the people was also his duty. For this, measures were taken to extend agriculture by clearing forests and provide irrigational facilities. Protection and encouragement to foreign merchants were given. Industries like mining were undertaken by the state.

Though the king possessed absolute powers, he was not a tyrant. He was not a law-maker. He had to follow the customs, traditions and public opinion. He had a paternal conception of his duties. Allasani Peddana mentions, "He (Krishnadevaraya) ruled over his subjects with kindness as if they were his own children".

There was a ministerial council headed by Mahapradham to assist the king in his task of administration. Mahapradhani, Dandanayaka and Samantadhikari were some of the members of this council. It seems that gradation was also there among the ministers. Mahapradhanis like Saluva Timmarasa exercised complete control over the administrators and commanded even the household. The ministers maintained an organised bureaucracy to carry on the day to day work of the government.

Krishnaraya opines, "When the work of a single officer is entrusted to a number of men and when is of them is assisted by a number of friends, the business of the state may be easily accomplished. The satisfaction (with the rulers) increases or decreases with the increase or decrease of their number. Nothing can be achieved without the willing cooperation of several officers; to keep them docile and obedient, truthfulness and absence of niggardliness and cruelty are helpful." 'Amukta-maiyada' refers to officials like Rayasams (secretaries writing down the orders of the king), Sasanacharyas (officers drafting the orders), Sampratias (secretaries of Heads of Departments) etc. The kings maintained magnificent courts attended by nobles, learned priests, astrologers and musicians.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Inscriptions and accounts of the foreign travellers throw light on the revenue and financial administration of Vijayanagara. References were made to assignment of land, remission of the revenues, income from Sand, levy of fresh taxes and renewal obsolete ones. Land revenue was the major source of income. Depending upon the nature of the soil and the kind of crop grown, taxes were levied. Taxation was not uniform throughout the empire. One-sixth of the produce was generally paid as the state's share. It was one-twentieth and one-thirtieth in the case of lands held by Brahmins and temples respectively. Besides the land-tax the ryots paid grazing tax, marriage tax etc. The other sources of revenue for the state were customs duties, tolls on roads, revenue from gardening plantations, taxes on property, professional taxes, tax on industries, military contributions, judicial income and fines and other customary payments. Taxes were generally paid both in cash and kind. On the whole it may be said that the incidence of taxation was heavy. The provincial governors and revenue officials often practised oppression on the people. However, at times, as part of redressal of grievances of the people, remissions were made. A separate department called 'Athavane' efficiently looked into the land revenue administration.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

K.A.N. Sastri writes, "Justice was administered by a hierarchy of courts, the emperor's sabha being the highest appellate authority." No doubt, the king was the chief judge. But generally on his behalf, the Pradhani dispensed justice. In provinces, the Governors discharged the function as part of their duty. Courts of different grades at different levels functioned. Appeals lay from the lower to the higher courts.

Trial by ordeal was in vogue. Treason was considered a heinous offence. Punishments were very severe. Nuniz states, "For a thief whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand...If man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin he has the same punishment...Nobles who became traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through belly." Abdur Razzak writes, "sometimes they order the criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant that they may be killed by its knees, trunks and tusks." But equality before law was not enforced. Brahmins were exempted from capital punishment. Consideration was shown for criminals ordered to be executed. Krishnadevaraya writes, "In the matter of people sentenced to death, give them the chance to appeal trice (for mercy). But in the case of those people whose escape might bring on a calamity to yourself, immediate execution is advisable."

Though the Vijayanagara rulers did not maintain a state department of police, each district had its own arrangements. Preservation of peace and order and detection of crime were the main duties of the police men. Talari, Kavaligar and Desakavaligar were some of the police officers referred in the contemporary Vijayanagara records. Abdur Razzak greatly commended the police system in the capital. Regular street-petrolling at nights was referred. Espionage system was regular and efficient.

MILITARY ORGANISATION

For a state like Vijayanagara, which had to fight constantly with the Muslims of the Deccan its very existence and stability

depended on its military strength. So its rulers had to maintain a huge standing army, which was not of course uniform all through. In times of need, the standing army was reinforced by auxiliary forces of the feudatories and nobles. They organized a military department called 'Kandachara' under the control of the Dandanayaka (Dannayaka) who was assisted by a staff of minor officials. The king's guards were called the gentleman troopers. In the warfare of the Vijayanagara period, infantry including even Muslims, cavalry strengthened by good Ormuz horse supplies through the Portuguese, elephants "lofty as hills and gigantic as demons" and strong forts coupled with artillery played an important role. Review of the forces used to take place every year at the close of the Mahanavami festival. Krishnadevaraya exhibited sentiment and personal touch, when, after the battle was over, he used to go to the scene of war and arrange for giving aid to the wounded. He even rewarded the gallantry.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Vijayanagara empire consisted of vassal states and imperial provinces. The provinces that were directly administered by the emperor through his representatives were generally known as Rajyas or Mandalas or sometimes even as Chavidis. The vassal states were administered through the Nayakas (or Samantas).

