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Vol. XXXVIII - Part IV

1986-

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

# Dr. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA COMMEMORATION VOLUME



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No. of Copies: 500

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Price: Rs.

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### EDITOR'S EPILOGUE

I am doubly happy that we are bringing out the fourth part, which is the last one of Dr. Venkataramanayya Commemoration Volume, and that we could publish, though belatedly, all the articles sent by various scholars as a token of their regard to the great historian.

This part includes an article by late Prof. Rayaprolu Subrahmanyam entitled "Secular Remains at Nagarjunakonda". Previously, Sri Subrahmanyam published a comprehensive article entitled "The Brahmanical structures in Nagarjunakonda" in Volume VIII. No. (1) of 'Itihas' published by the State Archives Department. In his present article, Sri Subrahmanyam deals with the Ikshvaku citadel, once situated adjacent to the river Krishna at Nagarjunakonda and now soaking under 300 feet deep waters of Nagarjunasagar. The description of the mud fort is comprehensive and it will be useful for future researchers working on forts. He also described the residental pattern of the Ikshvaku capital Vijayapuri, and public buildings, the flight of steps leading to the river Krishna, and the arena etc. Fortunately, most of the structures that would have gone under waters, were salvaged and reconstructed, some over the Nagarjuna hill and some at Anupula near the reconstructed Ranganadha temple. While reading the article, I still remember my days at Nagarjunakonda when the feverish activity of transplantation was going on when in an unfortunate accident, a truck turned turtle and seriously injured a large number of daily wage labourers.

This volume also contains an article on the Pillars in Vijayanagara art by C. Puranchand which is very informative. Dr. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao's article on Boyas in the Medieval Andhra History culled through various inscriptions, deals with the origin of Boyas, their religious faith, Boyakottams, and their social status etc. Dr. Hanumanth Rao is a well known author of several books and research articles. Particular mention may be made of his magnum opus "The Religion in Andhra Desa" which I feel is one of the authoritative books. Though externally soft spoken and amiable, Dr. Hanumantha Rao holds very strong views on academic and research matters, which are always convincing.

In the end, I owe my gratitude to Sri Muddu Krishnama Naidu garu, Hon'ble Minister for Education and Archaeology, Sri S. Kasipandian, I.A.S., Secretary to Government, Education Department for their co-operation in bringing out research publications of this Department. My thanks are also due to Miss G. Lalitha, Asst. Director who helped me in bringing this out and to the printers Print'N Pack Aids, Hyderabad in bringing out this valuable publication in a record time.

The opinions expressed by the authors of the articles are their own.



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## SECULAR REMAINS AT NAGARJUNAKONDA

R. Subrahmanyam

Secular remains excavated at Nagarjunakonda consists of a citadel with royal palace and other buildings, residences of commoners, workshops, rest houses, public and private baths, and places of public gathering etc. The royal palace is little more than a glorified edition of one of the private houses, the only difference between them being larger size rooms with better sanitation facilities. Though nothing has survived, all these houses of the rich must have had decoration in plaster work and carvings in wood and it is quite possible that the latter might have perished due to age and climatic conditions. However, sculptures discovered at the site help us in reconstructing a picture of the people that lived in this city, the types of furniture used, doors and windows, stools and pedestals, carts, besides vessels in mud and metal of everyday use. Luckily, antiquities discovered also help us in gleaning into the social life of the people. Many household vessels and utensils, as might be expected in a town site like this, have been salvaged; bulk of these vessels, it is needless to say, are earthen-ware conical shapped oil or wine containers, cooking pots, storage jars, drinking cups with stand, goblets and sprinklers to mention a few, form the bulk of antiquities found in the residential buildings. Articles of toilet trays are also not wanting. Besides the above, articles of daily use, particularly those made of stone like querns, grinding and crushing stones, pestle, mortar with or without ornamentation were also found in these residential buildings. Metal objects like tongs, hammers of different sizes, chisels, perhaps belonging to a goldsmith and blacksmith, and tools of agriculturists, like sickle and crowbar also form part of these collections.

Though the structural remains, as revealed by the excavation, are fragmentary, they give us a fairly complete picture of the City of Vijayapuri as it stood in the early century of the Christian era and in the following pages an attempt is made to describe in detail all the different structures under various heads like citadel, residential buildings workshops, roads and rest houses, public baths, sources of water and sanitation.

#### CITADEL

The excavations at Nagarjunakonda have revealed to view structural remains of a citadel used by the Ikshvakus in the early centuries of the Christian era. Like all contemporary ruling families, the Ikshvakus also had resorted to construction of forts to defend themselves against possible attacks. The explorations conducted in the valley have shown that the Ikshvakus had

built a mud fort in the western half of the valley on the banks of the river, which can be called a *sthaladurga* and also fortified the hill which is in the centre of the valley (modern Durgamkonda), perhaps to serve as a *giridurga*, to take refuge in times of siege and offer resistance.

The Sthaladurga: This is located on the right bank of the river Krishna in its immediate proximity. It is flanked by two lowlying hillocks, locally called Peddakundellagutta (about 565 feet above the sea level). On the west, the river Krishna served as a natural defence and only a brick built wall with a main passage was also added on that side to complete the shape of this mud fort. On the east, a massive mud rampart wall was built connecting these two hills and the area thus enclosed is about three furlongs east-west by four furlongs north-west.

This Sthaladurga is quadrilateral in shape and roughly comforms to the karmuka or bow-shaped citadel described by Kautilya. The rampart walls connecting the two hills with its rough semi-circular shape formed the bow, while the river on the west served as the string for this bow-shaped fort. The structures which are located inside the citadel include military quarters, ritualistic sites of Asvamadha, kings' palaces in a very badly damaged condition, only thick brick walls being extant, rubble structures, perhaps used by the Durgadhyaksha or Commander of the fort, stone-paved halls, baths, stables etc.

Rampart Walls: The citadel has huge rampart walls, traces of which are seen even to this day. On the southern side, it overlies the summit of Peddakundellagutta. Its maximum extant height is 16 feet above the outside present ground level. Trenches laid across the wall on the eastern side showed that it has been built in two phases. The first or the earlier phase was represented by a rampart of morum or mud, about 80 feet wide at the base. The second phase represented by a burnt-brick wall, 9 to 14 feet thick, generally built either directly over the existing rampart or over secondary filling over it, but on naturally higher grounds and directly on the bare rock-surface. On the southern side, however, on Peddakundellagutta the latter phase of construction, the burnt-brick wall alone is found without the earlier morum rampart wall. It appears that the first phase of construction was absent on the hill and exigencies of situation should have necessitated the construction of the rampart wall over the hill later on. The prerampart phase is represented by the presence of the ovens, besides other cultural debris.

Date: The ceramic evidence from the pre and post rampart layers was more or less uniform, the pottery of both the groups pertaining to the Ikshvaku period as a whole. Black-and-red ware and red-slipped ware have been found, the latter being dominant. The most prominent type of the latter ware are the typical lid-cum-vases and carinated vessels. It appears that the lower part i. e., the mud part of the citadel of Vijayapuri was of an earlier period, probably coeval with the first phase of occupation within the Ikshvaku period, and its renovation and the brick

structure over it, were done during the second or the third reigns of Ikshvaku rulers. It is possible to surmise that the need for strengthening the rampart walls was felt during the last years of Virapurushadatta or the earlier years of Ehuvala-Chantamula as a protection from the attacks of the neighbouring rulers. This is corraborated by numismatic evidence from this area.

Moat: Save for the portion over the Peddakundellagutta hill, the fortification wall was surrounded by a ditch or moat 12 feet in depth and width varying from 74 to 132 feet. On the western side, the river Krishna itself served as a natural water barrier. The ditch has been cut into the natural rock, but no traces of the system by which the moat was fed were noticed during the excavations.

**Gateway**: The main gateway of the citadel on the eastern side and a narrow postern gate on the northern side, possibly serving as an emergency exit were exposed. On the western side, only remnants of what appears to be the palace wall and its gate are extant.

Eastern Gateway (Site No. 90): The main entrance of the citadel was evidently on the eastern side which was about 33'8" in width. The walls flanking the gateway are obout six feet in thickness and have post-holes at an interval of 6'3". On one side is found the door-socket of rectangular shape (2'10"x 2'2"). On either side of the gateway, there are what appear to be the sub-ways about 11'6" in width.

**Postern Gateway** (Site No. 104); On the northern side of the citadel, there is a narrow postern gate or passage about 40 feet long and 2'6" wide in the north-south direction. Traces of slab and brick flooring were found within the passage. This gate possibly served as an emergency exit. Near about this gate inside the citadel are found evidences of a pavement with a few residential structures nearby,

Western Gateway (Site No.96): On the western side of the citadel and about 360 feet from the river Krishna runs the western rampart wall (11'6" thck) built of brick in mud. It was provided with a gateway. The entrance passage has total width of 33'8" the same as that of the main eastern gateway of the citadel. The width of the actual passage is 17'3". There is an offset running round the walls of the gate. Apparently, there were rectangular guard rooms on either side of the gateway. On the southern side alone the guard room is in tact. The room measured 18'5" x 6'2" with an opening on the western side. The gateway is provided with doorways, one in the interior and the other on the exterior. This can be inferred from the existence of two sets of door-jambs or sockets at either end of the passage. The door-sockets are rectangular. The sockets of the inner door way were 22" x 12" and those on the outer 34" x 19". The outer doorways were evidently bigger.

#### R. Subrahmanyam

Post-Holes: It is rather difficult to say whether the gateway had any roof over it or whether it was left open to the sky as was the case in the fort of Sisupalgarh. It would have been a very difficult task to bridge the gulf of 33'8" by a continuous roof. Nevertheless it is interesting to note the existence of a series of post-holes on either walls of the gateway. There are at least about 6 such post-holes exactly opposite one another. The post-hole is roughly of one brick size i.e., about 22" x 10.5". The purpose of these post-holes is not clearly known, but possibly some sort of an improvised roofing supported by pillars was erected in these post-holes.

It is also interesting to record the presence of a series of small holes or sockets roughly square, arranged at an interval of about five feet over the walls on the outer edges of the walls that flank the gateway.

Roads and Tracks: Within the citadel there must have been a number of roads connecting important places like the royal buildings, the barracks. the bath and other residential places situated within the citadel. The main road coming from the western portion of the citadel is clearly traceable right from the main gateway to the opposite (western) side, to a distance of about 2,000 feet. This road connected the citadel and the township outside the citadel. Another road 10 feet wide, ran along the foot of the rampart. The road was perhaps, the inner peripheral path connecting the barracks and north-eastern gates.

Structures within the Citadel: The structure within the citadel as has been mentioned already, include royal apartments (in a very badly damaged and disturbed condition) military barracks, rubble structures used probably by palace servants and officers like the *durgadhyaksha* or Commander of the fort, slab-paved halls and plat-forms, stables, baths, water-tubs, wells and drains.

On the south-west side of the citadel and the palace gateway, a huge rectangular enclosure wall made of rubble, measuring 130'00" x 160'0" is found (Site No. 95). The main entrance is on the western side. It contains a few rooms and two open quadrangles. The whole area was apparently divided into four irregular parts. The north-western-corner was left-open to form the quadrangles of about 90'0" x 70'0". Similarly on the southern side also an open quadrangle was left. In the adjacent part of the north-east corner, a few rectangular rooms are found. The eastern room measures 13'3" x 8'0" and the western room measures 10'0" x 20'0". Besides these two partitions, there are two wings of apartments on the western side. This entrance between the rooms is about two feet high. From the disturbed conditions of this building, it is very difficult to get a clear picture of their construction and use. But taking into consideration the situation of the building, it is possible that it might have heen the residence of the *durgadhyaksha* or Commander of the fort.

On the northern fringe of the citadel, adjoining and partly overlapping the Chinnakundellagutta is a vast building complex (site No. 102) consisting of a number of halls, rooms, a series of cells, small water tanks, tubs, and drains and the whole being enclosed by a wall which runs right over the hill. The enclosure wall was made of rubble though for palaces bricks were also used. It is roughly rectangular in plan. The topmost area of Chinnakundellagutta was particularly well-protected with an enclosed rectangular wall, the elevated place must have provided an excellent place for watching the military movements and activities of the enemy force outside the rampart. Down the hill, a huge common bath with well-paved platforms, water tanks with steps, water cisterns and tubs were found. There is a long rectangular tub of 35'0" × 4'0". The natural bed-rock is used as the bottom of the tub. The whole tub was surrounded by a drain 10" in width which runs along the adjacent platforms, and goes uitimately to the north-western corner. Just by its eastern side, there is another limeplastered cistern with steps around to get in. These two cisterns with the vast paved platform might well have served as a common bath for the soldiers, who were having their residential quarters immediately on the western side. These quarters might have been built for families connected with the service in the palace and they occupy quite a considerable portion of the area. Broadly, the area can be divided into five big units, each of which consisted a number of halls, rooms etc. The dimensions of the rooms in general are  $12'3'' \times 10'5''$  though there are variations, and halls  $22'9'' \times 10'0''$ . In a few rooms, evidence of lime-plastered flooring was found. One unit in particular on the extreme west is very striking. There is a spacious square hall at the centre with four rooms on four corners and the entire hall surrounded by a row of cells on all sides. Each side has five cells. On the eastern corner of this area, an open quadrangle is provided (site No. 101) probably for the military parades. A little towards the west is seen a rectangular brick platform 24'0" x 16'0", the exact purpose of which is not clear. It is likely that the platform was used for ceremonial occasions or parades.

Towards the northern fringe of the citadel and near about the postern gate, there seems to have been the residential quarters. Site No.104 gives some indications of the same. Within a vast rectangular brick enclosure wall of 108'0" x 54'0", there were four partitions, two on each wing leaving the centre portion vacant. The smaller rooms measure 19'6" x 16'0 and the bigger ones about 38'0"x16'0". There are traces of fine brick flooring within the rooms. Evidently there are two phases of construction in this area as the outer enclosure wall runs over an earlier tub at the south-east corner. Many disjointed and fragmentary walls evidently of the earlier phase are found without giving any indication of their clear lay-out.

About 150 feet towards the south of the above building complex we find vestiges of another residential building - the south-east group consisting of a row of the rectangular rooms of 18'0"x11'0".

The ceramic wares recovered from this area (plain red ware and a few black-and-red ware dishes and carinated vessels, sprinklers and bowls) leave no doubt regarding its identity as typical Ikshvaku pottery and help us in dating these structures.

Barracks Area: Another focus of habitation was near the eartern geteway (site No 91). It appears to be a veritable barracks area where possibly a contingent of soldiers was stationed to guard the eastern gateway. Here too, a number of rectangular and square cisterns and small tubs and platforms were found. Within a huge enclosure, two wings of rectangular halls having one room each are seen at the site (halls Nos. 1 and 2). The entrances to these rectangular halls are provided with big moon-stones. In one of these rectangular halls, traces of a square platform 18'0" x 15'0" with vertical Cuddapah casing slabs were also seen (room No. 4). There is a gateway into the outer brick enclosure wall about 17 feet in width. Room No. 5 is a separate detached rectangular room in a corner of the enclosure wall. Near this traces of a drainage are found.

On the southern wing of the enclosure, four rectangular rooms-big and small-are found as a closely-knit unit. Room No. 7 measured 24'0" x 21'6". They have well-plastered walls and flooring. Outside this complex, two entrances on the east and west are found. The former is intact and the latter is missing. The former is paved with bricks and is provided with a moon-stone. In one of the bigger halls, a rectangular water distern was found.

The huge enclosure wall with the above described residential buildings was provided with many outlets at different places, to take out rain water that might collect in the enclosure. Three such outlets, one on the northern side and two on the south-eastern side of the enclosure were unearthed. The former one is about 2'0" wide, while the latter two are smaller, only about 7" wide. It will be interesting to note that in between this enclosure wall and the outer rampart wall of the citadel, traces of an ancient road going in north-south direction is found.

The antiquities found in this site include fine terracotta animal figures like elephant, horse, ram and also female figurines. A dice made of shell found in the site shows that perhaps the soldiers used their leisure in such pastimes.

Situated almost in the heart of the fortified area in site No. 93, which apparently comprised ritualistic structure enclosed by a massive compound with flanks measuring 54 feet and central passage 18 feet wide. The most interesting feature of this structural complex is a square, plastered masonry tank 27'0" x 27'0" x 8'6", which is four-tiered with a square bottom. There are short sidesteps on its flanks at each level. It is in the Sulba orientation of inverted Chandas

(stepped pyramid reversed). The water level in this tank was evidently maintained constantly upto the depth of about six feet, the remaining water—being drained out through the outlet provided on the top through the closed—subterranean drain. The specific nature of this tank and the adjoining tank in *Kurma* shape is not clear but probably the square tank was an *Avabritha* tank where the performer of the *Aswamedha yaga* took the purificatory bath—The ritualistic association of the tank may be supported by the occurrence of skeletons of the animals, horse and goat.

All along the top-edge of the tank are seen post-holes (about 21 in number) distributed more or less at equal intervals. Presumably, some sort of a covering or roof was provided over the tank. Huge quantities of burnt wood, charred materials, twisted nails and decorative patterns in metal ware were recovered from the tank, indicating that it had a wooden roofing with lot of decorative patterns and embellishments.

Immediately to the south of this tank, is another masonary tank, of a peculiar curved shape, with the top cross measuring 18'0" x 12'0". It is also built in two tiers and in plan roughly resembles a tortoise or a kurma with its head projecting towards the west. Its overall depth is 4'8". A covered drain was provided at the bottom to let the water into two smaller tub-like structures outside. Whether it represents the kurma altar for ritualistic purpose or simply represents the ornamental tanks and baths for the royal personages, is not known. The nearby tub-like structures cannot be taken as chitis or fire-altars as the existence of the drainage connecting these with the main tank precludes that possibility. Antiquities found in this site consist of a number of lead coins of Ikshvaku kings Ifke Virapurushadatta, beautiful terracotta figures and figurines, and lime-stone carvings like the moon-stone with mythical animals etc.

A few rubble-built houses enclosed by a huge outer wall are found in site No. 103, towards the north-east corner of the citadel. These represent structures of the later period in which earlier Ikshvaku building materials such as pillar-fragments etc., were used. Besides these residential buildings, a few temples and baths were also excavated inside the citadal. They have been described in their proper context.

### GIRIDURGA (HILL FORT)

The river Krishna and its minor tributary streams, in the course of centuries, have dissected their course through the plateau. Due to this dissection of the river and feeder streams, isolated flat topped hill masses have been formed within this valley. One such hill mass is the Durgamkonda where it is proposed to have the Museum. It is narrow and elongated with an east-north-east and west-south-west trend, the most westerly point ending at the river. The river which had a north-south course has taken a sharp bend here so as to flow along the northern base

of the hill. Since it has taken a northerly bend, it has been considered assacred as Ganges near Benares and the Ikshavaku monarchs have established Sivalingas and built temples for Siva to render it a sacred thirta or a place of pilgrimage. The crematorium of Ikshvakus was also located on the northern slopes of the hill and on the river bank. Associated with the crematorium is the temple of Siva named Nadagisvarasvami (meaning of which is not quite intelligible) datable to the reign of Ehuvala Chantamula.

The top surface of the hill has a gentle westerly slope of about 560 feet above sea level, while on the eastern side, it raises to about 630 feet above mean sea level. The top surface is elongated with varying width, the maximum width which is on the eastern side is about 1,600 feet. On the westerly side, it is reduced to 700 feet and the total distance lengthwise being 6,000 feet in all. The slope of the hill mass is less than 80° from the horizontal. The profile, however, shows that the raise from the ground level is less than 15° from the horizontal. The slope gradually increases and for small heights near the top, the slope in nearly vertical. This vertical portion of the hill consists of bends of quartazitic sand stone with a thickness ranging from 20 to 30 feet. This natural formation of quartazitic sand stone gives an impression of a fortification wall when looked from below.

The total surface area of the hill top is 185 acres, which is utilised for the construction of the port and other buildings for defence purposes. One interesting feature about the layout of this port is the presence of four temples on four sides at the foot of the hill. On the eastern side, near the main gate, is the Naga temple; on the north-eastern side is Kodandarama temple with a huge image of Hanuman in its front; on the north-western side is the Nadagisvara temple and on the south-western side, the great temple of Pushapabhadrasvami.

The Ikshvakus had built this *giridurga* to serve as a place of security in times of siege by the enemies. The entire hillock was fortified by rings of walls built of solid granite blocks around the hill, both at its base and on its top with four main gates at the cardinal directions.

Fort Walls: The fort walls are made of granite blocks. The thickness of the wall varies from 15 to 25 feet. At some places on the southern side evidences of later-day repairs by way of brick reinforcements to a considerable length are found.

On the south-western corner of the hill, a rectangular bastion built of bricks with a stonepaved path or passage through it meant to be used by the elephants, as the local tradition would have us believe, has been noticed, **Moat**: The fort wall is surrounded by a moat about 35 to 120 feet in width going all round.

Gateways: There are four main gateways at the south-eastern, south-western, north-western and north-eastern sides, and a northern gate with a flight of curving steps leading to the cremation ghat. The main entrance appears to have been on the south-eastern side with a flight of steps in front leading to the bottom of the hill. Three gateways at the top of the hill connected by flights of steps from the start of the hills are in a fair state of preservation. From the outer or the lower enclosure wall to the gateway on the south-western side, there is a stone pitched track, which is also in good condition. But the south-western gate has a semi-circular bastion near the periphery and the steps leading down have disappeared.

South-Eastern Gateway: The main passage of the gateway was about 12 feet broad. The gateway seems to have had a covered roof of granite beam or lintels, one of them still in position. Immediately outside the gate, there is a structure complex with four rooms of more or less of equal dimensions (each room measuring 45'0'' x 38'0'') built in random rubble, with interconnecting doorways. This was perhaps the building set apart for the chief of guards with his garrison to protect the gateway. Between this structure and the main gateway, there is the moat. This house and the main gate are again enclosed by a ring of rubble wall 15 feet in thickness, which formed a sort of a bastion for the gate. Each of the gates is well protected by rubble enclosures with minor gates. In all these gates, the passages through them are zig-zag and hindered all direct approaches, rendering entry into the fort complicated and difficult.

North-Eastern Gateway: It is on the north-eastern corner of the fort. The passage into the gate is about 20 feet, which narrows down near the door to 4 feet. This gateway was enclosed by a rubble wall with a secondary opening, which in turn was enclosed by another smaller enclosure with a minor gate. The entire area in front of the main gate and its enclosures is surrounded by a ring of semi-circular rubble wall, which runs almost to the bottom of the hill. This wall, especially the northern side is having three minor gates similar to the eastern side. The outer minor passage down the hill is connected to the main gate at the top by a flight of steps, leading down to the river. Further north of the outer rampart wall and down the hill on the right bank of the river Krishna is the medieval temple of Rama with a huge Hanuman figure in front.

Northern Gate: Similar gate arrangements with all its outer enclosures are made at the north-western corner of the fort. Here also, there is a flight of steps connecting the burning ghat (Site No. 127) and the Siva temples (Site No. 126) at the foot of the hill. The flight of steps start right from the river itself.

In this outer fortification wall, which runs along the foot of the hill, there are three gateways, opening on to the river bank front, rendering the river itself to serve as a moat.

North-Western Gateway: This gateway is connected to the outer enclosure at the bottom by a flight of steps. At the bottom, there is another gateway which leads to the river.

Structures within the Giridurga: The top of the hill is almost flat, roughly measuring 185 acres in extent, divided into three enclosures by huge partitlon walls made of granite blocks. The central enclosure is bigger than the other two and the partition wall has bastions and a gateway. Going from east to west, the first enclosure occupied roughly one fourth of the area, while the third enclosure on the extreme west covered roughly 1/6th of the whole area. The rest is in the middle portion. These enclosures are inter-connected by passages or gateways in the partition walls. The gateway on the eastern side and the passage in the partition wall were connected by a road on which the modern road now runs. Within the first enclosure and by the side of the main road referred to, there is a well-laid out plan of residential buildings and three temples located at the junction of the street facing east. Of these three temples, two are dedicated to Siva and Rama, while the third perhaps enshrined a Jain image, the broken torso of which was found thrown in the jungle. From the plan, we can notice one major road running in the north-south direction with houses on either side. This road goes right up to the northern gateway of the fort. This road is cut by two other roads, running in the east-west direction. In one of the junctions, there is the temple of Sri Rama and in other junction, there is another temple dedicated to Durga. Besides these three major roads, there were some minor streets and by-lanes roughly parallel to one another. On both sides of the road, we find a number of residential buildings, built of random rubble, some of them consisting of square rooms within enclosures. We also get a number of huge square rectangular quadrangles meant probably for the parade ground. This entire complex seems to have been the barracks area. On the southern side of these enclosures, there is a building with a series of rooms within an enclosure which appears to be the stable.

Nearby is a huge circular well cut into the natural rock, about 160 feet in diameter. One could reach the water-level by a wide circular path which winds its way to the bottom. Even elephants could reach this huge well through this circular path. This well was probably meant for the animals kept in the stables. There is another big circular well on the eastern side which might have been the main water source for the residents here.

The central enclosure seems to have been the main focus of the habitation with a number of residential buildings on either side of the present road. Here also one can see houses arranged in a neat manner on either side of the streets and lanes. Here also a number of streets in the

north-south direction and a cross road in east-west direction are seen. Almost in the centre of this enclosure, there is a Jain temple, perhaps belonging to the Vijayanagar times, as is evidenced by the surviving temple as well as the *torana* of the image of Maha Vira, with the *vedika* showing the lions (simhasana). But, the most important of all the buildings here, is a huge rubble building situated almost in the centre of the entire fort. Perhaps this was the place meant to be the residence of the king or his direct representative. It is a big rectangular rubble structure 425'0" x 370'0" with the main entrance on the east. In front, there is a long rectangular area with a smaller room, in its corner. Further west of this rectangular room, a passage leads to a bigger enclosure. On the southern wing of the latter, there are a few rooms. Outside this building, and as part of the same complex, there are smaller square enclosures perhaps meant for the servants attached to the palace.

From this central enclosure, we pass on to the next enclosure on the western extremity of the fort through the smaller passage or gate of 8 feet width provided in the partition wall. Within this enclosure also, we find vestiges of what might have been a magnificent structure built of rubble meant for some important personages like the *durgadhyaksha* or Commander of the fort. The structure consists of one enclosure 150 feet square with a rectangular hall in front. Both have entrances to the north. In the eastern wing of the rectangular enclosures, there are four square rooms, The whole building is enclosed by an outer rubble enclosure which shows that the building had been heavily guarded. To the north of this building complex are a few residential buildings with a number of round buried tubs probably meant for storing water for animals. This might also have been a barracks area with a contingent of troops to guard the north-western gate.

#### RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

In view of the vastness of the area of the valley, horizontal excavation of residential buildings was restricted to a square area of 1300' opposite the eastern entrance of the citadel, in the centre of the valley to get some data-about the cultural equipment of the common man - disposition of structures of different classes and castes in the City, town planning etc. Since no clue to their identification except in one or two places was offered, they are being described by their site numbers.

Excavations have revealed to view residential buildings distributed practically all over the valley with major concentration to the east of the citadel area. Residential buildings were also found near the river bank, at sites like 72, 73, 74, 67 etc., (on the south of the citadel) and sites 119, 120, 124 (on the north of the citadel) at the foot of Nagarjuna hill, and some stray ones as at the site No.48 on the eastern side of the valley near the Hariti temple.

From the general distribution of the habitation sites excavated, we can say that residential areas were in the immediate vicinity of the citadel on its east, south and north. The eastern side

of the citadel was, however the main centre of habitation. Excavations have revealed residential buildings by way of enclosures, the largest of them measuring 250'0"x150" representing a well-laid township, possibly the eastern part of Vijayapuri, mentioned in inscriptions. It was provided with well-marked out streets with houses on either side, by-lanes measuring 25 feet and 8 feet respectively in width leading to enclosure or clusters of houses in the interior and away from the main road. The main street practically divided the township in two halves. Construction of these houses is simple and perhaps peculiar to the locality. The foundations of the walls of the buildings were mostly two or three layers of random rubble in clay or mud over which, stone with rough dressing or brick walls were constructed. Invariably, except where the structures were in contact with water, the building material was mud or local clay which is quite gritty. The plans of the buildings are as simple as their architecure. They generally comprised one or two rooms with intercommunication, a narrow front and rear verandah, enclosed by a compound wall. In the rear portion of the house, sufficient open space was kept, perhaps for a kitchen in the open, while inside the rooms valuable materials like grain and jewellery were stored. It was also noticed in the course of excavations, that storage vessels for grains, oil etc,. were buried in the floor of the room, a practice which has came down to this day. Since all the superstructures were also missing, nothing could be ascertained about the height of the roof, nature and materials used for the doors, windows, ventilators etc. From the occurrence of numerous varieties of roof, drains, circular earthen-ware pipes and flat stone channels-it is possible to surmise that buildings of richer people at least had flat roofs made of the Macherla slab over wooden rafters with proper slope to drain the rain water etc., while the poorer folk had only lean-to roofs with kutcha materials, fetched from the forest round about and built against one corner of the compound wall with random rubble or mud partition walls and rammed or mud floors.

From the study of extant remains of residential buildings, the common pattern of a rich man's building appears to be an enclosure with a central pillared pavilion with an auxiliary structure on all sides built of brick and lime, encased in Cuddappah slab. While the flooring was paved with napa slabs, the walls were plastered with lime, the thickness and the fineness of plaster varying with the purpose to which the building was put to. The pillared pavilion is an ornamental building with balustraded steps on four sides with a central elevated platform. The purpose of the elevated platform in a residential building is not quite intelligible. But from the sculptural representation on the pillars and of the associated finds it may not be far from truth if we presume that the platform was used as a sort of a drawing room to receive the visitors. Similar platforms were found in the Mukhamandapas of the temples. In the latter case, purpose was evidently different. The deity was placed in it for the kalyana utsava or the day to day worship. The Utsavamurti was temporarily kept there for abhisheka and the visitor could have a close darsan.

That the structure belonged to the Ikshvaku period was evident from the prevalence of typical pottery, terracotta figurines, beads, metal objects and a large number of lead coins belonging to

the first three Ikshvaku kings. Within many enclosed walls were found huge storage jars, often arranged in rows.

**South of the Citadel:** The area immediately to the south of the citadel has a cluster of rubble walls (Site Nos. 72, 73 and 74) presumably indicating the habitation site in this part of Vijayapuri town. Excavation in this area has yielded structural remains of brick-built as well as rubble-built houses. The normal lay-out of these residential buildings consists of rows of rooms and a common verandah with a compound wall enclosing them. These are actually located on either side of the road leading to Yelesvaram ferry. This incidentally helps us to identify that the modern road was actually laid on the old one.

Site No. 74: Excavation in site No. 74 has yielded the remnants of two buildings-one super-imposed over the other-the former built of brick and the latter with rubble. The brick-built structure consists of a row of four rooms measuring 8'6" x 8'0" with a front verandah. This has been provided with a roof made of tiles fastened to the ceiling rafters. This is indicated by a large quantity of flat tiles sometimes with perforations discovered during the excavation. Similar perforated tiles were used in Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) in the Satavahana period. These tiles were evidently fixed by inserting nails in the holes and fixing them into the wooden rafters, covering the roof, or to tie them to the rafters with thread or copper wire. It has east-west orientation and perhaps the southern wall was abutting the enclosure wall. It is curious that even in the present times, houses are constructed in this locality in identical fashion. A huge compound wall with a row of rooms arranged side by side with or without inter-connection is the standard type for a common man's dwelling.

From the extant structure, it is not possible to reconstruct the height of the walls and the type of timber used in construction. The bricks used vary in size and their average measurement is  $14\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7" x 2".

These buildings compare very well with the structures excavated at Brahmapuri, a site of the Satavahana period.

The rubble-built structure has a different orientation though in right angle alignment with earlier structure. It comprises of two rooms, one big and the other smaller. The bigger one measures 15'0" x 9'0". Traces of the front verandah are also noticed. Since the construction was done on the slopes of the hill, it is quite possible that the remnants of the super-structure

1. Excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) 1945-46 by Sankalia & Dikshit (1952) p. 30

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of the buildings might have been washed down by rain water. 33 lead coins bearing the legend of *Sri Vira*, presumably Virapurushadatta of Ikshvaku dynasty, were picked up in the area which help us in dating the structure to the period of the Ikshvakus. A terracotta bead and a conch shell were also recovered from the site. Pottery discovered from this house is mostly utilitarian indicating domestic rather than monastic use.

**Site No. 72:** This structure is almost similar to the site No. 74 and consists of a row of three rooms each measuring 13'6" x 9'6" with a front verandah about five feet in width in east-west orientation. The main entrance to the building is on the north where traces of Cuddapah slab steps leading to the room are extant, Numerous storage jars and pots were found fixed into the ground, inside the enclosure, presumably used for sorting grains etc.,

This site was rich in antiquities- nearly 38 lead coins, 14 terracotta human figures, a terracotta elephant, 12 stone beads, besides many iron objects were discovered here. Some of the coins can be ascribed to Virapurushadatta, the second of the Ikshvakv dynasty and therefore, the structure may be dated to his period. Terracotta figurines discovered here are made of double moulded technique and help us in collecting some useful information about the folk-art. A stone intaglio with an engraving of stylised figure of lion holding in its mouth a beaked animal, on the left corner and on the right a *triratna* is very interesting. This stone plaque is divided into four compartments and the lower part is without decoration. It may possibly be a toilet tray.

Site No 73: It is a pavilion with three balustraded steps provided on the south. Some very disturbed remnants of rubble buildings are found, probably representing residential quarters. A huge kachcha drain is dug on the south, parallel to the main rubble enclosure and spreads outside in a rectangle. One small drain joins this bigger one. This may indicate that each house was provided with a drain which was connected to the main drain and all the dirty water was taken and drained to a far off place.

On the eastern side of the citadel, a cluster of rubble structures, with a rough east-west alignment have been found. The sites included are: 107, 111, 115, 89, 87, 57 and 58. As said earlier, this was the main focus- centre of Vijayapuri town.

**Site No. 58**: This is to the north of the Stupa No 9, consisting of a brick house within a rubble enclosure wall. The main hall measured 46'0", with faint traces of partitions. The thickness of the brick wall is two feet and contains square post-holes at a distance of three feet in between, presumably for wooden pillars which support the roof of tiles. Three feet away from the main building, is a rubble enclosure wall.

This site has yielded a pot containing jewellery, consisting of two ear ornaments (kundalas), a gold necklace with a Roman coin pierced and used as pendant, perhaps belonging to the inhabitants of this house. Besides these, we also obtained a number of Ikshvaku lead coins, copper armlet, iron miniature bowls, terracotta figures and figurines, shell bangles, beads and glass beads.

Site No. 57: The Kartikeya temple is surrounded by rectangular walls enclosing an area of  $215'0'' \times 160'0''$ . Apparently by the side of the temple, there must have been residential buildings connected with this temple.

Towards the east of the Kartikeya temple, huge rectangular rubble enclosures are found with occasional partition also made of rubble. All the houses which these rubble walls enclosed, have disappeared. leaving no traces of their plans even. Presumably, they were made of non-durable materials which have not with stood the ravages of time.

To the south of the Kartikeya temple, traces of an ancient road (No. IV A) are found going in the eastern direction. It is about 20 feet in width. On either side of the road, traces of rubble enclosure walls of irregular size were found. The one on the south measuring roughly about  $360'0'' \times 240'0''$  has a central partition wall of rubble. Inside this enclosure there must have been many houses built of perishable materials. On the north of the Kartikeya temple, are rows of three rectangular rubble enclosures which together occupy an area of  $270'0'' \times 100'0''$ . Each of these three enclosures must have contained smaller houses. The entrance to these enclosures is towards the north side, where there is another ancient road running in east-west direction. The total extant length of this road is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  furlongs with a uniform width of 30 feet. It is this road that leads to the citadel, connecting the town with the citadel area.

site No. 89: On the northern side of this road, is site No. 89 comprising a number of rubble stone enclosures including the goldsmith's workshop which has been described above. Therein, we find two rooms intact, the bigger room adjacent to the road measures 20'6" x 17'0" in which there is platform. The next room is 20'0" x 16'0". Immediately to the west of the goldsmith's workshop, another typical house was found. Within a rectangular rubble enclosure, two rooms are found adjacent to each other with a partition wall. One is a rectangle and the other a square of 19 feet, probably with an entrance towards the road side to the south. Further north of this. Site. No. 89, is another smaller street running in the east-west direction. It is about 15 feet in width. While to the south of this street is. Site. No. 89, on its north a number of rectangular enclosures in close proximity all along the road side, of various sizes, were exposed to view. There is no uniformity with regard to the size of the enclosure. This area must have been dotted with a number of small dwellings made of perishable materials like wood, thatched

roof etc. Only the outer rubble enclosures have survived to this day. Good examples of this type by way of a series of rubble enclosures are seen in sites No. 115, and 111. In site No. 115 which has a pillared hall, a number of similar rubble enclosure walls are found.

Site No. 87: To the north of the road No IV, we find a rectangular brick platform (15'0" x 22'6") with a rubble enclosure (50'0" x 35'0"). This brick platform formed a part of the flooring of the rooms, the walls having disappeared, due to the vandalism of local people, who pillaged the ancient structures for building materials. Another huge rubble enclosure wall is seen nearby.

Site No. 37: Situated by the side of Road No. III appears a unique residential building probably meant for a noble man or a rich foreign merchant. It is a 24-pillared hall with entrances on the east and on the west, with one long room on either side. The entrances are provided with well-decorated *Chandrasilas* (moon-slabs) and steps with balustrades. There is a central platform in the hall with beautifully-carved pillars. The walls of these buildings which are of brick have been encased with Cuddapah slabs neatly cut into shape. About this edifice, Longhurst wrote: "From the style of this elaborate ornamentation and curious semi-classical subjects portrayed on their shafts, the pillars appear to have supported the wooden roof of a hall belonging to the royal palace. No pillars of this kind were found at any other site. Two of these pillars are particularly interesting, one representing a bearded soldier apparently a Scythian wearing, a Roman-like helmet, a quilted long-sleeved tunic and trousers holding a heavy spear. The other sculpture portrays a male figure, nude down to the waist and holding a drinking horn (rhyton) in his left hand".

In view of the small size of the building, it is difficult to agree with Longhurst's identification of this structure as a palace. Very likely it can be the house of a rich nobleman or foreign Saka merchant who lived in the city. From one of the inscriptions discovered in the Kumara Nandi Vihara, an indication is made of the existence of special enclosures in the city of Vijayapuri with residential buildings for the use of dignitaries and foreign settlers. Isvaradatta, the Saka is said to have lived in a special enclosure or parivena named after the chief Queen Mahadevi (Mahadevi parivenana) Similar names must have been given to other enclosures though unfortunately we do not have any inscription of that kind.

Site to the North of the Citadel: On the northern side of the citadel and to the east of Pushpabhadrasvami temple, on the slope of Mahisasaka *vihara*, remains of habitation buildings represented by sites No. 119, 120, 117 and 124 were exposed to view. The first two sites are situated on either side of Road I, which? runs in the east-west direction of the valley. The other sites are on the southern slope of the Mahisasaka hill.

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Site No. 119: Adjoining the road, on its south-west is a complex of residential buildings with a rectangular brick enclosure wall containing a row of five rooms of more or less equal proportions i.e., 9'0" x 9'6" with a verandah in front. Remnants of a drain and a tub are also found. There are a number of disturbed and fragmentary walls of brick and rubble of earlier period. But no regular plan is discernible. Towards the west, two spacious rubble enclosures are also found with a tub-like structure of brick in a corner. Thickness of the brick-wall is 2'6".

Site No. 120: On the north of the same road (i.e., Road No. I) behind Pushpabhadravsami temple are found rubble and brick houses represented by site No. 120.

Within a big rubble enclosure wall are seen three rectangular structures, two of brick and one of rubble, separated from one another. The smallest room measures  $20'0'' \times 12'0''$ , the next bigger is  $33'0'' \times 11'0''$ , while the rubble structure measures  $25'0'' \times 17'0''$ . Besides these three rooms, there are two smaller rooms on the north-western corner of the enclosure probably used as bath rooms.

Site No. 124: To the north-west of the habitation area described above, is the site No. 124, which is only an extension of that site. Huge rubble enclosures are found on either side of the Road No. II. This must have contained many houses similar to those on the east of the citadel, built of highly perishable materials.

Site No. 117:. To the south-east of the Mahisasaka hill on the slopes, there are a series of rectangular rubble enclosures, about 20 in number, of various sizes. There is no uniformity in the size of rooms or any regular alignment. The biggest enclosure is about 205'0''  $\times 165'0''$  and the smallest  $31'0'' \times 55,0''$ .

Site No. 48: About 100 yards to the south-east of the Hariti temple, remnants of a habitation area, consisting of well-built residential houses in three rows – on northern, southern, and western sides have been found. The extant remnants indicate a wall of 42'5" in length with a partition wall at the northern end, enclosing three sides of a room which measures 14'5" x 10'10". The northern wing consisted of small rooms 6'8" x 7'2" and 9'4" x 7'5" separated by the partition walls 1'6". A narrow passage of 4' x 6' width was left, to serve as a passage or entrance to the rear verandah. The northern side-wall of the rooms extends further towards east joining with the eastern sidewall. No trace of any regular room was seen. Particularly at the eastern side, only a wall of 1'6" width has survived to a length of 30'0". The huge amount of plastered brick debris and perforated tiles indicated the use of thickly plastered wall surface and the beautifully tiled roofing over them. Many post holes at regular intervals of three feet on the walls (particularly in the two rooms at the northern wing) of the rooms suggest that the roof was supported by weeden pillars.

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The rooms contained coarse gravel-filling of  $2'' \times 4''$  thickness, the top of which is plastered with lime and finished smooth. Out-side the rooms, only mud floor is seen. The local farmers dug the earth close to the structure, which factor contributed much to the destruction of the structure, so that a full picture of the structure could not be had.

Pottery found here is of the usual red-slipped ware of the Ikshvaku period. A lead coin bearing the Ujjain symbol on the reverse and a corroded legend on the obverse of the Ikshvaku kings was found here to help us in dating the structure.

#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Introduction: Apart from the private residential buildings for the common people and the nobles, we find certian edifices in various parts of the valley, which by their nature and vastness may have to be identified as public buildings, meant for social gatherings on important ceremonial occasions like debates, religious discourses, games and recreation. Ancient Vijayapuri, as a renowened centre of Buddhism, attracted both Mahayanists and Hinayanist from far off places. It was also a centre of Buddhist learning, with notable acharyas like Nagarjuna, Aryadeva and Dharmanandi etc. Buddhist viharas dedicated to the use of acharyas of different sects like the Apara Mahavinasely, Mahisasaka, Rajagirika, flourished at Vijayapuri, thanks to the patronage and munificence of the Ikshvaku rulers who encouraged all religions Sakasamaye and Para Samaye without any discrimination. Buddhism being essentially congregational, needed places for gathering of all the monks for religious discourses. To serve the needs of the inmates of these numerous viharas, the Ikshvaku kings seem to have built an open-air amphitheatre.

Site No. 17 is a pre-eminent example of a vast amphitheatre or a stadium. On the contours of the Phirangulamotu hill is juxtaposed the temple of Hariti with an amphitheatre to its west at a lower level. The Phirangulamotu hill runs north-south, about 957 feet above the sea level. At the lower reaches of this hill, there is a westerly projection of about 150 feet at 400 feet contour. Taking advantage of this ledge, the builders have chosen this eminence for locating the temple of Hariti. This rugged projection was secured by building a retaining wall 13 feet in brick on the southern slope and the top rendered almost flat by filling the depression with mud and loose stones. Indications of toe-walls built into the core of the hills to strengthen the retaining wall and avoid possible bulging due to thrust are available. On the summit of this elevated ground 500 feet above sea level, a small temple for Hariti, the mother of Buddhist pantheon, with a pillared mandapa in front was constructed. That this temple was attracting large number of Buddhist nuns and lay women is indicated by the discovery of large quantities of bangles in shell, perhaps votive offering at the shrine and a fragmentery inscription on a pillar, records a prepetual endownment, Aksayanivi for its maintanance.

Taking advantage of this maximum 13 feet brick wall, which served as a screen on the south, a large open air amphitheatre was added to its north with a central passage or main entrance into the quadrangle and a flight of step3 with galleries on all sides to a height of about 18 feet. This central open space measures 55'9" x 48'9" and is exposed to the sun and the rain. During the excavation it was noticed that the whole area was badly disturbed. Since an elaborate stone-paved drain was found built at in the south-western corner, to drain out rain water collected inside, it may have to be presumed that the central court was also paved with Cuddapah slab or brick.

Alround this open court, there are galleries or benches built in brick and encased in slabs both vertically and horizontally, except on the south-western side. The gallery consists of 11 tiers of seats. On the south-west side, the flight of steps leading to the top of the hill divides the gallery into two halves with an addition of 12th, 13th and 14th tiers of steps, perhaps to provide additional space for distinguished visitors. These latter top galleries have been found converted into special enclosures, perhaps to afford privacy and privilege to the people occupying these seats. It is interesting to note that some of the seating slabs bear the names of those that sat—

Dhanakasa Asana—etc., for whom these seats were reserved.

Detailed measurements of gallery of this amphitheatre are as follows: All round the open space in the centre, there are brick-built galleries encased in Cuddapah slabs. The southern and northern side benches upto the 11th tier are common to all. The south-eastern side where the main stair-case divides the two halls, additional space has been provided on either side of the stair-case and covering the tiers 12th, 13th, and 14th for accommodating important visitors to the function. The tread of the step varies in dimension—first 3'00", second 1'9", third 1'6", fourth 2'0", fifth 1'6", sixth 5'3", seventh 1'9", eighth 1'10", ninth 2'0", tenth 2'00", eleventh 2'3", twelfth 2'9", thirteenth 2'9", fourteenth 2'9", and fifteenth 7'10".

The height of the steps is first 3'0", second 0.69", third 0.50", fourth 0.50", fifth 0.50" and the remaining are 0.90".

Flight of Steps: Besides the central flight of steps, galleries seem to have been provided also on the north-western and south-eastern sides, but only faint traces of that arrangement have survived to this day. The more spectacular and well-preserved one is the central stair-case. It is also 8 feet in width and is tlanked on either side with ornamented balustrades. The height of the steps vanished with the gradient of the hill, the lower-most one being 4" in height. There are landings at regular intervals, to reduce the strain while climbing and the steps end in a narrow corridor or room immediately above the 14th tier. In the south-east corner

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of this room (measuring 29'0" x 6'6") with niches in the walls, there is a winding or spiral staircase leading to the temple on the top. A circular abacus-part of a column was situated right at the centre of the quadrangle. One of the stone benches bore the *triratna* and bow-and-arrow marks. Another has an inscription reading 'Kamasara' or Kamesvara. A rare feature connected with this building is its fine acoustics, which the architect had succeeded in achieving by utilising the slopes of the hill.

The Arena (Site No. 122): At the north-western corner of the valley, in between the citadel wall and the foot of the fortified hill and in the vicinity of the temple of Pushpabhadrasvami, on the bank of the river, taking advantage of the natural low-lying area, a magnificent arena with galleries on three sides, and a pillared pavillion on the fourth, was built by the Ikshvakus. This is just a magnified example of the auditorium near the University site.

The entire construction is brick and lime, lined with Cuddapah slabs. The central open space 309'0" x 259'0" is found divided into a number of sectors by vertical slabs fixed into the ground. The southern gallery consists of four wide receding steps or benches, the top most one being the widest. For easy access into the central court, there are three more flights of steps, while the northern wing contains longer benches of equal dimensions -two of them on the south are divided into two halves by a circular bastion-like structure with some other building, but no traces of the building are available now. At the mouth of this passage, near the semi-circular opening, there are grooves in the wall for a wooden shutter to be operated from above. The eastern wing is perhaps the shortest gallery in height. It has only three or four steps and a wide bench on top. The western side is the most spectacular of all. It consists of a central projecting gallery, with two long side benches. Pillar sockets and bases exposed at this site indicate the existence of a pillared pavilion, where perhaps the king along with other nobility and important members sat and witnessed the functions. The vertical height of the pavilion from the side of the arena is higher here, which prevented all direct approaches to the king from the centre. Two smaller flights of of steps or stair-cases, on either end of the pavilion, perhaps served this purpose of approaches to the pavilion from where people could reach the king unobserved from front, at the same time maintaining the dignity and decorum of the royal personages.

Excavations in the pavilion site have revealed clearly three phases of structural activity. In the first phase, there seems to have been only a huge pillared pavilion with a high platform, while in the second phase, this platform was divided into halls or rooms. In the third phase, on the ruins of the second phase structures, an apsidal shrine was built and a compound wall on the west was added. It was perhaps during this period, that the square raised platform with rubble-filled floor was also added at the south-eastern corner of the enclosure.

Antiquities discovered in the area are very interesting. Skeletal remains of animals, particularly those of elephants, coins, terracotta bulls and pendants, inscribed vertical slabs fixed into the ground, stone sculpture of Devasena - the consort of Kartikeya, the patron deity of the Ikshvakus-all seem to suggest that it was a place of public gathering for functions like kings' abhisheka amusements and sports connected and conducted in the immediate presence of the king. The occurance of elephant bones seem to point out to the elephant fight, while the clay bullae with double trident and perforations at the top, might have been tokens issued by the king for the winners in the sports.

The sections of the trenches in the area showed in the lowest layers, large quantities of pottery of the Ikshvaku period, mixed with fine sand, while the thick deposits immediately overlying them is all alluvial clay except for the surface humus and the layer immediately below. This thick deposit of clay, made some people think that the entire structure might have been a huge pond or tank (teppakulam), generally found in South India as part of a temple complex. Its proximity to the temple of Siva - Pushpabhadra seems to have influenced this inference.

There are two strong arguments which made me feel that it was an arena rather than a tank or teppakulam. Construction of a tank of this dimension, immediately on the bank of the river, is inexplicable, particularly when the people were habituated to use the river for bathing purposes and when elaborate bathing ghats were built on the river hardly fifty yards away from this site. Secondly the embankment and the vertical height of the structure on the eastern side is hardly three feet which naturally cannot retain large quantities of water needed for the float-festival (teppostavam) connected with the temple. Again, the occurrence of elephant bones and skeletons in the occupational level of the building needs a satisfactory explanation in case it is to be identified as a tank.

In view of the above and on the basis of antiquities discovered, I am inclined to identify it as an arena, the like of which in a smaller scale, we are already familiar with in the eastern part of the city—near the University site.

The Ikshvakus, like all contemporary monarchs, indulged in performing vedic sacrifices, like 'Asvamedha', for which a huge congregation of people gathered at the city. For the numerous hiranya danas or gifts performed by Chantamula, they needed a place big enough to accommodate all the citizens, to witness the function and naturally, there cannot be a better place than this huge structure near the palace, for arranging that.

Ranga-Mondapa or Dancing Hall (Site No. 80): This site is situated in S. XXI A, on the bank of the river Krishna near Peddalamodu hill. It is a huge 36-pillared hall surrounded by an

open courtyard on three sides with the main entrance on the east and two rooms behind the mandapa. The pillared hall measured 50 feet square, whereas the rooms stood at 22'0" x 28'0" and 19'0" x 27'0". These two rooms are inter-connected by a passage. These huge proportions of the hall and also the main gateway make one surmise that it might have been a sort of congregation hall probably meant for witnessing some cultural show. There is also a drain provided to take out the rain water, from the courtyard. A water-tub is also provided in the south wing of the courtyard.

Site No. 70: The site No. 70 which is situated (in Sector S II) near the Kartikeya temple on the river bank also appears to have been a public hall. The hall is enclosed with a brick wall on all sides. This measures 48'10" x 42'6". The Pillars are arranged in five rows of six each. Traces of a room within the mandapa are seen on the eastern side. A brick structure in a segment shape probably representing the entrance is visible on the west. To the south-east corner of the hill, a brick enclosure wall about 55'0" long is seen with traces of fine brick flooring. A small rectangular tub is also found.

