REPORT
ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DEVASTHANAM
COLLECTION WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

THIRUPATHI, B.A.

1998
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BY
S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRY, B.A.,
Devasthanum Archaeologist, Tirupati.
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Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams
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FOREWORD

Inscriptions are one of the basic source material for the study of history. They throw a flood of light on the spiritual and temporal aspects of a society and provide valuable information about the social and economic life of the period. The deciphering and classification of inscriptions engraved on the temple walls at Tirumala and Tirupati acquires much significance in this context. When the Devasthanams took up the formidable task of classifying and transcribing these inscriptions way back in the 20's it opened up a new chapter in the historical research on Tirumala Tirupati temples. Sri Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastry who was entrusted with deciphering and classifying them had done it with meticulous care.

In the 'Report' Sri Subrahmanya Sastry has given a general survey of the inscriptions during the Pallava, Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagar periods besides incorporating some of the inscriptions during the period of the Mahants. It may be interesting to note that while the early inscriptions are recorded in Tamil script, the bulk of the inscriptions belonging to the Vijayanagar period are in Telugu and Kannada.

The present reprint of the TTD Epigraphical series consisting of seven volumes, besides the Report will enable the readers to have a comprehensive knowledge about the sacred temples at Tirumala and Tirupati and their growth and development through centuries. We have great pleasure in bringing out the reprints of the Inscriptions which had been out of print for several years, for the benefit of the discerning public.

Executive officer
Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams
PREFACE

A "Preface", I take it, is an opportunity both for explanation and acknowledgment. The epigraphical publications of the Dāvasthānam are the fruition of the proposal gracefully approved in 1921 by His Holiness Sri Mahant Prayagadāsjī Varu, Vichāraṇakarta of the Tirumala, Tirupati, &c., Dāvasthānams, at the instance of the then Diwan-Peshkar of his, M.R.Ry., C. Doraswamiah Garu, B.A., B.L., (now Deputy Collector, Tanjore), and on the suggestion of the late Government Epigraphist, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sasatriar, proffered during his visit to Tirupati in company with Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library, to give my humble self an adequate epigraphical training and then carry on the work in the Dāvasthānam through me under His Holiness' direct supervision. On being addressed in the matter by His Holiness, the Government of Madras were pleased to accord their sanction in G. O. No. 610 (Finance) dated the 14th June 1921, for my training in the Office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras. With a seven months' training, I returned to Tirupati in March 1922 and commenced copying the inscriptions from the walls of the Temples in Tirupati and Tiruchānūr, and on securing about 650, I compiled the first part of the Report relating to the religious routine in the temples. But the historical material furnished in these records as well as in those of the later collection prompted me to attempt an historical account of the South Indian dynasties represented in them and I set myself to the task. The dynastic rulers apart, the royal subordinates and religious preceptors that flourished in the different periods needed to be clearly identified and this involved a research extending over some time. Again, the epigraphs of Krishnādāvārya, registering, as they did, not merely the donations of himself and his two queens but also his military achievements in his wars against the Gajapati king Pratāparudra, necessitated a closer study of his military career in the light of his records found elsewhere correlated to contemporary literary evidence; and the inevitable discussion of the several campaigns and events of his wars as well as the dates thereof in relation to his frequent visits to the shrine of Śri Vaṅkaṭāvārya had tended to transform his account into a monograph on his Gajapati wars. Similar mention may be made of the
account of the Tāḷāpākam poets. And this disquisitive Report I herewith present to the reading public, with illustrations of views of temples, maṇḍapams, gopurams, vāhanams, water-falls, etc.

To have stimulated my propensity for historical research and helped me to carry on the work in this field for these eight years I offer my hearty thanks primarily to His Holiness Sri Mahant Prayagadasji Varu, Vichāra-kārta of the Devathānams, and to the then Diwan-Pekehrar M.R.Ry., C. Doraswamiah Garu, B.A., B.L., as well as to the Government of Madras for their permission for my epigraphical training to put me in the line. I hereby acknowledge my obligations to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrī and to the late Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, formerly Assistant Archeological Superintendent, and to Messrs C. R. Krishnamacharlu Garu, B.A., (now Superintendent for Epigraphy, Fernhill), G. Srinivasa Rao Avl, B.A., V. Venkatasubba Iyar Avl, B.A., and other members on the staff of the Epigraphical Office, Madras, for the facilities they courteously afforded me for my observation and exploration in the field. For the active co-operation and assistance rendered to me in the course of my working at the inscriptions in the Devathānams, my thanks are particularly due to my Pandit M. R. Ry., V. Vijayaraghavachariar Avl., and M. R. Ry., R. Krishna Rao Avl, B.A., L.T as also to M. R. Ry., M. Ramakrishna'Kavi Garu, M.A., who looked through the proofs of the latter part of the Report during its printing. I cannot adequately express my thanks to M. R. Ry., K. A. Nilakanta Sastrī Avl, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archeology, Madras University, for the ready courtesy with which he contributed the Introduction to this Report at my request. I should be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge my obligations to Messrs P. Chencharumiah of the Devathānams Engineering Department for his preparation under my direction of the Map of South India showing the conquests of Krishnadevarāya and K. B. Ranganatha Rao, my clerk, for the compilation of the Index under my instructions.

For having hitherto enabled me to fulfil my purpose partially, and for granting me strength and opportunity to fulfil that purpose fully in the near future, I offer my prayers to the benign Śrī Vaiṣṇava under whose protective care the epigraphical work has progressed so far.

As to the plan of the publication of the 1150 inscriptions altogether secured from the Temples here, it is intended to issue them in six volumes in
PREFACE

chronological order. The first volume comprises 236 epigraphs of the Pallava, Chōla, Pāṇḍya and the First Vijayanagara periods which are provided with an English Translation and brief Historical Introductions for the different dynasties. The remaining volumes will similarly be issued with Translation and Introduction and will represent individually the periods of Śāluva Narasiṃha with 169 inscriptions, Kṛishṇarāya with 229, Achyutarāya with 251, Sādāivāraya with 147 and the Kings of the Āravēḍu Dynasty with 135 inscriptions.

The Copper-Plates of the Tāḷḷapākam Poets are of two kinds, viz., minor poems treating of prosody, grammar, ethical rules, &c., and the Saākīrtanas, viz., Śrīgāṇa-Saākīrtanas, Adhyātma-Saākīrtanas and Vairāgya-Saākīrtanas. The minor poems are now in print under the editorship of M. R. Ry., M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, M.A., who will also issue the Saākīrtanas after the publication of these minor poems in a small volume.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRY,

Devasthanam Archaeologist.
INTRODUCTION

It is with pleasure that I comply with the wish expressed by Mr. Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastry that I should write a few words by way of Introduction to his Epigraphical Report on the Temples of the Tirupati Devasthanam. This celebrated shrine which has for centuries attracted enormous numbers of pilgrims from all parts of India has, at least since the days of the Vijayanagar rulers, continuously enjoyed a magnificent income from the votive offerings of its devotees. Of all the sacred spots (Tirupatis) of Southern India, that on the hill of Vāgaḍām came very early to be recognised as Tirupati par excellence. Still the temple of Tirupati is not, either in its size or in its architecture and sculpture, comparable to the temples of Kāchīpuram, Madura and many other places. The present structure is comparatively modern and dates from the 13th century A.D. and in recent times the growth of the town round the temple would appear to have encroached on its precincts. The earliest mention of the hill on which Tirupati stands is found in the Tamil literature of the 8aagam age. The Northern Vāgaḍām (Vāda Vāgaḍām) was at that time on the border land between the Tamil country and that of the Vaḍugar. A verse (No 211) in the Ahanānaru for instance speaks of the people in the land beyond the cool groves of Vāgaḍām where the language changes (from Tamil to Telugu or rather Vaḍugu as the Tamils then called it). For the first time, the hill is associated with Vishṇu in the phrase Nēḻiyēn-kungam of the Śilappadikāram and in the beautiful lines in the Kāṇukaṇḍa which portray the standing figure of Vishṇu on the top of the high hill called Vāgaḍām. Tirupati holds an honoured place in the minds of the Vaishṇava Ājvāra. One of them, Kulaśekhara, prays that he might be born again as a bird, a bush, a stream or something on the golden hill of Vāgaḍām. Another, Poṭaiyār, describes how the kindly god of Tirumalai unites in himself the twin forms of Śiva and Vishṇu. The opinion often expressed that this temple was originally dedicated to Śiva and was subsequently converted by Rāmānuja into a Vaishṇava shrine is based only on a misinterpretation of one of the many legends in Vaishṇava hagiology that have centred round the name of the great reformer.
INTRODUCTION

This temple like others bears on its walls several inscriptions of considerable interest not only to the scholars but to all persons who desire to know something of the ancient and time-honoured institutions of our country. These inscriptions together with others from the neighbouring temples in Lower Tirupati and Tiruchānūr, making a total of well over a thousand, furnish a continuous and authentic record of the transactions of the temple and its neighbourhood for the last seven or eight centuries. We have full information on the buildings and endowments and the numerous visits to the temple of the Vijayanagar rulers, especially of the illustrious Krishnā Dava Rāya. Among the great rulers of South India, Rāja Rāja Chōla is the earliest who is known, from a late and faulty copy of an inscription of the sixteenth year of his reign, to have been directly connected with the main shrine of Tirumalai. We may infer from fragments of earlier records found in the neighbourhood, like that of Dantivarmān in Tiruchānūr, that many of the more ancient inscriptions have disappeared beyond recovery as a result of restorations undertaken in the 13th century A.D. and later. Authentic information on the original construction of the flights of steps (ṣāhuṇamūrga) leading up the hill of Tirupati and on other matters is very limited, as indeed is our knowledge of the early history of the temple itself.

The relative lateness of the bulk of the inscriptions treated of here does not in any way detract from the value of the undertaking. It is a great thing to have rescued the existing inscriptions from the possible chances of another renovation. The Dāvasthānam has earned the gratitude of the public by their employment for some years of a competent epigraphist like Mr. Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastry in the pursuit of this important and useful task. A work like the present Report necessarily labours under some disadvantages. It can neither offer a finished history nor simply present the original material as it is and leave the reader to study it for himself. It has to analyse the records to some extent under convenient heads, provide summaries of them, and hazard identifications and explanations as occasion suggests. Repetition of the same facts in different connections is often inevitable. Mr. Subrahmanya Sastry has done his best to overcome the intrinsic difficulty of his task and produced a Report which is full, well-documented and eminently readable. In Part I he gives a succinct account of the daily routine of services in the main temples, its occasional festivals, its Pāhuṇams, its flower-gardens and feeding houses, before he discusses the lesser shrines and the Jiya-mapak. He has, with
great skill and patience, fitted into this general sketch many little details drawn from the inscriptions. Part II is taken up by a historical account of the South Indian dynasties represented in the epigraphical collection that forms the subject of the Report. Though the treatment of the Pallavas, the Cholas and the Pandyas may strike the reader as being somewhat more elaborate than the few inscriptions of their times may warrant, he will on the whole be grateful to Mr. Subrahmanya Sastry for not having adopted a too restricted view of the scope of his report. The amount of fresh information Mr. Sastry has culled from Telugu literature on the kings of Vijayanagar and their feudatories, and on the religious teachers of the time will be read with considerable interest. In this section of the work, and this is the bulk of the second part of the Report, Mr. Subrahmanya Sastry has made a substantial contribution to the general knowledge of Vijayanagar history.

Before concluding, I wish to add that this Report, great as is its value, should be followed by the texts of the inscriptions without undue delay. However full and accurate an epigraphical report may be made by its author, and there is no question that Mr. Subrahmanya Sastry's Report is among the best of its kind, it is no detraction from the merit of such a report to say that it cannot be a substitute for the texts on which it is based. It may also be suggested that a large and representative selection from the thousands of Sakkirtanas on about 3000 copper plates preserved in the temple, and these no doubt are the "two cartloads of copper åsanams" that Sewell was told of, would constitute an interesting supplement to the texts of the stone inscriptions.

University of Madras,}

Madras, 7—8—1930.}

K. A. NilaKanta SASTRI

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G. T. = Inscriptions of the Đavasthānam Collection from Śrī Gōvindarājasvāmi’s Temple in Tirupati, Śrī Kapīḷavara-svāmi’s Temple at Kapilāthram and Śrī Pādmāvatīamma’s (Alamslumaṇgamam’s) Temple in Tiruchānūr.

T. T. = Inscriptions of the Đavasthānam Collection from Śrī Vākaṭāvarasvāmi’s Temple at Tirumalā.

A. C. = After Christ (same as A.D.).


Nellore Inscriptions = The three Volumes of the “Nellore Inscriptions” edited by Messrs. Alan Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty.


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TIRUPATI DEVALASHANAM
EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

PART I
1. TOTAL COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS.

From May 1922, when the copying of the inscriptions that are found to be engraved on the walls of the temples under the management of the Devasthanam was commenced, up to the end of March 1927, one thousand and sixty epigraphs in all have been secured. Out of these, 640 are from Śrī Vākaṭāśvara's temple at Tirumala, 340 from Śrī Govindarāja's temple in Tirupati and the remaining 80 from other smaller temples. This exhausts the number in all the temples except that at Tirumala where still remain about a hundred more to be copied. The inscriptions so far collected have been grouped under the different South Indian dynasties to which they relate and 200 of them ranging in date from about 800 to 1500 A. C., and comprising the Pallava, Chāḷa, Pāṇḍya and the First Vijayanagara dynasties, are prepared for publication with translation.

2. DAMAGED INSCRIPTIONS.

A number of inscriptions, especially those that belong to the pre-Vijayanagara times, are either fragmentary, incomplete or damaged so much so that some of them contain almost no matter at all beyond a few disconnected syllables or words. This state of the lithic records is accounted for by the frequent renovations carried on to the prāhāra walls and other structures in the temples during the past 5 or 6 centuries, indiscriminately pulling down old stones from their original position without heed to the writing contained on them and throwing them aside as being unsuited to
stand in their position any longer or utilising them in another place or position, perhaps after further dressing: all this unfortunately done in ignorance of the very valuable, illuminating and far-sighted injunctions of Vima-Narasimha Yadava, a feudatory chief of the 13th century, communicated to the Sthanakār or Managers of the temple in the 40th year of his reign, while issuing orders on the petition of one Tiruppullāsidāsar for renovating the central shrine of Śrī Vaiṅśāvāra, to wit, to copy the inscriptions as they were then engraved on the particular parts to be repaired or rebuilt, and have them re-engraved in their original position on the completion of the work. And the existence at present of four Chōja records under this order is proof itself of the regard shown during those times to historic inscriptions and of the far-sighted wisdom of the royal mandate. Irreparable damage had been caused to these lithic records time and again since then, and the result is that a number of them remain either incomplete or fragmentary.

Besides these stone inscriptions, about 3000 copper-plates containing on the aggregate about 9000 devotional songs in the Saṅkirtana style and other literary pieces in Telugu, composed by a group of three poets of the Taḷḷaḻam family who flourished in the 16th century under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings of the Second dynasty and who were the hereditary musicians of the temple, were also transcribed during this period. Their publication either wholly or in representative parts is under consideration and it is hoped that this will be accomplished at an early date.

3. RANGE OF DATES.

The dates of the above-said stone records range from the 51st year of the reign of Ke-Vijaya-Dantivikrama-Varman of the Pallava line (No. 219—G. T.) (=about 830 A. C.), when a certain Ulagappērumānār of Śājanār in Śōja-māṭu instituted the service of a nandā-vijakku, i.e., burning a lamp, down to the Kaliyuga year 5010, Kilaka (1909 A. C.) (No. 242-T. T.), when the gilded kaḷaḷaṇam was fixed over the vimāṇam of Śrī Vaiṅśāvāra's Shrine at Tirumala during the regime of the present Vīchāraṇabarta of the Dwasthānams. His Holiness Śrī Mahant Prayaṅgadāsji of Śrī Hattirāmiji Maṭham, by his brother-disciple, the late Adhikāri at Tirumala, Bāṇāji Ramalakṣamanadāsji. Though the records cover a period of nearly 11 centuries,
LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

they are not fully representative of all the South Indian dynasties, for there is a disproportionately large number of inscriptions belonging to the Vijayanagara period, while the earlier dynasties are represented very scantily and the post-Vijayanagara times by scarcely any.

4. LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Except a few, almost all the epigraphs are in the Tamil language and alphabet interspersed with Grantha characters and only about 50 are in Telugu and Kanarese. Of the period prior to the time of Krishnārāya, we have only a single Telugu inscription (No. 237—T. T.) of Sāluva Mahādeva Mahārāya dated in Śaka 1281 and two Kanarese inscriptions, one of Virapradēpa-Devārāya Mahārāya (No. 188—T. T.) dated in Śaka 1351, and one of Sāluva Narasimha (No. 8—G. T.) dated in Śaka 1389. All the gifts of Krishnārāya and his two queens and one of Achyutarāya are recorded in the three languages Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil in their respective alphabet, while a copy of one of the above relating to Krishnārāya composed in the Kanarese language is engraved in the Nandi-Nāgari characters. After Achyutarāya there is a conspicuous absence of both Telugu and Kanarese in the inscriptions with the exception of one of the local chief Maṭli Anantarājayya (No. 269—G. T.) in Telugu of the Śaka year 1550 and one in Kanarese of Śaka 1606 (No. 263—T. T.).

5. CONTENTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Epigraphs of the pre-Vijayanagara times generally record services of lighting lamps in the presence of the different deities or elsewhere, in the evening or throughout day and night. For this purpose the donors paid a certain sum of money into the temple—treasury to carry on the service. In a few instances, they purchased cows and presented them to the temple. In later times certain donors adopted this latter course; when they arranged for offerings of milk and curds or offerings of food mixed with them. We find that ghes alone was used for all lamps inside the temple and this practice still continues at Tirumala.

Besides gifts of lamps, we meet also with gifts of lands, jewels and money. Kings, chiefs and rich persons contributed their quota of offerings and endowments. The later inscriptions record provision for nītya-nāividyaṁ (daily food-offerings) and for several festivals, processions
and āsthānams in the temples for the different deities. To this end gifts of lands and villages as well as of money and gold were made to the temples. Money and gold thus deposited were only in a few cases lent out on interest, but usually they were invested in the divadāna (grant to God) villages belonging to the temple through the excavation of fresh irrigation sources or renewal of the existing ones which were in disrepair at the time. Some cases occur in which waste and uncultivated land in the divadāna villages was brought under the plough and adequate water-supply provided by the donors at their own cost, and, in return for this service, the temple was required to arrange for food—offerings to the deities in their name. Likewise, in the divadāna villages in which sufficient irrigation facilities were lacking and from which, therefore, full benefit could not be derived, certain devotees undertook the excavation of tanks, lakes and channels and thus provided for more extensive cultivation; and, as a mark of recognition of such services, the temple bound itself to perpetuate their memory by instituting in their name some charities, such as naividyam (offering food) to the deities from the enhanced yield obtained from these villages and distributing the offered food among the devotees assembling in the temple to receive it.

A number of flower-gardens comes to notice as having been formed through private individual efforts with flower-plants and trees reared and subsequently handed over to the temple for the utilisation of the flowers in the decoration of the deities daily and on occasions of processions in festivals. We find several Rāmānuja—kuṇams or feeding-houses instituted both at Tirumala and Tirupati, a larger number of them having been located at Tirumala, providing for the free boarding of the numerous pilgrims visiting the temple from all parts of the country almost throughout the year, and, the more so, on the occasion of festivals.

A few inscriptions register sales of houses and of house-sites to the temple. It cannot be now surmised under what circumstances they were purchased and for what purpose. One epigraph records the demarcation of the boundary line between Tirupati and Avilāli, about a mile to the south of the former, both being divadāna villages.
ROYAL BENEFACTORS

6. ROYAL BENEFACTORS.

The inscriptions clearly indicate that the temples of Śri Veṅkaṭāśvara at Tirumala and Śri Gōvindarāja at Tirupati enjoyed the patronage of sovereigns and chiefs who richly endowed them. Among this class of benefactors stand out most prominently:

(i) The queen of Parāntaka II. Sundara-Chōla, "the King who slept at the Golden-Hall," and daughter of Chēramān. She presented to Śri Veṅkaṭāśvara a paṭṭam or plate for the forehead, set with precious stones, in the 16th year of the reign of Rājarāja I (equivalent to 1001 A. C.) (No. 17—T. T.).

(ii) A Pallava queen, by name Sāmavai, who presented a kiriṭam (diadem), a necklace of four strings and other ornaments for the hands, waist and feet of Śri Veṅkaṭāśvara, and consecrated a silver image of His under the appellation of Maṅavāḷappurumal, provided for processions for this image and endowed the temple with lands in Tiruchchukanār (Tiruchānār), sometime in the third-quarter of the 10th century, (Nos. 18 and 19—T. T.).

(iii) Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pañḍya I (1250 to 1275 A.C.) who placed a gilded kalaśam over the vimānam of Śri Veṅkaṭāśvara's shrine.

(iv) The queen of Vira-Nārasimha Yādavarāya, a Chōla subordinate of the 13th century, instituted a fresh Brahmośavam in the Tamil month of Āni for Śri Gōvindarāja, in addition to the primary one held in Vaikāśi, constructed a four-faced car and made a gift of half the village of Paṇḍappallī for meeting the expenses of the newly started festival and for effecting repairs to the temple from the balance, if any.

(v) Tiruvāṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya, a subordinate of the last Hoysaḷa king Vira-Vallēśa III, granted, in the thirties of the 14th century, two villages to the temple as sarvamānya (tax-free) for propitiating the deity daily with food-offerings.

(vi) Sājuva Maṅgīdāva Mahārāja does not appear to have been keen about enriching the temples either in the form of lands or money. His fancy was for splendour and magnificence as testified to by his covering the vimānam or the tower over the central shrine at Tirumala
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

with gilded copper-plate, and placing a gilded kalasam over it in Saka 1281. This must certainly have been an expensive undertaking, and the temple should have presented, as he desired, a noble appearance, enthralling the minds of the pilgrims to its beauty.

(vii) Dvarāya II merited extensive divine grace through the help he rendered towards the revival of the Vīdāparāyaṇam in Śrī Vākṣṭāvarā's shrine at Tirumala in Saka 1355. He had already granted three villages to the temple in Saka 1351 as the usual royal benefaction.

(viii) Sāḻuvā Narasimha's devotion flowed in the usual channel of making gifts of villages in the several parts of the kingdom between the Saka years 1378 and 1410.

(ix) Krṣṇārāya not only presented diadems and ornaments set with precious stones, and gold and silver vessels, both for the Māla-Mūrtī (the chief deity), vīr., Śrī Vākṣṭa, and the Utsava-Mūrtis (the processional images), but also endowed the temple with villages in the districts of Chandragiri, Udayagiri and Penugopuḍa. His two queens Tirumaladēvi and Chinnadēvi were present with him during almost all his visits to Tirumala and they shared with him the credit for the gifts and grants which were made by him between Saka 1434 and 1442.

(x) Varadājīdēvi-amman, the queen of Achyutarāya, comes next. She granted six villages to the temple so as to serve for the propitiation of Śrī Vākṣṭāvarā.

(xi) Maṭli Kumāra-Anantarājaya is the latest of the royal benefactors. An inscription of his enumerates his variegated charities at several centres of pilgrimage, among which Tirupati figures as the recipient of three golden āśva (horse), gaja (elephant) and samarabhāṣa (chariot) vāhanams (vehicles); one padma-piṭham (lotus-shaped seat), one ratna-hirīṭam (gem-set crown), one naividyā-bhūjanam (plate or dish for offering food), one unnata-kiṣṇi-śaṭam (a lofty porch for pleasure-swinging for the deities), one sōpānārgha (flight of steps on the side of the front hill), and one agra (top or front) gōpura (tower): all these services rendered in the name of Śrī Vākṣṭāvarā; two golden elephant and horse vehicles for Śrī Gāvindarāja; and the charity of one anna-satram (free feeding-house) at the Śrīvēri-tirtha at the foot of the front hill and another on the way up the same hill.
NITYA-DIPAM AND NITYA-NAIVEDYAM

7. NITYA-DIPAM (DAILY LAMP-LIGHTING) AND NITYA-NAIVEDYAM (DAILY FOOD-OFFERINGS).

The Pallava inscription No. 219—G. T., dated in the 51st year of the reign of Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, (corresponding roughly to 830 A. C.), the earliest in date in the collection, records an arrangement made for keeping a lamp burning before a processional image newly installed in the shrine of Tiruvikramasvam-Empurunmadigal.

The Chōja records register donations and gifts intended for nandā-vijaku (lamp-lighting) or for urādhānam (food-offerings). A fragmentary record (No. 232—G. T.), dated in the 29th year of Madurai-kōnda Kō-Parakkārivarman alias Parantaka I, registers an arrangement made by Kcāuāgōjūrūn of Malai-nāfu with the sabhai of Tiruchchōkūnūr (Tiruchānūr) by which the sabhai undertook to keep a lighted lamp. Another epigraph (No. 234—G. T.), dated in the 10th year of the same king's reign, registers a similar deposit for lamp-lighting. In the reign of Rājarāja I, one Arūjikki alias Rājarāja-Mūvāndavūn paid 40 hātāni of gold into the temple-treasury for maintaining a lamp (Nos. 212 to 216—G.T.). The epigraph No. 20—T. T., dated in the reign of Sri Koppātrakkārivarman alias Ārī Rājendra-Chōjadiwa, records a provision made for lamp-lighting. Besides, it gives us some interesting information regarding state-supervision over temples in those times. It was brought to the notice of Adhikāri (royal officer) Kōramaagalam-uṣhāyūn that the assembly of Tirumūṇḍiyam which undertook to light 24 lamps at Tirumala had failed in the discharge of their trust by discontinuing 22 and maintaining only 2 lights. The Adhikāri enquired into the matter, became convinced of the neglect on the part of the assembly, and ordered the continuance of the entire service through the managers of the temple. It is incidentally mentioned that all articles required for the daily food-offerings were transmitted from Tirupati every day to Tirumala, and also that the Tirumūṇḍiyam sabhaiyūr had a certain service (Pariẖāram) to render to the temple for which at the time a sum of 3 Puni was standing to their credit.

No. 71—T. T., belonging to the time of Kō-Rājakārivarman Rājendra-Chōja (Kulōttunga I) refers to offerings of Pāl-anmuḍu and tayir-
amuda, i.e., milk and curds, for the deity. No. 126—G. T. of the 19th year of Kṛṣṇaḷa IV (=1235 A.C.) registers a grant of land made on the orders of the king by the Periyaraiyar of Tirukkuṭavur-nādu for serving food for daily food-offerings for Tirumaṅgai-ṣvār who had been installed in the temple of Śri Gōvindarāja some time previously by the same body. Another inscription (No. 222—G. T.), dated in the same king's reign, mentions a gift of land by Pokkāran Pāṇḍiyatāraiyan, probably intended for daily offerings.

Thus during the 13th century we find ampler provision made by devotees both for nitya-dīpam (lamp-lighting) and for nitya-nāividyam (food-offerings). We also observe that, in place of the then prevailing practice of paying 40 kāḷai of gold usually for a lamp, cows were presented to the temple to serve the purpose. Nos. 101, 118 and 176—T. T. and 112 and 113—G. T. belonging to the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartigal Śri Vīra-Nārasimha Yādagāraya, and Nos. 73, 111 and 173—T. T. belonging to the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartigal Vijaya-Ganapatiśālava, illustrate the above procedure regarding arrangements for the service of lamp-lighting through donations of gold and silver coin or through gifts of cows. During this period we have provision made also for offerings of food to the deities through a gift of a village, as in No. 164—T. T. in which Vīra-Nārasimha Yādagāraya granted as sarvaśaśya the village of Pāṭiriveṭu in Kuvamukkili-nādu, a sub-division of Kāṇṭavur-nādu, for offering a nāividyam; or through a deposit of money, as in Nos. 137 and 139—T.T. and 127—G. T., in the latter of which food-offerings were required to be made to Śri Gōvindarāja during the festival in Vaikāṣī and to Śri Veṅkaṭāsvāra in the Chittirai festival.

In the Vijayanagara period, food-offerings took precedence over lamp-lighting and in certain cases presentation of cows was preferred to payment of gold, since, besides yielding ghee for the lamps, they served the additional purpose of offering the dairy products to the deities. No. 92—T. T. is a Samskrit verse recounting in general terms the charities of Amītyutkharā Mallana (chief minister under Dāvarāya I and Dāvarāya II of the First dynasty) in the matter of nāividyam and nitya-dīpam for Śri
NITYA—DIPAM AND NITYA—NAIVEDYAM

Vaṣkaṣāvara. This minister Mallava is stated in more explicit terms in No. 93—T. T., dated in Śaka 1330 (=135-1409 A.C.), to have presented 82 heads of cattle including cows and calves for maintaining 3 lamps set up by him, besides at the same time arranging for one other lamp (nandāvēḷakku) burnt with ghee to be supplied by the temple authorities in conjunction with offerings of food agreed upon by them in consideration of his investments in the excavation of an irrigation channel draining a dwadāna village.

No. 70—T. T. of the time of Sājuva Narasimha records a gift in Śaka 1390 (=28-2-1469 A.C.) by Kandāṣai Rāmānujavyaṅ�ār, a zealous and influential Vaishnav preceptor, of 40 cows to the temple for supplying curds for preparing ādhyēdanam (food mixed with curds) to be offered to Śri Vaṣkaṣāvara daily. The most prominent instance of such a gift of cows occurs in the case of Śrīman Mahānāyakaṅkāchārya (chief-commander) Periya-Ūbāla-Nāyakkar Rāmā-Nāyakkar who served as a general under king Vira-Narasimha, the elder brother of Krīśhariya, and under Krīshhariya also. He presented 100 cows in Śaka 1426 (=1504 A.C.) for burning a lamp (No. 305—T. T.); 50 cows a second time in Śaka 1434 (=1512 A. C.) for another lamp (No. 312—T.T.); and finally 200 cows in Śaka 1435 (=1514 A.C.) (No. 306—T.T.) for the supply of dairy products daily for one naṭi of Pālīkūlambu (i.e. thick-boiled milk with the cream formed over it) for being offered to the deity.

No 59—T.T. is a somewhat peculiar record. Instead of the usual gift of lamps that we meet with in other inscriptions, we find here an arrangement made by Kōṇāri and Ulagajāṇavaiḍai, head-men (kharār) of Saṭṭukulai-Marudār, a village in the sub-division of Nārāyanapurappattu in the Chandragiri-rājya, by which they deputed in Śaka 1384 (=1462 A.C.), for the merit of Sājuva Narasimha, certain persons, being residents of the above village of whom four are mentioned by name, for the service of lighting lamps (tiruvēḷakkukkuḍi) in the temple of Tiruvēḷkataluḍamūḍai, and directed them to render service to the temple in perpetuity through their descendants. These persons were enjoined also to measure out two marakkai of ghee every year with the measure called Chāṭukya-Nārāyana-kul, as they used to do till then and obtain the certificate
TIRUPATI DEVASTHRANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

issued by the ʻīyar under his signature. This measure was the one in use in ʻĪrī Gōvindarāja’s temple at Tirupati, while the one in use in ʻĪrī Vākattōvara’s temple at Tirumala was known as the Malaiākkinīyaninānkal. It would appear that these men had to deliver two marakkāls of ghee to the temple in Tirupati by virtue of some previous agreement or contract, probably for any favour received by them in the form of loan of cows belonging to the temple or for some other reason which is not explicitly stated in the record; and this delivery of ghee of two marakkāls was declared to be imperative on them notwithstanding their prospective service in the temple at Tirumala. Neither is any reason given for the deputation of these men for lighting service in the Tirumala temple. Perhaps by the middle of the 14th century the duty of lighting the lamps presented liberally by the devotees had become very onerous and impossible of being fulfilled in the usual way by the then existing staff and consequently necessitated the appointment of additional hands to discharge it adequately.