For the imperial provinces, the distinguished members of the royal family were appointed as governors (ex: Kumara Kampana, Devaraya etc.) At times when suitable members were not found in the royal family or when a capable and trustworthy officer of the central government was required to administer a troubled area, such a person was appointed as governor (ex: Lakkanna Dannayaka and Saluva Tirnmarasa). Generally the king used to appoint governors after consulting his ministers.

The governors enjoyed greater amount of autonomy within their jurisdiction. They held their own courts, had their own

officers, maintained their territories without interference from central authority. They enjoyed the right to issue coins and maintain law and order in their respective province. However they were required to submit regular accounts of the income and expenditure of their charges to the central government and render military aid in times of necessity. They maintained an agent at the imperial capital to keep themselves informed of the happenings at the court. In case of oppressive and tyrannical governors, the central government used to interfere. Depending upon the requirement, the governors were even transferred from one place to another. The autonomy enjoyed by these governors later led to the disruption of the empire under incompetent rulers.

NAYAKARA SYSTEM

In the second type of provinces, the administration was done by the feudal vassals, variously called Samanta, Nayaka etc. The system of administration of the kingdom through these feudal vassals (Nayakas) is known as the Nayankara system in the Vijayanagara times. This is an important feature of the Vijayanagara provincial organisation. This system resembles somewhat the feudal system of medieval Europe. 'The king being the owner of the soil granted lands to some persons as a reward. They were called nayakas and ruler over the territory under their charge with great freedom. In return they had to pay a fixed amount as tribute to the king besides maintaining a prescribed number of troops for the service of the sovereign during war.' On ceremonial occasions, these Nayakas offered the king great presents of money and costly gifts or presentations. Failure to conform to these obligations was liable for punishment.

(The term 'Nayankara' is an abbreviation of 'Amaranayankara', composed of three syllables, Amara Nayaka and Kara. Amara literally stands for a command of a thousand foot soldiers. Nayaka stands for the military chief who held land from the king. Kara probably means an office. Thus the term 'Amaranayakara' may be taken to refer to a military chief who was granted land, yielding a fixed revenue for the sovereign.)

The Nayakas enjoyed semi-independent status and the degree of autonomy enjoyed by them varied from one chief to another chief. With regard to the fixed amount of tribute which the Nayakas had to pay, according to Nuniz, it was usually one-half of their revenue. Regarding the number of troops they were required to supply to the king and to lead them in war, Domingo paes informs that it was the soveresign-that fixed the number in proportion to the revenue they derived.

The position of Nayaka was quite different from that of the Governor. He was merely a military vassal who had been assigned a district in lieu of certain military and financial obligations. He was not transferable and his office was personal but later on became hereditary, when the kings at the centre became weak. The Nayaks on their part gave their lands to other tenants on the same terms on which they had received them from the king.' The Nayakas maintained two agents, one military and the other civil, representing their masters' interests at the imperial city.

The Nayankara system had its own merits and demerits. It was because of this system of administration, new settlements were formed, irrigation facilities were extended, new hands were brought under cultivation and Hindu culture and civilization was fostered and developed. However the amount of autonomy which the Nayakas enjoyed gave them sufficient opportunity to engage themselves in local wars and mutual feuds. They even defied at times the Central authority. 'In spite of its inherent weaknesses, it served its purpose tolerably well.'

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

For administrative purposes and for promoting efficiency, the provinces were further subdivided. The names of the sub-divisions and their officers differed with the locality. They were 'Kottams' or 'Venthe' (districts), 'Nadus' or 'Simas' (Taluks) and 'Sthalas' (groups of villages). In parts of Karnataka, the sthalas were further divide into 'Nadukas' and

'Vatitas'. Village was the last unit of administration. Each village was a self-sufficient unit. The ancient institution, of popular village assemblies or sabhas continued during the Vijayanagara period. The village assembly conducted the administration of the area under its charge (executive, judicial and police) through its hereditary officers like Gowda, Karanika, Kavalu etc. In big villages there was the representative of the king known as 'Adhikeri'. Besides, the Ayagar system came into prominence during this period, The Ayagars were a body of village functionaries (about 12 officials), who were in charge of the administration of rural areas. One of them the Talaiyari was the watchman of the village and of the crops.' Then there were associations of a corporate character (guilds) referred in 'Amuktamalyada', enjoying some concurrent powers with the sabha and cooperating with it in the transaction of its business.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The social life of Vijayanagara is of great interest. The re-animation of Hindu life, resulting in the revival of the ancient Dharma modified to some extent by the experience of the age, was seen during this period. The kings endeavoured to protect the Varnasrama Dharma and maintain the social solidarity. The prevalence of filial love' was instrumental in bringing together into closer relationship the various conflicting elements in the social life of the people.'