#### WORKSHOPS

Antiquities discovered at Nagarjunakonda, supplemented by structural evidences furnish us interesting data about trade and merchant guilds that flourished at Vijayapuri during the Ikshvaku and post-Ikshvaku periods Mention can be made here about swarnakaras or gold-smiths, Iohakara or smiths, sanka-valayakaras or shell-workers besides avesanis - architects and vidhikas or stone-cutters. Inscriptions also referred to the superintendents of works-Bhadanta Ananda and Naganandi Thera under whose guidance and direction structural activity at Nagarjunakonda-Vijayapuri was carried on. Restricted digs in the city site have brought to light vestiges of what appear to be workshops of gold-smiths, sculptor's ivory and shell objects, bricks, tiles, lime and pots of Ikshvaku period and an iron-smelting area of post-Ikshvaku period

i) Gold smith's shop: Near the eastern wing of site No 89. evidence of a goldsmith's workship has been found. Interesting data by way of crucibles, moulds for gold jewellery touchstone, weights, iron hammers and terracotta bangles were discovered at the site indicating its identification without much difficulty. A hoard of coins which was also found within the house, well-preserved in a pot, seem to lend support to the theory of Kautilya that the goldsmiths in the city were authorised to mint coins on behalf of the king.

This site is situated on the northern side of an ancient road running between east and west amidst a number of residential buildings.

It is a small rubble built structure without an outer enclosure. Within it there are two roughly rectangular rooms with a central partition wall. The bigger one measures 20"6" x 17'0". In a corner of this room, there is a rectangular platform 8'6" x 6'6" with napa slab flooring and vertical napa slabs are fixed on three sides. Just by the side of the platform, is also seen trace of pebble flooring. This might have been the actual workshop while the adjoining smaller room might well have been the goldsmith's house.

(avesani and vaddhaki). Rich nobles and businessmen (srestins) vied with one another in adding new edifices to the monasteries and decorating them with stone images etc. (salilamayi pratima) of Buddha and they generally entrusted these tasks to competent sculptors or avesanis. This is called navakamma "a religious building dedicated by some lay member to the Sangha". A superintendent of works is appointed by the Bhikkus to supervise the constructions. These vaddhakis or saila vardhakis mentioned in the inscriptions formed themselves into guilds and they undertook construction works. Similar guilds of Utthaka-Vaddhaki, a brick-mason should have also flourished at Nagarjunakonda, with their characteristic guild marks or symbols, helping the sculptors. One name of the ancient avesanis of Nagarjunakonda—Mulabhuta, whose memorial pillar was found in site No. 69 is the surviving evidence of the personal names of these ancient workmen.

Site No. 15: has yielded a large number of stone images of Buddha in different stages of execution, stocked in a rectangular room. This was perhaps the place where stone-sculptors were working and supplying the images to the different monasteries of Nagarjunakonda.

This rectangular room is situated on the southern wing of a *vihara* on the hillock by the side of the road to Vijayapuri. It is within a monastic unit which consists of a rubble *stupa* and a three-winged *vihara*. This particular room measures about 18'0" x 8'9", while the northern and eastern wings of the *vihara* have only four rooms. The wesfern wing alone has this additional chamber, probably set apart for the sculptors. Entrance to this chamber is provided with a moon-stone slab. It is interesting to note that in the centre of the wall of this chamber, there are niches, evidently meant for keeping these sculptures during the process of carving. To the south-east corner of this room, another rectangular pedestal made of bricks is also found. From this room were recovered three torsos of Buddha and one immediately outside. Besides these lime-stone carvings of *Buddha-pada*, a stone with line drawings of *Dhyana Buddha* was found outside this room. Similarly, pillars carved or otherwise, needed for the *mandapas* or pillar halls were done by these *vaddhakis*. A name *vidhika*, with the symbol of a bow and arrow was found occurring invariably on the niches or pillars, in the halls excavated here. The pillars discovered in the site of Ashta Ehujasvami form a class by themselves in this category.

iii) Ivory ond Shell - Workshops: Ivory and shell workers also received similar patronage at the hands of citizens of Vijayapuri. Immediately outside the eastern gate of the citadel, there seems to have flourished the guild of sankha-valayakaras, who worked on conches making them into bangles. These shell bangles were in great demand as they formed a major part of the offerings at the temples of Hariti and Ashtabhujasvami. These shell workers (Sankha-valayakaras) are very often referred to in Mahavastu, and they must have played a leading role in the internal trade and commerce of Nagarjunakonda also.

Site No. 36 is a 12 pillared mandapa within a brick enclosure. The mandapa measures 52'8" x 32'0". On all sides except on the east, traces of rubble platforms are seen There are traces of partition walls dividing the mandapa into three.

This site produced a maximum number of shell-bangles, about 468 in number, in various sizes and stages of execution. This high frequency might indicate that in this site must have been located some centre of manufacture of shell-bangles. There might have been one or two more centres of manufacture and sale. This might have been located at a religious centre frequented by visitors from home and abroad. Particularly in front of Harity shrine, a large number of ivory objects were found. There might have been a shop to sell these objects to the worshippers who came to offer the ivory and shell bangles to the mother-Goddess Hariti for propitiating her.

- iv) Bricks and Tiles: Building materials like bricks and tiles were manufactured in the city itself. Evidences of the kilns specially built for this purpose and used in the constructions were noticed at some sites like the University area and Nagargunakonda 11. Practically at every site, flat and corrugated tiles, sometimes with holes and bridges or platforms, were found indicating their use in construction. The bricks, which are well-built, are of large size and some of them bear the mark of the brickmason-bow and arrow, the guild responsible for many a construction in this city.
- v) Lime-Slaking Centres: Lime was also burnt and slaked at a number of sites as indicated by the numerous lime-tubs and pots found at sites. Sand, both coarse and fine variety, was used in preparing the lime-mortar used for construction purposes. It can be mentioned that lime was used in construction at places in contact with water while other structures were built in mud and plastered with lime.

In No. 96 near the western gateway of the citadel, a rectangular tub of 6'6" x 2'6" was found. Probably this was used for mixing the lime while work was going on in connection with the construction of the gateway and the rampart walls.

In site No. 18-A, we have a huge circular lime-kiln with four small passages or outlets on four sides. Evidences of hard earth mixed with lime were available. The circular kiln is also 15 feet in diameter.

In site No. 91 near the barracks within the citadel, a few rectangular shallow tubs are found, which could have been used as limb-tubs. Tub No. 7, 16, are such examples. They are roughly about  $4'0'' \times 2'6''$ .

- vi) Potter's Shop: (Kumbhakaras): Significant was the role played by the potter who not only made utilitarian pots, sprinklers, dishes, lamps of numerous shapes and designs and toys to serve the demands from people but also engaged himself in the manufacture of all images of cult gods, goddesses, and votive tanks etc., used. In this art, the potter betrays in delienation, ornamentation etc., a skill which is of no mean order. Of these cult gods worshipped by the people of Nagarjunakonda, the mother Goddess, Kartikeya and purna ghata or fertility symbol, are popular. The technique adopted by the potters who manufactured these terracottas is also available. The most important and dominating is the double-moulded one, while evidences for the manufacture of applique and plaque varieties are also not wanting. Particular mention may be made of site No. 69, where terracotta figures have been found in plenty. The site No. 69 is a rubble enclosure on top of the hill mound with a brick wall inside.
- vii) Black-Smith's Workshop: Evidences of an iron-smelting area belonging to the post-Ikshvaku period are available in the valley. A large number of iron implements found in various parts of the valley definitely show that iron was used profusely for the day-to-day needs of the people in agriculture and other purposes. One such centre was apparently located in site No. 17-A, on the slopes of the hill near the stadium. The surface exploration in this area itself yielded a large number of molted iron lumps suggesting the location of an iron-smelting industry and the excavations have also corroborated the surmise. All the necessary equipment of a black-smith (lohakara) like furnace for smelting iron, iron slag, pipe-line in terracotta to pass the molten metal to the moulds to get the desired shapes of implements manufactured, besides arrangement for storing water were all discovered at this site.

This structure consisted of a single row of four rooms and a front verandah of 3'9" in width. Room No. I and III were 7'9" square, while Room No II measures 17'0" x 7'9" and Room No. IV measures 9'2" x 7'9". On statigraphical grounds, the present structure can be ascribed to a period immediately following the Ikshvaku time, as it overlay the earlier Ikshvaku phase. The associated ceramic industry like the coarse-grained grey-ware with no slip or wash, plastered slipped ware of coarse section point to the same conclusion. Besides, a number of iron lumps, a furnace

of kiln in oval shape supported by bricks built around was also found. Similar kilns in broken condition were also recovered in this area. A number of earthen pipes with circular groove of  $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 1" diameter were also found. These were used perhaps to connect the blowers to the furnace as conduits of air.

#### (i) DHARMASALAS OR REST - HOUSES

Excavations have revealed to view structural complexes at vantage points at the road crossings or in the vicinity of important places of public gatherings like temples, bathing tanks etc. These comprise mostly of pillared halls or mandapas, which for the sake of convenience can be classified as dharmasalas. These structures have been referred to as sila mandapas or saila mandapas in inscriptions associated with Buddhist monasteries or viharas and presumably used for congregational purposes by the monks. This idea seems to have prompted philanthropic and rich gentlemen of the city to construct similar mandapas in different corners of the city for the use of pilgrims and other people who visited the temples as temporary shelter-houses or dharmasalas during their sojourn in the capital.

Generally speaking, material used in the construction of these *dharmasalas* mostly are lime-stone pillars with or without any delicate ornamentation enclosed or unenclosed, sometimes with slab flooring and roofing, perhaps fixed on wooden rafters and slabs of thinner section as is being done even in these days in the Macherla region. In some places, the flooring is paved with Cuddapah slabs, while in others, the flooring is done with pebble concrete, smoothly plastered.

A simple and unpretentious 12-pillared *mandapa* appears to be the norm, while 16, 24, 30, 36 and 40-pillared *mandapas* also occur at places, possibly depending upon the need for less or more accommodation. No provision for kitchen or bath-rooms has been made, since they are to serve only as temporary abodes for the *pathikas*. Invariably, all these are located on road sides and are datable to the periods of Ikshvakus or to those immediate successors.

The following is the list of the different dharmasalas discovered at Nagarjunakonda at Site No. 13, 18, 39-A, 50, 55, 70, 81, 107, 111. 114 and 121.

# (ii) Road of the City and the Mandapas there in

Though no systematic attempt was made to expose all the roads of the city of Vijayapuri, from the general disposition of the important temples, stupas, monastic units, secular buildings

like the stadium, university area and other residential structures in the valley, a general picture of the lay-out of the main arteries of traffic and other minor roads could be made out. It is interesting to note that these *dharmasalas* or *mandapas* were situated at some of the cardinal points and road junctions.

There were at least five major roads parallel to one another, running between the river Krishna on the west and Phirangimodu on the east, passing through the important sites or localities. Two other major roads apparently ran in the north-south direction, one all along the river bank on the eastern extremity and the other, all along the foot of the Phirangimodu hill, on the eastern extremity. Besides these, just outside the citadel on the eastern side, which was the nucleus of the habitation area, some evidences of rubble houses and a few mandapas indicate the presence of a few minor roads and streets, though no accurate picture of the same could be obtained due to the restricted dig in the area and disturbed conditions of the excavated remains.

**Road !:** Of the five parallel roads in the east-west direction of the valley, alluded to earlier, the outer-most one on the north connected the Pushpabhadrasvami temple on the river bank and the university area (Sites No. 32 and 32-A) at the foot of the Phirangimodu hill, passing through the Mahishasaka *vihara*. At the place where the road joined the University area, a sixteen-pillared *mandapa* was situated.

**Road II:** The next road was running immediately south of the above road and parallel to it. This road connected the Sarvadeva temple (Site No. 99) on the river-bank, the three-winged *vihara* (Site No. 116), the few residential buildings (Site No. 124) and the *stupa* at the site No. 6 etc. On this road towards the river-side, is situated a twelve-pillared *mandapa* (Site No. 121).

Road III: Another small road branched off from the above-mentioned road near about the *mandapa* (Site No. 121) and went by the side of the citadel and took a turn to the east connecting a monastic unit (Site No. 105) and a few residential buildings (Site No. 115). On both the sides of the road are situated two *mandapas* (Sites No. 114 & 111). The former is a sixteen-pillared *mandapa* and the latter a thirtysix pillared *mandapa*.

**Road IV:** A fourth road to the south of the above one apparently connected the citadel area and the sanitation area on its east. On this road, quite near the citadel, is situated sixteen-pillared *mandapa* (Site No. 88).

Road V: A fifth road on the extreme south of the city was perhaps the longest and an important one. Starting from the sixteen-pillared mandapa (Site No. 70) near the Kartikeya

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temple on the bank of the river Krishna, this road ran towards the Phirangimodu hill on the east more or less on the present road that leads to Macherla through the village Pullareddigudem. Near about the Site No, 55 on the extreme east of the valley, clear traces of this ancient roads could be discerned to a distance of about 200 yards, by way of the rubble used for flanking the roads. This mighty road must have traversed through important sites, like the Devasenapathi temple (Site No. 39), the *stupas* (Sites No. 59 and 52), the *Chaitya* (Site No. 52) and the monastic unit (Site No. 54). Three *mandapas* are located on this long road:

- (i) Site No. 39-A: A 12 pillared hall to the east of the Devasenapathi temple.
- (ii) Site No. 61: A 16 pillared mandapa, and
- (iii) Site No. 55: A 36 pillared mandapa on the extreme east of the valley.

Of the two other major roads of the city that ran in the north-south direction, the one on the west started from the Sarvadeva temple on the river bank and went all along the river bank by the side of the citadel walls and passed through the Karitikeya temple (Site No. 82) the Navagraha temple (Site No. 78) and ultimately reached the Sites No. 80 and 81, where some detached mandapas are situated on the slopes of Putlagudem hill leading to the town to cross over to the other bank of Yellesvaram temple site. This road was provided with a thirty-pillared mandapa (Site No. 70) very near the Kartikeya temple.

The other road of the extreme east referred to above went all along the foot of Phirangimodu hill towards river Krishna almost near the present path used by the villagers to go to the river. This road evidently passed through the University area (Site No. 32-A), a monastic unit (Site No. 26) and reached the Asthabhujasvami temple on the river bank.

On this long road, there were three rest-houses or *mandapas* represented by Sites No. 50, 18 and 13, the last of which has already been described, as it is situated at the junction of the road and the major road that went from the University area towards the east. Site No. 50 is a sixteen-pillared *mandapa* near the ancient Ikshvaku canal bank. Site No. 18 is a spacious 40-pillared *mandapa* opposite the stadium.

The foregoing account might well give the reader an idea of the distribution of the major roads of the valley and the *mandapas*, used evidently as *Dharmasala* or rest-houses placed at the cardinal points therein.

The mandapas referred to above can for convenience be categorised on the basis of the number of pillars in the following manner:

No. of pillars	No. of Mandapas	Sites		
12	3	39-A, 107 and 121		
16	4	13, 50, 88 and 114		
24	1	36		
. 30	1	55		
36	2	81 and 111		
40	1	18		

The following is the detailed description of the different mandapas or dharmasalas:

### 12-Pillared Mandapas

- i) Site No. 39 A: It is located in sector 3 east of Devasenapathi's temple. It measures 26'6" x 18'6". There is no enclosure wall for this mandapa. No complete pillars are seen.
- ii) Site No. 107: Nearby site is a monastic unit (Site No. 15) and habitation area (Sites No. 89 and 118). The mandapa is enclosed by a brick wall. Measurements of the mandapa are 18'10" x 25'3". One carved lime-stone drain is provided. It is located in sector N-III
- iii) Site No. 121: It is located in sector N-VIII east of the area (Site No. 122). The mandapa measures  $82'0'' \times 46'0''$ . It is enclosed by a brick wall on all sides. Traces of lime concrete flooring are visible. It had an entrance on the northern side. No complete pillar is found.

#### 16-Pillared Mandapas

- i) Site No. 13: It is located in sector N-XII near the University area. Only traces of the pillar stems are available. Complete plan of the *mandapa* is not available, as it is highly disturbed.
- ii) Site No. 50: It is located in Sector S-VII. The nearby sites are Hariti temple and the stadium. This pillared hall is first enclosed by a brick wall on all sides and then by a rubble wall with an entrance on the northern side. The *mandapa* measures 29'6" x 28'3". The 16 pillars are arranged in four rows having four pillars each.

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This mandapa was provided with a good Cuddapa slab flooring. A big moon-stone of 9'9" in diameter is used at the entrance of the hall. A tub made of bricks is seen on the north-west corner outside the hall.

- iii) Site No. 88: It is located in Sector N-II near the eastern gateway of the citadel. Nearby structure is *Senapathi* memorial hall. This is attached to another 12-pillared *mandapa*. The 16-pillared *mandapa* is enclosed by *napa* slabs, which are fixed in between the pillars vertically leaving an entrance on the western side, where there is a 12-pillared hall. This *mandapa* measures 33'9" x 21'3", whereas the adjoining 16-pillared *mandapa* was (12'9" x 22'11"). Traces of *napa* slab flooring are visible.
- iv) Site No. 114: This is located in Sector N-III behind the rubble enclosure (Site No. 124) and a 4-winged mandapa (Site No. 110). This pillar is within a brick enclosure wall with an entrance on the east. There is again an outer enclosure wall of rubble. This mandapa is a square of 29'0". The sixteen pillars are arranged in four rows having four pillars each.

## 30-Pillared Mandapa

i) Site No. 55: It is located in Sector S-XIX near a monastic unit (Site No. 54) on the northern and eastern sides. The enclosure wall of bricks is visible. The mandapa is a rectangular one 40'0" x 50'0". Traces of slab flooring are visible in the hall. No carvings are found. At a distance of 116'00" to the east of the pillared hall, a chamber of 26'0" x 18'0" with an entrance on the eastern side is found.

On the northern side, of this structure, a rubble-packed path of 4'0" wide is passing. This was perhaps the remnant of an ancient road, that passed through the site.

# 36-Pillared Mandapas

- i) Site No. 81: It is located in Sector S-XXX-A on the river-bank. The mandapa is a square structure of 54'6". The pillars are arranged in six rows each. Enclosure wall is seen only on the eastern and southern sides.
- ii) Site No. 111: It is located in Sector N-III near the habitation represented by Site No. 112. The mandapa was a square structure of 52'6". Traces of brick enclosure wall are visible. The height of the pillars available is 8'10" above the ground level. Minor carvings like lotus medallion are visible on the pillars. For each pillar in the hall a square pedestal of 4'6" was constructed for support.

### 40-Pillared Mandapa

i) Site No. 18: This is located in Sector S-VII opposite to the stadium. It is a rectangular Structure of 19'0" x 31'0". There is no enclosure wall. The pillars are arranged in four rows of ten each. No complete pillar is available. Probable height of the pillar is 9'0". The pillars are without carvings. Traces of a slab flooring are visible. Remnants of a rubble wall on the northern side are visible, probably meant for obstructing the on rush of water from the slope of the hill on the northern side.

#### **PUBLIC BATHS**

The climate of Nagarjunakonda could not have been very much different from what it is to-day. In view of the extreme heat prevailing, it became imperative for people to have adequate provisions for water-supply at all times of the day. There was no paucity of water-supply and the river with its perennial flow seems to have been exploited to the maximum degree for this purpose. All along the river, platforms were built with beautifully ornamented flights of steps for easy access and the use of all, while the richer citizens of the city and the nobility seem to have had special bathing arrangements in their own dwelling places similar to those that were used in contemporary Rome. Representation of a man standing in a tub or masonry cistern, holding a hanging rope from above with both the hands and being bathed by servants who pour water with pitchers on his body is one of the sculptures at Nagarjunakonda, which betrays the typical system that might have been in vogue during the early centuries of the Christian era.

All over the residential or habitational sites at Nagarjunakonda, numerous masonry cisterns, big and small, with ornamented steps and benches with smooth floors were exposed to view. Their sizes and mode of construction and location in the houses are indicative of their use for storing water brought from outside. One is tempted to identify some of them as baths, public and private. Some of these are elaborately worked out, while others are utilitarian.

Such water cisterns and reservoirs are distributed all over the valley, in the citadel area, residential quarters and public mandapas or rest-houses at the crossing of roads. A huge rectangular or square with a depth of 3 to 4 feet is found usually in such places where the people were residing in groups, such as, the barracks area and vihara etc. How exactly they were using it is not clear though presence of stepped approach, sometimes fitted with doors, indicate that the people were getting in and out of them either to bathe in the tank or to fetch out water for use. In most cases, these, tanks seem to have been filled up by human labour alone and some of the small square tub-like structures which are without flooring might have been wells. In the area near the river, sub-soil water column is at a comparatively higher level. Many of these tanks were provided with outlets to drain out the dirty water. But there is one instance where the tank was evidently fed by the nearby river by some sort of a siphon method. One interesting fact is the

presence of broad, paved platforms in sites like 102. This strengthens the belief that they were used for bathing by many persons at a time

We can visualise that special water-carriers should have been put on the job of filling up these tanks and tubs at various places, particualrly those in the citadal. Morever, the presence of these in large numbers in the citadel area might also show that the people or the officials residing within the citadel were not normally using the river-side for a bath and that they were supplied with water in their own dwellings.

These water-cisterns and tanks can be grouped as follows:

- 1. Big rectangular or square tanks with three or four steps all round, used mostly for public bath.
- 2. Big rectangular or square tanks without steps, which might have been used as water-reservoir for storage of water, evidently for animals.
  - 3. Smaller square structures used as wells and in some cases as merely dust-bins.

The last item need not concern us here. But as regards others there is no differential distribution in these types. They occur in all the places, even side by side. But generally speaking, the big rectangular tanks with steps are found more in public places, where there was concentration of population. Simple rectangular tubs are found in private residences. We can now study the distribution of these site-wise.

Site No. 100: One well-preserved example of this bath is illustrated in Site No. 100. This should have formed part of a huge palace complex but only the ruins of this bath disconnected from the main building have survived to-day. It comprises of an oblong masonry cistern with flight of steps and a slab paved channel through which the tub was fed, an elevated platform to its north for the men to sit and bathe, and a closed drain leading to a soak-pit beyond. This peculiar channel system with gradient towards the interior, its proximity to the river suggests the possibility of the builder providing some thing like our syphon method for feeding these bath tubs, while those who could not afford such elaborate arrangements used small tubs filled by manual labour for bathing purposes. Some of these tubs had coverings. Benches alround were also provided for people to sit comfortably and wash.

This site contained four tubs in close proximity, the biggest of them being a long rectangular one 16 feet long and 5'8" wide. It was provided with steps on all sides. The flooring is done with napa slabs. Adjoining is a well-paved platform where the actual bath was taken. This tub

is connected to the soakage pit by a drain. Four feet away to the south, there are two more tubs side by side. One of them is 8'1" x 2'0" while another is 8'6"x3'0", both with napa-slab flooring. In the south-western corner 8 feet away, is a tub 6'6" x 3'0" and 10" deep, built in brick. But no evidence of inter-connection between these tanks are visible. This shows a fine hygienic method of bath, the water running from the water reserviors to the main tank where the bath was taken and later the water draining into a covered soakage pit.

Site No. 94: Within the citadel, opposite to the western gateway and south of the Asvamedha site, are traces of brick flooring at two places by the side of the brick-built wall, 7 feet thick. On both the sides of the wall at different places are seen square tub-like structures of brick. There are eight such square and two rectangular tanks or tubs. The latter two are about 130 feet apart and measured 33'6" x 5'6" and depth 4'2", fed evidently by the adjoining well and 24'3" x 5'0" depth 4'0", and well plastered. In the centre of the tub, there is a hole of 11" diameter Both have smaller and squarish structures by their side, probably wells. The other tubs are all smaller about 3'6," square and they are distributed all over the area, some of them close to the wall and the flooring. Some of the smaller squares are without flooring and might have been used as wells. Some of the square tubs contained dumps of pottery, brick-bats etc., and perhaps they were used as dust-bins.

Site No. 102: A fine example of a public bath is afforded by site No. 102, which was situated at the foot of the Chinnakundelagutta on its north. There is a huge rectangular tub 35 feet long and 4'6" broad. The natural bedrock was used as the bottom of the tub and hence, it is irregular. The whole tub is surrounded by a drain 10 inch wide and it runs round the adjacent platform on all sides and ultimately it falls through the north-west corner. It goes out as two drains side by side.

On the eastern side of this tank, there is another lime-plastered tub provided with steps around it. It is about 27 feet long and 4'6" wide.

These two tubs and the huge platform described above seem to be part of the building complex around the Chinnakundelagutta, where probably there was concentration of population.

Within the rubble enclosure (site No. 95) containing many residential buildings on the north-western slope of the Peddakundellagutta hill, there is a rectangular tub with well-plastered walls and flooring. It is provided with steps on one side. It is about 2'6" deep, 13'9" long and 8'5" wide. This tub was evidently serving as a water-reservoir for washing purposes etc., for this area.

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Another rectangular stepped tub of a smaller size is found at site No. 70-A. It measures  $7'6'' \times 5'0'' \times 2'6''$ . It has lime-plastered walls and flooring. In a corner of this rectangular tub, there is a smaller tub, three feet square.

Another important place where numerous baths, big and small, are concentrated is the site No. 91, which is identified as the barracks area. There are about seven rectangular and ten smaller squarish tubs. One of them (Tub 8) is found in the corner of a room, evidently used as a private bath. It measures 5'9" x 4'6". Many of the rectangular tubs had a number of steps ranging from one to six. One of them had post-holes at the entrance evidently for the doorway. The measurements of the big rectangular tubs are:

Tub No 11: 22'3" x 4'6".

Tub No. 4: 18'0" x 10'9". Depth 4'4". This has steps alround with an entrance.

Tub No. 3: 16'6" x 5'0" One step alround and plastered flooring.

Tub No. 6: 15'6" x 5'0" Lime plastered flooring.

Tub No. 5: 13'0" x 4'9" With 4 steps alround and plastered flooring.

Tub No. 2: 10'0" x 4'6" With 2 steps alround and well plastered flooring.

Tub No. 14: 7'0" x 5'3"

Bathing Ghat: (Site No. 124): The most spectacular construction associated with public bath is the huge bathing ghat found to the west of the Pushpabhadrasvami temple. This massive structure measures 380'0" x 100'0". Major partion of this ghat is in a good state of preservation. The ghat consists of nine terraces and a flight of steps leading to the river Krishna with four staircases from the river side. These stair-cases that consist about 5 to 7 steps each, are, all balustraded and the ornamentation over the balustrades is uniformly makara. An equal distance of 50'0" is maintained between all the main stair-cases and this ghat as a whole is designed geometrically and symmetry is maintained throughout. The core of the ghat is built of brick in lime and is securely lined with Cuddapah slabs, perhaps for preserving it from the on-rush of waters.

The flight of steps with ornate balustrade constructed systematically vary in measurements from 4.3" to 4.8" in length, to 1.11" in width and 3" to 4" in thickness.

As the excavation would reveal, there appears to be two stages of construction in this bathing ghat. The portion which is found in tact perhaps belongs to the first stage of construction and might have been used by the royalty. The latter part was perhaps constructed for the usage of the commoner. In this case, the construction was simple and no decoration could be seen on the balustrades of the steps provided here.

Since the construction of this bathing ghat is made on the river bank, it has been subjected to the constant inundations and as such its stratigraphy could not help us much in dating the bathing ghat. But interestingly, some of the Cuddapah slabs of this ghat bear inscriptions in early Brahmi Characters, which help us in dating the structure. They read 'Asala', 'Perana', 'Venisiri', all perhaps names of the guilds that operated in the construction of this magnificent structure. The script is Brahmi and typical of the Ikshvsku period characters datable to 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. The evidence of this epigraphical data with the occurrence of polished red-ware sprinklers has made it possible to assign the structure to that of the Ikshvaku period. The masons' marks as, bow and arrow, swastika and elephant on the Cuddapah slabs of the terraces of this ghat, also corroborate the above surmise. Its location in the immediate proximity of the temple of Pushpabhadra indicates its constant use by pilgrims who visited the shrine.

The slabs used in the construction vary in measurements from 3'0" to 7'0" ir length and 2'10" to 3'10" in breadth, while the thickness varies from 3" to 4". The difference in level between the successive terraces is approximately 1.5".

Measurements of the flight of steps and of the Cuddapah slabs used in the different terraces of the bathing ghat from the river-side towards Pushpabhadrasvami temple:—

Slab measurement	Leng th	Breadth	Thickness	
1st terrace	6′6′′	2′10″	3'4''	
2nd do	12′9′′	2′11″	3'5''	
3rd do	4'11"	2′8″	3′5′′	
4th do	6'4''	2′11′′	3′5″	
5th do	9′1″	3′1″	3′0″	
6th do	3'7''	2′10′′	3′0′′	
7th do	13′10″	2′11″	3′5″	

### Breadth of the terraces :-

2nd	terrace	•••	9'8"
3rd	do	•••	10' 1/2"
4th	do	•••	do
5th	do	•••	do
6th	do	•••	do
7th	do	•••	10′ 4.5″

### Levels of the terraces :-

Level	between	one	and	two	•••	1′		5′5′′
**	"	two	and	three	• • •	1′	-	1′5″
** .	"	three	and	four	•••	1′	-	0'5"
"		four	and	five	***	1′	-	0′5′′
"	n.	five	and	six	•••	1'		0′5′′
"	"	six	and	seven	•••	1'	-	0'7''

The Common Bath (Site No. 19): Another fine example of a public bath is provided by Site No. 19 behind the Hariti temple on the banks of the canal. It comprises of a big rectangular cistern measuring 20'0" x 8'0" and 3'0" deep with two steps going all round. It has a compound wall alround and perhaps had a cover. Only sockets, indicating the position of the pillars over which the roofing was done, are extant to-day. Though it was built of brick laid in mud, it was heavily plastered with lime and lined with Cuddaph slab. There is a brick square platform, where people sat before taking their bath is attached to this structure. There is a drain on the eastern wall to take out the used water. This bath was perhaps constructed here to serve the needs of the people, who came to stay in the rest-house nearby.

This structure has been subjected to wholesale renovation in the subsequent period. The bath was completely covered and the raised platform thus altered, was remodelled into a temple with a flight of steps and a moon-stone on the south. Another enclosure wall was added with the main entrance on the south and a secondary passage on the south.

The circumstances that necessitated the closure of this bath and its remodelling into a temple are difficult to conjucture. Presumably, after the construction of the canal which passed by the rest-house, used by the inmates of the rest-house as well as the inhabitants of the locality, they might not have felt any need for a public bath at this spot and it was converted into a temple.

#### SOURCES OF WATER

The city of Vijayapuri being vast, all possible sources of water supply had to be exploited to provide this necessity to all the inmates of the capital. River Krishna, which is a perennial source of water has been utilised to the maximum extent for this purpose. Besides this, canals were dug, tanks with earthern embankment wherever the natural features of the area permitted were constructed. In this task, the noblemen as well as the commoner took active part. Excavation of wells and construction of tanks for public utility were considered as acts of great

merit. Numerous inscriptions of the period refer to *Mahamatras, Srestins* and kings with their consorts associating themselves with the construction of wells or tanks - *tataka* or *vapi*. The Alluru inscription registered along with other numerous gifts a *tataka* also while Abhira Vasusena, who was responsible for the consecration of an image of Astabhuja in Nagarjunakonda area is credited with the excavation of a huge well on the fortified hill.

As already pointed out, the people of Nagarjunakonda had tapped many sources for providing water supply to the town, both for domestic and for irrigation purposes. We have found evidences of an ancient canal which was dug on the eastern side of the valley between Sites No. 49 and 19. Earthen embankments, probably indicative of the ancient tanks or lakes were found, one to the west of the University area and two of them in sectors S-XIII and S-XIV at the foot of Eddanamotu, besides another in site No. 42. Wells are found in sites No. 57 and 73 and tanks in sites No. 64, 66 and 67.

Canal: Vestiges of a canal of the Ikshvaku period have been exposed to a considerable extent in the south-eastern portion of the valley. It must have served as a substantial source of water for all the people living in this portion, which was far off from the river Krishna. In this portion, there were many establishments like the stadium (Site No. 17), the bath, Hariti temple, residential houses (Site No. 48) etc., all on the slopes and the foot of the Phirangimotu hill and the people living here were-served by this canal. This canal was found running between sectors S-VIII and S-VII in east-west direction. The water trickling down from the surrounding hills through the ravines or gullies was tapped and diverted into this channel by construction of rubble cross walls. The channel was about 30 feet wide and the water level in this channel must have been at least about five feet deep. The channel should have been used for irrigation purposes, as well as to feed the great bath (Site No. 19). With a view to get a full picture of this canal, the area between the bath (Site No. 19) and pillared mandapa (Site No. 49) was excavated. This area showed depression and it was filled with sand which formed into a sort of long sand-strip along the length of the Phirangimotu. Trenches laid across this strip of depression at several places far removed from each other have brought to light thick random rubble embankment walls built on a good foundation of hard gravel on either side. The pit cut into the natural soil i.e, the bed of the channel, the raised embankments were all clearly traced. The bunds seem to have been raised to a height of about two feeta, covering of hard soil and gravel; over this the random rubble embankment was constructed. This channel after taking a number of turns and bends following the natural contour of slope facilitating quick and easy flow proceeded along the slope, probably conforming to the then surface levels, finally took a northerly course flowing along the foot of the hill for some distance, and finally emptied itself in the river Krishna.

At many places, the layers sealing the embankment as well as the filling in the channel yielded typical lkshvaku antiquities. Pottery of dull to medium red ware and red-slipped bowls

and dish types, conical bowls and carinated vessels typical of the Ikshvaku period were found. In close vicinity of this canal, an earthern pot full of lead coins of the Ikshvaku period was found. 280 coins bore on the obverse the elephant with raised trunk and a legend and on the reverse the Ujjain symbol. Majority of these belong to the two kings of Ikshvaku dynasty—Siri Vira Purushadatta and Ehuvala Chantamula.

#### Tanks and Earthen Embankments:

People of Nagarjunakonda did not allow the water coming from the nearby hills to go waste. They have built a number of small lakes or tanks with earthern embankments, in different parts of the city. Remnants of two such earthen embankments in a semi-circular fashion were found in sectors S-XIII (site No. 66) and S-XV on the southern fringe of the valley and the other was found opposite to the University area. Portions of these have disappeared due to ravages of nature and agricultural operations of the farmers in the course of centuries. The embankment is found to be of murram or red earth mixed with rubble, gravel etc. Though no datable evidence was found in these tanks, they probably belonged to the Ikshvaku period.

The tank found near the University area i.e., on its western side is slightly bigger, its embankment walls were also of murram. Its location on the side of the canal indicates the possibility of its being fed by the channel already described. Long curved embankments of hard earth or murram are also found.

Site No. 42: At the foot of Phirangimotu hill on the eastern side of site No. 28 (pillared hall) some vestiges of another embankment of rubble with a sluice and a drain are noticeable. A rubble wall 17 feet long in north-south direction is alone visible. A sluice or an outlet is provided in the form of a drain that runs in east-west direction. The width of the drain is 1'3". This sluice in brick masonry is interesting and shows arrangement for regulating the out-flow of water.

These tanks appear to have been mainly used for storing water for irrigation purposes. It is well-known that tanks used for irrigation were already popular in South India during the Megalithic period, since the megalithic tradition was also noticed at Nagarjunakonda. This practice of construction of irrigation tanks might have been a relic of megalithic culture.

Apart from the kutcha earthen lake or tanks, there were brick built tanks as seen in sites No. 64 and 67. The former is situated within the enclosure of the Yaksha temple. It is to the north of the temple. It is a perfect square structure of 97 feet with an 18 feet wide entrance on its south. This huge tank is an excavation into solid rock till the water colum was reached, On all the sides, the walls were built taking advantage of the solid rock, giving the needed offset to ensure stability to this structure, Five such offsets were noticed. Since it is a 'stepped' tank the main flight of steps, was built on the temple side and is about 18 feet in width.

**Site No 67.** In sector S-XIII towards the west of the earthen embankment (Site No. 66) already described) and on the bed of natural stream or rivulet is a tank about 30 feet square with an entrance on the eastern side, similar to the one in the Yaksha temple, was exposed to view. This is also of brick masonry, but built with thick Cuddapah slabs. The approach to the water is by means of a flight of steps, five in number and about three feet in width. Since this is connected to a residential building near by, it might have been a private well.

**Wells:** Construction of wells - *vapi* - as has been mentioned already, was considered as an act of great merit. Numerous wells have been dug by the citizens of Vijayapuri, but the excavation which is naturally on a restricted nature, have revealed a few wells, big and small, in various parts of the city. We find circular and square or rectangular wells built of either coursed rubble or brick, generally associated with residential areas, temples and the citadel

On the northern side of the Kartikeya temple (Site No. 82) near about the rows of cells, a brick-built well 20 feet square is found. It was dug to a depth of about 5 feet to 6 feet when water column was touched and further excavation was abandoned.

Another well in good state of preservation was found in the brick pavilion near the river bank (Site No. 73). It is situated in the north-western corner of the pavilion abutting on the outer enclosure wall. It is an irregular circle or elliptical shape with its major axis 15'9" and the minor axis about 6'0". It is a rubble-built well, perhaps commonly used by the people in the pavilion and the adjacent residential buildings.

Another elliptical well or tank is found in the Asthabhujasvami temple (site No.29). It is a temple complex located at the foot of Sidduladari hill on the right bank of the river Krishna. These were the residential buildings for the priests on the south-west corner of the temple. This elliptical-shaped brick-built well has a major axis of 50 feet. The thickness of the well is three feet. This was excavated by the confederacy of Yavana rulers, who were responsible for the consecration of the image of Asthabhuja in the temple.

An irregular circular coursed rubble well of 92 feet diameter is found in site No. 18-A, near the Hariti temple and the stadium, lined with Cuddapah slab. A similar one is found in site no. 23.

A beautiful well of irregular square shape with 10 feet sides is found to the west of the Kartikeya temple (Site No.57). The walls of this well are about 1'6" in thickness. On the eastern side of the wall, a flight of steps comprising 16 are noticed leading into the water. Some stone pillars and sculptures from the Kartikeya temple, and other Buddhist structures were found in

the construction-indicating its renovation at a later date when the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins and Buddhism was no longer the favoured religion.

Apart from these big wells, we find smaller squarish wells particularly in the citadel area in sites No. 91 and 94. They are about four feet square probably used for filling the water tubs and cisterns constructed nearby and to supply the needed water for the kitchen.

A well of huge proportions is found on the Nagarjuna hill. About 160 feet in diameter, this well served as the only source of water supply to the garrison stationed in the fort on the hill top. It is about 80 feet deep and stands as a monumental example of the labour spent in such huge excavations in sheer rock. All round it had a retaining wall in brick masonry which seem to have fallen into the well. An Abhira inscription dated in the 30th regnal year of Vasusena refers to this excavation of a huge well (Vapi sa Mahatada).

#### SANITATION

#### DRAINS AND SOAKAGE PITS

Interesting details about sanitary arrangements at Nagarjunakonda are made available by the excavations and they constitute mainly a system of drainage provided both in private and public buildings. In many of the private residential houses excavated, the existence of drains apparently out of the bathrooms, is attested. As the houses were usually built within huge enclosure walls in Nagarjunakonda, we often find drains from private houses joining a common drain, which drained off the dirty water from the outer enclosure wall. Site No. 73 is a case in point. Here, we find a huge kutcha drain (4'6" wide) into which smaller drains come and join and the water finally is led outside the enclosure wall. The actual length of the katcha drain is 226 feet in north-south direction.

Besides residentaial areas of common people, we find well-provided drains in *viharas*, *stupas*, public places like arena, *rangamandapa*, citadel area, and temples (like Kubera temple, Navagraha temple) etc. Care was taken to see that rain water was not allowed to stagnate around the buildings. For this, a number of small outlets or spouts were provided as in Site No. 91. In this site, three outlets were provided on the three sides of the outer enclosure wall. Similar spouts are in the monastic unit at Site No. 2.

While there were katcha drains simply dug into the earth in Nagarjunakonda as they are to-day in Andhra Pradesh, well-provided pucca drains were quite common. We find both open and covered drains in the valley. The normal width of the pucca drains seems to have been about 10 to 12 inches.

One outstanding example of the hygienic system of drainage and the soakage pit at Nagarjunakonda is seen in the University area (Site No. 32-A). On the north-east corner of 'Sobhana Vihara', there is a rectangular room from where a drain starts and runs across the enclosure wall on the east to fall into a soak-pit or sceptic tank, which is situated 15 feet away from the outer enclosure. The width of the drain is six inches. This drain is covered throughout with napa-slabs. The soak-pit is roughly oval-shaped and is filled with rubble, lime and coal in successive layers to serve as filtering agents. There were two more soak-pits in the University area-one on the eastern wing of the University and the other on the southern wing. The former is roughly 4'6" square while the latter is 12'0" square. Both are covered with rubble-packing. The drains in both the cases were well-plastered and covered with napa-slabs. They connected the bath-rooms and the soak-pit.

In Site No. 79 in a monastery, we have an instance of a drain having *napa*-slabs for flooring and side-walls. Bricks are not used except as side-support. This drain was provided to take out the water coming from the bath-room situated on the south-west corner of the monastery.

The dexterity in constructing the drains is well brought out in Site No. 93 i.e., the aswamedha site within the citadel. The drain starts from the north-west corner of the avabhrita tank and runs towards the west. After a distance of about 21 feet, the drain branches off into two channels and they run side by side. Both the drains cut across the brick enclosure wall of the citadel by running underground and empty into the river Krishna which is close by. This drain had a uniform width of 9 inches. The drains were completely covered and plastered. Brick-flooring was provided throughout. One noteworthy feature about this drain is that in places where the drain took a turn, a small rectangular cistern (30" x 15" x 12") was built evidently to allow the water to collect and to gain momentum, for further flow. Three such cisterns in the main drain were noticed.

An example of the drainage in the residential quarters is provided by the Site No. 89-A, where from one of the rooms of the houses, we find a drain going out. It is provided with brickflooring and napa slabs are used for the sides. It is an open drain without any cover.



# THE PILLARS IN VIJAYANAGARA ART

C. Poornachand

The pillars are the principal features of the temple interior. If the height and grandeur of the garbhagriha, antarala and the vimana of a temple depend upon the upapitha and adhishthana the loftiness and the beauty of the mukhamandapa, sabha-mandapa, kalyana-mandapa, natyamandapa etc. depend upon its pillars. It has been rightly suggested by Percy Brown that the proportions of the various architectural indices of the temple unit mainly revolves round the height of the shaft of the pillar which in its turn depends upon the length of the stone that was economically possible to extract from the quarry <sup>1</sup> Besides, the pillars will give not only depth to the interior of the temple itself, but also provide ample scope and space for the sculptors to carve various designs and motifs on these pillars. Mention may be made here that one of the prettiest parts of a temple interior is the central ceiling which envelopes the central bay of the sabha-mandpa, and natyamandapa or kalyana-mandapa. The plan, size, shape and the beauty of it depends very much upon the inter-columniation of the pillars. The Vijayanagara temples display a bewildering variety of pillars. They are classified into different types and some of them are discussed in the following pages.

### Type I

In general modelling and designing this type of pillar bears a very close resemblance to later Chalukyan pillars. Before going to discuss the later Chalukyan influence over the Vijayangara pillars of this type, let us first state in brief their general shape and the component parts. The base, shaft, circular projecting member, abacus and the corbel or the bracket are the principal parts of this piliar. It should be noted here that the later Chalukyan pillars are not monolithic ones but are composed with the above referred independent segments. The base or the asvapadam is normally square in shape. The shaft, which forms the very core of the pillar, is a monolithic block of octagonal, square and a circular sloping top section. The shaft is surmounted by a circular projecting member which in its turn is succeeded by an abacus and four-square bracket. Examples of this type of pillars are found in plenty in later Chalukyan, Eastern Chalukyan, Kadamba, and the Kakatiya temples<sup>2</sup>. The pillars of this type are found in the early and later Vijayanagara temples

- 1. P. Brown, Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu periods) Bombay, 1956, p. 154.
- 2. M. R. K. Sarma, Temples of Telangana, The Architecture, Iconography and sculpture of the Chalukyan and Kakatiya Temples. Hyderabad, 1972, Pls. 18, 29, 30, 31, 33; M. Rama Rao, Eastern Chalukyan Temples of Andhra Desa, Figs. 22, 27, 30, 34, 35; Indian Archaeology A Review, 1969-70, p. 87; A. Rea, Chalukyan Architecture, Pl. III.

and they clearly show how the Vijayanagara architects—were influenced by the later Chalukyan architectural and art traditions. However, the pillars of this type may be divided into various types by taking into consideration the general shape, size, and the various art-motifs that are employed to make them attractive and pleasing.

- This variety of the above referred type of pillar is found in the mandapa located adjacent to the natya-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi (Pl. 1). This has, as usual, the base, the shaft, circular-wheel-like moulding, abacus and the bracket - all independent and separate segments. The base or the asvapadam has two plain pattikas with a gala cut into square compartments in between them. The lower and upper pattikas are connected with a square block of stone arranged vertically on the four central facing sides of the base rectangular prism-like portion of the shaft has ornamental triangular projections with floral motifs on the top at its four corners. This is succeeded by an octagonal section which is normally achieved by bevelling the edges. The flutes of this section are arranged vertically and horizontally. Harmonious fusion of vertical and horizontal patterns which is the hall-mark of the later Chalukyan pillars, particularly in this octagonal section, is maintained intact by the Vijayanagara sculptors. The octagonal section is succeeded by the central square block. It is observed that in the present example the lower rectangular section and the central square block are adorned with sculptures of bewildering variety. The top portion of this central square block or that portion which represents the transition from the shaft to the circular moulding looks like a vase. It has a fluted lower section followed by a set of three polygonal rimmed bands. The shaft is surmounted by a circular moulding and the abacus. The circular member is considerably thick and less projected. The lower section of the abacus has a couple of circular bands, expanding in size as they go up. There is a broad phalaka or platform on the top of the abacus to receive the bracket. A pillar of this type with little variations is found in the sabha-mandapa of a temple located very near to the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem. In this case the top pattika of the base has kudu motifs. The same ornamental kudu motifs are also found on the top section of the shaft. Further the under surface of the phalaka of the abacus has semi-circular and triangular elevations (Pl. 2). In all these cases the pillars are surmounted by the characteristic Vijayanagara floral corbels.
- (b) This variety of pillars are found in the Trikutesvara temple at Pushpagiri and the Hazara Rama temple at Hampi (Pl. 3). The Pushpagiri example has four indendent segments instead of five. In this case the abacus is conspicuous by its absence. The base of this pillar is decorated with two plain pattikas and a plain gala in between them. The lower rectangular block and the central square block of the shaft are severely plain. The octagonal section of the shaft is nearly two feet in height and has decorative plain bands in the centre of it. The top section of the shaft which is circular in section has kudu motifs on its four central sides. The circular-wheel-like moulding of this pillar is niether prominent nor bold nor projected. The other variety of this type of pillars are noticed under the roof of the mukha-mandapa of the Hazara Rama temple at Hampi

- (Pl. 4). In this case all the principal parts of the pillar, viz. base, shaft, circular moulding, abacus and the bracket, are present. The basal mouldings of this pillar slightly deviates from the former. The base has two plain pattikas and a gala. But there is a rectangular block on the centre of all the four sides connecting the lower and upper mouldings. Further, a series of miniature kudu motifs are noticed on the facing side of the upper pattika of the asvapadam. The lower rectangular and the central square blocks of the shaft are decorated with floral medallions and figure sculptures. The corner edges of the lower rectangular prism-like section of the shaft have cyma-recta terminations. The transition from the shaft to the wheel-like moulding is circular in section and formed with a series of concentric circular bands of diminishing size. In this example the circular moulding which is placed below the abacus is very thin, neatly designed and projected considerably This circular member in many a way, tallies with the same section that is found in the later Chalukyan pillars. The corner edges of the phalaka of the abacus has triangular projections (Pl. 4). The corbels or brackets that are found on these two types of pillars are of Chola type.
- (c) This variety of pillars are found in the sabha-mandapa of the Trikutesvara temple at Pushpagiri (Pls. 5, 6). Similar type of pillars are also noticed in the sabha-mandapa of a temple situated very near to the Rudrapada temple at Pushpagiri, in the western gateway of the Tripurantakesvara temple at Tripurantakam and in several temples and detached mandapas that are erected on a slopy hillock near Virupaksha temple at Hampi. These pillars exhibit considerable refinement, balanced ornamentation and supremely pleasing appearance. In this connection two pillars that are found in the sabha-mantapa of the Trikutesvara temple at Pushpagiri have been taken for a comparative study. The pillars that are found under the caves are devoid of figure sculptures (Pl. 6). The rectangular and the square blocks of the shaft are plain. The section that intervenes between the two plain blocks of the shaft has vertical flutes and on the centre of these flutes runs a plain and horizontal octagonal band. The circular sloping section which is found on the summit of the shaft has a very meticulously designed simhalalata-kudu. The central circular cavity of this kudu motif is empty. The wheel-like moulding and the abacus also exhibit considerable advancement in modelling and designing. It should be noted here that the central four pillars in the same sabha-mandapa of the Trikutesvara temple exhibit further advancement. In these pillars the base, the octagonal section and the top of the shaft have received special treatment at the hands of the sculptors. The base is decorated not only with pattikas but also with the padma mouldings and highly pleasing chaitya or kudu motifs. Further, the gala section of the base has seated vyalas carved with great care, skill and imagination. The octagonal section is divided into three bands and each band is again subdivided into rectangular compartments. These compartments are filled with the sculptures of gods and goddesses. Similarly the circular sloping top of the shaft is also provided with charmingly designed kudu motifs with simhalalata gables. Inside these kudus are sculptured gods and goddesses in various postures and positions (Pl. 5). The most interesting part of these pillars is that the lower rectangular and the { central square blocks of the shaft are devoid

of any decorative motifs. It was done probably with the intention of maintaining a dramatic contrast between the sculptured and the ornamental bands with that of the plain rectangular and square blocks.

(d) This variety is represented by the four central pillars placed in front of the Devi shrine in the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti (Pl. 7). The Vijayanagara sculptors' mastery over the art of the modelling and designing the pillars reached its highest water-mark in these pillars. Though the general shape of these pillars, as in the case of the above types, is very closely akin to the later Chalukyan pillars, they exhibit certain remarkable changes in designing and ornamentation. The base of these pillars is square on plan but decorated with graduated projections. The top most moulding of the base has a series of delicately chiselled chaitya kudus. The shaft of the pillar has two rectangular blocks intervened by an octagonal section between them. The ornamental motifs that are employed for the decoration of the shaft deserves a special mention The lower rectangular section of the shaft has a tri-tala Dravidian miniature spire on all its sides. A miniature deva-koshtha, housing a drummer in the central section, is found on the lower section of this motif. This is surmounted by a stambhika-vimana ornamental design. The stambhika is shown cutting across the horizontal and vertical mouldings of the octagonal section. It is canopied by a four-storeyed miniature Dravidian spire, the domical final of which is shown terminating exactly at the summit of the shaft. The circular-wheel-like moulding of this pillar is devoid of any ornamental motifs whereas the lower section of the abacus is in the form of a full blown lotus. The corners of the lower section of the phalaka of the abacus are adorned with lotus buds (Pl. 7).

It may be stated here that though the Vijayanagara pillars so far discussed follow in main the later Chalukyan pillars in general design and shape they differ from the latter in certain aspects. In the first place they are not over-loaded with ornamental motifs and figure sculptures. Secondly, the circular or wheel-like member which is placed in between the abacus and the shaft shows marked deviation from the later Chalukyan models. In the later Chalukyan, the Hoyasala and the Kakatiya pillars exquisitely designed decorative motifs, rows of *kirtimukhas*, *hamsas*, dancing female figures, etc. are profusely used to decorate this member.<sup>3</sup> Further, it is as shown, thin, sharp edged and projecting considerably from the neck of the shaft. All these features are conspicuously absent in the pillars that are under our study. Further in the later Chalukyan pillars the central section of the shaft is shown either square or in the form of an inverted bell.<sup>4</sup> The inverted bell shaped member is wanting in the Vijayanagara pillars. Besides in one instance three

M.R.K. Sarma, Op Cit., Pls. 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 49; A. Rea, Chalukyan Architecture, Pls. III, XXX, XLVII; Marg. Vol. XXXI, No. I, Pls. 17, 18.