8. SANDHIS (FOOD-OFFERINGS).

As noted already, during the Vijayanagara period, food-offerings came to be extensively provided for by the devotees in preference to lights which were observed to have been put up in the presence of the deities during the earlier centuries. This course was so universally adopted that the offerings were arranged not only for special occasions but for each day and on different occasions in the course of the day. Thus the quantity of holy food offered each time as well as the number of times it was so offered to the deities increased so much so that the particular duty must have entailed much labour and time and demanded the services of a large number of cooks. In addition to this large quantity of holy food offered each day, certain worshippers desired to have offered occasionally big heaps of cooked rice measuring about 200 marakkāls, styled Tiruppāvādai (Nos. 54, 197 and 253—T. T. and 151—G.T.).

The time for offering naivedyam in any quantity and variety each day at present occurs usually at the end of each of the three series of functions in the course of the worship of the deity (trilūla-ṭēja) for
the day, commencing early in the morning and closing early in the night. But, in the past, it would appear that the deities were propitiated with food-offerings, on more than these three occasions, as at the beginning or end of each function during the interval forming the sandhi (juncture) between two succeeding functions. This term sandhi which occurs in the epigraphs must have originally indicated the juncture forming a short interval of time between two succeeding pūja functions when offerings were made to the deities, but latterly it came to signify the offerings themselves made during such intervals, as we have it in the expressions, sandhi-muppādu (thirty units of cooked rice), pagalsandhi (day-offerings), etc. In the inscriptions we meet with a number of them commencing with the udayakālam, iśukālam or arunādayakālam (the early hours of the morning) and closing with the ardhanayāmam (the early hours of the night). Even at the present time, in the course of the daily worship there can be observed a certain number of individual functions making up the series of ceremonial, such as the rites of waking up the deity in the morning with the chanting of hymns (suprabhātam) and offering of sugared butter, then decorating Him with flowers (tömāla-siva), next holding a levee or darbār (kolūvu) when the temple purusha reads the panchāngam (almanac) for the day and the temple-accountant presents an account of the income and expenditure of the temple, both grain and cash, of the preceding day; and then worship through invocation of the 1008 appellations of Śri Vāsikatīvara (Sahasranāma-archana), and lastly offering of cooked, seasoned and sweetened food (māha-naivīdyaṁ), as the final rite in the series. It is thus possible to arrange for offerings for the deity either before beginning or after completing an individual rite in the series, and we infer from the several offerings provided for each day by the devotees, both high and low, that in the past this possibility was effectuated. Of these, three occasions can be definitely known, as the udayakālam (early hours of the morning) when the deity is offered light food, tiruvadi-vilakkina-poḻudu (the time when the Holy-Feet are washed) which is a special rite in the tömāla-siva, or decoration with flowers, and ardhanayāmam (early hours of the night), while the others are not clear.

As in other things, it is the men of note and rank that initiated these services, as is evidenced by their nomenclature: as, for example,
Bukkarāyan-sandhi, Narasimharāyar-sandhi. Private donors also provided for offerings during some of these sandhis but they were obliged to consent to have them combined with those arranged for by the royal personages and other prominent men.

Sitakaragāndan-sandhi (No. 195—T.T.) is the earliest in date belonging to the pre-Vijayanagara times that we meet with, for whose institution Immaḍi-Rāhuttarāyan Siāgaya-Dāṇṭāyakkan, a general under Tiruvākaṭanātha Yādavarāya, gave to the temple, as a tiruvīḍaiyāṭam, Siāgāṇa-nallūr alias Pōṅgāḷūr in Illattūr-nāḷu which had been previously bestowed upon him as a sarvamāṇya by Tiruvākaṭanātha Yādavarāya.

Bukkarāyan-sandhi is mentioned as the primary one during which, along with the tiruppōṇakam (cooked rice mixed with green gram, ghee, etc.) to be offered as originally stipulated, kōyi-lāṭī Emperumāṇar-jiyar, manager of Paṇkayachcheli-tirunandavanam at Tirumala and the head of a religious institution at Tirumala and Tirupati, arranged in Śaka 1367 for offering for Śrī Vākaṭāśvara two tiruppōṇakam daily (No. 106—T.T.). And Periyaperumāḷ-jiyar arranged likewise in Śaka 1380 for two tiruppōṇakam daily (No. 47—T.T.). No. 23—T.T. which is dated in Śaka 1372 mentions Rāyar-sandhi. It is probable that it refers, being nearer in date, to a sandhi instituted by Dāvarāya II, who granted three villages to the temple in Śaka 1351 for the purpose of offering holy food to Śrī Vākaṭāśvara (No. 188—T. T.). We note from No. 3—T.T that Sājuva Narasimha provided in Śaka 1378 for an offering of rājaṃma-tiruppōṇakam during the udayakāḷa-sandhi and granted as sarvamāṇya the village of Alipuram; and again in Śaka 1389, he gave five villages, four of which are mentioned to have been situated in the Chandragiri-rājya and the fifth in the Paṇāvīṭu-ūrmaṅi, in order to serve for sandhi-muppadu, i.e., thirty units of cooked food (No. 66—T. T.). In Śaka 1395, Sājuva Narasimha instituted the gōḷaṅsavam for five days and provided for offerings of food during the night sandhi named after his mother Mallāyamman. No. 46—T. T. dated in Śaka 1393 and No. 188—G. T. dated in Śaka 1397 mention Narasimharāya-sandhi which perhaps indicates the thirty sandhis noted above. Krishnāraṇya's provision for offerings as well as that of Achyutārāya are not explicitly recorded,
SANDHIS (FOOD-OFFERINGS)

but they are referred to in the provision made by Varadājīpī-amman, queen of Achyutarāya, and are given precedence over the latter while being offered (No. 49—T. T.). Rāmarājayan-avasaram mentioned in No. 82—T. T. probably indicates the offerings made by Āliya-Rāmarāya in Śaka 1470 during the reign of Sadāśivarāya.

There is perhaps no differentiation meant to be conveyed, as to the kind of offerings provided, by the use of the terms pagal-saṅdhi and rā-padi. For, in the arrangement made for offering three tirup-panakam in No. 153—T. T. where the expressions occur, two of them are directed to be offered during the pagal-saṅdhi and the third during the rā-padi, and no difference is stated to exist between the two either in quality or quantity.

Only a single instance of a permanent provision made for offering pānakam occurs in No. 155—T. T. in which Saḻuva Goppayyan, son of Saḻuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja, is seen to pay in Śaka 1391 five hundred pāṇam into the temple-treasury for preparing pānakam with 20 palams of paṇchadhāra (sugar) and offering it every night in a nāyaka-vaṭṭil (a big cup) to Śrī Vaṅkaṭāvvara for a period of four months from Paṅguni to Āni each year. It would appear that it was first intended to be only a summer provision, but the donor latterly supplemented it in the same year by a further payment of 1000 pāṇam to facilitate its being offered during the remaining months of the year from Ādi to Māsi.

9. VEDAPARAYANAM (RECITATION OF THE VEDAS)

The recitation of the Vēdas forms a component part of the functions connected with the temple so much so that its absence would be considered to portend evil and would therefore be viewed with dismay and alarm. Such a state existed temporarily in the life-history of the temple at Tirunāla, sometime during the earlier half of the 15th century, but measures were adopted for its rehabilitation during the reign of Dāvarāya II of the First Vijayanagara dynasty. It is stated that grandeur existed in all services rendered for Śrī Vaṅkaṭāvvara, except in the case of the Vidaṭārāyanam which service ceased to be performed for some time and that this defect was taken to the notice of the royal officer Dāṇḍa-Uḍaiyar by Ajagappirānār alias Tirukkalikārīdāsār.
with the request that it might be revived and continued for the merit of Dvarāya Mahārāya. Twenty-four Mahājanam (learned Brāhmaṇas) of Siddhakutṣai alias Śrīnivāsapuram were engaged for chanting the Vedas in the presence of Śri Vaikunṭhāvara. The king approved of the arrangement and was pleased to grant the half-share belonging to the Rāja-Bhaṅgāram (king’s treasury) in the village of Siddhakutṣai alias Śrīnivāsapuram in Kuttāḷa-sthalam situated in Vaikunda-valanāṭu, as īrōṭriyam, for the purpose. The grant of half the village secured by Alagappirānā Tirukkalikanidāsar was made over to the twenty-four Brāhmaṇas. But these Brāhmaṇas, feeling that this half share was insufficient to maintain them, petitioned the Sthānattār for the grant of the other half also of the village which was owned by the Śri-Bhaṅgāram (temple-treasury). The temple authorities could not alienate their half-share, it being probably an endowment to the temple for a specific purpose, and they therefore devised a plan by which, while the temple could account for the produce from its half-share of the village and maintain the trust for whose conduct its managers were made responsible, the services of the twenty-four Brāhmaṇas engaged for the Vedapārāyanam might be firmly and permanently secured by allowing them a full living. Here again this device was effected by Tirukkalikanidāsar.

It appears that the annual yield from the village of Śrīnivāsapuram for the share of the temple was 200 pāram and, if this share of the temple in the village had to be parted with, this 200 pāram had anywise to be made good. The villagers of all the full divadāna villages belonging to the temple situated in the Tirukkuḍavūr-nāṭu and Vaikuntha-valanāṭu were called upon to contribute their mite so that the full sum of 200 pāram could be made up. The villagers agreed to this contribution, solemnly vowing with libations of gold and water on the Uthānadaḷada day in the cyclic year Pramādihā corresponding to Śaka 1355 to pay their share collectively for each village into the temple-treasury, commencing from the same year, towards the conduct of the Vedapārāyanam. On the strength of this agreement executed by the villagers represented by the Periyannayam-vilān and the Ur-kanakku or the vilān of each individual tiruvīṭalavīṭam village, the Sthānattār of the
temple were emboldened, their scruples and restraints being set at rest, to grant the half-share of the temple in the village of Śrīnivāsapuram to the twenty-four Mahā-Brāhmaṇar reciting the Vīdas and thus gain a double object. No doubt the technical flaw arising from their alienation of property endowed for maintaining the original charity was desired to be obviated through these devices, but whatever kind of compensation might have been effected, the alienation must have been a breach of trust. But perhaps it weighed lightly against the heavy pressure of the necessity and urgency for the renewal of the Vīdapārāyaṇam service in the temple.

Prior to the execution of the above agreement by the villagers, it appears that a temporary interim device was also adopted. It was to lease out the half-share of the village on Śrutiya-kuttakai to Tirukkalikangiri-dāsar who on the one hand paid the lease amount into the temple-treasury and on the other permitted the Brāhmaṇas to reap the benefit from the half village. This was only preliminary to the final stage of complete alienation and prior to obtaining the consent of the villagers.

Even though the full village of Śrīnivāsapuram comprising the two half shares of Rāja-Bhandāram and Śrī-Bhandāram was now granted to the twenty-four Mahājanam of the same place, yet all of them were not required to render the service simultaneously. It was stipulated that only two of them should daily recite the Vīdas in the presence of Śrī Vākaṭāvara and conduct the Vīdapārāyaṇam. It is therefore likely that they were given discretion to divide themselves into 12 sets of 2, each set chanting the Vīdas in a particular month during the year in turn. Obviously such a facility was imminent from the nature of the work to be done and the climatic conditions existing on the hills. Tirumala was reckoned, till a few years ago, to be very unhealthy and especially so during half the year in the hot season from about April to September, when dry malarial wind blows furiously almost throughout the day and night without cessation, slowly sapping the vitality of the residents.

There are references to Vīdapārāyaṇam at a later date, i.e., during the time of the Second Vijayanagara dynasty, and we may take it that,
after Saka 1355 when it was revived by Divaraya II, there has not been any break in its continuity down to this day, and that it has been added, as it was expected to do, to the glory and sanctity of the temple which is stated to have enjoyed all other Vaisheogamgal.

Besides Vidaparayanam, we meet with arrangements for the reading of Puranas on certain sacred days. In a record of the 16th century (No. 3—G. T.) we note that on the day of kaisika-dvadasi (i.e. the 12th day of the bright half of Kartikam) Ananta-vrata-puranam was read, perhaps in Sri Govindaraja's temple at Tirupati. Similarly an inscription (No. 253—T. T.), dated in Saka 1413, records an arrangement made for the reading of Tiruvaisaka-mahatmyam by Pasupati Vakasatturavaijanjivar Ramakunjaya, the donor in the above record, on a day in the month of Margacli.

10. ABHISHEKAM (HOLY BATH).

A few records mention a daily Tirumahijanam or abhishekam for Sri Vaakashivarar at Tirumala and for Sri Govindaraja at Tirupati. The earliest reference occurs in No. 4—T. T. dated in Saka 1386, when Kandai Ramakunjayaagir arranged, as his service (Kaiskaryam) for the Alagappiranur-tirumahijanam conducted daily for Sri Vaakashivarar, for the supply of perfumery to the temple through his Ekaki (i.e. unmarried) disciples of the Sattada-Srivaishava sect. The perfumery consisted of medittta-vittappati or Chandanam (sandal-paste), maajai-kappu (turmeric), nelli-kappu (Emblica myrobalan), kasturi-kappu (musk) and karpura-kappu or pachcha-karpam (refined camphor); and along with these a small cloth and betel-leaves and nups were supplied by them.

The Sattada-Ekaki-Srivaishavas were enjoined by their guru to be present for the tirumahijanam and look to its proper conduct daily. On its completion, after an honourable mention of their guru's name, the disciples were bidden to bring back to him 4 betel-leaves and 4 nuts.

This Alagappiranur-tirumahijanam comes to notice also in No. 163—T. T. dated in Saka 1406, wherein Kandai Ramakunjayaagir is again the donor. This epigraph, besides furnishing the above information regarding the holy bath for Sri Vaakashivarar daily, records a further
provision for a daily bath for Śrī Gōvindarāja at Tirupati known as Tirumagalaṇḍanvarā-tirumaṅjanam, and for food-offerings known as Śrī Kulaiśkhara-perumāl tiruvurūdhanam. Camphor for waving before the deities is the additional article of supply required to be made for the two temples at the time of bath, while for Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple was to be issued a parivaśam (cloth) also. The significance of this inscription consists in the mention of the village Guṇḍi-pāṇḍi which was granted by Sāṭuva Narasimha for the support of the Rāmānuja-kūṭam, and in the authorisation of the utilisation of a part of its income for the expenses of the tirumaṅjanam, whereas in the earlier one (No. 4-T. T.) no mention is made of the village and the articles of perfumery were only required to be supplied from the Rāmānuja-kūṭam.

Ajaḍappirānār, after whose name the tirumaṅjanam came to be called, may be identified with Tirukkalikanḍīsār Ajaḍappirānār, one of the Śrivaiśhnavas of Tirupati, who is the donor in No. 61-T. T. dated in Śaka 1301 and in No. 187-T. T. dated in Śaka 1356, in the latter of which he is entitled mudaliyār. It is this same Tirukkalikanḍīsār who took pains for the revival of the Vīṣadārūyaṇam at Tirumala in the time of Dāvariya II. In Śaka 1301 Ajaḍappirānār paid a sum of 450 narpaṇam into the temple-treasury and stipulated for the conduct of abhishekam for Malaiṅkiniyainīxa-Perumāl (the processional image at Tirumala) and Nāchehimār (His two divine consorts Śrī-Dāvi and Bhū-Dāvi) in his pūṣpa-maṇḍapam on the second day in each of the Brahmotsavams held at Tirumala during the period, and for food-offerings for these deities as well as for Pēriya-Perumāl, i.e., Śrī Vēkaṭāvira, and for Varāhā-Nāyanār. The record states that the articles of perfumery required for the bath were supplied by the tirumaṅjanatālaivār or the temple-servants who were in charge of the room containing the requisite articles for the bath. Through the other record (No. 187-T. T.) Tirukkalikanḍīsār Ajaḍappirānār provided for the supply of meditta puḻugu-kāppu for the deity's face (tirumukka-maṇḍalam) each day for six months, together with sandal-paste (meditta-lāttuppaṭi) and camphor for waving a light (ālatti or ārati).

This is the first mention we get of puḻugu-kāppu and here it is stated that it was arranged to be done every-day for six months.
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

The next reference to it occurs in No. 336—T. T. dated in Śaka 1418, wherein Kandāśai Appachchiyār-Ampā provided on the Friday occurring once in 15 days which happened to be the day of puḻugu-kāppu-murcai for Śrī Vaṅkaṭēsvara, for the recitation of the Uśa, a species of poem, in praise of Kandāśai Rāmānujayyaṅgār and for the offering of two alirasappāṣi for the deity at the time of anointment with puḻugu-kāppu.

The expressions of the record indicate that the puḻugu-kāppu function had been carried on for some time past and that men had become familiarised to it by that time. Again in Śaka 1427 (No. 276—T. T.) this same fortnightly anointment on every second Friday becomes the occasion for offering one nāyaka-taṇigai and one appaṇḍi to the deity as the service of Dharmapuram Śīṭānun Śeṭti, one of the nagarattār of Narasingaṉtryapuram, a suburb of Tirupati. But the time for offering was fixed immediately after Alarṇīlmangai-Nāchchichār, i.e., "Vakshasthala-Lakshmi" supported on His chest by Śrī Vaṅkaṭēsvvara, received the tirumāṇjanam.

Thus we find the rite of puḻugu-kāppu first arranged apparently in Śaka 1356 to form an item of the daily routine, passing by about Śaka 1418 into a special fortnightly function combined with the bath on alternate Fridays. This does not, however, preclude the possibility of its daily course. For now-a-days there is the occasion of a daily bath comprised within the rites of the tomāla-siva in the forenoon, when the Bhōga-Mūrti, represented by a silver image, receives the bath. The original provision might have been of this nature, intended for Śrī Vaṅkaṭēsvvara, the Mula-Mūrti, but actually utilised for the Bhōga-Mūrti.

In about three decades from Śaka 1427, the date of the second record (No. 276—T. T.) mentioning the observance of the puḻugu-kāppu-murcai in the Tirumala temple on alternate Fridays, we find that the fortnightly function had been converted by Śaka 1456 (No. 331—T. T.) not only into a weekly one held on each of the 53 Fridays in the year, but also a monthly one conducted on each of the 13 days of Mrigaśirsham star occurring in the year, this being the asterism under which king Achyutarāya Mahārāya was born. Bhāṣāram Apparasar's son, Śiru-Timmayyar, had effected this augmentation. Thus the original 26 or 27
ABHISHEKAM (HOLY BATH)

Punugukrapu-murai days had been extended by Sigu-Timmayivar so as to aggregate to 66 days comprising both the intervening Fridays till then left out and other thirteen days of Mrigañirsham star sanctified by the birth of the Vijayanagara king under its ascendency.

In spite of the occurrence of the expression Punugukrapu in four inscriptions, the clue to its proper significance is not furnished. As pointed out already, before the end of the 13th century the rite had become a matter of routine and the people were conversant with its nature and its connotation with reference to the exact article or articles required to be supplied for the occasion. Otherwise, had it been an innovation, an attempt would have been made in the record to describe the processes involved in its observance. (Compare the enumeration of details connected with the Pavitarotsavam instituted by Saluva Mallayada Mahārāja as noted in No. 157—T.T. dated in Śaka 1385). There is a function, extant in the temple routine on Fridays, which is denominated Punugukrapu during which the Tirumurai, the holy body of the idol including the face, is smeared with civet-oil and then the Tirumani-kāppu, the vertical white Vaishnavait mark in two thick patches, is formed with fine dust of refined camphor, together with an intermediate black one of musk. Further, in the present-day vocabulary of the temple, Punugukrapu includes not only the civet-oil and camphor but also musk and saffron, the former being used for putting on the middle mark Kasturi-tilakam on the forehead, and the latter for making up the sandal-paste besides being one of the articles of perfumery for the abhishekasam. It is therefore probable that the two terms Punugukrapu and Punugukrapu are mere variants and that the former comprised the same four articles as the latter now does, namely Punugu (civet), pachcha-karpuram (refined camphor), bastari (musk) and kumkumapuvou or kisari (saffron).

11. UTSAVAMS (TIRUNAL, FESTIVALS).

Under royal patronage the temples had received gifts and endowments to serve for the primary needs of worship of the deities, and the next concern of the worshippers and the devotees was with regard to the augmentation of the grandeur of the temples in the matter of the worship of the deities by means of elaborate festivals and plentiful food-offerings.
and in the matter of the construction of spacious and artistic mantapams and imposing prakarams and gopurams.

The festivals in the temples may be classified into the fundamental, the auxiliary and the secondary ones, according to the nature of their institution. The fundamental festivals are obligatory, being enjoined by the Astas and Agamas to be observed at fixed times, and their omission would be considered profane, while their restitution would call for special preliminary purificatory rites. To this class belongs the Brahmotsavam. The auxiliary festivals have their origin in the traditional divine life of the deity or in the incarnations of Vishnu on earth. Such are the tiruppalli-suchchi, i.e., the Margaḷi or the Dhanurmāsa festival and those conducted on the days of the birth-asterism of the deities. The secondary ones are of a subsidiary character and were instituted by devotees with a view to gain religious merit and invoke the blessings of the Almighty on the days fixed for them. These are usually the days of the birth-asterism of the donor, his religious preceptor, liege-lord or other relation or friend.

**BRAHMOTSAVAMS OR TIRUKKODI-TIRUNAL.**

As to festivals, the earliest epigraph in the collection from Tiruchchānur, No. 219—G. T. dated in the 51st year of the reign of the Pallava king Kē Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (equivalent to 830 A. C.), records a deposit of 40 kalañjās of gold by Ulagappperumār of Śujanār in Śujanāru with the assembly at Tiruchchukānār (Tiruchchānur) for the purpose of keeping a lamp before the processional image newly installed in the shrine of Tiruvākaṭṭatu-Emperumān-Adīgal. Here occurs the earliest mention of the installation of a processional image, and nearly a century and a half elapses before we hear again of the consecration of another image of silver made in the representation of Śri Vaṅkaṭāvāra, the Mula-Murti or the presiding deity of the temple (No. 18—T.T.).

This second image of silver was consecrated under the denomination of Maṅavālappurumāl by Sāmavai, daughter of a Pallava and queen of Śatī (śakti)-Viṅkaṭān alias Śrikāṭuvaṃṭigaḷ, in the 14th year of the reign of Koppattra-Mahāndra-Panmar. The Pallava queen presented a number of jewels and ornaments including a kirīṭam or crown, and also arranged
BRAHMOTSAVAMS OR TIRUKKODI-TIRUNAL

for the conduct of a festival with a procession for this image for two days immediately preceding the main festival, as well as the main festival itself in the month of Puraṭṭāi commencing on the day of the Chittirai star and lasting for nine days.

In the same year she made, a further provision for another fresh festival for this silver image with two processions each day for seven days prior to Mārgaṭṭi-tiruvudai, i.e., the Mukkot-Dvādaii. Towards the expenses of these festivals she purchased land and granted it to the temple and enjoined on the sabhaiyar, probably of Tiruchchukantar (Tiruchchānūr), to take care to see that no tax was levied on the land granted by her. Thus, even so early as the 10th century A.C., we find that, the original annual festival held in the month of Puraṭṭāi, and usually known as Brāhmotsavam, because, according to the Venkatāchala-Māhitmyam, it was originally instituted and conducted by Brāhma, became duplicated. The celebration of the festival was an expensive affair, and the Pallava queen herself undertook to provide for the charges through an endowment of land.

The Chōṭa records, so far available, make no mention of festivals, but the later ones enable us to discern the simultaneous increase in the quantity and variety of food-offerings with the number and magnitude of the festivals. This is the period of time, when, on the decline of the ancient Hindu kingdoms of the South, there arose into prominence, in the middle region, certain political aspirants, such as the Gāndagopālas, the Yādavārāyas, the Kaṭavārāyas and the Śambuvārāyas, who apparently endeavoured to carve out independent kingdoms and claimed “universal sway” over the land. These families of chieftains had, in their glorious days, rendered their share of service to the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati, directly, or otherwise, by means of gifts and grants, for the perpetuation of nitya-dīpam and nitya-naivedyam, as well as utsavams for the deities, so much so that by about 1300 A. C. we find that, in addition to the two Brāhmotsavams observed in the 10th century to have been celebrated in the months of Puraṭṭāi and Mārgaṭṭi, similar festivals were established in the month of Ādi at Tirumala for Śrī Vākaṭāśiva (No. 189—T. T.),
and in the month of Ṭañi in Tirupati for Śrī Govindarāja (No. 111—G. T.) besides the original annual festival in Vaikāśī held in Tirupati (No. 127—G. T.). This second festival in Ṭañi had been instituted by the queen of Vīra-Nirāsimhadīva Yāḍavarāya in the 30th year of his reign, and for its conduct she granted half of the village of Paṇḍapalli, of which the other half was already a tiruvīḍaiyāṭam (grant to the temple). Besides, she had a four-sided wooden car constructed for the procession of the deity during this festival and it appears that this new car was smaller than the old car which served during the Vaikāśī festival. The decoration and repairs to the car presented by her formed two of the items of the charges during the festival for which the grant was made and the temple authorities were also empowered to utilise any balance left over for the repair of the temple as well. So far, the festival known as the Tirukkkoṭi-tirunāḷ or Brahmoṭisavam became trebled in the temple at Tirumala, while it was duplicated in the Tirupati temple. The fact that there were held at the time more festivals than one is borne out by No. 102—T. T., though it does not indicate precisely how many they were.

Coming to the Vijayanagara period, we note that Harīhara II instituted a fresh festival in Māḷi at Tirumala through the agency of Mullai Tiruvākaṭa Jiyar, and the income of the village of Paṅgūḍu appears to have been dedicated by him for its expenses (Nos. 61 and 103—T. T.). The other references to festivals are not quite definite about their number and their time (cf. Nos. 61 and 340—T. T.). But, as time advanced, we find that before the middle of the 16th century, they rose at Tirumala to ten and these were probably distributed among the ten months of the year, with the exception of Vaikāśī and Ṭañi which witnessed two festivals in Tirupati for Śrī Govindarāja.

The Brahmoṭisavams were celebrated for a period of twelve days counted from the day of aṅkurūpanam or sowing the nine kinds of seeds in earthen vessels to the day of viḍāyanu or the day of preparing for relaxation after the exertions of the temple-servants for twelve days during the festival. Each day, after the procession was over, the processional image was taken from the rāhanam (vehicle) into the
ADHYAYANOTSAVAM

temple to a maṇḍapam and, being installed there in an āsthanam or an assembly, was offered different kinds of food provided for the occasion by devotees, which was next distributed among the worshippers attending the function. Similar āsthanams were also arranged by devotees to be conducted in the maṇḍapams built in their flower-gardens round about the temple, to which the processional image was taken in the course of the procession through the streets, before returning to the temple. The āsthanam formed a feature not only in the Brahmotsavams, but in other festivals also.

ADHYAYANOTSAVAM.

In the temple at Tirumala, this festival commenced ten days prior to the Mukkūṭi-Ekādasi and continued for a period of about twenty days. During each of these days, the processional images were taken round through the streets in procession with the chanting of hymns from the Nalayira-Prabandham, the four-thousand quatrains composed in Tamil by the Śrīvaishnavas āvārs (saints) for the enlightenment and spiritual deliverance of the masses not versed in the Sanskrit Veda. The festival was divided into two equal periods, the earlier 10 days forming the first period or pagalpattu, i.e., days-ten, and the latter 10 days the second period or irā-pattu, i.e., nights-ten (ten-night), which commenced with the Vaikuntha-Ekādasi or the Mukkūṭi-Ekādasi. Devotees provided for offerings for the deities during this festival, as they did during the Brahmotsavams.

The Adhyayanotsavam was celebrated also for Śrī Gōvindarāja and Śrī Kōḍandā-Rāma in Tirupati. In the case of the five āvārs, it was observed for a period of 12 days, and on the Sattu-mūrthi day special offerings were arranged to be made to Śrī Vaṅkaśāivaṇa first and then brought down to Tirupati for being offered to them.

The earliest reference to this festival occurs about 1400 A. C. and the latest is in 1635 A. C. It is still observed in all these temples at the present day.
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

PAVITROTSAVAM.

Almost all the festivals that we meet with in the inscriptions have their continuance at the present time; but the only prominent one which is conspicuous by its non-observance to-day in any of these temples is the Pavitrotsavam. It is an annual festival and its object is the expiation of the sins of omission and commission arising in the daily worship and other religious rites performed in temples. It is an essentially purificatory ceremony.

It was first instituted in Tirumala at the instance of Sāluva Mallayadāva Mahārāja in Śaka 1385 (=1463 A. C.) during the time of Sāluva Narasimha (No. 157—T. T.). It being a new institution, we are happily supplied with full details of the rites and functions pertaining to the ceremony lasting virtually for a period of 5 days, but actually for 6 days including the preliminaries of seed-sowing on the night preceding. The ceremonial comprised also the recitation of the Vīdas and the reading of the Purāṇas during these five days for which the Brāhmaṇa reciters and readers were remunerated.

The four inscriptions, two from the Tirumala temple and two from the Tirupati temple, that mention this Pavitrotsavam, belong to the 15th century and there are no references to it at a later date. Even at the present time, it is not observed in any of the temples here. It is inexplicable when and how such an important purificatory ceremony came to be omitted from the periodic observances in the temples, the more so when it is found that it is performed with all zest and grandeur in the other prominent Vaishnava temples in South India, such as Kāṇicht, Śrīraṣṭa, etc.

SANKRANTIS.

Some of the temple festivals owe their origin to the motion of the Sun in the heavens, causing our seasons, the solstices and the equinoxes and the monthly Sāṅkrāntis. Among these, the Aaya-saṅkrāntis, i.e., the Makara-saṅkrāmam and the Karkaṇa-saṅkrāmam or the Uttarāyana and Dakshināyana Puṇyakālas, corresponding to the winter
SANKRANTIS

and the summer solstices occurring on the 12th or 13th of January and about the 15th of July respectively, are especially observed universally, while the Vishu-saṅkṛāti, i.e., the Chittirai-Vishu and the Arpiti-Vishu, corresponding to the vernal and the autumnal equinoxes, are observed to a less extent and the monthly saṅkṛāti still less so. Since, however, all these occasions, together with the amaṃśya days, are generally reckoned as holy days on which the manes of the departed fathers are required to be propitiated, this sacredness attaching to them has supported their observance in the temples as well. In the epigraphs, these days along with others are termed Viśiṣṭa-diviṣamāṇaḥ as distinct from the tiṣṭhāt-diviṣamāṇaḥ which occur each month and which are a sort of routine (Nos. 271 and 277—T. T. and 142—G. T.).