The caste system of the Hindu society had already lost its rigid nature. The Brahmins were still the most respected members of the society. They were found in almost every walk of life, enjoying even high offices as ministers and generals in the state. It is curious to note that the name Kshatriya did not figure during this period. The commercial and agricultural classes might have made up the vitality. As T.V. Mahalingam says, the rise of a social consciousness among the different communities was the significant feature of the social history of the later Vijayanagara period. At the lower levels, communities like the Kambalattars (originally shepherds) followed the

system of polyandry and post-puberty marriages. Their women were noted for loose moraliaity. Prostitution was widely prevalent. Devadasi, Sati and slavery systems existed. The writings of poets and scholars like Sarvajna and Vemana reveal the new spirit of reform against social evils like caste restrictions and untouchability.

The rulers as well the ruled bestowed attention on agriculture. The state provided irrigational facilities. Industres like, diamond-mining were fully developed. The foreign visitors like Razzak and Paes were profoundly impressed by the fully vigorous economic life with huge population, rich bazars, number of skilled craftsmen and dealers in precious stones and other articles in the imperial capital. Razzak observes the importance of roses in the daily life of the citizen. Temples, as landlords and bankers, because of large endowments made to them, played an important part in the public economy of the period. Foreign trade carried on through important ports like Honnavar, Bhatkal, Nagapatnam, Pulicat and others by merchants and traders by forming into organisations, brought in prosperity adding to the luxury and magnificence of court life. However as Sathianathaier remarks, "The luxuries of the king and his officers contributed to the splendour of the imperial city, but the hard condition of the peasants, characteristic of even the best period of Vijayanagara, should not be forgotten in estimating the glories of the Hindu empire."

RELIGION

Though primarily Vijayanagara fostered and developed the Hindu culture, it had the tradition of great tolerance towards all religions so that bigotry was completely unknown. Incriptions attest to the fact that religious persecution was never tolerated. Reconciliation between different religious sects and equal protection to all were referred in the records. Though the Vijayanagara kings fought constantly against the Muslims, no disrespect was shown to Islam at any stage. On the other hand, they gave complete religious freedom to the Muslim soldiers in their service. Devaraya II built a mosque for their

use in the capital. Ramaraya greatly developed Turkavada in his time. Barboasa, the Portuguese navigator, testifies to the spirit of tolerance of Krishnadevaraya in the following words : "The King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering *any* annoyance and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen—great equity and justice is observed by all."

Jainism, which did not recognise the authority of the Vedas, received patronage and protection from the rulers. Bukka I gave protection to the Jains of Penugonda, Hospet and others from the Vaishnavites of Srirangam. Irugappa, a staunch Jaine and who was the Dandanayaka of Harihara II built Jain temples at Hampi, Kanchi and other sacred places. Devaraya II permitted the Jains to build a temple at the capital in the Pan-supari bazar.

With the coming of the Portuguese to India, Christianity began to spread in the south in the sixteenth century. The Jesuit priests propagated their faith. The Portuguese governors and the Jesuit missionaries, with their combined efforts, converted the Paravas, the Fisher folk on the fishery coast of Tamilnadu during the reign of Achyutaraya. But their policy of turning religious propaganda to political purposes roused the resentment of the tolerant Vijayanagara kings. Ramaraya promptly sent an expedition to fishery coast.

Hinduism got a great impetus and protection during the Vijayanagara period. The threat of Islam on one hand and the influence of the Sringeri gurus like Bharati Tirtha and Vidyaranya reduced the sectarian fanaticism. The Smartha, Saiva and Vaishnava sects flourished freely in the empire. The Sangamas were Saivites and their family deity was Virupaksha. Scholars like Chamarasa made their contributions to Saivite literature. Srivaishnavism became popular during the period of the Saluvas and the Tuluvas. Tirupati, Ahobalam and Sn-nangam were greatly developed. The cult of lord Venkatesa had its ascendancy in the time of Krishnadevaraya. Many Muths of Srivaishnavas flourished at Ahobalam, Parakala and

other places. The family of Tatacharyas became prominent in the time of Krishna and Achyuta. With the preachings of Narahari Tirtha. Akshobhya, Jaya Tirtha and Vyasaraya, Vaishnavism or Dvaita philosophy also made considerable progress.