<sup>4.</sup> A. Rea, Op. Cit., Pls. III, XXX, XLVII.

square blocks are arranged at regular intervals in the shaft of a pillar. This tendency is very well illustrated by the pillars that are supporting the super structure of the sabha-mandapa of the Hazara Rama temple at Hampi<sup>5</sup>. This feature is seldom observed in the later Chalukyan pillars.

## Type-II

This type of pillar is generally square in shape. Several varieties of this pillar are noticed in the temples under our consideration.

(a) An example of this variety is found in the *natya-mandapa* of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi (Pl. 8). It is square in shape and design. It has a base, shaft and four-square bracket - all independent segments. The base is adorned with two plain *pattikas* and a *gala* in between them. A central square block connecting the *pattika* is found on all the facing sides of the base. The shaft has three square blocks intervened by two octagonal sections. The top corner edges of the lower square member are decorated with *cyma-reverse* terminations. The octagonal sections not only have vertical flutes but also horizontal octagonal bands. Beautiful sculptures are carved on all the four sides of the square blocks. The shaft is surmounted by a bracket having Chola corbels. The pillar is nearly sixteen feet in height, pleasingly proportioned and has graceful appearance. The pillars that are found in a dilapidated *mandapa* in the Vitthala temple at Hampi also illustrate this type of pillar<sup>6</sup>.

The pillars having square shafts, but deviating from the above referred type, are found in the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi. In the first variety it is square in shape, from the base to the top. The most interesting feature of this pillar is that the shaft is decorated with stambhika-prasada motif. It should be noted here that generally a vimana model is shown represented on the summit of a stambhika. In this case a miniature temple is shown on the top of an ornamental pilaster. The whole ornamental motif is shown carried away by a dwarfish gana represented at the base of the pilaster (Pl. 9). The second variety of pillar is found in the natya-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi (Pl. 10). In this case the shaft has two rectangular and one square block and these are intervened by two octagonal sections. The shaft is decorated with figure sculptures hamsas and floral motifs. The pillar is surmounted by the Vijayanagara floral corbels.

A very interesting variety of this type is found in a *mandapa* located outside the main temple and to the north of the *gopura-dvara* of the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem (Pl. 11). It has a monolithic shaft, square through out, and the surmounting bracket. The sides of the base of

- 5. R. N. Saletore, Vijayanagara Art, Delhi, 1982, Pl. 72.
- 6. I have surveyed the Vitthala temple at Hampi 12th March 1981.

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this pillar are decorated with a vase and foliage motif, pattikas and four petaled lotus flowers. It is very interesting to note that a dwarfish gana in the act of bhara-vahika is carved in the middle of the inner sides of the shaft. A miniature dvi-tala Dravidian model spire is carved on the summit and immediately below the roll corbel. The most interesting feature of this pillar is the representation of a life-size female figure holding a purna-kumbha in her hands on the lower part of the shaft. She is shown standing on a projected and pleasingly modelled pedestal. The structural pilasters that are arranged on either extreme ends of this mandapa also have square shafts and stambhika-vimana models. But on the lower sections of the shafts of these pilasters are found male figures instead of female figures. The dress, the high conical caps, the posture and the ornaments worn by these male figures unmistakably represent that they were either the donors of the temple or some dignitaries of the state.

A more refined and intricately designed pillars of the variety are found under this massive roll cornice of the *mukhamandapa* of the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti (Pls. 12.13). The base or the *asvapadam* of this pillar has graduated projections and recesses. Rectangular blocks of stone, having meandering floral patterns are arranged on the central facing sides of the base. Graceful female figures holding *puma-kumbhas* in their hands and *stambhika-vimana* models are carved on the lower sections of the shaft. These *stambha-puttalikas* are surmounted by the most marvellously chiselled abacus and floral corbels. The *pushpa-bodiga*, the *vyalas* with riders and the dwarfish *ganas* as *bhara-vahikas* are superbly designed and executed. This variety of pillars exhibit the peerless imagination and skill of the Vijayanagara sculptors in designing, decorating and above all in the dexterity of handling prick and chisel.

designing, ornamentation and in displaying the architectural motifs. The most remarkable feature of this pillar is that the entire shaft and the floral corbel are carved on a monolithic stone. The best example of this type is found in the entrance mandapa of the gopura-dvara of the Chenna-kesava temple of Millampalli (Pl. 14). Every inch of the shaft of this pillar is adorned with architectural and ornamental members. The lower and the upper sections of the shaft is occupied by a miniature temple having a dvi-tala Dravidian vimana. It is shown that the adhishthana of the temple is supported by a row of dwarfish ganas in the role of bhara-vahikas. The pabhaga or the wall proper, the kapota or the cornice and the vimana of the temple are beautifully carved. Flying gandharvas and the mythical vyalas are shown on either side of the sikhara. The most important and the unique feature of this temple model lies in the representation of a long flight of steps that lead into the interior of the temple itself. The Vijayanagara sculptors to give an illusion of depth and a touch of naturalism to the whole composition represented a couple of pilgrims crossing the steps with the avowed object of reaching the holy of holies in the sanctum sanctorum.

- (d) The pillars of this variety are found in the unfinished kalyana-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi (Pl. 15). In this example the pillar has a monolithic shaft and four-armed floral corbel at the summit. The base has two pattikas and a gala. The top most pattika has a series of kudu motifs. The shaft has three square blocks and the intervening sections are circular in shape but decorated with vertical lines and floral motifs. A slight variation of this type is noticed in a pillar located very near to the above referred variety. In this case the shaft has two square blocks, one immediately above the base and the other on the top of the shaft. The intervening portion is fluted, save a circular floral band in the centre. The shaft is surmounted by a two-armed floral corbel (Pl. 15 right extreme pillar).
- (e) Another interesting variety of this type is found in a mandapa located to the south of the main shrine of the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti. It has a monolithic shaft, square in section, and surmounted by a floral corbel of the Vijayanagara type. The interesting feature of this variety of pillar is that the shaft is divided into three zones and these zones are separated by square bands. Every zone has four highly ornamental niches on its four sides. Every niche has two pilasters on either side canopied by a tri-forum floral arch. This variety of pillars are seldom found in the Vijayanagara temples (Pl 16 pillar located on the extreme left side).

### Type III

The pillars of this type are either square or circular in shape but decorated with vertical fluted bands. Three varieties of this type are noticed in the temples under our consideration.

- (a) This variety is found in one of the *mandapas* of the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti. The shaft is a combination of square and circular sections. The lower portion of it, up to five feet is square and the succeeding upper portion is circular. The entire shaft is decorated with square and circular bands at regular intervals. These bands are either adorned with *kudu* motifs or floral designs. Deeply chanelled vertical fluted bands are shown round the entire shaft (Pl. 16 pillar located on the extreme right side).
- (b) Examples of this variety of pillar are found adjacent to the above referred one and in the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti. In this example the shaft is square in shape and has narrow and broad horizontal bands. The entire shaft is adorned with vertical fluted patterns (Pl. 16.)
- (c) This is a very interesting variety, found in a mandapa located to the north of the gopura-dvara of the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem. The pillar is circular in section and has vertical flutes. The base, the central and the top sections of this pillar are decorated with horizontal bands, strictly in accordance with the vertical flutes of the shaft (Pl.17).

(d) This variety of pillar is found in the kalyana-mandapa of the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem. The shaft is circular and adorned with shallow vertical bands. A square block is arranged on the top of the shaft. The most significan part of the pillar is that of the lower section of the shaft. A couchant lion is shown on an ornamental pedestal (Pl. 18). It may be stated here that the pillars in the maha-mandapa of the Madhavaraya temple at Gorantla has a massive lion seated on an elephant serving the purpose of a shaft?. A seated lion at the base of a pillar is a common feature in the Pallava rock-cut mandapas, rathas and the structural temples. It is likely that the above referred examples of pillars reflect the surviving remnants of the Pallava tradition.

## Type IV

Examples of this type of pillars are found in the natyamandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi (PI 19), and in the kalyana-mandapa of the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem, the Vitthala temple at Hampi and Govindarajasvami temple at Tirupati. The asvapadam of this type of pillar is decorated with a padma-pattika, gala, tripatta alingana-pattika having a couple of kudu motifs on each side. The shaft is polygonal in section and surmounted by the characteristic Vijayanagara floral bracket. The most interseting and impressive feature of this type of pillar is that of the architectural decorative motifs carved on the shaft. A series of sala and kuta-koshthas carved in high relief, are arranged both vertically and horizontally in every inch of the shaft. It is observed that sala-sikharas standing on long and slender stambhikas represent vertical pattern whereas the kuta-koshthas of miniature size represent horizontality. The Vijayanagara architects used this variety of pillar very sparingly and it is found only in the centre of the kalyana-mandapas or natya mandapas or pillared pavilions. They are invariably shown in the company of the other types of pillars, apparently to maintain a dramatic contrast.

## Type V

This type of pillar has a pillaret or pillarets forming the main shaft. Examples of this type are found in plenty in the Vijayanagara temples under our study. A careful examination of this type of pillar would enable us to divide it into two types as follows.

- (a) In this variety the main shaft of the pillar is divided into three rectangular zones of which the lower one is higher than the rest. The upper and the lower corner edges of these rectangular blocks are adorned either with floral terminations or with charmingly designed lotus buds. Octagonal sections are introduced in between these rectangular blocks. Seated sardulas and human figures in different positions and postures are sculpted on the shaft. On one side of
  - 7. V. Kameswara Rao, Select Vijayanagara Temples of Rayalaseema, Hyderabad, 1976, Pl. IV.
  - 8 P. Brown, Op. Cit., Pls. LIX, 2; LXII, 1.

the shaft, preferably on the front side, a pillaret is shown projecting from the main shaft. It has a seated lion at the base. The lower section of this pillaret is square in shape whereas the upper is polygonal in section. It is surmounted by an abacus and finally by the floral corbel. The most important feature of this variety of pillar which deserves our attention is that the pillaret is not an independent or detachable segment, but formed a part and parcel of the monolithic shaft of the main pillar. The best example of this variety is standing on a dilapidated adhishthana of a mandapa in the Achyutaraya temple at Hampi (Pl. 20). Another example of this type of pillar where the decorative art of the Vijayanagara period reached its dazzling pinnacle of perfection is lying pathetically in the midst of a heap of ruins, very near to the Patalesvara temple at Srisailam (Pl. 21). The master sculptor's chisel touched every inch of this pillar. In general shape and design this pillar is very closely akin to the above referred example. The pillaret and the main shaft of the pillar share a common base which has plain and ornamental bands of graduated projections and recesses. The shaft of the main pillar which is massive in size has eight horizontal bands representing sala-koshthas intervened by a pattika having a series of miniature kudu motifs. The pillaret which projects from the main shaft of the pillar is again a marvell in the decorative art of the Vijayanagara period. It is surmounted by an abacus having a phalaka (platform) above and a full blown lotus-like section below. On the top of the phalaka is arranged the floral lateral bracket and the figure of a god. He is standing with the right leg firmly planted on the ground while the left is raised up and folded at the knee. His right hand is kept in katyavalambita pose and the left hand is in the act of lifting the top section of the pillar—the capital mouldings. The space in between the pillaret and the main shaft is filled with an exquisitely carved meandering floral creeper of rare beauty and charm.

(b) This variety of pillars are found in abundance in the pillared corridors that are arranged either on the inner or outer sides of the *prakara* walls. In this variety the pillaret is shown detached and not attached from the main shaft of the pillar. A couchant lion or *vyala* is shown invariably at the base and it looks as if the animal is actually carrying the weight of the pillaret placed either on its head or back. Excellent examples of this variety are found in the pillared corridors of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi, Achyutaraya temple at Hampi, and Venkatesvara temple at Tirumala, etc.<sup>9</sup> (Pls. 22, 23, 24).

It is of absorbing interest to note here that in one of the pillars found in the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi, the pillaret is shown resting right on the head of a seated human figure (Pl.22). Examples of this type are seldom found in the temples under our survey. It should be noted here that the pillars of this variety have only one pillaret projecting from the main shaft. A very interesting variety of this type is noticed in the *Tirumalaraya-mandapa* of the Venkatesvara

9. Itihas, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Pl. IX.

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temple at Tirumala<sup>10</sup>. In this example a *vyala* with a rider is shown standing on the top of the abacus of the pillaret. A couchant elephant with upraised trunk is shown serving the purpose of abase to the above referred *vyala*. In the next stage of the evolution of this type of pillar a number of pillarets projecting from the main shaft have increased. Pillars having pillarets ranging from four to twelve are found in the Vijayanagara temples at Lepakshi, Tadiparti, Hampi, Sompalem, Tiruvannamali, Tirupati, and Mangapuram, etc. (Pls. 24, 25, 26). The famous musical pillars found in the *natya-mandapa* of the Vitthala temple at Hampi represent the final stage of the pillar-pillaret type of pillars (Pl. 27).

### Type VI

This type of pillar, in general design, closely resembles the above referred pillar-pillaret type with one difference. In the pillar-pillaret type a slender and gracefully designed pillaret or pillarets are shown projecting from the main shaft. In this example, instead of a pillaret a fabulous vyala standing on the back of a couchant elephant is shown projecting from the rectangular shaft of the pillar. In the early stages the Gaja-vyala motif is simply chiselled on the projecting slab of stone. In this case there is no attempt at carving in the round. A lovely example of this type is noticed in the Sanivara-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi (Pl. 28). In the next stage, the Vijayanagara sculptors showed their ingenious imagination and superior skillin modelling and designing this type of pillar. The shaft of the pillar, as in the case of the earlier examples, is square and divided into three rectangular or square sections. It is ornamented with figure sculptures, kumbha-panjara motifs, etc. The important feature of this variety, which is not noticed in the earlier type, is that the Gaja-vyala bracket is carved in the round and not carved in high-relief. The trunks of the elephant and the vyala are shown intertwined. Further these animals are also provided with riders. The floral bracket which is placed on rhe top of the vyala's head is meticulously designed and intricately ornamented. Examples of this type are found in the natya-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi, the kalyana-mandapa of the Vitthala temple at Hampi, etc., (Pls. 24, 79). The finest and the majestic representations of this type of pillar are found in the horse-court of the Srirangam temple. Here the vyalas are replaced by the life size horses standing on their hind legs. These horses are provided with riders above and warriors below. About these pillars K. M. Munshi observes: "A pair of rampant furious horses, whose heads support the pillars are carved with great skill and vigour. The riders are shown in realistic pose trying to control them. The fore-legs of one of them are placed on an arch under which stands a soldier with a woman sitting on his shoulders. Each sculpture is realistic, though the conception is fantastic. The artists found fulfillment in bringing such conceptions into material shape11".

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid, Pl. X (b).

<sup>11.</sup> K. M. Munshi, Indian Temple Sculpture, Calcutta, 1959, pl. 135, Notes, p. xi.

## Type VII

This is a massive type of pillar weighing a couple of tons. These pillars are generally found supporting the central bay of the sabha-mandapa or natya-mandapa or kalyana-mandapa. Examples of this type of pillars are found in the natya-mandapas of the Vitthala temple at Hampi and the Virabhadras vami temple at Lepakshi (Pl. 29). This represents a composite type of pillar, for it has pillarets and furious rampant vyalas. It has a massive shaft which forms the very core of the pillar. Rampant vyalas firmly planting their hind legs on the couchant elephants are shown projecting from three sides of the shaft. They are provided with riders The top section of the gaja-vyala bracket and immediately below the characteristic Vijayanagara floral corbel are found carved miniature vimana motifs, rishis and pleasingly modelled ganas in the act of bhara-vahakas. In between these projecting gaja-vyala brackets are arranged a pair of pillarets in two tiers. The base of the pillarets arranged on the lower tier has bhara-vahakas where as the base of the two pillarets found in the upper section are devoid of them. The asvapadam of this massive pillar is decorated with pattikas of graduated projections and rescesses. In one example three dancing human figures are carved on the central section of the base (Pl. 29).

## Type VIII

This type of pillar, like the one above referred, is massive in size. But in this example the pillar ets and the gaja-vyala brackets are not shown projecting from the main shaft of the pillar. In this case a curved stone slab of massive proportions is attached to the very core of the main shaft. The shaft and the curved stone projection are adorned with the representations of gods, goddesses, kudus, kumbha-panjaras, padma-bandhas, lotus medallions, etc. In some cases the facing sides of the stone projections are occupied by life-size sculptures representing divine and semi-divine beings. The classical examples of this type of pillars are found in the natya-mandapa and kalyana-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi<sup>12</sup> (Pl. 30).

We have discussed so far the various types of Vijayanagara pillars including several minor varieties. A cursory glance at the pillars will prompt us to state that the pillars having pillarets and gaja-vyala brackets are the most popular and profusely used pillars in the Vijayanagara temples. We may not be wrong in stating that this type of pillar is the guiding factor or the identifying symbol of the Vijayanagara style of architecture and art. Hence it may not be out of place here to discuss the source or sources that inspired the Vijayanagara architects for using the pillars having gaja-vyala bracket projections.

12. V. Kameswara Rao, Op. Cit., Pl. XXXII, V. Kameswara Rao, The Lepakshi Temple, Tirupati, 1982, Pl. 7.

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It appears that the Pallavas were the first to use the lion or the vyala at the base of the pillar. This is amply attested by the pillars that are found in the rock-cut mandapas at Mamallapuram, Mandagapattu and Bhairavakonda etc.<sup>13</sup>. In all these examples a couchant lion is shown on the lower portion of the pillar. The circular or the fluted shaft of the pillar is placed right on the head of the animal. "This heraldic beast, which from now onward occupies a prominent position in the architectural productions of the Pallavas was appropriated by the ruling dynasty, and made to serve as a symbol of their Simhavishnu or "lion" (simha) ancestry"14. In the next stage, this heraldic lion or vyala is found on the pilasters that adorned the exterior walls of the Examples of this type are first noticed on the exterior walls of the Shore temple at Mahabalipuram. About this new feature Percy Brown observes: "But there is also another important component in the structural temple, which although relatively a matter of detail, was destined to give not a little of its character to the later Pallava art. This is the appearance in the architectural scheme of a very pronounced type of pilaster, a rampant lion in prominent relief, which finds a place where ever such a structural form with an ornamental support is required. In the Shore temple this heraldic lion, erect and holding up a Dravidian capital, projects from every angle and is also introduced at intervals around the lower part of the entire building. As the style progressed this leggriff motif became more frequent and more characteristic so that it may be generally regarded as the identifying symbol of the Pallava style"15. The pillars and pilasters that are found in the Kailasanatha, Matangesvara, Muktesvara, and Vaikuntha Perumal at Kanchipuram and the Talagarisvara temple at Panamalai are also adorned with lions.<sup>16</sup> In these examples the heraldic beast is shown with out-stretched mane, protruding tongue, erect ears, bulging eyes and gaping mouth In some cases riders are represented on their backs17. These figures are dominated more by vertical tension rather than by grace and naturalism and consequently they look like wooden statues. The Chola architects did not show any interest in using this heraldic beast either at the base or in the shaft of the pillars18. A vyala astride on a couchant elephant is used as a shaft of the pillars supporting the roof of the ardha-mandapa of the Adikesvara temple at Chebrolu. K.V. Soundararajan states that it is "a mixed structural temple of Later Chalukya-Eastern Ganga mannerism" and assigned it to the second half of the 12th century A.D.19 The Pandyan sculptors

- 13. P. Brown, Op. Cit., Pls. LIX, 2, LXII, 1; K. V. Soundararajan, Architecture of the Early Hindu Temples of Andhra Pradesh, Pl. XII,
- 14. P. Brown, Op. Cit., p. 94.
- 15. Ibid., p. 99.
- 16. A. Rea, Pallava Architecture, Pls. V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XV, XVI, XVIII; K. V. Soundararajan, Indian Temple Styles, Pl. IV.
- 17. Ibid., Pls XXVII, LIV, LV, LVII.
- 18. The Vyala-stambhikas are found on the exterior walls of the Chola temples.; M. A. Dhaky, The Vyala figures on the Mediaeval Temples of India, Varanasi. 1965, p. 12.
- 19. K. V. Soundararajan, Op. Cit., p. 133, Pl. XXX.

showed sufficient interest in the representation of vyalas in different positions and places in the temples constructed by them.<sup>20</sup>

Regarding the origin and antiquity of the rampant vyala pilaster Percy Brown observes: "As in the case of the numerous motifs in Indian art, the origin of this rampant lion pilaster is a mystery, it suddenly appears in the temple design without any marked prefigurement, save for small representation of it on the unfinshed ratha of Valaiyankuttai of the previous (Mamalla's) reign in the shape of an insignificant bracket. It is strange that from such a rudimentary detail much of the charcater of the Narasimha architecture should have developed"21. Vyala as a decorative motif was used in the Indian art before the advent of the Pallavas. In the south it is found on the coping stones of the stupas of the later Andhra and Ikshvaku periods.<sup>22</sup> A rampant vyala, as a lateral bracket, is found under the volute ends of the door-way of the Gautamisvara cave at Nasik<sup>23</sup>. It is also noticed on the gateway of a mandapa in the Konti-gudi which is supposed to be the earliest of the early Chalukyan temples at Aihole.<sup>24</sup> It would thus appear that the statement that the rampant lion bracket found in the unfinished Valaiyankuttai ratha is the earliest example is not acceptable. It should be noted here that the lateral brackets adorned with the rampant vyalas are found in the later Chalukyan and the Kakatiya kirti toranas that are noticed at Indirsam, Ainole and Warangal<sup>25</sup>. In some of the Kakatiya temples massive vyalas standing on elephant head pedestals are shown springing from the shoulders of the pillars placed under the eaves of the sabha-mandapa<sup>26</sup>.

The Vijayanagara sculptors paid uncommon interest in the representation of this heraldic beast on the massive pillars which normally support the flat roof of the *mandapas* and the pillared corridors. M. A Dhaky rightly observes: "In the edifices erected under the affluent Vijayanagara dynasty, however, the *vyala* received the highest recognition, almost to the point of obsession, when they occupied not only the surcapitals and bracket-struts of pillars; they came down and appropriated the shafts of the peripheral pillars of the pavilions and subscribe in no small measure to the tropical phantasy of such celebrated examples as the *kalyana mandapa* at Vijayanagara, Vellore and Virinchipuram"<sup>27</sup>. K. V. Soundararajan states: "There was indeed a penchant for

- 20. M. A. Dhaky, Op. Cit, p. 12.
- 21. P. Brown, Op. Cit., p. 96.
- 22. M. A. Dhaky, Op. Cit., p. 12, Stella Kramrisch, The Art of India, Fig. 35.
- 23. J. Fergusson & J. Burgess, The Cave Temples of India, New Delhi, 1968, Pl. XX.
- 24. R S. Gupta, The Art and Architecture of Aihole A study of the Early Chalukyan Art through Temple Architecture and Sculpture, Bombay, 1967, Pls. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
- 25. M. R. K. Sarma, Op. Cit., Pls. 60, 61.
- Ibid., Pl. 141; M. Rama Rao, Select Kakatiya Temples, Pl. Xa. Itihas, Vol. VIII, No. I, Figs. 11, 12.
- 27. M. A. Dhaky, Op. Cit., p. 12.

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Vijayanagara craftsman to erect lofty pillars in the temple mandapa with a floating tower crest on the top and several such examples can be seen in Kanchi, Srirangam, Chidambaram, etc. Sometimes these pillars are of litter kind fully covered with puranic as well as purely ornate carvings. Nayakas continued this tradition with less of surface detail. A careful comparative study between the Vijayanagara and the Pallava representations of the vyalas clearly give us an idea that the former drew inspiration and guidance from the latter. But the Vijayanagar vyalas show marked advancement over their Pallava counterparts in modelling, designing, ornamentation, and above all in their distribution and dispostion in the various architectural adjuncts of a temple complex.

### Free-standing columns

The free-standing pillars are found prominently attached to some Vijayanagara temples. Thus no amount of discussion about the Vijayanagara pillars would be complete without a reference to these free-standing pillars.

It is observed that in some cases free-standing pillars having imposing monolithic shafts are found in front of the Vijayanagar temples. Mention may be made in this connection that the tradition of erecting free-standing columns near the religious edifices was common to all Buddhist, Jain and Hindu styles of architecture. The Buddhists employed them to bear inscriptions on their shafts, with emblems or animals on their capitals. The best examples of this type are the Asokan pillars. The Jains built the dipa-stambhas or lamp bearing pillars. The Vaishnavites raised garuda-stambhas or pillars bearing the images of a Garuda bird. The Saivites built dhvaja-stambhas or flag staffs, The other type of pillars are mana-stambhas or elegant tall pillars with a pavilion on the top, rana-stambha or pillar of victory, kirti-stamba or the triumphal pillar, nandi-stambha or pillar surmounted by a nandi and kalasa-stambha, etc<sup>29</sup>.

The free-standing pillars that are found in front of the Vijayanagara temples may be divided into two types. The first type of pillars are noticed at Sompalem, Tadiparti, Rayachoti, and Prabhugiripatnam or etc. They are normally provided with bases. The most imposing and highly interesting base is noticed under a free-standing pillar located in front of the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem (Pl. 31). It has both upapitha and adhishtana. The upapitha has upana, gala and alingana-pattika decorated with kudus. The adhishthana is adorned with upana, tripatta, padma-pattika and alingana pattika, These mouldings are intervened by deep recesses. They are

<sup>28.</sup> K. V. Soundararajan, The Art of South India, Tamilnadu and Kerala, New Delhi, 1978, p. 45.

<sup>29.</sup> P. K. Acharya, Indian columns, Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta, 1922, p. 278,

decorated with floral designs, kudus, semi-circular projections, etc. The free-standing pillar found in front of the eastern gopura-dvara of the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti also has an adhisthana of four and half feet hight. These pillars have square and monolithic shafts. These shafts are either plain or decorated with a prominent meandering floral creepers (Pls. 31, 32). In some cases the lower section of the shaft has figure sculptures (Pl. 31) The shaft of the free-standing pillar found in front of the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem is considered to be the lengthiest monolithic shaft in the entire range of the free-standing columns of the Vijayanagara period (Pl. 31). The shaft of these pillars is surmounted by a circular or octagonal projecting member which in its turn is succeeded by a broad platform which serves the purpose of a base to the miniature pavilion placed on the summit of the column. It is constructed with bricks and chunam and has the shape of a miniature temple. In some cases it looks like a miniature mandapa standing on four pillars. It is likely that these pavilions or shrines serve as receptacles for lamps. These pillars may be classified as dipa-stambhas

Examples of the second type of free-standing pillars are found mostly in front of the temples at Hampi (PI 33). They have bases or are shown emerging from the earth without any base. They are of medium size and height. The lower section of the shaft, up to four feet, is square in shape. The rest of the portion up to the circular projecting neck has ornamental square blocks bevelled on the four edges of the shaft. The circular neck of the shaft is surmounted by an abacus having a lotus-like section below and a square phalaka above. On the top of this type of pillar, an ornamental iron lamp post, having five projecting arms connected to central rod, is noticed.

The Vijayanagara architects also showed considerable interest in erecting free-standing toranas in the vicinity of the temples. Examples of this type are found in front of the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti and on the way to the Vitthala temple at Hampi<sup>31</sup> (Pls 34, 35). The torana standing in front of the eastern gopura-dvara of the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti has a base of four and half feet hight. The torana has two uprights roughly of twenty five feet high, on either side and surmounted by an architrave. The uprights and the architrave are devoid of any ornamental designs, save a few fluted edges. It appears that the architrave was originally adorned with semi-circular arches made of brick and chunam. But at present most of them are fallen except the one that is arranged on the extreme end of the right corner of the architrave. The torana located on the way to the Vitthala temple exhibits further advancement in modelling and designing. This is not provided with a high base. It has two uprights and an architrave. The uprights are decorated with kumba-panjara motifs. The architrave placed on the top of the uprights has slanting edges and decorated with a series of kudu motifs and seated sardula figures. The surmounting part of the architrave has miniature ekatala Dravidian vimana models with domical finials standing on stambhikas on either extreme ends. But an eka-tala

## C. Poornachand

<sup>30.</sup> V. Kameswara Rao, Op. Cit., Pl. XXIV, 2.

<sup>31.</sup> Ibid., Pl. XXIV, 2.

sala-vimana adorned with simhalalata gables and kalasa finials is found on the central section of the architrave.

The tradition of erecting torana gateways round a religious edifice was started first by the Buddhists. Examples of this type are found at Bharhut, Sanchi, and Nasik etc.<sup>32</sup> This tradition was later on adopted by the Hindu architects. The early Chalukyan architectects were the first who raised the torana gateways and this is very well attested by the examples that are found at Aihole<sup>33</sup>. The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani and their subordinates the Kakatiyas of Warangal patronized the tradition of erecting torana gateways before the temples. The best examples of this type are noticed at Nandikandi, Hanumakonda, Kolanupaka, Indirsam, Ainole and Warangal<sup>34</sup>. The Orissan sculptors also took sufficient interest and care in erecting graceful toranas and this is evident from a beautiful torana standing in front of the jagmohana of the Muktesvara temple at Bhuvanesvar<sup>35</sup>. The Vijayanagara toranas differ sharply from the above referred toranas. They are not intended to serve the purpose of a gateway to the temples. They were originally used for the ceremonial swingining of the god. The rings that are attached on the lower side of the architrave clearly show that these toranas were used for ceremonial swinging of the god and goddess on festive occasions. Simllar type of toranas, popularly known as hindolas are found in the vicinity of temples in Western India. Two finest examples of this type are found at Vadnagar in Gujarat<sup>36</sup>.

#### Brackets or corbeis

One of the most important architectural elements of a pillar, apart from the base, shaft and the abacus, is the bracket or the corbel. It is placed above the capital of the pillar and below the prastara. The Vijayanagara pillars exhibit different types of brackets. Both two armed and four-armed bracket are found in the pillars that are under our survey. Though the Vijayanagare corbels show considerable amount of Pallava and Chola influence some amount of newness and novelty are not lacking. The following are the principal types of corbels that are found in the Vijayanagara pillars.

- 32. P. Brown, Op. Cit., p. 18; E. B. Havell, The Art Heritage of India Comprising Indian Sculpture and Painting and the Ideals of Indian Art, Bombay. 1964, Pl. 83 A; J. Fergusson & J. Burgess, The Cave Temples of India, New Delhi. 1969, Pl. XX; Vignasarvasvamu, Vol. III, Madras, 1959, Pl. 95.
- 33. R. S. Gupte, Op. Cit., Pls. 47, 48.
- 34. S.G.K. Murthy, The Sculpture of the Kakatiyas, Figs. 1,43; M. Rama Rao, Select Andhra Temples, Pl. XXIV-i; M. R. K. Sarma, Op. Cit., p. 178, Pls. 60, 61.
- 35. K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains of Bhuvanesvar, 1961, Figs. 55, 56.
- 36. P. Brown, Op. Cit, p. 150. Pl. Cl. Fig. 2; The struggle for Empire, History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol V, 1969, Fig. 51; H. B. Lal, The Temples of Rajasthan, Jaipur. 1969, Figs. 19, 67.

### Type I

This is principally square in shape and divided into two sections by introducing a couple of deeply incised horizontal lines. The sides of the lower part of this bracket are cut at 40°, there by giving the shape of a triangular elevation. Besides, a square or rectangular projecting patta is shown prominently on the facing sides of the corbel. This type of bracket is devoid of any ornamental motifs save a few vertical and horizontal linear patterns. Examples of these types are found in the Vitthala temple at Hampi, the Trikutesvara temple at Pushpagiri, the Hazara Rama temple at Hampi and in the pillars found in the natya-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi<sup>37</sup> (Pls. 3,4,8). The Chola architects also used this type of bracket. In the first instance they have used that type of bracket which has a slanting under edge cut at 45°. Pillars and pilasters having this type of brackets are found in abundance in the Chola temples <sup>38</sup> In some cases the facing sides of the projecting arms are decorated with deeply incised wavy lines<sup>39</sup>. In the later stages, the Chola sculptors introduced a patta projecting from the middle of the slating under surface of the arm.<sup>40</sup> It is likely that the Vijayanagara sculptor, while modelling this type of bracket, might have got inspiration and guidance from the Chola models.

## Type II

This type of bracket has a rectangular or square section above and the lower section is adorned with *kapota-palika* or *cyma-recta* edge. This may be termed as a roll corbel. Excellent examples of this type are found in the Venkataramana temple at Tadiparti, the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem, the Trikutesvara temple at Pushpagiri and the Hazara Rama and Vitthala temples at Hampi<sup>41</sup> (Pls. 6, 11, 16). It should be noted here that this roll bracket is either provided with a median band or not. If the median band is present it is either plain or decorated with dwarfish *ganas* or serpent hoods, etc.<sup>42</sup> The brackets that are found on the pillars of a *mandapa* located outside the *prakara* wall of the Chennakesava temple at Sompalem give us some interesting information. In this example the bracket is provided with two arms. That particular projecting arm of the bracket which is placed under the *prastara* has *cyma-recta* terminations whereas the other arm which is supporting the massive cornice is simply square in shape. The combination of roll and square brackets is very interesting and this reflects upon the Vijayanagara sculptors' unstinted curiosity and love for novelty (Pl. 11).

- 37. V. Kameswara Rao, Op. Cit., P. 214.
- 38. B. Venkataraman, Temple Art Under the Chola Queens, Faridabad, 1976, Pls. 8, 32, 34, 38, 48, 55; S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, Early Chola Temples, Pls. 1, 11, 28, 32, 71.
- 39. B. Venkataraman, Op. Cit., Pl. 36; S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, Op. Cit., Pls. 51, 78, 104, 191.
- 40. P. Brown, Op. Cit., Pls. LXX, Fig. 2.
- 41. V. Kemeswara Rao, Op. Cit., Pl. LXVIII.

The roll and roll and patta corbels are extremely rare in the Pallava, Chola and Pandyan pillars. It is likely that this type of bracket was introduced for the first time by the early Chalukyan architects. This is very well illustrated by the pillars that are found in the temples at Papavinasana-tirtha near Alampur, Ramalingesvara temple at Satyavolu, the Mahanandisvara temple at Mahanandi, etc<sup>43</sup>. The Eastern Chalukyan architects also used this type of brackets, but very sparingly<sup>44</sup>. The later Chalukyan, Hoyasala and the Kakatiya sculptors showed a great liking for this type of bracket. Both plain and highly ornate roll corbels are found in their pillars. In some cases double volute taranga corbels are also used by the above referred architects<sup>45</sup>.

## Type III

This type represents the floral corbel. The Vijayanagara sculptors profusely adopted this type of bracket. A careful examination of this bracket will enable us to state that there are two varieties of this type. The first variety represents a harmonious combination of concave and convex floral curves. The sides of this curved corbel are adorned with floral patterns. Generally the basal section of this corbel has some wide and narrow pattikas with a deep gala in between them. The lower pattika has kudu motifs and in some cases this serves the purpose of a base. Examples of this type are found in the pillars of the sanivara-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi and the Vitthala temple at Hampi (Pl 28). Further the pillars that are found in the corridors of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi and the Achyutaraya temple at Hampi also have this variety of floral corbels (Pls. 22, 23). The finest variety of this type is found on a pillar lying in the vicinity of the Patalesvara temple at Srisailam (Pl. 21). The lower and the upper sections of this floral corbel have mouldings of graduated projections and recesses. The curve of the bracket has floral flutes. Further, a gana with pleasing anatomical features, is shown lifting the top of the bracket with his upraised proper left hand whereas the right hand is kept in katyavalambita pose. Another example of this type is found in the plliars of the entrance mandapa of the Venkatesvara temple at Tirumala. Here a parrot is shown instead of gana46. The second veriety represents the Pushpa-potika bracket. In this type the projecting floral arm of the bracket is terminated with a hanging lotus bud or potika. Several stages of its evolution are noticed in the pillars of the Vijayanagara temples. In the first stage the floral arm of the corbel, curves at the base itself without projecting considerably. Further the under side of the curved end has a flat surface without a bud. An excellent example of this type is found in one of the pillars of the kalyana-mandapa at Lepakshi (Pl. 9). In the second stage of its evolution the formation of the potika on the centre of the under side of the floral arm of the corbel is noticed. But it looks like a semi-circular projection. An example of this bracket is noticed in the kalyana-

<sup>43.</sup> M. R. K. Sarma, Op. Cit., Pl. 18; M. Rama Rao, Early Chalukyan Temples of Andhra Desa, Figs, 19, 27.

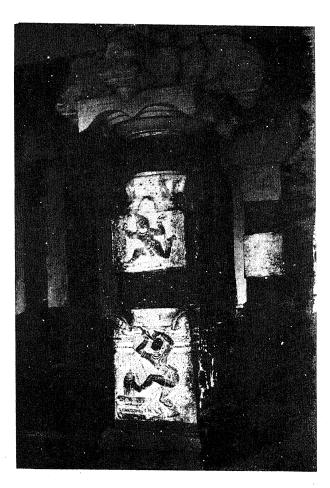
<sup>44.</sup> M. Rama Rao, Eastern Chalukyan Temples of Andhra Desa, Fig. 27.

A. Rea, Chalukyan Architecture, Pls. CIII, 1,XXX, 2, Archaeologial Bulletin, No. II, Pl. XLI;
 P. Brown, Op. Cit., Pl. CXXIV, Fig. 2. M. Rama Rao, Select Kakatiya Temples, Pl.X(a);
 M. R. K, Sarma Op.Cit., Pls. 32,33, 36, 37, 49, 41.

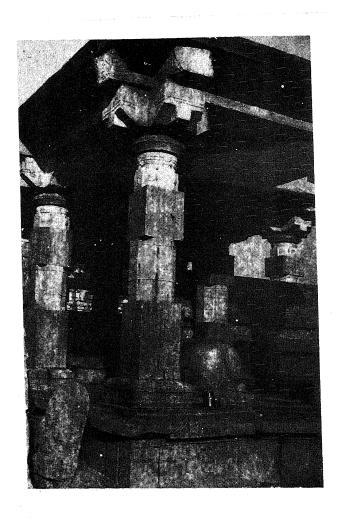
<sup>46.</sup> Itihas, Vol. VIII, No. 1, PI.IV.



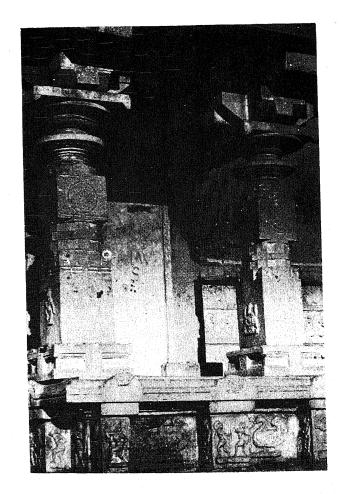
P1.1 PILLAR IN A **MANDAPA**, LEPAKSHI



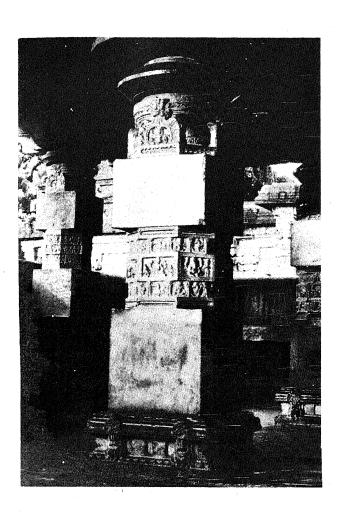
P1.2 PILLAR IN THE **SABHA-MANDAPA** OF A TEMPLE AT SOMPALEM



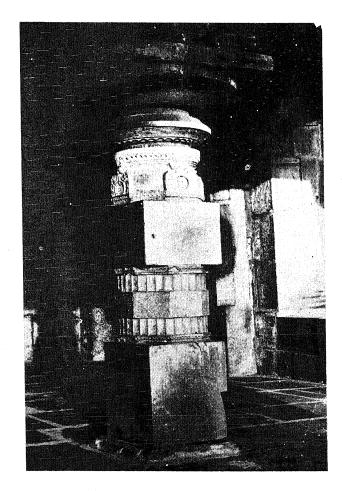
P1.3 PILLAR IN THE **MUKHA-MANDAPA** OF THE TRIKUTESVARA TEMPLE, PUSHPAGIRI



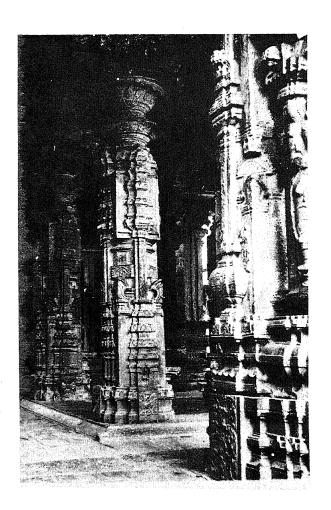
P1.4 PILLAR IN THE MUKHA-MANDAPA OF THE HAZARARAMA TEMPLE, HAMPI



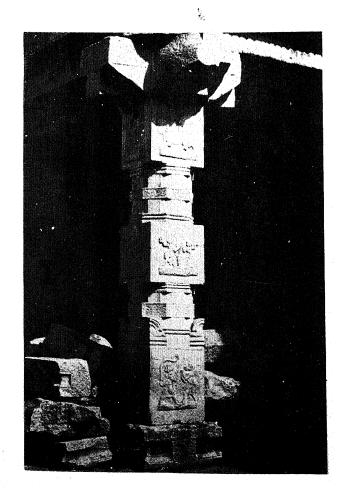
P1.5 PILLAR IN THE TRIKUTESVARA TEMPLE, PUSHPAGIRI



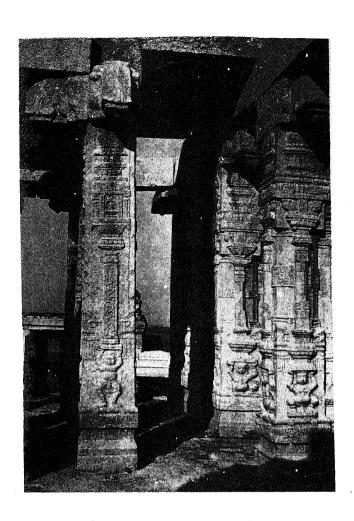
P1.6 PILLAR IN THE TRIKUTESVARA TEMPLE, PUSHPAGIRI



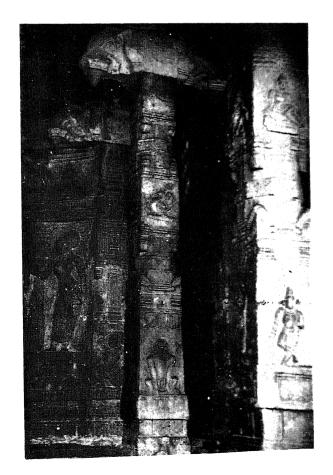
P1.7 PILLAR IN THE **MUKHA-MANDAPA** OF THE DEVI SHRINE VENKATARAMANA TEMPLE, TADIPARTI



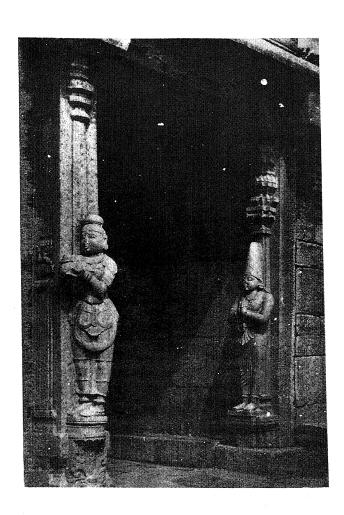
P1.8 PILLAR IN THE **NATYA-MANDAPA**, LEPAKSHI



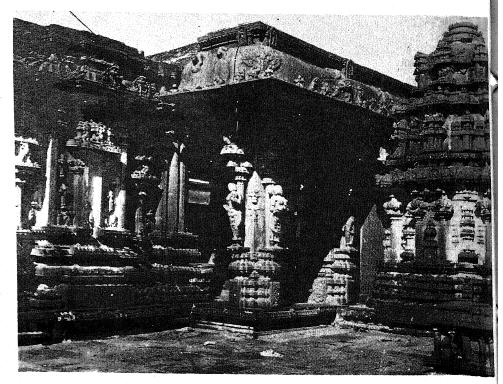
P1.9 PILLAR IN THE KALYANA-MANDAPA, LEPAKSHI



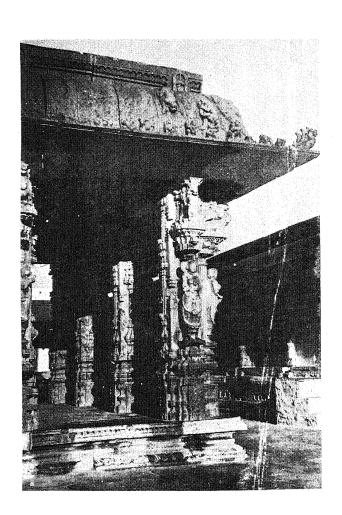
P1.10 PILLAR IN THE **NATYA-MANDAPA,** LEPAKSHI



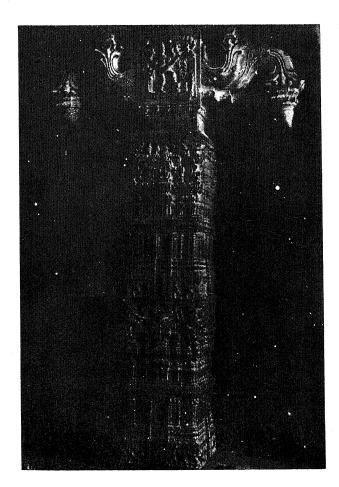
P1.11 PILLAR IN A **MANDAPA**--CHENNAKESAVA TEMPLE, SOMPALEM



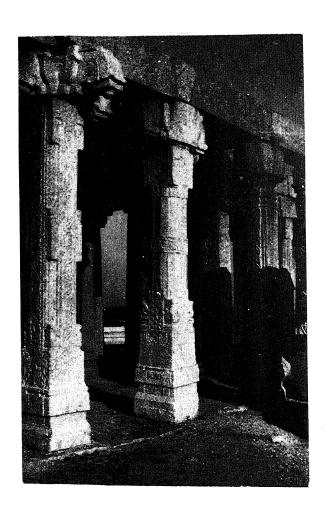
P1.12 VENKATARAMANA TEMPLE, TADIPARTI



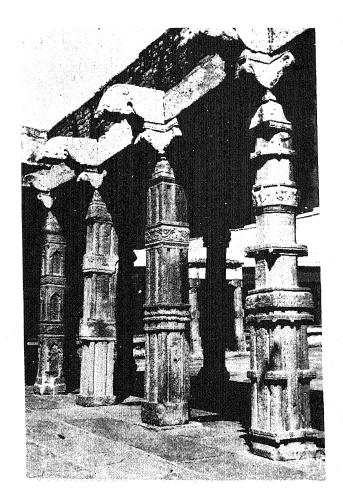
P1.13 **MUKHA-MANDAPA**-DEVI SHRINE, TADIPARTI



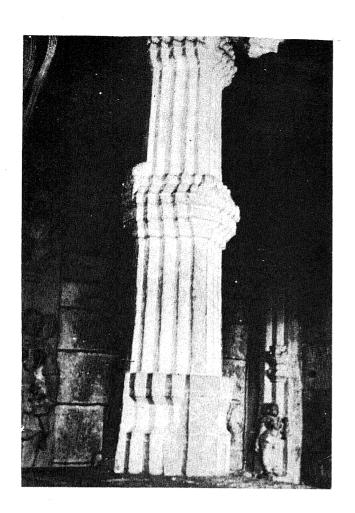
P1.14
PILLAR IN THE **MANDAPA**OF THE GOPURA-DVARA
CHENNAKESAVA TEMPLE, MILLAMPALLI



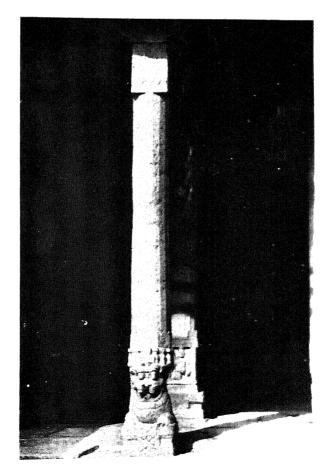
P1.15 PILLARS IN THE KALYANA-MANDAPA, LEPAKSHI



P1.16 PILLARS IN A MANDAPA OF THE VENKATARAMANA TEMPLE, TADIPARTI



P1.17 FLUTED PILLAR IN A **MANDAPA** OF THE CHENNAKESAVA TEMPLE, SOMPALEM



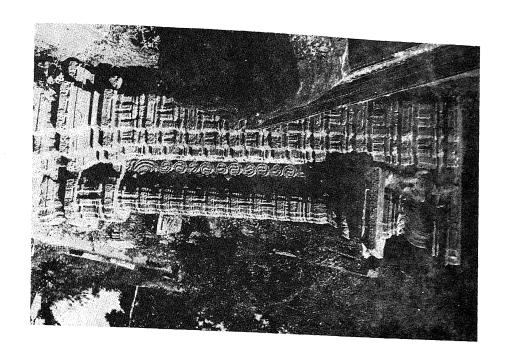
P1.18 LION BASED PILLAR IN THE KALYANA-MANDAPA -CHENNAKESAVA TEMPLE, SOMPALEM



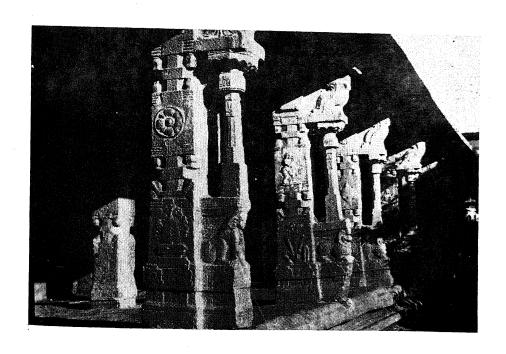
P1.19 PILLARS IN THE NATYA-MANDAPA VIRABHADRASVAMI TEMPLE, LEPAKSHI



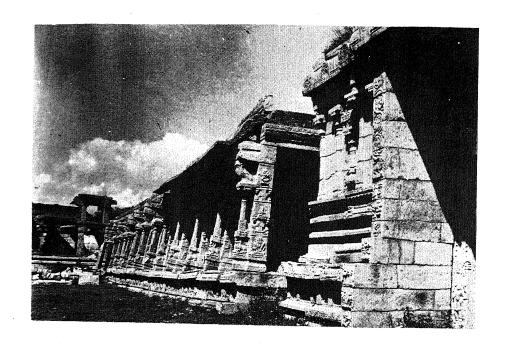
P1.20 PILLAR WITH PILLARET ACHYUTARAYA TEMPLE, HAMPI



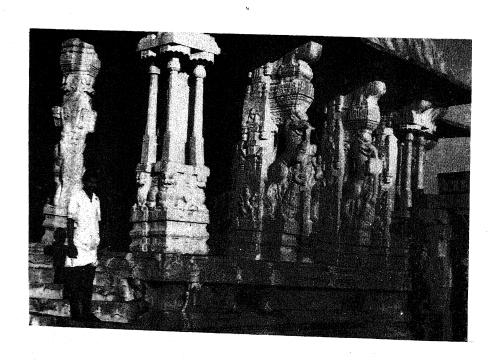
P1.21 PILLAR WITH PILLARET + PATALESVARA TEMPLE, SRISAILAM



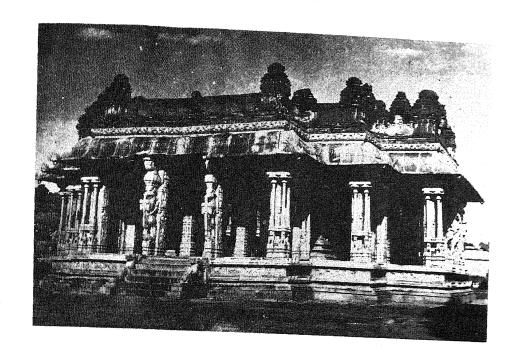
P1.22 PILLARED CLOISTER INSIDE THE PRAKAR WALL VIRABHADRASVAMI TEMPLE, LEPAKSHI



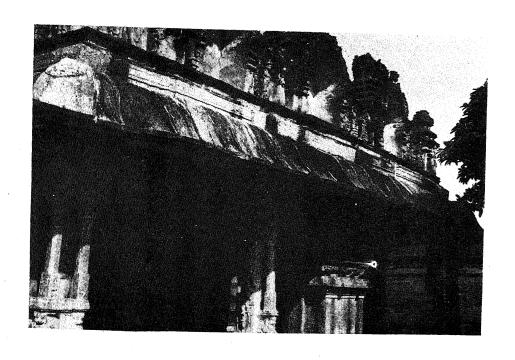
P1.23 PILLARED CLOISTER ACHYUTARAYA TEMPLE, HAMPI