On these occasions, so as to commemorate their sanctity, special worship including tirumāṇjanam and niṣṭhāna was provided for by devotees, as may be noticed from Nos. 16, 44, 51, 58, 66, 97, 105, 142, 195, 197—G. T., and 18, 51, 70 94, 281, 346—T. T. In the earliest of the epigraphs in which we get a reference to these holy days, viz., No. 18—T. T. belonging to about the third quarter of the 10th century A. C., we already find provision made by the Kāḷava queen Śāmavai for special tirumāṇjanam for the newly installed image Maṅavāḥapprumāḥ at Tirumala, on the two Ayana-saṅkrānti and the two Vishu-saṅkrānti days. And from that time onwards, the increase has been manifest in the number of the saṅkrāntis and other occasions so observed, including the Ḍhādaīi days also. In one case we have the full and the new moon days on which occur the Sōna-Sāya-grahaṇam (lunar and solar eclipses) comprised within the Viśiṣṭa-diviṣamāṇaḥ.

Out of these days, the Ādi-ayanam was of peculiar significance in the secular functions of the temple in so far as it formed the new year’s day on which the old registers of accounts, etc., of the temple were closed and fresh ones commenced to be written up. The Ādi-ayanam is consequently mentioned in these records, usually coupled with a reference to this function, as in the expressions, tiruvāṅki-ṭutta-idum-pōdu (No. 66—G. T.), tiruvāṅki-ṭutta-idum-pōdu (No. 195—G. T.), and tiruvāṅki-ṭutta-idum-pōdu (Nos. 44, 58 and 142—G. T.).
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

VASANTOTSAVAM AND GRISHMOTSAVAM.

The divinity is conceived in the likeness of man whose nature is shadowed forth to that of the godhead through an attribute of feelings and qualities. Pain and pleasure, heat and cold, He is conceived to feel equally with man and means are devised to minimise their influence or make them yield their wholesome effects to the full. Such a conception appears to be the origin of the Vasantotsavam (the spring festival), the Grishmotsavam or Kōday-tirunāḷ (the summer festival), the Uñjal-tirunāḷ (the swinging festival) and the tiruppaṭi-udam-tirunāḷ (the floating festival).

VASANTOTSAVAM.

The Vasantotsavam is of two kinds. During the Vasantartu (spring season) in the month of Vaikāśi has been celebrated the Brahmoṭsavam for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati, in which on the 6th day is conducted the Vasantotsavam with the procession of the image through the streets. Nowadays this is an evening function and special provision is made for the distribution of chandanām (sandal-paste) on a large scale. Probably it was similar in the past also, as may be seen from the more than the usual quantity of chandanām provided for the occasion. This Vasantotsavam was therefore a function of an evening, that is, on the 6th day during the Brahmoṭsavam celebrated in the spring season. Until the 13th century there was only one Brahmoṭsavam celebrated for Śrī Gōvindarāja in the month of Vaikāśi; and, as such, there must have been only one Vasantotsavam day in the year. But when the queen of Vira-Nārasimha Yādavarāya, a Choṭa feudatory of the 13th century, instituted a second Brahmoṭsavam in the month of Āni for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 111—G. T.), the Vasantotsavam day became doubled, and this number appears to have remained constant until the middle of the 16th century when 2 more Brahmoṭsavams were instituted. A similar auxiliary Vasantotsavam was arranged for the last 2 days of the Kōdai festival by Kāraṇikka Basavarasar in Śaka 1437, Yuva, during the reign of Kṛishparāya (No. 311—T. T.).

Besides this auxiliary Vasantotsavam, there seems to have been celebrated a Vasantotsavam as a main festival by itself, lasting for 3 days in the month of Chittirai, from the day of the star Chittirai, i. e., Chitta,
KODAI-TIRUNAL

which would coincide with the Purnima or the full-moon day (No. 105—G. T.). During the time of Achyutarāya, a fresh Vasantōtsavam was started in śaka 1460, Vijambi, by Periya-Śoilai, son of an accountant in the temple at Tirumala, by instituting a fund of 3000 naṟṇaṟaṁam (No. 345—G. T.). The preliminary rite of ankurāṟpaṇam (sowing the nine kinds of seeds) was required to be done on the day of Uttirāṭadi or Uttarābhāḍra star in the month of Paṅguni and the Śāttumurāḷi (the last) day was to fall on the day of Kārtikai or Kṛttikai star such that the tirunāḷ was celebrated for a period of 4 days.

Since these festivals were not the primary and obligatory ones, they could be increased and modified to any extent to which the devotees desired and consequently we find variation in them.

KODAI-TIRUNAL.

The Kōḍai-tirunāḷ was a summer festival, just as Vasantōtsavam was one pertaining to the spring season. It was conducted for a period of 20 days divided into two halves. It was conducted both at Tirumala for Śrī Malaiyappan (the processional image of Śrī Vēśkaṭāvāra), His two divine consorts and Śānai-Mudaliyār (No. 311—T. T.), and in Tirupati for Śrī Gōvindarāja (Nos. 105—G. T., 277 and 281—T. T.). No. 251—G. T., dated in śaka 1454, Kharah, records a Kōḍai festival for Śrī Periya-Raghunāthan, i.e., Śrī Kōdaṇṭa-Rāma, during the month of Āni.

ANNA-UNJAL-TIRUNAL.

Besides these Vasanta and Kōḍai festivals, we also meet with the Anna-unjal-(swan-shaped swing) tirunāḷ, and the Tiruppaḷi-ōdam-tirunāḷ (floating festival) conducted for the processional images. The Anna-unjal festival was started in the Tirumala temple by Sājuva Narasimha in śaka 1395, Vijaya, and was stipulated to be celebrated for a period of 5 days virtually, but actually for 7 days (No. 197—T. T.). It was essential to commence this festival with the ankurāṟpaṇam, as in the case of the Vasantōtsavam, on the night preceding the main days of the festival, which was fixed to be done on the 6th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Chittirai. All articles required for the bath, worship,
offerings and procession were enumerated *seriatim*, as well as the rites of *kōnam*, *Puruṣāham* and *antya-kōnam* at the end of the 5th day. Special offerings on a grand scale were provided for both day and night. For the expenses of these and other items, Sāluva Narasimha granted the village of Dommarapaṭṭi in Kalavai-pāṭru, a sub-division of Paḍaivīḍu-rājya.

Not only was this *ūḷal-utsavam* separately instituted as a main festival, but it was annexed to the *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* on its 10th day, and further arranged as a one day’s function on the *Sankramam* (i.e., the *Makara-saṅkramam* or the winter-solstice day) by Sāluva Narasimha himself. On the above occasion, the total *ūḷal* days aggregating to nine (No. 197—T. T.).

The *ūḷal* festival, when once it was established in the Tirumala temple by Sāluva Narasimha for Śrī Malaiyappa, became a desideratum in Tirupati in the case of Śrī Gōvindarāja. Consequently in śaka 1430 Appā-Pillai, son of Karavaṭippuliyāvar of the *Kauḍinya-gōtra* and *Apastamba-sūtra*, a resident of Mahākālakālachārī, a part of Rājendra-sāla-chaturvādi-maṅgalam *a’ias* Śrīman-Uttaramār, instituted a *ūḷal-tirunāḷ* for Śrī Gōvindarāja, commencing with the *ankurāpānām* on the day of the Chitta star occurring in the month of Ādi and closing with the *Sūttumurai* on the day of Uttarāshaḍha (No. 265—G.T.). The festival therefore lasted for 8 days and adequate provision was made for its regular conduct through the supply of all the necessary articles and services which were also remunerated.

**TIRUPPALLI-ODAM-TIRUNAL.**

The inscription No. 197—T. T., which records the institution of the *ūḷal* festival at Tirumala by Sāluva Narasimha, mentions that a *Tiruppalliṭṭattirunāḷ* (floating festival) was also conducted as the *dharmam* of Sāluva Narasimha, and that provision was made for offering 4 *appā-padi* on the occasion.

References to the swinging and the floating festivals occur in later records. Nos. 271—T. T. dated in śaka 1426 and 97—G.T. dated in śaka 1445 state that the *ūḷal* festival was celebrated for a period of 5 days
in the two temples. But the references to the Tiruppattotam point out to a one day's festival as in Nos. 281—T. T. and 256—G. T., while in No. 97—G. T. it is said to form a day's function, being affixed to the Kōta festival on its 10th day, and in No. 83—T.T., dated in Śaka 1455, Vijaya, it is stated that the Jalakriti—tiruppattottirunāl was to be conducted for 9 days in the Achyutarāya-Komīrī.

Another source of accretion to the festivals in temples is furnished by the provision made for celebrating the birth-day or the birth-asterism of the several deities. The Jayantis of the different Avatāras, such as Śrī Rāma-navami, Śrī Krishṇaśēṣṭami, Śrī Narasimha-jayanti, are observed annually on particular days, while, in the case of the presiding deities of the several temples, the birth-asterism is of greater moment and on the day on which it occurs each month special worship is provided, such are the days of the stars Śravanam in the case of Śrī Vaiṣṇava (No. 33—T. T.), Punarvasu for Śrī Rāma (No. 280—T. T.), Uttarā for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 47—G. T.), Rāhu for Śrī Krishṇa (No. 47—G. T.), etc.

Closely akin to the above are those festivals in temples which were instituted by devotees for conducting special worship to the deities on each anniversary day of the birth-asterism of certain great men, such as the ūtrārs (saints), āchāryas (spiritual teachers), kings, princes, and ruling chiefs, and rich men and other devoted persons who were anxious about invoking the blessings of the Almighty upon them on the particular day each year for a long and prosperous life. Special worship including food-offerings and processions were arranged on these occasions.

Besides, certain other days, such as the Tai-Amāvasyai, Āni-Amāvasyai, Dīpāvali, Kārtikai, Yugādi, Mahā-Navami, Ratha-Saptami, etc., which are held sacred by the Hindu public, were also made festive occasions on which the deities were propitiated with offerings and taken out on some vehicles in procession.

12. VAHANAMS (VEHICLES)

The inscriptions give numerous references to festivals in the temples, but, in all but those that are dated in the 16th century, we have
no information as to the Vāhanam or vehicle used on each day of the procession of the deities through the streets during the Brahmoṣṭavams. The epigraphs dated during the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya mention the names of about half a dozen vehicles and further indicate that the same vehicle was used for procession on different days. And it is inevitable that it should have been such, since the number of festival days was about a dozen and at least on seven of these days there were processions both day and night (Nos. 19 and 81—T.T.), while the number of vehicles in use was limited to six.

No. 51—T.T. is positive in saying that on the 3rd, 4th and 6th days of the Brahmoṣṭavams in Śri Gōvindaṛājāsvāmi’s temple at Tirupati, Mutū-pandal, (the pearl-canopy, a wooden structure of the shape of a maṇjapam decorated with pearls—and with false pearls now-a-days), formed the vehicle for the procession. Nos. 51—T.T. and 154—G.T. show that Tiruvanantal or Śishavāhanam, i.e., the hooded-serpent vehicle, was employed on the 9th day of the festivals. The same Vāhanam is referred to in Nos. 48, 56, and 191—G.T., but the particular days when it was used is not definitely stated. Likewise we lack definite information as regards the days on which the Garuḍā-vāhanam and the Pallaki (palanquin) were used. As at the present time, probably the 5th day had the Pallaki for the noon and the Garuḍa-vāhanam for the night. But almost every epigraph which has a reference to make to Brahmoṣṭavams clearly states that the procession of the deities on the 8th day of the festivals both at Tirumala and Tirupati was conducted on big four-sided wooden cars of which there were two at Tirupati, the smaller one having been constructed at the instance of Vīra-Nārasiṃha Yādavarāya’s queen and being ordained for the procession during the second Brahmoṣṭavam for Śri Gōvindaṛājāsvāmi which she newly instituted to be celebrated in the month of Āni. Nos. 269 and 270—G.T. record a present of two sets of golden elephants and horse vehicles, a set apiece to the two temples of Śri Vāsakaṭāvāra and Śri Gōvindaṛāja, by Maṭla Kumāra-Anantarājaya. We also hear of other vehicles, such as Namprāṇ or Tiruchki (No. 66—G. T.), and Hamsa-vāhanam (swan) and Chāṭaka-pakshi-vāhanam (the Indian or black cuckoo). As in the other cases, information is lacking as regards the days when they were employed.
These Vāhanams served their purpose not only during Brahma-
sutsavams, but during all other festivals in which processions were
conducted, as, for example, the employment of the Sūrya-prabha-vāhanam
on the Ratha-Saptami day (No. 321—G.T.).

13. NANDAVANAMS (FLOWER—GARDENS.)

A number of devotees felt the inadequacy of the supply of
flowers for Śri Vaṅgaśāvara, which are a prime requisite for a deity's
decoration in the course of the daily worship as well as during festivals.
Flowers of any kind are not to be had in sufficient quantities throughout
the year in these places and the difficulties experienced in this respect
on the hills in former times should have been far greater than
they are at present in spite of facilities of communication afforded by
the railway, and perhaps often-times insurmountable. The devotees
realised the difficulties of constant supply and set themselves to form
gardens and cultivate plants and place the produce at the disposal of
the temple. Each garden was in charge of a manager who usually
supervised it and took work from the gardeners. The workers were
generally paid from 3 to 6 paṇām each month for their labour, while
the manager, it would appear, held an honorary charge.

Frequently these devotees built manjapams in their flower-gardens
and in some cases deposited sums of money or transferred the possession
of the gardens together with the manjapams to the temple-treasury, which
was under obligation ever after to take up and discharge the services
to the temple in the name of the donor and also undertake to pay the
jivitam (monthly salary) of the gardeners, or issue a quantity of the
offered food each day to them for cultivating the flower-garden so as to
facilitate the perennial supply of flowers and herbs. It seems very likely
that these gardens were in many cases cultivated by Śāttāda-Śrīvaishnavas
who are even at the present day under the name of Dāsa-Nambis carrying
on the service of making flower-garlands in the Tirupati temple
(Nos. 197 and 200—T. T.). Though instances of the cultivation of flower-
gardens occur from about 1300 A. C. (125—G. T.) onwards, the numerous
cases of forming gardens referred to in the inscriptions of the latter
part of the 14th and the earlier part of the 15th centuries indicate the

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inadequacy of the supply of flowers, in spite of scores of well maintained gardens dedicated to the temples. And it is not a matter for surprise when it is remembered that the number of festivals during which the deity and the images had to be decorated had increased greatly, necessitating a larger supply of flowers. Usually the devotees themselves undertook the laying out of the flower-gardens and arranging for their cultivation through private agency and continued to retain them in their possession or handed them over after a time to the temple, specifying the nature of the permanent provision made and the charges to be met from the temple-treasury therefor. But in No. 243—T. T., we note that the Tiruppanipilai, i. e., the officer in charge of Public Works pertaining to the temple, took up the responsibility for supplying garlands of flowers to the deity on behalf of Mukhappālam Nāgama-Nāyaka, a general under Sāluva Narasimharāya Mahārāya-Udaiyar for whose merit Nāgama-Nāyaka instituted the service, and transferred the possession of the village of Tiradampāţi, his fief, to the temple as Tiruvīḷaiyālari-Tiruppanipuram. The temple managers accepting the responsibility for the supply of flowers on behalf of a donor and the grant of a village for the purpose form the peculiar features of the record.

Of the different kinds of flowers grown in the gardens and in lakes or ponds, Սհահաս, i. e., the red lotus, appears from its special mention and from the arrangements made for its cultivation in ponds (Nos. 125—G. T. and 53 and 153—T. T.) to have been held in high esteem. In the flower-gardens were also cultivated aromatic herbs, such as marik (marvuam), damana (davanam) and tulasi (the sacred basil) (No. 56, A—T. T.) which were required for the worship of the deities daily.

14. DEVADANA VILLAGES AND LANDS.

The high esteem in which these temples were held and the solicitous care with which they were looked after by the Hindu kings and their officers are sufficiently indicated by the services and charities they instituted in them and the presents, gifts and endowments they made towards their permanent conduct. The endowments mostly took the form of lands and villages which were granted in many cases as
DEVADANA VILLAGES AND LANDS

sarvamānya. More than a hundred and fifty villages thus endowed come to notice, the majority of them being situated within the Chandragirirājya in the Tirukkuḍavir-nāṭu and Vaikunda-valanāṭu, two sub-districts comprised within the major district of Tiruvākata-kōṭam. In the pre-Vijayanagara days, the temple seems to have come into possession of only a few villages, but the major portion of its endowments belongs to the Vijayanagara period. As already mentioned, the great number of services and charities instituted during the Vijayanagara times in the form of nitya-naivedyam (daily food-offerings) to the deities, tirunāl (festivals) with processions and offerings, nandavanams (flower-gardens), maṇḍapams and gopurams, Rāmānuja-kōṭams, etc., necessitated adequate provision being made for their regular and permanent conduct and preservation, and the only means by which this could be effected was through an endowment of land or village which not only formed a permanent property but also yielded a permanent annual income through which the objects of the donors could be fulfilled. This double permanency could not be shaken so long as the Hindu kings were strong enough to maintain their power, and a semblance of it they maintained down to the 17th century. We may be sure that, till that time, the temple was in full undisturbed possession and enjoyment of its property in land, and only later on came to be slowly dishonest of it, through the Muhammadan occupation of the Southern country and, the more so completely and deliberately and at one stroke, during the British rule in the early years of the 19th century. So far as landed property is considered at present, out of the old endowments the temple possesses nothing, it having been completely deprived of them by the non-Hindu rulers, either through self-aggrandisement or through alienation to certain hereditary servants of the temple in a few cases, with a view probably to ensure permanency of service in the temples.

The earliest gift of land, so far known, was that of some seven thousand kuṭi of land in Tiruchchukkānār (Tiruchānār) made by the Kāḷa va queen Sāmavai who purchased it in a number of plots from the sabhaiyār of the place and other private owners and granted the whole to the temple for meeting the charges for propitiating daily the
image of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara denominated Maṇavāḷappēruminēḷ newly installed by her in the temple at Tirumala and of the two festivals instituted by her for this image (Nos. 18 and 19—T.T.). This may be approximately dated in the 3rd quarter of the 10th century of the Christian era. The next epigraph which is dated on the 7th day, apparently of the first year, of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I (1016 A.C.) refers to Tiruchchukanur and Tirumuddiyam as having been Dīvar-dvādānam prior to the date of the record (No. 20—T.T.). The next grant belongs to the reign of Rājarāja III. The Periya-nāṭar of Tirukkuṭāvār-nāṭu had installed an image of ‘Tirumangai-ēḻvār’ in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja at Tirupati and on the requisition of the managers of the temple for provision being made for the ēḻvār’s worship, the king issued oral orders which were executed by the assembly of Tirukkuṭāvār by assigning land yielding 5 tumbu of grain to serve for the ēḻvār’s offerings (No. 126—G.T.). During the same reign, one Pōkkārān Paṇḍiyadaraiyan appears to have made a gift of land for conducting a festival for Ajagiyaaperumēḷ, probably during the month of Paṭāguni (Nos. 222 and 226—G.T.).

Under the auspices of some of the powerful local chiefs of the 13th and 14th centuries, viz., the Gaṇḍaṅgōpālas and the Yādavarāyas, several gifts of land were made from time to time. Vijaya-Gaṇḍaṅgōpalas’s reign witnessed at least one instance of such a gift (No. 127—G.T.). The Yādavarāyas evinced deep interest for the temple and endowed it with lands and villages. During the reign of Tirukkāṭattideva Yādavarāya entitled Prabhuta-rajāraya, Chandrákula-tilaka, Chāḻukya-Nārāyana, Śrimaddhujabala, &c., the village of Kuḍāvār, in which certain plots of land were previously in the possession and enjoyment of the temple, became a full dvādaṇa village on the recommendation by the assembly of Avalāli of the request of the Sthēnattār (No. 170—T. T.). Vira-Rākṣhāsa Yādavarāya’s service consisted in the grant of some land in Tirukkuṭāvār-nāṭu made with the object of offering food to Śrī Vākaṭāśvara (No. 293—T. T.). In the 30th year of the reign of Vira-Nārasimha Yādavarāya, his queen granted half of the village of Painţappalli, of which the other half was already a dvādaṇām, with the remission of the taxes thereon, so as to meet the expenses of the
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festival which she newly started for Śṛi Gōvindarāja in the month of Āni (No. 111—G. T.). It is not known when the other half of the village came into the possession of the temple. In two cases this Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavārāya was the executor of the grant made by Sundara-Pāṇḍya of some land, probably in the Kuḍavār-ṇāṭu and of the village of Pādirivāḷu, to take effect from the 3rd and the 12th years respectively of the reign of Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva (Nos. 164 and 165—T.T.). Tiruvāṅkaṭāṇāṭha Yādavārāya granted, as sarvanāṁya, half of the village of Pēpāḷur at the instance of Śīngya-Dānāyaka for conducting the Ādi festival at Tirumala and offering food to the deities (Nos. 189 and 195—T.T.); and the village of Tirupati, at his own pleasure, for the daily offering of food to Śṛi Vākaṭāśivara at a particular time of the day designated Nārāyaṇan-sandhi called after Yādava Nārāyaṇa, probably an elder member of the family (Nos. 11 and 40—G. T.).

Coming to the Vijayanagara period, we notice that Harihara II assigned in Śaka 1310, the cyclic year Prabhava, the revenues of the village of Pūṇāḷu for the conduct of a festival to commence from the same year in the Tirumala temple during the month of Māṇi. The village was not given over to the temple but remained in the hands of one Mullai Tiruvāṅkaṭā Jīyar who paid into the temple-treasury during the year 100 paṇam being the income from the village (Nos. 103 and 61—T. T.). By Śaka 1355 falling within the reign of Dāvarāya II, the temple came into possession of half the village of Siddhakuṭṭai alias Śrīnīvāsapuram, a few miles to the west of Tirupati, and in that year conferred it upon the 24 Mahājanam or learned men of that place who were engaged to recite every day in the presence of Śṛi Vākaṭāśivara the Vīdas which had ceased to be chanted for some time past (Nos. 89, 149, 161 and 162—T.T.). Already in Śaka 1351, Dāvarāya II had endowed the temple with three villages to serve for certain offerings which he ordered to be made to Šṛi Vākaṭāśivara in his own name, while his minister Mallaṇa provided for increased irrigation sources in two dēvādana villages and thus added to the income of the temple (No. 187—T.T.).

Among the Vijayanagara rulers, Sājuva Nārasimha is the greatest of the benefactors to the temple, and, in fairness to his benefactions, we
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may assign to him almost the entire credit due for enhancing the reputation and prestige of the temple at Tirumala during the Vijayanagara period,—if such can be conceded to be due to individual human efforts. To the people at large, it is the opulence of the temple manifested through the strikingly elaborate daily ritual, the frequently occurring festivals conducted for the majestic and lovely images of the deities profusely decorated with costly jewels and ornaments and garlands of sweet-smelling flowers and aromatic herbs, and taken round on exquisitely carved wooden vehicles overlaid with silver or gilded copper-plate through the streets in pompous procession lighted by long rows of torches on either side, accompanied by the enticing music of the pipe, and adorned by the richly caparisoned elephants, camels, horses and oxen pacing in front and in the rear and bearing high-sounding and awe-inspiring war-drums, the whole place reverberating now and again with the inspiring name of "GŌVINDA" called on by one and all assembled on the occasion; the majestic and imposing gopuras and prākāra walls ornamented with figures and scenes depicting purānic stories; stone-pillared mandapams beautifully sculptured and surmounted by gilded sikharams, the spacious corridors and court-yards attractively paved with dressed granite or black stone and interspersed with flowering plants and fruit-bearing trees; not to speak of the even and un-discriminating distribution of the deities' grace (Prasādam) in the shape of holy water and holy food; it is these and similar services displaying splendour and magnificence, ministering to the sensuous gratification of the devotees that count in creating and sustaining an impression of the majesty, grandeur and potency of the presiding deity, instilling feelings of reverence and awe, and evoke faith and devotion from the unsophisticated and simple-minded worshippers assembled from all parts of the Indian Continent.

Towards these acts whose cumulative effect is the entrancement of the human soul at the sight of God, conducing to the incessant adoration of the Divine Being, Sāluva Narasimha contributed the largest share, himself directly and through his numerous subordinate officers who followed his example.

For not only did he institute new services and charities in the form of festivals and processions, flower-gardens, and feeding-houses

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both at Tirumala and Tirupati, extended the temples and added to their attraction by the construction of gopurams and mantapas, for the maintenance of all of which he endowed the temple with about a dozen villages, as far as is known, he also exerted himself in regulating the worship in the temple of Sri Govindaraja at Tirupati on the lines of the practice obtaining in Sri Vankaçvara’s temple at Tirumala. These constitute highly valuable and praise-worthy services rendered in the cause of religion for which posterity ought to feel grateful to him for all time, perpetuate his memory and emulate him in its services to the temple.

His endowments comprise the following villages:

1. Alipuram granted as Sarvamāyya in Śaka 1378 No. 3—T. T.

2. Agaram or Brähmāṇa-agrahāram
   Murukkambathu … … 1389 No. 54—T. T.

3. Vañjippākkam, Mallimalai, Śṛgulakkar and Bhīmapuram, 4 villages situated in Kţaiippāḍairāṇu in the Chanḍragiri-rāja and Vaijālmankonāṇ in Paṇaiṭiū-drīmaı in 1389 No. 66—T. T.

4. Māṅgoṭu-Velada and Maṇavār … 1389 No. 8—G. T.

5. Dommarapaṭṭi in Paṇaiṭiū-rājya … 1395 No. 197—T. T.

6. Durgasamudram Śaka 1404 No. 248—T. T.

Of these, Durgasamudram was subsequently converted from a divadana village into a tiruppasi-puram, i.e., a village supporting the public works, to wit, the construction of gopurams and mantapas at Tirumala and Tirupati.

So far his direct grants. His munificence had been copied by his subordinates and generals and their services may therefore be reckoned as his indirect gifts. Śāluva Mallayadava made a gift of Blambākkam in Śaka 1386; Tammayadava-Chōja Mahārīṣa of Teppattimāṅgāscya and
another village in Saka 1385; Vallabhadasa Mahārāja of Parandalur in Pottappi-nādu in Saka 1390; Mukhappālam Nāgama-Nāyaka, his general, of Tiradampādi to the Tiruppani-Bhangāram in Saka 1409 for the merit of his master; Donakoṇḍi Siṅgamu-Nāyakar purchased the Lakshmi-nāthan-bhaṇṭa-vrītī lands in Avilāli and presented them to the temple. Some contributed their share of service in increasing or strengthening the irrigation sources in the dwadāna villages by excavating channels afresh or renovating the old ones which fell into disrepair. Such were Sāluva Ekamārāja, Sāluva Mallayādaśa, Tammayādaśa-Chēla Mahārāja and other men of rank who either directly undertook the task themselves and completed the work, or paid sums of money into the temple-treasury and entrusted the execution of the work to the temple authorities.

Even the servants of the temple felt the impulse of the royal benefactor. A temple-accountant by name Vighṇēśvara śīrāman excavated a channel for the merit of prince Narasayyan, son of Sāluva Narasimha; while another accountant Anārayai made a gift for the merit of Sāluva Narasimha himself. There are others connected with the temple who also made provision for irrigational facilities in the dwadāna villages. Emperumānār Jīyar, manager of the Pankayachchelii-Nandavanam at Tirumala paid 5000 narpanam in Saka 1378 into the temple-treasury for being invested for the renovation of the lake in Avilāli; and again in Saka 1379, cne Vākataśvallī, a dwadāśi (a damsel) attached to the temple of Narasimhasvāmi in Tirupati paid 1000 narpanam for renovating the big tank in Tirupati; and two years later, i. e., in Saka 1381, we find a further sum of 1000 packam being invested in this same big tank by Abhōbalārāja Kampayadāva in executing some repairs thereto. We know that this big tank of Tirupati had been in existence even prior to the 31st year of the reign of Vira-Narasimha Vēdavarāya. In conjunction with his gift of Murukkambaṭṭu in Saka 1389, Sāluva Narasimha paid 2000 packam for the repair of its tank. A temple damsel Valandi paid 300 narpanam in Saka 1408 for the repair of the tank in Ādittanpalli. Likewise Lakshmi-amman, sister of Kommarāja Śīru-Timmarāja Uḍayiar, paid in Saka 1415 the sum of 1000 narpanam to the temple and required it to be utilised for repairs to the tank in the dwadāna village of Tiramanāri. Similar charitable services are evident in the case of the most
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influential religious preceptor of the time in Tirupati, viz., Kandāmai Rāmaṇujāyyāgār. In Śaka 1389, he had two irrigation channels dug, one from Tiruchchukanār for irrigating lands in Kaḷḷaramaṇalgām and another in Periyamuḷiyam for its own lands; two more in Śaka 1392 for Kaḷḷidhāramaṇalgām and Pāṇḍapalli and another two in the same year for Tirummuḷiyam and Aippāṇgil, besides some two or three others for the benefit of other devadāna villages.

During the period intervening between Śājuva Narasimha’s rule and Kṛishṇarāya’s reign, we have Periya Ûbaḷanāyyakar Rāma-Nāyakar granting Kaḷḷalār in Tirukkuḍavār-naḷu in Śaka 1426, and of Śeṅgāḷupalli in Śittavōlū-sirmai in Pulugār-naḷu in Śaka 1434.

The next royal personage of account is Kṛishṇadhāvārya. Like Śājuva Narasimha, by his unremitting zeal and devotion to Śrī Vākaṭāsa whom he regarded as his Patron-God, displayed through gifts of villages, jewels and vessels, besides ablutions with 30,000 pagodas of gold, during his frequent visits to this holy shrine for which he always found time even during the progress of his wars with his enemies, Kṛishṇadhāvārya, while he followed the example of his great predecessor Śājuva Narasimha, set a like example to his own subordinate officers as well as his religious preceptors and priests. The villages which he endowed in conjunction with his two queens, Tirumalāḍīvi and Chinnājīdīvi, comprise half the village of Kaḷḷaiṅkāṭṭanāpāḷi in Ul-Maṇḍalam, and Tāḷlapakam, Muḍiyār, Piriṅi-Kulattūr, Dārattūr, Chattrapāḷi and Turaiyār in Puram-Maṇḍalam. But the devotion that he exhibited for Śrī Vākaṭāsvara and the interest that he evinced for the prosperity of the temple are inestimable in their effects on his followers. His generals and officers, Ellappa-Nāyaka, Bayyappa-Nāyaka, Gingi Basavarāyalu, Karaṅkka Basavarasar, Śājuva Gōvindarāja, Nārāyanadāvar, Rāyasaṅ Koṇḍamaraṇayya, Raṅjikam Šrīraṅgarāja, Tryambakadasva and others, took the cue from him and enriched the temple with gifts of villages. His feelings were shared by Subuddhi Rāmādāsar and Ambhiṅkāmuduvāli, two generals who served under Pratāparudra Gajapati originally and who, on his defeat and submission, were gracefully honoured with service under Kṛishṇarāya, together with the grant of villages. We find them in Śaka
1443 making over a village apiece to the temple for providing for food-offerings daily for Śrī Vākaṭāśvara. Krishnāraya’s minister, Śama Timmaraya, discharged his responsibility when he granted to the temple Parṇadālur in Pottapi-nāṭu in Śaka 1435, and presented a costly silk cloth, a Pitāmbaram (No. 59—G.T.). Religious heads and others of non-political relationship were not slow in contributing their share. Tatvādi Nārāyaṇa made a gift of Tīvalaiippūṇḍi in Śaka 1436, Śrīmat Vyāsatīrtha of Oḍāmapatī in Śaka 1450, and Śrīappākkam Nāgāyyar of Muttukār in Gaṇḍikota-āṭrma in Śaka 1452.