LITERATURE

Dr. T.V. Mahalingam says, "The foundation of Vijayanagara empire coincided in point of time with the outburst of a momentous literary movement in South India." Under the patronage of the rulers of the empire, many eminent poets, philosophers and religious teachers produced their works of tasting importance in Sanskrit and in the regional languages Telugu, Kannada and Tamil. Some of the rulers like Devaraya II and Krishnadevaraya were themselves profound scholars and powerful writers. They gathered around themselves poets and scholars.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Vast literature was produced under the influence of the remarkable religious stir and spiritual ferment of the age. Vidya-sankara, Vidyaranya, Sayana and his son Madhava and Madhava Mantri composed their commentaries on the Vedic literature, the Parasarasamriti and Manusmriti etc. They produced hundreds of works on all aspects of Indian culture including astronomy, grammar, medicine, poetics and music. Sayana's 'Vedartha prakasha', a commentary on the Vedas was undoubtedly the greatest work of the period, Vidyaranya's works include 'Pansara Madhaviya', 'Sankara Vijaya' and 'Rajakatenirnaya'. Isvai Dikshita wrote two commentaries on Ramayana in the reign of Krishnadevaraya, Vedantadesika, Srikantha Pandita and Jaya Tirtha added to the Vaishnava, Saiva and Madhava literatures respectively.

Gangamba and Tirumalamba produced their historical poems 'Madhuravijayam' and 'Varadambikaparinayam' respectively. A family of hereditary poets called Dindimas flourished from the time of Harihara I down to Achyutadevaraya. Among

them, Dindima Rajanatha II wrote 'Saluvabhyudayam' and Rajanatha III wrote 'Achyutarayabhyudayam'. Among the royal authors, Devaraya II was credited with the authorship of 'Mahanataka Sudhanidhi.' Knshnadevaraya, besides being a patron of scholars, was himself a gifted scholar both in Telugu and Sanskrit. His Sanskrit works include 'Madalasa Charita,' 'Rasamanjari' and 'Jambavati Kalyanam'. Among the works on music, erotics, medicine etc., mention may be made of Vidyaranya's 'Sangitasara' on music. Devaraya II's 'Ratiratna Pnadipika' on erotics, Sayana's 'Ayurveda Sudhanidhi' and Lakshmana Pandita's 'Vaidyarajavallabham' on medicine and Sayana's 'Dhatuvrdhi' on grammar.

TELUGU LITERATURE

'The bulk of the best part of the Telugu literature, which affords the greatest delight in the minds of the Andhras, is the product of direct patronage of Vijayanagara emperors and their Viceroys. It is equally a striking phenomenon, that the above literature has grown both in volume and variety under Vijayanagara dynasty.' From the time of the Kanakabhisheka of Srinatha by Devaraya II, Telugu began to dominate the Vijayanagara court. It was in the time of Knshnadevaraya that Telugu literature made its greatest advance. 'Under his lead, the practice of translating from Sanskrit originals was generally given up and independent prabandhas which handled a Puranic story or some invented theme after the manner of Mahakavya in Sanskrit came more into vogue'. Krishnadevaraya, an accomplished poet in Telugu also, wrote 'Amuktamalyada' in a very abstruse and complicated style, showing the depth of his learning.

Tradition associates Krishna's name with the 'Ashiadigga-jas', the eight elephants who supported the world of Telugu literature. Allasani Peddana stands out foremost among them. He dedicated his work 'Manucharitra' to his patron-king. Nandi Timmana, Dhurjati. Madayyagari Mallana and other poets also received the patronage of Krishnaraya, Bhattumurti, Pingali Surana and Tenali Ramakrishna, who belonged to post-Krvshnaraya's period, became immortal with their contributions

As in Sanskrit and Telugu, in Kannada also a large number of literary works, centring round the three principal religions Jainism, Virasaivism and Brahmanism, appeared during this period. Among the Jaina works, Madhura's 'Dharmanatha Purana', Uritta Vilasa's "Dharmapariksha Sastrasara', Salva's Jaina version of Bharata, may be mentioned. In the time of Devaraya II, the Virasaivites rivalled the Jains in developing the Kannada language and literature. They preferred prose medium. Chamarasa, the author of Prabhulingalila', Bommarasa, Kallarasa. Tontada and Siddhesvara were some of the scholars renown. Among the Brahmanical poets, Kumara Vyasa, Timmana, and Lakshmisha were popular. Then a vast body of literature was composed by Vaishnava singers like Sripadaraya, Purandharadasa and Kanakadasa.