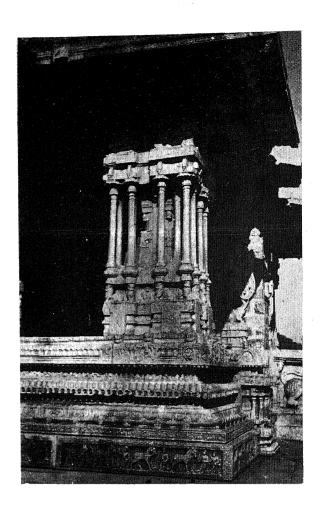
P1.24 NATYA-MANDAPA-VIRABHADRASVAMI TEMPLE, LEPAKSHI



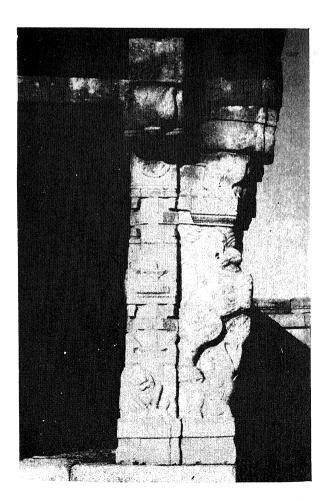
P1.25 KALYANA-MANDAPA-VITTHALA TEMPLE, HAMPI



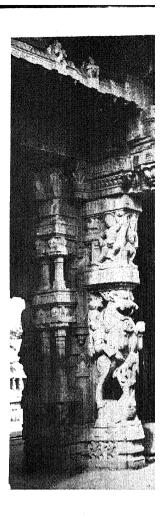
P1.26 CHENNAKESAVA TEMPLE, SOMPALEM



P1.27
PILLAR WITH MULTIPLE PILLARETS
(MUSICAL PILLAR)
VITTHALA TEMPLE, HAMPI



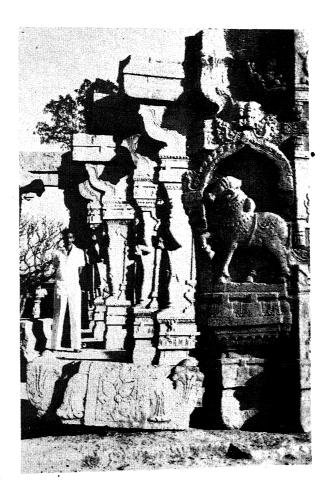
P1.28 PILLAR WITH **VYALA** - SANIVARA - MANDAPA VIRABHADRASVAMI TEMPLE, LEPAKSHI



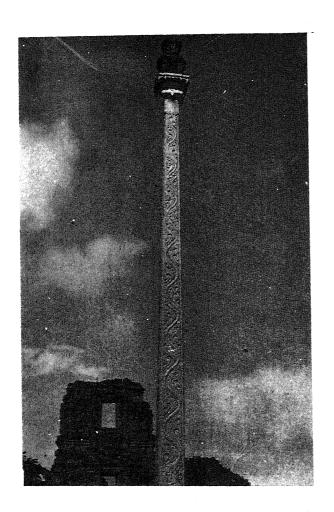
VIRABHADRASVAMI



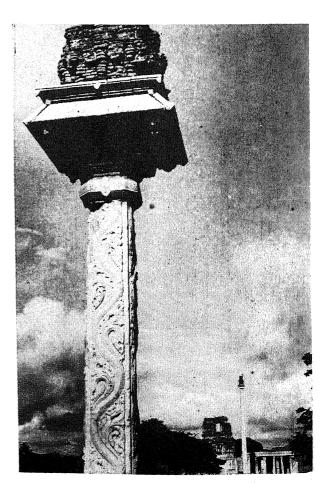
P1.29 PILLARS IN THE **NATYA-MANDAPA** VITTHALA TEMPLE, HAMPI



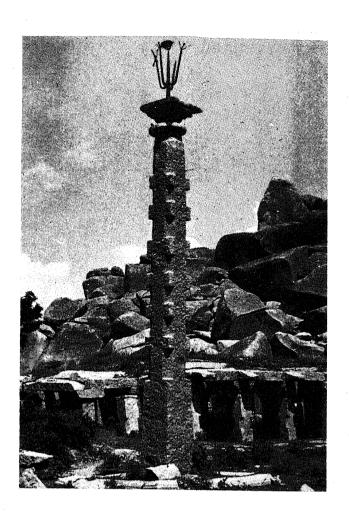
P1.30 **KALYANA - MANDAPA** VIRABHADRASVAMI TEMPLE, LEPAKSHI



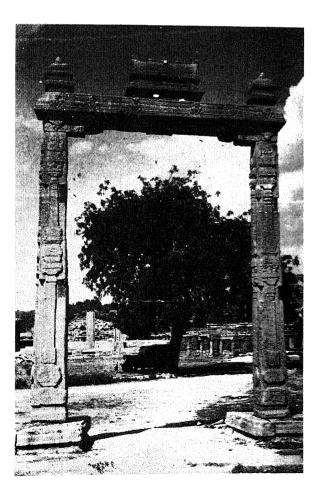
P1.31 FREE STANDING PILLAR CHENNAKESAVA TEMPLE, SOMPALEM



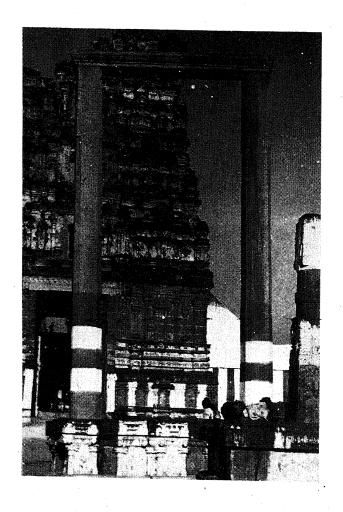
P1.32 FREE STANDING PILLAR CHENNAKESAVA TEMPLE, SOMPALEM



P1.33 FREE STANDING PILLAR, HAMPI



TORANA VITTHALA TEMPLE, HAMPI



P1.35 TORANA VENKATARAMANA TEMPLE, TADIPARTI

mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi (Pl. 15). In the third stage the curved floral arm of the corbel is marked with considerable advancement. The floral arm is shown projecting from the central core of the corbel. Further the potika or the lotus bud is also very well modelled and projecting from its base considerably. Examples of this type are found in plenty in the natya-mandapa of the Virabhadrasvami temple at Lepakshi (Pls. 10, 19). It should be noted here that in all these above referred cases, the floral arms are attached to the main block of the bracket but not modelled in the round. In the final stage of its evolution the curved floral arm of the bracket is modelled in the round and shown projecting out. Further it is decorated with leafy and creeper patterns. The lotus bud, shown at the termination of the floral arm, is marvellously designed and meticulously decorated. In some cases a horizontal decorative band connecting the potika with the main block of the bracket is also noticed. Excellent examples of this type are found at Hampi, Millampalli, Lepakshi, Sompalem and Tiruvannamalai etc. 47 (Pl. 14).

The bracket having floral arms with pushpa-potika terminations was neither invented nor introduced for the first time by the Vijayanagara sculptors. The Pallavas were the first who introduced this pushpa-potika bracket. This is amply supported by the bracket that is found in the pillars of the Panchapandava cave, assigned to 7th century A D.48 The shaft of the pillars are placed on the head of a couchant lion - the identifying symbol of the Pallava style. It is surmounted by a two-armed bracket. The curved floral arm of the corbel has a beautifully designed lotus bud at the end. The Cholas succeeded the Pallavas. About the Chola corbels V. Kameswara Rao observes: "In the early Chola style, the sides of the capital came to be cut at 45°. Sometimes there was a protruding block at the base on either side. The next development was the stretching of the capital to the sides in two sections, the second assuming the form of an elephant's trunk. A further development was the addition of a semi-circular hanging below the elephants trunk. Subsequently this semi-circle developed an angle at the centre resembling a potika or bud"40. The Pandyan sculptors also displayed a liking for this type of bracket. Percy Brown observes: "In the hands of the Pandyan sculptors this flower element was given a scalloped edge, thus presenting it with a foliated and more exquisite appearance. The other attraction is in the form of the bodigai or corbel of the bracket overhanging the capital, which has been converted from purely conventional and abstract member into moulded pendent or drop"50. It is thus evident from the above discussion that the pushpa-potika bracket was introduced by the Pallavas and it was adopted later on by the Cholas and Pandyas. Hence it is reasonable to assume that the Vijavanagar sculptors drew inspiration either from the Pallavas or from the Cholas while modelling the Pushpa-potika corbels. The Vijayanagara pushpa- potika corbels inturn inspired the Nayaka sculptors who literally converted them as marvels in the decorative art of that period.

<sup>47.</sup> V. Kameswara Rao, Op. Cit., Pls. XXXI, 3, XXXVI, 3, XXXVII, 3. Itihas, Vol. VIII, Pls.XI, XV.

<sup>48.</sup> H. Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asio, Vol. II, Pls. 290, 291, 292.

<sup>49.</sup> V. Kameswara Rao, Op. Cit., pp. 225 ff.

**<sup>50.</sup>** P. Brown, Op. Ci.t, P. 107.

# PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT AND EQUIPMENT OF THE MESOLITHIC HUNTER-GATHERERS OF MORTHERN COASTAL ANDHRA

D. B. Murti

The Mesolithic phase characterized by the extensive use of composite tools made of microliths represents a smooth transition from palaeolithic savagery to the neolithic barbarism. It was a time during which hunting - foraging techniques have been very much systematized and small bands constituting the various societies were in continuous interaction with the eco - zone or eco - tone; the 'symbiotic' relationshrp between man and his ecological niche leading finally to the identification and careful manipulation of potential domesticates. A careful study of the equipment and patterns of settlement of the mesolithic phase would reveal the technical and social organization prevailing in the hunter-gatherer communities at the dawn of food production. Microliths continue to occur in various post mesolithic cultural phases too (Joshi, R V. 1973) indicating that even after the mooring in of the neolithic traits, the society through times had a demand for the microlithic tool kit. Obviously the genesis of the microlithic tradition could be routed through some of the advanced flake- tool or blade-tool cultures probably of the Upper palaeolithic composition. Thus a study of the microlithic artefacts of the mesolithic phase becomes not merely an interesting subject by itself but much informative for understanding the forces leading to the food production and the concurrent advances. Features about the organization of the settlements and equipment during the Mesolithic times in northern Coastal Andhra are described in the present essay.

In the Northern Coastal Andhra the mesolithic people habited the banks of the river Godavari and its tributaries and a few minor river systems like the Vamsadhara, the Gosthani, the Gambhira gadda, the Marikavalasa gadda, the Sarada, and the Eleru etc. All these water courses, excepting the main stream of Godavari, rise on the eastern flanks of the ranges of hills which form part of the eastern ghats. They flow through stretches of littoral zone before they finally reach the Bay of Bengal. Besides on the river banks, the mesolithic people habited certain low hillocks over looking the perennial water courses. The microlithic settlements on the Sappies hill (16°56' N. Latt; 81°48' E. long.) at Rajahmundry, the Kadama hill (17°15' N. Latt; 81°38'30" E. long.) near Polavaram, and the Jangammetta (17°12'13" N. Latt; 81°38' E. long.) near Pattisam are a few examples to quote; all these hillocks with their prehistoric remains are of course, situated on the banks of the river Godavari.

In coastal Andhra cave sites are very few. An important group of caves is available at Borrah in the Visakhapatnam district, but they have not been explored for the pre-historic finds by any expert archaeologist. Late Prof. C. Mahadevan of Andhra University is said to have collected a few palaeoliths from the vicinity of those caves. But elsewhere in Rayalaseema the caves at Betamcherla (15°25′ N. Latt; 78°8′ E. Long.) have produced a large number of Upper palaeolithic implements in the association of late pleisotocene fauna (Murti, M. L. K 1974). In the vicinity there are a few more caves which are likely to yield further data about the early man. Probably an intensive survey of the natural caves and grottos may help in locating microlithic horizons also in their vicinities.

All the mesolithic settlements are distributed in areas presently grown over by dry deciduous forest and open scrub jungles. Evidence is not lacking, however, about such sites located in deciduous forests of the east and west Godavari districts. Ratchana gudem (17°19' N. Latt; 81°11' E. Long.), Lankapalle (17°14' N. Latt; 81°22'30" E. Long.) and Rasur (17°13'40" N. Latt; 81°22' E. long.) are a few such instances.

While choosing their camping sites, the mesolithic folk were particularly keen about the availability of raw material in the locality. Usually the small water worn nodules or pebbles from the bed of water courses were taken up for the fabrication of tools. Where such sources were not available, the craftsmen quarried the cypto-crystalline and crystalline silicates from the local hills. In case there were conglomerate sand stones in the vicinity, they exploited the silicate nodules from them. As such quartz, chert, jasper, agate, opal, and chalcedony etc., were the usual rocks taken up for tool manufacture

Microliths occur in various concentrations at different localities. Usually microliths are exposed as scattered finds on the surface of red loams. This is more so when the implementiferous horizons are badly dissected. Occasionally they are associated with coarse sands and very fine gravels of fluviatile origin. A few gravel lenses in some of the river sections yield considerable number of microliths; mesoliths from Chilakagadda (18°10' N. Latt; 83°7' E. Long.) are collected in such contexts.

The most interesting type of occurrence, however, is in clusters. Many such clusters have been identified at Madhuravada (17°47′ N. Latt; 83°23′ E Long.). Marikavalasa (17°50′ N. Latt; 83°20′ E. Long.), Lankapalle (17°14′ N. Latt; 81°22′30″ E. Long.), Ramannagudem (17°13′15″ N. Latt; 81°22′30″ E. Long.), Manchulurigudem (17°12′ N. Latt; 81°22′ E. Long.) and Kangalagudem (17°10′ N. Latt; 81°23′ E. Long.). Similar instances are noted elsewhere at Aklaspur (19° N. Latt; 79° E. Long.) and Albaka (18°12′30″ N. Latt; 80°40′ E. Long.) in the Karimnagar and Khammam districts respectively. The clusters at Manchulurigudem, Lankapalle

and Albaka have a speciality. They retain anvils at the centre surrounded by scatters of microliths in all stages of their manufacture. Both worked and unworked nodules also occur in their association. However, at sites situated right on the out crops, working-platforms are not clearly located. Probably the outcrop itself was made the base for the fabrication of tools. In such cases microliths and a few hammer stones (?) are scattered about the rock eminences. At Ramannagudem and Kangalagudem such instances were noticed.

In mesolithic horizons of northern coastal Andhra small parallel sided blade-blanks and tools made on them are the common finds. It appears that the blade-blanks were broken at a particular length to produce blade-lets. After imparting retouch they were converted into the desired tool shape. Pen knife blades, backed blades, retouched blades, notched or serrated blades, etc., constitute the general blade element. Lunates, trapeze and triangular are the usual geometrics. Crescentic and symmetric types of points occur, the latter constituting tanged variety also. Crescentic points are always modelled on blade blanks while for the symmetric types flake blanks form the medium. End scrapers and side scrapers are also of common occurrence. Retouched, notched and those with signs of use damage constitute the flake element. Micro burins are relatively rare.

Specimens made on fossilwood, wood, bone, antler, ivory, etc. have not come to light in this region. Even if they were present in the original assemblages they could not escape the ravages of the tropical rainy environment. Evidences for the structural activity of the microlithic people have not been identified probably because no considerable area of the times has been studied through excavation.

The largest microlithic settlement would measure about 10) metres square containing more than half a dozen clusters. Usually a few small camping sites are situated not far away from the larger settlements, but for a quantitative difference in tools no major variation in the tool-morphology could be established between them. Major sites are situated close to the water courses, either right on the banks of the stream or on the nearest rock eminences, probably for economic reasons. A few temporary camping sites are usually located a little away from the streams scattered through denser floral niches. The straight distance between one major site to the other is not more than 2 kilometres in any case. The camping sites are more in number, and close to each other in the upper reaches of tributary river valleys, while they became more scattered in the lower courses. For reasons largely governed by drainage morphology sites in the upper courses, more intact while those in the lower reaches of any stream are mercilessly denuded. River courses flanked by moist deciduous forests are inhospitable for microlithic camping sites; the impenetrable jungles do not allow free movement of the game and the hunter. In such areas naturally primary or base camps of the mesolithic are absent.

Ratchanagudem and Lankapalle distributed across the deciduous tracts may however represent the areas of hot-weather hunting grounds of the mesolithic folk. Even at far higher reaches at Puchikapadu, Ankanagudem etc., mesolithic artefacts have been collected in scattered context—the sites do not present anything interesting but in all probability they represent seasonal—summer camping grounds—In the vicinity are a few small streams issuing from springs which must have attracted both the game and the hunter in hot weather. The local tribes like the Koyas even today drive the sheep, goat, and the cattle to far higher reaches of the eastern ghats for summer grazing. After the first showers, they return down to their base camps. Perhaps seasonal migration in search of food and fodder is not a new element in the life, and culture of the Koyas but the origin lies in much greater antiquity.

### Sites and equipment

Battili (18°43' N, Latt: 84°5' E. Long.) is the northern most microlithic site so far known in coastal Andhra Pradesh. It is situated in the Patapatnam taluk of the Srikakulam district. The site is in the upper Vamsadhara valley, to the north of which lie the ranges of 'Eastern Hills'. At a place, where the Vamsadhara emerging from the hill country enters a plain, sheet erosion followed by gullying exposed microlithic clusters on the right bank of the Vamsadhara. Presently the microliths are associated with residual fine gravels and coarse sands, deposited there by fluvial agencies. The very fact that they are associated with alluvial deposits indicates that the specimens have been transported through unknown distance and laid in there But as the artefacts appear fresh and unworn possibly their place of manufacture does not lie much beyond. It appears that the top of the overlying red earth is the original 'Old land surface' from which the specimens have been drifted. (Prasad, K. 1971).

Among the tool-types parallel sided blades with or without use, damage, backed blades, scrapers, points, burins and lunates may be recognised. A number of primary flakes, amorphous flakes, chips and partly worked nodules of quartz and chert are the other finds. Water worn pebbles of quartz and nodules of chert are locally available and the craftsmen exploited the natural rock resources (Table-1).

In the Gajapatinagaram (18°17' N. Latt; 83°21' E. Long.) area a number of microlithic settlements are noticed on the banks of the various rivulets that drain into the Champavati, a local stream. Situated on the banks of the stream in the vicinity of Andhra, Raba and Rompalle have yielded a number of microliths. The tools which were originally distributed on the surface of the red land are brought down by sheet erosion. At present, they are apparently associated with the yellowish brown earth, where ever the top lying red earth is eroded away (Radhakrishna, U. 1972).

The localities on the Champavati brought to light a variety of retouched and backed blades, beside the usual blade and flake blanks. A few scrapers, points, burins and lunates are the other

tool types known from here. The points are usually crescentic and the scrapers fall into the side, end, convex and concave varieties. At all the three localities scrapers find a good representation.

At Kasipatnam (18°13' N. Latt: 83°7' E. Long.) microliths are collected from the pre-neolithic levels in a scattered context, The village is situated on the right bank of the Gosthani, in the Sringavarapukota taluk, at a distance of 48 kms. north of Visakhapatnam. The area is amidst ranges rising to 3500' above M.S.L. On the concave bends of the meanders, stretches of rolled pebbles and sub angular rocks are scattered. The stream has cut down its bed upto the bed rock and at present the braided channels occur at a depth of 50' below the banks. Thick deposits of red earth, occasionally interspersed with lime concretions, are exposed in the sections. The artefacts are exposed at places situated a little to the north and west of the village, on the tops of sheet-eroded red lands.

Parallel sided blades with signs of retouch, burins, points, scrapers and flakes with signs of use damage are collected. Fluted cores and amorphous cores are also found along with the above artefacts. Red and yellow varieties of chert were employed for the fabrication of the tools.

About 8 kms. south of Kasipatnam at Chilakagadda (18°10' N. Latt; 83°7' E. Long.) microliths have been collected across the tops of the residual heaps of the undulated topography. The local stream is the Chilakagadda, which is a tributary to the Gosthani. The implements are apparently associated with the coarse sands and small nodules of chert and quartz. In all probability the implements were originally stationed in the top levels of the red. loam, which in course of time was brought down by erosion. Scrapers, points, borers, burins, backed blades, and lunates are among the types of tools. A trapeze is also collected at the site. It appears that chert, quartz, crystal, jasper, felspar etc. were freely employed by the craftsmen to fabricate the tools. However, those made on quartz and chert predominate the assemblage (Sastri, 1972).

Boyipalem (17°55' N. Latt; 89°18' E. Long.) is another microlithic site situated 18 kms. north of Visakhapatnam. In the vicinity flows a stream locally known as the Gambhira gedda. The village proper lies on the south bank of the stream while the tool bearing deposits occur on the north bank at a distance of 500 metres away from the stream bed. The area is covered by thick beds of red earth dissected by a number of small streams that drain into the Gambhira gedda. The artefacts occur here as surface scatters, which could be categorized as blade-tools, pointed flakes, crescentic flakes, a variety of scrapers, borers, burins, flake blanks, fluted and amorphous cores besides large quantities of chips. Most of the specimens are fabricated on agate and chert. K.T. Reddi (1978) surveyed the entire Gambhiram valley and identified upper palaeolithic, microlithic, neolithic and early historical cultural phases. At Madhyakadama, Soutyam, Mamidilova, Gudilova, Gambhiram, Boyapalem, etc., Reddi collected artefacts. He finds that Madhyakadama and Soutyam are very potential sites of the upper palaeolithic and microlithic

times. Reddi conducted resistivity survey and obtained the following stratigraphy at Madhya Kadama—Quoted:

0-47 cms. ... Bright red soil (sterile)
47-80 cms. ... Red soil (mesolithic)
80-110 cms. ... Dull red soil (sterile)
110-119 cms. ... Pellety lateritic gravel (upper palaeolithic)

The mesoliths and the upper palaeoliths are found in a mixed context, scattered over the bad land topography. The artefacts include blunted backed blades, tanged points, burins, borers and scrapers basides a large number of waste products.

At Marikavalasa (17º50' N. Latt; 83º50' E. Long.) another microlithic locality has been identified. It is situated at a couple of kilometres south of Boyipalam on the Marikavalasa gadda. The area is about 14 kms. north of Visakhapatnam. The archaeological horizon is located on the left bank of the stream.

The implementiferous area is the top lying red earth at a height of 1.25 mts. above the stream level. The site proper is flanked on the eastern and western sides by low ranges. The red earths in the area are dissected by transverse rills producing a bad land topography. At present the area is strewn over by calcareous concretions. Scattered through some of these dissections implements belonging to the microlithic and neolithic times have been recovered. A number of parallel sided blades, backed blades, a few lunates and flakes with use-damage are the noteworty specimens under the category of microliths. All the artefacts are fabricated on small water worn nodules of agate which are locally available.

At Madhuravada (17°47' N. Latt; 83°23' E. Long.) which is situated 3 kms. south of Marikavalasa and 10 kms. north of Visakhapatnam, another microlithic industry is located. Here also the tools are found scattered over the red land surfaces. The area is much dissected and strewn over by concretions of lime. Here nearly 200 artefacts are collected. On typological ground they may be classified as parallel sided blades, pen pnives, backed blades, notched blades, crescentic blades, burins, lunates, awls, points, scrapers and a few flakes with signs of use-damage. Fluted cores, amorphous cores, core fragments, primary flakes and chips are the other associated finds. A few neoliths, fragments of coarse redware and mace-heads are the new stone age remains of the area. Quartz, chert and agate are the materials employed for the fabrication of the microliths.

About 2 miles south of Madhuravada, on the out skirts of Potinamallayapalem a few quartz made microliths have been collected. They are mainly blade flakes and amorphous cores.

A few kms. south of the above site, in the vicinity of the zoological park (17°40' N. Latt; 83°25' E Long.) of Visakhapatnam town a few blades, flakes, cores, and fluted cores of chert were collected. Here too the artefacts occur in the dissected landscape of red earths.

In the Anakapalle taluk of Visakhapatnam district, the vicinity of Lankalapalem (17°40′ N. Latt; 83°2′ E. Long.) has yielded a number of microliths. Here the tool-bearing deposits are spread over a wide area from Lankalapalem to Aganampadi. On both the sides of the high way the deposits underwent deep erosion, exposing the bed rock at places. At present the area is criss-crossed by a number of dry flow channels leading to the dry bed of an ephemeral stream. The implements occur on the red earth as surface remains where ever the top mantle of the soil is eroded. The microliths from this site include a variety of blade flakes, beside a few finished tools. Chert appears to be the most preferred raw material, though some specimens occur in quartz.

A few kms west of Kasimkota at Subbupalem, a hamlet, a few microliths have been collected from the dissected red land surfaces. The artefacts include a few blade flakes, scrapers etc. Quartz and chert are the raw materials used for the fabrication of microliths.

Explorations have not been conducted in the minor river valleys of Tandava and Pampa both of them flowing in the northern and western parts of the east Godavari district. However, the Elaru, which runs partly parallel to the main stream of the R. Godavari has been thoroughly surveyed by Dr. M Kasturi Bai. Earlier L. A Cammiade (1924) discovered a few microlithic camping sites in the valleys of the Eleru and Maddigadda.

In the Eleru valley, the microlithic camping site at Eleswaram (17°17' N. Latt; 82°6' E Long.) is important. The microliths are scattered on the top of a low hillock, situated to 3 kms. north of Eleswaram. A pre-mesoli hic flake industry has also been noticed there. The site yielded normal types of mesolithic artefacts made on crystalline and crypto-crystalline silicates.

In the Eleru valley many more sites have been located in the recent times, but the details are to be published. However, the data from Lingavaram and Appannapalem have been presented here. The microlithic site at Lingavaram (17°20′ N. Latt; 82°4′ E. Long.) is situated a little to the north-west of the village on the southern flanks of a small hill. The artefacts are exposed on the top of the red loam, which lie against the southern slopes of the hill. Much

disturbance of the archaeological horizon has been caused by the local people during their agricultural activities in the vicinity. The hill has been shedding large quantities of rock debris which slid down the slopes and as a consequence the archaeological horizon is partly buried by the screes.

Collection of the artefacts is made from the exposures in the rain gullies and on the top of the red earth.

The artefacts from Lingavaram are broadly classifed as blades, lunates, tanged points, crescentic points, symmetric points, retouched flakes, flake blanks, primary flakes, cores and waste products. Altogether 116 artefacts have been accounted for. Medium-blank analysis indicated that 32 implements are either blade-made tools or blade blanks and 15 are flake tools, showing a domination of the blade element. A majority of the blade tools are retouched and the specimens range in length between 1 cm. to 2 cms. A few blade tools also retain patches of cortex. The lunates, borers, and tanged points are all flake made.

On petrological grounds it would appear that about 50% of the tools were made on grey, red and yellow varieties of chert. Next in order of preference comes chalcedony which would show a frequency of 40%. The rest of the 10% of the artefacts are on quartz and agate. All the types of crypto crystalline rocks are locally available in the form of nodules while quartz must have been quarried from the local veins.

Appannapalem (17°16'N. Latt; 82°5' E. Long.) is another hamlet in the vicinity of Eleswaram, situated on the right bank of Eleru. To the southwest of Appannapalem some archaeological horizons have been located. The site lies on the eastern slopes of a small range. Here the Eleru entering the valley from the north, flows south-east. The area is very deeply dissected by the transverse streams. The implementiferous horizon is the top of the red loam, resting directly on the bed rock. Clusters and scatters of microliths are noticed where the top soil is subjected to sheet erosion. That some of the tools are exposed for a long time is substantiated by their association with heaps of lime nodules.

The industry at Appannapalem includes blades, lunates, crescentic points, symmetric points and scrapers.

The total number of finished tools is only forty seven. Though the total number of artefacts collected is 656 the finished products form only a small fraction of the collection. The large number of amorphous cores and almost thrice the number of bi-product flakes and waste suggest that the site may be a work-spot of the times. But unforturately the crosive nature of the various

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rills has deformed completely the archaeolgical horizons and routed out all anvils and the encircling clusters.

A few of the 32 blades show signs of retouch. They range in length between 1.5 cm. to 3-00 cms. The chords of all the eight lunates show signs of use damage. One of the crescentic points is weathered probably due to long exposure. The symmetric point shows an incipient tang at the proxial end.

All the scrapers in the industry fall into the category of side scraper variety only,

About 95% of the artefacts are fabricated on plain yellowish agate. The entire area is strewn over by nodules of agate and it is possible that the raw material is available locally. The rest of the 5% of the specimens are on quartz, chalcedony and chert.

In the lower Godavari valley many mesolithic camps have been located by Cammiade, L. A. in 1924. At some of the sites Cammiade collected neolithic artefacts too. A note on the mesolithic finds from the area has been published by Allchin, B (1966). More recently detailed investigation of the prehistoric sites in the lower Godavari valley has been undertaken by the author and a few of the interesting details have been furnished here. The prehistoric camp sites, particularly those of the mesolithic times, are distributed across the banks of the minor river systems like the Seetapalle vagu, the Peddagedda, the Turpu kalva and the Baineru; all these streams finally join the R.Godavari after its escape from the Bison gorge. Some of the mesolithic sites are located on the tops of low nillocks situated along the banks of the R. Godavari, important among which are the Kadama konda (17° 15′ N. Latt; 18° 38′ 30″ E. Long.), the Zangam metta (17° 12′ N. Latt; 81°33′ E. Long.) the Toyyeru Hill (17°9′ N. Latt; 81°40′ E. Long.) and the Sapees′ Hill (16°56′ N. Latt; 81°48′ E. Long.).

Among the scores of sites distributed along the tributary streams, Lankapalie (17°13' N. Latt; 81°22'38" E Long.), Rasur (17°13' N. Latt; 81°22' E Long.), Ramannaguden (17°13'15" N. Latt; 81°22'30" E. Long.), Kapavaram (17°3'10" N. Latt; 81°22' E Long.), Manchulurigudem (17°12' N Latt; 81°22' E. Long.), and Kangalagudem (17°10' N. Latt; 81°23' E Long.) are important in the context of artefact densities on the Baineru, while Puliramudugudem (17°15' N. Latt; 81°26' E. Long.), Sagipadu (17°12'30" N. Latt; 81°32'30" E. Long.) and Lakshmipuram (17°12' N Latt; 81°29'30" E Long.) are the interesting mesolithic localities on the Turpukalva; both the streams flow in parts of the West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. On the Seetapalle vagu, flowing across parts of the East Godavari district, Cheruvupalem (17°29' N. Latt; 81°45' E Long.) is an interesting mesolithic site. Though microliths have been collected at different times from the vicinities of Rampachodavaram (17°27' N. Latt; 81°46' E Long.) and Seetapalle

(17°26' N. Latt; 81°47' E. Long.) in all probability they may be hailing from the neolithic horizons located closeby.

At all the sites mentioned above the mesolithic artefacts have been recovered from the top levels of the earth flanking on either side of the stream courses. They occur in small clusters distributed over wider areas. The artefacts did not drift through fluvial agencies, with the result they appear fresh and the contours are sharp. At some of the sites like Manchulurigudem amidst the clusters, anvils are also noticed; they were the working platforms of the mesolithic arteficers. Not far away from these high concentration zones but distributed across areas within a radius of a kilometer or two, groups of artefacts are scattered, probably indicating that they were the zones within their hunting rounds. The tool kit produced and utillized by the mesolithic hunters of the Godavari valley has been listed in Table-2. The mesolithic adaptation patterns in the lower Godavari valley are similar to those observed in the Bastar area (Zarine M Cooper 1983).

#### Discussion

Apparently the mesolithic camp sites are widely distributed in the entire northern coastal Andhra. As the industries constitute more or less the same typology, possibly there was not much of a variation in their economic exploitation levels. As the area under investigation confines uniformly to similar geo-and eco-settings the opportunities available to the mesolithic hunter-gatherers remained practically constant through time and space. The specimens from the Godavari valley exhibit napping technical skill par excellence-the tool types take much neater out lines than those from the other parts described. In morpho-metrical details artefacts from the Visakhapatam area appear broader and thicker than their counter parts in the Godavari valley; perhaps it was more difficult to obtain neater and thinner forms on agates and amorphous quartz nodules than on chalcedony and chart, the latter two being the choicest raw material for the mesolithic artificers of the Godavari

In the magnitude of occurrence and the sub-types of various tools, represented sites of the Baineru valley could be compared with those from Aklaspur and Albaka, Loated on the upstream of Godavari and in general terms specimens from these areas have features much in common with those from Adamgarh (Joshi R. V. 1968) and Birbhanpur (Lal B. B. 1958) Sites around Visakhapatnam have, however, produced tool kit akin to that from the Bastar area (Zarine M. Cooper 1983).

At some of the sites around Visakhapatnam ground stone axes of Eastern Indian affinities, particularly those from Kuchai (Thapar, B. K. 1262), have been recovered. Apparently there is not much of a stratigraphic separation or distinction between the mesolithic and neolithic

levels indicating that they were not chronologically far apart. Also even after the introduction of the neoli hic way of life into the area the folk could not make permanent settlements of their own as there is complete absence of habitational mounds of the times. It is also likely that hunting and food collection played a vital role in their economy even during the neolithic times demanding extensive use of microlithic tool kit. Thus it would appear that the mesolithic sites on the Baineru are pristine and anterior in time scale to those around visakhapatnam which are on the threshold of neolithicism. If a time bracket of 1000-1500 B. C. could be suggested for the diffusion of neolithic traits into the Visakhapatnam area, then most of the mesolithic settlements in the lower Godavari valley should be dated to times far earlier; perhaps a date around 4000 B. C. would not be far fetched and it is well within the frame work suggested by Agrawal and others (1978).

TABLE—1

List of Artefacts from various sites

Types	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Retouched blades	16		90		-	10						
Backed blades	10	63	10	18	<b>9</b> 6	20	5	3	4	1		
Backed and retouched			5			10		3	Acceptance			
Blade blanks	40	39	16	8	147	20	97	90	32	52	27	30
Symmetric points		-			117	10		<del>,</del>			1	1
Asymmetric points	4	9	4	29			17	17	3	1	2	
Crescentic points		2	-	-		2					2	2
Trapezes	-			1		,			*******	-	******	
Triangles			***	-	-	*********				1		
Lunates	-	3		5		29	3	12	2		2	8
Scrapers	6	58	2	35	90	4	. 8	2	7	4		6
Borers		3	-	5	19	1	7				2	-
Burins	2	4	1	2	29	1		2				
Flake blanks	60	60	15	62	36 <b>5</b>	20	33	36	19	40	40	481
Blade cores	3	44	13	13		13	18	6	7	10	6	3
Core fragments	34	13	11	16	229	24	49	15	102	56	34	135
Total	175	298	167	194	1092	164	237	186	176	165	116	656

# 74 PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT AND EQUIPMENT OF THE MESOLITHIC .....

1.	Battili	7.	Madhuravada
2.	Gajapatinagaram	8.	Marikavalasa
3.	Kasipatn <b>a</b> m	9.	Zoo area
4.	Chilakagadda	10	Lankalapalem
5.	Madhyakadama	11.	Lingavaram
6,	Boyipalem	12.	Appannapalem

TABLE — 2

List of artefacts from the Lower Godavari valley

Types	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Retouched blades	13	20	12	37	48	17	21	15	6	5	11	8
Backed blaces	_	19	10	13	15	23	18	30		7	7	8
Backed and retouched	11	27	17	44	12	38	33	9	7	4		8
Blade blanks	43	110	97	176	591	344	278	108	39	υ <b>5</b>	35	34
Symmetric points	3	1		3	20	-	3	3	-			<u></u> 3
Asymmetric points		2		3	3		. 5	3		2	-	
Crescentic points	5	11	9	19	36	50	32	7		· —	3	6
Trapezes				2	5	8	21		`	1	· — ,	
Triangles	. —	· · · <u>- · ·</u> ·			15	2	14					-
Lunates	2	5	16	19	33	19	19		. 3	3	6	
Scrapers		_	2	6	20	11	4	2		3		14
Borers		2	3	2		-				-		2
Burins				-	2			-	-	***********	-	, <u> </u>
Flake blanks	86	52	80	630	405	<b>72</b> 8	642	244	325	226	78	118
Blade cores	12	14	40	59	95	53	62	34	16	47	6	18
Core Fragments	28	11	17	98	111	68	120	79	62	28	22	78
Total	203	274	303	1111	1410	1361	1272	534	456	391	168	29

1.	Puchikapadu	
2.	Lankapalle	
3.	Rasur	

4. Ramannagudem

5. Kapavaram

6. Manchulurigudem

7. Kangalagudem

8. Cheruvupalem

9. Kadamakonda

10. Jangammetta

11. Toyyeru hill

12. Sapee's hill

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# THE BOYAS IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA HISTORY

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The Boyas are a hardy warlike aboriginal people of Andhra Pradesh. Being primarily hunters, they live in the thickly forested mountainous tracts of Prakasam, Nellore and Chittore Districts. In the Anantapur District gezetteer they are noted as 'an old fighting Caste'. They are known for their tenacity in hunting, never missing their mark. In some of the late medieval inscriptions the homeland of the Boyas was referred to as *Boyaviharadesa*, *Boyavidu*, and *Boyavila*. The *Boyaviharadesa* of these inscriptions roughly corresponds to the eastern taluks of Nellore District viz., Kanigiri, Atmakur and Udayagiri. Infact, the activities of the Boyas extended far beyond the boundaries of the above region into the neighbouring districts and therefore the term *Boyaviharadesa* appears to indicate the original concentration of the Boyas.

The word *Nisada* is taken to be the Sanskritic synonym of Boya and interestingly some of tha Boya sects trace their descent from the mythical Nisada, son of Venaraja, depicted in the *puranas* as a wicked king. The Boyas hold that they are the legitimate children of Nisada where as the Kuravas, Yanadis and Cencus are his illegitimate children. However, Nisada appears to be a generic term used to describe all the aboriginal tribes, and particularly as the synonym of *Kirata*.

Throughout history, the Boyas have retained their ferocious nature and predatory habits. The medieval Telugu poets like Peddana used the term Boya in the sense of cruel or mericiless. Another poet Cintalapati Yarranaraya in his Tarakabhyudayam describes a Boyavidu on the

- 1. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of South India (1975) pp. 187-88.
- 2. Nellore Dt. Inscriptions I, Atmakur 32 dated A.D. 1409
- 3. Ibid., Kandukur 10, dated A.D. 1415-16.
- 4. Ibid., Atmakur, 37 undated.
- 5. Thurston, Op. cit.
- 6. The Puranic literature included the Pulindas, Sabaras and other under the Nisadas. Vivekananda Jha "From Tribe to Untouchable The case of Nisadas", Indian Society Historical probings (Kosambi Memorial volume) pp. 67 ff.
- 7. Manucharitra, IV, verse 87

outskirts of a forest and that the Boyas indulged in highway robbery. In the section on *Rajaniti* in his *Amuktamalyada*, the Vijayanagara emperor Sri Krishnadevaraya advocates a polity of cautious appeasement towards the hill and forest tribes which included the Boyas. According to *Rayavachakam*, the army of Krishnadevaraya consisted of Boya Lords from eighteen *Kampanas*. In the course of his eastern campaign, Krishnadevaraya had let loose on the districts of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda and Kondavidu the Boyas and the other tribesmen<sup>10</sup> who looted and struck panic in the civilan population with the result that the forts capitulated easily. Later in the modern period, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan employed the Boyas in their wars against the trouble-some palegars and against the British and recognising their excellent marksmanship placed them incharge of matchlocks<sup>11</sup>.

The Boyas are not a homogenous tribe. They are divided into several groups which are mainly occupational. Among the Boyas there are two main divisions: Uruboyas (village Boyas) and Myasaboyas (grassland Boyas) and each of the above categories is sub-divided into a number of exogamous groups such as Yenumulavaru (buffalomen) Mandalavaru (herdsmen), Pulavaru (flowermen), Minalavaru (fishermen) and the like. Such a division among the Boyas does not appear to have been of recent origin but has been coming down from early times. It is in the early Eastern Calukyan records of late 7th century A.D., that we have the earliest inscriptional evidence about the Boyas and their names suggest that even during that distant past, the Boyas were divided into occupational groups. The Reyur grant of Vishnuvardhana II (A.D. 673-81) introduces names such as Manda Sarma, Kappa Sarma of the house of Alaboya, Koilboya, Manduboya and Pululurboya. Pulari means grass in Telugu and Pululurboya might have belonged to the Mysaboya sect. Manda Sarma might be of Mandalavaru (herdsmen). Mandu boya means medicine man, whereas Koil boya (templeman) was a priest. The Koneki plates of the same king give the name Pati sarma. As pati in Telugu means flowerbed (Patifertile, mannu-soil), Patisarma may be taken to have belonged to the Pulavaru Boya section.

It is further observed that Boyas do not engage Brahmins in their religious activities as they had their own priests<sup>15</sup>. The Reyur record noted above mentions Koilboyas. Koil means temple and the *Koilboyas* may signify the existence of priestly class among the Boyas as early as the 7th

- 8. Canto, V, Verses 204 & 223
- 9. Andhra Sahitya Parishat Publications, p. 13.
- 10. O. Ramachandraiah, Further studies on Sri Krishnadevaraya, p. 114 note 31.
- 11. Thurston, op. cit.
- 12. Ibid., p. 184
- 13. Indian Antiquary VII, pp. 185 ff.
- 14. Epigraphia Indica XI, pp. 74 ff.
- 15. Thurston, op. cit.

century A.D., In the above record we further come across two Koilboyas, one of Bharadvaja gotra and the other of Gautama gotra and thus the record suggests that there were different family groups in each of the Boya castes

Incidentally it may be noted that the Boyas appear to have been Saivite by faith. Siva is known as the god of Nisadas. Curiously, the human form on the famous Gudimaliam Linga, probably the earliest in South India assigned to 200 B.C. Tunmistakably betrays the physical features of Nisada. In this Kalahastimahatyam, Dhurjati, a Telugu poet of the 16th century describes Kannappa who worshipped Siva with his own eyes, as the son of a Boya chief.

In his short note on the Boyas, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya remarks "minor communities like the Boyas are occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions but (they) were far down in the scale of civilization and the part played by them is indeed very insignificant".<sup>20</sup> R N. Nandi on the other hand, holds the view, on the basis of the Eastern Calukyan records that the Boya tribe was transformed into the caste of Boya Brahmins and for considerable time retained their identity in the same way as the *Goragas* or Saivite Brahmins <sup>21</sup> But a careful examination of the available epigraphical evidence reveals that the Boyas played an interesting role in the political and social history of Medieval Andhra. It was a story of several sections of the Boyas giving up their aboriginal habits and entering into the fold of the neighbouring Brahminical social order, gradually rising in the scale of civilization and social ranking and getting absorbed not only into the priestly class but into the ruling class and the trading and agricultural classes as well, ultimately losing their tribal identity.

But about the 7th century A D., the Boyas appear to have reaped the fruits of acculturation resulting from their nearness to and contracts with the neighbouring civilised societies in Andhra, Karnataka and Tamilnad. The Eastern Calukyan records of the 7th century A.D. suggest that the Boya priests emulated their counterparts in the Brahminical society in mastering *Vedic* learning and performing *Vedic* rituals. Most of them added the suffix *Sarma* to their names which may be taken to mean 'Vedic Scholar'. The Kondanagur plates<sup>22</sup> of Indravarma (A.D. 673) refers to Somayajula

- 16. Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism and other minor Systems,
- 17. C. Sivaramamurthy, Indian Sculpture, p. 47 Fig. 6
- 18. S. Chattopadhyaya, The Evolution of Theistic Sects in India,
- 19. Canto 3. But the poet uses Bhilla, Pulinda, Kirata and Boya as synonymus.
- 20. The Eastern Calukyas of Vengi, p. 128.
- 21. The Boyas Transformation of a tribe into caste, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 39th Session (1968) pp. 94-102.
- 22. E. I. XVIII, pp. 1-5

Vellakki Bol where as the Bezawada plates<sup>23</sup> of Calukya Bhima I (A.D. 891-922) describe Revamaiah alias Ummarakanthibol as a master of Vedas and Vedangas (Vedavedanga paragaya). The donees of the Chandalur grant<sup>24</sup> of Mangiyuvaraja (A.D. 681-705) were students of vedas and performers of the six karmas and the five yajnas.

In his Dasakumaracaritra, the great Sanskrit writer Dandin, who is said to have lived at the Pallava court about the middle of the 7th Century A.D., wails over the miserable plight of the Brahmins who lived in forests among the kiratas, eating their food and obeying their orders. Ketana of the 13th century who translated Dasakumaracaritra into a Telugu poem actually says that the Brahmins became teachers of the Boyas. It is not unreasonable to assume that Dandin described the conditions prevailing in the neighbourhood of the kingdom where he was living. The Dasakumaracaritra may thus be taken to give us a clue to the mastery of the Boya priests over vedic lore and their skill in performing. Vedic rituals. It may be remembered that the age of the Pallavas was a period of vigorous Brahmanisation in the South. The Pallavas themselves were of non-Brahminical origin and the consensus is that the Kadambas were an aboriginal tribe worshipping the Kadamba tree as their totem. The origin of the Calukyas and Vishnukundins is in no way more flattering. But all these dynasties were stout champions of the vedic dharma-exhibiting the zeal of new converts like the Rajputs in medieval North India.

The Koil Boya of the above record suggests that the Boyas had built temples of their own and engaged priests for conducting worship in them. It was the period when Brahmanism developed into theism of the puranic type with temple as the centre of religion and there was brisk temple building activity in the Pallava and Calukya kingdoms between which the Boyadesa was interposed. Again it was during this period devabhogas and brahmadeyas multiplied and the resultant compulsions of expanding agriculture made it almost imperative to admit the aboriginals like the Boyas into the fold of the peasant communities—the Sudras of the Brahmanical system. Devotion or Bhakti which was the kernal of the theistic sects—Saivism and Vaisnavism, which were gaining widespread popularity through the propaganda of the Nayanmars and the Alwars was the philosophy of the Sudras or lower castes and it provided for their active participation in the temple festivities alround the year thereby working for their intellectual elevation and social ranking.

Politically the Boyas, by this time organised themselves into twelve Kottams. The word Kottam is frequently met with in the Tamil inscriptions in the meaning of a sub-division of nadu.

<sup>23.</sup> Ibid., V. pp. 127 ff.

<sup>24.</sup> Ibid., VIII, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>25.</sup> Il Chapter, The study of Matanga as related to Rajahamsa.

<sup>26.</sup> III Chapter

The word *Kottam* with a long *a* means a fortress and each of the *Kottams*<sup>27</sup> might have developed around a fortified town and under a chieftain. The Boya chieftains were known as *Doras* or Simhasana Boyas.<sup>28</sup> Of all the twelve forts, according to the Addanki record of Pandaranga,<sup>29</sup> the general of Gunaga Vijayaditya (A.D. 848-891), Kattem appears to be the strongest and the most important. It is probable that the Boya kingdoms formed a loose confederacy under the leadership of the chief who held Kattem Kandukur was another stronghold of the Boyas. Both the Pallavas and the Vengi Calukyas coveted to occupy the Boyakottams, as a result of which they frequently changed hands, till about the middle of the 9th century, when Pandaranga destroyed the Boya strongholds and dispersed the Boyas.

Almost from the time of the foundation of the Vengi kingdom, the Eastern Calukyas appear to have cast their greedy eyes on the Boyakottams. The very second king in the line, Jayasimhavallabha (A.D. 643-673) issued his Pedamaddali plates<sup>30</sup> from Udayapura, identified by scholars with Udayagiri in Nellore district,<sup>31</sup> evidently in the *Boyaviharadesa*. Jayasimha took the proud title *Vajayasiddhi* (scorer of victory) and his Polimburu plates<sup>32</sup> were issued from *Vijaya skandhavara* (victorious war camp). But he was silent about the name of the king on whom he waged the war and scored the above victory. However it can be surmised that in his effort to expand his kingdom southwards, Jayasimha came into conflict with the Boyas, defeated their chief, but was silent about his name as he was too insignificant for him to be mentioned. With this victory of Jayasimha, the Vengi kingdom extended south-wards beyonds Manner<sup>33</sup> right into the very heart of the Boyakottams.

The records of the immediate successors of Jayasimha, Indravarma (A. D. 673), Visnuvardhana (A.D. 673-81) and Sarvalokasraya Mangi (A.D. 673-705) suggest that they were left with the problems of consolidating the authority of Vengi in the newly conquered Boyakottams. Ever since the conquest of Vengi (A.D. 616), the Calukyas appear to have adopted the statesman like policy of winning the loyal support of local Brahmins by granting them Brahmadeyas and Agraha as and through their good offices hoped to get the people of the region reconciled to the newly established Calukyan authority. The successors of Jayasimha appear to have carried this policy into the Boyakottams. It is in their records that we come across Brahmin donees with the suffix 'boya'. Indravarma divided the village of Kondanagur into 64 shares and gave it to Candisarma, grandson of Duggasarma alias Irralur boya. The names of the witnesses of the grant end in 'bol' which is only the honorific plural of boya. Visnuvardhana II divided the village of

- 27. Burton Stein, Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India, pp. 81-85
- 28. Thurston, op. cit.
- 29. Bharati, Vol. II, p. 484
- 30. IA XIII, p. 137
- 31. N. Venkataramanayah, op. cit.

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Reyur <sup>34</sup> between 74 boya Brahmins. The same king gifted Koneki to several Boya Brahmins. His successor, Mangi granted Chandalur<sup>35</sup> to 16 Boya Brahmins.

The suffix boya to Brahmin names in these inscriptions has been interpreted differently by earlier scholars. E. Hultzsch who edited the Kondanagur and Chandalur records is in two minds about its meaning. In the first place he assumes that it may be the designation of a village clerk. His view is based upon the word gamabhojaka which appears in the Hirahadagalli plates of Pallavas Vijayaskandavarman. This word is explained by Monier Williams as a village priest. And by others as a village proprietor. It is likely that the Pallavas as the rulers of the Kanchi and Pallakkada (Pulicat) regions came into contact with the Boyas and realised the need of winning their loyalty and took them into service as village headmen. However Hultzsch goes on to add that 'this possibility is excluded by the fact that in the Reyur grant two different persons, Vennisarma and Camundisarma are stated to have been Marataboyas. In fact according to these early Eastern Calukyan records the villages were divided between a number of Boyas. In the light of Bezawada plates of Calukya Bhima (A.D. 892-922) which describes Revamaiah as Ummarakanthibol, Hultzsch concludes that Boya means 'Vastavyaya' or 'resident'. B. V. Krishna Rae on the other hand held the view that Bhoja means 'enjoyer' of the village and Boya is its vernacular form.

But the conclusions of Hultzsch and Krishanrao are contradicted by several cases in which Boya is suffixed to personal names as in the case of Kesavaboya which occurs three times in the Reyur record. Further ala 'cow) dudi (cotton), mandu (medicine) and koil (temple) cannot be taken to be place names, and the meaning 'enjoyer' cannot be satisfactorily justified in these cases. J. F. Fleet who edited the Reyur grant seems to have rightly understood the implication of the term. He says 'Boya appears to be some surname or class name since it occurs in lines 32, 47 and 50 affixed to the proper name, probably all names to which it is affixed are proper names -some of them taken from the names of the villages'.