In the reign of Achyutaraya, his queen Varadājīdevi-amman granted in Śaka 1456 six villages to the temple, viz., Chinna-Maḍappulur and Muttukār in Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīma; Poliva, Valli and Maṅgamūr in the Koṅāvī-sīma; and Paṅḍapalli in Nārāyaṇapurappāṇṭu. Achyutaraya’s general Virappaṭṭan gave lands and villages and presented money on several occasions for the merit of the king, as, e.g., Paṇḍikalapaṭṭu in Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīma in Śaka 1458. Gollapalli was the gift of Yaṇḍalur Vākaṭādrī-āyyan, son of Tirumalā-ṣāyyar. Three villages were given in Śaka 1460 probably by some royal officer whose name is lost. Tāmarapakkam village was the gift of Rāyasam Rāmachandra-Dikshitar in Śaka 1455; Uttamanallūr in Paṇḍaiṅṭu-āṭrma in Śaka 1460 of Periya-Sāmu-Beṭṭi, one of the Nagarattīr of Tirupati. An irrigation channel excavated by Bhāṣārām Tammappan, son of Apparasar, was transferred to the possession of the temple; and in Śaka 1463 Śama Gōvindarāja presented the village of Melpāṭi to the temple (No. 97—G.T.).

In the reign of Sādāiśivaraya, the temple was the recipient of more than half a dozen villages from his subordinates, though no direct gift of his is available. In this reign, Ajiya-Rāmaraya’s gift of Puddappaṭṭu probably served as the stimulus to others from Sādāiva’s Mahāpradhāna. In Śaka 1479, the Rāja of Travancore granted half of the village of Kulasapāṭṭam on the bank of the Tāmaraparnī river, for the merit of Vīṣhalarājāyyan (No 147—G.T.). In the reign of Vākaṭātapatīraṇa, his general Hanumayyar alias Anandaṅgar endowed the temple in Śaka 1528 for the merit of king Vākaṭātapatīraṇa and his queen Krishnāja-amman with Anandaṅgar-pālaṅiyam wherein the excavation of three irrigation channels had been provided by him.
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Channels were not always cut within the limits of the villages for which they were provided, but they had in some cases to be carried in their course through one or more villages down from their fountain-head. In such a course it was likely that they adversely affected the irrigation of lands in any of those villages and gave cause for litigation on questions of easement and prior enjoyment and called for decision from the state tribunals. Such a case comes to notice in the epigraph No. 29—G.T. dated in Saka 1372. One Chennakasivadasar had undertaken to excavate a supply-channel for the lake in the village of Avilali. To this end an agreement was entered into between the donor and a few of the villagers of Painapalli for allowing the right of way for the channel through their lands for a certain money consideration. But the villagers of Painapalli in general apprehended damage to their lands as well as to the existing irrigation sources in the village if the channel to Avilali had been cut in the manner proposed, and made representations to the Adhikari (royal officer), protesting against the excavation of the proposed channel. Adhikari Yajjar entertained the complaint, made a personal inspection of the lands and felt convinced of the reasonableness and reality of the complaint. Thereupon, apparently on his decision, the original agreement which registered the pecuniary bargain for the right of way for the channel was revoked, actual sale of the lands was arranged for, their purchase value paid and a sale deed executed. It was only then, on the close of these transactions when the donor came to possess full right in the lands, that he was permitted to commence work. And he did commence it and complete it also. It may thus be seen that in those earlier days person and property were as much respected as at the present time and that the state tribunals dispensed even-handed justice.

The permanent conduct of the several festivals and rites established in the temples depended on the facilities for irrigation provided in the villages endowed for the purpose and therefore the greater the attention paid to these facilities the greater the security of their conduct. It was therefore the concern of the donor as well as of the authorities of the temple to look to the irrigation sources in the villages and keep them in constant repair. This indirectly benefited
the cultivator of the soil who could not single-handed create these improvements by himself but would gladly endeavour to extend his helping hand to them, and thus it tended to his prosperity as well, besides that of the temples.

Thanks to the precepts of the Šāstras and Agamas for the institution of festivals and rites in temples, and thanks to the devoted followers of these injunctions who established them and provided for their permanent conduct through endowments of villages and lands and created irrigation facilities therein, not only the needs of the temples had been supplied and their prosperity ensured through these means directly but the cultivators of the soil had also been benefited indirectly and impetus given to intensive cultivation tending to the economic prosperity of the people in general and to the political stability of the Hindu State.

15. SOPANA-MARGA (FLIGHT OF STEPS TO TIRUMALA.)

A long Telugu stanza in the Sisamōlika metre, composed of 41 lines and engraved separately in Telugu, and Tamil and Grantha characters on the walls of a small shrine dedicated to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēsvara at the foot of the hill alongside of the pathway leading uphill, recounts in glowing terms deeds of valour and acts of piety performed by Ṣaṅgha Kumāra-Antanta, son of Ṣaṅgha Tiruvēṅgālanātha and Chennamāmba. His charitable services at Tirupati, among others by which he pleased God Vēṅkaṭēchalanāthi, comprise the Sōpāna-mārga and Agra-gōpara. Most probably this Sōpāna-mārga refers to the flight of stone-steps forming the pathway commencing from the foot of the hill usually called Alipadi (i.e. Adipadi, the bottom or lowest step) and extending on the side of the hill in a zigzag course upto the small tower commonly known as the Gāli-gōpuram (i.e. air-tower or tower-on-high) which stands on the summit of the front hill prominently visible on the plain country for a distance of about 8 to 10 miles. And the Agra-gōpara is in all likelihood this Gāli-gōpuram. This flight of stone-steps is at the present time the only passage leading uphill to Tirumala from Tirupati. We may therefore take the expression Sōpāna-mārga to convey the idea of an original formation of the pathway on the side of the front hill alone upto the
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Gāli-gopuram by Maśla Anantarāja. It is said that in earlier times the pathway from Tirupati lay by the side of the Kapila-tīrtham up the hill and over it as far as the Gāli-gopuram. Maśla Anantarāja’s work therefore seems to have been the formation of the present pathway from the Alipiri, instead of from the Kapila-tīrtham. Probably both the new and the old pathways up to the Gāli-gopuram were used by the pilgrims for some time later and subsequently the present one became the only passage, while the older one was altogether given up. The flight of steps must have been provided in or before Śaka 1550 in which year this inscription is dated. It cannot be taken that a new pathway was laid throughout the whole length up to the temple above, for we are sure that such a path existed already and a good number of devotees went up to Tirumala and worshipped the deity. Further we have in No. 53—T.T. dated in Śaka 1387, i.e., more than a century and a half earlier, a reference to another flight of steps in the middle of the course reaching to Tirumala called maḷāṅkāḷ-muṣippaṇ-padi (i.e., steps paining the knee in their ascent) or maṅkali-mēṭtu as they are called in Telugu, meaning steps of the height of the knee,—knee-high steps) commencing from the deep gorge. As such there is no doubt as to the existence of a kind of pathway with flights of steps at different levels on the sides of the several hills forming the Tirumala or the Holy-Hill resembling in shape Ādiśīhā, ‘the original serpent’ on whose back God Vaiṣṇava reposes. Again, as on so many other hillsides which are steep and precipitous where a pathway is cut in the rock itself in the form of steps, it is conceivable that the original pathway here also was likewise cut in the rock; and then the credit claimed for Maśla Ananta could therefore be for the pavement of the pathway with cut and dressed granite stone also, as we find it to-day, over the original steps designed on the hillside in the sandstone itself composing the hill. Further, from the examination of the kind of granite stone paved to form the flight of steps and the several ruined platforms found here and there on the sides of the pathway, we can see that there had been maṇḍapams and gopurams like many others still standing to this day, which became dilapidated and whose stones were utilised for the pavement of the pathway.
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16. TANNIR-PANDAL (WATER-SHEDS).

Water-sheds are an absolute necessity both in Tirupati and on the way to Tirumala, where there is a lack of adequate supply of fresh water easily available to the pilgrim population visiting the place. The necessity was early recognised and water-sheds were established, in some cases temporarily on the occasion of festivals at Tirumala or in Tirupati when there was a large concourse of people from all parts of the country, and in certain cases permanently, for the free distribution of water. We have a reference to a water-shed in a record of the 14th century (No. 195—T. T.) in which discretion was allowed to the managers of the temple to utilise any balance, left after meeting certain specific charges from the endowment concerned, for the institution of a water-shed, a flower-garden and other acts of charity at Tirumala in the name of the donor, Śāgaya Dāmāyakkar. In No. 53—T. T., Śāluva Parvatarāja, son of Śāluvarāja, provided for the maintenance of a water-shed which he established in the Molukkal-murippānu-mañjapam built by him on the way to Tirumala and also for the execution of repairs to the mañjapam, both of them being placed under the supervision of one Goppayyan. During the time of festivals special arrangements were required to be made for supplying water in sufficiently large quantities to the devotees flocking to the place on those occasions. A typical arrangement comes to our notice in No. 142—G. T. wherein the donor, a temple—accountant by name Vighnāvara Śrīrāman, provided for the payment from the temple-treasury of 3 paṇam monthly as salary for the permanent man who supplied water from the water-shed together with the issue of a portion of the food offered to the deity, and a special payment of 40 paṇam as wages for the persons temporarily engaged for distributing water at the water-shed during the 10 days of the Purāṇeśī-līrūnāi. Śrīnivāsan, the son of another temple—accountant Tiruvākṣamudaiyān, deposited in Śaka 1446 in the temple-treasury 700 paṇam which was required to be invested for increasing the irrigation sources in the dvadāna villages and, from the produce yielded thereby, the temple authorities bound themselves to maintain a water-shed in the mañjapam built in a garden near Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple, paying 6 paṇam as salary for the water-man and supplying ginger, etc., for flavouring the water, as also oil for the lamp to be kept lighted in the-
RAMANUJA-KUTAMS (FEEDING-HOUSES)

māṇapam, and mud pots for distributing water, together with the execution of repairs to the said māṇapam (No. 109—G.T.)

The steepness of the first hill exhausts the devotees who have to clamber it and even crawl on all fours, gasping for breath sometimes and halting at every few yards; and a climber would wish to have anything to refresh himself with on this ascent. A water-shed was located at some spot on the way in the course of the "Short Ascent", Sīrīṭam (Ghiṭekkudu in Telugu), by Śrīman Mahāmanḍalāvara Timmaraṇja Salakarāja in Śaka 1455 for the maintenance of which he paid 600 pana into the temple-treasury and made the temple authorities responsible for it. (No. 262—G.T.).

17. RAMANUJA-KUTAMS (FEEDING-HOUSES).

Charity is comprehensive and different forms of it have been recognised from the earliest times and different methods devised for its effectuation.

Gifts of money and grain, of lands and villages and other items of property, and giving alms, feeding the poor and deserving persons on occasions of feasts and sacrifices, marriages and ceremonies, form some of the means of gaining religious merit for the performer. These are effected in their own homes or carried on through feeding-houses established for the purpose or through the agency of existing public religious institutions such as māṭhas and ālayas, according to the convenience, intention and capacity of the donors. The two latter classes are of a public character and in centres of pilgrimage to which people of various communities and localities flock during times of festival, the temple has formed the recognised agency to carry on the charity on account of the sanctity that is attached to it. Especially is this the case in Tirumala whose lord Śrī Vaiṣṇava has acquired a universal fame through the absence, it is believed, of sectarian ritual and bigotry. It has been the practice in this temple to distribute a portion of the offered food freely among devotees as His Prasādam, and a number of doiros had stipulated for such distribution being effected from out of the offerings they made to the deity. A number of epigraphs have this arrangement for
the donee and his disciples after him. We note in No. 107—G.T. an acknowledgment made by Kandaṣai Madhavayaṅgār on the 6th day of Chittirai in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu corresponding perhaps to 6aka 1444, when Kandaṣai Rāmānujayyaṅgār was no longer alive and the charge of the Rāmānujakṣāms devolved upon the witness Madhava-
ayaṅgār, probably a close relation of Rāmānujayyaṅgār, before the settlement-officers of the state (kāṟuḷayyār) at Tirupati, to the effect that the phalabhōgam (produce) from the land granted for the Rāmānujakṣāms was being duly appropriated for the purpose and an obligation in return in the matter of offering 3 appa-pāṭi Prasadams to the deity every year was being properly discharged. It is quite probable that these endowments were made at the first instance by Sāluva Narasimha himself, and the Sthānattār whom we find in Nos. 25 and 24—G.T. granting land for the Rāmānujakṣāms perhaps merely executed the orders of the king. This is clear from other records and it is reasonable to infer that they made the grant in the present case on their authorisation by Sāluva Narasimha.

This direct provision was supplemented at different times by grant of the donors' shares, usually a quarter of the food offered to the deities, daily or on special occasions. The lands would serve for a permanent provision throughout the year on a fixed scale proportional to the average number of pilgrims seeking help from them daily and the supplement would be intended for the extra numbers resorting to them on occasions of festivals, some of which, such as the ḍolūtsavam (the swinging festival), were newly instituted by Sāluva Narasimha himself (No. 197—T.T.). He also made a special provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas during the ten days of the Purattāsi Brahmūtsavam (ibid.) in the Satram built by him on the bank of the Narasimharāyar-kōmērī.

No further references to the Satram placed under Hastigiri-
ayyan exist but the interest evinced for the Rāmānujakṣām by a number of devotees and the popularity gained for it through Kandaṣai Rāmānujayyaṅgār are evidenced by the arrangements made by these devotees individually for the delivery of the donor's share in each case of the offered food for the Rāmānujakṣām. Kandaṣai Rāmānujayyaṅga-
parted with his right to the donor's share in all cases of his provision for food-offerings to the deities in favour of the Rāmānujakūśams (Nos. 5, 6 and 70—T.T. and 19, 30 and 50—G.T.). The combined influence of the political chief and the religious preceptor is seen to have been felt both in political and religious spheres.

We find provision for the issue of the donor's share to the Rāmānujakūśam made by Donakoṇdi Sīngamu—Nāyakar (No. 28—T.T.) and Sāluva Goppayyan (No. 155—T.T.), who were politically subordinate to Sāluva Narasimha, the originator; and Periyaperumādāsar (No. 50—T.T.), Goppayyan (No. 63—T.T.) and Narasimharāya Mudaliyār (No. 55—G.T. and No. 200—T.T.) who were in some religious capacity related to Kandai Rāmānujayangār, the manager of the Rāmānujakūśams. It may be roughly estimated, from the quantity of food so far arranged to be issued to the Rāmānujakūśam by the several donors and the probable yield derived from the villages and lands granted therefor, that a hundred persons on an average had been fed in it each day.

The next instance of a Rāmānujakūśam is the one referred to as having been established by Periya-Obaḷa-Nāyakar who made over to it his share, as donor of the one nāṭi of the Pāḷiṣṭu-kūṭānubu offered to Śrī Veṅkāṭaṉvara daily during the Ardhayānam or the early hours of the night (No 305—T.T. dated in Śaka 1435).

From the references made in Nos. 201, 202 and 203—T. T. it appears that king Kṛṣṇarāya also instituted for the Bṛāhmaṇas a Satram at Tirumala for which his two queens and himself provided for the delivery of their respective shares of the food and puddings arranged to be offered to God Tiruvākṣaṭanitha on the occasion of their visit to the temple while returning to his capital at Vijayanagara after having vanquished Pratāparudra Gajapati, pursued him as far as Kcāvāṣu and also captured Udaiyagiri. There is a further reference made to this Satram in No. 246—T. T. dated in Śaka 1445, but this time it was not for adding to its receipts. On the other hand, on this occasion Kṛṣṇarāya ordered the transference to Śrīmat Vyāsatirtha-Śripāda-Udaiyār of the right to receive the 15 Prasādams belonging to the donor's share which had been hitherto delivered to his Satram out of those offered to the deity, for
which six villages had been granted by the king to the temple, together with the two house-sites at Tirupati and Tirumala which had been ordered by Sāluva Narasimharāya to be confiscated to the temple-treasury from the delinquent Nambiyar Śīrīkkappayyan who committed an offence of the theft of temple jewels, and a further plot of ground with a building on it previously granted to Hastigiri Timmayyan from the possession of the temple. The Sīhanattār, while executing the order of Krishnatāyā, expressly recorded that the house-sites were intended for constructing a majham thereon by the donee.

In Śaka 1438 (No. 180—T. T.) Ellappa-Nāyaka endowed the temple with three villages for the purpose of offering 8 tiruppōnakaṁ daily to Śrī Vāṅkatāsa, for the merit of king Krishnarāya; but as regards the distribution of the offered food he permitted the Sīhanattār to utilise it for the Rāmānujakīṣṭam, probably that of Sāluva Narasimha. This Ellappa-Nāyaka is again mentioned in a fragmentary record (No. 291—T. T.) as making a gift for some Satram (Satrattukku-dharinam) in Śaka 1449, the Satram being different from the above Rāmānujakīṣṭam.

Rāyasam Koṇṭamarasayya, son of Timmarasayyaṅgar, also established a Satram at Tirumala which was granted a fourth of the donor's quarter share from the 16 tiruppōnakaṁ and other edibles arranged by him in Śaka 1441 to be offered daily to the deity (No. 77—T. T.).

A fragmentary record (No. 317—T. T.) mentions Achyutarāya Mahārāya's Satram, Achyutarāya-puram and Achyuta-Perumāl. We know from other records that Achyutarāya-puram formed a suburb of Tirupati and it is quite likely that the Satram of Achyutarāya was situated in that particular suburb to the north of Tirupati.

We also find a Rāmānujakīṣṭam in another suburb of Tirupati, namely Śrīnivāsapuram, as early as Śaka 1372 (No. 29—G. T.). The presiding deity at this place was Vira-Narasimhasvāmi; and one Chennakesvāvadāsār granted to this Rāmānujakīṣṭam the portion of the offered food belonging to him as the donor.
RAMANUJA-KUTAMS (FEEDING-HOUSES)

Maṭla Kumāra-Anantarāja is seen to have been a great benefactor, for his charities were not only varied and extensive but also took different forms on different occasions at several holy places (Nos. 269 and 270—G. T.). Among them the institution of Anna-satrams (feeding-houses) in several places situated on the way from Ramāvaram to the Himālayas for the gratification of the travellers on foot formed a particular kind of meritorious service rendered by him. All classes of people were welcome to them and the dishes served were deliciously prepared, having been commingled with the generally recognised six flavours. Two such inviting Anna-satrams were maintained, the one at the Ṭīvāritirtha (the Kapila-tīrtham), the water-fall at Śrī Kapilāvāra's shrine at the foot of the hill to the north of Tirupati, and the other by the foot-path over the Śīshāchāla, the Tirupati Hills (Śīshāchāla-kuruvā). This Satram on the pathway up the hill must have been an especial resort of the weary and exhausted pilgrims who would be craving for some food or drink to re-invigorate them after the ascent, and who would involuntarily pour forth innumerable benedictions and invoke Lord Śrī Vēkaṭāvāra’s blessings upon the donor of this Satram as well as upon the donors of the water-sheds put up at the Short Ascent (Śīrrāttam or Chiṭṭekkuṭam) by Timmarāja Salakariṇā (No. 262—G.T.) and at the Moḷaskāl-muriṟṟṟā-Ṇaṟṟṟṟam by Sāḷuva Parvatarāja (No. 53—T. T.).

Thus the increase of festivals attracted greater number of pilgrims for whose gratification further additions were being made from time to time and for whose convenience facilities as regards boarding and lodging are seen to have been arranged by the rulers themselves primarily, though it might have been done at the instance of some of the prominent Vaishāvā preceptors and devotees of Śrī Vēkaṭāvāra. And these meritorious services have contributed to enhance the original fame and insure the continued prosperity of the temples.

18. THE TEMPLES:—THEIR EXTENSION AND REPAIR.

As far as can be gleaned from the inscriptions, the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati appear to have been originally confined to their central
shrines and we find that even these shrines underwent repairs a number of times. The case of a Tiruvilankoyil (Balalayam) and Karmarchanai (special worship) followed by the consecration of a silver image designated Maavila-Perumal (the Beautiful God) comes to notice from epigraphs Nos. 18 and 19—T. T. which are both of them dated in the 14th year of the reign of Koppatra-Mahendra-Panmar. In this particular instance it is doubtful whether this Tiruvilankoyil refers to any occasion of renovation or repair to the original sanctum sanctorum or actually to the consecration of a processional image alone. But clear and direct information comes to us from No. 17—T. T. dated in the 40th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartigal Sri Vira-Narasimha Yadavarya. One Tiruppullandassar, a deiantri (that is, an outsider, a pilgrim), applied through the Sthanthtar of the temple to the king for permission to renovate the central shrine of Sri Venkatesvara at Tirumala which was in disrepair at the time, and the order issued to the Sthanthtar is found engraved on its north wall. It enjoined on the managers the responsibility for copying the epigraphs which had been inscribed on the wall to be repaired, and for re-engraving them in their original position after completion of the repairs. Underneath these injunctions are engraved four or five Chola inscriptions which originally found a place on that portion of the wall. Thus the inscription under reference, while furnishing the information regarding the condition of the shrine at the time and the interest and devotion cherished for it by the devotees of the deity, exhibits the solicitous care and the patronage extended to it by the kings and the people in those days. The general religious duty and responsibility and obligation of the people in common were reflected in acts of the state which was Hindu in ideals and therefore sympathetic and encouraging, unlike the later alien governments. The date of the king’s order permitting the repairs to be carried out is recorded as well as the date of completion and re-engraving in obedience to the directions of the king. This latter date is given as the 22nd day of the month of Chittirai, the week-day being Friday and the star Uttaraashatru occurring on that day during the Yadavarya’s 40th year of reign.

In Saka 1339 a Mukhamanapam was added to the central shrine at Tirumala, the entire building from the stone basement
THE TEMPLES:—THEIR EXTENSION AND REPAIR

(kuḍaḷu) up to the roof and bent eaves (stūpi) and crest including the Mādhavādāsar—Tirumuttinaṭandal forming the charity of the minister Mallāṇa or Śrī Mādhavādāsar of Chandragiri, and it was designated Tirunāmaṇi-mañiṭaṇam (No. 88—T. T.). Sālüva Mallayādaṇā, son of Eṟacakampayadeva Mahāraṇa, arranged in Śaka 1385 for the performance of a Pavitraśavam for five days in the month of Śrāvana or Āvani in this Tirunāmaṇi-mañiṭaṇam and also constructed another maṇiṭaṇam in front of the temple wherein he made provision for an āstānām of the processional image with food-offerings on four days during each of the seven Brahmoḷśavams held at Tirumala at the time and on the Tirukkāṭikai day (No. 157—T. T.). Probably the latter refers to the thousand-pillared maṇiṭaṇam situated just outside the temple, a portion of which is now converted into lodgings for pilgrims. In Śaka 1404 the Sīhinaṭṭīr undertook the construction of a maṇiṭaṇam along with gopurams for the merit of Sālüva Narasimha. Its situation is not mentioned, but it is likely that it was somewhere at Tirumala. Sālüva Narasimha is further credited with the construction of maṇiṭaṇams on the bank of the Tirukkāṭiri and one in the midst of it, the Nīrāṭi-mañiṭaṇam or Vasanta-mañiṭaṇam as it is called in No. 54—T. T., which served on occasions of the floating festival. Two other maṇiṭaṇams come to notice from No. 266—T. T. and they are called Piriyā-tirumanaṭaṇam and Tiruṁkāṭi sāṭhan-mañiṭaṇam. The processional image was required to be propitiated with food-offerings in the former during the Adhyayaśavam and in the latter on the 7th day in each of the seven Brahmoḷśavams held at the time.

Besides maṇiṭaṇams, certain towers also come to notice at Tirumala (Nos. 66 and 248—T. T.). In connection with the Sātram (feeding-house) instituted by Sālüva Narasimha, we have a reference, in No. 66—T. T. dated in Śaka 1389, to a gopuram at Tirumala built by Sālüva Narasimha in which the Sātram was located. No. 248—T. T. mentions another gopuram at Tirumala whose construction had been undertaken by the Sīhinaṭṭīr some time prior to Śaka 1404, for the merit of Sālüva Narasimha who confirmed in that year his previous grant of Durgasamudram in Kuḍavā-nāḷu made previously in the cyclic year Nandana on the Utthāna-dvādai day, corresponding to Śaka 1394.
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(13-10-1472 A. C.). This village was dedicated as Tiruppanipuram and was registered in the name of and held by the Pillai tiruppani-Bhagavatattar who were authorised to utilise its income for the construction of the gopurams at Tirumala and Tirupati as well as the Narasimharaja-mantapam which they had undertaken. The Agro-gopura mentioned in Nos. 269 and 270—G. T. as the work of Maš'a Kumāra-Anantarṣika denotes the tower on the summit of the front hill, commonly known as the Gāli-gopuram.

While some kings and chiefs took measures for the extension of the temple at Tirumala, others interested themselves in the decoration of the shrine. Saiva Maṣgīḍava Mahārāja is recorded in Nos. 237 and 238—T. T. dated in Saka 1231 (corresponding to the 6th of July 1352 A. C.) to have covered the Vīmānam or the tower of the central shrine with gilded plate and to have also placed a gilded Kalaśam over it, so as to enhance the grandeur of the temple. In course of time the Kalaśam wore out and a fresh one was fixed in the Kaliyuga year 5010 (1909 A. C.) (No. 242—T. T.) by the late Bāvīji Rāmalakshmanasāśi, a brother-disciple of the present Vīchāranaṁkara of the Divaṁsthamas.

As at Tirumala, the shrine of Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati seems to have originally been a small one and added to now and then. Its pākāra wall itself is peculiarly constructed, being a single one and extended in one direction only, viz., the east, while at Tirumala there are two pākāras, one enclosing another. As the Mūkha-mantapam at Tirumala was called Tirumahāmaṇi-mantapam, so the one in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple was called the Chitrakūsa-mantapam or Tillaṅkuvāyitū-mantapam. Further east within the enlarged enclosure was constructed the Aṭṭāmaṇ-mantapam in Saka 1445 (No. 43—G.T.). The Lakṣmidvī-mantapam is probably the one going by that name at the present day, lying outside and adjoining the pākāra wall on the east, mentioned in No. 48—G.T. In No. 70—G.T. is mentioned Vasanta-mantapam commenced by Vaṇ-Saṭ'ākūpa Jiyar and finished by Nallār Aṅgāṇṭi. No. 96—G.T. calls the front mantapam the Chitrakūsa-mantapam.

The prominent towers in Tirupati are the work of Maš'a Kumāra-Anantarṣika. The Periya-dīrupōpuram, referred to in No. 22—G.T. as the
MINOR DEITIES AND SHRINES AT TIRUMALA

place where the stationary image of Chakrattājvar was installed, is different from the big tower standing about 200 yards to the east of the temple premises. This latter big gopuram bears an inscription in Telugu of Maṭla Anantarāja recording its construction by him for the merit of his father and mother whose figures are carved with names below them on the left side (Nos. 281 and 282—G.T.). Another tower, now commonly called the Kotta-gopuram (the new tower) bears on its inner side a Telugu inscription stating that it was constructed by Maṭla Anantarāja. This is the second tower from the foot of the hill, past the bigger ruined tower just at the foot.

As Maṭla Anantarāja’s date falls into the 16th century and as No. 22—G.T. which refers to the Periyatirugasopuram is dated in śaka 1444, it is unlikely that the tower could indicate the present big gopuram which is the work of Anantarāja. In the absence of the present big gopuram, the older one was perhaps the big one and it was so designated at that time.

19-A. MINOR DEITIES AND SHRINES AT TIRUMALA

The temple at Tirumala is presided over by Śrī Vēṅkaṭāsvara and that at Tirupati by Śrī Gōvinda rāja. There are certain minor shrines both at Tirumala and Tirupati dedicated to other deities, such as Ādi-Varāha-Perumāl, Śrī Narasimha, Śrī Kṛishṇa, Śrī Rāma, Hanumān, and to some of the ātvārs (Vaishnava saints) and āchāryas (religious teachers), and all these shrines are observed to have been administered by the Sthāvattār of Śrī Vēṅkaṭāsvara’s temple as its appendages.

I. ŚRI VARĀHASVAMI

Gnānappiran (Gnāṇa-Pradan) or Śrī Varāhasvāmi claims precedence over the rest. He is called Ādi-Varāhasvāmi, and the significance of the epithet “ādi” is explained by the tradition that Varāhasvāmi was the original deity at Tirumala. Puranic lore denotes Vēṅkaṭāsia as an interloper who, having seized Ādi-Varāhasvāmi’s dwelling on the hill during His temporary absence on a hunt, audaciously expelled Him, but, feeling remorse later on, permitted Him to make a habitation near by, at the
same time enjoining upon His devotees the duty of paying their obeisance first to Varāhasvāmi and then to Himself, and thus making it a condition for them to merit His own grace. Ejected from His original abode, He was permitted to rest on the west bank of the Śrāmi-Pushkariṇī (the Holy Tank) (No. 200—T.T.). The earliest mention of Śrī Varāhanairār occurs in No. 61—T.T. which records an arrangement made in Śaka 1301 by Ajagappirānār alias Tirukkalikanṭāsāgar, one of the Tirupati Śrīvaishnavas, for offering food to Varāhasvāmi along with Periya-Perumāḷ (Māla-Mārti Vākanṭāvāra) and Malaiyappa (the processional image), on the second day of each of the Brahmotsavams held at Tirumala. Sāhuva Timmaraja, son of Sāhuva Mallayadāva Māhārāja, provided in Śaka 1403 for propitiating the deity with two tiruppūṇakam daily (No. 196—T.T.). From No. 38—T.T. dated in Śaka 1441 we learn that Malaiķinīyanīngā-Perumāḷ, i.e., the processional image Malaiyappa, proceeded to Śrī Varāhasvāmi’s temple on five days during each of the eight Brahmotsavams in the year, and Tirumāḷ’s, the devotional songs being the 1084 stanzas composed by Tirumāṅgai-āḷvār, was sung on the occasion.

II. ŚRI NARASIMHA.

We learn from No. 280—T. T. that Śrī Narasimhasvāmi had been enshrined within the temple of Śrī Vākanṭāvāra and that He was propitiated with tiruppūṇakam on the 30 days of the Tiruppallī-eḻuchchi (i.e., Dhanumūsam) and with atirasa-pośi on special occasions, viz., Śrī-Rāma-Navami, Vasanta-Purṇima, Śrī-Jayanti and the 7th day of each of the Brahmotsavams at Tirumala. From No. 70—T. T. we note that Kandāi Rāmanujayyaṅgār had already provided for a holy bath (abhin śaktam) and offerings for Śrī Narasimha on the Paṅgunt-Amāvāsyā and Vasanta-Purṇima days. His small shrine is situated within the inner circuit or quadrangle on a raised verandah to the north-east of the central shrine.