TAMIL LITERATURE

The feudatories of Vijayanagara like the Nayaks of Madurai and even the Pandyan chiefs bestowed attention on the development of Tamil literature. Krishnaraya also patronised Tamil scholars. Kumara Saraswati, Jnanaprakasha, Tatvaprakasha and Harihara received his patronage. On Dravida Saivism, commentaries were produced.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

K.A.N. Sastri observes, "Under Vijayanagara, South Indian art attained a certain fullness and freedom of rich expression in keeping with the consciousness of the great task of the empire, namely the preservation and development of all that remained of Hinduism against the onslaughts of Islam. In this period temples became very elaborate both in structure and organisation. Even old temples were amplified by the addition of pillared halls, pavilions and other subordinate structures."

In conformity with the majestic resources of the Vijayanagara empire, there was an elaboration of ceremonial observations during this period. These observations were also reflected

in the enlargement of temple structures. Separate shrines celebrating various festivals were erected. The notable contributions of the Vijayanagara craftsmen were a shrine to goddess, pillared halls and pavilions like Kalyanamandapa and the lofty gopuras

T.V. Mahalingam opines, "In the Vijayanagara period two different schools of architecture were flourishing side by side—the Dravidian and the Indo-Saracenic—and the style of some of the Hindu monuments was influenced by the Indo-Saracenic style". Most of the architectural structures built during the Vijayanagara period were confined to their capital city at Hampi. The gigantic boulders that surrounded Hampi supplied ample material for construction of the structure. Stone of two varieties, one granite and the other green-coloured chlorite was used for the buildings and the idols.

Much of the beauty of the Vijayarragara temples is produced by their pillars. Pointing out, the same. Percy Brown writes, "Much of the intricacy and rich beauty of Vijayanagara type of temple was produced by the number and prominence of its pillars and piers and the manner in which they are sculptured into the most complicated compositions, strange and manifold, so that each becomes a figurative drama in stone." Four types of pillars are discernible from among the temples such as Vitthala, Hazara Rama and others. In the first type, the shaft becomes merely the central core for the attachment of an involved group of statues of heroic size chiselled entirely in the round. In the second variety, circling round the central column, a cluster of slender, miniature pillars often referred as musical pillars on account of the sounds they produce when they are hit by a stone or a coil are seen. The third type consists of the shaft composed of a series of small scale shrines. The fourth variety relates to the type where the shaft has sixteen or eighteen-sided surface. In response to the demand for more richness of detail, the corbel of the pillar is elaborated into a valute terminating in an inverted lotus bud.

The Vijayanagara kings were the force behind the artistic activity of the period. The finest flowering of this movement

is seen in the magnificent examples at Vijayanagara, once noted for gaily and colour, now deserted and known popularly as Hampi. Though the city became a victim of destruction and plunder, it retains its charm even in the ruins'. Expressing his admiration for the ruins at Hampi, Percy Brown records, "No remains of this city recall more vividly the story of the forgotten empire of Vijayanagara than these massive terraces, still impressive examples of architecture in spite of their mutilated superstructures."

Among the temples at Hampi, the most sacred Virupaksha temple is said to have been built prior to the foundation of the city, but many additions were made to it by Harihara I and Krishnadevaraya. The temple of Vitthala is a fine example of the Vijayanagara style. It 'shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced'. Its construction began in the reign of Devaraya II and was continued even upto 1565 A.D. The temple lies in a rectangular courtyard of 538 ft. by 310 ft. This courtyard is in fact cloistered with entrances on three sides having three gopuras. The central structure dedicated to Vishnu in the form of Vithoba is a long and low structure 220 ft. in length and 20 ft. in width aligned from east to west. The super structure of the central shrine has since fallen.

The other structures consist of a closed mandapa, and a mahamandapa and slightly to the side of it lies the Kaiyanamandapa. Separated from these structures lies the stone chariot in front of the mahamandapa. The mahamandapa, noted for its supremely rich appearance, is a columned pavilion built on a richly moulded and sculptured plinth 5 ft. high. The grace of the 56 pillars inside, each 12 ft. high hewn out of solid blocks of granite to form intricate compositions of sculptures, is unparalleled. The Kalyanamandapa on the other hand, in addition to the pillars, is significant for its beautiful flexion of the cornice. An exquisite specimen of Vijayanagara craftsmanship is the stone chariot. 'It has realistically revolving stone wheels and to a fairly ample scale of a temple car, with every feature imitated in granite, even to the elephant forms which guard the steps'.

The Hazara Rama temple, with an enormous walled enclosure (24ft. high), served as a place of worship for the members of the royal family. It was built by Krishnadevaraya during the period between 1513 A.D. and 1520 A.D. It consists of a central shrine, an Amman shrine, Kalyani Mandapa and other mandapas. The main Vimana is partly stone-built and partly brick-built. The temple is famous for its relief sculptures on inner walls depicting the Ramayana scenes. Other temples like Achyutaraya, Krishna, Patabhirama and Maiyavata at Hampi exhibit the same characteristics of the Vijayanagara style.