- 34. Op. cit.
- 35. E.I., I, pp. 1-10
- 36. Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 768.
- 37. M. Rama Rao, Studies in Early History of Andhradesa, p. 157.
- 38. I.A., VII, pp. 186 ff.
- 39. E.I. VIII, pp. 236 ff.
- 40. The Eastern Calukyas, p. 107, note i
- 41. Op. cit.

There are several points of interest to be noted about these grants and the donees that received the grants,

- 1) These grants were made mostly on the recommendations of the military officers of the Calukyas who were probably entrusted with the governance of the Boyakottams. The Kondanagur grant was made on the recommendation of Kondivarma of the Ayyahu family where as Anaghavarma of the Ayyana family, who had obtained victories in many battles, was responsible for the Chandalur grant.
- 2) The villages that were granted or in which these Brahmin donees were settled are situated in *Karmarastra* within the Calukyan kingdom, but not far off from the Boya Kottams.
- 3) The names of most of the Brahmin donees are non Sanskritic as Badi, Pala, Jetti, Eddonde, Gabota etc., (Reyur grant). In several cases as in the Chandalur plates the donees are not mentioned by their personal names.
- 4) Village names with the suffix boya are used as the aliasses. In the Koneki grant four beneficiaries are referred to merely by their proper names suffixed by Boya and seven are referred to merely as the boyas of different villages. But in the case of one of these four, the original village name is also mentioned. Madisarma alias Patiboya is also characterised as Kummunurboya. Kummanur is identified with Konur in the Settenapalli Taluq, Guntur District (Karmarastra).
- 5) Among these Boya Brahmins the most popular *gotras* are Kaundinya, Bharadvaja, Kasyapa and Parasara. But it is strange that *gotras* are not recorded in many cases. Out of the 74 Brahmins in the Reyur grant 24 are without *gotras*. Five of the donees of the Chandalur record belong to the Kaundinya *gotra* and the sixth one belongs to Kalabava *gotra*. The word Kalabava does not sound like the name of a *Rishi* though the Kalabavas are classed as a subdivision of Visvamitra.<sup>42</sup> R. N. Nandi points out that *Kalava* in Kannada and *Kalavu* in Malayalam means a spinous shrub bearing edible black berries. Kalabava might probably be identical with *Carissa Caranda* and it was the totem or atleast the symbl of a section of the Boyas.<sup>43</sup> The Kalabava *gotra* thus contains a clue to the aboriginal origin of the Brahmin family.
- 42. Bough Johnson, Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara, p, 149,
- 43. N.R. Nandi, op. cit-

The foregoing account reveals that the donees in the above grants with 'boya' suffix or alias were in fairly advanced stage of Brahmanisation. Consistent with the Eastern Calukyan policy, the officers in charge of the administration of the Boya Kottams encouraged the Boya Brahmins with land grants to settle down in different villages of Karmarastra almost adjacent to the Boyavihara-desa, as "a second line of defence44" to the Eastern Calukyan authority. As we do not come across Boya Brahmins in the subsequent records of the dynasty—the only exception being that of the Bezwada grant of Calukya Bhima—it may reasonably be assumed that they gradually lost their tribal identity and merged with the traditional Brahmin families of the region, gaining thereby equality with them in ritual purity. The village names which they had earlier used as aliassess were retained or changed into their surnames. It may be noted that most of the present day Brahmin families of Andhra have village names as surnames.

The policy of the Vengi officers towards the Boyas was successful and the Boya Kottams remained peaceful under the Calukyan rule for the next hundred years. Udayendiram plates<sup>40</sup> of Nandivarman, Pallavamalla<sup>47</sup> (A.D. 730-790) speak about Prithvi Vyaghra, a *Nisada* chief towards the north of the Pallava kingdom. Evidently he was a Boya chief and his name is a clear proof of his loyal subordination to the Calukyas and of the increased fascination of the Boyas for Sanskrit names. The same record states that Pallavamalla followed an agressive policy towards the Boya Kottams and his general Udayachandra is credited with a victory in the battle of Nellore,<sup>48</sup> probably against the combined forces of the Boyas and the Vengi Calukyas. Pallavamalla is said to have defeated Prithvi Vyaghra, occupied the kingdom of Visnuraja, evidently Visnuvardhana, a Vengi Calukyan king (Kali Vishnuvardhana A. D. 847)? and collected jewels and other valuables from Niravadya, probably a Badami Calukyan prince.<sup>49</sup> The Vengi Calukyas lost to the Pallavas a portion of their kingdom and their control over the Boya Kottams. The successors of Pallavamalla, Dantivarman and his son Nandivarman were also powerful rulers credited with resounding military achievements<sup>50</sup> and it is therefore reasonable to asssume that the Boya Kottams continued under the Pallava rule for considerable time.

- 44. Ibid.,
- 45. The Kondanagur grant mentions Somayajulu Vellakkibol. The word VELLAKKI is understood as the name of a village. The Karimnagar inscription of Gangadhara (Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, pp. 64 ff) Chief Minister of Kakati Rudra (A D. 1158-95) says that he
- 46. S.I.I., II, p. 368.
- 47. Classical Age, p. 262.
- 48. Ibid.,
- 49. N. Venkataramanaiah, op. cit., pp. 96-97.
- 50. Classical Age. p. 263

The Dharmavaram epigraph<sup>51</sup> of Calukya Bhima states that Vijayaditya fought with the opposing Boyas and drove them into forests (Rama vibhunitoda nedirana boyala nadavi sonipe). The Addanki record<sup>52</sup> of Pandaranga, the redoubtable general of Gunaga, states that the engagement with the Boyas took place soon after the coronation of the king (Pattambu gattina prathamambu nandu). It is probable that instigated by their Pallava overlords, the Boyas attacked the Vengi kingdom and exasperated by their hostile activities, Gunaga was determined to take permanently effective steps against the Boya menace. Pandaranga whom Gunanga had despatched, demolished the (Kattepu durgambu kadu bayalsesi,) burned Nellore and occupied Kandukur. The Attili grant<sup>53</sup> of Calukya Bhima credits Gunaga with the burning of Nellore-which was of course an achievement of his general. Pandaranga made Kandnkuru an impregnable military outpost of the Vengi Calukyas, as strong as Bezawada.<sup>54</sup>

The military exploits of Pandaranga not only shattered the base of the political power of the Boyas but also disturbed the tribal concentration in the *Kottams* as the Boyas are found in the post-Gunaga era, scattered across and settling down in the fertile coastal plains of Andhra. This may be the implication of the statement that Gunaga drove the Boyas into wilderness (adavisonipe) One of the Macerla inscriptions<sup>55</sup> dated A. D. 1111 mentions Kambhampadu alias Boyumbrolu, the town of the Boyas. They even crossed the river Krishna and migrated into the Telingana region. One of the Palem inscriptions notes the Boyas operating hydraulic machines (ratnamu).<sup>56</sup> for irrigating agricultural lands. Following different occupations, the Boyas gradually entered the main stream of the socio-politico-economic life of the lands. Their settlement in new lands also appears to have helped them in rising quickly even in social status.<sup>57</sup>

- 51. Bharati, V. p. 2 p. 619.
- 52. Ibid., p. 484
- 53. Journal of Telugu Academy, XI, p. 241.
- 54. Addanki Record, op. cit
- 55. S. I. I., X No. 66.
- 56. B.N. Sastry, Inscriptions of Kandur Codas pp. 24-25.

  Another inscription from Ollala mentioned a Boya who was given charge of cattle gift to a local temple, p. 119.
- 57. Romila Thaper observes that in Hundu society upward mobility was no doubt difficult and not oppen to individuals. But in could be rendered possible via the group through a period of time and was further facilitated by a change in habitation or geographical location.
  - -Ancient Indian Social History-Some Interpretations (New Delhi, 1978) pp. 125-126,

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From about the middle of the 11th century the Boyas appear from Srikakulam, 58 the northern most Hindu pilgrim centre in Andhra, in charge of the cattle gifts made to temples. 59 In several inscriptions we come across Golla Boyas 60 who were probably the precursors of the present-day Golla caste. 61 For maintaining these cattle gifts, the Boyas received land grants and house sites 62 which indicate that they were new to those regions and the anxiety of the local people to utilise their services as cowheards and peasants. The Boyas were recruited even into the staff of temple servants 63 and the Boya girls were admitted into the the Sani Munnuvuru. An inscription from Nandencla dated A D. 1139 mentions the grand-daughter of Peddana boya as the Sani of the temple of Mulasthaneswara. 64 The Boya temple servants like those in charge of temple gifts received land grants in lieu of monthly salaries. 65 The Boyas thus entered the agricultural class of the fertile plains

Even trade was not closed for the Boyas. An inscription from Sattenapalli dated A.D. 1133 registers the gift of sheep made by Provinayaka kept incharge of Gadeboya son of Perisetti. 66 Savasandi Balla is mentioned in an inscription of Visakhapattanam as the son of vyapari Boyaraja 67 and the former gives instructions to Samaya Cakravarti or leader of the local merchant guild, regarding the land gift he had made. An inscription from Tripurantakam mentions, besides others, the Boyas as members of the Nanadesi Pekkamdru, an itinerent merchant organisation. 68

Having thus become a part of the promising professions of agriculture and trade and having through them built up a fortune, it was natural that the Boyas aspired for corresponding social status and respectability. From about the 12th century we frequently come across inscriptions

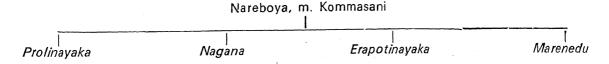
- 58. S.I.I. No. 1338.
- 59. S.I.I., IV., 735, 765, 766, 780, 781A; V. 156, 172, 188; VI, 96, 905, 910, 921 etc.
- 60. S.I.I., V. 167, 1228; VI, 913, 914 etc.
- 61. Thurston has observed that the Gollas are a pastoral class of Telugu people whose hereditary occupation is tending sheep and cattle and selling milk. Their social status is fairly high and are allowed to mix freely with Kapus, Kammas and Balijas. op. cit. pp. 284-286.
- 62. S11., IV. 663, 667, 675, 677 etc.
- 63. Ibid. 107, 60
- 64. Ibid., X, 338; IV. 1248.
- 65. Ibid., 156
- 66. Ibid., X. 94
- 67. Ibid., 21.
- 68. Ibid., 473.

recording gifts of cattle, money and land made by Boyas to temples and priests<sup>69</sup>. It is again about this time we find Boyas, taking Sanskrit names such as Bhima Boya<sup>70</sup> Candana Boya<sup>71</sup>, Surya Boya<sup>72</sup>, Trikoti Boya<sup>73</sup> and give up their tribal suffix in preference to honorifics like *Nayaka*, *Reddi, Nayudu*, *Nedu* and *Raju*. An inscription from Nadendla mentions Kundana and Kamena, brother and son-in-law respectively of Proleboya<sup>74</sup>. Codaya son of Kesavaboya is mentioned in an inscription from Srikakulam<sup>75</sup>. Candananayaka son of Numkanaboya makes a gift to Bhimeswara of Daksarama<sup>76</sup>. Another inscription from the same place records a gift made by Malleboyuni Darapa*reddi*<sup>77</sup>. Pinnamarri *naidu* son of Proleboya makes gifts to Tripurantakadeva<sup>78</sup>.

The following genealogical table of the Kompula (Koppula) family obtained from an inscription in the Mallesvara temple at Bezwada dated A. D. 1264 shows the honorific suffixes, reddi, naidu, naik being used by different persons of the same boya family<sup>79</sup>.

#### KOMPULA FAMILY

#### Koppamareddi



According to the record, Naganaboya presented a crown to Mallesvara, erected a brass pillar weighing 1100 pa. and gifted some land to the temple. An inscription from Palakollu (East Godavari) mentions Naganaboya, son of Chimgaraju gifting gadyanas to the temple of

- 69. Ibid, IV, 720; VI, 94, V. 156 etc. The Manu Dharma Sastra states that the property of a Sudra could be seized. But a Brahmin could not ask a Sudra for money for performing his religious rites. If he does so, the Brahmin would be born in the next birth as a Candala. By implication, the Dharma Sastra denied the Sudra the eligibility of making gifts. Buhler, Laws of Manu (SBE), Penances, Gifts and Sacrifices no. 24, p. 435.
- 70. SII, IV, 1143
- 71. Ibid, M, 678
- 72. Ibid., V, 188
- 73. Ibid., X, 33
- 74. Ibid., IV, 675
- **75.** Ibid , 991
- 76. Ibid , 1367
- 77. Ibid., 1259
- 78. Ibid., X, 318
- 79. Ibid., IV, 765

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Kshirarama and to the priest there in.<sup>80</sup> The process climaxed the claim of the Boyas to the fourth caste and even to divine origin. Malleboya of the Suravaram record<sup>81</sup> and Enjiliboya of the Tripurantakam record<sup>92</sup> described themselves as to have belonged to the fourth caste. Malleboya was a benefactor of gods, Brahmins and sadhus whereas Enjiliboya was credited with capability to bear the entire burden of the earth (dharani bharanaika daksah). Trikotiboya of the above mentioned Bezwada record which is undated, but said to be in the Calukyan characters, claims to have been a descendant of the Yaksa, who had guided Arjuna, the Pandava to the Indrakila hill. He compares himself to Karna in strength, valour and generosity, to Matali in ability to accomplish any task and to Hanuman in loyalty to his master but who the master of Trikotiboya was is not known.

The troubled condition of Vengi during the 10th and 11th centuries gave the Boyas an easy access to political power. The history of Vengi during the post-Gunaga era was characterised by frequent fratricidal wars and invasions from the neighbouring imperial powers. In their efforts to get control over the rich coastal plains and the fertile basins of Krishna and Godavari, the Rastrakuras frequently invaded Vengi, reducing her at times to vassalage. During the historic Cola-Calukya struggle for hagemony over Deccan, Andhradesa presented a miserable picture of a huge battle-field and the power of Vengi was much reduced.<sup>83</sup> The situation gave rise to a number of local ruling families, such as the Durjayas of Velanadu, Kotas of Dharanikota, the Cagis of Gudimetta and the Haihayas of Konamandala. The mutually aggressive internal conflicts among these subordinate families and the frequent incursions of the neighbouring powers increased the military requirements of Vengi and her sub-ordinates which gave a rich opportunity to the talented Boyas. They entered the court and the army and soon by their ability and loyalty rose to positions of trust and authority. Having thus gained admission into the ruling elite, they, soon got integrated with it by matrimonial alliances.

From about the beginning of the 12th century, the Boyas are found in high positions of responsibility in most of the kingdoms in the coastal Andhra. Naganaboya, son of Chimgaraju was in the service of Bhimavallabharaya, the Lord of Konamandala.<sup>84</sup> Boddeboya was in the service of Cagi Potaraju, the ruler of Gudimetta.<sup>85</sup> Ketanaboya was the adapa or betel-nut pouch bearer<sup>84</sup> of Kota Ganapaya. Kunaboya was a general of Kota Beta. He fought a battle at

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80. Ibid., V, 156
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Ibid., X, 318

<sup>82.</sup> Ibid., 327

<sup>83.</sup> N. Venkataramanaiah, op, cit.

<sup>84.</sup> SII, V. 156

<sup>85.</sup> lb.d., VI, 94

<sup>86.</sup> SII, 29

Garlapadu, killed Bhimaraju and another archer and fell on the battlefield. He was the son of Codeboya who was *Bandaruvu* or treasurer, probably of the same king.<sup>87</sup>

However it was at the court of the rulers of Velanadu that the Boyas distinguished themselves as administrators and generals and rose to the highest positions including that of mahaman-dalesvaras and thus began to share the honours of the traditional ruling elite such as the Kotas and Haiahayas. Gundayaboya was a prominent mandalika (mandalika sekhara) under Velanati Gonkaraja and his son Eriya boya was a military officer. Gundaya was described as Arjuna and Bhima on the battle-field<sup>88</sup>. The most prominent and powerful among the Boya officers of the time was Gundaboya. He was a general of rare distinction (Bhandana-bhima and Ahavarakkasa) and being the lord of 480 villags (catussatasiti gramavani vallabha) he became one of the mahamandalesvaras, early in the time of Gonka II<sup>89</sup>.

There were several Boyas in the service of Kulottunga Rajendra Coda, occupying positions of authority. Codapanayaka son of Numkanaboya was his *mulabhritya*<sup>90</sup> which might mean superintendent of his services. The position of *sarvadhikari* was held by Enjiliboya and after his death, his son Sri Boyacodi appears to have succeeded to the position. Enjiliboya described himself as to have belonged to the fourth caste<sup>91</sup>, that is the caste to which the Velanati rulers belonged and thus he claimed social equality with his overlords.

Jillaboya was another prominent general under Rajendracoda. It appears that he took a leading part in the famous battle of Koccherevulakota<sup>82</sup> between the forces of Velanadu and Karnataka (Kalacuris) and won a victory for his master. In recognition of the signal service rendered by the Boya general, Rajendra Coda conferred the rulership of Divisima, the region of Divi on Jilla's brother Naraya or Narayana<sup>93</sup>. Narayana built temples, laid gardens and developed Divi into a strong and beautiful *jaladurga* and became the founder of the Ayya family of Kroyyur, which ruled the region as the subordinates of Velanadu. It was from his grandson,

- 87. Ibid., X, 391
- 88. Ibid., IV, 1108
- 89. Ibid., X, 90
- 90. lbid., IV, 136
- 91. Ibid., X, 327
- 92. Ibid., 1179:—Jillaboya made a gift for the merit of Rajendra Coda in the yeer A.D. 1167 Ibid, 162.
- 93. Ganapeswaram Inscription of Ganapatideva, E.I., III, Sloka, 15, pp. 15ff: The record says that Jilla destroyed the enemies of Codi who appreciating his ability and loyalty conferred the rulership of Divi on Jilla's brother Narayana. It is not difficult to identify Jilla with Jillaboya and Codi with Rajendra Coda.

Jayapanayaka, that Kakati Ganapatideva conquered Divi<sup>94</sup> (A. D. 1203). Ganapatideva followed a wise policy of consolidating his authority through matrimonial alliances and by allowing the conquered princes to continue as the masters of their respective regions, but as Kakatiya subordinates. Ganapatideva married Narama and Perama, sisters of Jayapa and took him into his service as Gajasahini <sup>95</sup>. Ganapatideva entrusted the administration of Velanadu<sup>96</sup>, probably with the expectation that being a local potentate, the latter could easily consolidate the Kakatiya authority in the region. Besides being an able administrator and general, Jayapa was a Sanskrit scholar-poet of very high order who gave masterly exposition to Marga and Desi styles of dance in his Nrittaratnavali<sup>97</sup>. Jayapa's scholarship is a proof of the fact that the Bhakti movements opened the gates of Sanskrit learning before the non-Brahmin castes. Ganapatideva appears to has replaced Jayapa by another local Boya chieftain who is described in an inscription of Gudivada dated A. D. 1236 as the master (adhikari) of Velanadu and Gudrahara<sup>98</sup>. Malleboya's son's Parisaboya<sup>99</sup> and Potanaboya<sup>100</sup> undertook many works of public utility in the region.

The Koppulas were another Boya chieftain family who rose to political prominence during the Kakatiya period, probably under Prola and Rudra. There is a village by name Koppolu in Prakasam District and the family might have hailed from that village. From the Mallesvaraswamy temple inscription, noted above, we learnt that Bezwada was the original base of their rise. But in the post Kakatiya period they appear as rulers at Pitthapuram, Kottam and other places in the Godavari Districts. It is probable that during the Durjaya-Kakatiya conflict they had migrated to Pitthapuram along with their overlord, Prithvisvara. The Koppulas like the Ayyas, shifted their loyalty to the Kakatiyas, became powerful as virasamantas and held the title Pagameccuganda. Kapayanayaka was the first of the Koppulas who held the office of Nayaka probably under Prataparudra. His son and successor Prola cooperated with the Musunuru Prolayanayaka in the struggle for freedom from the Muslim rule. His successors ruled portions of East Godavari

- 94. P.V. Parabrah na Sastry, The Kakatiyas of Warangal,
- 95. Sarma & Venkataramanaiah, Early History of the Deccan (ed. G. Yazdani) p. 602.
- 96. Cebrolu Inscription of Jayapa, E.I., V, pp. 142-150
- 97. Nrittaratnavali, published by Narendra Sahitya Mandali, Tanuku.
- 98. SII, Y, 211
- 99. Ibid., 212
- 100. Ibid. 213
- 101. List of villages in the Madras Presidency, p. 107
- 102. See above note 75.
- 103. M.S. Sarma, The History of Reddy Kingdoms, pp. 28-30.
- 104. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, Op. cit.
- 105. Journal of Andhra Historical Reserch Society, I, P. 113
- 106. Donepudi grant of Namayanayaka, E.I., iv, pp. 356 ff.

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District for some time. 107 Some scholars appear to have confused the Koppulas even with the Reddis. There are Koppula Velamas in the Visakhapatnam and Vijayanagaram Districts but the relationship between this caste and the Koppulas cannot be clearly established. In his Rajarajabhisekam, Angara Lakshminarasimha Kavi who lived about A D 1500 used most of the titles of the contemporary Reddi and Velama kings - Pattu talata, Keladiraya, Rajadevemdia, Rajadhirajacandra, Gayagovala, and Jagadobbaganda - in describing his patron, a Koppula chief by name Vallabhupala 110 It is not possible to ascertain into which subsect of the fourth caste the Koppulas were merged ultimately.



## THE CULT OF VITHOBA IN VIJAYANAGARA

K. Sarojani Devi

The cult of Vithoba or Vithala was an important aspect of the Bhakti movement which gained momentum in the Vijayanagara empire. The cult based on total devotion to Lord Visnu attained great popularity in Maharastra. The temple of Vithala is situated in Pandharpur and it became a great centre of pilgrimage. The earliest reference to the worship of Vithoba is found in the Nama devagathas belonging to the later half of the 13th century. They relate how Pundarika's infinite devotion towards his old parents attracted Lord Krsna to Pandharpura. Lord Krsna who came with his flock and five hundred companions could not return to Dwaraka as he was made to stand on a brick by Pundarika who was immersed in serving his old parents. The varkari saints, whose poems and devotional songs had an overwhelming influence on the people of Maharashtra, considered Vithoba as a form of Krsna and gave credence to the story of Lord Krsna taking His abode at Pandarpur on account of Pundarika.<sup>2</sup>

Pandurangamahatmyam, a classic of Telugu literature composed mainly to extol the greatness of Panduranga Vithala and Pandharpur presented the story of Pundarika as its main theme. According to this Lord Krsna having come to know the saintly nature and profound devotion to Visnu and the dedicated service of Pundarika to his parents went to Pandharpur to see him, leaving behind his cattle and companions in Dwaraka. He was tremendously impressed with Pundarika's dedicated service to his parents and the depth of his devotion, desired Pundarika to ask for a boon. There upon Pundarika realising that Lord Krsna was the only supreme God capable of redeeming him from all worldly entanglements requested to Him to take His abode at Pandharpur permanently. To fulfil his devotee's cherished desire, Lord Krsna assumed a benvolent form with eyes closed in peaceful repose which was at the same time capable of creating fear in the hearts of even his most defiant enemies. Accordingly, Lord Krsna took up his abode in Pandharpur as Panduranga Vithala. Pandharpur came to be known as Pundarika Kshetramu in honour of Pundarika. A person who made a pilgrimage to Pandharpur would

- 1. Namdev the famous Maratha Saint composed Abhangs in praise of Vithoba of Pandharpur (Citrasala ed); D.S. Sarma, Hinduism through the Ages, p. 52; Namadevaca Gatha, No. 444.
- 2. Mac Nicol, Indian theism, pp. 120, 126; Varkari Pantha ca Itihasa, pp. 1,2.

attain sayujya or mukti in Visistadvaita terminology.<sup>3</sup> This echoes the importance given to pilgrimage by the varkari saints. The word varkari literally means one who journeys to Pandharpur.<sup>4</sup> The religious merit obtained by the devotee depended on the number of times he visited the sacred place. Pandharpur had great sanctity as it was a combination of daivata, kshetra and tirtha.<sup>5</sup>

To appeal to the minds of the masses the story of how a crow, a swan, a parrot, a snake, a bee and a cow attained salvation at this place was also brough out. This story resembles that of Kalahasti Mahatmyam by Dhurjati in which the story of the attainment of *mukti* by a spider, an elephant and a snake are illustrated. The story of Radha, the spouse of Lord Krsna was specially introduced to bring out the significance of Lord Krsna's incarnation as Panduranga Vithala. Pandharpur appears to have attained great fame even during the epic age. Dharmaraja made a pilgrimage to Pandharpur along with his brothers to seek salvation. The *varkari* saints though they considered Vithoba as a form of Krsna, they did not give any importance to the puranic legends connected with Lord Krsna. Similarly Pundarika's ideal of devotion was Bala Krsna as a child playing with pebbles which he carried in a bag. The *varkaris* believe that the purpose of the incarnations of God is to fulfil the desires of his devotee finds tacit support in the description of Dasavataras in Pandurangamahatmyam.

The varkari saints conceived Vithoba as \$\frac{3}{2}Para Brahman\$ called by different names as Siva, Panduranga and Harihara.\frac{9}{2} Though they advocated the worship of Visnu in the form of Vithoba, believed that the different gods are but the different aspects or names of the Absolute one. The same sentiment is reflected in Pandurangamahatmyam wherein Lord Siva enlightened Narada on the greatness of Pandharpur. He is reported to have said to Narada that while Lord Krsna

- 3. Opcit., Ch. II. VV, 5-90
- 4. The word Varkari is composed of the two words 'vari' and 'kari'; the root 'var' means time an expression for three times, four times and so on. So 'Vari' stands for the making of annual pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Kari means the one who does; varkari therefore means one who makes a pilgrimage to Pandharpur at the fixed time. And this indeed is the first characteristic of the varkari, a regular pilgrim to Pandharpuri, G.A. Deleury, The Cult of Vithoba, p. 2,
- 5. Daivata means an abode of God or a temple. Kshetra means a sacred place and Tirtha means a sacred river. Pandharpur was sanctified by the existence of the temple dedicated to Vithala, river Bhima and the birth of Pundarika. Panduranga Mahatmyam, Ch. II. V. 166. Suryarayandhra Nighantuvu, A. P. Sahitya Akademi Publication, 1979, Vol. 11, 535, Vol. III, p. 754, Vol. IV, p. 344.
- 6. Ch. IV, VV, 131-141.
- 7. Ch. III, VV. 179-204.
- 8. Ch. II. V.V. 56-66.
- 9. Farquhar, J. N. Outlines of Religious Literature of India, p. 301.

commanded the central and focal point of Pandharpur, he occupied the Southern portion of the place. This suggests that Lord Siva did not stand in a subordinate position to Lord Krsna. Lord Siva explaining the sanctity of Pandharpur pronounced that if a person happened to die in the left corner of the temple he would become an emperor and in case he breathed his last on the right, would attain salvation. In case the person died behind the temple he would be directly transported to heaven. Thus death in Pandharpur had its own material and spiritual merits. Another highly interesting aspect of the eclectic tendency of the poet which again illustrates the liberal religious outlook of the *varkari* saints was the comparison of Radha and Krsna with Parvati and Paramesvara<sup>12</sup>. In another place Lord Krsna received Radha as affectionately as Siva received Parvati. Siva even admitted that He formed part of Pandharpur. When Siva destroyed the three cities of Tripurasura, the sweat that accumulated on Siva's body due to fatigue flowed as the sacred river Bhima<sup>13</sup>.

Thus the worship of Vithoba, an incarnation of Krsna or Visnu which attained great popularity among the classes and masses in Maharashtra, spread to Vijayanagara especially at a time when bhakti movement was making a great headway in Vijayanagara empire. The Tallapaka musician saints of Andhra and the Haridasas of Karnataka with their soul-stirring devotional songs or samkirtanas popularised bhakti or pure devotion to God centering round Visnu. It is a well known fact that the Rayas of Vijayanagara the Saluvas, Tuluvas and Aravidu kings were adherents of Vaisnavism and promoted the cause of Vaisnavism. The prevalence of the cult is reflected in the occurrence, in the inscriptions of the time, of the name of Vithala in varied forms such as Vittheya Nayaka, Vittiyakkan, Vithane, Vithaparya, Vithaladeva, Vithala, Vithanna, Vithapa, Vithapa, Vithalarya, Vithalar

The popularity of the cult of Vithoba in Vijayanagara empire is proved by the existence of temples dedicated to Vithala, sculptures of Vithala, inscriptions registering grants of land, cash payments and structural additions to the temples of Vithala. According to a record dated A. D. 1408 some citizens of Araga granted an agrahara village Nagasamudra to Brahmans in the

- 10. Ch. III, V. 116.
- 11. Ch. II, V. 236.
- 12. Pandurangamahatmyamu, Introduction, p. 27.
- 13. Ch. V. 132
- 14. E. C., IV., Ch. 184, Yl. 194, Yl. 168; C C., V, TN. 225; E C. VII; Ml. 139, Ng. 151, E. C., III, Hg. 89; E. C. VIII, Th. 221; S. I. I. Vol. XVI, Nos, 167, 297, 109,

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presence of the God Vithalesvara<sup>15</sup>. Acyutaraya granted a village to the Vithala temple at Hampi in 1531.<sup>16</sup> In A. D. 1536 Hiriya Tirumala Nayaka gave 200 varahas for daily offerings to the Vithala temple.<sup>17</sup>

Koneti Timmaraja made a gift of the toll revenue raised in Ravudur for offering to the God Vithaladeva<sup>18</sup>. According to another inscription dated A. D. 1554 the Vipravinodins of Kovilkuntla made a grant of their incomes from the mahajanas to god Panduranga Vithalesvara for conducting the Sri Ramajayanti festival for the spiritual uplift of their community not only of Kovilkuntla but also of other places such as Vidyanagara, Bedadakota, Kataka, Dravida etc. The fact that the Vipravinodini community made an offering of their income to God Pandurarga Vithalesvara and also invoked the blessings of the God not only for their kinsmen of the region but also to those of other regions proves in unmistakable terms, the wide popularity of the cult<sup>19</sup>. Yet another inscription dated A. D. 1516 registers the construction of a hundred-pillared mandapa to God Vithala at Hampi by king Krsnadevaraya<sup>20</sup>. Mahamandalesvara Chikkaraju bought two vrittis of land endowed by Bukkaraju Peddinayaka from Chamnaya for 75 ghatti varahas which he remitted into the treasury of God Laksminarayana Perumal in the temple of Vithalesvara as an endowment for daily worship of the God<sup>21</sup>. This indicates that the devasthanam of Vithalesvara was quite a big establishment. It contained minor shrines dedicated to other forms of Visnu like Laksminarayana etc., with regular treasuries attached to them. Similarly there was an agreement granted by Kurucheti Sri Rangaraju to a person for having brought under cultivation a specified piece of land stipulating an annual payment of one ghatti varaha by him into the treasury of God Vithalesvara<sup>22</sup>. Devaraya Bhattar installed an image of Vithalesvara at Tirupati and provision was made for offerings to the God daily and on auspicious occasions special offerings were made. To cover the expenses for such offerings, he secured a canal called Vithalesvaran-Kalvay in Thiruchanur and Vittalesvarapuram and four shares in the half agraharagramam Nedunadu Kulattur<sup>23</sup>. Chinnamamba made a gift of the village Vankayalapadu for daily offerings to Govindaraja and Vithalesvara of Tirupati<sup>24</sup>. Peda Tirumalayyanagar of the illustrious Tallapaka family made a gift to the temple of Vithalesvara at Hampi in A. D. 1531.25 Some

- 15. Ibid. VIII, Th. 22.
- 16. S. I. I. Vol. IX, Pt. 11, No. 534.
- 17. Ibid., No. 574.
- 18. Ibid., No. 616.
- 19. S. I. I., Vol. XVI, No. 190.
- 20. Ibid., No. 56.
- 21. Ibid., No. 141.
- 22. Ibid., No. 251.
- 23. T. T. D. I., Vol. V. No. 66.
- 24. Ibid., No. 118.

gifts were made in the presence of Vithalesvara to other temples. This suggests that it was considered meritorious to make a gift in the presence of God Vithala<sup>26</sup>.

The innumerable stone sculptures of Vithala not only prove the popularity of the cult but also provide a fascinating study of their artistic excellence in terms of sculptural craftsmanship. An image of Vithala from Mulbagal protrays Bala Vithala with proportionate limbs, chubby face and four hands. He has simple ornamentation and head dress. He holds a sankha in the left hand and his right hand is held in the posture of varada. The other two hands rest on the hips (katyavalambita). This icon which bears a close resemblance to the Pandharpur one represents the infant God of the varkari poets. It is interesting to note in this connection that Lord Krsna revealed Himself to his devotee Pundarika in katyavalambita posture 27 Another icon belonging to the same period is found in the north cell of the Channakesava temple at Kadur.<sup>28</sup> Two hands are holding a kind of horizontal bag or bunch of flowers It has no prabhavali. It possesses an elaborate makuta and is clad in a heavy dhoti with a long tassel which hangs down between the two legs. The eyes are open unlike the Vithoba in Mulhagal temple. There is no conch or lotus in the hands. Another idol of Vithala found in the Mallikarjuna temple at Basral has a conical makuta and is clad in a heavy dhoti covering the legs upto the feet. The two hands are holding the collar which looks like small pots or bags. Vithoba as Balakrsna is stated to hold a beautiful bag containing round nuts used by children as pebbles for playing.29 Another image of Vithoba is found among the sculptures on the external wall of the fourth cell in the Pancalinga temple at Govindanahalli in Mysore. Its main features are as follows:

The hands are holding two bags inclined side-ways. The makuta is conical and the long dhoti which covers the legs of the idol upto the ankles is adorned with a succession of tufts hanging from the belt between the two legs. However the image of Vithoba found on the pillars in the Pattabhirama temple are represented as holding a water vessel or kamandala which is the oldest attribute of Avalokitesvara.<sup>30</sup>

A study of these sculptures reveals the following attributes: an elaborate makuta, or head dress, heavy dhoti, small pot or bag and katyavalamabita or the hands resting on the hips.

- 25. MER, 1904, No. 8.
- 26. S. I. I. Vol. XVI, Nos. 116, 61, 118, 147, 148, 149, 297.
- 27. My. Arch. Rep., 1945, pp. 36-37; Pandurangamahatmyam, Ch. 11, V, 51.
- 28. My. Arch. Rep., 1944, p. 27, plate III.
- 29. Ibid, 1934, p. 42; op. cit., Ch. II, V. 37.
- 30. M De-Mellermann, Avolokitesvara p. 266 According to Buddhist iconography there are 108 forms of Avalokitesvara bearing distinct features and names. He is famous as a Bochisatva in the Mahayana pantheon. B. Bhattacharva, the Indian Buddhist iconography, pp. 124-44.

Thus the iconographic description of Vithoba suggest some interesting similarities with that of Avalokitesvara. The figures of Avalokitesvara from Mahrashtra, Deccan and Bagh<sup>31</sup> possess more or less the same attributes as that of Vithoba namely high head dress, *kamandalu* or water flask, an antelope skin over the left shoulder, stalk of a lotus etc. Though the *katyavalambita* posture is not common to all the sculptures of Avalokitesvara, yet one interesting sculpture from Bagh,<sup>32</sup> bears a striking similarity, to a typical *katyavalambita* posture, in addition to the above mentioned attributes common to Vithoba and Avalokitesvara sculptures. It is interesting to note that the original image of Vithala is stated to have been made of wood. Ramakrsna Kavi described Vithala as *koyya* Vithala, that is an image made of wood<sup>33</sup>.

A comparison of the sculptures suggest that Vithala was probably a modified form of Avalokitesvara adopted by the local people of Maharashtra in the Pandhapur region as a popular form of worship. Buddhism was a vital faith in Maharashtra and lingering traces of Buddhism are available as late as the 12th century A.D. in the same region.<sup>34</sup> It was believed that Avalokitesvara particularly was capable of delivering his votaries from eight great perils namely shipwreck, conflagration, wild elephant, lion, serpent, robber, captivity and demon.<sup>35</sup> In view of this it is pertinent to assume that the votaries of Vithala borrowed and adopted certain features of Avalokitesvara to avoid offending the local sentiments. Some temples in Maharashtra were known to have been converted into Hindu temples and these may include Buddhist *caityas* in the early mediaeval period. Probably in view of this Hopkins stated that "Vithala Panduranga is the Buddha".<sup>36</sup>

One of the prominet haridasas, Purandaradasa was a great devotee of Vithala. He appealed to God Vithala for mercy in the following words: "Having assumed the title of protector of devotees, should you not be at hand to them? You, who liberates man, my God Purandara Vithala. I have trusted in you, a competent saviour". In another place he said: "If the thief sees a purse in the mirror and makes a hole in the mirror to get it, will it become his? I have placed my trust in you, Oh Purandhara Vithala save me" Purandharadasa established the superiority Purandhara Vithala when he stresed that "There is only one who is great-Our Purandhara Vithala".

- Douglas Baret, A guide to the Buddhist caves of Aurangabad, pp. 7-8, 12, 17; James Burgess, The Cave temples of India, p. 387.
- 32. Sir John, Marshall, The Bagh caves in the Gawalior State, Plate. VIII, C. P. 33-35.
- 33. Pandurangamahatmyamu, Ch. V. 134
- 34. Debala Mitra, Buddhist Monuments, pp. 12, 47.
- 35. Ibid., p, 165; P. V. Bapat, 2500 years of Buddhism, pp. 143 179.
- 36. Religions of India, p. p. 500.
- 37. Levotional Poets and Mystics, Part II. Publications Division P. 41.
- 38. Ibid., p. 41.
- 39. Ibid., pp. 43, 44.

great Tallapaka poets sang the praise of Panduranga Vithala. According to them though Vithala was small in stature he mastered all branches of knowledge. Panduranga, according to Annamacharya was so great that 770 persons sang in praise of him.<sup>40</sup>

#### Conclusion

In this paper attention has been focused on the Vithala or Vithoba cult and its key role in the spread of Bhakti movement of the Vaisnava school of religion in Vijayanagara empire. As Vaisnavism has already taken deep roots in Vijayanagara as a result of the patronage of the rulers and the ruled, Vithoba worship became immensely popular both among the elite and the masses. This coupled with the devotional hymns of the saints of Maharastra and Vijayanagara had tremendous emotional impact on the people which accounted to a great extent for its rapid spread and popularity. This is borne out by abundant iconographical, epigraphical and literary evidence of the period under review.

A comparative study of the icons of Vithoba and Avalokitesvara suggests that the followers of Vithoba might have borrowed and adopted certain iconographic features of Avalokitesvara, a popular Bodhisatva. It is possible that the votaries of Vithoba did this in order to respect the feelings of a section of the people who still owed allegiance to the Bodhisatva. Buddhism survived upto 12th century in Maharastra. However particular attention must be paid to the finding of a symmetrical and reciprocal relationship between the Avalokitesvara cult and the Vithoba cult.

## కోనహైహయుల తొలి రాజధాని రా(య)కుదురా ?

తురగా కృష్ణమూ\_ర్తి

పురాణ [పసిద్ధిగన్న హైహాయవంశ రాజన్యులు త్ర హిందూస్థానమున గుజరాతు, దాహలమండలము (చేదిదేశము) మహాకో నలముల రాజ్యపాలన మొనర్చిన పిమ్మట్టి తిపురి, రత్న పురములు రాజధానులుగ రెండు రాజ్యముల స్థాపించికొని, పాలించి తుదకు చర్మతరంగమునుండి ఆదృశ్యులైరి. హైహాయమంశ్యలు త్ర భారతమున కలచురులను నామధేయము వహించి ఖ్యాతిగాంచిరి. తారలే దక్షిణాపథమున హైహాయయులుగ వ్యవహరించిరి. అయితే ఉత్తర దక్షిణ భారతముల నెలకొన్న హైహాయులు తాము మాహి ష్మతీపురవరాధీశ్వరులమని, కార్ట్రివ్యార్జున సంతతివారమని సహ్మసబాహు [పతాపవీర్య సంపన్నులమని యొక విధమగు వంశ [పశ్సిని దమతమ శాసనములలో జేసికొనుచువచ్చి మొకే సంతతి వారమని చాటుకొనిని. ఉత్తర భారతముననీ కలచుని రాజు లెట్లదృశ్యమైనారో తెలియదని V. A. Smith గారిట్లు [వాసినారు.

"The Kalachuri of Haihaya Rajas of Cheddi are last mentioned in an inscription of the year 1181 A. D. and the manner of their disappearence is not exactly known, but there is reason to believe that they were supplanted by the Bhugals of Rewa"

ఉత్ర ఖారతమున ్రి. శ. 1181వ సంవత్సరమున నదృశ్యులైన కాలచుర్యులు దడిణ భారతమున కాసంవత్సరముననే వలసవచ్చి స్థిరపడినారనుకొనట పొరబాటు. ఆంతకుమున్నే కాలచుర్యులు (హైహాయులు) దడ్డణ భారతములో పేరెన్నిక గనినారు. ్రీ శా ఆరవశతాబ్ది మధ్యకాలమున మహాకోసలమున హైహాయులు వాకాటకుల నిర్ణించి, వారల నందుండి పార్చదోలి పిదపనట రాజ్మస్థాపన మొనర్చుకొని విష్ణకుండినులతో పై వాహిక సంబంధముల నెలకొల్పుకొనుచు నుత్తర దడిణ భారతములోని హైహాయుల ననుసంధించు ప్రతినిధులుగ నిలిచిపోయిని.

ఈ విధిని ఆరవశతాబ్ది ప్రారంభమునుండి విష్ణకుండినులతో గల సంబంధము వలన హైహాయులు దక్షిణ భారత సంపర్కము కలిగి యుండిరని తేలుచున్నది. సమకాలీనముగ వారిలో కొందరు మహాకోసలము నుండి దక్షిణమునకు దిగివచ్చి అందందు స్థిరపడి, కళింగ, వేంగీరాజ్యములలో నున్నత పదవులనా క్రమించి, క్రమశ్ ఐలవంతులై, స్వాతం త్యము ప్రకటించి, రాజ్యస్థాపన మొనరించియుందురు. ఇదియునుగాక తూర్పు చాళిక్యులతో గల సంబంధము వలన గూడ హైహాయులకు దక్షిణ భారతమున ప్రముఖస్థానము లభించెను.

్రికి. శ. 625వ సంవత్సరమున కుబ్జ విష్ణు వర్థనుడు పిష్టపురము రాజధానిగ వేంగీరాజ్యపాలనమునకు దొరకున్నపుడు. తనతో గూడదీసికొనివచ్చిన పశ్చిమదేశపు సామంతుల, సైనికాధికారుల నిష్టుల సాహాయ్యమున పఠిపాలన కొనసాగింపనారంభిం చెను. ఈ విధానము తూర్పుచాళుక్యపాలనము వేంగ్ పై సాగినంతకాలము కొనసాగి, యటు పై వారి స్వాతం త్య ్రపకటనముతో మారిపోయెను. కుబ్జవిమ్లవర్డి నినితో గుడ వేంగికి వచ్చిన వారిలో పట్టపర్థనికులు, హైహాయులు నింతను ఇతర పంశముల వారలుండిరే. తూర్పుచాళుక్యులప్పడప్పడు తమ సామంతులగు హైహాయమండలేశ్వరుల తనయలను వివాహామాడుచు, వారలకు జనించిన సంకానమున కుచితస్థానములు రాజ్యాంగములో నొనంగుచు నభమానించుచు వచ్చిరి. కొందఱు సైన్యాధికారమును వహించియున్న వారు గూడ నంచుగలరు. ఇటుల తూర్పు చాశిక్యులతోబాటు వేంగి కేతెంచిన హైహాయులు క్రీ. శ. 1078 వరకు చాశుక్య సామంతులుగా నుండి ప్రభుత్త, విశ్వాసముల బ్రదర్శింపుచు రాజ్యరక్షణలో పాల్గొనుచు క్రీర్తిగాంచిరి. ఆ పిదప చాళుక్య - చోళరాజపంశము వారికి సామంతులుగు, వెలనాటిచోడులసరివారుగా మండలాధిపత్యము నెరపుచు వెలనాటి ఫృధ్వీశ్వరు కాలమువరకు నెడనెడ పశ్చిమ చాళుక్యులకు, చోశులకు భ\_క్తి నెరపుచు రాజకీయ జీవితము గడిపిరి. రెడ్డ విజృంభణముతో దమ వ్యక్తిక్వమును గోలుపోయి తెరమరుగై పోయింది.

ఈ విధముగా సుమారు ఆయిదువందల సంవత్సరముల కాలములో హైహయవంశులు చాశుక్యులకు రాజబంధువులుగ, రాజ్యరశకులుగ, రక్తసంబంధులుగ, సైన్యాధ్యకుులుగ నుండి వేంగినాజ్య సముద్ధరణలో బ్రముఖ పాత్ర వహించిరి.

పూర్వచాళుక్య ప్రభువులతో నాం ధమునకేతెంచిన స్థాహయులు కోనమైహయులని, పంచధార్ల మైహయులని, వర్థ మానపుర హైహయులని, పల్నాటిమైహయులని వేర్వేరు శాఖలుగ విడిపడి వేర్వేరు ృపదేశములందు వేర్వేరు మండలముల జాలించుచు వచ్చిని. వారందులు నొకే కోవకు చెందియుండిన వారసుకొనవచ్చును.

పంచధార్ల హైహాయులు కళింగములోని పంచధార్ల పట్టణము రాజధానిగ ్రీ ఇ ఇ 1200 నుండి ్రీ ఇ ఇ 1403 వరకు సింహాచల ్రాంకమను పాలించిరి. వర్మమానపుర హైహాయులు ్రీ ఇ ఇ 1191 నుండి 1294 వరకు వర్మమాన పురము (వర్డ్డ్ మాని) రాజధానిగా నేటి రాయచూరు ్రాంతములపై నాధిపత్యము వహించిరి. పల్నాటి హైహాయలు ్రీ ఇ ఇ 1100 నుండి 1481 వరకు మాధవీ పట్టణము (గురోజాల - గురో ఏందస్థలము) రాజధానిగా పల్నాటి సీమను పాలించిరి. ఇక కోన హైహాయులు ్రీ ఇ ఇ 1078 నుండి 1864 వరకు కోనమండలము (కోనసీమ) పైనధికారము కలిగి చర్తకొక్కింది. కాని వారి రాజధాని యేదియో ఇంతవరకు చారితముగా నిర్ధాగింపబడి గుుండలేదు.!

పీరి గత చర్మితగతి నవలోకించితిమేని మన కొక ముఖ్యవిషయము తెలియవచ్చును. [క్రీ!! శ !! 625 నాటినుండియు హైహయులకు వేంగీ మండలమాటపట్టైనది. కావున వేంగీ మండలమున వారి రాజ్యము ్రక్టీ!! శ !! 625 నుండియే స్థాపింపబడి యుండవలెను; కాని-యేకారణముచేతనో వారు రాజ బంధువులుగనే నిలిచిపోయి, ్రకిస్తుశకము పదకొండవ శతాబ్దిని గాని పాలకులుగా వెలుగుచూడలేదు! కోన, పంచధార్ల, వర్థమాన, పత్నాటి హైహయులలో కోన హైహయులే మొదట రాజ్యపాల కులుగా మనకు పరిచయమగుచున్నారు. కోనహైహయులలో [పధముడుగా పేరొక్కనబడినవాడు "రాకుదిరి క్రీ\_రిరాజు". ఈతని శాసనమొకటి దాజారామ భీమేశ్వరస్వామి ఆలయమునగలదు.<sup>2</sup> ఆందిట్లున్నది.

<sup>1.</sup> గురిందాల సీమ

<sup>2.</sup> S.I.I. Vol IV; No:1011 A.R. No. 168 of 1899

(శా) కాబ్దేశరరం (ౖధ) నన్దగజితే త్రీ భీమనాధాయ యాఖ్యాతా హైహయవంశజన్య మహిషీ త్రీ కీత్రిన్ రాజన్య [సా] ౖపాదాద్దీప కముత్తనాయణదినేదీప్యంత [మా] తారక [ం] కీత్రిన్ స్వగ్గన్ధు స్మీపవ్రితి త మహిత్రీరేకి దేవ్యాహ్వాయా ॥ శకవషన్ ౯౯నా స్వ స్త్రిస [జ్వన్] లోకా ౖశయ [త్రీ] విష్ణవద్దన్ న మహారాజుల ౖపవద్దన్ మాన విజయ రాజ్యసంవత్స ౧౩ గునేజ్రిము\_త్రరాయణ నిమి\_త్రమన రాకుదిరి క్త్రిన్ రాజా జెజైమురేకమ త్రీ భీమేశ్వర మహాదేవరకు జెట్టిన యఖజ్డ వత్తిన్లో హాపు దూపారద్వియ యుక్రంజ్రీ

ఈ శాసనమును బట్టి తేలు ముఖ్యాంశములు మూడు (1) మైహాయ వంశజుడగు క్రీరాజు మహిషిరేకము (2) క్రీరాజు గృహనామము రాకుదురు ? (3) సర్వలోక్మారయ శ్రీవిమ్ఞజర్ధన మహారాజుల ట్రేజర్థమాన విజయరాజ్య సంస్థ త్సరములు దహరించుటనుబట్టి యాతడు వారికి సామంతుడని తేలుచున్నది. శకసంవత్సరము 995 శ్రీవిష్టు జర్ధన మహోరాజుల 18వ విజయ రాజ్యనంవత్సర మామెనన్న శకసంవత్సరము 982 ( ట్రీ శ 1060-61) లోనా విష్ణజర్ధన మహోరాజు రాజ్య మనకు వచ్చియుండఓలెను. ట్రీ శ 11060-61వ సంవత్సరములో వేంగీ సింహాసనమున సున్నవాడు రాజరాజనరేందుని సవతి తమ్ముడు వీరవిజయాదిత్యుడు. ఈతడు హైహాయ వంశసంజాత మాళవ మహోడేవి భర్త. కావున క్రీర్తిరాజు ట్రీ 1078 నాటికే వేంగీ మండలమున స్థిర నివాసమేర్పరచుకొనియున్న వాడే గాని శ్రీ యశోదాడేవిగారూహించి నట్లు టిపురి కాలచుర్యయశక కర్ణ దేవునితో వేంగీని జయింపవచ్చి వేంగీ గడ్డపై నిలిచిపోయి, కులోత్తంగ చోశునకు చోడగొంక రాజువలెనభిమాన పాతృడై సామంత్సవువూగా నియమింపబడిన వాడుగాడు.1

<sup>1.</sup> The History of Andhra country between 1000 A. D-1500 A. D. అను పరిశోధన వ్యాసమన త్రీ V. యళోదాదేవి యం. ఏ., యం. లిట్. గారు "from the inscription it is evident that Kirti Raja owed allegiance to the Chola throne, for Vishnuvardhana undoubtedly refers to Kulottunga I, mentioned by his Eastern Chalukya name and epithets; and 19th year must be taken to be an error for the 8rd year which corresponds to A. D. 1078" అన్మిమాసినారు. ఈ దావిడ ప్రాణాయమమన కవసరమేమియో తెలియదు. శాసనమన విజయరాజ్య సంవత్సరములు 18 ఆని స్పష్టమగా చెప్పబడియుండగా దానిని 8గా సవరించుకొను అందు లకో ? ఈ సందర్భమన జుత్రిగవాసుకి రవి సోషేశ్వరస్వామి వారి ఆలయములో పీరవిజయాదిత్యుడు కరవాల ఖైరవ మండ పము కట్టించి నిల్పిన శాసనములో" సర్వలోక్షాశయ (శ్రీ విష్ణువర్ధన మహారాజుల సవదర్ధమాన విజయరాజ్య సంవత్సరములుంకన శ్రీ విజయాదిత్యదేవర కరవాలఖే రవమండపమెత్రించె" నని యున్నది. ఆందువలన రాకుదిరి క్రీర్తాలు పెండ్లము రేకమ దానము, శ్రీపీరవిజయాదిత్యని కరవాల ఖైరవ మంటప నిర్మాణ మొకే సంవత్సరమున జరిగెను. ఆప్పటికి వేంగీ సింహాసన మందున్న వాడు పీరవిజయాదిత్యుకుగాని కులోత్సంగబోకుడుగాడు.