III. ŚRI RĀMA.

Śrī Rāma also had a place assigned to Him in the temple of Śrī Vākanṭāvāra but He does not appear to have possessed a separate shrine like Narasimha. In No. 305—T. T. He is referred to as being
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seated in the Sannidhi (immediate presence) of Śrī Vaśakṣāvvara where to this day He is found to be seated. In Śaka 1396 Śrī Rāma had provision made for daily offerings (No. 200—T. T.) and in Śaka 1426 for keeping a lamp before Him for all time (No. 305—T. T.).

IV. SRI KRISHNA.

The presence of Śrī Kṛiṣṇa in the Tirumala temple is indicated in Nos. 14—T. T. and 58, 84 and 142—G. T. The three latter inscriptions refer to the Śrī-Jayanti day and mention the offerings intended for Śrī Kṛiṣṇa and for Śrī Vaśakṣāvvara at the time of Śrī Kṛiṣṇa’s Avatāra (birth into this world about midnight), while the former one (No. 14—T. T.) records an arrangement made for offerings to Him on the 5th day in each of the nine Brahmotsavams celebrated at Tirumala during that period.

V. GARUDA.

Though Garuḍa is generally styled āḻvār, he does not belong to the class of the saintly personages such as Tirumaṅgaḷai-āḻvār or any others of the Vaishṇava tradition. He is given a divine pedigree with a divine life; he is a divine devotee of God Viṣṇu and he exhibits his devotion by carrying his Lord on his back. In all the Viṣṇu temples, he has a place assigned directly opposite to the presiding deity. In Tirumala a small shrine had been built for him within the Tirumāmaṇi-maṇḍapa just in front of Śrī Vaśakṣāvvara’s shrine (No. 312—T. T.). The above record, dated in Śaka 1434, makes provision for offering four tiruppōnakam daily for this Garuḍa in the Tirumāmaṇi-maṇḍapa and for lighting a lamp, of ghee in his presence, together with an offering of one aṭirasas-padi on the dhvaja-rōhitaṇam day during each of the seven Brahmotsavams at Tirumala.

During Brahmotsavams a flag on which is painted the figure of Garuḍa is raised to the top of the flag-staff in the temple and this function forms the preliminary to the actual festival. Even this figure on the flag required to be propitiated and the occasion for it was the time of the flag being raised to the top of the flag-staff. A number of
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offerings intended for this Garuda-dhvajapaya or Tirukkoṭi-sīvān comes to notice from No. 50—T. T.

VI. SENAI-MUDALIYAR.

Vishvākṣāna or Śanai-Mudaliyār is the commander of the army of Vishnu, as Chanḍikāvara is the commander of the army of Śiva. In Vishnu temples He is also recognised as the controller of the temple finances. No particular place is mentioned as being His abode, but we always find Him placed near the processional images in these temples. In No. 253—T. T. He received an offering of one appa-padi on a certain day at the time of iyal-iṭumurai during the Adhyayakširavam at Tirumalai.

19-B. MINOR DEITIES IN SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE IN TIRUPATI

Though we now have two big temples in Tirupati, one for Śrī Gōvindarāja and another for Śrī Rāma, far greater prominence was hitherto given to Śrī Gōvindarāja, and Śrī Rāma was only treated as a minor deity, just like Śrī Gopāla-Krishṇa and Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ noticed below. Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple was the central institution in Tirupati and in it were installed a number of deities and Vaishnavite saints.

(a) ŚRĪ KRISHNA.

There are two sanctums in Śrī Gōvindarājasvāmī's temple in Tirupati, the one directly opposite to the passage through the gāpurams and the other adjoining this to the north. The former encloses Śrī Parthasarāthi (Śrī Krishṇa as Charioteer), while the latter encloses Śrī Gōvindarāja. From the actual central position of the shrine of Śrī Krishṇa or Parthasarāthi, it is to be inferred that He had originally been the presiding deity of the temple, but nowadays we find the shrine itself closed and all worship suspended. It is alleged that the idol was through some cause disfigured and hence His worship ceased.
MINOR DEITIES IN SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE AT TIRUPATI

This event must have occurred at a very remote time, more then 700 years ago, for the inscriptions that are now found engraved on the temple walls, ranging in date from the 13th century onwards with certainty, do not afford even a single reference to Śrī Pārthasārathi. The donations, endowments, offerings, festivals and other temple functions recorded in them are each and all made in the name of Śrī Gōvindarāja. Śrī Krishṇa is no doubt mentioned in them, but it is done as the processional image rather than as the original deity (Mula-Mūrti). Local tradition asserts that the processional image of Śrī Pārthasārathi preserved from early times now serves as the processional image of Śrī Gōvindarāja Himself.

The inscriptions do not furnish much information regarding Śrī Krishṇa. Each month on the day of Rōhini, His birth star, He was given a tirumāṇjana (holy bath), Chandanam (sandal paste) was smeared to the body and one tiruppāṇakam was offered to Him (No. 47—G. T. dated in Śaka 1367). During the two Brahmotsavams celebrated in the Vaikāsī and Āni months, it is Śrī Gōvindarāja that is taken out in procession on all the days of the festival both day and night and on the 5th day forenoon Śrī Gōvindarāja is dressed as Mōhini, the divine damsels, and Śrī Krishṇa is made to accompany Him (Nos. 15 and 105—G. T. and 266—T. T.). From No. 31—G. T. we understand that Śrī Krishṇa was taken in procession to meet Śādikkuṭtā-Nāchchiyār on the Kanuppāṭi day, being the last day of her Mārgalīnirājīyam festival. Uri-adi festival was conducted both at Tirumala and Tirupati signifying Śrī Krishṇa’s acts of stealth of butter and cheese in His boyhood (No. 87—G. T.). On the Śrī-Jayanti day, special abhishekam and mūṭadana were provided for Him, and His birth was commemorated (No. 97—G. T.).

(b) TIRUVALI-ALVAN OR SUDARŞANA.

Tiruvāḷi-ālvan, Chakrattāḷvān or Sudarśana is the personification of one of the five main weapons of Vishṇu. His Mula-Mūrti is found to have been installed in a small shrine in the second storey of a maṭṭaḍa adjoining the entrance gopura, called in the inscriptions the
Periya-gōpuram (Nos. 22, 154 and 192—G. T. and No. 249—T. T.). His processional image is always stationed near Śrī Gōvindarāja. He accompanies the processional image of Śrī Gōvindarāja to the Āḷvār-tirtham for tirtha-vāri or avaḥṛtthā (bath) on the 9th day in each Brahmoṭisavam in Tirupati celebrated in the months of Vaikāḷi and Āṇi. No. 422—G. T. dated in Śaka 1479 mentions His birth-star Kṛittiṃa and refers to a bath in oil on each Saturday. At the present time, the Pushyami day occurring in Āṇi is observed as the day of His Śāṭṭumuraṇi. Provision was made for offerings to Him daily and on special occasions, such as the day of Āṇi-ayanam, the 30 days of the Tiruppaṭi-Eṭūchchi, and on a certain day in the Tamil month of Kārttikai.

(c) SENAI-MUDALIYAR OR VISHVAKSENA.

Vishvakṣaṇa or Senai-Mudaliyār had to attend upon His Lord Vishṇu whenever He went out of the temple. During the Brahmoṭisavams and other festivals, Śrī Gōvindarāja used to ride through the streets or out into some gardens round about Tirupati in the palanquin or on the horse or other vehicle, and was generally accompanied by Śrī-Dēvi and Bhū-Dēvi, being His two Nāḍchimārs, and by Vishvakṣaṇa (Nos. 15, 69, 83, 100, 110, 158 and 257—G. T.). Along with Śrī Gōvindarāja, He had tirumaṇḍanam and nivedāna on some of these days. His birth-star was Pūrāṇam, i.e., Pūrāṇaḥśaḥ in the month of Aṛḍaṣi, and on that day special offerings were provided for Śrī Vaḵaṇavara and Śrī Gōvindarāja (Nos. 247 and 249—T.T. and No. 155—G.T.). On the day of Vanamaram festival or Śami-pūja, He rode on the horse-vehicle (No. 258—G.T.).

(d) GARUDALVAN

As at Tirumala, arrangements were made by donors, providing for offerings for the Gauḍa flag at the time of its being raised to the top of the flag-staff during the two Brahmoṭisavams in Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple in Tirupati held in the Vaikāḷi and Āṇi months. But no mention occurs of Gauḍāḷvān being enshrined in Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple, though one exists at the present time having been constructed within the Mukha-maṇḍapam and bears an inscription on the outer face of its wall dated in Śaka 1504 (=16–1–1583 A.C.) (No. 100—G.T.).
OTHER DEITIES AND SHRINES IN TIRUPATI

19-C. OTHER DEITIES AND SHRINES IN TIRUPATI.

A number of deities are observed to have been installed during the Vijayanagara period in Tirupati and its suburbs round about, and out of them a few of the important ones are noticed below.

I. SRI RAMA OR RAGHUNATHA

Śrī Rāma’s temple situated in the northern part of Tirupati is said to have been partly rebuilt three or four generations ago. This renovation probably accounts for some extent for the absence of lithic records in it, with the exception of one single epigraph mentioning the construction and dedication of a wooden car for Raghunātha, i.e., Śrī Rāma, by Kumāra-Rāmaṇujayaṅgaṅgār for the merit of Achyutārāya Mahārāya in the cyclic year Viśudhi (No. 318—G.T.). All available information relative to this temple comes to us mainly from the inscriptions of Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple situated in the southern part of the town and to a small extent from those of Śrī Vākāṭāśvara’s temple; and from them we are able to glean its early history stage by stage for nearly a century from the time of its foundation during the period of Sāluva Narasimha’s rule. This late origin of this temple also accounts partly for the absence of inscriptions on its walls, unlike those that are found engraved on the prākāra walls of the temples of Śrī Vākāṭāśvara and Śrī Gōvindarāja.

No. 310—G.T. dated in Śaka 1402 and No. 184—G.T., both fragmentary, make it clear that the temple was built and the idol of Śrī Rāma, designated Raghunātha, was consecrated and installed in it in the Śaka year 1402 (=1480 A.C.) by Śrī Śaṭhakāpādāsar Narasimharāya Mudāliyār for the religious merit of Narasimharāya Udāiyar, i.e., Sāluva Narasimha. A piece of low-lying land, measuring 150 kuṭi in the dvadāṇa village of Avilāli near Tirupati (No. 159—G.T.), was assigned to the temple at the same time so as to serve for the daily worship of Raghunātha. With a view to increasing the yield from the land through an adequate supply of water for it, Śaṭhakāpādāsar excavated, at a cost of 100 paṇam, an irrigation channel, pursuant to the permission obtained by him from the Sthānattār, i.e., Managers of Śrī Vākāṭāśvara’s temple, and in accordance with the document secured by him in respect to the

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land \(\text{idukku Sthūnattār kaiyi vānga niyōgamum indo nilam koṇaśa sādhanaṃ} \) (No. 310—G.T.). Soon after the construction of the temple and installation of Raghunātha in it, Narasimharāya Mudaliyār paid into the Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram, i.e., the treasury of Śrī Vākaṭāvariya’s temple, a sum of 1300 ṭāṇam forming a capital fund, which was required to be utilised for providing irrigation facilities for the \text{tiruvizhiyāṭham} \ (grant) lands, and stipulated for the propitiation of Raghunātha with an offering prepared of one \text{marakkāl} of rice measured with the Chājukya-Nārāyana measure maintained in Śrī Govindarāja’s temple (No. 184—G.T.). Within three or four decades, some damage occurred to the grant land in Avilā for which Narasimharāya Mudaliyār provided a supply-channel and his son Rāmaṇuṭiyyāyān repaired the damage and also assigned additional land for facilitating the worship of Raghunātha (No. 159—G.T.). The epigraph states that the land originally granted as \text{sarvamānya} was a low-lying land of 150 \text{kuḷi} and that it was supplemented by a piece of land situated on a higher level. Besides these daily offerings provided for Raghunātha through the endowment of lands originally, one of the \text{Sabhāyār} of Tiruchānār arranged in Śaka 1415, Pramāḍīcā (≈18-1-1494 A.C.), for an offering of one \text{tiruppōṇakam} daily for Him (No. 27—G.T.).

Once the deity was installed and the primary needs of worship were provided for by the consecrator of the idol and his son, certain devotees felt the impulse to arrange for the celebration of festivals for Raghunātha and thereby bring the deity into prominence. So we find a festival celebrated for Raghunātha on Śrī-Rāma-Navami, the day of His nativity, and in Śaka 1415, Pramāḍīcā (≈9-3-1494 A.C.), three temple-accountants made provision for the offering of one \text{tirukkaṇṇāmaḍai} to Raghunātha on Śrī-Rāma-Navami day and for the offering of one \text{appa-paṇi} to His processional image at the shrine of Hanumān where He alighted after a procession through the streets (No. 66—G. T.). The inscription also records a provision for the offering of two \text{tiruppōṇakam} to Sitādviyār on the Kanuppaṇi day, immediately after ablutions for Her. A similar arrangement for Raghunātha’s propitiation with one \text{appa-paṇi} in a certain \text{maṇḍapam} on Śrī-Rāma-Navami day was made by one Charanu-Śeṭṭi, son of Tirumalai Tammu-Śeṭṭi, a merchant residing in the suburb of Narasiṅgarāyapuram in
OTHER DEITIES AND SHRINES IN TIRUPATI

Tirupati, in śaka 1416, Ānanda (=24-12-1494 A. C.) (No. 303—T. T.). No. 301—G. T. also refers to some provision for offerings made to Raghunātha on the same holy occasion.

The celebration of a Brahmotsavam for Raghunātha in the month of Paṅguni comes to notice in Nos. 415—G. T. and 667—T. T., and we know from No. 318—G. T. that Kumāra-Rāmānujayāgār constructed in the cyclic year Virodhi, current with the śaka year 1451 (=14—1—1530 A. C.), for the merit of Achyutarāya, a wooden car for the procession of Raghunātha on the 8th day of the festival. We are informed from No. 415 that Raghunātha alighted from the car when, during its progress through the streets, it came near the gate of the gopuram named after Tirumalai-Nambi, and received the offerings provided for Him by Śrīnivāsayyaṅgār, son of Kumāra-Tatayyaṅgār. Likewise we note from No. 667 that in the course of the progress of the car Raghunātha was propitiuated with one manohara-pāḍi at the house of Vākaṭattuṅavār, son of Malaininīn-Bhaṭṭār alias Appayyan of Kāyapa-gōṭra, Vaikhānasa-sātra and Yajur-iśkha, and one of the Nambimār (Archakas, i. e., temple-priests) worshipping Śrī Vākaṭāvāra.

The reference to Adhyayanaotsavam in No. 249—T. T. dated in śaka 1430, Vibhava (=20—9—1598 A. C.), shows that it had been conducted for Raghunātha for some years past. Uddandaṛayār Ulagappan, the donor in the record, arranged for offerings for Śrī Rāma on the day of tuvakkam (commencement) of the Adhyayanaotsavam, on the 6th day, in the course of the procession, at his house situated in the street called after Kumāra-Rāmānujayyan, and on the day of Sāttumurai (last day of the festival) within the temple of Raghunātha.

A tiruppaḷi-śālam-tirunaḷ (floating festival) was also celebrated for Raghunātha and it would appear that it was only a day's function. In śaka 1469, Plavaṅga (=17—8—1547 A. C.), Tāḷapākam Śīgu-Tirumalasyāngār, son of Peri-Tirumalasyāngār, a member of the family of hereditary musicians attached to the temple of Śrī Vākaṭāvāra, provided for an offering of one iḻḍali-pāḍi for Raghunātha on the day of tiruppaḷi-śālam (No. 354—G. T.). Probably this floating festival was celebrated
as an annexe to another main festival, such as the Brahmotsavam, Vasantotsavam or Koḍai-tirunāl, just as it was done for Śrī Gōvindarāja (See page 29 ante).

The celebration of a Koḍai-tirunāl or summer festival is observed in No. 252—G. T. which records a provision made in Śaka 1462, Sārvari (=14—10—1540 A. C.), by one of the Jiyers of Śrī Vēkāṭēsvara’s temple for the conduct of the same.

In Śaka 1468, Parābhava (=13—1—1547 A. C.), one Chevvurāyaka, son of Siīga-Nallapan of the Vellāla caste and a native of Pānguṇāṭu, i.e., Prāng-ṇāṭu (‘the eastern district’, comprised in the Udayagiri-rājya), newly started a Pādiyavanṭai festival for Raghunāṭha at the maṇṭapam built by him outside the town to which Raghunāṭha and Lakshmana-Perumāl rode on horses as their vehicles, while Sitādevi was carried in a palanquin (pollaki) (No. 403—G. T.).

Other festive occasions are also noticed in some of these epigraphs. No. 667—T. T. dated in Śaka 1467, Viśvavasu (=26—11—1545 A. C.), reports that Kaṭṭika-purāṇam was read in the presence of Raghunāṭha on the Uṭhāna-dvādasai day and that Archaka Vēkāṭat-tuṭai provided for offerings to the deity immediately after that function was over. The donor also made provision for an offering of one tiruppōnakam to Raghunāṭha on the day of Ārpaśi-ṭurāṇam, i.e., the day of the occurrence of the star Pārvāṭi inha in the Tamil month of Ārpaśi, which was the birth-star of Śanai-Mudaliyar or Vishvakṣaṇa, and of 8 tiruppōnakam on the full-moon day in the month of Āvasi on which occasion the donor performed the Pailu-bandha ceremony. No. 244—T.T. mentions that Raghunāṭha was carried in procession on some holy occasion, to a grove of trees near by, belonging to Narasimharāya Mudaliyar, and that he was there prefitted with an offering of one Śidai-pañī provided by another Charaṇu-Śeṭṭi, son of Periya-Pāngāṭai-Śeṭṭi, in Śaka 1449, Sarvajit (=16—8—1527 A.C.). No. 61—G. T. also refers to offerings made for Raghunāṭha during some festival and further records that the Sabhāiyār of Tiruchānūr had previously installed an idol of Hanumān to the west
of Raghunātha's temple and that they arranged at the time for an offering of green gram to Him every Saturday after His bath.

From the references we get in Nos. 61, 66 and 403—G. T. to Lakshmana, Sita and Hanumān, it appears that not only the stationary idols of Lakshmana and Sita were consecrated and installed in the temple simultaneously with that of Raghunātha, but that the processional images in metal representing all the three were also consecrated at the same time. Again as the deities now stand in a group in the temple with Śrī Rāma in the middle, Sita to His right and Lakshmana to His left, the three together occupying the centre of the sanctum, it is beyond doubt that they had been set up simultaneously. Rāma's bhākta Hanumān was stationed some yards away to the west of the temple by the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchānur some time prior to Saka 1415, the date of No. 66—G. T. which furnishes the earliest reference to him, and it is quite probable that he was also set up in Saka 1402 (=1480 A. C.) along with Raghunātha (No. 310—G. T.). The religious susceptibility of the Śrīvaishnava functionaries and devotees was not satisfied with the mere consecration of idols and images without their religious āchārya and consequently in Saka 1419, Pingala (=3—6—1497 A.C.), Periya-Perumādāsar installed an idol representing Uḍaiyavar (Śrī Rāmānuja āchārya) in Śrī Rāma's temple and arranged for the offering of one tiruppōṇakam for him daily after its being first offered to Raghunātha (No. 150—G. T.).

No. 296—G. T. also records an arrangement for the offering of 30 tiruppōṇakam, probably for Uḍaiyavar during the 30 days of tiruppalli-stuchchi after its being first offered to Raghunātha, as in the above case. It refers to some provision made previously for the propitiation of Raghunātha and registers the deposit of 500 paṇam as the capital which was required to be utilised for creating water facilities in the dvādāśi villages. Uḍaiyavar is now found enshrined in a small chamber opening to the south within the inner circuit round Śrī Rāma's sanctum and he must have been installed there originally.

In addition to the festivals and processions arranged for Raghunātha, Lakshmana and Sita, which served to bring about a
certain amount of public recognition for the temple, the temple was also made a place of resort for the processional images of other deities, especially of Śrī Gōvindarāja on certain days of festivals celebrated for the latter. The Sabhaiyār of Tiruchānur arranged in Śaka 1415, Pramādīchā ( = 18-1-1494 A. C.), for the sojourn of Śrī Gōvindarāja and His two consorts in the temple of Raghunātha, for Their ablutions and propitiation on the Vīdāyēmu day (i.e. last day) during the Vaikāi Brahōtsavam performed for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 27—G. T.). Similarly the three temple-accountants, who provided for offerings for Raghunātha on the Śrī-Rāma-Navaṇi day (No. 66—G. T.) stipulated, along with that same provision, for offerings for Gōvindarāja at a certain maṇḍapam within Śrī Rāma's temple to which Gōvindarāja proceeded on Anantam, i.e., Adiśākha (the serpent vehicle), during the Vaikāi and Āni festivals. Nowadays this serpent vehicle is used on the first night and on the second morning for the procession of the deities during Brahōtsavams and probably it was so employed on one of these two days of the festival for the procession of Śrī Gōvindarāja to Śrī Rāma's temple during the period to which the record relates.

Śrī Rāma or Śrī Kodāndā-Rāma, mentioned in the inscriptions as Raghunātha and Periya-Raghunātha, is distinct from Raghunātha installed by Vighnāvāra-Śrīrāman in Śaka 1410, Kilaka ( = 12-8—1488 A.C.), in the shrine of Rāmānuja within the premises of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, intended to serve as the main object of worship by the Vaishnavā śākhāra who in his life was a staunch devotee of Śrī Rāma (No. 142—G. T.). The installation of Periya-Raghunātha took place in Śaka 1402 ( = 1480 A. C.), about 8 years prior to the consecration of the smaller idol of Raghunātha in Ulaiyavar's shrine within Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in the Śaka year 1410 ( = 1488 A. C.). As a mark of differentiation, the former was sometimes designated Periya-Raghunātha, while the latter was generally called Raghunātha. Again this was only a stationary idol, not being represented in metal by any processional image, just as Periya-Raghunātha was, for whom alone festivals and processions were instituted from the time of His installation onwards.

In the matter of administration, the temple of Raghunātha was not an entity in itself, just as those of Śrī Kapilāvāra, Nammālvār and
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the above Uḍaiyavar were, subject however to the general supervision of the Sthānattar of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara's temple. On the other hand it came within the sphere of direct administration of the Sthānattar and was therefore a subsidiary institution attached to the temple of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara. There was not a separate manager for it, answering to the Karta that we find in the case of the quasi-independent units mentioned above, nor did it possess a separate treasury and granary like them. It was in the nature of an annexe to Śrī Govindarāja's temple, similar to other minor shrines built in and out of the major temple of Śrī Govindarāja. This position is clear from the fact of the Sthānattar of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara's temple being recognised as the executors of the several charities and services established in Śrī Rāma's temple and from the combination of these charities and services with those pertaining to the temples of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara and Śrī Govindarāja.

In the matter of Puja, it would appear that a family of priests was brought down to Tirupati from Udayagiri, as their cognomen shows, for the sole purpose of worship of Śrī Rāma, at the time of His installation, or possibly a family that had already transferred its residence from Udayagiri to Tirupati had been engaged for the service of Śrī Rāma. A prominent member of this family of priests comes to notice from a record of Sadāśiva's time, No. 352—G. T. dated in Saka 1466, Krōdhi (=16—6—1544 A. C.), which registers the gift by Bhayakāra Rāmapāyyar, a Vijayanagara viceroy and minister, of a portion of the donor's share of the Prasādams provided by him for Śrī Govindarāja, to Śrīnīvāsa-Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Dāvaraya-Bhaṭṭar of Vāsishṭha-gātra and Śāvilīśya-sūtra, with libations of water in the presence of the deity. This Śrīnīvāsa-Bhaṭṭar was the famous commentator of Kālidāsa's Śākuntala-mātaka. Even to this day it is a family of Udayagiri Brāhmaṇas that officiates as the priests of Śrī Rāma's temple, and it is possible that Dāvaraya-Bhaṭṭar and Śrīnīvāsa-Bhaṭṭar were two members of this family and, as such, performed the Puja of Śrī Rāma in their time.

II. ŚRĪ GOPALA-KRISHNA.

Śāluva Govindarāja, son of Rāchirāja and brother of Śāluva Timma, the famous minister of Kṛishnādāvarīya, installed Śrī Gopala-
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Krisha on the bank of the Gövindapparam—Gövinda-Pushkarini in śaka 1445 and provided for offerings of food, cloth, etc., for the deity and for oil for the lamp to be put up in His presence. The proccessional image of Śri Gövindarāja was taken to the maṇḍapam of this Gōpāla-Krishna on the first day of each of the 12 Tamil months, on the 13 Amāvasya days and the 25 Ekādaśi days in the year, and on other special occasions including 13 days in each of the Vaiṅāśi and Āni Brahmotsavams, and was propitiated with offerings of food (No. 97—G. T.).

III. LAKSHMI—NARAYANA—PERUMAL.

At the present time, Lakshmi—Nārāyaṇa—Perumāl is found enshrined in a garden to the south of Śri Gövindarāja's temple, and it is possible that this shrine was His abode from the beginning. On certain festival occasions Śri Gövindarāja with His consorts, and Śanai-Mudaliyar and Emperumānār, after procession through the four streets, were installed in the shrine of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, given a tirumāñjanam and then propitiated with nividana. Likewise Śuṅkukūṭta-Nāchchiyār and Śrī Krishṇā were taken to this shrine and propitiated with offerings on some other occasions. Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa Himself was treated to special nividana on the 7th day of the Mārgaśīrṣa and on other days. Adhyayanotsavam was conducted for this deity also for a period of twelve days (No. 63—G. T.).

IV. HANUMAN.

Hanumān, though a special devotee of Śrī Rāma, still finds a place beside Śrī Gövindarāja. He was given a shrine, probably the small one just in front of the temple about 400 yards to the east of it (Nos. 283—T. T. and 87—G. T.). This shrine is stated to have been built by Madhava-Jyotan (No. 156—G. T. dated in śaka 1438). Arrangements were made for a tirumāñjanam and special offerings on Saturdays and offerings alone on the 30 days of the tiruppati-tīchchichi.

V. VIRA—NARASIMHA—PERUMAL.

Vīra-Nārasimha-Perumāl was enshrined at Śrīnīvāsapuram, a suburb of Tirupati (No. 29—G. T.) and one tiruppenakam was arranged
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to be offered to Him every night, besides one during noon probably (No. 195—T. T.). There was, a Rāmānjakṣiṣṭam or feeding-house established at this place and a portion of the food offered to Vira-Nārasimha-Perumāḷ was required to be delivered to this Rāmānjakṣiṣṭam at night to be partaken of by the people resting there. Special offerings were provided for this deity on śrī-Jayanti, Tirukkārtikai, Tai-Paśam, Vaiākāṭi-Pīṭhām and other days. śrī Kṛiṣṇa was taken to this shrine during the two Brahmotsavams in Vaikāṭi and Āni, probably on the fifth day in each of them, and offered one atirasa-ponsi.

VI. ALARMELMANGAI—NACCHIYAR AT TIRUCHANUR.

The two or three references available for this goddess only point out to Her śaiv-tirunakshatram, i.e., the annual observance of the birth-asterism, being Uṭṭirāḏām or Uttarāśāṛha occurring in the Tamil month of Kārtikai, on which day She was taken to the Padmasarākhnārī and offered nīvēdana there. This falls on the Tirthavārī or the Paschami—tirtham day, being the 9th day during Her Brahmotsavam celebrated in Tiruchānūr in that month (No. 149—G. T.).

VII. ACHYUTA—PERUMAL

The existence of a deity by name Achytutpperumāḷ is brought to our notice by two epigraphs in the present collection, No. 140—G.T. dated in Saka 1458 and No. 317—T.T. dated in Saka 1460, both falling within the reign of king Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara. The first of these records a provision made by one of the Nagarattār of Kriśnarāya-paṭṭāram, a suburb of Chandragiri, for certain offerings for this deity on the day of the Paṭīyavāṭai festival celebrated for śrī Gōvindrāja, at the Paṭīyavāṭai-maṭṭāram built by the donor. The second one, a much damaged inscription, which is dated two years later, mentions the names Achyutarāya, Achytutpperumāḷ and Achyutarāya-puram. These three names occurring in successive lines in the same epigraph seem to admit the possibility of an inference as to the probable installation of Achyuta-Perumāḷ in Achyutarāya-puram by king Achyutarāya. This is confirmed by an inscription in the later collection (No. 355—G.T.) belonging to

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Achyutarāya himself. It is dated in Śaka 1460, the cyclic year Viḷambi, and records the information that Achyutarāya not only constructed a temple for Achyuta-Perumāḷ but also formed a Brāhmaṇa-agrāhāram consisting of one hundred and twenty inhabited houses built round this new temple in the land comprised in the village of Koṭīr which was a tiruvaiyāsam of Tiruvākāramuṇḍaiyāṉ, having paid 2400 naṟṟṟṟṟṟam into the Śri-Bhaṅgāram (the temple-treasury) as the price of the land in the village occupied for the above said purpose. This newly established Brāhmaṇa-agrāhāram was denominated Achyutarāya-puram and it formed a suburb of Tirupati on its north side.

Though definite information is furnished in this record No. 355 —G.T. ssriatim on these topics in the course of a grant by Achyutarāya of the one hundred dwellings out of the total of one hundred and twenty to their respective occupants, bestowing on them full rights of sale, mortgage, exchange, division, &c., yet its date, viz., Śaka 1460, cannot be taken to indicate the actual date of the installation of Achyuta—Perumāḷ, since we have a mention of this deity in the earlier epigraph already noticed, No. 140—G.T. which is dated in Śaka 1458. The actual date must therefore be still earlier, probably within a year or two immediately following Achyutarāya’s accession to the throne of Vijayanagara in Śaka 1452.

Regarding this deity, nothing more is known. But it may be surmised, in the absence of any reference to Him in earlier times, that He was newly consecrated and installed by Achyutarāya, sometime between Śaka 1452 and Śaka 1458, and not transplanted from an anterior abode to Achyutarāya-puram, and that the names both of the deity and of the suburb were adopted from the king’s own name.

VIII. SRI KAPILESVARASVAMI

Śri Kapilēśvara’s shrine is situated at the foot of the hill about a mile and a half to the north of Tirupati. In front of this shrine is a small tank, commonly known as the Kapilēśvaram, being excavated in rock and nicely constructed with dressed granite stone steps, and receiving during the rainy season the water flowing down in a
torrent from the hill. The entire scenery comprising the high hill rising in successive plateaux with a torrential sonorous stream flowing down from it and the shrine standing just at its foot under the canopy of a boulder overhanging it, with the green grass, shrubs and trees dotting the hill-side and the jungle encircling the shrine, all these together present a pleasing sight to the eye and absorb the mind, through the serenity of the atmosphere and the verdant pasture of the hill and the wood-land round about. Consequently it has been considered as the fit abode for Yiğis or hermits who are believed to reside in a cave in the vicinity of this tank, having given up their worldly existence by reason of their detestation of its inherent vices and ever meditating upon the Absolute Being who is devoid of qualities (cf. No. 201—G.T.).