The Vijayanagara rulers restored many shrines throughout south India and lavished wealth upon them. Krishnadevaraya provided the huge towers, called rayaguras after him and pillared halls to the temples at Tirupati, Srirangam, Kanchi, Tadipatri, Vellore and other places.

The story of the forgotten empire is recalled by other structures like the King's Audience Hall, Throne platform, Lotus Mahal, Queen's bath, the remnants of the fort watch tower, elephant and horse stables, the main market area, Royal Palace and the Tankasala and the colossal monolithic images of Narasimha and Ganesha and also the palaces of Penugonda and Chandragiri,

The religious impulse of the Vijayanagara period inspired the people to have beautiful paintings in their temples. The ceilings of the Virupaksha and Vittala temples were finely painted. The best specimens of Vijayanagara paintings are contained in temples at Somapalem, Tripurantakam and Lepakshi. The Lepakshi Virabhadresvara temple near Hindupur in the Anantapur district was constructed by Penugonda Virupanna, the treasury officer of Achyutaraya. It is famous for its Natya-mandapa with delicately carved life-size musicians and dancers, the huge monolithic Nandi and the mandapa ceilings with richly painted scenes from the Puranas and the Epics.

A P P E N D I X

A Note on The Raya-Bahmant Rotations

Two important historical events, that had taken place by the middle of the 14th century A.D. instantaneously changed the political scene in South India. They were the emergence of the two independent kingdoms, one the Vijayanagara (1336 A.D.) and the other Bahmani (1347 A.D.). Both the kingdoms arose out of many revolts that convulsed the empire of Muhammad Bin Tughlak. If Vijayanagara rose, as most of the scholars view it, as the embodiment of Hindu resistance to the Islamic expansion, the Bahmani kingdom came into existence out of the suspicion and fear, which was entertained in the minds of some of the hundred foreign amirs, known as the Centurions, about the Sultan's impending merciless killing of *them*. One curious aspect is that Hasan Gangu (Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah I), the leader of the Centurions, in founding the independent Muslim kingdom in Deccan, even took the help of local rulers including Kapaya Nayaka of Warangal and probably Harihara I of Vijayanagara. But this help which the Bahmanis received from the local Hindu rulers in founding their kingdom did not prevent them from resolving, as true Muslim rulers, to destroy the very Hindu kingdoms and bring the south under the domination of Islam. Contrary to this, the Vijayanagara rulers waged relentless wars with the Bahmani Sultans for the preservation of their independence in the South and for making or transforming Vijayanagara as the resort of Hindu genius from ail over India and thereby providing hope and inspiration for a moral and spiritual regeneration of Hinduism throughout.

No doubt, the history of the foreign policy of the Vijayanagara rulers was principally a story of their incessant warfare with the Bahmani Sultans to their north. There was hardly any decade that passed without a clash of arms between the two kingdoms. Since the contemporary Muslim chroniclers painted these dynastic conflicts as 'Jihads' (holy wars) historians generally regard these wars as due to religious differences of the two states. But in any of the peace settlements arrived at the end of the wars, the imposition of one's religion upon

the other even when the Bahmanis were the victors, could not be seen. Further, the rulers of Vijayanagara especially Devaraya I, Devaraya II and Ramaraya employed Muslim horsemen and archers and gave them complete freedom of worship and other religious rites. Hence, if any body assumes religion as the root cause of the wars between the two kingdoms, then it is quite wrong.

As Prof. G.V. Rao sees it, the conflict between the two states was the legacy of the past. The land between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, on account of its great economic wealth had been a bone of contention and the rulers of Deccan and South India always clashed over the possession of the Doab had its own political overtones. The control of the strategically important Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab with its impregnable forts of Raichur and Mudgal and places like Bankapur would, give the one an advantageous position over the other for the ultimate overlordship of the entire peninsula. It was the real cause of the clashes between the Western Chalukyas and the Cholas as well as the Yadavas and the Hoyasalas. On the ruins of the Yadava and Hoyasala dominions rose the Bahmani and Vijayanagara kingdoms respectively. These new states inherited the same legacy and the contest between these two was nothing but a revival of the earlier economic struggle between the Deccan and South India. The so called undercurrent of their religious differences might have served, on the part the Muslims, to brutalise the conflict. The greed of the Sultans whose kingdom embraced the poorest portion of the Deccan plateau, was naturally excited by the wealth and prosperity of the Vijayanagara empire. Thus all these factors dragged the two states into a prolonged and fierce conflict which ultimately ruined both the powers.