యేశశకర్ణదేవుడు వేంగిని జయింపవచ్చైనేగాని చుట్టము చూపుగా జూచి ప్రోవుటకురాలేదు! ఆట్లు వేంగి రాజ్య విధ్వంగ మునకు తోడుగా వచ్చిన క్రీర్తాజును వేంగీ చాకుక్య [పథువు కులోత్తుంగుడు సమాదరించి సామంతునిగా జేసికొనెననుట మి సల హాస్యాన్ఫదము! నమ్మదగినదియుగాడు. ఒకవేళ నట్లుగా జరిగియుండెనన్న యొక విధముగానై యుండవలయును. ఆదే మన యేశశ కర్ల దేవుని సైన్యములో (బ్రముఖస్థాన మాక్రమించిన క్రీర్తాజును [పలోభపెట్టి తన పక్షమునకు [దిప్పకొని, యేశశ కర్లుని కాశాభంగము కల్పించి, యాతని దండమా తను వమ్ముగావించినందులకు కీర్తి రాజును సన్మానించెనన్న నదియొకవిధముగా సమాదరణీయముగానుండును గాని త్రీ యకో చావేవిగారనినట్లు క్రీర్తి పాజునకొక సామంతమండలాధిపత్యమిచ్చి గౌరవించెననుట పొనగని విషయము. హాస్మాన్ఫదము గూడను. కీర్తి పాజులటుల ప్రవర్తించెననుటకు గూడదగు యాధారములు లేవు. అస్తియునుగాక వరరాజులతో యుద్దసన్న ద్వుడ్తమిచ్చి దో హబుద్ధితో స్వార్థము నింపుకొని ఎంచన చేసిన యాతని మంచి చెడ్డలు విచారించకనే మండలాధిపత్యము కట్టబెట్టునంతటి వెట్రితనమెక్కడను యుండదు. (కీ॥శ॥ 1072-1073 నాటికే కీర్తి రాజు మండలాధిపత్యము వహించి యుండనిచే రేకమమహిషిగా వర్ణింపబడుట పొసగదు. కావున నంతకుముందు నుండియే కీర్తిరాజు మండలాధిపత్యము వహించి వేంగీ చాకుక్యులకు సామంతడై బారికాదరణ పార్రతుడై యుండి యుండవలెను.

పూర్వ దాళుక్యులలో తుదివాడగు వీర విజాయాదిత్యుడు హైహయవంశ జాతనుద్వాహమాడుటనుబట్టి జాడ నాతడు వేంగీ సింహానన మెక్క మాహించిన నాటినుండియు స్థానికముగా అలవంతులై యున్న సామంతుందనవారిగా నౌనర్చుకొన యొత్తులు వేయుదుండి, నమమనిరీషణ గావించుచుండెనని యనుకొనపచ్చును. [కీ. శ. 1060-61వ సంవత్సరమున వేంగి సింహానన మాక్రమించిన నాటినుండియు నాతడు సోదరసుతుడు కులోతుంగ చోళుని వలన రాజ్యచ్యుతి కలుగుననియే శంకించు చుండెను. కాపున దనస్థానమును పటిష్ట మొనరించుకొనదనకు గూర్పువారలననగాందన బంధుజనులకీలక స్థానములందు, తనకు విశ్వాస పాత్రులయన వారికి సామంత పదవులందు నిమమించుకొని వారి సహామను సంపత్తులతో రాజ్య రషణ గావించుకొన నెంచి క్రీరికాజాది ప్రముఖ వ్యత్తులకు సామంతమండలాధిపత్యములు. సైన్మార్భక్ష పదవులు యొనంగి సన్నిహితుల గావించుకొని యుండును. వీరవిజయాదిత్యుడు క్రీ శాలు 1061వ సంవత్సరమున వేంగీ సింహానమును ద్రోహావర్యతో నార్థమించెను గాని స్థకమముగా వొందియుండలేదు. ఆనాటికి రాజరాజు దక్షణాంగ్ర సీమలో కర్ణాట సేనలతో యుద్ధ నిమగ్నుడై యుండెను. రాజరాజ సుతుకు రాజేంద్రదోశుడు చ్రకకోట్య మండలమున నాగవంళ పాలకులతో సమరకేశి జరపుమండెను. ఆట్టి సమయమన వీరవిజయాదిత్యుడు తన్నె దిరించిన రాజరాజదేవుని ప్రము వారి నోడించి వేంగీసింహానన మాక్రమించెను. ఆ ప్రయత్నమున దనకు సహాయకులుగా నిల్వ క్రీరికాజువంటి స్థాక్తనంపన్నుల గూడ గట్టుకొని, వారికి మండలాధిపత్య మొసగి ఖలము చేకూర్చుకొని యుండమచ్చను. ఆంతియేగాని క్రీరికాజనకు మండలాధిపత్య మొసంగినని కులోత్రుంగడెంత మాత్రము గాదు ! క్రీరికాజు పెండ్లము కోన మండలమళీసుశ్వరునకు దీపదాన మొనంగుటకు పూర్వమే క్రీరికాజు మండలాధీశ పదవి నంది యుండెను. ఆ మండలము కోన మండలమా ?

క్త్రీ రాజు కోనమండలాధిపత్యమునే బడసీయున్న కోనక్త్రీ రాజునియే పిలువబడి యుండునుగాని రాకుదిరి క్రీ రాజుగా పేరొక్కానబడడు. వీలనన - కోనమండలమును పాలించిన హైహాయులందరు "కోన" యనుపదమున తమ నామధేయముల పూర్వార్థమందుంచుచు వచ్చిరి. ఉదాహరణకు-కోనముమ్మడి భీమరాజు, కొనరాజేం!దచోశుడు, కోనభీమ వల్లకుడు, కోనగణపతి మొదలగునవి. కాపున కీ\_ర్తి రాజు నామమునకు పూర్వార్థమున "కోన"పదఘటితము కానందున నీతడానాడు కోనమండలాధిపత్యము వహించియుండక, రాకుదిరి కీ\_ర్తి రాజను నామము ధరించి యుండుటచే నాకడు రాకుదురు మండలాధిపత్యమునే వహించి యుండ వలెనని తేలుచున్నది. వీరవిజయాదిత్యుడు రాకుదురు పరిసర ప్రచేశములనెల్లనౌక మండలము గావించి, దానిని కీ\_ర్తిరాజునకు కీ॥శ॥ 1061వ సంవత్సర పాంతమున నౌసంగియుండును. రాకుదురు (రాఖతరం) పాగుణార విషయములోనిది.

అట్లు రాకుదురు పరిసర ప్రేష్ మాపై నాధిపత్యము గొన్న క్రీ రాజు పేరుననే వ్యవహరింపబడును. రాకుదురు (రాయకుడురు)నే తన రాజధాని గాజేసి కొని పాలన మొనరించియుండును. ఈ విధాన హైహయలకు తొలి రాజధాని "రాకు డురు" (నేటి రాయకుడురు) యైయున్న వి.

ఆయితే-ఇక కొన్ని విషయముల పరామర్శింపవలసియున్నది. రాకుదురు క్రీ రైకాజు కోనమండలాధిపత్యమును తదు పరి కాలమున పొందియుండెనా ? పొందియుండిన-నెపుడు ? యెవరి వలన ? ఆనునవి యా విషయములు.

్రీ శ॥ 1076వ సంవత్సరమున వీర విజయాదిత్యుడు మరజించుటతో పేంగీ రాజ్యము రాజరాజనరేం దుని సుతుడు రాజేం ద చోడుడను కులోత్తుంగ బోశదేవుని యాధీనమమ్మాను. మాతామకోర్ణితమైన బోశ రాజ్యమును, పిల్రాండ్డితమైన పేంగీ రాజ్యము నౌకే కాలమున పాలింపవలసిన పరిస్థితులుత్పన్న మగుటతో కులోత్తుంగుడు చోళసింహాననమున దానుండి, వేంగీ సింహాసనమున దన కుమారులనునిచి రెండు రాజ్యముల ఖాలింప సంకల్పించెను. నాచినుండి వేంగిరాజ్యము చోశరాజ్యములో నౌకళాగముగ చోళచాకుక్య రాజుల పాలనమునకు చప్పెను. [క్షీ శ ॥ 1077వ సంవత్సరమున కులోత్తుంగు చోకుడు తన రెండవ కుమారుడు రాజరాజు(ముమ్మడి చోకుడు) ను వేంగి పాలకునిగా నియమించిపం పెను. ఆకడొక సంవత్సర కాలము వేంగి పాలన మొనర్చి పిదప చోశదేశమునకు మగిడిపోయెను. అంత క్షీ శ ॥ 1078వ సంవత్సరమున కులోతుంగుని మూడవ కుమారుడు విష్ణు వర్ధన పీరబోకుడు వేంగీ మండలమును పాలింపవచ్చెను. [క్షీ శ ॥ 1038 వరకు పాలనమునెరపి జేష్టు సోదరుడు చోడ గంగు (రాజరాజు) నకు క్షీ శ ॥ 1084లో రాజ్యమప్పగించి చోళ దేశమునకు బోయెను. చోడగంగు ఆయిదు సంవత్సరములు రాజ్యముచేసి క్షీ శ ॥ 1098 -89వ సంవత్సరమున మరల పీర చోడునకు పాలనము నప్పగించెను. పీరబోడుడు క్షీ శ ॥ 1088 నుండి క్షీ ॥ శ ॥ 1098 వరకును, ఆతనిసోదరుడు పరాంతకుడును నామాంతరమున ఐరగు విర్ణకమ చోకుడు, ఆవెన్కును చేంగీ రాజ్యమ పాలించుచున్న తరిని తార్పు చాకుక్య బీరుదముల వహించుచువచ్చింది.

కులోత్రంగ చోశదేవుని ప్రతినిధిగ వేంగీని పాలింప వీరచోడుడు క్రిజళ్ల 1089లో మలిసారి వచ్చునరికి వేంగీ రాజ్య మతి క్లిష్ట్ర పరిస్థితులలో జిక్కియండెను. వేంగీ ప్రతమాజ ప్రతినిధి రాజాజ చోడగంగు, ఆతని నర్వ సైన్యాధ్యకుడు మొదటి వెలనాటి గొంకరాజు శ్రతువులచే జంపబడిరి. వీరచోడుడు వేంగిని బ్రవేశించునరికి చ్రకకూట సోమేశ్వరుని సైన్యము వేంగీని ముట్టడించి ముప్పు తిప్పలబెట్టుచుండెను. వీరచోడుడు ఐహుళ సేనాపరివృతుడై వేంగీని బ్రవేశించి రాజ భూషణ సోమేశ్వరునిదాకి, యుద్ధమున నాతని నోడించి పార్టరోలేను. అంత వీరచోడుడు తన సామంతుని, మహామండలేశ్వర "ఇమ్మడి వేదుర" ను సర్వ సైన్యాధ్యక్షునిగ నభిషేకించి, కళింగముపైనెత్తిపోయేను. ఈ సమయమున నాతడు జయకాండియై పాగుజార విషయములోని జుత్తిగ<sub>్గ</sub>ామ మందరి వాసుకిరవిసోమేశ్వరస్వామివారి ఆలయమునకు దీపదానమొసంగి శాసనము నిలిపెను.\*

ఆ శాసనము ననుసరించి పీరచోడుడు కళింగరాజ్యముపై దండమా త్ర చేయుటకు ముందు విజయము కాంశించి స్వామికి దీపదానము చేసి జైతయాత్ర కరిగినట్లు తేలుచున్నది. రాజరాజు పాలనలో వేంగీ నాజ్య సామంతులలో కొందరు యెదురుతిరిగి స్వాతం[త్యము ప్రకటించి, ఆరాజకమును సృష్టింప యత్నించుట నెరింగి కులోత్తుంగ చోశుడు పీరచోడుని, వేంగీమండలమున కంపియట రాచకార్యముల జక్క ఇులుపనెంచిన ఫలితముగ పీరచోడుడు వేంగీనాజ్యము బ్రవేశించినదే తడప్రగ స్వామిద్రోహులగు సామంతుల తొలగించి, కొత్తపారల నియమించుటలో లేక ప్రపాతవారిని మందలించి స్వవశులుగా జేసీకొనుట గావించి, తన స్థానమును సుస్థిరముగా గావించుకొనుట జరిగెను. ఆ యుద్యమములో దనకు గూర్పు వాడగు "వేదుర"ను సర్వసైన్యాధ్యములగా నియమించుకొని, ఆతనికి "సిందూయుగ్మంతర విషయము" సైన్యాధిపత్య మొసంగెను. ఆటులనే మేడమార్యుడను బ్రహహ్మజుని సైన్యాధ్యమనిగా జేసీ "రాజరాజ-బ్రహ్మ మహానాజు" ఆనుబికుద మిచ్చి సత్కారించెను. ఆతనిచే నిర్మింపబడిన విష్ట్వాలయము నకు "బెల్లూరు" "కాలేరు"లను గ్రామముల దానమొసంగెను. ఇట్టి నియామకములలో నోకటైయుండనోపు! రాకుదురు పీదప సంగూయనిది.

ఈ యూహ సేయుట్లకు గల కారణముల నీట్ వివరించుట్ యుక్తము. [క్రీ శ బ 1073వ సంవత్సరములో రాకుదిరి క్రీ ర్రాజు అధికారములో నున్నట్లు పైన దెలిపిన శాసనము వలన ద్యోతకమగుచున్నదికదా ! కులోత్తుంగసుతుడు రాజరాజు కాలమున వేంగీసామంతులేదురు తిరిగి స్వాతం[త్యము [పకటింప యత్నించిరని గూడపైన వివరింపబడినది. కావున కీర్రాజు ఆ తరుణములో స్వాతం[త్యము వహింప నుద్యమించి యుండును. వీరచోడుడు మలిసారి వేంగినేలకే తెంచినపుడు కీర్రాజును తొలగించి, యాతని స్థానమున సంగరాయని నిలిపియుండవచ్చును ! లేదా వయోవృద్ధుడైన కీర్రాజు గతించియైన యుండ

వచ్చును ! ఆ కారణమున సంగరాయని నియామకము జరిగి యుండవచ్చును. ్ర్మీశ॥ 1079వ సంవత్సరము పిమ్మట క్రీరాజు గురించి యే వృత్తాంతము వినరాలేదు. అందుచే సీపైన యుదహరించిన వానిలోనేదియో యొకటి జరిగి, క్రీరాజు కోనమండలాధి వత్య మంద కుండగనే గతించియుండును. తత్కారణమున కోన మండలము నేల వచ్చిన కోన ముమ్మడి భీమరాజు (్రీ॥శ॥ 1073-1083) మొనలగువారు రాకుపెరి క్రీర్తినాజు విషయమును తడవకనే తమ శాసనముల నిలువుట సంభవించియుండును.

రాకుడురులోని శాసనముల పరిశీలింపనేగిన త్రీ ముసునూగి సాంజశివరామమూ\_్తి, రామచంద్రపురం U. S. M. కాలేజి Ancient History లెక్చరరు త్రీ జాస్త్రి దుర్గాపసాదరావు గారలకు లభ్యమై రాకుడురు త్రీ సకలేశ్వరస్వామి ఆలయ ద్వార ఖంధమున కీర్మపక్కలగల శాసనముల\*లో నౌకదానిని బట్టి రాకుడిరి క్రీ రాజు వెనుక రాకుడురుసంగరాయడా ప్రాంతముమై నధికారము ఓహించినట్లూహింపబడుచున్నది. రాకుడిరి క్రీ రివాజును, యీ సంగరాయడును యేక వంశము వారలై యుందురా ? ఖావి పరిశోధనమునగాని తేలదు

ఈ రాకుదురులో హైహయ పాలనమొంత జరకు జరిగెనో, రాకుదిరి క్రీర్రాజు, సంగరాయల వెనుక నీ మండలాధి పత్యమెవరు వహించిరో తెలియదగు యాధారము లభింపలేదు.

కోన హైహాయులలో తొలి ప్రభుపుగా క్రీనాజు ప్రశంసింపబడుట నాతడు రాకుదురు మండ లాధిపత్యమువహించి యుండుటను బట్టి జూడ మొట్టమొదట కోనహైహయులు రాకుదురు పరిసర ప్రాంతముల రాకుదురు రాజధానిగా ఖావించి, క్రమశ గోదాచరిని దాటి విస్తరించి నేటి రాజోలు, అమలాపురం తాలూకాలకు చ్రించు కోనమండలము (కోనసీమ) కథిపతులై యుందురని తోచుచున్నది.

ఈ రాకుదిరి క్రీర్తినాజు, సంగరాయలు పానారసీమలోని రాక్ష్ముదరు మండలమును పాలించుచున్న కాలముననే కోన ముమ్మడి భీమనాజు క్రీ శ ॥ 1078-1082 మధ్యకాలమున రాజాధినాజరాజేంద్రచోళుని వలన రాజ్యాధికారమును పొందినట్లు శాసనముల వలన దెలియవచ్చెడిని. ముమ్మడి భీమరాజు, క్రీ ర్తి రాజులకు మధ్యగల సంబంధమేమిమో పరిశోధింపవలసి యున్నది. కోనముమ్మడి భీమరాజు హైహాయుల వంశములోని మరొక శాఖకు చెందిన వాడగునా ?

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# కాకతి (పతాప రుద్రదేవ వుహారాజు

water with a two to ago

ఓరుగంటి వెంకట కృష్ణయ్య

కాకతీయ చ్రక్షప్రలలో కడపటివాడీ మహానాజు. ఆరిహోనున్న దీపమువలె నీతని కాలమున నాంద్ర పౌరుష మువ్వె తుగ నౌక్కమారు విస్ఫురించినది. ప్రతీచ్య నృపతులు దాషిణాత్యనరపతులు ఔత్త రాహరాజన్యులు ప్రతామక్కుదని ప్రతామ మన కోడిరి. ఆతని యెడల ననూయాదులు జనించుట మానవసహజమే. వానిచే పీడితుడైన కారణముననో మెడమీదనున్న ముస్టిందండనాయకుల యొత్తికి చేతనో యాదక మహానాజు తురకలకుండోడ్పడెను. స్వీయులగు రెడ్డినాయకులును కదన భూమిలో [దోహము చేసిరి. ఈ మహారాజు తురకల బందీమమ్యెను. ఆభిమానరనుండు దిల్లీకింబోపు మార్గ మధ్యమననే స్వేచ్ఛమై నర్మదా నదమునందు మునింగి యసువుల వీడెను. ఆంద్రహమి యవనాబ్ధి మగ్నమైనది. ఈ విషయములు చర్మతకారులెల్ల ఎంటిగినవే.

కాని యా మహా ఆదర్శముననేకాంశ ములిప్పటికిని నిర్ణీతములు గాలేదు. ఊహావిషయములుగానే యున్న వి, చర్శకారులు పరస్పర విరుద్ధములయిన యూహల జేయుదునే యున్నారు. కొంతవరకు వ్యక్తిపై మనస్యములు, కులభేదములు భాషాభిమానములు ఆడ్డువచ్చి యుండుటయుఁడెల్లమే. ఆద్దే మతాభిమానములు. ఆట్లవి యడ్డు రాగూడదనుట సత్యాభిమానల కిష్ట విషయమే. కాని వ్యవహారమున నట్లు జరుగదుగదా! ప్రమాణములు తక్కువయే, ఆవియును ఒండొంటికి వికోధముగగూడ నున్న వి. ఆది మన దురదృష్టము. కాని వానియందు కొన్ని ప్రభమ గణ్యములు తరుప్రేమయా కొన్ని సారహీనములుగా నుండిక తప్పదుగదా! ఆమ్యోడల వాని ప్రహామమును విమర్శించి సారవత్రరమును గౌకొనవలయుననుట నిర్వికాదాంశమే. ఇరు వాదములు విని పరిశీలించి నిష్పష్టపాతముగ తన నిర్ణయము నౌనంగు దృష్టియే మన కవలంబసీయము. కాలముగడదు కొలటి కొత్తకొత్త యాధారములు చర్శత కారులకు లభ్యములుకాకమానవు. ఆపుడు చర్మతకారులు తమ సిద్ధాంతములను అము చేసిననవయ్యును తదనుకూలముగా పునవ్వమర్శనము చేసికొనుటయు వలసినబో నూత్న సిద్ధాంతములు జేప్పటయు సత్యప్రమునకు సూచకము. ఇంకొక్కమనవి. ఒకొక్కక్కు యాధారమును శీలాశాననమేకానిండు. త్వామాననమే కానిండు కావ్యములేగానిండు నిశ్రతముగా విమర్శించి గ్రహింపవలయును. గొన్ని యంశములు పరస్పర విరుద్ధ ములుగా నున్న సమన్వయ మాధము కలదా యని యన్వేషించుటయు. సమన్వయ మసాధ్యమైన దుర్భలముల త్యజించి అలవ త్రరమును స్వీకరించుట యుపాది.

కాకతీయ చర్మమన కాధారముగా సమకాలీన శాసనములున్నవి, కావ్యములున్నవి, వాని వ్యాఖ్యానములున్నవి, మత [గంథములున్నవి, తురుష్కుల [వాతలున్నవి, పరస్పర విరోధములుతప్పవు. వానినన్వయించినపుడు సత్యదీక మొక్కటియే యవలంఖ్యము. ఈ కఠినతర కార్యమున గొందరికే జయము కల్గను. కాని ఆట్లు జయము లభించెనను విశ్వాసము లేకున్న పరిశోధన మొట్లు సాధ్యము. నా ప్రయత్నమున సాఫల్యము కల్గెనోలేదో. ఇందు ప్రమాణ వ్యాసముల నిర్దేశించుచున్నాను. వ్యాస కర్తల నామముల విధిలేనప్పడు తప్పఁజెప్పలేదు. విషయ విమర్శనమే ప్రధానముగాని వ్యక్తి గుణగణములు విమర్శసీయములు గావని నావిశ్వాసము. వాదబలముచే లక్షింపవలయుననుట పునరుక్తియని నాతలంపు.

ఈ ప్రతాపర్పుడ మహానాజు జన్మించినదెపుడో యింతవరకు నిశ్చితమైనట్లు గాననాడు. [కి. శ. 1254 పైంతమున నున్నట్లు కాకతీయ సంచికాకారుల యళ్ళిపాయము. చిన్న తనముననే, ఏడేడుల లోపలనే మాతామహిర్పుడమదేవి దత్తుచేసికొనె నని ఆంధ్ర కాకతీయ సమకాలిక రాజుల చర్మిత కర్తల తలంపు. వారి యూహల కాధారము మల్కాపుర శాసనముగా వారే చెప్పియున్నారు. కనుక నాశాసనమును సుదీర్ఘముగా పరిశీలింపవలయును. దాని ప్రామా ఇ్యమును విమర్శింపవలయును. ఆ శాసనము నాటికి కాకతీరాజవంశమెట్లున్నది అనియాలో చింపవలెను. ఆ శాసనము [కి. శ. 1261 నాంటిది. నందన సంవత్సరమున సూర్మ్మగహణమున, పాలనము చేయుచున్న రుద్రమవేవరాజగురువులు శ్రీ విశ్వేశ్వర శివదేశికుల కొసంగిన దాన వృత్తాంతమందు పొందు పఱపబడియున్నది.

దాని కాలము **దుర్మతి సూర్య్ గహణకా**లము **ఆ**యిన క్రిణశణ 1261

శాసనకవి యెవరో చెప్పడుకియుండలేదు. రాజగురువులు త్రీవిశ్వేశ్వర శంభులే మని గొందఱి యూహ. ఆద రు[దమదేవి రాజ్యము

శాస్త్రేషా చతురంబురాశిరశనాం! శ్రీ రుద్దదేవీ భువం స్వయం!! నాల్గు సముద్రములు మొలనూలుగాగల భూమిని శ్రీరుద్దేవి స్వయముగా పాలించుచున్నది. ఆనియా శాసనముననున్నది. దీనిచే గణపతి దేవుడప్పటికి గతించియుండెనని ధ్వనించుచున్నది. ఆకడును రుద్రమ్మ యాగపద్యముగనే కొంతకాలము కాకతి రాజ్యము నేలియుండిరనుట చర్మతకెఱుక పడి యున్నయంశమే. క్రి!!శ॥ 1261 నాటికి గణపతి జీవించి యుండెనా ?

South Indian Inscriptions Vol. X నం. 371 శాసనము గణపతి వేయించిననే త్రిపూంతకమున నున్నది. దీని కాలము శకవర్షము 1182 రౌద్ధి ఆషాధము. కర్కాటక సంక్రాంతి సమయము క్రికి 1280 ఆగస్టు ఆగను. కనుక వీనాటికి గణపతి జీవించి యున్నాడు.

అనే సంపుటములో నం. 399 త్రిపూరంతకు శాసనము, దీనికాలము ్రీ. శ. 1183 దుర్మతి కా ర్రీకము = ్రీ. శ. 1261. దీనిని బట్టి చూడుగా గణపతి యున్నట్లు తోచుటలేదు. ఇది త్రీమత్ రుద్రమనేవ మహారాజుల దివ్య రాజ్యవర్షము రెండవ దానిలో వేయించబడినట్లు నిర్దేశముకలదు. ఆనే సంపుటములో నం. 395 శాసనమే మల్కాపుర శాసనము. దీని కాలము శ. సం. 1188 = ్రీ॥ శ॥ 1261

దీనిలో స్పష్టముగ గణపతిని వర్ణించుచు "తస్యాయం తనయః ౖతయీమయతనో ద్దేవాత్ భవానీపతేః లబ్ధ జ్మాం సమపాలయత్ గణపతిజ్మా పాలచూడామజిః" ఆని కలదు. "సమపాలయత్" ఆని భూతకాల నిర్దేశము కలదు. కనుక నప్పటిక్రి గణపతిలేడనుట నిశ్చయమే

ఆంగ్లే "ఆద్యాప్యుద్ధామ ద్ప్పాన్ దుపర తప్పతనా"

ఇప్పటికిని నతని సేనదర్నమును విరమించుకొనియున్న ది అని కలదు. ఇప్పటికి ననుటలో గణపతి మరణానంతర మనే ధ్వని కలదు గదా! గణపతి ఆతని తండి మహావేపుడు మరణించునప్పటికి [క్జీ శజ 1298 బాలుడనియు యాదవరాజు జైతుగి డ్రికిశింగాధిపతిని జయించి ఈతని చెజునుండి విడిపించెననియు. పామాడ్రి ఆతని యాస్థాన విద్వాంసుడు రచించిన రాజు డ్రిక్ స్టీలోండ్ గలదనుట ఎల్లరెజింగినదే. ఆప్పటికాయనకు పదిప్పుడేండ్లున్నవనుకొనవచ్చును-కావున నతడు దాదాపు డెఖ్మడి నాలుగేండ్లు జీవించి వృద్ధుడై మరణించెను.

మరోజించుఓకు మాన్నతడు రాజ గురుపులకు మందర ౖగామమునీయ వాగ్దానము చేసెను. కాని తానే యచ్చుటకు ముందే మరణంచుట జరిగినది. రుౖదము ఆ వాగ్దానము తాను నెరపేర్తునని యన్నది. ఆతండనుజ్ఞ నిచ్చినాడు. మరణించినాడు. అంత సూర్యగ్రహణ సమయమున నామె—

> త్రీ విశ్వేశ్వర శంభవే । గంజపతి ష్టోణిశ్వరే ၊ జాందరా దాన్రమం ၊ ముందరనామధేయు మఖిలైరా గైత్త ၊ మామై సృమం తక్పుతీ । తదనుజ్ఞమా పశుపతేః । త్రీ రు ద్దేవీపురః పైదా । దాన్రమ । పెలంగపూడి సహితం । సీమాష్టెకే । నాపృతం ॥.

పశుపతికి ఆనగా విశ్వేశ్వర గురురూపుడైన శివునికే ఇచ్చి శాసనము వేయించినది.

ఇందే విషయముననైనను శంకకవకాశము కలదా ? లేదనియే కృష్ణము. ఇచ్చినది రాజు. ఇచ్చినది గురువులకు. ఇచ్చి నది భ\_క్రితో. ఇచ్చినది తండి వాగ్ద త్రమును నెరవేర్వ కనుక న్షీపమాణము ఖలవత్రమును విశ్వాసమును. డీనియందలి యంశములుగాదనుట సాధ్యముగాదు.

ఇందే రుద్రమ కుమారుని [పస్తావము కలదు. శాసనములందీతని పేరు కానవచ్చుటయు |పథమముగ నిందే. ఇందే రుద్ర మను వర్ణించుచు కవి.

ఓరుగంటి వెంకట కృష్ణయ్య

-జ్రీవిశ్వేశ్వర్ దేశికేంద్రి శివహాస్తోద్భాసీడోర్వి క్రమ క ్రిమ్జీక్జుగద్దశక క్రపత్రిబల్ ప్రప్పంసి ఉన్నోత్సవ క య స్మాక్ కాకత్రవంశ మౌక్తికమణే జ్రీ రుద్దేవ స్పుత క తస్వాకి కిం కథయామ వైభవ మతక జ్రీ రుద్దేవార్థికి పరమ్ ॥

త్రీ ర్వదేవి కాకతి వంశమా క్రికమణి । ఆమెకు త్రీర్వదేవుడు సుతుడు. ఆతఁడు త్రీ విశేశ్వర దేశికేంద్ర శివ్వని హా స్థముచే నుద్భాసి = ఉజ్వలించుచున్న (ఎన్నటికి విజృంభింపనున్న అని యర్థము కాదు) జాహు వి క్రమము కలవాడు. ఆతడు క్రిమ్ జాడ్లోలు. ముగ్గురు రాజుల జగత్తును, దశం ఆననేమో స్పష్టము గాదు. బహుశం దళనం చీల్పు వాండని యర్థము కాంబోలు. ముగ్గురు మోజీకుంనంగా కాకతి రాజ్యమునకు దష్టణాజులు పడమటి రాజులు ఉత్తరాజులు. ఆతండు క్రిపిణలమును ప్రవ్వంసము చేయును— జన్మోత్సవము కలవాడు. ఆనంగా పుట్టుకతోనే క్రవతీఖలమును నాశనము చేయువాండు. ఆతని పుట్టుకయే యొక పండుగ. ఆట్టి ర్వదదేవుడు కుమారండైన జ్రీ ర్వదదేవి పైళవమునట్లు చెప్పట కన్న నితరముగా వేఱుగా నెట్లు వర్ణింప గలము ? ఆని ర్వదదేవుని వర్ణనము. ఈ ర్వదదేవుడే ప్రతాపరుముందుడని కాకతీయ సంచికాకారుల వాదమును వీరభ్యదరావు గారి వాదమును. వీరి మతానుసారము 'సుతంక'ఆనగా పెంపుడు కొడుకని యర్థము కాదు. ఇతండె రసపుతుడేయని, నామనవి. ఇతండు వేరు ప్రతాపర్వుదుడు. ర్వదమేవి దౌహిక్తుడనంతరము దత్తుడయినవాడు వేరు.

ఈ శాసనము | ្រ្ទឋమ శాసనకవి చెప్పుచున్న | కమముమ్మ రుంద్రమదేవి కుమారుడు పరాక్రమశాలి. ముగ్గురు ష్ణిశుల జగత్తును చీల్చినవాడు. అప్పటికే ఆనగా క్రిశు 1261 నాటికి ఆతని పేరు రుందమదేవుడు. ఆతఁడు ఆప్పటికే ప్రఖ్యాత పౌరుషశాలి.

మల్కాపుర శాసనమెంత ముఖ్యమో విద్యానాధ కవికృత ్రప్రావర్డీయ యశోభూషణమను ఆంతముఖ్యము. విద్యా నాథుడు ర్వకాపుని కాలమునందున్న వాడు. ఆతని వలన సన్మానము హొందినవాడుందు. ఆతడు ర్వాసిన ర్వకాపర్డ్ దీయమును విశ్వసనీయమే. తాను జూచిన రాజునే వర్ణించినాడు. ఆ ర్వంథమును సమర్గముగా పరిశీలింపవలసినదే.

మల్కాపుర రుద్రుడు క్లామ్య పర్కాకముడగుటకు ఆతడు హీనపక్షము ఇరువరియేండ్లవాడు ఆయియుండవలయునుగదా! ప్రతాపరుడ్రునభిషేక కాలము [కీ.శ. 1295 ప్రాంతములందని కొందఱిమతము. ఆ విషయమును దర్వాత చర్చింతము. ఆప్పు డయినను తర్వాతనైనను ఆతని కప్పటికేబదినాలుగేండ్ల ప్రాయమగును.

మల్కాపుర శాసన కాలమునకు కాకతి [పణాపరుడ్డ దేవుడు క్రి.శ. 1254 ప్రాంతములో జన్మించినందున నేడేండ్ల వాడనియు కాకతీయ సంచికకారుల యభ్రపాయము. పీరకడ్డరావుగారు [పణాపరుడ్డుని జనన సంవత్సరమును స్పష్టముగా నిర్ణయింప కున్నను 'సుత' శబ్దమునకు పెంపుడు కొడుకనుటయే వారి యభ్రపాయమని తోచుచున్నది. జయంతి రామయ్యపంతులవారి మతమిందుకు విమర్ధమని కాకతీయ సంచికకారులే వక్కాణించియున్నారు. మల్కా పుర రుట్డు ఆ శాసనమునాటికే విఖ్యాత పౌరుషడగుట కాకతీయ సంచికాకారుల వాడమును నిర్మూలించు చున్నది. మఱి [పతాపరుటీయమును జూచిననా రుట్డుడు [పతాపరుట్డడేయనుట నిర్మూలమగుచున్నది. ప్రతాపరుడీ)యమును జెప్పినది సూక్కముగనిట్లు. రాజ్యాథి షేక కాలమునకుముందే ఆకుడు యువరాజు. స్వయంభూదేవుని యాజ్ఞై నతనినంతకు ముందే దత్తునిగ గైకొన్నది. స్వయంభూదేవుడు కలలో నతనికి యౌవరాజ్య మిమ్మన్నాడు. దిగ్విజయముచేసి నాల్లు సముద్రి ముల జలములుదెచ్చి అత్సనకథి షేకింపుమని మంతు లలాన్నారు. రుద్రమ ఆల్లే యుద్ధనన్నా హ మొనర్చుకొని యుద్ధయ్లాతకు ఖయలుదేరనుండుగా [పతాపరుట్డుడామెను నివారించి తానే దిగ్విజమునకు ఖయలుదేరెను. దిగ్విజయానంతర మతనికి రుట్డమ రాజ్యాథి షేకము చేసినది. ఆథి షేక కాలమునకతడు చిన్నవాడు. ఈ వాక్యముల నొక్కక్కటియు మాల్కాపుర రుట్డదేవుడు టపతాపరుటుడు కాదని నిరూపించుచున్నవి.

#### వరుసగా విమర్శింతము

I. మలాండ్రాపుర రుద్దుడు [పఖ్యాత విక్షముడు గదా! [పతాపరుద్దీయ రుద్దుతో దిగ్విజయ కాలమునకుంగాడు. [పతాపరుద్దీయము నాటక [పకరణమున.

కంచుకి: కి మనుమతం రాజపుత్రన్య దిగ్విజయ [పస్థానం రు ద్వరేశ 3ైరేణం ? రు దమహోరాజు రాజపుత్రుని దిగ్విజయ ్ పస్థానము ననుమతించెనా ?

దార: కథం కథమప్యనుమతం.

ఎట్లో యెట్లో యనుమతింపబడినవి.

కంచు: స్వనామానుగుణ మీదం రాజప్పుతస్య య త్పజ్జీకృత సాధనం మహారాజం సపాదోప్కగహం నివార్య స్వయమేవ జైత్రయా[తాయా ము త్రిష్థతే.

> సాధనములు సిద్ధము చేసికొనిన మహావాజును పాదములు పట్టుకొని నివారించి జైత్ యాత్రకై లేచుట రాజ పుత్రునికి ఆకని నామానుగుణముగా నున్నది.

దార: ఆర్మ, అననుభూత యుద్ధ పర్మశమో యువరాజు

ఆర్య, యువరాజు యుద్ధపర్మిశమము ననుభవించి మెఱుగడు. ఆలోచింపుడు.

గణపతి రాజ్యాంత కాలమున స్మామాజ్యమన నెన్ని యో కల్లోలములు తటస్థించినవి. జటావర్మ పాండ్య మహానాజు తాను -గణపతిని జయించినాననియుఁ జెప్పకొన్నాడు. గణపతి వయస్సున నున్నపుడని యూహింపలేముగదా! కాంచీపురమును దశ్శీణ రాజు

ఉరుగంటి వెంకట కృష్ణయ్య

లా క్రమించుకొన్నారు. గణపతి యా వయస్సున నేమియు చేయలేకపోయెను. రుందమ రాజ్య పారంభమున శ్రత్తులు గోదాచరి దనుకతరుముకొనివచ్చెను. వెలుగోటివారి వంశ చరితాదులు ప్రసాదిత్య నాయడు గణపతి యనంతరము కాకతిరాజ్యము నాశించిన వారిని నాశనము చేసినాడని చెప్పుచున్నవి. ఆల్లే కాసనము లందును కాకతిరాజ ప్రతిష్ఠాపనాచార్యులు కానవచ్చుచున్నారు. రుందమకు సామంతులు కొందతెదురుతిరిగినారు. యాదవరాజు లెత్తి వచ్చినారు. ఈ సందర్భములో కుమారుడు పర్మాకమము చూపియుండుడా? దానికనుగుణముగా విశ్వేశ్వరులు రాజగురువూ యాశీవ్వాద మహిమయే. రుందదేవుని దోర్వి కమమునకు గారణమని మల్కాపురము శాసనము చెప్పచుండుట లేదా?

ర్వదమకు తర్వాత వచ్చిన యుద్ధములు కానిపింపవు. ఆంత్యకాలమునకు మరల దశ్శి రాజుల యుద్ధములు తప్ప నట్లున్నది. దానిని జూచియే ర్వదమ వయస్సు చెల్లియే యున్నను తానే యుద్ధమునకు బయలుదేటినట్లును, ప్రతాభర్వదుడామెను నివారించి యుద్ధము నెజుగని తాను తన శ\_క్తిని నిరూపించుకొని రాజ పదవి కర్హుడీ పత్తుడని చాటుటకు తానే యుద్ధమునకు బయలుదేరుట సహజమేగదా! కావుననే విద్యా నాధుడు ర్వదమకు కలలో స్వయంభాదేవుడు కనిపించి దౌహ్మతునికి రాజ్య మమ్మని యాదేశించి నాడని ప్రవామగలిగినాడు ఆది నిజమేయయి యుండును. తమ కులమునకు స్వయం భూదేవుడే తారకుడని గణపతి, రుందేవుల విశ్వాసము. స్వప్నములు విస్పష్టములు గావని, నవి దృశ్యమానములగుటయని యాధునికుల సిద్ధాంతమును. మద్రమ పెద్ద వయస్సుతో తానుంట నాతోచించి దౌహ్మితునికి రాజ్యమిచ్చుటయు ఖాగని తలంచియుండుట ఆసహజముగాడు. ఆ మనోరథ మీ స్వప్నమున నిట్లు ఫలించియుండును. కనుక ప్రతాపుడట్లు యుద్ధమున, నననుభూత పర్మశముడయుయుండుట సహజముగానే యున్నది. దిగ్విజయమును సూచించినది మంత్రతులు. రాజ్యాభిషేశము జరిగిన పిమ్మట యుద్ధమునకుంబేవుట యేకాక యుద్ధమున జయించి వచ్చిన వానికి రాజ్యార్హ తను నిరూపించుకొన్న తరువాతనే రాజ్యాభిషేకము జరుగుట ఖాగా యున్నది. చికిత్సలో మంత్రులు రెండవ పక్షమునే స్వీకరించియుండుటయు సహజమే. ప్రజలకు ఖావిమహూజునెడల (దత్తని యొదం ననుటమరువరాడు) ఆనురాగము రూధమగుట యేర్పడును గదా!

ఈ విమర్శము చేత మలాడ్రాపుర రుందదేవుడు ప్రాపర్యుదీయ ప్రతాపర్యదదేవుడు. భిన్నులని తేటపడుచున్నది.

11. ఇంకొకటి. మల్కాపుర శాసనమున నతని పేరు రుండడేవుడు - దాని కుపపదము లేదు. రుండడేవి శాసనముల నామెకు రుండడేవ మహాూజులని వ్యవహారనామము. కావున నీరుండడేవుని కుమారరుండచేవులని యనియుండపచ్చును. అట్లును ఆనలేదు. మహారాజ శబ్దమే లేదు. కనుక "రుండడేవు"డని పుట్టుపేరు. యువాజ పదవిరాలేదు. కావుననే నతనికి కుమార మహారాజ వ్యవహారములేదు. సారాంశము రుందడేవుడని ఆతని పుట్టుపేరు.

**్పతాపర్మ**దీయము**న నా మహా**ూజు పుట్టు పేరు ప్రతాపరుదు9డన్యే యున్నది.

నటి: కథం! కథా నాయక నామధేయానుబంధ మనోహరం ఖలు నాటకం ? ప్రతామోపపదాంకితం. తస్య రాజ్ఞో నామ కథం జాతమితి పృచ్చతే।

ప్రితాపుడను నుపపదమున నంకము ఆ రాజున కెట్టు వచ్చెనని యడుంగు చున్నాను.

మాత-: ప్రియే కూయతాం

తం సుజాతం సముద్వీకృ కోణ్యాం రవిమివోదితం [పతావరుద<sup>9</sup>] ఇత్యాఖ్యా మకరోత్ కాకతీశ**్వరః**॥

భూమిపై రవివలె చక్కాగా నుదయించిన యతనికి కాకతీశ్వరు డు ప్రతాపరు దుడని పేరుపెట్టెను.

కనుక [పతాపరు దుడని కడపటి చ్రకవ ర్తి పుట్టు పేరు. మల్కా పురము వానికి రుంద్రేవుడని |పతాప రుందీయము వానికి |పతాపరు దుడని.

III. ఆప్పటి కనఁగా దిగ్విజయ కాలమున కాతఁడు చిన్నవాఁడుగదా. యుద్ధపర్మశమ మెఱుఁగని వాడుగదా. ్రపతాప రృదీయ మతని కొంత వయస్సో చెప్పుచున్నది.

డ్వితీయాంకము,

నాటక ప్రకరణము, ప్రవేశిక, 8

తత్ న్నేష్టంకిల యౌవరాజ్యమ**పి** మే **బాలోత్స**వే ౖకిడతః

యౌవనాజ్య మిచ్చు సమయమునకు [పతాపరు[దుడు జాల్యోత్సవముల్ ( గ్రీడించుచున్నాడు. దిగ్విజయ కాలమునకు ముందే ఆతనికి యౌవరాజ్యమీయ అండి యున్నది. 'ఆతిస్పష్ట యౌవరాజ్యస్య' ఆనియు 'ఆస్మిన్నీ ధేహిధౌరేయే గుర్వీముర్వీధునాం' ఆని [పతాపరు[దీయము. మఱియు అంకముర్న :- ఫరో :- తదారోహతు [పాగతిస్పష్ట యౌవరాజ్యస్య [పతాపరు దస్య భుజశిఖరం సాగరమేఖలా "భూమియారోహించునుగాక."ముందే యౌవరాజ్యమీయ అండి యున్న [పతాపరు[దుని భుజశిఖరమును యౌవరాజ్య మీయ అడివిది. గుఱుతుచే నట్లు స్థిరీకరింపవచ్చును.

South Indian Inscriptions Vol. X నెంబరు 469 జూలకల్లు శాసనము పల్నాడుతాలూకా. కాలము శ.క.1218= 1్రి. శ. 1291. ఇందు కాకతీయ కుమారరు ద్రదేవ మహాంజులకు పుణ్యంగాను ఆని కలదు. తర్వాత నాలుగయిదేండ్ల లోపలనే యాతని కఖిషేకము. కావున నీ'కాకతీయ కూమార రుద్రదేవుడు' ప్రతాపరు దుడే ఆప్పటి కతడం తాలుడు.

ఓరుగంటి వెంకట కృష్ణయ్మ

కుమార రుండ్రేవుడని వ్యవహారమే ఆతాడు యౌవరాజ్యధురంధరుడన్ తెల్పుటకు చాలును. ఏలన రుండమకు 'రుండ్రేవమహారాజు'లని శాసనములందు వ్యవహారము. ఒక్క మల్కాపుర శాసనమునను తర్వాత నింకొక్క శాసనమునను దప్ప నామెకు 'రుండ్రేవి' నామన్మరణ లేడు. ఆ రెండవశాసనము S. I. Inscrption Vol. X లో నెం1 422 శాసనము, పల్నాడు తాలూకా, దుర్గి గ్రామము. శాసనకాలమున శక:—1091 = ్రిబి శబ 1169 ఇందు గణపతిదేవ మహారాజుల పట్టోద్ధతియైన శ్రీరుందమహాదేవి ఓరుగల్లు నిజరాజధానిగాను' ఆని కలదు. పట్టోద్ధతి యననేమో.

ಕಾಕತಿಯ ಹದ್ದ್ರಿದೆವಮ್ ಸಾಜ್ ಓದುಗಲ್ಲ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಗಾನು ಪುಥಿವಿರಾಜ್ಯಂಬು ವೆಯುಮಂಡುಗಾನು ಅನಿ.

కనుక రుద్రదేవమహాూజులొకరున్నారు కనుక ప్రతాపతుద్రునికి యువరాజయినప్పుడు 'కుమార రుద్రమహా రాజు' ఆని వ్యవహారము. ఆప్పుడును దిగ్విజయము నాడును అతఁడు బాలుఁడే.

## (2) బాల్యక్రీడిత దిగ్జ్ యః

బాల్యమునందే ఆతనికి దిగ్జయము క్రీడయయినది. ఇది దిగ్విజయానంతరము ప్రకృతులవాక్కు. నాటక ప్రకరణము 1-5-25 రాజ్యాభిషేక కాలమన కతఁడు బాలుఁడు. ఆనఁగా చిన్న వాడు ఇంతేకాక నిజాము వారి తెలంగాణా శాసన సంపుటి 1 నం. 85 నందు ముమ్మడి మల్లికార్జున నాయకుఁడు పానుగల్లునందు వేయించిన శాసనమున 16-5-1290కు సరియగు వికృతి, జ్వేష్ఠ శుద్ధ 6 నాటిశాసనము 'కూమార రుద్రిదేవమాహాకాజులకు పుణ్యంగాను ఆయు తత్పుత్సీతనయ $\mathfrak s$  ప్రశ్నీ పృథిపీం' ఆని రుద్రమ పుత్రీతనయఁడు బాలించుచున్నాడని యుఁగలదు. కనుక కుమారులు ప్రతాపరుదుందే దిగ్విజయానంతరము దిరిగివచ్చునపుడు ప్రతాపుడు వేటకును బోవును.

(3) ప్రతాపరుదు ్రిండు కొండకు దేవతల జూడ నేగగా రుద్రమ ఆనును "ఆహో శైశవేపి ఉచిత కారిత్వం వత్సన్య పీరరుద్రిన్య"

ై శవము నండును వత్స వీరరుద్స్తుడు ఔచిత్య మెఱింగి పనిచేయుట

దిగ్విజయానంతరము ప $^{\circ}$ తాపరుడు $^{\circ}$ ని ప $^{\circ}$ కృతులు మెచ్చుకొండురు. య $\overline{d}_{1}$ శ వేష్పతిళయిత త**రుణ** కాకతీయ పరా $_{1}$ కమునస్య వి $_{1}$ కము

🛂 శవమునందును ఆతని పరా క్రమము తరుణ కాకతీయుల పరా క్రమమును మించినది.

వీరర్నుడన ్రప్రాపర్నుడాంయను సంశయమున కవకాశము లేదు. ర్రప్రాపర్ను దినికి క్లాఘగా వీరర్నుడడినియు వ్యవహారము కలదు

స్కూతదారుడు :-

విష్ణి: విశ్వైకపీరస్య కాకతీయ కులేస్థితం ఆవతారమముంజ్ఞాత్వా పీరరు దం ప్రచక్తతే

విశ్వైక పీరుడు విష్ణుడు కాక తీయ కులమున నవతరించియన్నాడని యెఱింగి ఆతనిని పీరర్మడుడనచున్నారు. ఈ పర్మాక మంట్లా మొల్ల దిగ్విజయము నాండికే. ఆంతకు ముందతడు యుద్ధపర్మిక మెఱుగడుగదా! ఇది వరకు సూచించినట్లు ర్మందమ కుమారుడు ర్ముదదేవుడు మల్కాపుర శాసన నిర్దుష్టుడు ఆ శాసన కాలమున కిరుపదియేండ్ల వాడయిన ట్రీ. శ. 1291 ప్రాంత ములకేబదిఏండ్ల వాడయియుండును. తన్నా తడు ఖాలో ఇత్స్త్వ వ్రక్తిడతః ఖాలుడని నిర్దేశించుకొనుట యసహజముగదా! ఇతరు అను ఎంత్ర పేమకలిగియున్నను ప్రకృతులే 'శిశు'వని ఏబడిపైబడిన వానినివ్యవహరించుట హాస్యాన్నదముం ర్ముదమ్ముయు రోముకోలది "శిశు" వన్నను ఏబడి ఏండ్లవాని నట్లునదు. 'శిశువు' అని యమ్మమెచ్చుకొనుటలో వింతలో వింత కనుకం

្រុំនា ន្ទារ 1261 నాటిక్రియవది యేండ్లుండు రుద్రదేవుడు నౌక్క్రారే యనుట మౌనఁగడు.

శాసనముల జూచిన నింకొకవిషయమును విశదమగును. కాల్కమమున< జూడవలయును, వాని యందు మల్కా. పుర రుద్దదేవు<్డేమైనాడో చూడవలసినచో బ్రూపర్మదుని కవకాశమే లభింపదు గదా.

తెలంగానా శాసనముల I సంపటి నం. 84 శాసనము శ. 1187 ప్రభవ ్రీ. శ. 1267 నాటికి కాకతీయమహా ర్మందదేవ మహారాజొకుడు ఆ శాసనమును జెప్పబడియున్నాడు. అంతకుముందే ఆమె నామము శాసనములందు; ర్మందదేవకుమారుడే రాజేకాని, మనకు ర్మందదేవమహారాజు కాడు. ఇతడు కాకతీయులకు మనుమడు ర్మందదేవ మహారాజే ర్మందమకుమారుడు ఆంనాటికి మహారాజై నట్లున్నాడు. ఆపాటి కిరువదియయి.దేండ్లయిన నుండవా ?

ఓరుగంటి వెంకట కృష్ణయ్య

ఇంకొకటి ఇతని మనుమడని నిర్దేశించుట కింకొక రుద్దమదేవుడుండవలెను. అట్లే ఆ కాలమున నింకొక్ రుద్దేవుడున్నాడు.అతడు రుద్దేవుడను వ్యవహారము గల రుద్దమదేవియే. ఇట్లే కొన్ని శాసనముల కడపటి చ్చకవైర్తి ని మన్మ'డని వ్యవహారము గలదు. S.I. Inscriptions Vol. X లో నం. 488, మ్రప్పిచర్ల శాసనమున. నం. 489 శ. 1222=1300 [కి.శ. శార్వరీ, నందిగామలో నడగూడెము శాసనము, నం. 491 కారెంపూడి శాసనము [కి. శ. 1303 ఆయనను త్రీమనుమ మహా మండలేశ్వర కాకతీయ ప్రతాపరుందేవ మహోకాజులని వ్యవహోరించియున్నారు. త్రీ 'రుద్దేవ' మహోరాజులకు ఆనగా రుద్ద మకు' 'కుమార రుద్దనికి' భిన్నుడని సిద్దేశింప నితని మనుమ రుద్దేవుడని వ్యవహోరించియున్నారనియే చెప్పవలెను. ఇందు చేతను నితడును రుద్దమకుమారుడును ఒక నామము దాల్చిన భిన్న వ్యక్తులని దేలుచున్నది.