As in the case of the shrines of Śri Viśakaṭāvara and Śri Gōvindarāja, Śri Kapilāvara’s shrine also was a small one originally and was added to in course of time. This is made clear from No. 210—G.T. inscribed on a slab in the Mukha-maṇḍapam of the temple, recording the construction of the Mukha-maṇḍapam and Tīrūmūṭagai by one Brahmanarāyan Munaiyadaraiyan alias Rāyan-Rajendra-Chōjan, the head of Kōṭhār (Kōṭhār-Udaiyān). From the surname of the donor it is probable that he was a royal officer holding some office under Rajendra—Chōja I, and in all likelihood that of the head-man of Kōṭhār, a village no longer existing; but in those days and even up to the time of Achyutarāya flourishing to the south-east of Śri Kapilāvara’s shrine (cf. No. 355—G.T.) and including that shrine itself. Until the time of Achyutarāya we do not again hear of Śri Kapilāvara’s shrine and the tank. Meanwhile Vaishānavism had gained firm ground and its influence came to be felt throughout the land. The kings of the second Vijayanagara dynasty were converted to Vaishānavism and though they were not antagonistic to other forms, still they had special leaning towards it and their example had also been followed by those surrounding them, the state officials and others. Even the common people had been absorbed in great numbers into its fold. And especially in Tirupati we find it exhibiting an exuberant growth and an aggressive attitude towards the temple of Śri Kapilāvara and of His devotees. Certain monastic institutions came to be founded, such as the mathas of the
Jiyars of the several sects of the Śrīvaishnava, with their head-quarters or branches at Tirupati and Tirumalā. The local Viṣṇu temples had been extended and Viṣṇuite deities had been installed in these old temples or new temples were constructed for them. The Viṣṇu religion had not been neglected. They had been deified and enshrined and provision for their worship daily and on special occasions made in each case. It may be remarked that during the period of rule of the second and the third Vijayanagara dynasties the Viṣṇu religion reached its zenith. And the aggressive attitude referred to resulted in depriving Śri Kapilāvara nominally of His tank and giving it over to the possession of Sudarśana-ājīvā. In other words, the old name of Kapila-tirtham had been discarded and the tank was denominated Chakra-tirtham or Ājīvā-tirtham and Sudarśana stones, in indication of the dedication of the tank to Viṣṇu, were also planted with inscriptions in three languages, Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese, in Śaka 1453 in the four corners of the tank. The jealous act together with the construction of the stone steps and the manḍapams on either side has been claimed to grant Achyutarāya the four traditional ends of mortal life. This only exhibits the change of spirit and attitude which came over the followers of the Viṣṇu faith since the end of the 15th century when the Vijayanagara rulers became converted to that faith and began to patronise it. All the same, credit is due to Achyutarāya for the services he rendered to the tank in having it constructed strongly with granite stone steps and erected Sandhyavandana-manḍapams on either side, and thus made it attractive to the people for resorting to it for bath and meditation, if not daily, at least occasionally.

The next reference to Śri Kapilāvara's shrine brings to notice a mishap which overtook a part of it about Śaka 1484, during the reign of Sāḍāvarāya, and the means adopted for its restoration immediately. One of the Emperumān-aṭīyārs of Tirupati, by name Sevvu-sāni, installed an image of Viṣṇu and, with the object of arranging for His daily worship and offerings and an evening lamp, she paid 200 pavan to form a fund, from the interest on which these charges could be met. Unfortunately, shortly after this donation, it rained and thundered
heavily and, through the fall of a thunder-bolt, the walls and the roof of the kitchen attached to Śrī Kapilāvara’s shrine collapsed. On this mishap, Rāchaviṭu-Nāyakar, probably a royal officer, ordered the utilisation of this principal sum deposited by Śevvusāni for the renovation of the kitchen, and endeavoured to have her object of propitiating the deity daily with offerings, garland, and light fulfilled through some other means. The way was indicated by the then prevailing practice of investing funds in permanent sources of income such as lakes, tanks and channels for irrigation purposes, and, though a little devious, the Sēhunattār of Śrī Kapilāvara’s shrine agreed to the arrangement by which the objects of the donor were to be effected, when her fund was utilised for the repair of the kitchen.

The last record pertaining to Śrī Kapilāvara’s shrine is of recent date, bearing Śaka 1787 (=1866 A.C.). During the years intervening between Śaka 1453 and Śaka 1787, the stone pavement of the tirtham and the maṇḍapams fell into disrepair and required to be set right. The work was accomplished by Śrī Mahant Dharmanāsija, a predecessor in office of the present Vīchāraṇaharata of the Divasthānams, and the repairs then executed stand good to this day (No. 207—G.T.).

21. ALVARS.

The extent to which Vaishñava influence pervaded the ritual and worship in the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati is indicated not only by the Vaishñava deities installed in these temples but also by the images of Vaishñava saints and preceptors installed in them from time to time and worshipped therein.

Twelve ālvārs and Rāmānuja find mention in the epigraph No. 200—T.T. wherein provision was made for the recitation of particular portions of the Prabandham on the days of the annual birth-star of each of them. Prominence was here given to Śrī Rāmānuja by his birth-star being observed each month for eleven months in the year besides the celebration for twelve continuous days of his Adhyayanotsavam in the Tamil month of Chittirai, when on each of these days a sīruvellakkaṃ
or āsthānam was held. The list of the Āḻvārs in this epigraph was not compiled with an eye to their age, seniority or chronological order, but rather as to the convenience of routine in the temple. The temple business would be much facilitated if the days in each successive month of the year on which the birth—stars of the Āḻvārs occur are noted, and for this reason Rāmānuja’s name stands foremost, since his annual birth-star Ārdrā falls in the Tamil month of Chittirai, the first month of the Tamil calendar. The Ādhyayanotsavam conducted for twelve days derives its significance from this annual birth-star, with reference to which these days are fixed so that the 12th day may coincide with the day of the star Ārdrā in the month of Chittirai. It is to be noted in this connection that none of the Āḻvārs has an image of his installed at Tirumala and in order to obviate the anomaly or incongruity of having to propitiate formless and homeless saints, the device was found by which on the days of the Āḻvai-tirunakshatram of each of them, the offerings were all made first to Śrī Vaṅkaṭaśa and then to Rāmānuja in his own shrine, with the recitation of the portions of the Prabandham. Namamiśvār’s annual birth-star Viśākha occurred in the month of Vaikāśi and on this occasion his Tiruvāyirūmi was sung. Periyāḷvār’s star Svāti occurred in Āni and Pallāṇḍu and Periyāḷvār’s Tirumoḷi were sung. Similarly for the others—Śaḍākkuṭutta-Nāchchiyār’s star Pūrva-Phalgunī or Pubba in the month of Ādi, and Tiruppāvai and Nāchchiyār-Tirumoḷi were sung; Poygaṇḍaiyāḷvār’s star Ṣravaṇam in Arapasi with Vaiyantaragali (the first) Tiruvantādi; Pudattaiyāḷvār’s star Kṣiṇai or Dhonishkha in Arapasi with Anīstakai (the second) Tiruvantādi; Poyevaḷvār’s star Ṣatābhisham in Arapasi with Tirukkanṭāin (the third) Tiruvantādi; Tirumaiṅaiyaiyāḷvār’s Kṛttiṅka in Kārtikai with Periya-Tirumoḷi; Tiruppāṇaiyāḷvār’s Rōhiṅi in Kārtikai with Amalanāṭharpirāṅ (Tiruvāyirūmi); Tcṇaḷaraṭṭippāḷvār’s Jyothiṅka in Mārgaḷi with Tirumāḷai and Tiruppaḷi—Eḻuchci; Tirumaiṅaiyepppirāṅaiyāḷvār’s Mahka in Tai with Tiruchchanda-Viruttam and Nāmukan-Tiruvantādi; Śrī Kulaśekharappurumēḷ’s Pūnaṛṣavai in Mōśai with Perumāḷ-Tirumoḷi, and Śrī Madhurakavi-āḷvār’s Chitta in Chittirai with Kaṃṭhikā-Ṣiguttāmbu.

Towards the proper conduct of all the afore-said services, Śrī Saṭhakopaḍīsar Narasimharāya Mudaliyār, one of the managers of the
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temple, instituted a capital fund of 5200 panam in Śaka 1398 and stipulated that this sum might be invested in the excavation and repair of the irrigation sources in the villages belonging to the temple and the food-offerings made from the increased yield obtained thereby.

In Tirupati among these āḻvārs we find that Tirumāṅgaiṭṭavār, Kulaśekharaittavār, Periyaittavār and Namaittavār were enshrined the first in Śrī Gōvindaśā's temple a short time prior to the 19th year of the reign of Rājarāja III (=1235 A.C.) (Nos. 126—G.T. and 94—T.T.); Namaittavār beside Śrī Kapilāsvata's temple at the foot of the hill, sometime in the 13th century, if not later (No. 202—G.T.); and Namaittavār, Periyaittavār and Kulaśekharaittavār in Tirupati sometime before Śaka 1407, the date of the inscription referring to the Adhyayanōtsavam of these four āḻvārs (No. 70—G. T.).

TIRUMANGAIYALVAR.

Tirumāṅgaiṭṭavār who is called Kārājar-karpāham (i.e. one who showers blessings like the clouds) in No. 126—G. T. was consecrated and installed by the Periya-nāṭṭavār who, however, omitted to provide for his daily worship. This state of things could not be allowed to continue nor could any existing provision be diverted to this end. It was essential that he should have an independent provision, and with this object four persons probably connected with the management of the temple business petitioned the king for provision being made for the āḻvār's offerings, etc., and the king was pleased to issue oral orders granting their request. The order was given effect to by the assembly of Tirukkuṭavai by assigning a piece of land yielding five tambu of grain which was directed to be collected along with the kaṭṭamai (income) of Śrī Gōvindaperumāṭ by the persons who managed the Śrī-Bhajantaram of Tiruvēkaṭamuṭaittavān. The document was attested by the Periyanāṭṭavaiṭṭān on behalf of the Periya-nāṭṭavār.

A short time after this, Siṅgaya-Dāṇḍyakān, a Dāṇḍyakāṅkōṭṭai—chief, surnamed Immaṭṭ-Rahiṭavaravai, a general under Tiruvēkaṭamantha Yādavaṭai, a Hoysala subordinate of the 14th century, arranged for the offering of one tiruppōṇakam daily for Tirumāṅgaiṭṭavār. In the
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Saka year 1407 provision was made for his offerings on the Sattumurai day of his Tiruvadhyayanam (No. 70—G. T.). During the reign of Krishnaraya, a certain devotee (whose name is lost) provided for offerings in the name of Krishnaraya's queen Chinnarayar, on the day of the aha-tirunakshatram of Tirumalagayalvar (No. 149—G.T.). A similar provision was made in Saka 1434 for offering three atirasappadi to Sri Govindaraja during the three days of Tiruvadhyayanam-Sattumurai of the atvar (No. 267—T.T.). We also note from this inscription that this atvar possessed land and on this land the donor had grown a grove of trees and had besides constructed a manapam in which on certain days Sri Govindaraja was propitiated with offerings. On the day of the Tiruvayyomati-tuwakkam during his Adhyayaotsavam, he was presented a parivaqam and offered an applpadid, chandanam, betel-leaves and nuts sent from the Tirumala temple (No. 118—G.T.). Since Tirumalagayalvar had been enshrined within the premises of Sri Govindaraja's temple, the managers of this latter temple looked after the affairs of the atvar's shrine also, and there was no separate organisation for the purpose, just as there was a separate organisation in the case of Nammalvar's shrine near Sri Kapilosvara's temple and in that of Ramanauja's shrine in spite of its location within the temple of Sri Govindaraja.

NAMMALVAR NEAR KAPILA-TIRTHAM.

A Samskrit verse in the Mandakranti metre (No. 201—G.T.), partly covered by a stone pillar, found engraved on the outer face of the inner wall of Nammalvar's shrine situated near the Kapila-tirtham, records the existence, probably at the foot of the hill and in the vicinity of the lake, of a certain muni who possessed divine knowledge (divya-gnana) and who, perceiving that the times were agitated and confused by Kali, felt compassion for the mortals and initiated them in Brahma-Vidya, the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit. From the position of the inscription it may be inferred that the muni represents Nammalvar who was installed in the shrine and the teaching of Brahma-Vidya indicates the propagation of the philosophy of Bhakti through his religious discourses and lectures and the composition of his
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Tiruvāyimōţi, a work of about 1100 stanzas in Tamil, forming part of the (Na‘āyira) Divya-Prabandham, the gospel of the Tamils.

As has been noted above Nammāḻvār's shrine seems to have been built sometime during the 13th century at the earliest. The construction of the āḻvār's vimānam, i.e., the pinnacle over the Sanctum Sanctorum, the maṇṭapam (porch) and the māḷigai (tabernacle or edifice round about) is recorded in an epigraph found engraved on the wall of Nammāḻvār's shrine near the Kapila-tirtham, as being the charity (dharman) of Vāneṉuttakaiyāḻagiyaṟ (alias) Pallavarayaṟ, a native of Tuṇjalār situated in the Naṉuvir-kūṟu, a sub-division of Mīḻalai-kūṟu, which was a division of the Pāṇḍya-maṇṭalam. This donor Vāneṉuttakaiyāḻagiyaṟ is known to have planted a flower-garden called Rāmāṉujan-Tīrūṇandavānam at Nandāḷār in the Cuddapah district in the 9th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, corresponding to the cyclic year Pārthīva (Madras Ep. Coll. No. 614 of 1927). In the next year he is recorded to have made a gift of land at the same place (Ibid, No. 592 of 1927). The date is equivalent to 1285—85 A. C. and consequently the Nammāḻvār shrine must have been constructed about this time, i.e., in the last quarter of the 11th century. As in the case of Tirumaṅgaṉaiyāḻvār, Nammāḻvār had Tiruvudhyayanam-ṉāṟūmēṟai celebrated for twelve days (No. 267—T. T.).

Further provision during the same occasion was made by one Paṭṭarpirānayān, one of the Šāṭṭāda-Eṭāk-Šivaishnavas, in Šaka 1436, for offerings on the 11th day, being the day of the Kaṃṇinu-Širuttambu-Širappu, by a deposit of 150 paṇām (No. 203—G.T.); and in Šaka 1445, for offerings on the 7th and 8th days being those of Kaṅgulum-Pagal-Širappu and Neṭumāṟkaṉimai-Širappu respectively, by a second deposit of 300 paṇām for the two days together (No. 204—G.T.). That is to say, on these days of the Adhyayanotsavam of Nammāḻvār, the particular portions of the Prabandham referred to were to be recited and the āḻvār propitiated with food-offerings. From the above two epigraphs we learn that Nammāḻvār possessed property in the form of land in the village of Iḷamāṇiyam near Tirupati and this was comprehensively known as Nammāḻvār-Paṭṭāgai and was irrigated from the tank by means of a

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channel which was also the exclusive property of Nammār. The above amount of 450 nārapāram was to be utilised for repairing this channel so as to maintain adequate supply of water from the tank for cultivating the said paṭammadai. The āḻvār's temple had its own treasury, separate from the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram of Śrī Vākaṭāsvara, located in Tirupati and managed by the Sthānattār of the temple. Just as there was a separate bhaṅgāram for this Nammār temple, so was there a separate provision-store attached to the same, and the entire affairs managed by a separate individual who was known as its Kartar. But it would appear that his discretion was limited, owing to the nature of the general authority of the Sthānattār to supervise and control the affairs of these minor shrines. The manager of this minor shrine could not even independently receive moneys paid by devotees but had to do so in the presence and with the approval of the Sthānattār. The initiative in all matters came from the Sthānattār, such that the acknowledgment of the sums of money deposited by the devotees together with the arrangement required to be made for the fulfilment of their objects was carried on under the directions of the Sthānattār. This is as much as to say that the Sthānattār formed the central authority, while the individual managers of the minor shrines were the mere executors of their orders. An identical relationship existed between the Sthānattār and the manager of Rāmānuja's shrine built within Śrī Gāvindarāja's temple. The provisions required for the daily and special offerings in these shrines were supplied from the stores maintained in themselves.

PERIYALVAR.

From the references that we get in Nos. 70 and 118—G.T. dated respectively in the Śaka years 1407 and 1458 to the celebration of the Tiruvadhyayanam of Periyāḻvār, we infer that he had already been enshrined before Śaka 1407. But the particular place is not known. It is probable that it refers to his shrine within the inner court-yard of Śrī Gāvindarāja's temple where he now abides. In No. 70—G.T. provision was made for offerings on his īḻtumugai day, while No. 118—G.T. provided for the presentation to him of a mukhattu-islai (Parivaṭam, i.e., vestments of an idol tied round the

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head) and one appa-paṭi, chandanam, betel-leaves and nuts, all sent from Tirumala after being previously offered to Tiruvākāṭamudaiyān. In Śaka 1557, Pratīvādhārayakamara Aṇṭarāgarāchārya arranged for the offering of 13 dōsī-paṭis on the 13 days of Svātī, the birth-star of Periyāḻvar, occurring in the year.

NAMMALVAR AND KULASEKHARALVAR IN TIRUPATI.

Nos. 70 and 118—G.T. record provision for the celebration of the Adhyayanaśavam for Nammāḻvār, Śrikulaśekharaḻvār, Periyāḻvār, Tirumāgaiyāḻvār and Uḍaiyavar. It therefore appears that both Nammāḻvār and Kulaśekharāḻvār had also been enshrined sometime prior to Śaka 1407 (No. 70—G.T.), in all likelihood in Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple where we find them at the present day, just as Periyāḻvār, Tirumāgaiyāḻvār and Uḍaiyavar had been enshrined in the same temple. On their īṭṭumur’ai days they were offered one appa-paṭi each in the Vasanta-maṇḍapam built in front of Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple (No. 70—G.T.), and on the Tuvaḥkattunāḷ or the commencing days of their Adhyayanaśavams it was arranged to send a Purivaṭam (Mukhattu-i’sai), one appa-paṭi, chandanam, etc., from Tirumala for being offered to them (No. 118—G. T.).

NADAMUNI-ALVAR.

Nādamuni-ḻvār had a kōyil erected for him (No. 63—G.T.) but its exact situation is not mentioned. It is certain that it was not within Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple but was outside it in one of the streets in Tirupati (No. 230—T.T.). There is at present a shrine of Nādamunisḻvār in a street named after him, almost in the centre of the town, and it is probable that the above references are to this shrine. We also note that this shrine contained an image of Śrī Rāma (Chakravarti-tirumakanaṅ, i.e., the emperor Darartha’s son), and that on the day of Śrī Rāma-Navami two dōsī-paṭis were arranged to be prepared in Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple, conveyed to the Nādamuni-ḻvār-kōyil and offered to Śrī Rāma.
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SUDIKKUDUTTA—NACHCHIYAR.

があった、surnamed Sāddal-duration-Nāchchiyaṛ, the great devotee of Śrī Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam, was deified as the consort of Śrī Raṅganātha, a special avatar of Vishnu, and worshipped as such. The tradition came to be adopted in other Vishnu temples and we find her image consecrated and installed in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple also. Inscription No. 31—G. T. dated in Saka 1451 records the institution of the Mārgaḷi-Nirūṭam festival for her for seven days upto Kanuvin-nil, i.e., from the 24th day to the 30th and the last day of the Mārgaḷi month, the latter being the day immediately preceding the Makara-Sankrānti. The 23rd of Mārgaḷi was the aṅkurārpanam day and the goddess was given a double bath, the adhiṣṭha-tirumaṇjanam, and the paṇchamrīita-tirumaṇjanam (i.e. the bath in the mixture of the five things, viz., milk, curds, ghee, sugar and honey), and then propitiated with offerings of food. During the succeeding seven days she was taken in procession every morning to a maṇḍapam on the bank of the Gōvinda-Pushkārinī and in the evening taken back to the temple and made to repose in her chamber. On the Kanuva day she was bathed in the Gōvinda-Pushkārinī and was then offered food. As on the aṅkurārpanam day, she was given a special bath on the Kanuva day. As usual she returned to the temple in the evening distributing on the way maṇjāl (turmeric), chandana (sandal-paste) and betel-nuts and leaves to the married women. In the course of the procession, Śrī Kṛṣṇa was taken out from the temple by the sabhaiyār, so as to meet her on the way. On the Sankrānti (Makara-sankrānti) day she was seated in the Uṇja maṇḍapam just outside the temple and was offered nirvādana.

22. ŚRĪ RAMAṆUJA.

Tradition records certain incidents in the life of Śrī Rāmānuja connected with Tirupati and its temples. He is said to have installed the idol of Śrī Gōvindarāja, as well as the images of certain ātmas in Tirupati, decided the dispute as to the Saiva or Vaishnav nature of Śrī Vaikuṇṭha, and directed the cultivation of flower-gardens at Tirumala, while, according to the Guruparampara, he is stated to have also received Rāmāyaṇa-upadīṣ from his famous guru Śrīsaila-Purna or Tirumalainambi.
at Tirumala and henceforward become a staunch devotee of Śrī Rāma. Leaving out the question of contention, it may be remarked that it is quite within reason to state that the other two subjects might have received impetus from him. It is through his exhortation that Anandājvān, his prime disciple, is said to have offered his life-service to Śrī Vākaṭāśvara in the matter of growing flowers at Tirumala for the deity’s decoration. At any rate, so far as can be verified from epigraphical evidence, the impetus that Rāmānuja gave to the cultivation of flower gardens had not immediately been quite effective. For, during the 13th century, we come across only a very few of them, and almost all the recorded ones belong to the Vijayanagara period and that to the Second dynasty of its rulers. The revival in the matter of forming flower-gardens, if it is such, dates only from the time of Sāluva Narasimha and continues to the time of Sādaśiva.

Out of the Āḻvārs we have noted above, the images of only two of them were installed in Tirupati sometime in the 13th century viz., those of Tirumāṅgaiyāḻvār in Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple and Nāmāḻvār near Śrī Kāpīḷāḻvār’s temple at the foot of the hill.

There is an inscription, No. 10—G.T., in Samskrit verse in the Sragdāharā metre referring to a consecration ceremony performed for Śrī Gōvindarāja. The date is given in a chronogram which works out to Śaka 1389. It records that on an auspicious day during this Śaka year Śrī Gōvindarāja was bathed in the holy waters possessing enough powers to destroy the sins of the three worlds. These purificatory ablutions are said to have been conducted in accordance with the directions of “Rāmānujārya.” Even if this “Rāmānujārya” should be taken to refer to Śrī Rāmānujāchārya, the Bhāshyakārar, and to none else of a later date, the record merely mentions that the rites were conducted in consonance with the directions of Rāmānuja on the subject of consecration, either embodied in books or handed down through oral tradition. From the inscriptions we find that a flower-garden (No. 236—T.T.) and a lake (Nos. 311 and 340—T.T.) at Tirumala were named after Rāmānuja. Though the position of the garden is not given, the position of the tank is mentioned as being on the way leading to
Chandragiri from Tirumala. Nowadays the only tank that lies by the Chandragiri route is the fresh-water tank known as the Īḻṟur-cherun, and the Rāmānujam-irī or Rāmānujapattirī must refer to some other tank in its vicinity.

Images of Rāmānuja had been installed in Śrī Vaṅkaṭāvara's temple at Tirumala and in the temples of Śrī Gōvindarāja and Śrī Rāma in Tirupati. An inscription of Śaka 1419 (No. 150—G. T.) records that an image of Uṭṭaiyavar (Rāmānuja) had been installed in the shrine of Periya-Raghunāthan, i.e., the temple of Śrī Rāma in the northern part of the town, (as distinct from Raghunāthan installed in the shrine of Rāmānuja within Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple) by Periyaperumāḷdāsar, the manager of the Pīṇeṇcavillī-ṣūrvamadavānam, a disciple of Periyaperumāḷ Jiyar and one of the Eḻāṭī-Ṣrīvaishnavaš of Tirumala, and that on the date of the record provision was made for his daily food-offerings. In all likelihood, this arrangement for offerings was made immediately on the completion of the installation ceremonies for Rāmānuja's image, and much time had not intervened between the installation of the image and the arrangement for offerings. Thus it was almost in Śaka 1419 that Rāmānuja's image had been enshrined in Śrī Rāma's temple. But in the other two cases the date cannot be definitely known. No. 143—G. T. is the earliest in date to give a reference to Emperumāṇār-kiyil. It is dated in the 15th year, wrongly put in as the 50th year, of the reign of Vira-Nārasimha Yādavarśya, corresponding to the cyclic year Vikrama, which was equivalent to 1220 A.C. This much can therefore be stated with certainty that by 1220 A. C. an image of Rāmānuja had been enshrined in Tirupati. The epigraph under reference registers the services and the charity of the Śrīvaishnava in the matter of a light and flowers in the Emperumāṇār-kiyil. Several donors contributed at different times for his propitiation daily and on special occasions. Śrī Saṅhakōpāḍāسار-Narasimharśya-Mudaliyar provided in Śaka 1398 (No. 169—G. T.) for the offering of one appa-ḍāḷu, one tiruppōṇkam and one vadaṭḍi-ḍāḷu daily for Uṭṭaiyavar-Emperumāṇar, besides one appa-ḍāḷu on the day of Tiruvādirai (Āḍrā) star in the month of Chittirai being his Śhāl-ṣūrvāṇaṭṭhram, in addition to one tiruvāṇakkaḷam which he had already arranged during the previous year, i.e., Śaka 1397, for being offered on
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this same day counted as the śrückumra day during the 12 days of his Adhyayanotsavam (No. 200—T. T. and No. 144—G. T.), and on the Ārṇā days in each month of the year accompanied by a holy bath for him.

In the latter year, i.e., Śaka 1397 (No. 145—G. T.), one Amudan-Tiruvāakaṭayyan deposited money for having offerings made to Uḍaiyavar on the 5th day of the Adhyayanotsavam when Ārṇā-amudu, a set of ten stanzas composed by Nammāḻvār, was recited. The primary requisites having been so far satisfied, the next concern was with regard to worship and offerings on special occasions. Rāmanuja having been devoted to Śrī Rāma in particular, it was considered desirable to have an image of Śrī Rāma installed in his shrine so as to receive worship from Rāmanuja as well as formally to receive first the offerings intended for Rāmanuja. This was accomplished (No. 142—G. T.) in Śaka 1411 by Vighnāvara Śṛṅgāman, an accountant in the temple, who arranged to propitiate this Raghunātha (Śrī Rāma) daily with Sahasranāma-archana and an offering of two tiruppōṇakams, besides other varieties of food on certain important days. Thus Bhāshyakār (Rāmanuja) received a holy bath and offerings on some festive occasions (No. 100—G. T.) and also on the Saṅkrānti day, i.e., Mahāra-saṅkrānti, the winter-solstice occurring in January (No. 267—T. T.).

On three days was Śrī Gōvindarāja taken with His consorts to the Uḍaiyavar-kōyil, while similar honour was accorded to Sānai-Mudaliyār on some other occasion (No. 155—G. T.). An epigraph (No. 63—G. T.) records a procession for Emperumānār in conjunction with Śrī Gōvinda-rājasvāmi, His two consorts and Sānai-Mudaliyār. This would imply that, besides the stationary idol of Śrī Rāmanuja enshrined in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, there was also a processional image which could conveniently be taken out in procession.

From epigraphs Nos. 144 and 145—G. T. we find that Rāmanuja's shrine stood in the same relation to Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, as did Nammāḻvār's shrine. Neither of them formed a part of the major temple, nor was each independent to manage its own affairs. As in
the case of the Namāḻvar shrine, there was a Karta (manager) for Rāmānuja's shrine and it is probable that he was a nominee of the Sthānattār. The manager's action was so far circumscribed that he was obliged to act in all matters on the advice and suggestion of the Sthānattār who also formed the witnesses for the receipt of donations by him. Rāmānuja's shrine had a separate treasury which received all money-offerings and donations intended for this shrine and issued all articles of provision for the food-offerings from its own store. The temple of Rāmānuja was made self-supporting as far as the ordinary routine business was concerned, by being endowed with lands both in Tirupati (No. 115—G. T.) and in Vikramāditya-maṅgalam (Nos. 144 and 145—G. T.) All donations were required to be utilised for the improvement of these lands so as to derive increased yield from them to suffice for the additional offerings. It would appear that these lands belonging to Rāmānuja's temple were all in one block and known as the Uḍaiyaṇar-patākai. Similar was the case with those in Tirupati. This block in Tirupati was situated to the north of the big tank in a position outside the scope of the supply of water from the same big tank of Tirupati. Sometime during the 13th century, this land in Tirupati was allowed to run waste for want of adequate sources of water-supply. It was desirable that it should be reclaimed from the jungle that had overgrown this land, and to this effect Ṣrīragaṅaṅaṭha Yādavarṣya, a local chief who held sway over the surrounding country at that time subordinate to the authority of Hoysaḷa Vira-Vallīja III, issued orders in the 3rd year of his own reign permitting the flow of water from the Tirupati Periya-ṛi for the Emperumāṇar-tiruvīḍaiyāḷam-petāi-nilaiṅgal.

RAMĀNUJA'S SHRINE AT TIRUMALA.

As stated already, no definite information is available regarding the date of the construction of a shrine for Rāmānuja at Tirumala. We know, however, that by the time of Ṣājuva Narasimha's rule a shrine had already existed for him. In Śaka 1398 Śrī Śaṭhakāpapādaya-Narasimhāya Mudaliyar provided for an offering of food being made to Raghunātha (Śrī Rāma) for the sake of Rāmānuja daily, and for Śrī Veṣṇuvarṇa.
RAMANUJA'S SHRINE AT TIRUMALA

on the days of the birth-asterisms of the twelve Āḻvārs, and for this purpose instituted a capital fund of 5200 paṇam which was required to be utilised for increasing the irrigation sources in the tiruvilāiayıḻhāram villages (No. 200—T. T.). Since none of the twelve Āḻvārs possessed a shrine at Tirumala, it was arranged that on the Āṉāṭ-tirunakṣākaram (annual birth-star) day of each of them as also of Rāmānuja, the offerings should first be presented to Śrī Vākaṭāsvara and then to Rāmānuja in his own shrine within Śrī Vākaṭāsvara’s temple. Rāmānuja’s birth-star Āṛdrā was observed each month during the eleven months of the year and his Ādhyaṇāṭsava was celebrated for twelve days in the Chittirai month ending with the day of Āṛdrā when, on each of these 23 days, one tiruvōlakkam was provided for him, that is to say, his image was placed on a pedestal before his shrine, particular portions of the Prabandham were chanted before him, and then varieties of cooked rice and puddings were offered to him which were next distributed among the devotees and servants of the temple who attended the function. One noteworthy fact comes to light in this connection, and it is that both the Sattina-Śrīvaishñavas and the Śāṭṭāda-Śrīvaishñavas chanted the Prabandham composed by the Āḻvārs and as a recompense received two prasādams and six appams. It may be noted that Vaishnavism was so largely prevalent in the Vijayanagara days, and especially from the time of Śrīva Narasimha onwards, that its spiritual teachers spared no pains in the propagation of its tenets and ritual among all communities and classes of people throughout the country. Among them at Tirupati, the Sattada-Śrīvaishñavas seem to have been the most favoured class, having become the devoted disciples of Kandājai Rāmānujāyaṅgār who is seen to have wielded extensive influence over the rulers of the land and the authorities of the temple as well as over the common folk. These Sattada-Śrīvaishñavas served the temple in various capacities, and in particular in cultivating flower-gardens and supplying flowers to temples. They also undertook to supply, on behalf of their guru Kandājai Rāmānujāyaṅgār, incense, spices and perfumery for the daily tirumāṇjanam of Śrī Vākaṭāsvara and of Śrī Gōvindarāja and, in consideration of these and similar services rendered to the temple, they were granted a share of the prasādams offered to the deities daily and on special occasions, in addition to a fixed salary (Nos. 197 and 200—T. T.). They seem to have established themselves as a colony of sixteen houses.
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at Tirumala in the Kandālai-Rāmānujuyaṅgār street, and the status they were accorded, under the patronage of Kandālai Rāmānujuyaṅgār, is evidenced by the phraseology employed in referring to their residence as the sixteen tirumāḻigai and the Śattāda-Srivaishnavargai-tirumāḻigai. It is, however, possible that in later times they lost ground and gave up their service to the temple; and at the present time, not one among them has anything to do with the ceremonial and service conducted in the temple at Tirumala.