The fierce and protracted Raya-Bahmani conflict commenced in the reign of Bukkaraya I and continued till the end of the Aravidu dynasty. After the dismemberment of the Batarni kingdom, its successive states took up the cause and continued the conflict. Trivial things and events used to serve as pretext for wars. (For the details of wars, refer to the accounts on individual monarchs starting from Bukkaraya I — Page 208)

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Atchyutharao, T. A History of Andhra Literature, I. II and III
- Aiyangar, S.K. (Ed.) Sources of Vijayanagara History
A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History
Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture
South India and Her Mubarnmadan Invaders
- Apparao రెడ్డి సంచిక
Appadorai, A. The Economic conditions in Southern India
- Arudra నమ్మగ ఆంధ్ర సాహిత్యము నఁపుటలు
Balambal, V. The Feudatories of South India
- Bhandarkar, R.G. The Early History of Deccan
- Briggs, J. (Tr.) (Perishta's) History of the Rise of the Mohammadan Power (4 Vols.)
- Chopra, P.N., Ravindran. T.K. & Subrahmanian, N. (Ed.) History of South India, I&II
- Desai, P.B. (Ed.) History of Karnataka
- Gopakchari, K. The Early History of the Andhra Country
- Hanumantharao, B.S.L. Religion in Andhra
Age of the Satavahanas
- Habib & Nizami (Ed.) A Comprehensive History of India Vol. V
- Heras The Beginnings of Vijayanagar
The South India under the Vijayanagar Empire, I & II

Iswara Dutt, K.	ప్రాచీనాంధ్ర చారిత్రక భూగోళము
Krishnakumari, M.	చీర్ల విజయనగర చరిత్రము The Rule of the Chalukya Cholas in Andhradesa
Krishnarao. B.V.	Early Dynasties of Andhra Desa The Eastern Chalukyas
Krishnaswami, A.	The Tamil Country Under Vijaya- nagar
Lakshmikantam, P.	గోతమ వ్యాసాలు
Lalitamba, K.	Virasaivisam in Andhra
Longhurst, A.H.	Hampi Ruins
Mahalinaam, T.V.	Administation and social life under Vijayanagara, I & II Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire
Mukherjee, Prabhat	The History of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa
Parabrahma Sastri, P.V.	The Kakatiyas
Pratapareddy, S.	ఆంధ్రుల సాంఘిక చరిత్ర
Rajendrprasad, B,	Art of South India: Andhra Pradesh
Ramachandraiya, O.	Satavahanas and their successors Studies on Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara
Ramarao, M.	(Ed.) Satavahana Commemoration Volume
	(Ed.) సాతవాహన సందేశ
	Studies in <i>the</i> Early History of Andhradesa
	Satavahana Coins
	Ikshvakus of Vijayapuri

The Kakatiyas

కాకతీయ సంచిక

- Ramesan, N.
Salelore, B.A. Studies in Medieval Deccan
Social and Economic Life in
Vijayanagara Empire, I & II
- Saletore, R.N,
Sankaranarayanan, S. Vijayanagara Art
Sarma, M.S. Vishnukundins and their Times
A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra
History
History of the Reddi Kingdoms

- Sarma, M.S., Rangayya,
M.V., Ramanayya, N.V. &
Satyanarayana, M. (Ed.)
Sastri, B.N.