జూలకల్లు శాసనమున నతని కుమార రుంద్రేవ మహారాజు వ్యవహారమును జూచియుంటిమి. ఆనఁగా క్రిక్కు శ్మ 1291 నాటికి '్రప్రాపర్మంద దేవమహారాజు' కుమారర్మందదేవుడాయెను. ఏల ? రాజ్యమునకుం దగండని డిర్రమెషన్ చేసినానా ? దీనినిఏబట్టియే ఆతండితండుకాండు. క్రిక్కశ్మ 1267 వాడు. రుంద్రమ కౌరనుడు క్రిక్కశ్మ 1291 నాటించాండు, దత్తుండు ఆని తేలుచున్నదిగదా!

తర్వాతఁజూడుదగిన శాసనము [క్టిశగ 1280 నాటిది. ఆది S.I. Inscriptions Vol. X నం. 451 బందరు తాలూకా మల్లవోలు గ్రామమున చిన్మయేశ్వర దేవాలయమున నున్నది. దాని కాలము శ.క. 1202

్రేణి శ $\mathfrak m$  1290 దీనిని వేయించినవాడు మహారాజు కంగరశ్వకుడు  $\mathfrak m$ బోలచ**మూ**పతి

"చెళ్ళాతండై రేశ్ల ప్రజలప్పికమే తీస్తు మత్తప్పతాపరు దేశే నిత్యం సాబ్రాజ్యదీషీతే తస్యాంగ్గరకు నామాంకో ఖాశ్రత్మహోల చమూపతింకి ఆని కలడు. ఈతడు విఖ్యాతధీరుడు ప్రబలప్పికముడు శ్రీ మ్రత్పతాప రుద్రదేవుడు. స్మామాజ్యదీక పూనియున్నాడు. కనుక నితఁడు. క్రీ.శ. 1291 నాటి కుమారరుద్రదేవుడు, యుద్ధపర్మిశమ మెఱుఁగని వాడు ఆని వాడిన విశేషణములు తెలుపుచున్నవి.

ఇతఁడు ్రీ.శ. 1267 నాటివాఁడే, ఆనఁగా రుద్రమదేవి కౌరసుడే మైన ఇతఁడధమ పషమున రుద్రమకు తోడు మహారాజయి యుండినాఁడని ్రీ.శ. 1267 శాసనముచేఁ దెలిసికొంటిమి. అందును 'స్మామాజ్య దీక్షితుడు' పైన చెప్పినట్లే స్మామాజ్య దీక్షితుడైనవాఁడు ్రీ॥ శ॥ 1291 జూలకల్లు శాసనమునకు 'కుమార రుద్రదేవు' డేల కావలసి వచ్చెను. ఇద్దరును భిన్న వ్యక్తులు గనుకనే యది నిర్ణయము.

్రీ॥ శ ॥ 1 280 తర్వాత ఆనగా నతని కప్పటికి నలుపడియోండ్ల వయమైన నుండును. ఆపై నే శాసనమునను నీతని పేరు లేదు. జూలకల్లు శాసనము నం**దలి కు**మార రృదదేవుఁడుతప్పు.

రెండు శాసనము లందును **అ**నగా మల్లవోలు శాసనమునందును కనుప్పరు శాసనమునందును ఇతనికి వ**ం**ళనామము 'కాకతి' యను మాటయే చెప్పరు. ఇతనిని కాకతీయుడిని యేల చెప్పలేదు? ఇతరుల శాస**న**ములందెల్ల తాము 'కాకతీయుల' మని 'కాకతి తిలకుల'మని చెప్పచున్నా రే గదా

ఇతండు కాకుండుటచేతనే అని యూపింప వచ్చును. ఇతడు చాళుక్య వీరభద్రుని కొడుకు! కనుక కొడు కునే కాకతీయుడని యెట్లు వర్ణించుట? కడపటి మహారాజులెల్లైడల కాకతీయ వంశనామముతోనే వ్యవహరించుచున్నారు. యువరాజు కాలమునను నరపతిత్వకాలమునను ఈ రెండు శాసనములందు చెప్పిన ప్రతాపరు దుడు కాకతీయుడని వ్యవహరింపకుండుటచేతను ఇతడు రుద్దమ కౌరసుడు, దౌహిత్ర దత్తుడు కాడు అని సారాంశము. మల్కాపుర శాసన నిర్దిష్టుడు ప్రతాపరు దుడుగాడు.

<b>ල්</b> ර්රුර		[పఠాప రు(దీయము రెండవ యతఁడు	[ప <b>ෞ</b> పర్మద దేవుఁడు కాకతీయుఁడే
1 పుట్టుపేరు	<b>හ</b> [ <b>ර</b> ික්නුරණ		్కి. శ. 1292 అనగా
2 వంశము	కాకతీయుడు <b>గాడు</b>		దిగ్విజయము కాలము
8 వయస్సు	మల్కా <b>పుర</b> ము శాసనము		నకు ఇరువది ఏండ్లు ఆని యూహ. జననము
	్కి. శ. 1261 నాటికి ఇరు		దాదాపు క్రిక్తము
	వది యేండ్లు కనుక		1270. దిగ్విజయము
	జననము [కీ. శ. 1214		వఱకు <sub>[</sub> కి.శ. 1291వ <b>ర</b> కు యుద్ధపర్శమ
	్కి. శ. 1261 నాటి కి [పళ్యాత వి.కముఁడు		యెఱుగఁడు.

గాథలను బట్టి (ఆవి լపబల బ్రమాణములుకావు గాని) ប្រទេపరు ద్రద్ధప్రేష జన్మించెను శి

రుద్రమరాజ్యమునకు వచ్చిన తర్వాత ముమ్మడంబకు సంతానము లేకుండుటచేత మొగిలి చర్లకు ఏక వీరాదేవి నానా ధింపబోయినది. ఆప్పడు హరి హరుడు, మురారి దేవుడునువారలు కోట నాక్రమించుకొనిరి. రుద్రమవచ్చి యుపాయమున గోట స్థవేశించి వారలను జంపించినది. గణపతి యప్పటికిలేడు.

కావుననే కాబోలు కా. సం. వారు [పతాపరు[దుని జననము [కీ. శ. 1254 ఆని నిర్ణయించుట. మత్కాపురము నాటికే విఖ్యత పౌరమ్యడైన రు[దదేప్రడు జన్మించినది [కీ. శ. 1241, అని ఆ విశేషణముల చేతనే నిర్ణయించుకొంటిమిగదా. [కీ. శ. 1241 యన్న రు[దమచుప్పటికి రాజ్యభాగిని యగుట కవకాశము లేదు. కనుక గాధలు రు[దమ రాజ్యపారంభము నాటికి కడ పటి చ[కచర్రి జన్మించియుండలేదనియు చెప్పుచున్న వి. S. I. Inscription Vol. X నం 898 [తిపురాంతక శాసనమున బట్టి ఆమెకావత్సరము [కీ. శ. 1261 రెండవ దివ్యరాజ్య వర్డము రాజ్యపారంభము [కీ. శ. 1250 కావలయును. తెలంగాణా శాస నముల 1 వ సంఘటము 32 నెంబరు బూర్గగడ్డ శాసనము నాటివే ఆనగా శ.సం. 1180=[కీ. శ. 1158 కే శ్రీ ఈ దదేవ మహా రాజ్యము చేయుచుండెనని చెప్పుచున్న వి. కనుకఁ గణపతి చనిపోయినది కీరి. శ. 1261, సూర్యగ్రహణమునకు అనగా మత్కాపురము శాసనమునాటికిలేడు గనుకను [పతాపరు[దుని జననము తర్వాతనై యుండవలయిను గాని తుత్పూర్వము జరుగలేదు. గాధలనుబట్టి ఆట్టివో మత్కాపురము నాటికే [పఖ్యత బలపౌరుషుడు రు[దదేపుడు కడపటి [పతాపరు[దుడని చెప్పుకు కుదరని యసాధ్య విషయము. మత్కాపుర రు[దదేవుడు రాజై సా[మాజ్య దీమితుడై యుండిన కాలము కడపటి [పే శాపి 280 ఆని తెలిసినది. కాకతి కూమార రు[దదేవ మహాదేవ నామము [కీ. శ. 1201లో కనవచ్చుచున్న ది. కావున నతనిద త్రత ఆరెండు సంవత్సరముల మధ్యమన జరిగియుండవలయును. ఇందులో పేతొ కవిషయము. ఒకరు [పతాపరు[దీయమున ననని]

"స్వీకృతే పుత్రభావేన! దౌహీ తే బాజ్మ మాజ్ఞయా"

యనుటకు పాఠాంతరము నొకదానిని 'పితురాజ్ఞయా' ఆని, ద\_త్తత గణపతి యనుజ్ఞుచేత జరిగెనని బెప్పినారు. బెప్పుటకు గారణము మలాం/-పుర శాసన నిర్దిమ్టుడు రుద్దేవుడు [పతాపరు[దుఁడే వారి మతమున నగుట చేత. గణపతి క్రి॥శ॥ 1261 లోపలఁ జని పోయినాడు గదా.

్పతాపర్మటీయము నీ కార్యము గణపతిది గాదు. ఆది తప్పర్థము చేసికొనుట. ఆ వాక్యము స్వయం భూదేవునిది. రువ్మమ కలలో నాయన కన్పించి మనుమనికి, దనయుడుగా గ్రాపిందుబడిన వానికి రాజ్యమిమ్మనెను. కనుక ఔరసతనయా ఆనంత రమున రాజ్యాధికారి ఎవరిని ఆలోచించు నామెకు దౌహ్మితునే ఫు్త భావమున గైకొమ్మని యాజ్ఞను స్వయంభూదేవుడిచ్చినట్లు కవి రచించెను. కావుననే నతని పేరును '[పతాపరుట్రుని' పుట్టుపేరునుమార్చి 'కుమారరుట్రదేవ' నామమున ట్రహించినది. ఆది

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చనిపోయిన వాని పేరే, పుట్టుపేరు) ఇతండును తదృశుఁడే. ఇతనికి పట్టాభిషేకా నంతరము ముందు వానికి వలెనే ప్రహాపర్ముడ యని సమాఖ్యము లభించినది.

ఆయభి పేకమునకు గారణము స్వయంభూదేవుని యాజ్ఞయు, తన నగరవాసులే ముఖ్యమనని ప్రతాపర్స్ దీయము మాట. కాక కాకతీయుల వంశాచారమును రాజనీతి నిర్భంధమును వరుసగా పరికించిన బ్రోలుడు చనిపోయిన వెంటనే కల్లోలములు, ర్ముదదేవుడతిర్చుడుడై శతృవుల నంగటి నణుచి రాజ్యమను గైకొనుట. అనుమకొండ శాసనమున జ్రీ శు 1262 వర్ణితములైన నతని విజయములలో బెక్కు ఆతని తండ్రి బ్రతికిముండుగ నార్జించెను. ఆతని యంత్యకాలమన మఱల కల్లోలములు గణపతి మొదటి నుండి రాజ్య సౌధ నిర్మా ణమును బ్రూరంభింపవలసి వచ్చెను. ఆతని చరమ కాలమున ర్ముదమయుగొన్ని యేండ్లు ఆయన తోంగాడ రాజ్యభారమును వహించినది. ఆట్లే ఆమె రాజ్యంత కాలమునను మనుముడు యువరాజయ్యను తోండు మహి రాజై రాజ్యభారము వహించినది.

రాజునీతియు ఆట్లే నిర్బంధావసరమును గల్పించినది. గణపతి రాజ్య చరమ కాలమున కొక యాడుగూతురునే రాజ్యాధి కారిజిగఁ జూపించినది. కావున శతృవుల బారినుండి రాజ్యమను రషించి కూతురును మహీపతిగా నెలకొల్పుటకు తాను [బతికియుండగానే [పయత్నించినాడు. ఆప్పటి శతృవులనఁగా పరరాజులే గాదు స్వీయగో తులు దాయాడులును. ఔరసుడు కొండవలే పెరిగి కూలిపోయేను. దాహి త్రుడు చిన్న వాడు. దాయాడులున్నారు. తానుండఁగానే యతనిని సింహాననమెక్కించి రాజపదమున నతని రూథము చేయవలెనని ఆమె కోరెం. శతృవులు పాండ్యాడులు విజృభించుచున్నారు. తాను వయసునఁ బెద్దది మనుముడుగా కున్న నామెకు నింకెవరు ఆపేషణీయులైనతో డు. కావున దత్తనికి రాజ్యముసంగ నిభిలషించినరి.

ఆ రాజ్యాభి షేకమెప్పడు జరిగెను ? దిగ్విజయానంతమున. దిగ్విజయము ఎప్పడు జరిగెను ? శాసనములందేని చెప్పు అడినదా ? ప్రస్తుతమున ఆధారమైన ప్రతాప ర్వుదీయమున నా కాలము స్పష్టముగు జెప్పలేదు. కాని వేదరీతిగా నిర్ణయింపవచ్చును. యువరాజుగ నున్నపుడు కుమార ర్వుదదేవమహారాజుగా నున్నవాడు మహారాజగునప్పటికి ప్రతాపర్మద మహారాజగునుగదా!

్రి. శ. 1290 మల్లికార్జున నాయకుని పానుగల్లు శాసనమునను (16-5-90), ్రి. శ. 1291 జూలకల్లు శాసనమును [పస్తావించును. కాకతీయ కుమార రుద్రదేవుడు ్రి. శ. 1291 లో (తెలంగానా శాసనము Vol. 1 నం॥ 85 పానుగల్లు శాసనములో 'కాకతీయ కుమార రుద్రదేవమహారాజే' ఆందును 'ఆత్మజా కుర్వతి రాజ్యమున్నతం' రుద్రమదేవి ప్రస్తావము కలదు.

తెలంగాణ శాసనములు Vol. 1 నంబరు 48 గణపవరము శాసనము. కాలము శకవర్ష 1214 నందన  $\overline{a}$  [ -5 ] మార్చ [ -5 ] మార్య [ -5 ] మార్య

ఇంద్రు పతాప కుమార ర్ముదదేవమహారాజులు 'పృధివీరాజ్యం చేయుచుండఁగాను' ఆని కలదు. ఈయన ప్రతాపర్సుడ దేవుఁడే! జన్మనామ సంకలనము నిందు గలదు. ఆప్పుడును రాజ్యకర్త ర్ముదమయే యని కుమార పద్మమాగముచే తెల్లమగు చున్నడి.

ఆ సంపుటములోనే నంగి 44, 45 మణుగూరు శాసనములు కలవు. పీని కాలము శక 1216 నందన మాఘమాస మందు అనగా [కి. శ. 1294 అగును - ఇందులో నౌక విష్ట్రికి ప్రేష్ట్రికి విష్ట్రికి మార్చ్ కామలయును. ఏది సరియైన తేది? ఆనగా సంవత్సరము నందనముట్టి. [కి. శ. 1293 ఫిబ్రిపరి-మార్చ్ యనుటయే సరి. శకసంవత్సర సంఖ్య పౌరపాటు లేకున్న శక వర్ష్మ్ము 1216 = [కి.శ. 1294 అగును. అందు మాఘము [కి. శ. 1295 ఫిబ్రిపరి మనరి యగును.

ఈ శాసనమునందు [పథమముగా 'కాకతీయ ్పతాప రుందదేవ మహారాజులు పృధివీరాజ్యము చేయుచుండఁగాను' ఆని కలదు. కావున నందన చర్లములో శకవర్లము 1214 = [కీ.శ. 1292 ్పతాపరుండు రాజ్యాభిషిక్తుడమ్యానని విద్దయము. [కీ. శ. 1292\_98

S.I. Inscriptions Vol. X నం. 479 త్రిపురాంతక శాసనమునందేదాని కాలము శ. స. 1216 = కి.శ. 1294 దీనిని వేయించిన ఆదిదంమల్లు నాయకుడు తన్ను "శ్రీమ్ తృత్వాతాపరు దదేవ మహారాజ్య స్మామాజ్య ధురంధర"ఆనియు రు దదేవ దషిణ ఈజాదంత' ఆనియు వర్ణించుకుని యున్నాడు. కాపున మణుగూరు శాసనము లందిచ్చిన శకవర్షనంఖ్య తప్పని ఆశకవర్ష మున మాఘము మున్ను ప్రతాపరు దుడు రాజ్యాభిషిక్తుడయినాడని ఆనుకొనగూడదని తీర్మానము. ఆతడు రాజ్యాభిషిక్తుడగుట నందనలోనే, క్రి.శ. 1292-93 లోనే. దానికి తర్వాత శాసనములందెల్లేడల నితని నామము—-'కాశతీయ ప్రతాపరు దమహారాజ' నియే కన్పించుచున్నది. ఇదియు మల్కాపుర రుద్దదేవుడును కడవది చ్యకవర్తియు నొకరు కాదని రూడపుతుచున్నది మల్కాపుర రుద్దదేవుడు క్రి. శాగ 1267 కే రాజ్యాభిషిక్తుడు. కడపటి చ్యకవర్తి పట్టాభి షేకకాలము క్రి. శాగ 1292. కొందరను నట్లు క్రి. శాగ 1295 కాదు.

ఈ విమర్శనములబే ౖపా ప్రమగు సిద్ధాంతము. రుద్రమ కౌరసఫు[తుడు గలడు. ఆంకడు చాళుక్య పీరభ్యదని కుమారుడు. ఆంకడు రాజ్యాధిపతియై రుద్రమకు దోడుగా నధమపక్షము ౖక్ట్ శ్ 1280 వటకైన రాజ్యము చేసేను. తర్వాతనే కారణముననో, నెందో ఆంకడు గతించెను. ఆంకనికి సంతతియున్నట్లు కాన్ఫింపదు. ఆంకని పినతల్లియగు గణపాంబకు సంతతిలేదు. గణపతి వంశమిట్లు నిర్వంశముకా రుద్రమ తన దౌహిౖతున్ని దత్తునిగ్ గౌకౌని రాజ్య బ్రతిష్టితుని జేసెను.

ఆనుటచే రుద్దమన్వయముగా నతనికభిషేకము చేసినది. కొందరన్నట్లు ప్రణాపర్మడ్యడామె మరణానంతరము రాజుగా లేదు. ఆమె తర్వాత గొంతకాలము రాజ్యమేలి తర్వాత నెపుడో క్రీకేషురాలైనది. ఆమె నగరవాసులైన ముఖ్యలచేత గదా మనమనికభిషేకము సంకల్పించినది. 'ఆస్మిన్ని ధేహి ధౌరేయేగుర్వీ ముర్వీధురాం'ఆను స్వయంభూదేవుని యాజ్ఞానుసారమును.

్రాహతా పరు్రదుని జన్మము - తల్లిదం(డులు

[పలాపరు|దీయము. 1-14

మురారేర్యః పూర్వం జలనిధి సుతాయా మభవత్ మహాదేవాజ్ఞాతః సపుసః ఆవనీభృద్ధపాతరి'

పూర్వము లక్ష్మియందు మురారికి పుట్టినవాడే మరం రాచకొమారిత యందు మహాదేవునికి గల్గెను.'

"దేవకీ 1చ1 ద్వితీయా। విష్ణో ర్మాతా। తదను 1 మహితా। ముమ్మదంబా। తృతీయా। 1-20

దేవకి విష్ణువునకు రెండవ తల్లియయినది, తర్వాత తృతీయ జనని ముమ్మదాంబ. మొదటి శ్లోకమున తండ్రినామము మహిదేవుడని రెండవ శ్లోకమున జనని నామము ముమ్మదాంబయని తెల్లముగాం జెప్పంబడినది.

ముమ్మదమ్మ

రు దమదేవి కిద్దులు కుమారితలు. ముమ్మదమ్మ, రుయ్యమ్మ ఆని తెలియవచ్చుచున్నది. మొదటి యామె ట్రాంకా రు దుని తల్లియని ప్రతాపరు దీయ ప్రమాణము. రెండవ యామె ఇందులూరి ఆన్న దేవమం తిని వివాహమాడెనని శివయోగసారము రెండవయామె విషయము చర్చాంశముగాదు. ఆమె బ్రాహ్మణ బాలికయనియు విశ్వేశ్వర శివదేశికుని దుహితయేమో యని కొంద రూహించి యున్నారు. ఆస్తు. ప్రస్తుతము ముమ్మదమ్మ విషయము తర్కింతము.

**్రపతాపరు**్రదీయము

"భూళృద్ధపాతరి" యనియామె రుందమ కూతురనియే చెప్పినది. లోకమున రాముడన్న దశరథ రాముడనియే బోధ యయి. పరశురామ ఖలరాములని బోధగాడు, ఆయాయు పదేశములఁజేర్పకున్న. ఆల్లే కూతురన్న ఔరసతృతియనియే సామాన్య ముగ బోధ. ఆట్లు కాదన్నవాఠ్పై ఆవాదమును రుజువుచేయు ఖారమెక్కువగా నుండును. ఆధారములఁ జూపింపవలసినవారు వారు. వారి వాదన్వరూపమును దెలిసికొందము. దానికి ప్రమాణములు వెలుఁగోటి వారి వంశచరితాది గాధలును, శివయోగ సార మును. దానికి ప్రతిపాదించిన వారితో (ఖముఖులు క్రీశ్మీతు సుగృహీతనాములు చి వీరభందరావు గారు.

గణపతికి పురుషనంతతి లేదు. తనరాజ్యముదాయాదులకుఁ బోవుట అతని కిష్టము లేదు. కూతురు ర్కుదమ్మ రాజ్యము నేలగల శ\_క్రమతి. ఆయన చిన్న నాటనిండి ఆమెను పురుషుని వలెనే పెంచెను. రాజ్యనిర్వహణమునకుఁ దగిన విద్యాదుల నేర్పించెను. ఇది యెల్లలోకమునకుఁ దెలియకుండఁగనే రహస్యముగుఁ జేసెను. కడకు రాజ్యస్టార్యము నిమ్మిత్రమొక యాడు బిడ్డనుదెచ్చి తన గురువు శివదేవయ్య ఆలోచనముమైని ప్రసాదాచిత్య నాయకుండు మొదలగువారి తోడ్పాటుతో ర్వుదమదేవికిచ్చి వివాహము గావించెను. ఆమెయే ముమ్మదమ్మ.

ముమ్మదమ్మ కలరూ పెటింగి ఖేదపడినది. గణపతియే స్వయముగనో కాక రుద్రమదేవికి స్వాతం[త్యము జచ్చిన తరువాతఁ నామెయో ముమ్మదమ్మనోదార్ప నామెను రుద్రమ్మ కర్త దాళుక్య పీరక్షడుని సోదరుడుగు చాళుక్య మహిదేవ రాజున కిచ్చి వివాహము గావించి యామెకుఁ గల్గిన ప్రతాపర్భదుని తన దత్తు చేసికొని అతనికి రాజ్య మిచ్చినది. ఇది యొక రీతివాదము.

దీని కాధారములు ప్రాంత చర్శత మొదలగు లోకలురికార్డులు. జనవదంతులు కడకు శివయోగసారము.

దీనికి గొంచెము మార్పుతో [ప**సా**దాదిత్య నాయకుని కథ. గణపతి చనిపోయిన తర్వాత నాయన ముమ్మదమ్మకు బెండ్లిచేయుట తర్వాత నామెకు బిడ్డపుట్టగనో, కాదా ఆ సుతునికి రాజ్యార్హత కల్గిన తర్వాతనో రుద్దమను సంహరించి ఆతనిని [పట్షను చేయుట. ఈవాదమును నింతమాత్రము స్ఫుటముగనైన నెవరును [పవచింపరు. దీని వలన చచ్చు వాదములు

మల్కాపుర శాసనమున నుక్తుడైన రుడ్డేడు కాకతీయ చ్చకవర్తులలో గడపటివాడు ఆనఁగా [పతాపరుడ్డ చ్చకవ్రిం మల్కాపురమున "రుడ్డేవ్యాం సుతం" ఆనుటలో సుతశబ్దమును మనము పెంపుడు కొడుకని యర్థము చేసికొనను.

ముమ్మద పెంపుడు కూతురు. దీనికి ప్రమాణము శివయోగసారమునందలి యీ క్రింధి పద్యము

**ిఆ**కుపితరు్ద మాంబికకు **నా**త్మజనా 1

బొగడొందు మమ్మదయ్యకు మహదేవరాజునకు" ఇందు ఆత్మజనా బొగడొందు, అన్నదాని కర్థము హిగడ్ కాని యధార్థముగాదు. యాథార్ధముగనామె పెంపుడు కూతురే. చాశుక్య వీరభ్గదుని సోదరుడు మహాదేవుడు. ఆతడు చాళుక్యుడు. నిదుర్మాలి పరిపాలకుడు. పెంపుడు కూతురు గావుననే ర్వుదమ మమ్మదమ్మనుమఱదికీయ జాలినది.

వాదమునమునకు ఎదురువాదమను జ్రీ॥ కొ. హ. శర్మగారు 1960 డిసెంజరు భారత్లో లేవదీసినారు. వారు ముశుకంటి శాసనము ్రమాణమగా మహాదేవుడు దాశుక్యుడు గాడు. కాకతీయుడేను ర్వదమ తన సౌదరుని వరుసవాడైన మహాదేవునికిం గూతురునిచ్చినది. మేనమామ గావనను అధమపక్షమున సాజాత్తుమేనమామ గానందున నట్టి పెండ్లి వరుస తప్పిన పెండ్లి గాదు. ఈ వాదముల నిజాగ్జములనే మనము తేల్చుకోవలసినది.

ఈ వ్యాస పూర్వభాగమన మల్కాపుర శాసనమున నిర్దిమ్హ్డైన ర్వద్దేవ్యడును ప్రతాపర్కడుడును భిన్ను ఇనియు, రుండ్డేవ్యడు ర్వద్దమ్మాడు కొరసుడనియు, ప్రతాపర్కడుడామెకు దెహిక్రికుడనియు సిద్ధాంతీకరించి యున్నాము. మల్కాపుర తాసనము నందలి ర్వద్దేవ పర్కకమ ప్రవంసచేతనత డప్పటి కిరువది యేండ్లవాడయిన నైయుండవలెననియు నిరూపించి యున్నాను. కనుక నతని జన్మము క్రి. శ. 1241 ప్రాంతములలోనై యుండును. ఆప్పటికి ర్వదమకు ఎన్నియేండ్లు ? రాజ కులమున పదునాతోండ్లకు మున్ను విశాహము చేయుట జరుగదుగదా ? వివాహమైన తరువాత వెంటనే పుట్రుడే పుట్టైనన, కాదుకి సంతతి వెంటనే గలిగినదని ఎవరు చెప్పుగలరు ? ఒక నాలుగేండ్లయిన నుండవచ్చును గదా! కనుక ర్వద్దేవ జననము నాటి, రుండమికిరువది యేండ్లని యూహింపవచ్చును. ఆసహజముగాదు. ఆప్పటికామె జన్మము క్రి. శ. 1250 ప్రాం త ము ల నై యూండును. ఆమెకు సోదరి గణపాంబజ్యేష సోదరియో కనిష్ఠ సోదరియో? మొదటిబిడ్డపై తండ్రికి మమకారముండుట సహజ ముగనుక రుద్దమణ్యేష్టమనియు గణపతి యామెనభిమానించెననియు దలంతము. గణపాంబ జననము కావన క్రి. శ. 1222 పాంతముల నుండవచ్చును.

గణపతి తండ్రమరణమునాంటి కెన్నియేండ్ల వాండు? South Indian Inscriptions Vol. X నంఖరు 267 [తిపురాంతకము శాసనమున ఆనంగా శకవర్షములు 1181 సిద్ధార్ధి కా\_ర్తికము=్కి.శ. 1259 నవంఖరు-డి సెంఖరులు నాంటి శాసన మున" స్వస్తిత్రీ మన్మహి మండలేశ్వర కాకతీయగణపతి చేవలమహారాజుల దివ్యరాజ్య వర్షంబులు (౬౧) ఆ ని క ల దు. 1198 కి.శ. ఆతనిరాజ్య పారంభకాలము, హేమాద్రి, యాదవరాజుల యాస్థాన పండితుడు. ఆశండు రచించిన 'రాజ్మహా స్ట్రిలో నప్పటికి గణపతి చెఱలో నుండెనని, జైతుగి యాదవరాజుతనిని, త్రికళింగాధీశుని యుద్ధమున సంహరించి విడిపించి రాజ్యాధీశుని

జేసెనని ఆప్పటి కతఁడు బాలుఁడని' యున్నదని చి. వీరభ్దూపుగారి యుద్ధారము. బాలుఁడన్నప్పటి కతనికి పండెండ్లేడుల యీడైన నుండక తప్పదుగదా! గాథలో ఆతఁడు రుద్దునికి దత్తుకొడుకను (ఒక శాసనమున నతఁడు రుద్దుని కౌరసుడనియు నున్నటుజ్ఞప్తే) ఆతఁడు రాజ్యమును హొందకుండఁగా మహేదేవుఁడు రాజ్యమును[గహింపఁగా ప్రకృతులు ఒప్పకుండఁగా శతృవుల బాధ దీర్చికొన రాజీగా గణపతి తరపున తాను బాలించుచుండెనని యనుచున్నది. కనుకనలనికప్పటి కీరుపదియేండ్లున్న చని పోవనాటికి ఎనుఐడియేండ్ల పృద్ధుఁడగును. ఆప్పటికి రుద్దమ జనన కాలమునకతడు నలుపదియేండ్ల వాడగును. నలుపదియేంద్ల కళనికి [ప్రపథమముగా పుత్రికోదయమని తలంచుటకన్న ముప్పదిరెండేండ్ల ప్రపారమన రుద్దమ జనించెననియు తర్వాత రెండేండ్లకు గణపమ జనించెననియు నూహించుటబాగు. ఆ కాలమున నలుపది యేండ్ల వాడయునను తరువాత పడియేండ్ల వతి రెండేండ్లకు గణపమ జన్మము తర్వాత నేఁఐదియేడులైన రాక మునుపే నతఁడిక పురుష నంతతి పుట్టదని నిరాశచేసికొని యుండునా ? [కీ శ. 12శ2 పఱకు) ఆశనికి నిరాశ జనించియుండునేమో ? ఆప్పటికి తన కౌరసపు త్రుడుండి యుండడు. ఉండిన నెంతకును పుత్రునికి రాజ్యమీయు జూచునుగాని కుమా రైకీయ నుద్యమింపుడు. పండెండేడ్ల రుద్దమ లోకో త్రర [పత్రిఖాతిశయ మును గు ర్రించియు, ఆనాఁటికి జ్యోస్యామల యెడల స్వయంభూదేవుని ఆజ్ఞాను సారమున ఆతఁడు కుమా రైకు రాజ్యమీయ నిశ్చయించియుండును. తరవాత నామకు రాజనీత్యాదుల నేర్పియుండును. ఇంకనాలుగేండ్ల కామెకు చాపక్క పీరభద్యానితో వివాహము. తర్వాత నాలుగేండ్లకు సుతోదయము. గణపమయు రాజ్యతంతి ప్రవీణయే. ఆమెళ్ళు మరకానంతరము ముప్పడియేండ్ల కొక్కువకాలము ధరజి కోటరాజ్యమను బాలించినది.

్రీ. శ. 1220 నాటికి పుతుడు కలుగుడని నివాశచేసికొను కారణమేమి ? తర్వాత గణపమయు జనించినది కాదా? రుద్రమ పుట్టగనే గణపతి ఆమెకు రాజ్యమీయనంతకు ముందే యూహించి ఆమెస్ట్రీత్యమును రహస్యముగ నుంచినాడా ? గణపమ కట్లు చేయలేదా ? ఆమెకు అనుగా రుద్రమకు పదునారేండ్లకు చాకుక్య మీరభ్రదునితో వివాహము జరిగి యుండునుగదా ? ఆ వివా హము రహస్యమేనా ? మఱియంతకుముందేగదా ఎక్కడినుండియో ముమ్మదమ్మనుదెచ్చి పురుషవేషధారిణి యైన రుద్రమకుంబెండ్లి చేసి యుండవలెను. అక్పటికి రుద్రమ కెన్నియేండ్లు ? అప్పడు స్మామాజ్య మేమయిన అసాధారణ పరిస్థితులలో నుండెనా ? [కీ. శ. 1220 కేమయిన నుష్టదవములు రాజ్యమున నుండెనా ? అప్పడుగదా గణపతి వెలనాటిని జయించుచుండినది. కనుక నప్పడు బిడ్డను పురుషుడుగా బెంచవలసిన కారణమేమి ? ఈ కట్ట కతకేమి[పమాణము ? ఏదియులేదు. శాసన ప్రమాణములకిది విరుద్దము.

్రపసాదాదిత్యునికథ ఈ కథకు తోబుట్టువు. శాసనములఁజూచిన తండ్రి కూతురులు కుదురుగ రాజ్యమేలుచుండిరనియు దాదాపు [కి. శ. 1258 నుండియైన గణపతితోడు రుడ్రమయు అందటికిఁ దెలియునట్లుగ రాజ్య ఖా ర ము ను మూయుచు శాసనములు తీయించుచుండిరనియుఁ దెల్లము. [కి. శ. 1258 నుందే ఆమెకు యౌవరాజ్య మిచ్చియుండుటయు సహజము. వివాహము ఖహిరంగము, సుతోదయము ఖహిరంగము, దేవీత్వము ఖహిరంగము, ఇకగూఢతయేమి ? యా దవ మహా దేవుడు స్ర్మీను తాను సంహరింపనని ఆంధ్రులు స్ర్మీని రాజ్యసింహాసనమున నుంచిరనిగదా వాగినాడు.

్పతాప రుడ్రీమాము రుడ్రమడేవి లోకో త్రర మహామహిమాశాలి యని ఆట్టిది, ఆమె కీశ్వర బ్రహిందమునంగలిగిన డాని వర్ణించినాడు. ఈ కట్టుకతలలో ఖాగముంప్రసాదాదిత్యుని ఘనత. ఆత్వత రుద్రమను జంపి ప్రతాపుని రాజ్యమన నుంచినాడనుట ప్రతాపరుద్రీయముకాక శాననమలును క్రీ. శం 1292 తర్వాత రుద్రమ బ్రాపికియున్నదని చెప్పియున్నవిగదా! కట్టుకతలనమ్మి చరిత్రల రచించుటేమి ? ఆందును దానికి విరుద్ధములగు శాననములు లభించుచుండంగా ఇది చరిత్రకారుల రీత్కారు.

ఈ కథలలో నొక్కమాటయే నిజము, రుద్రమను గణపతిఫుత్త నిర్విశేషముగుజాచి సకలవిద్యలు నేర్పించి నాడు "నదృశమత్త పు్త ఇతిర్యవహారం తదనుగుణాచ రుద్రఇత్యాత్యా"ఆని మ్రతాప రుద్రీయముమాట ఆనగా, చేసిన పు్తుడను వ్యవహారము ఆమె మహిమకు నదృశము దానికింది దగినట్లు చేసిన "రుద్ర" నామకరణము.

కీ). శ. 1240 మన్నే ఈ కతల ప్రకారము ముమ్మదమ్మకు పురుషపేష ధారిణియైన రుద్రమతో వివాహము జరిగి యుంచవలెగదా! వివాహమగునప్పటికి ముమ్మదమ్మకు పదునారేండ్లు జరిగియుండిననుకొన్న తర్వాత నెప్పడు సుతోదయము ? వారిమకము ప్రకారము (కా. సం.) [కీ శ. 1254. ఆప్పటికామెకు ముప్పడియేండ్లవయస్సు. ఆప్పటికి ఆమెకు మొదటి సుతోదయమైనదా? ఈలోఁగా [కీ. శ. 1240 కే రుద్రమదేవి వివాహముజరిగి సుతోదయమైయున్నదే? ఆ మె కు రుయ్యమ్మయు బుట్టియున్నదే? దాహి [తీ దాహిత్రు లున్నను గణపతి మెక్కడనుండియో పచ్చిన మమ్మదమ్మ కుమారునికి రాజ్యమీయుడని అనియుండెనా?

ఇదివర కే రావుగారి వాదమున నొకయంశము 'మల్కాపుర శాసనమున' 'ర్మదదేవ్యాం! సుతుం' లో సుతుండను మాటకు పెంపుడు కొడుకని చెప్పకొనవలయు ననుట ఖండించియున్నా ము. ఇక శివమోగ సారము నందలి పద్భవిచారము.

కథల్ పకారము రుండమనాణి యయిన తర్వాతనేగదా మొగిలి చర్లకు ముమ్మదమ్మతోంగాడ ఏకపీరామహాశ కైని సంతానార్ధము గొలువబోయినది. ఆమెనాజ్మాధిష్ఠానము శాసనముల ప్రకారము [కీ. ళ. 1158. తర్వాతగదా సుతోదయము అనగా ముమ్మదమ్మకు ముప్పదియాఱవయేట ప్రథమ సుతోదయము సహజమా ? అసంభవమని యనము. ఆ స హ జ మ ని మాత్రమందుము.

కథలకం బై నేనాడును శాసనములు చర్మితకు [పధానాధారములు. ప్రణాప చర్మితకు నకలు సిద్ధేశ్వరచర్మిత, దానికి నకలు సోమదేవరాజీయము. ైపతాప చర్మితయే కథాకాలమునకు వందయేండ్ల తరువాతంబట్టినది. దానికి తర్వాతగదా యితరములు సమకాలిక శాసనములకంటే నివి యెట్లును ప్రమాణములుగాంజాంపు.

ఇంతకు ముమ్మదమ్మనుకన్న తలిదం[డులెవరో రావుగారు చెప్పరు. స్పష్ణముగా ప్రణాపరు[దీయామును నాదరింతురు చాళుక్య వీరభ[దుఁడు, రు[దమ ఆని శాసనములలో నున్నదానిని జూచియున్నను దాని నేకారణముననో నిరాకరింతురు.

ఈయన సహజవాదమును వదలుకొనుటలగ్గ. ముళుకంటి శాసనమును, "భూధరేంద్ర సుతాంస్మీగా ముపయేమే ఆని చెప్పుచున్నది.

ಮುಮ್ಮದಮ್ಮ ರು|ದಮ ಕ್ರಾರಸವು|ಹಿಯೆ.

శివయోగసారమును ఈ మాటకు విరుద్ధముగా రావుగారు స్వీకరించిన పద్యమును పరీషింతము

ఆకుపిత రుద్రమాంబికకు నాత్మజ నాజౌగడొందు ముమ్మదయ్యకు మహాదేవరాజునకు' [పతాపరు[దుఁడు జన్మించెను.

ఇందున ముమ్మదమ్మ పెంపుడు కూతురు. ఔరసపుౖతి కాదని కంఠో\_క్తిగలేదు. పెంపుడు కూతురనుట రావుగారుచేసివ యూహ. ఏల నట్టి యూహ చేసిరి.

మొదటి కారణము. వారు ముమదమ్మ భర్త మహాదేవుడు, చాళుక్య వీరభ[దుని సోదరుడని నమ్మిరి. మఘదికి రు[దమ్మ కూతురు నెట్లు పెండ్లి చేయఁగలదను శంకతో సీమేను పెంపుడు గూతురు. ఆనుట కాధారముగా వారు ఈ పద్యమును గైకొనిరి.

పద్యమున నట్టి యూహ కవకాశము కలదా?

"నాఁబొగడొందు" అని యుండుటచే రావుగారు వ్యతిరేకము నూహించిరి. కూతురు ఆనుట ఏౌగడ్డ ఆనగా యదా ర్థము కాదు. ఆది ఏొగడ్డయే. ఆది ఏొగడ్డయెట్లుకాఁగలడు ? ఆది జనుల వ్యవహారము కావచ్చును. పెంపుడు కూతురును గాదు. ఆది కేవలము రుండ్రమకు పుణికయేమో యన్నంత ఆభిమానము ముమ్మదమ్మ యందు ఆను నర్థము చెప్పుటకును వీలొసంగు చున్నది గదా !

ఆట్లు చెప్పిన ప్రతాపరు దీయమున**కు**ను ముళుకంటి శాసనమునకు విరుద్ధము. మాప్రక్న పెంపుడు కూతురనుట పౌగ డ్ర యెట్లగును. పెంపుడు కూతురును కూతురనుట లేదా ? పెంపుడు కొడుకును కొడుకనుట లేదా ?

'ఆత్మజ' నాంజను ఆత్మజనా మ్రాప్తుందు' ఆని యున్న రావుగారి యభీష్టము సిద్ధించెనేమో ! ఆంతం యభిమానముతో రుండమ మమ్మదమ్మను బెంచినదని యర్థము గావచ్చును. ఆట్లు గ్రంధమున లేదు. హెగ\_డ్డదేనికి ? ఏదో గుజాతిళయమునకు. దానిని ఉత్పేష్ పమలతో వర్ణించి యుగ్గడింపవచ్చును. పెంపుడు హోవుట వీగుజాతిళయమును సూచించును ? కన్నతలిదం డులు ఆత్మజులను దత్తుఒసంగుదురా ? ఆది బిడ్డలకు గుణాతిళయమును దెచ్చి పెట్టునా ?<sup>1</sup>

శివయోగసారము ముమ్మదమ్మయందు నేదే గుణాతిశయమును చెప్పియుండును.

లో కమున 'తల్లి బాలు బిడ్డ' ఆనుట సహజము. అదియు ఔగ్రెడ్డ్ కాడు, తల్లిగుణపతియైన తప్పం కాక 'ఆదౌర్భాగ్య రాలి కింకెట్టి బిడ్డపుట్టును'ఆనవచ్చును. ఆనగా కారణగుణములు కార్యమునగన నగునని సామాన్యజనుల యు\_క్రియగుటయేకాక తర్క్ శాస్త్రాం) దులొప్పినవియు. కనుక ర్కుదమయందేదో గుణాతిశయమును జెప్పిననది ముమ్మదమ్మకు వచ్చును. ఆగుణాతిశయమే యుగ్గడింపవలసినది. ఆదియే శివయోగసారకారునీ తాత్పార్యమును. ర్వుదమనల్లే ఆత్వడు కేవలము బేరొక్రనలేదు. అనగాం కేవలము 'ర్వుదమాంబికకు నాత్మజనాం బొగతొందు' ఆనలేదు. ఆన్న నింకొక యనర్థము వచ్చును. 'ర్వుదమ' యనిమాత్రమన్న ర్వుదమయందర్వైద గుణమును బ్రహింసించుట యగును. ఆధ్వనిని పరిహరింపవలెను. ఏదో యుద్ధామును జేయు 'ర్వుదమ' నువర్ణించిన ర్వుదమశతృవులను జంపినది యనుట శోఖావహము. ఈ సందర్భ మట్టినిగాదు.

శివయోగసారకవియే 'ఆకుపిత రుద<sup>9</sup>మాంబిక 'యని చెప్పినాడు. కనుక రుద్రమకుం గోపము లేకుండటను చెప్పిన వాడు 'రుద్ర'కుండు రౌద గుణధ్వ నిని పరిహరించుటయేగాక ఆమెయందు శాంతమును ప్రశంసించినాడు. తద్వారా ముమ్మదమ్మ ఆట్టికాణికి కూతురుగాం బౌగ డ్రనందినది ఆన్నాడు. ఆనంగా మమ్ముదమ్మ శాంతగుణమును జూచి జనులు ఈమెకు రౌదగణము కల రుద్రమ్మ జననిగా నోపదు. కోపము లేని రుద్రమయే ఆట్లగును ఆని ప్రశంసించినారు. కవిత్వమున వ్రకో క్తి ధ్వని శోఖా మహములు గదా !

ఇంత దీర్ఘ ముగా జెప్పవలసిన పనియేల ? ఆపద్యమున్న సందర్భమునుసావధానముగఁ జూచిన రావుగారిట్లని యుండరు. ఆ పద్యమునకు తాత్పర్యము 'దండనాయక' మహిమంబులండొరుదే యన్న యదేవురుద<sup>9</sup>దేవుడున్' ఆనుటయే. కావున మమ్ముదమ్మ జౌరసత్వమును గాని తదన్యత్యమును గాని చెప్పుటకవి యుద్దిష్ట విషయమే కాదు.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;భూఖృత్పుతా మహదేవౌఁ పితరెయస్య ప్రిశుతౌ ! ఆని ప్రతాపర్ము దీయము చెప్పును. దీనకి 'రాచకూతురును మహి దేవులు వానికి తల్లిదం[డులుగా ప్రసిద్ధలై యున్నారు' ఆని యర్థము చెప్పవచ్చునా? చెప్పి ఆట్లువారికి 'ప్రసిద్ధియే'గాని యాధా ర్థము కాదు. వారు ప్రతాపర్ముదుని దత్తుతెచ్చుకొన్నారు ఆని వాదించిన వారికి రావుగారి సనూధానమేమి ? కనుకనిట్లు యర్థము చెప్పకవక్త తాత్పర్యమును చూడవలయును.

రావుగారికీ యర్థము ఏల స్ఫురించిన దనఁగా ముమ్మదమ్మ భ\_ర్త మహాదేవుడని చెప్పవలసియుండుట. ఆకాలము వారికి మహాదేవుడు ర్మదహ్మిలి వాడకొక్కడే కనవచ్చియుండుటయు, ఆతఁడును చాళుక్యపీరభ్మదుని సోదరుడుగా వారికి స్ఫురించి యుండుటయు. ఆవాదములను పరీకింతము

్ పతాపరు దుని తండి మహాదేవుడుకాడని 'మహాదేవాజ్ఞాతం' అనుటకర్ధము మహాదేవుని కృపవలన ఆని. అతని తండి మారయ సాహిణియని, ప్రతాపరు దదేవుడు కుమార రు దదేవుడు ఆనంగా భాస్కరామాయణ క రైలందొకండు అని అతండే తన తండి అని 'నిశృంకపీరమారయ కుమార' యని తన్ను నిర్దేశించుకొన్నాండని యొకవాదము బయలుదేరినది. ఈ వాదమునకు కట్ల కాట్లలేవని ఫూరోక్స్ క్రాంసనములటే స్పష్టము గదా ! 'భూభృత్సుతా మహాదేవాకా పితరొయన్య విశ్రతలో' అన్న వాక్యమునం కల్లి మహాదేవ శబ్దము ప్యక్తినామమును చెప్పును. దేవుడని చెప్పురు. 'భూభృత్సుతా' యన్న పార్వతియని యే యర్థము. కనుక పార్వతీ పరమేశ్వరులే ప్రతాపరు దుని జనసీ జనకులు, ఆని కవి చమతాక్కారముగా ప్రతాపరు దుని కుమార సమానునిగా పౌడముగా వచించినాండను వాదముక్క మాటలో నిర స్రమ్మై నేలంగూలును. శివయోగసార పద్యముచే 'ముమ్మదమ్మ కు మహాదేవరాజునకు' ప్రతాపుడు జనించెనని కంట్రోక్రిగ నిర్దమమే. కనుక ప్రహాథకవిత్వాదుల నించూహింపవలసిన పనిలేదుగదా. మనవారికిట్టి చిత్రవాదములేల తోచునో ? పురుషవేషధారులు ఆడవారు ఇంకొక పిల్లను బెండ్లియాడు సందరృములు లోకమున ఐహుదేశముల బహుజనుల కాదరపాల్లములైన కట్టుకథలును నట్టినేకాంబోలు. ముమ్మదమ్మ రుద్దమ్మ వివాహకథనట్టిదేగదా ? శాసనములందు ప్రతాపరుదుండుగో పరిణమించిన కుమార రుద్దదేవుడు కాకతివాండనియున్నది. దానిని గూడ ఖాస్కరూమాయణ కుమారరుద్ద వాదులు లకించి యుందురు. సాహిణి మారయ కాకతీయుడు గాడు గదా !

మహాదేవుడు కాకతీయుడనియే కొ.హ. శర్మగారన్నారు. వారి యభ్మిపాయము ప్రకారమును ఖాస్కర రామాయణ క <u>థ</u>కుమార రుద్రదేవుడు వేఱు ప్రతాపర్మదుడు వేరు ఆనియే. వారివాదమున కా**ధార**ముగా వారు ఎపిగ్మాఫికా కర్నాటిక నుండి ముళ్లకంటి శాసనమును జూపియున్నారు.

'స్పష్ట శ్చాసీత్ బ్రాపథిత మయాశ సాం' 'కాక తీయాఖ్య వంశము' కీ\_ర్తివంతులై న కాక తీయమను పేరుగల వంశ మును స్పజింపబడినది. ఆనియు

> ఆ సీత్పురీ కాకత్యాఖ్యా రాజ్ఞాం, లో కేయశస్విసి ఆంధ్రదేశధరా పద్మమధ్యే కోశవదాస్థితా."

అూజులపురి ఆంధ్రదేశభూమియను పద్మమధ్యముకు కోశమువలె నున్నది. లోకమును గీర్తి కాంచినది. దాని పేరు 'కాకతి' కాకతియనుగా వేజేమో యనుకొనవలదు.

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తంపురీ 'మోదగ' ల్లాఖ్యా ! మవాసీత్ రాజవల్లభః కాకతీయ మహారాజు వంశదుగ్గాబ్ధి చంద్రమాః మహారాజా ఇతిఖ్యాతో రాజా సర్వగుణాన్వితః

ఆ పూరిలో ఓరుగల్లు యనుపేరుగల దానిలో రాజునకు చాలా ్రపీతిపా తుడు కాకతీయ మహారాజ వంశమును శ్రీరసాగరము నకుండు జంగ్రమని వంటివాడు, సర్వగణాన్వితుడు మహాదేవుడను స్థాపసిద్ధుడు నివసించెను.

> "సోపిఉమాం శంభువత్ కన్యా ముమ్మడంబ్బాం మనోరమాం భూధరేం|ద సుతాంస్నిగ్గా ముపఏమే మహామతిః।

తనయొడల బేమ గల రాజకుమారితను మనోహరమైన దానిని ముమ్మదాంబను పార్వతిని శంభుని వలె వివాహామాడెను.

"తస్యామావిరభూ**ల్** త్రీమాన్ మహాదేవణ ౖపతాపవాన్" ప్రతాపరు<sup>9</sup>దరాజా కందర్ప ఇవమూ\_ర్తిమాన్

ఆమెకు శ్రీమంతుఁడు మహాదేవుఁడు ప్రతాపవంతుఁడు మూ\_ర్తి దార్చిన మన్మథుని వంటివాడుఁ ఈ ప్రతాపరుద్రరాజు జనించెను. ఆని యున్నది.

ఈ శాసనము చాలా ముఖ్యము. ఇందున్న విషయములు విమగ్భ సహములు. ఇవియే సత్యములగునేని దీనిచే

ప $^{\circ}$ తాపరుదు $^{\circ}$ ని తండి $^{\circ}$ పేరు మహాదేవుఁడు. తల్లిపేరు ముమ్మదంబ. ఆమె రుద $^{\circ}$ మ కూతురు. పెంవుడు కూతురుగాదు

కావున సాహిణి మారుడు ప<sup>9</sup> ఆాపరుదు<sup>9</sup>ని తండి<sup>9</sup>యన్న వాదము ప్రతాపరుడ్డుని ఖాస్కరామాయణ క <u>ర</u>తుమార చేవుడన్న వాదము నిర\_స్థములగును.

[పతాపరు[దుని తండి కాకతీయుడు .

కావున నతఁడును కాకతీయుడు. ఖాస్కగ రామాయణ కర్త కుమార రుద్రదేవుడు. గాడు. రావుగారి వాద ప్రకారము చాళుక్యుడును గాడు.

శ్వీర్ముగంటి వెంకట కృష్ణయ్య

అతని నివాసము ఓరుగల్లు. రావుగారివాద ప్రకారము నిడుదప్పో స్థిలుపరిపాలకుఁడుగాడు, తద్వాసియు గాడు.