SRI RAMANUJA’S INFLUENCE.

The latter half of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century A. C. formed the period of Śrī Rāmānuja’s activities in the cause of the Vaishnava religion and the Viṣṇuṣūdra philosophy whose propounder and establisther he was. Love of God and of fellow-beings was the fundamental tenet of his religion. The sole supremacy of Vishnu of the Hindu Trinity over the rest of the Hindu deities was the main feature of his faith and philosophy. Life-long service and devotion to Vishnu was what he taught and practised as the best means of attaining salvation. His religious discourses had the desired effect of converting many people to the Vaishnava faith. “This new community of Śrī Vaishnavas was not confined exclusively to the Brahmans. It was catholic and entertained in its fold every man and woman regardless of caste or colour.”

The same conviction was carried home to the minds of many of his staunch disciples and immediate followers, such as Anantasūri (Ānandāyān) who, at his master’s bidding, had settled at Tirumala, cultivated a flower-garden having named it Rāmānujam, and carried flowers daily for Śrī Veṅkaṭāvara. Many an Ekaṅgi and Jiyar of later date had followed the example set by Anantasūri and had dedicated their lives to divine service by means of the cultivation of flower-gardens for the use of the deities. One or two of the prominent Śrīvaishnava laity also exhibited similar enthusiasm in undertaking such work at their preceptor’s call, as did Uṇaiyavar-kōyil Anan alias Anusandhanam Tiruvākaladās (No. 274—T. T.) and Hastigiridās (No. 341
SRI RAMANUJA’S INFLUENCE

—T. T. J. Foremost among the Ekāgi in this respect were Ekāgi Gopayyan who supervised the Malaiikiniyaninţan—nandavanam (No. 63—T. T.), Ekāgi Periyaperumādăsar who was the supervisor of the Pinnellavilli-nandavanam (No. 50—T. T.), and Ekāgi Tiruvēkāyiyyan of the Tiruvējiyarappinţam-tirumandavanam (No. 32—T. T.); all being resident at Tirumala. The last mentioned Ekāgi was the disciple of Appāvaiyaagēr, son of Vādāntachēriva Pratīvādhbhayaakara Anāla; and the second was the disciple of Periyaperumāl Jiyar, and later on became a Jiyar himself.

From the days of Mullai Tiruvēkaṭa Jiyar who supervised the Arikēluvan flower-garden since Saka 1309 (Nos. 103, 43 and 57—T. T.) upto the time of Vāda-Tiruvēkaṭa Jiyar who managed Achyutarāya’s flower-garden in Saka 1458 (No. 21—T. T.); a number of Jiyars, such as Koyil-kalvi Emperumānar Jiyar (No. 48—T. T.) and after him Rāmānuja Jiyar, were maintaining the Pahkayachhi Yell flower-garden (Nos. 48 and 333—T. T.); Periyaperumāl Jiyar the Tiruvēkaṭanātham flower-garden (No. 47—T. T.); Yatirāja Jiyar the Malaiikiniyaninţan flower-garden (No. 337—T. T.); Anusandhānam Tiruvēkaṭa Jiyar the Tiruvēkaṭan flower-garden (No. 266—T. T.); and another Tiruvēkaṭa Jiyar the Piranjīyan-nandavanam (No. 155—G. T.).

Another aspect of Rāmānuja’s influence relates to the deification of the Ālvpars and eventually of himself at a later date, together with the erection of small shrines for them and the necessary provision for their daily worship supervised by some of these Jiyars. As instances it may be mentioned that Śrī Rāmānuja’s shrine at Tirupati was managed by Yatirāja Jiyar in Saka 1397 (No. 145—G. T.), and the Tirupati Nammālvār shrine by another Yatirāja Jiyar in Saka 1436 (No. 203—G. T.). Tirumaṅgaḷaiyāvār’s shrine was likewise under the management of certain Ekāki—Śrīvaishnavas (No. 333—T. T.). Again, the existence at the present time of Uḍaiyavar’s (Rāmānuja’s) shrines in the temples at Śrī Vaikātsa and Śrī Rāma, the ruined shrine of Periyāvar at Alipiri, i. e., Adipadi (the foot of the hill), and of Nammālvār’s shrine at Kapila-tirikam, besides those of other Ālvpars in Śrī Govindaśa’s temple is positive proof of Śrī Rāmānuja’s influence in this direction.
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Thirdly, certain mahams of the Śrīvaishṇavas came into existence as an indication of the establishment of Rāmānuja's faith in the place. To this category belonged the Tiriṭumaṭiṣṭiyappiran-maḥam at Tirumala (No. 333—T. T.), Van-Ṣaṭhakōpan-maṭham (No. 276—T. T.), Pāramūṭan-maḥam, Tiriṇākaṭaṇthan-maṭham and Tiriṇāṭiparappinān-maṭham (Nos. 155 and 156—G. T.). Of these the first two were managed by the Ekāki-Śrīvaishṇava. Probably these maṭhams were instituted to serve as centres of Śrīvaishṇava learning and faith wherefrom their propagation could be effected as opportunities offered themselves.

Fourthly, following on the deification of Rāmānuja, his influence on his disciples and their descendants seems to have engendered in them great enthusiasm to associate his revered name with many of their visible charities, perhaps as a kind of In Memoriam to their esteemed guru. Free feeding houses designated Rāmānujakūṭams first established by Sāluva Narasimha (No. 8—G. T.) and Rāmānyakkar (No. 306—T. T.); flower-gardens of which the first one formed by Anantastīri (Āṇandāvīnā) was denominated Rāmānujam; the tank known as Rāmānujan-sīri or Rāmānujaappattīri (Nos. 311 and 340—T. T.); and the street called Rāmānujan-tiruvidhi (No. 314—T. T.); all these were the outward visible marks of Rāmānuja's profound influence on the minds of his followers in the cause of religion, transmitted from generation to generation.

Fifthly, the recitation by the Śrīvaishṇava laity and Ekāṛīs and others, comprising both the Śāttinavars and the Śāttādavars (No. 200—T.T.), of Tiruvāymolī (No. 333—T.T.), of Iyalpā (No. 211—T.T.), of Nēṟṟantūṭī (No. 58—G.T.), and of the other parts of the Prabandham in the presence of the deities on festive occasions, became a routine in later days, owing to the extreme reverence that Rāmānuja felt towards the spiritual teachers, the Āḻvārs, who composed the Prabandham and who formed the mainstay of Śrīvaishṇavism prior to Rāmānuja, and to the influence of his personal example on his disciples and their followers.

Sixthly, the Adhyayandīsavam conducted in the temples, if it had not been an innovation introduced by Rāmānuja into the routine of
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worship in them, must have been laid great stress upon by him, as the best means of commemorating the life of the Āḻvārs and their life-work, viz., the highly spirited and devotional composition comprehensively known as the Nīlāyira Divya-Prabandham in Tamil and therefore sometimes called Dṛamīḍa-Vīda in contrast to the original Sanskritā-Vīdas.

The Āḻvārs have embodied in their respective parts of the Prabandham the essence of their divine knowledge by means of which the souls of the exalted devotees are “enraptured, feasted, fed”, while checking “the stream of aesthetic and corrupting literature.” The recitation of the several portions of the Prabandham in the Vishnū temples now-a-days daily and during the Adhyayanotsavam continuing for a period of from twenty to twenty-five days certainly keeps alive the memory of the Āḻvārs, besides serving to elevate the soul of the devotee reciting the Prabandham. The original Vīdas, being in Sanskrit, were inaccessible to the ordinary men and the endeavours in the matter of organising the recitation of the Prabandham in temples made by Rāmānuja whose sympathy for them was unbounded, helped to open the door to the highest spiritual knowledge to one and all without discrimination of caste or creed, owing to the understandability by the common folk of the language of the Prabandham, viz., Tamil, the vernacular of the country, which “vindicates the common man’s right to worship as against the exclusiveness that insists on Sanskrit.”

Briefly, the influence of Rāmānuja’s life-long activities continued in later times in the formulation and systematisation of a detailed code of temple-procedure; in the provision made for offerings to deities in temples on an augmented scale; in the permanent endowments secured for the temples; in the establishment of Rāmānuja’s disciples and their descendants in the various Vaishnava centres for the propagation of his faith under the appellation of Āchāryapurushās, represented in Tirupati by such families as those of Anandamilai (Nos. 224 and 233—T.T.), Kandāsai (Nos. 3—T.T. and 61—G.T.), Tojapar (No. 98—G.T.), Prativethibhayamakaram (No. 63—G.T.), Paravastu (No. 203—G.T.), etc.; and lastly in attaching to each prominent Vishnū shrine certain acolytes known as Ekāṭis for rendering service in them.
As regards worship in temples, Rāmānuja is said to have attempted to regulate it in accordance with the Pañcharātra-Āgama whose merit over that of the Vaikhānasa-Āgama is claimed to have been established by Yāmunāchārya in his Āgama-Pramāṇa, but to have met with strong opposition in the temples at Trivandrum and Jagannath. The result of his attempts at Tirumala must have been similar to that in the above two centres, in as much as we now find the worship here conducted according to the principles of the Vaikhānasa-Āgama. It looks odd that Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati who is traditionally believed to have been installed by Rāmānuja himself should be worshipped in the Vaikhānasa style.

The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrī, in his article on “The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty” (Archl. Survey of India Annual Report for 1908-09), has made up a list of eminent Śrīvaishnava families that flourished under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings and their officers, illustrating how during this brightest period of its history, Vaishnavism was diffused in the country through the efforts of the members of such families. Some of them who figure in the epigraphs of these temples may be mentioned here. Kandāsai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, disciple of Alagiya-maṅavāḷa Jiyar (No. 3—T.T.), Mudaliyar Alagappirān-Perukkalikkaridāsar (Nos. 61, 89 and 187—T.T.), Kolikatvalidāsar (No. 53—G.T.), Maṭṭabūsi Ayyāṭṭiḷai alias Anantayyan (No. 56—G.T.), Prativādibhāyanakaram Alagārayyaṅgār Anmapaḷgircchāriyar (No. 63—G.T.), Appaiyyaṅgār, son of Anandāmpilli Siagamayyaṅgār (No. 146—G.T.), Kandāsai Appachchiyār Anmai (No. 336—T.T.), Periyaperumclidāsars alias Arikarāyamudaliyār Appayyan (No. 136—G. T.), Tāḻapakkam Tirumalayyaṅgār, son of Tāḻapakkam Annamayyaṅgār (No. 76—T.T.), Śrīvaishnavas, grandsons of Tiruvēkaṭṭha-Chakravartayaṅgār through his daughter (Nos. 183—T.T. and 65—G.T.), Śāthakopadāsars Narasimharāya-mudaliyār (Nos. 200—T.T. and 55, 144 and 189—G.T.) and Kumāra-Tāṭayyaṅgār and Tāḻaparaiyaṅgār, sons of Ścṭṭai-Tirumalainambi Tiruvēkaṭṭhyaṅgār (Nos. 307 and 347—T.T. and 98—G.T.). The disciples of the former of these two brothers were one Kumārakulasūkhara Madinirv Timmā-Nayakkar (No. 307—T.T.) and Rājasambasimha Nyisimha alias Gāyi-Gopāla, entitled ‘the establishe of the Kākatiya kingdom’ and ‘the punisher of the Paṇḍya king’ (No. 347—T. T.). Other influential persons of the Śrīvaishnava sect
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who were members of the Tiruchchukaññur (Tiruchēnūr) assembly were Anantaayyanar, son of Rāmānujadāsa (No. 45—T.T.), and Vādamāmalai Aḻagarappillai alias Tiruvanandāḻvār Periyaperumāḷ (No. 17—G.T.) in the 14th century, and Venṛi Anantappaiyyaigār alias Aravaṇaperumāḷdāsar Iḷaiyaperumāḷ (No. 282—T.T.), Tūppil Venṛi Aṉāṉ ālais Varadarājar, the leader of the assembly (No. 282—T.T.), Aṉyaraṅgadāsar alias Aṉḍaperumāḷ Śokkaṉāṇ (No. 27—G.T.), Rāmānujadāsar—Sānaimudaliyār, Malainṇaperumāḷ and Gōvinda (No. 196—G.T.), in the first quarter of the 15th century. The presence of these members on the political assembly of Tiruchēnūr must have greatly helped the progress of Śrīvaishnavism, so dear to the heart of Rāmānuja.

THE JIYAR MATHAM.

The head of a local maṭham, established in Tirupati and Tirumala, and generally known as the Jiyar-maṭham and Jiyarāṅgār-maṭham, has long been a functionary of the temple. The earliest person that we meet with is Mullai Tiruvāṅkaṭā Jiyar who, as the agent of Harihara II of the First Vijayanagara dynasty, arranged for the celebration of the Māḷi-tirunāl in Śaka 1309 (=1387 A. C.) in the king’s name through the payment of 100 paṇam derived from the village of Pēngūdu granted by Harihara for the purpose (No. 103—T.T.). Mullai Tiruvāṅkaṭā Jiyar’s dates range from Śaka 1309 to 1314, and he is mentioned as the manager of the Ariṇāḷayam-nandavanam (flower-garden) (Nos. 57 and 43 —T. T.). His connection with the temple is not however definitely indicated. One of his successors, viz., Emperumāṇē Jiyar, with dates Śaka 1367 to 1415, is seen to have been styled Köyil-kēṭi, a functionary whose assent to the conduct of the religious functions in the temple was imperative, and he was the supervisor of the Paṅkayachchellī-nandavanam (Nos. 106, 48, 15 and 359—T. T. and 190 and 411—G. T.). He also held the management of the minor temple of Tirumaṅgaiyāṉṉār, probably the now ruined temple standing on the road leading from Tirupati to Kapilāṭūrtham. His service in the temple extended over a period of 50 years from about 1445 to 1493 A. C. His immediate successor was Rāmānuja Jiyar, the manager of the Paṅkayachchellī-nandavanam (No. 333—T.T. of Śaka 1416, Ānanda, equivalent to 2nd April 1494 A.C.). He was succeeded by Anusandhānām Tiruvāṅkaṭā Jiyar of the Tiruvāṅkaṭaṭhan-nandavanam with dates Śaka 1426 to 1442 (1504 to 1520 A. C.) falling
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into the reign of Krishnārya. In some of the records he also appears as the manager of the Pirarujājan-nandavanam. In No. 292—G. T. he is styled Periya Köyil-kāḷi and this implies the existence of another Köyil-kāḷi as his junior. In the Śaka year 1442, current with Vikrama, he was succeeded by Köyil-kāḷi Rāmānuja Jiyar, the manager of the Pankayachchelli-nandavanam, who was entitled Śrimat Viśamārga-pratishṭhāpanāchārya and Paramahamsa-parivrājakācharā. His two records Nos. 15—G.T. and 598—T. T. are dated respectively in Śaka 1442 and 1449 during the reign of Krishnārya. The successor of this Rāmānuja Jiyar was Vāja-Tiruvākaṭa Jiyar of the Pankayachchelli-nandavanam, represented by No. 472—T. T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (17—7—1535 A.C.). During the same year he was succeeded by Köyil-kāḷi Yatirāja Jiyar who looked after the Pirarujājan-nandavanam and also the Pirarujājan-maṭham (Nos. 324—G. T. and 369 and 410—T. T.), and this Yatirāja Jiyar continued as the head of the maṭham for about six or seven years up to Śaka 1463, Plava (= 1541 A.C.). He is stated to have been the disciple of Ajagiyamaṅgaṅa Jiyar of Kāṭīchi, just as Kandāḷai Rāmānujayyaṅgār was. After Yatirāja Jiyar the headship of the maṭham passed to Vānāmāmalai Jiyar, the head of the Ajagiyamaṅgaṅa-maṭham and he occupied it for about half a dozen years from Śaka 1463 to 1468 (= 1541 to 1545 A.C.) (Nos. 509 and 402—T. T.). This Vānāmāmalai Jiyar was the disciple of Rāmānuja Jiyar, possibly the Köyil-kāḷī Rāmānuja Jiyar of the Pankayachchelli-nandavanam noticed above. In No. 402—T. T. of Śaka 1468 his name appears as Vānāmāmalai Rāmānuja Jiyar, in accordance with the practice obtaining in this maṭham of suffixing “Rāmānuja” to the personal name of its head. The last known representative of this local maṭham was Köyil-kāḷī Aman-Rāmānuja Jiyar who in Śaka 1515, Vijaya (=17—1—1594 A.C.), during the reign of Vākaṭa I of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, made a gift of the village of Timmāṇayakapuram in Kondavīju-sīrmai and excavated an irrigation channel in the village of Tōṭḷālam (probably the Tōṭḷālam village in the Vellore taluk of the same district) (No. 413—G. T.).

An insight into the origin of this maṭham is afforded by No. 354—T. T. dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Śīraṅgarāthasa Yāḍavarāya, a feudatory chief who ruled this portion of the country under
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the suzerainty of the last Hoysala and the first Vijayanagara kings. The inscription refers to the Arišvālayan-nandavanam and the Voniṣha-kōpan-nandavanam at Tirumala and two maṭhams, one at Tirumala and another in Tirupati, built by Śrīman Mahāpradhāni Immanī-Rāhuttarīyan Mādappan-Siṅgaya-Damāyyakkar and to certain offerings required to be made to the processional images of Śri Vānkaṭāvīra and His two consorts at the above nandavanams on particular occasions, and also registers some arrangements pertaining to the management of the maṭhams. It appears that a religious order known as the Śiyars, who were Disśantaris, i.e., immigrants from another locality, was attached to these nandavanams and maṭhams and that one of them known as the Jiyar was vested with the management of these establishments. At the time of the record a certain Śiyan and the Jiyar had handed over these maṭhams and nandavanams to some one else for a consideration of a thousand panam and the latter thereby acquired the right to their management. But it was, however, stipulated that the Śiyan might reside in the maṭham till the end of the life of the Jiyar and that after him the properties should revert to the Daṃṣāyyakkar, i.e., Siṅgaya-Damāyyakkar, whereupon the Stīnattīr should appoint a Disśantari for service in the temple of Tiruvākaṭamuḍaiyān. It is also recorded that, according to an old document engraved on stone which laid down the Disśantari's custom, the newly appointed Jiyar had to pay a sum of 400 panam into the Śri-Bhavaḍāram as capital towards offerings, for his being enabled to utilise the living settled for him.

This maṭham at Tirumala in which the Disśantaris were allowed to reside and to which the Arišvālayan-nandavanam and the Voniṣha-kōpan-nandavanam were attached, as noticed from No. 354—T T., is probably the same maṭham that is mentioned in Nos. 434 and 676—T T. as having been constructed by Śrīman Mahāpradhāni Immaṭī-Rāhuttarīyan Siṅgaya-Damāyyakkan Sitakaraganān. The date of No. 354, viz., the 3rd year of Śrīrāganāṭha Yādavarīya, corresponded to Saka 1260, Bahudhānya (=1338—39 A.C.), the first year of his reign being reckoned have commenced in Saka 1258, Bhātu (1336—37 A.C.) (Vide “Chōla and Pāḍya Subordinates” in Part II, infra). But as Siṅgaya-Damāyyakkar also appears in No. 189—T T. dated in the 8th year of Tiruvākaṭamuḍānāṭha Yādavarīya, the predecessor of Śrīrāganāṭha Yādavarīya, Siṅgaya’s
relations with Tiruvākaṭanātha Yādavārya must have begun 10 or 15 years earlier and his maṭhams must have come into existence about 1330 A. C. Since that date the Divāntaris must have occupied the Darmiyakkars’ maṭhams, while their original settlement at Tirumala might have taken place some decades previously, i.e., some time at the end of the 13th century A.C. or the beginning of the 14th. Whatever the origin for the Divāntari colony at Tirumala might be and however the Ariśānālayan and Vaiṅakāṭāpam-nandavanams might have been first formed, either through their own agency or otherwise, after 1330 A.C. a definite connection arose between them each with the other on the one hand and between the Divāntaris and the temple of Tiruvākaṭam-uḍaiyān on the other, such that the Divāntari appointed for service in the temple not only occupied the presidency of the maṭham but also acquired the two nandavanams for being managed by him. Thus we find the earliest Jiyar represented in our inscriptions, viz., Mullai Tiruvākāta Jiyar managing the Ariśānālayan flower-garden, though his successors appear to be connected with other flower-gardens. In course of time these Jiyars appear to have gained a voice in the direction of the temple affairs (Kṣyili-kṣyili), especially those relating to the conduct of the Āsthānams on festive occasions and to the admission of articles of provision into the temple with his permit (Jiyar-eluttisya-pravāsia-liśu) (No. 59—T.T.). As to the significance of the terms Sīyars, Śīvan and Jiyar occurring in No. 354—T.T., it may be surmised that the Sīyars formed a religious order akin to the monks with the Jiyar at their head, while the Śīyan was an individual member of that order.

Generally these Jiyars gave a visible expression to their piety and religiosity through the increase they brought about in the matter of festivals in the temples by means of endowments either in the form of lands and villages or in cash. Their modern representatives are still attached to the temple of Śrī Vākaṭāsa and claim to belong to the direct line of disciples from Uḍaiyavar-Rāmānuja, the great Śrīvaishnavava āchārya. This local maṭham is also stated to be the earliest one, as having been personally established by Śrī Rāmānuja in Śaka 980,HAVIILAMBI (11057—58 A. C.), at Tirumala in front of the Āhjaraṭya shrine. The Parampāra maintained in it seems to repeat the names Tiruvākāta Jiyar, Śaṭhakāpa Jiyar and Śrīraṣa- Rāmānuja Jiyar, and as such does
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not agree with the list made out from the inscriptions. But we learn from it that Appan Śaṭhakāpa—Rāmānuja Jiyar who was established in the maṭham by Śri Rāmānuja as his representative, while the latter left the place for Śrīraṅgam in Śaka 980, selected a disciple for himself in the person of Appan Ajagiyamaṇḍavāla Jiyar in Śaka 1025, since Śaṭhakāpa Jiyar could not adequately discharge his duties in the temple of Śrī Vaiṣṇavī without the help of another. Of the two documents which furnish this information, one gives the year Śaka 1036, Jaya (=1114—15 A. C.), as the date of the death of the first representative Śaṭhakāpa Jiyar, while the other refers it to the second Ajagiyamaṇḍavāla Jiyar. It is however probable that this Appan Ajagiyamaṇḍavāla-Rāmānuja Jiyar was identical with the famous Ajagiyamaṇḍavāla Jiyar of Kāṇchi whose disciples were Kandādaī Rāmānujayāngaṅgīr who flourished in Tirupati under the patronage of Saṭīva Narasiṁha, and Yatirāja Jiyar who, as we have seen above, occupied the headship of the maṭham in the reign of Achyutarāya. Two other members of the list may also be identified, viz., our Mullai Tiruvākaṭa Jiyar and his successor Emperumāṉār Jiyar with Tiruvākaṭa-Rāmānuja Jiyar and Emperumāṉār Jiyar mentioned in the list of the maṭham as the fourth and fifth Jiyars in succession to Śrī Rāmānuja. In the line of succession made out from the epigraphs of our collection may be noticed Vānāmāmalai Jiyar, the founder of the Vānāmāmalai or Tōṭādri-maṭham in the Tinnevelly district. Tradition speaks of him that he first accepted the āramam of the sanyāsī at Tirupati, evidently at the hands of Rāmānuja Jiyar, sometime head of the local maṭham during the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, moved to the south for a while, founded a new maṭham named after himself at Śrīvaramaṅgai or the modern Nāṅgalī, returned to Tirupati after a time and spent his last days in the service of this temple. This is borne out by the long interval of over two decades that elapsed between the headship of the guru Rāmānuja Jiyar during the Śaka years 1442 to 1449 (=1520 to 1527 A. C.) and that of the disciple Vānāmāmalai Jiyar in the years Śaka 1463 and 1468 (=1541 and 1546 A.C.) during the reign of Sadmāivārya. Though the founder of the Vānāmāmalai-maṭham originally belonged to this local Jiyar-maṭham, no connection exists between them at present and they are now two independent units.
A RETROSPECT

It is evident from the foregoing facts that the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati enjoyed the highest fame and prosperity during the Vijayanagara period, through the extraordinary devotion evinced for the presiding deities and demonstrated through the several visible and noteworthy acts of charity and special religious services organised primarily by the rulers and other men of rank. The festivals instituted by them attracted to the temples large numbers of pilgrims for whose gratification further additions were made from time to time and for whose convenience facilities were provided in the matter of board and lodging. The rulers apart, the people themselves were ever ready in their service to the temple as was exhibited by the promptness with which the villagers of the divadāna villages took upon themselves the burden of pecuniary contribution towards the revival of the Vedapūrāyaṇam in the presence of Śrī Vākataśvara in Śaka 1355 during the reign of Dāvarṣya II. The cumulative effect of all has been the enhancement of the fame and the security of continued prosperity of the temples.
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PART II
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PART II

THE PALLAVAS.

VIJAYA-DANTIVIKRAMAVARMAN:—Among the Pallavas, only one later king, viz., Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarmarman, is represented by two epigraphs from Tiruchānār, Nos. 219 and 223—G. T. of this collection. The former of these furnishes the regnal year 51 for the king which approximately corresponds to 830 A. C. In that year one Ulagapperumānār of Śoḷanaṅr in Śoḷa-ṇāṉu paid 30 kaṟaṉṟu of gold for a lamp. The latter inscription, whose date is missing, registers a similar arrangement for a lamp through the payment of a number of iem-pon by one Śiyakan. It may be that Ulagapperumāṅr and Śiyakan were royal officers of some status.

Divisions of the Country:—From No. 219 we note that Tiruvākaṭa-kōṭam formed one of the subdivisions of the Pallava kingdom and that it comprised Kuṭāvūr-ṇāṉu within which lay Tiruchēkkāṅr (modern Tiruchānār) where the record is found. Even in the time of the Chōla kings who supplanted the Pallavas and established their rule over the Tōḍa-maṅḍalam and the Vijayanagara kings who succeeded them, the original divisions and subdivisions of the old Pallava kingdom continued in existence, except that the name “Tōḍa-maṅḍalam” was superseded by “Jayaṅkōṅṭa-Chōla-maṅḍalam,” and temporarily by “Rājendrā-
Chōla-maṅḍalam.”
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Rashtrakuta and Pandya Invasions:— Though Dantivarman enjoyed a long reign of 51 years, it is surmised that he had not had a successful career. He is said to have been defeated by the Rashtrakūta king Gavinda III and constrained to pay him tribute; and to have lost in his later years to the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇjaḍāyyan the southern part of the Pallava territory, whence "at this time the Pāṇḍyas had overrun half the Pallava empire and probably were preparing to march on Kāṭchipuram" (The Pallavas by Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, pages 76 to 78). The assumed relationship of Rāva, the mother of Dantivarman, with the Rashtrakūtas (Ibid., page 75) coupled with the actual relation to them of his son Nandivarman through the latter's queen Śaṅkha, born in the Rashtrakūta family (Ibid., page 50), together forming a double bond of union between the Pallavas and the Rashtrakūtas, would have served to offset the severity of the calamity of a double invasion and dismemberment, if it had at all overtaken the Pallava empire in the time of Dantivarman.

LATER PALLAVA PRINCES:— After three more generations of rulers, this Pallava line became politically extinct with Aparaśīta, its last king, about 900 A.C., when the Chōlas under Āditya I conquered Tondā-Manyālam. However, certain Pallava chiefs continued to live as Chōla feudatories and made their appearance now and then under the appellations of "Kāṭava" and "Pallava-kula-Tiṭaka."

KOPPATRA-MAHENDRA-PANMAR:— "Koppātra-Panmar" or "Koppātra-Mahendra-Panmar" comes to notice from the two epigraphs Nos. 18 and 19—T.T. The name may be identified with Kö-Pārthivandrarvarman, a contemporary of Parantaka II Sundara-Chōla. His inscriptions are found mostly in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts. He claims victory over Viṇa-Pāṇḍya. In the two inscriptions he is not found to bear any dignified titles. Both of them give his 14th year of reign. It is probable that he might belong to the family of the Pallavas who had been dispossessed of their territory, the Tondā-Manyālam, by Āditya I about the end of the 9th century A.C. He seems to emerge as an ally of Sundara-Chōla on his reconquest of Tondā-Manyālam from the Rashtrakūtas, after its subjection to them under Kṛishna III for about a quarter of
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a century. Just as Parāntaka I destroyed the Bānas and conferred their territory on the Western Gaṇga king Prithivīpati II, Sundara-Chōja might have likewise adopted a statesman-like policy of conferring the re-conquered Čauḍa-mañḍalam upon Pārthivīndravarman, probably a scion of the old Pallava royal family, who would consequently owe him allegiance. The nominal independence of Pārthivīndravarman seems to be accounted for in this way; else actual subordination would warrant an acknowledgment of the authority of Sundara-Chōja directly in the inscriptions.

His Pallava Subordinate Sakti—Vitākka—:—Pārthivīndravarman had a certain Kādvā or Pallava subordinate under him by name Śakti-Viṭaṅkka whose queen Sāmavai was the donor in the above two records. Sāmavai is stated in them to be the daughter of a "Pallavappērgādaiyā." The word "Pērgādaiyā," if it is an adaptation into Tamil from the Telugu word pērgāda or pērgada, would mean either a minister or an heir-apparent to the throne and the expression would denote that the father of Sāmavai was either a Pallava minister or a Pallava prince, more likely the former. In any case it indicates the existence of Pallava chiefs at the time. It may be surmised that the Kādvā chief Śakti-Viṭaṅkka had some sort of relationship to Danti—Śakti—Viṭaṅkka alias Lōkamahādevī, one of the queens of Rājarāja I. The Pallava name itself of the queen is sufficient evidence of the dignity conferred upon the Pallavas by the Chōja kings and the endeavours of the Pallavas on their part to strengthen themselves by marriage alliances with the reigning Chōjas.