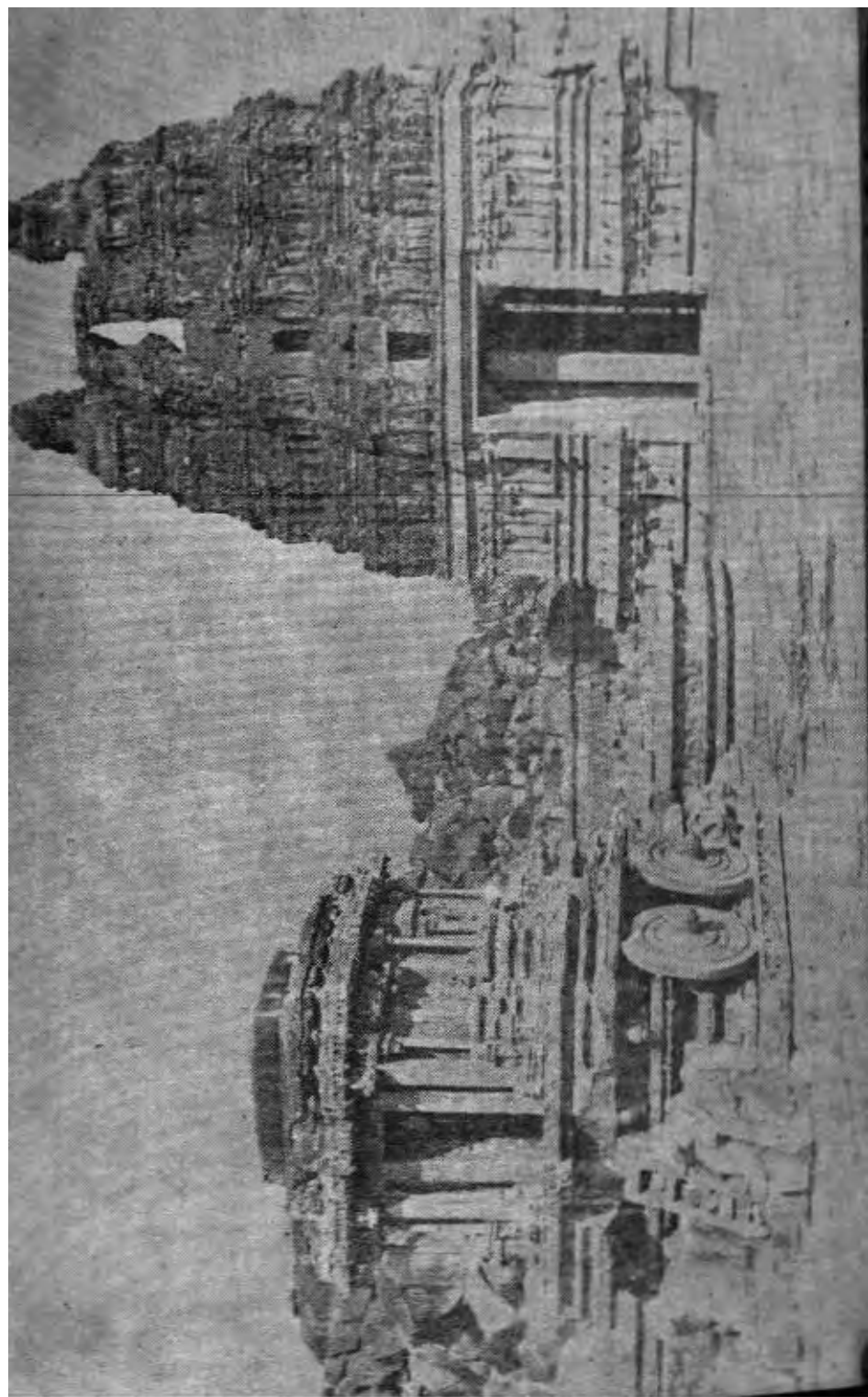
విజ్ఞాన చిత్తపర్వము-తెలుగు సంస్కృతి
కావన సంపుటి

ఆంధ్రుల సాంఘిక చరిత్ర

- Sastri, K.A.N. Age of Nandas and Mauryas
A History of South India
The Cholas
- Sewell, Robert Sketches of the Dynasties of
Southern India
A forgotten Empire
- Sharma, M.H. Rama The History of the Vijayanagara
Empire, I&II
- Sherwani, H.K. The Bahmanis of the Deccan
- Sherwani, H.K. & Joshi, P. History of Medieval Deccan (1294-
(Ed.) 1724), I&II
- Sircar, D.C. The Successors of the Satavahanas
- Sivaramamurthy, C. Amaravati Sculptures
- Sreerama Sarma, P. Saluva Dynasty of Vijayanagar
- Subrahmanyam, R. The Suryavainisi Gajapatis of
Orissa
- Thapar, Romila Ancient India

- Vaidehi, A.** Asoka and the Decline of Mauryan Empire
Social and Economic conditions of Eastern Deccan 1000-1250 A.D.
- Venkataramanayya, N,** ఆంధ్రుల సాంఘిక చరిత్ర (మధ్యయుగము) విష్ణు కుండినులు
వల్లవులు--చాళుక్యులు
The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi
The Early Muslim Expansion in South India
- Veakataramanayya, N. & Sastry, K.A.N.** విజయనగర చరిత్ర
Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara
కృష్ణ దేవరాయలు
Further Sources of Vijayanagara History
- Veeressau'ngam, K.**
Yasodadevi, Y. History of Andhra Country A.D. 1000-1500 (J.A.H.R.S.)
- Yazdani. G. (Ed.)** The Early History of the Deccan. I&II

Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series
Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings Volumes
Archaeological Survey of India : Annual Reports
Archaeological Survey of India: Memoirs
Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions
Epiaraphia Andhrica Volumes
Epiaraphia Indica Volumes
Indian Antiquary Volumes
Indian History Congress Proceedings Volumes
Itihas Volumes
Journal of Indian History Volumes
Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
South Indian Inscriptions, Vols. 4. 5. 6& 11





Telugu Thalli