ఇట్లు నకల వాదములకు స్వ స్త్రీయగును. ఇందు విమర్శనహములైన యంశములు-రాజప్పతిపేరు 'పుమ్మ ద్యాంబ' [పతాపరు దీయమును బట్టి ప్రతాపరు దునితల్లి ముమ్మదాంజ. పుమ్మద్యాంబకాదు. ఇదిస్వల్ప భేదముకాదు. "ఉమ్మ ది" 'ముమ్మడి' యొకటియుగాదు దీనికి సమాధానము పుమ్మద్యాంబా యనుట శాసన శిల్పియకరమును జెక్కుటలో స్థాలిత్యము. 'పు' 'కు' 'ము కు' దగ్గఅయే గదా! కాగా రుందమ తల్లికి 'ఉమ్మక్కు' ఆని పేరుగదా! ఆమెకు 'సోమమ్మ' యను పేరు తర్వాతగదా మచ్చినది.

సైవ ఉమాచేతి నిర్దిష్టా సోమాచేతి ్రపధామగాత్ తవమాతా। శివాసాజాత్ దేవోగణపతిঃ పితా" 1-2 నాటక ్రపకరణము.

ఆమెకును ఉమయని నిర్దేశితమయినది. సోమయనియు పేరును బొందెను.

నీకల్లి సాంజాత్తు శివయే, నీతండి గణపతి శివుడు. కనుక ర్ముదమ తల్లిపేరునే కూతురునకుఁ బెట్టిముండవచ్చును. ముమ్మక్క యనియు వ్యవహారముండవచ్చును. ఉమ్మడి, ఇమ్మడి సమానార్ధకములేమో; విచారింపవలెను.

మహాదేవుఁడు కాకతీయమహారాజ వంశ దుగ్గాబ్ధి చంద్రమా ? ఆనంగా కాకతీయ మహారాజ వంశ మను శ్రీ సాగరమునకు చంద్రుడు. దీనికి కొందఱు 'దుగ్గాబ్ది చంద్రుడునంగా శ్రీ కాగరమును పొంగించినవాండే ఆల్లుడయి సంతోషింపజేసిన వాండు. సము ద్రుడు చంద్రునిజూచి పొంగును. కాకతీయ మహారాజ వంశమున కల్లుడయి వారిని సంతోషంపంజేసినవాడే కాని కాకతీయ 'వంశుజుం'డనికాదు అనవచ్చును.

దానికి సమాధానము 'వంశదుగ్దాబ్ధి చం[దమాః' అని శాసనము. కేవలము 'వంశసాగర చం[దమాః।' అని యుండిన మీరు చెప్పిన యర్ధము ఆనగా కేవలము సంతోషింప జేసినవాడు మా[తమే అని చెప్పవచ్చునేమో! ఇందుదుగ్గ్రాబ్ చం[దమాః యని కలదు. శ్రీరాబ్ధిని చం[దుడుదముంచెను. కేవలము సంతోవమును గల్పించువాడు మా[తమే కాదుగదా! కనుక మహాదేవుడు కాకతీయ వంశమున జన్మించినవాడే.

ఈ సిద్ధాంతము మాకును ప్రతిపాద్యమే, విశ్వసనీయమే కాని యీ శాసనమునుబట్టిగాదు. ఈ శాసనము ్రపమాణమే గాదు. ఇది దగుల్బాజీశాసనము. ఇది యున్న 'ఎప్మిగఫియా కర్నాటికా వాల్యూముచూచిన నందు హోద్హాతమునఁగొన్ని యంశము లున్నవి. ఇది శిలాశాసనము గాదు. ఇది **లా**[మ శాసనము. **లా**[మ శాసనముల కంటే శిలా శాసనములెక్కువ విశ్వస సీయములేమో ? మూలశాసనము అన్నయ్యప్ప ఆను వారియొద్ద నుండినది. ఆతడు మూల్పతిని గవర్నమెంటుకేచ్చి యుండలేదు. దాని [పతిని [వాసికొననిచ్చెను. మూలశాసనమిపుడు లబ్దము గాదు. మూలశాసనము నందరి లిపిముంద మున్న గువాని సాహాయ్య మున నీశాసన నిజానిజములు బరీషింప పీలుగాదు. ఆ [పతిని [వాసికొనిళవారు తమకు పరిచయమునగు లిపిలోనే [వాసికొని యుందురుగాని కాకతీయులనాటి లిపియందు [వాసికొని యుండరు. అన్నయ్యప్ప మూలశాసనమును గవర్నమెంటువారికీయ కుండుటయే వానికిని ఈ శాసనము కల్పితము ఆని తెలిసియుండెనని సంశయము కల్పించుచున్నది.

దీనికాలమిందే యీనుయడి యున్న ది.

"ఆంత్రీతే బాణుబాణే భగణితే శకవత్సరే, 5,5,8 = శ. క్రేక్ = ౖకీ. శ. 933 శాకాబ్దే పంచ (5) పంచాశత్ (50) ఉ త్రేష్మశతే గతే (800) = శ. 855 సం[పాప్తే విజయాబ్దేస్మన్ శ్రీ రుద్దనృపతిన్నవ్రయం కుంభే కృష్ణ చతుర్దశ్యాం సంపూజ్య విధివత్ స్వయం.

ళానన కాఅము శకము 855 క్రిస్తుశకము 933 - 34. సరియే. మాఖమున 934 ఫి[బవరి ప్రాంతమే. సంవత్సరము సంఖ్యానామము సరిగనే యున్నది. ఈ వత్సరము, సంఖ్యకాల నిర్ణయము లేఖక ప్రమాదము గాడు. ఆలోచించివేసికొన్నదే. కవి సృష్టముగాం జెప్పినదే.

ఏ శతాబ్దమునను కికి సంవత్సరములకుఁ గాకతీయ [పతాపరు[ద చ[కవ 6] లేఁడు. [కీ.శ. పదియవ శతాబ్దమున శాసన స్థలము కాకతీయ పరిపాలనలో లేదు. ఆ వంశమున నాశతాబ్దిని [పతాపరు[దుఁడను రాజు లేడు. ఉన్నారని యే[పమాణము లేదు. అనుమకొండ ఆ [పాంతముల నుండినదా? ఎఱుక దేవరాజు పూర్వులు పెండిగుండమరాజో, పోరంకియో సిద్ధేశ్వర చర్మిత మును బట్టి స్థలమును లక్కింతము. ఇది మైసూరులో తుముకూరు జిల్లా శివగంగ చెంతనొక య[గహారమునకు సంబంధించిన శాసనము. [పతాపరు[దుడు సైన్యసమేతుఁడై యందేగెనట. అప్పడు శివరా[తీరోజు నీదానము చేసెనట. ఇది తీర్థయా[తా సందర్భ ముననట. ఈ [పాంతము కాకతీయ పరిపాలనము నెప్పుడును ఉన్నట్లు [పమాణములు గానుపింపవు. ఇకే శాసనమునను తీర్థ యూ తను [పతాపరు[దుడు చేసెననుటకాధారములు కన్పింపవు.

శాసనము కొన<sup>ి</sup> మాటలున్నవి. "ఇత్ జ్రీమదనంతపుర ఆగ్రహార [పదాతృ గజపత్ పీరరు[ద రాజకృత శాసన[పత్ లేఖనం నైరంతర<sub>ు,</sub> శుభకరమస్తు.".

శాసనాంతర్భాగమున దాత కాకత్మపతాపర్మదుడు. అంతిమ భాగమున గజపతి వీరర్మడుడు. ప్రతాపర్మదునికి వీర్ ర్ముడుని వ్యవహారముండుట నిజమే. కాని అతనికి గజపతి యని పేరున్నట్లు కాన్పింపదు. ఆ విరుదము కాకతీయులకున్నట్లు ఎక్కడను ప్రమాణము లేదు. గజపతి, నరపతి, హయపతి యనువాదము తురుష్క పాలనము ప్రారంభించిన తర్వాత. కవీలేంద్ర గజపతియే మొదటి గజపతియేమో? ఆతడు ప్రతాపర్మదుననంతరము ఓరుగల్లను బట్టుకొనినట్లు ప్రమాది మాఘమున నౌక శాసనమున్నది. (తెలంగానా శాసనములు Vol-I, ఇతర శాసనములలో, మొదటివి) (కనుక నా కాలము క్రీ.శ. 1840 ఫిబ్రవరి ప్రాంతమగును) తర్వాత అప్పటికీ వీరుర్మదగజపతి లేడు. తర్వాత ప్రతాపర్మదగజపతి యొక్కడు. అకడు కృష్ణదేవరాయల సమకాలికుడు. పదునాఱన శతాబ్ది ప్రారంభమున నున్నవాడు. కృష్ణదేవరాయలటే జితుడు. అకడీ ప్రాంతములకు వచ్చెనని (తీర్థమాత్రలకైనను) ప్రమాణము లేదు. వచ్చియుండినను ఆతకడు ఉత్కశరాజ గజపతి వంశీకుడు, కాకతీయుడు గాడు. ఆశనికి 'వీరర్ముద' వ్యవహారము లేదు. అకని కుమారుడు 'వీరర్ముద గజపతి', ('వీరభ్యద గజపతి'యనియు నౌక వ్యవహారము) యున్నాడు. కృష్ణరాయులకడ నతుడు ప్రమాణములకు చేసిన సంధి పాలించుననుటకు హామిగానున్నవాడు. ఆకడు తీర్థయాత్రలకిందు వచ్చియుండెనేమో ? కాని యాతకడు కాకతీయుడు కాడు! ఆ కాలము పదునాఱన శతాబ్ది కదా! ఈ శాననమా పదియన శతాబ్ధి యని, కాకతీయ వంశమని, రాజు ముమ్మదంబా మహాదేవరాజుల కొడుకని చెప్పుచున్నది.

కనుక నీ శాసనము కేవలము కల్పితము. తప్పుడు శాసనము. అగ్రహారదానము కాపాడుకొన నొక యోగ్యుడు కల్పించి ఇంగ్లీషు దొరలకు నివేదించినట్లన్నది. ఆతడు '్రపతాపక్కుదీయమును' జనివి కాకత్రిపతాపర్కుదని కథను విన్నవాడే. కాకతి వంశము గజపతి వంశము భిన్నములని యాతఁడెరిగియుండఁడు. కింవదంతిని బట్టి యాతనికి దాతయొక పీరర్కుద గజపతి యని తెలిసియుండును. ర్రపతాపర్ష దీయమును జదివియున్నాడు గనుక ఆ కథను దీనికి ముడిపెట్టి యుండును. కాల విషయమున హొరపాటు తప్పదు. కాని ఈ కథ '్రపతాపర్షుదీయము' నెట్లితరులర్గము చేసికొనిరో తెలియ నగును.

కాని ప్రాంపర్యుని చర్తకు నీశాననమును ప్రమాణముగా గైకొనూడు. ఆగుఁగాక! ఈ విషయమును పదలుదము. చి. పీకళ్రవాపుగారి వాదమునకుఁ బోదము. చాళుక్య మహివేపుని కథకుఁ బోదము. ఆ మహిదేపుని సంతతి శాసనములలో గన్పించును. ఆకఁడే ప్రతాపరుట్టుని తండి, ముమ్మదమ్మ భర్త మనుబకు రావుగాని కాళాతములు నొక్కక్కడానిని పరిశీ లింతము. ఆతనికి చ్రవ\_ర్తియను వృవహాతము కలదు చ్రవ రైనికి జామాత, చ్రవ రైకిం దండియగుటచేతనే ఆ వృవహాత మును జనులొప్పుకున్నారు. చ్రవ్రైని కితఁడు జామాతయు యను విషయయే మనకు చర్చాంశము. ఇతని యన్నయని వీరభ్దరావుగారను బాళుక్య వీరభ్రడుడు ర్వద్రము భర్త యను విషయమునందతొప్పుకొని యున్నారు. ఆయన సంగతి జూతము. ఆయనకు సంబంధించిన శాసనములు 1) జ్రాత్రిగ శాసనము 2) శ్రీరామ శాసనము 3) కొలనుపాక శాసనము. జుత్రిగ శాసనమును వేయించిన దౌక యమాత్యుడు. విష్ణుకవి పేరు. తన తల్లికింది బుణ్యమునకు గానతడు దానము చేసినాడు. ఆ శాసనము S.I. Inscriptions Vol. X నంగ 360 తణుకు తాలూకా జుత్రిగ యందున్నది. కాలము శ. 1181 = ట్రీ.శ. 1159. ఆప్పటికి గణపతి యున్నాడు. ర్వదమయు, గణపతియు రాజ్యమేలుచున్నారు. ఆ శాసనముందున్నది ఇది

త్రిమతాం/-కతి వల్లభాద్గణపతి షోణిశ చూడాచుణేం జాతారాజ్యరమేవ, రుద్రమ మహాదేపీ సురూపాన్వితా తాం సౌభాగ్య బలాదుదూహ్య విధివత్ చాశుక్య వంశా[గణి ధా]తీఖార ధురంధరో విజయతే శ్రీపీరభ[దేశ్వరం ॥

ఇతఁడు చాళుక్యుడే. చౖకవ\_రైకి జామాత. చౖకవ\_రైని భ\_రై. స్పష్టముగా నామాట యందున్నది. కాని యితఁడు నిదురౖపోలి పరిపాలకుఁడనిగాని, చౖకవ\_రైయనిగాని లేదు. ఇతని స్వవంళము వారికీ రైన మిందులేదు. ఇతఁడు ధాౖతీఖార ధురంధరుఁడు 'విజయతే' ఆఁనగా నప్పటికి జీవించియున్నాడు.

శ్రీ కాలము శాసనము South Indian Inscriptions Vol. 5, నం. 122, పేయించినది ఉదయ మహాదేవి. కాలము శ. 1188 = ్రీ.శ. 1266 ఇందు పీరభ్రదష్టిత్యనికి పుణ్యమునకుగాను ఆతని తల్లి పేయించినది. ఇందు పీరభ్రదుని తండ్రి ఇందు శేఖరుడని, తల్లి ఉదయాంచికయని కలదు. కొడుకు పుణ్యమునకుగాను తల్లి పేయించినదిగాపున నతఁడు మరణించి యుండవచ్చును.

ఇందును వీరభ్నదుడు నిదుర్పోలి పాలకుడని లేదు. చ్రకవ\_ర్తి పద్వ్యవహారమును లేదు. తనకితర సంతానమున్న దనియు లేదు.

కాలనుపాక శాసనము (తెలంగానా శాశనములు-1 సంపుటము నంగ 25) పేయించిది ఇందుశేఖరుని సైన్య నాయ కులు. దీని కాలము ప్రమాది మకరసంక్షమణము యనఁగా 1279-80 యగును. మకర సంక్షమణము ్రి.శ. 1250 జనచరిలో వచ్చును. పేయించిన స్థలమును కొలనిపాక-తెలంగాణము.

ఈ శాసనమునుబట్టి రావుగారు చాలా పెద్ద విషయము నూహించినారు. ఇందుశేఖరునికి వీరభ్యడు పెద్ద కొమారు, డని. పరిశీలింకుగా నిందు వీరభ్యు డిందుశేఖరుని కొమారుడనియే లేదు. ఇందు మొదలు కాకతివంశ [పస్తావము 'అజనిషత తుజు ర్భూతుజో దుగ్జమాఖ్యం వంశేతేషా మథువన్ కాకతీమా నరేం[దాణ'. ఇక్షపోల, మహాదేవ, గణపతి, రుందమల [పస్తావము కలదు. తర్వాత 'భాగై్యం విశ్వస్య తస్మాం పతిరభవదధో వీరభ్యాభిధానం జ్యేష్యం హశార్డు'.... తరువాతి యశరములు గానరాక ఆ పై పు శాసనముంతటితో ముగిసినవి. తరువాతి పెపు

యర్య్ తేజాన్ఫూ రై పీరై: ఆగినృపతితమస్సం చయె: రాశు యాతం

ఇందుగల 'జ్యేష్' శబ్దమునుబట్టి వీరఖ్దుడిందు శేఖరు ని కుమారులలో బెద్దవాడని రావుగారూపొంచినారు. ముందు చాశుక్య వంశ ప్రశంస తండ్రి ప్రశంస ఆకని కుమారుల ప్రశంసలేనప్పుడు 'జ్యేష్' శబ్దము కుమారులలో జ్యేష్త్వమను జెప్పునా ? ఆకడెవరి కుమారులలో డెద్దవాడని చెప్పుగలము. చాకుక్య వంశార్డ్ల......ఆను నష్రములుబట్టి చాశుక్యవంశార్డ్లవమున ఆనగా కుమారులలో జ్యేష్యడని యూహింపుగూడునా ? 'జ్యేష్ణి' శబ్ద మిందు విశేషణముగార్ బ్రయ్ క్రమయినదిం

'వంశార్హ్'.... ఆను నక్రముల తరువాతి వాక్యమును బంధుపులను జెప్పునదిగాక ఎవరి పూ్రకమమునో చెఫ్పు చున్నది. ఇందు శేఖకుని [పస్తావన లేకున్న జ్యేష్కుమారత్వమును చెప్పలేదేమి యును మాటయేరాదు. తర్వాత

లక్కాం బాయాం సుతోజాతః శ్రీమహిదేవరాజతః నామ్నా ఇందు శేఖరో రాజకుమార

యని కలదు. మహిచేవరాజునకు లక్కాంబకు ఇందు శేఖరుడను కుమారుడు పుట్టినాడఁని యున్నది. ఆతని పరార్థమ వర్ణనములున్నవి. ఇందుశేఖరుని భార్య పేఠుగాని, ఇందు శేఖరునికి వీరభ్రదుఁడు కొడుకని గాని, ఇతర కుమారులున్నారని గాని లేదు.

ఆమున నిందు 'ఇందుశేఖర వరేంద్ర నందనే నందతి స్వయ మశేషనందనే' ఆని కలదు. దానిని బట్టి 'ఇందు శేఖర నరేంద్ర నందనే' ఆనంగా 'నింమశేఖర కాజశుమామం డానువించుచుండంగా' ఆనునర్థము దీసినట్లున్నారు. దానికి ముందిందు శేఖమనికి కుమారులున్వారని చెప్పిననట్లును ఆర్థము చెప్పవచ్చును. ఆట్లు చెప్పియుండనందున నా యర్థము హొనంగదు. 'ఇందు శేఖరు తను నేంద్ర నుదముడు' అనియే ఆర్థము చెప్పనగును. శాసన పూర్వ భాగమున 'శామ్నా ఇందు శేఖరో రాజకుమార' యని యన్మారు గదా! వ్యస్తముగా పై జెప్పిన దానినే నమ్మ పదముగా "ఇందు శేఖర నరేందనందనే" అని ్రకిందుగా జెప్పినారు.

ాంగాన కడపటి ఖాగమున:

త్రీనామ సాధన్యతా చ న వృత్తిహేతు: మీరేందు శేఖక **న** రా ధివ శేఖరేణు బాశుక<sub>్జ్</sub> వంశమణి నా <mark>చ్</mark>తిపాది**తా సా** 

ిపీరేందు శేఖరు నిచే తమకు శ్రీ మ్రిపితిపాదింపఁబడిన దనియు ననబడియున్నది. ఇందుశేఖరుని బంట్లు తమకీ సిరినిచ్చిన దతఁడని - న్మ ించినాారు.

ఇందు పీరభ్యడు చాళుక్యుడని మాత్రమే చెప్పబడిఁనది. ఆతని వంశ ప్రస్తావనమే లేదు. తలిదండులు సోదరులు ఎవ్వరి సంగతియు నిందుగనము. దీనిని బట్టి రావుగారతని కితర సోదరులున్నారని, ఆతడు పెద్దమమారుడని ఎట్లు చెప్పగల్గికో? ఆతని తలిదండుల పేర్లిందు గాననావు. ఆతడు రుద్దమను పెండ్లియగుట ఇందు గలదు. కనుక నిందుచే మహోదేవునికి పీరభ్యనికి సంబంధమును, మహోదేవుని కనిష్ఠ కుమారత్వమును గాని పీరభ్యని జ్యేష్ఠ కుమారత్వమును గాని యూహింపఁగాదు. ఈ శాసనముచే మహోదేవునికి పీరభ్యనికే సంబంధమును జెప్పఁగాదు.

అంతేగాడు. కనవచ్చిన వీరభ్రద సంబంధి శాసనములచే నతనికిని నిడుద్రపోలి పాలకత్వమును జెప్పలేము. ఆతని నిడుద్రపోలి చాళుక్య వంశత్వమును జెప్పలేము. నిడుద్రపోలి యింటిపేరు గూడ నతనికిఁ జెప్పగాడు. దేనియందును నిడుద్రపోలియను మాటయే లేదు. 'నిడుద్రపోలి' పీరభ్రదుడన్నను నిడుద్రపోలి యందొక్క చాళుక్య కుటుంబమే యున్నట్లు చెప్ప నగునా ?

మహాదేపుని గూర్చిన శాసనములఁ ఐరిశీలింతము

South Indian Inscriptions Vol. X నంగి 348 జుత్రిగ శాసనము. కాలము శ. 1177=[కి.శ. 1255 ఆప్పుడు గణపతి రుద్దమలున్నారు. పీఠభద్ధుడున్నాడు, వేయించినవారు మహిదేవుని బంట్లు బండారు కొండనాయకుడును ఆతని కొడుకు పీరభద్ధ నాయకుడును. వేయించినది విష్ణవర్థన మహిరాజులైన వారికొఱకే. ఆనగా చాకుక్యుల కొఱకే వేముంచినది.

• ఉందగంటి వెంకట కృష్ణయ్య

'రామేక్వర మహాదేవరకుం మహాదేవ చ్చకవ**్ర**'కి ధర్మువుగా వేయించినారు. ఈ కాలమున ముమ్మదమ్మ జీవించి. యున్నవి. రుద్దమ కౌరసపుట్రుడు మల్కాపర శాసనమన నిర్దిష్టుడున్నాడు.

ఈ శాసనమున మహిదేవుడు నిదుర్జూలి వాడఁనిగాని పరిపాలకుడనిగాని లేదు. ఆతని భార్య ముమ్మదమ్మ యని లేదు. వీరభ్దుని మండ్రి ఆతఁడు చక్రవ\_రి యట్లఁడని [కి. 1259లో చెప్పినాడుగాని మహాదేవుని బంట్లు చెప్పరు.

ఒకటి రెండు శాసనములఁ దప్ప గణపతికి చ[కవ\_ర్తి పదవ్యవహీరము లేదు. త్రీమన్మ హామండలేశ్వర బిరుదమే. రుద్రమ శాసనములందు రుట్రదేవియోకాక త్రీకాకతి రుట్రదేవ మహానాజులో త్రీ ప్రతాపరుట్రునికిని త్రీ కాకతిరుట్రదేవ మహా రాజులు ఆనియే వ్యవహారము. వారెవరికిలేని 'చ[కవ\_రి' పదమును ఆ రాజు కుటుంబ సంబంధముచే నితనికి వాడియుండుట యు\_క్రిసహమగు సూహయేనా ?

రావుగారి వాదము బొప్పున ఆన్నయగు వీరభ్యడు చ్రక్ష ద్రి జామాత, చ్రక్ష ద్రిని భ్రత్త యా శాననమునాటికి [బతికియున్నాడు. ఆత్రును తగిలించుకొనని యా 'స్రక్ష ద్రి' పదము రాజకుటుంబ సంబంధముచేతనూ ఇతనికి దగిలించు ఇడినది. ఇది ఆన్న [బతికియుండగా భావ్యమేనా?'చ్రక్ష ద్రి' పదవ్యవహారమునకు రాచకుటుంబము బాంధవ్యమునకు ఏ యనుబంధము లేదు. ఆ సంపుటమునందే నం॥ 949 శాసనము జూడుడు-న్స్పురము తాలూకా ఆచంటలోనిది. కాలము శ. 1177 — [కి. 1255. దీనియందు-'ఏమ్జవర్ధన మహారాజులైన విజయాదిత్య స్థక్ష ద్రి తమ కూతురైన మైలారదేవిని 'ఆసంటె సూతపరాజున'కిచ్చినాడని. కలదు. ఇత్రకును చాకుక్యుడే. ఈ శాసనమును పై శాసనము నోక్కటియే. ఇందొక 'చ్రక్ష ద్రి' ఈ విజయాదిత్యునికిని. 'స్టక్ష ద్రి' వ్యవహారముచే రాజకుటుంబ సంబంధమను జెప్పగలమా ? ఆ సంబంధమేమి ?

## S.I. Inscriptions Vol. IV నంబరు 112 కాలము |కి. శ. 1099

-- ,, -- 118 విష్ణవర్ధన మహారాజు..... కాలము [కి.శ. 1124 పినియందు

ఇల్లపాదేవ ద<sub>్</sub>కవ\_ర్తియు నితని కుమారుడు ఖీమదేవ ద<sub>్</sub>కవ\_ర్తియుఁ గనవచ్చుచున్నారు. పీరే ద<sub>్</sub>కవ\_ర్తి జామాతలు ? పే ద్<sub></sub>కవ\_ర్తి తండ్రులు ?

ఆదే సంపుటితో ను. 141 కాలము శ. 1181 = క్రి. శ. 1259 నాక విష్ణువర్గన మహారాజు ఉపేంద్ర చక్రవ ర్తి యొక్కడున్నాడు. గణపతి చక్రవ ర్తి, రుద్రమ, వీరక్డ్రుడు త్రీ రుద్రవేవుడు జీవించియున్న కాలమే. వారి కీయాపేంద్రదుని కేమి. సంబంధము ? ఈయన ఎవరి జామాత ? ఎవరి భర్తలు ? ఎవరి దత్తులు ?

ఆ సంపుటిలో నం. 147 కాబము శ. 1222 = ౖకీ. శ. 1800 శ్రీ ౖ పతాప రుౖదుని రాజ్యకాలము. ఇందును విష్ణవర్ధన మహోరాజులే. విష్ణవర్ధన చ[కవ\_రైయు నితని కుమారుడు. తోలేటి ఇందుశేఖర చ[కవ\_రైయు గనవచ్చుచున్నాడు. పిరెవరికి జామాతలు ? ఏ చ[కవ\_రైకిందం[డులు ?

'తోలేటి' యనుటను లక్షింపుడు. ఆది మొదట ౖగామనామ మేగదా! ఇది యింటిపేరై నిడుదౖబౌలు మహాదేవ స్క్రమ \_2లోని నిడుదౖబౌలు యింటి పేరు గాకుండునా ?

ఈ కాలమునకు ముందును ఈ శాసన వత్సరమునను తరువాతి కాలమునను రాపుగారుదాహరించు పిన ఉదయ మహాదేవి శాసనములు ఇవి. ఇంతకు ముందును, బాల పూర్వమే చ[కవర్తులుగాకున్నను 'చ[కవ\_తి' పదమును నామమున వ్యవ హారించుకొన్న విష్ణువర్గనులున్నారు.

> ఆ సంపుటిలో నం. 90 కాలము శ. 1099 = 1177 మంజ్రవేవ చ[కవ\_ర్ నం. 91 శ. 1098 = 1176 ,. నం. 93 శ. 1145 = 1222 ఉదయ చం[దదేవ చ[కవ\_ర్

పీరెవ్వరి కెవ్వరు ఏ విధమయిన రాజ కుటుంబ బాంధవ్యమును తదనుగుణముగ 'చ[కవ\_రై' పదవ్యవహారమును జెప్పగలరు ? కనుక సీ పదవ్యవహారము నట్టి బంధుత్వమును జెప్పదు. ఆది నామాంతర్భాగమే 'కుమారస్వామి రాజు' ఏ యూకికి రాజుగాడు. ఏ యుపేందు. డే యిందునికిందమ్ము డును గాడు.

దీనిచే రావుగారన్నట్లు 'మహాదేవ స్థకవ ౖ'ని ముమ్మదమ్మకు భ ౖరౖగను ౖబ్రాంపరుౖదుని తంౖడిగను జేయుటకు మనకు శ ౖక్షి చాలదు.

S. I. Inscriptions Vol. X నం. 481 తణుకు తాలూకా మల్లిపూడి శాసనము కాలము శక 1219 = ్రీ. శ. 1297. దీనిని పేయించినవారు 'మహాదేవ షితీశాత్మజులైన విష్ణవర్ధన మహారాజులైన' [పిథిపీవల్లభదేవ కుమారులుగారు. తాము నిడుద్రోలి వారమనిగాని స్థకవర్తుల మనిగాని యీయన చెప్పుకొనలేదు. రావుగారు [పశంసించు "నిడుద్రోలి మహా దేవుడు" తప్ప నీ కాలమున శాసనములో పేతొక్క చాశుక్య మహాదేవుడు గానరాడు. ఈ శాసనమున నుదాహృతుం డతండే

యయయండ నోపును. ఇందు మహాదేవునికి "నిదుర్మాలేక్వము"గాని "స్కకవర్తి"త్వము గాని లేదు. రావుగారి వాదము ప్రకార మిత్య ప్రతాపుని తమ్ముడో అధమ పక్షమున సవతి తమ్ముడో కావలెను. అట్లిత్యు చెప్పుకొన్యు. ముమ్మదమ్మను గాకున్నను ఎవతెను తనదల్లి యనడు. కడకు తనకు 'స్కకవర్తి' పదమును గాకున్న మహారాజ పదమును వాడుకొన్యు. కావున మహాదేపునికిప్పటికి ఏ శాసనముచేతను కాకతి సంబంధం గాని, నిడుద్మాలి రాజత్యముగాని ముమ్మదమ్మ భ్రృత్వమునుగాని ఏర్పడలేదు.

రావుగారి విషయముల నొకరీతి నూహించిరేమో ?

కుటుంబము 1 కుటుంబము 2 కుటుంబము 3 బాకుక్య మహాదేవుడు = లక్కాంబ బాకుక్య ఇందు శేఖరుడు = ఉదయాంబిక బాకుక్య పీరభ[దుడు = రుద్రమ దుద్రదేవి = ముమ్మదమ్మ = రుయ్యమ

> I ఈ మహిచేవుడు దాళుక్య మహిదేవుని మనుముడుగా నుండవలెను. కాకున్న ఆతనికి మహిదేవుడ**ని** యేల పెట్టుకొన్నారు ? ఆనివాదము.

II కుటు౦బము వారు నిడుద<sub>్</sub>పోలి <sub>[</sub>పరువులో కాదో

III మహావేపుని ఖార్య పేరు తెలియదు. తెలిదంౖడుల పేరులు తెలియవు.

కాని మొదటి కుటుంబమున నౌక ఉదయమహాదేవి యున్నది. ఆమె వేరే రెండవ కుటుంబము వారింట నున్నది. కావున మహాదేవుని మనుమడు మహాదేవుడు కావలసినట్లు ఉదయాంబకు ఉదయాంబ మనుమూలు గావలెను.

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ఇంతయూ ఊహ. కానిండు. ఈ యూహైపై బహ్మాండ సౌధమును లేవదీసినారు. ఇంకను జూతము.

ఒక కుటుంఖమున వీరభ దుడు రు(దమ ఖార్యాభ <u>ర</u>లుగ ప**్ణికు**లైనారు. ఎవరికి ఏల సిగ్గ వచ్చినదో ఐంట్లుగాని, తండిగాని, కొడుకుగాని, కుమారితగాని కాకతీయ కుటుంబ సంబంధ మును చెప్పుకొనరే.

కుటుంబ ఉదయ మహాదేవి శాసనములు

S.I. Inscriptions Vol. 5లో నంగ 125 శాసనము కాలము శ. 1218=ౖ క్రీ.శ. 1294.

నిడుద బ్రోలి మహాదేవ ద్రకవైం కూతురు ఉదయ మహాదేవి తన ఖర్త కోనగణపతి దేవుని పుణ్యమునకు పేయించి నది. "నిదుర బ్రోలి" ఆనగా మహారాజత్వము చెప్పదని 'స్రకవైం' యనగానే రాజకుటుంబ సంబంధి కాడని నిరూపించి యున్నాము. ఇంకనొక విశేషము. శాసనమును పేయించినది ఉదయమహాదేవియే, పిన ఉదయ మహాదేవికాదు. ఆదేసంపుటి 127 శాసనము శ. 1122 కి.శ. 1300. ఇదిపేయించినది "మహాదేవ చక్రవైం కూతురు ఉదయ మహాదేవి" 'నిదుర బ్రోలి' విశోషణము మహాదేవుని కెగిరిపోయినది.

ఆందేసంపుటి 124 కాలము శ. 1228= క్రి.శ. 1806 వేయించినది 'నిడుద[హోల్' మహాదేవే 'స[కవర్తి' కూతురు పిన ఉదయ మహాదేవి.

ఇదివఱకులేని 'పిన' యీమెకొప్పుడు వచ్చినది? మహాదేవునికి 'నిడుద[హోలి' త్వమునుచాలునాం? దాశుక్యపీరభ్యదేశ్వరుని తల్లిని మహాదేవుని తల్లినిజేయుటకు ఇదిచాలనా ? ఈ రెండు కుటుంఖములకు సంఖంధమున్నట్లు ఆ రెండవ కుటుంఖమువారును చెప్పుకొనరే?

సామ్యమును అట్టి తాత మనుమలని ఆవ్వ మనుమరాండ్రని యూహించియూ చర్మితముననింత సౌధమను లేవ నెత్తుట. ఇకకోన వారి సంబంధముచే వీరభ్యడు మహిదేవుడు సోదరులని యూహింతురేమో?

S.I. Inscriptions Vol. X నం.281 శాసనము శ. 1196= కి.శ. 1284

దీనిలో కోనమీముని పత్ని ఆన్నమాంబ. ఆమెనోదరుడు చాళుక్య పీరభ్నదుడు. మీమాన్న మాంబ కొమారుడు గణపతీ ఆతని పత్ని మహాచేపుని కూతురు. ఇంతమాత్రము చేత పీరభ్నదమహాదేపులే కోదరులనియెట్లు నిర్ణయముకాగలదు? వారిరుపురును ఛిన్న కుటుంబముల వారేల కాకూడదు?

## సారాంశము

బాళుక్య పీరభ్యనికెని పీరభ్ర కుటుంబమున తాతలవృత, తల్లిదం[డుల పేర్లు తన పేరు, భార్యపేరులు, కుమారుల, కుమారైల పేర్లకు [పబల శాసనాద్యాధార ములు కలపు. రాజకుటుంబ సంబంధము సృష్ణము. చాళుకృ మహాదేపునికి సౌదర్యము చెప్పగాదు మహాదేపుని కొమారుడు కూతురు ఈ మూడు పేర్లే తెలియును. ఎందును కంఠో కిగ ముమ్మదంబ భర్త ఈ మహాదేపు

ఎందును కంఠో క్రిగ ముమ్మదంబ భర్త ఈ మహాదేవు డనిగాని బ్రహుతాపర్ముదుండితని కుమారుండనిగాని ఏశాసనము లందును చెప్పలేదు.

ఈ చాళుక్య కుటుంబములొక్క చేయని యూహకాధారము ఈ మాహిదేవుడు ముమ్మదమ్మ భర్తయనియూహించుటకు. దానికై మహిదేవుడు వీరభ్యని తమ్ముడని యూహచేసి, ఆ యూహిలలో పెండ్లి వరుసలు సరిచేయ ముమ్మదమ్మను పెంపుడు కూతురును చేయుట ఊహదప్ప నిందీ సిద్ధాంతమునకు శాసనాధారము గాని గంద్రాధారముగాని విశ్వాస్వమైనది లేదు. ఇట్లు రావు గారి వాదమును నిరస్తమనిగాని మహిదేవుడు కాకతీయుడని వేఱితరుడనిగాని ఎట్లు నిరూపించుట?

వాదమనకు పీరళ్రద మహిదేవులే కోదరులని ఒప్పుకొన్నను ముమ్మదమ్మ రు్దమ కౌరస పుట్రియని నిరూపించిత్మి గాన నీ మహిదేవుఁడే మమ్మదమ్మ భర్తయను వాదము చెల్లధు. పిల్లను చిన్నాయనకి యరుగదా:

మాయఖ్రపాయము మహాదేవుఁడు కాకతీయుఁడనియే. ఆ వాదమును పరిశీలింతము

మహేదేవుడు కాకతీయుఁడని కంఠోక్తిగనే శాసనమునను లేదు. గ్రంథములందు నఁతడు ముమ్మదమ్మను పెండ్లీ యాడినప్లే గాని ఆతని కాకతీయ వంశ్యత్వము నెవరును జూపినారు గారు. మఱిమెట్లు?-ఆనఁగా గొన్ని శాసనములందు ఁగాకతీయ [పశువులకు దాయాద కుటుంఖములున్నట్లు ఁగాన వచ్చుచున్నది గదా! S.I. Inscriptions Vol. X నం. 254 త్రిపురాంతక శాసనము కాలము శ.క. 1131= క్రి.శ. 1209. దీనిని మేశాంబిక వేయించి నది. మేశాంబిక గణపతి సోదరి. నాతవాటి బుద్ధరాజు రెండవ కుమారుఁడు ఎక్కటిమల్ల రుద్రుని ఖార్య. ఇందు కాకతీయ వంశ మశ్రీ శాసన ప్రారంభమునఁగలదు.

బ్రోలూజును వర్ణించిన తర్వాత

"తస్యాథద్వా పభూతాం, హరి హర గణపత్యాదిభి: బాతృమంతా, పుట్రారుదాభిధాన షితిపతి తిలక ణి మహాదేవ భూహె"

ఆతనికి కిద్దరు పుత్రులు, హరిహార గణపత్యాదులు, సోదరులు గాఁగల వారు.

రుద్రండను పేరుగల రాజతిలకుడును, త్రీమహాదేవరాజును పుట్టిరి. కనుక ౖహోలరాజు కుమారులు రుద్రుడు, మహా దేవుడు, హారిహారుడు, గణపతి, ఇతరులును. రుద్రునికి సంతతిలేదు. మహోదేవుని సంతతియే గద గణపతి? గణపతి కూతురులు రుద్రమ గణపమలు. హారిహారునికి గణపతికి నితరులకును సంతతి యున్నారని గాని లేరని గాని ఆశాసనము చెప్పదు. కనక యిందరు ఆని చెప్పలేము గదా:

ఈ సందర్భమున గాథలలో నౌక్కడానిని విమర్శించిన జాగా. ర్వదమరాజ్యము నధిష్టించినది. ముమ్మదమ్మకు విడ్డలుతోని కతమున వాణిద్దరును మొగిలిచర్లకు ఏకపీరాదేవినిఁగొలువబోయి యుండఁగా ఓరుగల్లు కోటను హరిహరుడును మురారి దేవుడు నా[కమించిరట. రుందమ్మ వచ్చి ఉపాయమునఁగోటలో [బవేశించి వారిరువుని బట్టించి ఆలంగొట్టించినదుట.

ఈ హారిహారుడెవఁడు? ఏలరాజ్యము గావలెననునాళ ఆకనికి వచ్చెను? వచ్చినను జనులు తన్ను బలపరుతురినియా తన కును రాజ్యమునకు హక్కుగలదనియో కాఠణముండవలయును. మహాదేవుని తమ్మలలో నౌక హరిహరుడున్నాడు. వానికి మనుమడు హరిహరడున్నాడు. ఆనిదీనిచే నూహింపవచ్చును గదా! తాతపేరు మనుమని కిడవచ్చునను లోకరీతిచేత ఆపుడ తఁడుఁకాకతీయుండును నేను. రుద్దమ యన్మగోత్ర. రాజ్యమున నాకే ఎక్కువ హక్కులని ఖావించియుండవచ్చును. కనుక రాద్రమ లేమియు ఆమె కుమారుడు రుద్రదేవుడు నూరిలేకుండటయుండూచికొని ఆత్వడు కోటన్మాకమించు కొనియుండుట ఖావ్యమేగదా! ఆతనికి తోడైన వాడు మురారి. ఇట్టి వాడొకడున్నాండని శాసన్మపామాజ్యము కలదు. S.I. Inscriptions Vol. X నం. 829 శాననము. దీనిగాలము శ.క. 1172=[కీ.శ. 1250 'దీనిలో' కొండపడమటి మురారి గణపతి దేవమహారాజు న్నాడని యున్నది. కనుక నీగాథ సత్యత్వమును మనము చెప్పక పోయినను దాయాదులు కాకతీయరాజుల కుండినారనియూహ కెడమిచ్చుచున్నది.

శర్మగారు మాపించిన ప్రమాణము కంచి ఏక్పామనాధ శాసనము. శక 1172= కి.శ. 1250 దీనిలో ర్మడుని వర్ణించిన తరువాత 'తదనుజగణు ముఖ్య్మిశ్రీ మహదేవరాజు తపనకుల సమ్ముదాద్వాదృశః పారిజాతః, ఆంని కలదు. మహా దేవరాజు రు[దుని యనుజగణమున ముఖ్యుడు. ఆనగా రు[దమహదేపులు కాక, వీరి కొక యనుజగణము గణశబ్దముచే ముఫ్వరైన నుండి యుండవలెనని హల్ట్జ్ దొరగారూహించిరని శర్మగారు దెల్పియొన్నారు. వారికి సంతతియుండవచ్చును.

తెలంగాణా శాసనము 1 సంపుటము నం. 31 పమ్మి శాసనము దాని కాలము శక 1156 దుర్మిఖ ్రి.శ. 1256 ఆంగను. దానిలో 'కాకతీయ గణం రుద్దేవ మహాూజులు పృధివీరాజృం చేయుచుండంగాను" ఆనికలదు. ఆకాలమున రాజ్మమా చేయుచుండినని గణపతిదేవుడు. మొదటి రుదుడంతకు ముందు నలువది ఏండ్లకు ముందు గతించినాడు.

ఈ గణం రుడ్డేపుని కాలమున కిరువది యేండ్లకు పైబబడిన తర్వాత గాని 'రుడ్డమ' 'రుడ్డేవ మహారాజు' ఆని లేదు గానుక సీఈడు కాకతీయ గణం వాడే' గాని కేవల రాజవంశమునవాడు గాడు. 'గణం' ఆనుటయే ఆట్టిదానిని పెల్లడించుచున్న ది మొదటి రుడ్డుడు సాట్మాజ్య కర్త. ఆతని పరాక్షమాతిశయము లెంత గాఢపు టాదరమును వెంచినవో గణపతి తన కూతురును రుడ్డమ' యన్నాడు. దండి9పేర 'మహాదేవి' యనలేదు. ఆట్లే 'రుడ్డమ' తనకొడుకును రుద్దేవుడున్నది. తనమనుమనికి ప్రతాపరుద9డని పేవు పెట్టినది. ఆప్లే హారిహర గణపత్యాదుల శాఖల వారును తమ తమ కుమారులకు 'రుద9' నామ మిడుటలో నందేహము లేదు.

అర్లే యాదాయాద కుటుంబములలో మహాదేవ నామముండుటకు పీలున్నది గదా! బాళుక్య మహాదేవుడు ముమ్మ దమ్మ భర్త యనువాదము నిదివఱశే పరిహరించియున్నాము. ఈ మహాదేవుడు ఆకాలపు రాజవంశములలో నౌకరింటను బుట్టి నట్లు లేదు ఆ నాటి రాజవంశములు నాఠవాటివారు, కొండపడమటివారు, కోటవారు వెలనాంటియోధుడు జాయవ సంతతివారు కోన వారు వీరందరి శాసనములు, ఆ కాలమునాటివి లభ్యమగుచున్నవి. ఒక్క బోటను ఈ మహాదేవ ప్రస్తావమునట్లు కాని పించదు. చక్కవిస్తి ని తన కూతురును సామంతరాజ కుటుంబమున గ్రిప్పయుండును గాని, తక్కువ వానికిచ్చియుండదు గదా! కనుకనీ 'మహాదేవుడు' ఇరత రాజవంశ మునకుండెందిన వాడు గాక ఆ కాకతీయ గణ రుద్రదేపుని కుమారుడునై యుండవచ్చును. కాకున్న గాకతీయ రాజపుత్పుకికచల కుటుంబోద్ప ఫ్రడ్తె యుండుట కవకాశమున్న ది. ఏదో సామంతరాజ్మమును నేలుచున్న 'కాకతీయ గణం రుడ్రదేపిని కమారు'డని నాయూహ, ఇది యూహమాలతమే. కాని బాళుక్య మహాదేవుని కథకు వలే ఈ యూహకు విరుద్ధాం శము లేందును గానరావు చరిత్రకిది బాలదు. ఆన్వయ మాధమున గాకతీయ మహాదేవుని యునికిని సాధింపవలయును. ఆది సాధ్యముగానివో? ఆతని కుమారుడు గాకతీయుడని దుజుపడినవో నతడును గాకతీయుడే గదా! కనుక మాకురుదుస్తుడు కాకతీయుడే యని రుజువగును గదా! కాని ప్రహాపరుదుస్తుడు దత్త యన తర్వత గాకతీయుడే యగును. మనకుండెలినిన శాసనముల నాంటికా దత్త త జరిగిపోయి యుండినది. కనుక శాసనములందు మనము జూచునాంటి కతకు దత్తండును, యువరాజను. 'శాసనములతని కాకతీయుడని నిర్దేశించినను ప్రస్తుత చర్చాంశము ఆడ్జియు చాహరజము తోడుపడదు. పుట్టకలోనే ఆతఁడు కాంతీయుడని రుజుపుగావలెను. మనము గాధాదులనునమ్ము గున్నిడివారముగాము. ప్రహుతరుదిస్తియమునే జూతము.

"కాకతీయకులాంభోధేః ్పవత్యేష చంద్రమాః". [పక 2-8

కాకతీయకులమునుండి యాచందు<sup>6</sup>్రడుపట్టినాడు. ఆయినను కొందరు షష్ట్ <sub>(</sub>పత<sub>్తి</sub>యము చతు**ర్థ**్రర్థమున వాడబడినదని వివరింతురేమో? వైయాకరణులు నిర్ణయింపవలసిన యంశము. కాని పంచమ్మర్థము సామాన్యము.

'సాటికి 'తపనకుల సమ్మదాత్ మాదృశో పారిజాతః' ఆని ప్రయోగమును జూడుఁడు. 'కాకతీయ మహారాజ వంశ దర్గాబ్ధి -చం్రదమాః' ఆన్న పుడు మనము పంచమ్మర్థమునే యిచ్చియున్నాము.

ಯ್ ಯಂಪ್ ತ $_{\parallel}$  ಕಿರ್ $^{\$}$  ್ಷ ಏಥಿಕ ಸುವರಿತೆ ಕ್ಷಾತ್ ತಿಯ್ ನ್ವ್ಯವ್ಯ ತಿ.  $^{3}$  ನಿ

మూడులోకములఁదన సుచరిత చేత ప్రఖ్యాతి హొందిన కాకతీయ వంశమున నిఁతడు పుట్టినాఁడు. ఆది కంఠోక్తి దీని లక్షణ చేసి కాకతీయ వంశమునఁ[బవేశించినాఁడని యర్థము చెప్పవలసిన యవసరమేమి శి

> కాకతీయకులస్యకింను నసంపూర్ణం పుణ్యేన యస్మిన్న వతీర్ణో భుపనైక భ్రద్య బ్రాహాహర్ముడం — 1-8-16

భువనమున కేక ్శేయస్కరుడైన ్పతాపర్మడుడెంవతరించెనో ఆకాకతీయ కులమున**కు పుణ్యము** చేత సం**పూ** ్ర్ణము కానిదేమి?

'ఆవ్త తీర్ణం' ఆనుఓచేత ్రపతాపుని జన<sub>త్</sub>ము కాకజీయకులమున నని స్పష్టము. డీనికి లక్షణార్థమేమి చెప్పవలెను?

కాకతీయకుల [పసవానాంక్షమం= 1-3-36

ఇది కాకతీయకులమునఁబుట్టిన వానికొఁదగినదే. [పతాపరుడు]నికిది మెచ్చుకోలు. పుట్టుక సుచరితము నకుఁగారణముగాఁ -జెవృదురు గాని దత్తత నెవరును జెప్పరు గదా?

స్వ<u>ెస</u>్తి కాకతీయ **కు**లావతీర్హాయ 1-5-36

కాకతీయ కులమున నవతరించిన వానికి స్వస్త్తి.

'యత్కుల ప్రభమ్ భవాన్?' 1-5-38

నీవేకులమునఁ బుట్టితివో ' మ్రవ'శబ్దము పుట్టుకనే సూచించును. క్యసూర్య ప్రభవోవంశణ' సూర్యునుండి పుట్టిన వంశ్ మొక్కడ? ఆని రఘువంశము

పై యుద్ధారములకు సహజార్ధ మిచ్చిన | పతాపరుదు<sup>ద</sup>్రడు కాకతీయవంశమున జన్మించినవాఁడనియే నిశ్చితమగు**ను** కావున మహాదేవుఁడు ఆతని జన**కుఁడు** కాకతీయుఁడే.

ర్వమకాంతడు సోదరుని వరుసయో? లేక షేనల్లుడో? ఎట్లయినను ముమ్మదమ్మను బెండ్లియాడుట కుండగిన వావియే యగును. కాదని యన్నిటికిని లక్షణార్థమును జెప్పుంజూచుట ద్రావిడ బ్రాణాయాడుమేయగును. మహదేవుడు కాకతీయుండి డగుట ఆతనికి ర్మదమ కుమార్తైనిచ్చుట రాజనీతియగును. ఏల యన

ముమ్మదమ్మ రుద్రదేవుని కనుజయని చెప్పియంటిమి. ఆమె పెండ్లి యీడు కే.శ. 1258 పైంతములందయి యుండును. రుద్రమకు సహాయులుగా తమ వంశదాయాదుల నొకశాఖ యుండు ఓ మంచిడికాదా ? కనుకనీ వివాహము జరిగి యుండును. కాకతీయుల నొకశాఖవారు ప్రత్యేత్రలైన, నొకశాఖ వారామెకు అండయై నిలిచిరి. ఇది గణపతీ యాజ్ఞచే జరిగిన జెండ్లియే యనితోమమన్నది. పిండితార్థము ప్రతాపర్మదుండు పుట్టుకచేగాకతీయుడే. రుద్రమదత్తునిగా గై కొనుటకతుడు ముఖ్యుడును చెహ్మితుడు కావును గణపతీ రెండవ కూతురునకు సంతానము లేదు గదా! ఈ సంఖధముచే కాకతీ వంశమువానియందే రాజ్యము నిల్బినది.

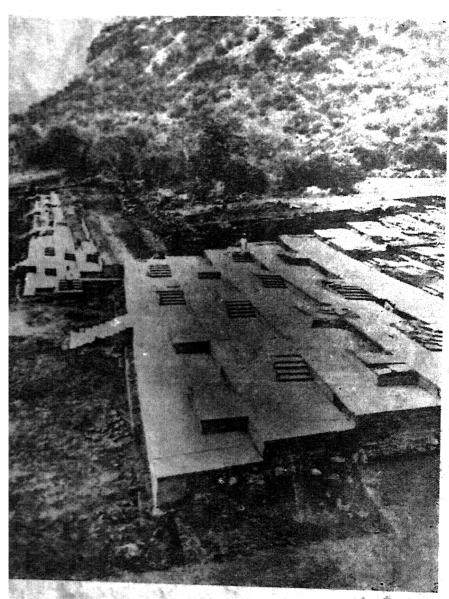
[పతాపరుదు<sup>9</sup>గి విషయమున చర్చితములు కావలసిన విషయములు.

- 1. ఇతడు చతుర్ధకులజుడా కాక కృత్తియుడా.
- 2. ఇతడు స్కార్తుడా? వీరశైవుడా?
- 3. బౌద్ధజైనులను బాధించెనా!
- 4 పద్మ నాయకుల నభిమానించి రెడ్డి కులజుల ననాదరించెనా?
- ీ. అతనికి సంతానము ఎవరు? అసలుండెనా?

నాకు మరల శాసనములఁజదువు ఆవకాశము కల్గెనేని వీసిని చర్చింతును.

ఈ యంశములకు విరుద్ధముగ నైనను ఏహ్పోద్బలగములవైనను ప్రమాణములు కనవచ్చునని యాశింతును. కాక్ తీయుల శాసనములు గవర్నమెంటు వారికి లభ్యములైనవి. శ్రీరాష్ళము గారును శ్రీమల్లంపల్లి సోమశేఖర శ**ర్మగారును** దీనిని బరిశీ**లిం**చు చన్నారు. అందు ఏమైన సూత్రాంశములు కననగు గాక యని యాశింతము.





NAGARJUNAKONDA - BATHING GHAT

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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Published bu :

THE GOVERNMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH HYDERABAD

1987