SARVAGNA—KHADGAMALLA :—The next Pallava chief that appears is Sarvaṅga-Khādgamalla (Nos. 226 and 227—T.T.). In the former epigraph, he claims to be a "Kāḷhaka-kula-tilaka" (the ornament of the Kāḷhaka or Kādvā family), and "Kāḷhchi-nāyaka" (ruler of Kāḷhchi), besides being a "Kavi-sārvabhauma" (the king of poets). He is further stated to have established certain kings on their throne and robbed Kāraṇa of its wealth ("Kāraṇa-Lakṣhmī—lauṣāka"). He is entitled "Asahāya-vīra" (a hero (who fights) without assistance), and "Ṛṣhutta-rāya" (lord of the horsemen or the best among riders). He is also said to have conquered Viṭa-Gaṅḍagopāla and Viṭa-Gaṅḍagopāla (Viṣṭiya-Viṣṭyam-Vīra). From
the latter inscription (No. 227) we note that Gaṇapati put on the heels of Khaḍgamalla the emblem of the warrior (Gaṇapati-datta-vira-pada-mudra) and it betokens the acknowledgment by Gaṇapati of his subordination to Khaḍgamalla. He claims brotherhood in Sundara and is said to have been born to enjoy ("bhoga játa" i.e., "Avanibhoga játa"). He is entitled "Tribhuvanarāja." He is also addressed as "Rūpa-Nārāyaṇa" and "Bhaktaráṇava-karaṇa-dhāra," i.e., the pilot who transports the numerous bhaktas or devotees.

**His Identity with Kopperunjinga:**—These events refer to the latter half of the 13th century A. C. Sarvagñā-Khaḍgamalla is a contemporary of Gaṇapati, Vijaya and Vira and Sundara. It is quite possible that "Vijaya" and "Vira" denote Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla and Vira-Gaṇḍagopāla of the Telugu-Pallava family, and "Sundara" may imply Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pañjya I. For certainly these were Gaṇapati’s contemporaries to whom the half-names could aptly apply. Besides, he claims lordship over the three worlds. This Sarvagñā-Khaḍgamalla who belongs to the Kāṭhaka or Kāḍava family can be no other than Kopperunjinga or Mahā-Rajasimha, who claims the Pallava descent (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, para 12; and for 1906, para 5). It is he who attempted the subversion of the Chōla empire and succeeded in imprisoning Rājarāja III at Śandamaṅgalam for a time (Ibid., for 1902, para 9), fought successfully with Gaṇapati (Ibid., for 1906, para 6) and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla (Ibid., for 1906, para 7), and having expelled them one after another from Kēnci which they held temporarily, made himself master of the ancient Pallava capital and commenced his career of conquest (Ibid for 1902, para 9; and for 1907, para 69). These events must have happened during the northern invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pañjya I, with whom probably Rurinjinga allied himself so as to escape his furious onslaught, thus endeavouring to preserve himself and his kingdom first before attempting to extend it. No. 227 contains two benedictory verses, the second of which expresses the wish that he might rule the extensive earth with his long arms. The occasion for this expression of the wish must have been either the time of his visit to the Tirumala temple or the time of his coronation. No doubt the records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pañjya I mention "Kāṭhakakari-kṛṣṇapākala" as one of his birudas and his Chidambaram inscription (No. 179 of 1892 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. 102
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published in S. I. I., Vol. IV, Page 191 as No. 627) claims the defeat of the Kāppaka along with others, such as Gaṇḍagāpa and Gaṇāpati, and the immersion of the Kāraṇa, Kāṭhaka, Āndhra, Magadha and Seṅkā countries in the water of the current flowing from his sword, while the Tiruvāndipuram inscription states that he laid siege to Śundamaṅgalam and “fought several battles which made the Pallava tremble.” If it is true that Sundara-Pāṇḍya overcame Köpperuṅjiṅga in war, he must have accorded to the latter a fitting position and status in order to evoke from Perūṅjiṅga the claim to the relation of a brother in Sundara. Having vanquished his rivals in the north, i.e., Gaṇāpati and Gaṇḍagāpa, Perūṅjiṅga felt himself strong enough to attack Vīra-Sōmaṅvara and extend his dominions into the Hoysaḷa country. He assumed the title of “emperor” subsequently and reigned until about 1272—73 A. C.

His Father the Elder Kadavaraya’s fight with Yadavaraya Vira-Narasingadēva:—It is curious that we do not hear in this connection of any of the Yadavarayās, of Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yadavaraya in particular who was holding the country bordering on Kāṭi, namely, parts of Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput districts, during almost the whole period of Köpperuṅjiṅga’s rule and who also claimed to have conquered the enemy kings and assumed the title of “Tribhuvanachakravartin,” though in some records he acknowledged the overlordship of Rājarāja III and Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. An inscription from Yōgi-Mallavaram (No. 380—G. T.) (No. 271 of 1924 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) dated in the 7th year of Rājarāja III incidentally records a battle that took place sometime previously between Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yadavaraya and the Kāṭavarāya, i.e., the elder Kāṭava Alajiya-Bīṣṭya Perūṅjiṅga, the father of Mahā-Rājasimha or Köpperuṅjiṅga, at Utrati, in which during a hot contest at close quarters the Yadavarāya’s brother-in-law Nārayan-Pillai lost his life, for whom memorial services were instituted by his father Pokkāran Pāṇḍiyadāriyan both for God Tippalāḍivar at Yōgi-Mallavaram (No. 380—G. T.) and for God Tiruvāḻakkōyil-Perumāṇṭāigal at Tiruchānūr (No. 226—G. T.). The result of the battle is not recorded, but it is inferable that success attended the Yadavarāya who fought on behalf of the Chōḍa king Rājarāja III.

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It has been remarked that "the Chola dynasty was singularly prolific in kings of more than ordinary capacity," and that they "were great builders not only of cities and temples (sometimes for strategic purposes, sometimes in obedience to the dictates of their vanity), but also of useful irrigation works."

**PARANTAKA I:**—Out of these powerful and beneficent Chola rulers, the inscriptions bring to our notice a few prominent kings, amongst whom the earliest is Madiraikoṇa Ko-Parakśarivarman alias Parantaka I, who ruled from 905 to 953 A.C. (Nos. 234 and 232—G.T.). Both these fragmentary records register a gift of a lamp apiece in the 20th and 29th years of his reign respectively. No. 232—G.T. further indicates the divisions of the kingdom and mentions an assembly (sabhā) in Tiruchchēkuntur (Tiruchchēnūr) where the inscriptions are found engraved. Though the existence of the assembly at Tiruchchēnūr is a piece of supplemental information furnished to us, the divisions of the country are the same as those that are seen to have existed in the time of the Pallava king Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman; and this may point to the fact that the Chōlas, on their conquest of the Toṣa-maṇḍalam, maintained in tact the administrative system of the Pallavas which they found ready to hand. Irūgōḷakōn alias Gunaṉanaparājitan who arranged for the feeding of two Brāhmaṇas through the deposit of some gold (No. 220—G.T.) was probably an officer serving under Parantaka I (Cf. No. 384 of 1913 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1913—14, page 90, para 15).

**PARANTAKA II SUNDARA-CHOLA:**—No direct mention occurs of Parantaka II Sundara—Chōla, the father of Rājarāja I. But No. 17—T.T., one of the inscriptions re-engraved under orders of Vīra-Nārasiṁha Yadavarīya on the renovation of the central shrine of Śri Vākaṭāśvara's temple at Tirumala, registers a present made in the 16th year of Rājarāja I of a paṇam of gold set with precious stones by Parantakadēvi-ammān, daughter of Charamān and queen of Pon-mālīgai-tirūrjīnān; and it is known that Parantaka II Sundara—Chōla was the "King who slept at the Golden..."
THE CHOLAS

Hall" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, page 94, para 11). The epithet "Dāvi-
amanār" applied to her in the record shows that she was the senior
queen of Parāntaka II, different from Vānava-Mahādāvi who was the
mother of Kundavaiyār and Rājarāja I, and who committed sutee on
the death of her lord Parāntaka II. The pious princess Kundavaiyār
set up images of her father and mother in reverence to their memory
And Parāntakadāvi outlived her husband for nearly 31 years until about
the 16th year of the reign of Rājarāja I (= 1001 A. C.) and passed
her days in making religious charities. As pointed out already, Kō-
Pārthivendravarman was a subordinate of Sundara-Chōja and ruled over a
part of the Teḍa-maṇḍalam comprising portions of the present Chittoor,
North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

RAJARAJA I: A Copy of a Record of His Time.—Rājarāja I
is represented by three epigraphs, Nos. 17—T. T. and 214 and
215—G. T. As noted above, No. 17—T. T., a copy of the original,
after giving the complete historical introduction of Rājarāja I, registers
the gift of a paṭaṇam by Parāntakadāvi-amman. Of the other two
which are fragmentary, the one recounts a part of his praṇaśasti, and
the other mentions his name and registers the payment into the
treasury of the temple by Arulakki alias Rājarāja-Mūṇandavēṭan of
40 kalaṇju of gold for a lamp. The cognomen of Arulakki signifies
that he was a royal officer exercising supervision over temples with
reference to their routine and administration. The location of the native
place of the donor indicates that Śōnaḍu was divided in twain by the
river Kāvāri on whose southern bank lay Āvar-kāṟṟam comprised in the
above nāḍu. The order of Vira-Nārasimha Yādavarāya to the Sthānatiṟ
(managers) of the temple regarding the re-engraving of the inscriptions
in their original position on the completion of the renovation of the
a double significance with it. On the one hand it reflects the solicitude
of the people of those days for the perpetuation of the charities and
services and through them the memory of the ancient benefactors of the
religious institutions, while their regular conduct helped to animate the
charitably disposed persons and others to endeavour to institute fresh
charities and services on similar lines. On the other hand the order reveals the political relations that existed between the Yādavarīyas and the Chōḷa kings. The Yādavarīyas had served the Chōḷas in various capacities, such as royal secretaries and administrative officers, during a number of generations and the order for re-engraving indicates the gratitude and loyalty of the Yādavarīyas to the memory of the past generations of the Chōḷa sovereigns, one of whom, Rājarāja I, had honoured the Yādavarīya capital, possibly Śrīkāḷahasti, by conferring on it a surname derived from his own title, namely, Mummuḷi-Śālapuram (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905, page 43, para 11).

His Military Exploits Reported in His Prasasti:—The two epigraphs, Nos. 17—T.T. of the 16th year from Tirumala and 214—G. T. from Tiruchānār, record all the deeds of valour ascribed to Rājarāja I in those of the same date found elsewhere. There are, however, certain variations and discrepancies in the expressions, owing to the fact that, as at the present time, this place was on the border-land between the Telugu and the Tamil countries, and the knowledge of the Tamil language and the Tamil country was meagre. Further, the original inscription was first copied from the stone-wall and then re-engraved from the copy, and in the double process there was ample scope for variations and mistakes to arise through the style of the scribe or the chisel of the engraver. Both of them recount the destruction of the ships at Kandalurchālai, and his conquest of Veṅgai-nādu, Gaṅga-pāṭi, Nuḷamba-pāṭi, Taṭigai-vaḷi, Kuṭamalai-rāṇu, Kollam and Kaliyāgam.

Discrepancies in His Prasasti:—The discrepancy lies in naming the king as "Ko-Vira Rājarājendra-Panmar," while the historical introduction clearly points to Rājarāja I. The variations relate particularly to Tuḷappāṭi for Nuḷambapāṭi and Kollāpuram for Kollam, in regard to which there is a certain significance. Kollam or Quilon situated on the West Coast in the Chāḷa territories is not likely to be within the knowledge of the people of this part of the Chōḷa empire in the 13th century. Kollāpuram or Kolāpur, the chief town of the Indian state of that name, situated in the Bombay Dakkan, has a certain religious connection with Tirupati. The VENKATACHALA-MAHATMYAM
relates that Vishnu and Lakshmi, having quarrelled in heaven, separated, and Lakshmi, leaving heaven and descending upon the earth, settled Herself at Kolhapur, while Vishnu, wandering in vain in search of His divine consort, selected His abode on the Vaakata Hill (the Tirupati Hill) and became henceforward known as Vaakashivara, Tiruvagalanatha or Tiruvakataimulaiyin. Lakshmi has a big temple dedicated to Her at Kolhapur where an annual festival is conducted on a grand scale in Her honour. Thus the association of ideas of Tirupati and Vaakashivara on the one hand and Kolhapur and Lakshmi on the other in the field of mythology would have sufficed to replace “Kollam” by “Kollapuram”, the familiar place, in the copy now preserved. Again Kollapuram was comprised within Raattapali or the Western Chalukya kingdom in the 11th century. Four successive Chola emperors, beginning with Rajaraja I, invaded Raattapali and conquered it, while the last of them, Rajendra Deva (1052 to 1062 A. D.), set up a pillar of victory at Kollapuram. These incidents connected with a familiar place might have tempted the temple subordinates, while re-engraving the inscription in the 13th century, to choose the more prominent and familiar name “Kollapuram,” with a religious connection to Tirupati and a political connection to the Cholas, in preference to the obscure “Kollam.”

His Mention in a Record of Rajaraja III:—An epigraph from Yogi-Mallavaram (No. 384—G. T. of our Collection and No. 269 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.), dated in the 9th year of Rajaraja III, refers to “Srtravel-kirti-munnadalita’ka’ Sri Ks-Rajakarsayana’ Sri Rajarajadavar.” Rajakarsari Rajaraja can be no other than Rajaraja I, since Rajaraja II was only a Paraaksari and his reign did not extend to 23 years which is the regnal year quoted in the above record. This would, therefore, indicate a title assumed by Rajaraja I, viz., “Srtravel-kirti-munnadalita,” meaning “who had his glory before him,” that is to say, who had his glory always before his eyes by which he planned all his acts tending to its enhancement.

RAJENDRA-CHOLA I: An Enquiry into Temple Affairs:— Sri Kopparakarsaripanman, i.e., Ko-Parakarsarivarman, alias Sri Rajendra-Cholahadeva, is introduced to us in No. 20—T.T. which is dated on the 7th day, presumably during the first year of his accession to the throne. 107
From the above inscription it appears that the royal officers had, during their tours through the country, not only to investigate into the affairs of the state, but were also charged with the duty of enquiring into the condition of the temples and their requirements and ascertaining the satisfactory progress of worship in them. It was quite natural and reasonable that they should, since the affairs pertained to the national institutions and the government was likewise national, being indigenous. Adhikāri Kōrāmaṅgalamudaiyān, probably the governor of the Province, encamped at Tiruchchukanur (Tiruchānur), a dūvadāna village belonging to Śrī Vāṇkaṭāvvara, and, having summoned to his court which he held in the front apartment of the court-house built by the state in the same village, the Śrīvītratuppaśimākan, the officer who administered the Kuḍāvāṅ-guḍa, named Kadappaakudaiyān, and also the servants of Tiruvāṇkaṭāvvara, called upon them to state if any want or defect was observed in the matter of the nimandappā or the daily food-offerings made to the deity. They declared that the assembly of Tirumuddiyām, a dūvadāna village of the deity, which had received 23 pon (gold coins) and thereupon undertaken, in pursuance of a previous agreement engraved on stone, to light in the temple of Śrī Vāṇkaṭāvvara 24 lamps including one of camphor, had failed in their trust by ceasing to burn 22 lights, and maintaining only 2, on the plea of the inability of the villagers. The enquiry impressed the Adhikāri with the negligent behaviour and breach of trust on the part of the Tirumuddiyām assembly and he ordered the transference to the temple funds of the 20 pon of the Tirumuddiyām sabhaiyār available at Tiruchānur together with 3 pon standing to the credit of the Tirumuddiyām assembly in the temple-treasury for their service rendered to the temple, making up the original capital of 23 pon, and enjoined on the managers of the temple the duty of supplying ghee to Tirumala for the lamps in conjunction with the supply from the stores at Tirupati of all other articles of daily use in the temple, and seeing to the maintenance of the 24 lights including the one of camphor.

Chola Administrative System:—Thus did the Adhikāri help the perpetuation of the original charity. It clearly indicates the existence of a highly organised and efficient system of administration under the Chōlas, in which the judicial and administrative functions were not, however, differentiated. There was a hierarchy of state officials, the two-
visible links in the chain brought to our notice in the record being the Adhikâri or the provincial governor and the Śiritanattuppanimakan or the sub-divisional officer in charge of Kuḍavār-nādu. There might have existed a link intermediate between these two, probably disignated Peritanattuppanimakan, an officer placed in charge of the district of Tiruvānikāta-kōṭam, and another one or two lower down below the Śiritanattuppanimakan entrusted with the administration of one or more villages combined into a group denominated the kōṭam. Likely such a one was Kōṭhir-udaiyar, the head of Kōṭhir, a village formerly situated at the foot of the hill about a mile to the east of Tirupati and north of Tiruchānur and known to have existed down to the time of Achyutarāya who built a temple for Achyutarāya within its limits about midway between Tirupati and the foot of the hill (No. 355—G.T.), but now no longer existing. The ancient village also comprised within it the shrine of Śrī Kapilāvāra, and Rāyan-Rājendra-Chōla, alias Brahamāryan Munaiyadaraiyan, who was the head of Kōṭhir in the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I, probably built the temple of Śrī Kapilāvāra (No. 210—G.T.).

Continuance of Pallava Administrative Divisions under the Cholas:—The divisions and sub-divisions of the country given in the record are seen to have remained unchanged from the time of the Pallava king Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, except for the mention of Perumbđappādi as a major division of Jayaikō-la-Chōla-mandalam, comprising a major number of the twenty-four kōṭams or districts into which the old Tonḍa-mandalam was divided. We find assemblies at Tiruchānur and Tirumariyam, of which the former appears from an epigraph (No. 126—G.T.) of the time of Rājarāja III, to have gained greater prominence and to have wielded more extensive territorial jurisdiction. Owing to the importance of Tiruchānur in religious and political spheres and the frequent visits paid by the royal officers to the place and, it may be also, with a view to providing facility for carrying on the deliberations of its assembly, the state had a court-house built at its expense in the village.

Śiritanam the Recorder of Temple Charities:—From the expression "kōyir-kāryam-aṇayinda-īḍattu," it looks as though some time was set apart for the consideration of temple matters as distinct from other state affairs. The summons to the Śiritanattuppanimakan of Kuḍavār-nādu and to no other state official of a higher or lower rank, to depose on the condition of the charities in the temple would indicate that he alone had an account of the procedure,
offerings, services, emoluments, endowments, agreements and all other transactions relating to the temples situated within the limits of his nāṣu, while the enquiry and decree of the Ādiḥikārī discloses the fact of the want of competency on the part of the subordinate officers to investigate such matters and adjudge them.

KULOTTUNGA I: Re-naming of Tonda-mandalam:—Fragments of Kulottuāga's historical introduction are preserved on a few detached slabs at Tirumala and in them occur the expressions “Virrīrindarulīya Kov-i-Rāja-kṣari-Panmar” Rājendra-Chōla and Kulottuāga-Chōla. It is known that he was called Rājendra II in the earlier years of his reign and the surname Kulottuāga-Chōla was assumed subsequent to the 4th regnal year. The complete historical introduction, beginning with “Pugal-sūnda-puṇari-agaḷ-sūnda-puviyil,” is furnished by No. 381—G.T. (No. 265 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) from Yogi-Mallavaram which is dated in the 24th year of the reign of Ko-Rajakṣari varman alias Chakravartigal Śrī Kulottuāga-Chōjadēva. Between the reigns of Rājendra-Chōla I and Kulottuāga I, Tondā-mandalam which had hitherto been called Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōla-mandalam till the accession of the former (No. 20—T.T.) is seen to have been re-named Rājendra-Chōla-mandalam, which occurs both in No. 386—G. T. dated in the 16th year of Vira-Rājendradēva and in No. 381—G. T. This might have taken place sometime during Rājendra-Chōla I's reign and continued in use through the reigns of Vira-Rājendradēva and Kulottuāga I, but latterly the old name Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōla-mandalam re-appears in the records of Rājarāja III (Nos. 380, 384 and 389—G. T.).

RAJARAJA III:—Rājarāja III appears without any regal titles, except the commonplace “Tribhuvanachakravartigal” which we find assumed by a number of his own feudatory chiefs. There are about a dozen inscriptions belonging to his reign of which only one from Tirupati (No. 126—G. T.) and four from Yogi-Mallavaram (Nos. 380, 384, 385 and 389—G. T.) are complete, while the rest are fragmentary. Their dates range between his 7th and 19th years.

His Subordinate Vira-Narasingadeva Yadavaraya:—Vira-Nārasiṅga- dēva Yādavarāya appears as a powerful subordinate of Rājarāja III, holding sway over this part of the country comprising portions of the modern Chittoor, Vellore and Chingleput districts, as is evidenced by the existence of
his inscriptions at Tivurav̄jiyār and other places. No. 380 dated in the 7th year of Rājarāja III refers to a war that took place between the Yādavarāya and the Kāḷavarāya, i.e., the elder Kāḷava Ajagiya-Śrīyan, the father of the famous Kō-Peruñjiṅga, at Uratti, the modern village of Oratti near Madhurān-takam in the Chingleput district. It was probably waged in aid of Rājarāja III and success attended the Yādavarāya's arms, for in some records of Rājarāja's 8th year we find Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya assuming the title "Taniningu-venēti," i.e., "who fought single-handed" (S.I.I., Vol. IV, page 195, No. 648). He is the donor in Nos. 380, 389, 226 and 231—G.T. He seems to exercise the royal privilege of granting certain taxes to the temples for being utilised for the conduct of festivals instituted in his name, though in one case (No. 389) his grant is seen to have been based on the oral orders of the king (tirunaykku[8]-munnaika). In the case of his direct grants, as they appear, they were registered as the edicts (tirumukham) of Piḷḷaiyār Vīra-Nārasinga-dāvar. He was the semi-independent administrator of his fief with powers of investigation, decision and control, similar to those noticed to have been attaching to the Adhiṅāri or the provincial governor under Rājendra-Chola I (No. 20—T.T.).

An Instance of Judicial Proceedings:—A case of default in the conduct of the holy bath and offerings arranged for God Tippalādēvaram-udiya-Nāyanār of Tiruchchukanur by Jayākōṇamāḷa Brahmapārayan on the 80th day in the 23rd year of the reign of "Śrīmatkīrti—munnuñattaka Śrī Kō-Rājakāšarīyāna Śrī Rājarājadāvar," for which the donor had paid 26¹/₂ kulañju of pure gold weighed with the dharma-kulañju-kal into the hands of the sabhaiyār of Tiruchchukanur, was taken to the notice of Chūlukki Vīra-Nārasingadāvar alias Yādavarāyar (No. 364—G. T.). At the enquiry held into the matter in the Tirukkāppadavan-tirukkuvaran, the sthānattār of Tippalādivarar's temple represented to the Yādavarāya, the Māhāvaras and the sthānattār (probably of Ajagiya-Perumā temple at Tiruchanur) assembled there, that, in pursuance of a past agreement engraved on stone, the sabhaiyār of the place who had received the gold were obliged to conduct the ubhaiyam, of which the sabhaiyār pleaded ignorance. But the provincial ruler decided, on the basis of the old stone-record, in favour of the temple and required the sabhaiyār to pay off the 25¹/₂ kulañju of gold into the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram (treasury of the temple) which payment was latterly acknowledged by the Śiva-Brahmaṇis of the temple who were the hereditary worshippers, while the "Uravar," "Pāṭikāvalar" and "Perikaṭarar" stood as witnesses to this fresh
transaction. The judicial proceedings were thus conducted by the royal officer in the presence of the parties to the suit and other persons interested, in the subject-matter of the contention and in the temple to which the suit related, and due credence was given to the documentary evidence furnished. As previously noticed, the judicial and executive functions were not differentiated but were repoised in one and the same person, the provincial administrator.

Local Political Assemblies:—No. 126—G.T. from Śrī Gāvindarāja's temple in Tirupati, dated in the 19th year of Rājarāja III throws light on the functions and powers of the local political assemblies and on the process of representation or petition to the king for grant of land to the temple. The Periya-nāṭṭar of Tirukkuḍavur-nāṭṭar had installed an image of Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār in the temple of Śrī Gāvindarāja but had not provided for his daily propitiation. Śrī Śaṅkakōḍasar-piḷḷai and three others consulted together and placed the subject before the sabhaiyār (assembly) of Tiruchāṅār who met in full numbers in the assembly-hall of the temple and resolved upon it. This resolution of the sabhaiyār, which in effect would amount to no more than a commendatory indorsement, was fully approved of by the king and ordered to be given effect to. The Tirukkuḍavur-nāṭṭar executed the royal order by assigning within the limits of the village of Kuḍavur a piece of land yielding grain at the rate of 5 tāmbu per pāṭṭi as measured with the measure known as the Chājukki. The want of daily provision was thus met by the Periya-nāṭṭar themselves who had previously installed the Śivār, and the document was attested by the Periya-nāṭṭuvaṉṉar on the consent of the men of Tirukkuḍavur being signify and the approval of the Periya-nāṭṭar being given to it.

Their Limited Powers:—The representatives of the temple had to submit their petition through the local assembly which held jurisdiction over the area and this assembly had to recommend it, probably, to a superior official or body which sent it on to the king. The local assemblies lacked powers of granting land or transacting any similar business on their own motion, but could only discuss, report and recommend for the consideration of the king any matter that came within its cognisance. This was a necessary limitation to their power, since they were public bodies and had to safe-guard the interests of the state, and the use of their unlimited discretion might result in undesirable alienations of public land.
THE PANDYAS

THE PANDYAS.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I:—Only one Panyya king is represented by a few inscriptions recording his praiasti in Samskrit which pertains to Jatavarman Sundara-Panyya I. He carried his victorious arms to the north into the territory of the Katakayas, overcoming a number of chiefs and princes on the way, while his predecessor Maravarman Sundara-Panyya II conquered the Chola country south of the Kaveri. Thus the whole of the peninsula right down from the Godavari either formed part of the Panyya sovereignty or was subject to it during the reign of Jatavarman Sundara I.

His Praiasti:—His praiasti as given in No. 175—T.T. represents him as the ornament of the lunar-race (Samakula—tilaka), the ruler of the town of Madhura (Madhurapuri—Madhava), the destroyer of the family of the Keralas (Keralavamia—nimulana), the second Rama in shattering Laakipuri (Laakipuri—luthana—dvitiya—Rama), the thunderbolt to the mountain which is the Chola family (Chojakulasaila—kuliya), one who put to flight the Karnata king (Karnataraja—vidravana), the fever to the elephant which is the Kathaka or Kala (Kathakakari—kupakala), the destroyer of the forts of the several enemy kings (Vividharipu—durga—mardana), the kindler of the fire to the forest which is Vira-Ganagopala (Vira—Ganagopala—vipina—davadhana), the lord of Kanchi the best of cities (Kanchipuravardhivara), the tiger to the deer which is Ganapati (Ganapati—hari—sardala), the establisher of the suppliant kings (Prasata—raja—prathishthapaka), the lord paramount over the maharajas and adhirajas (Maharajadhiraaja—paramisivara) and the sovereign over the three worlds (Tribhuwanachakravarti). He is therein called Sri Sundara-Panyyadavap-Perumal.

His Deeds of Valour:—These several incidents are reiterated in part in the other epigraphs relating to him. No. 239—T.T. is made up of three Samskrit verses, the first of which, in the Sardala metre, describes how Sundara-Panyya of unsurpassable glory, who chastises those that swerve from the right path, had caused Ganagopala on account of his mean behaviour to flee to heaven so as to be seen by the Gods. The second, in the Arya metre, states that Vira-Ganagopala being fixed in heaven was ordained to perform the penance of standing on the edge of the sword (asikara—vratam). The third, much damaged, seems to refer to the conquest of the KeraJa country, etc. Again No. 241—T.T., a Samskrit verse in the Upashti metre, recounts that
Sundara-Pāṇḍya washed his sword in the gore of the wicked enemy kings, vanquished Āndhrāvāra, and taught Vira-Gaṇḍagopāla the asidhārva-vratam.

His Virabhishakam at Kanchi:—There can be no doubt as to the actual performance of these oft-repeated deeds of valour. The Chaḍa race came to an end; the Kāṭalas were destroyed; the Kāṭhaka or Kāṭava Köpperufijāga, the Sarvagţa Khaḍgamalla of our inscriptions, who claimed to be the ornament of the Pallava race, was vanquished and subdued; Vira-Gaṇḍagopāla of the Telugu-Pallava family, probably ruling at Nellore, was killed; and the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati was defeated. Sundara-Pāṇḍya after achieving these successes had the “Virabhishakam” performed for himself at Kāṭchi (Nos. 231 and 240—T.T.). We know that he was anointed once at Nellore, and we now find that he was crowned at Kāṭchi also and that he put on the golden anklet signifying the hero in him (No. 240—T.T.). Further the expression “hatv-Āndhram-Uṭka” occurring in Nc. 231—T.T. indicates that Jatāvarman Sundara defeated not only the Ādhra king, but the king of Utkala also, i.e. the Gaṇapati king of Orissa.

His Vassal Vira-Narasingadēva:—Two inscriptions (Nos. 164 and 165—T.T.) mention Sundara-Pāṇḍya and Vira-Narasingadēva together. The former registers a grant of the village of Pādiriveḍu as sarvamāṇya to take effect from the 12th year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, while the latter gives effect to a grant of some land from the 3rd year of the reign of “Nāyanār,” i.e., Sundara-Pāṇḍya quite likely. Thus Vira-Nārasimha Yādavarāya who was at first a Chaḍa subordinate under Rājarāja III, was obliged, on the conquest of the Chaḍa empire by Sundara-Pāṇḍya, to acknowledge the Pāṇḍya supremacy in his later years, and it shows that the direct rule of the Pāṇḍyas extended so far at least.

Remission of Taxes:—The grant as sarvamāṇya of Pādiriveḍu seems to have entailed the remission of certain taxes hitherto collected by the state, such as paṭippōṇ, ponvari, kudiravari, kāṇikkai, nāṟṟuvari, nallerrudu, narpaiu, māṇuṭai, maravaṭai, kaṭamai, etc. Some of them were paid in gold coin, and were comprehensively known as ponnāyam, while others being paid in grain were known as nellāyam. The village granted was situated in the Āsvamukkilai-nādu within the sub-district of Tirukkuṭavār-nādu. Āsvamukkilai-nādu was a kind of kēṭam, a group or union of villages; and a number of such groups were comprised within the major nādu.

Procedure for Grants:—No. 165—T. T. indicates the method of making grants of lands or villages by the king. The Sthānattār of the temple submitted a petition for the grant of land probably in Agarapaṭu, which was
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considered by the nāgarvar of Kuḍāvar-nādu and Tondapadhāru and latterly endorsed by the Vāriyavimānattān. The king was pleased to grant the request exactly as it was made in the petition, and his order issued orally was communicated by the Yādavarāya. This confirms the procedure observed during the Chōla administration, particularly under Rājarāja III (No. 126—G.T.).

CHOLA & PANDYA SUBORDINATES.

DISRUPTION OF THE CHOLA EMPIRE:—Kulottuāga III was the last great Chōla emperor, and even during his reign the Telugu-Chōlas advanced upon Kaṭāchī and occupied it for a time until they were driven back by him. His successor Rājarāja III was a weak prince and in his time the Chōla feudatories endeavoured to help themselves at the cost of the Chōla empire. A favourable opportunity was presented to them, when Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I invaded the Chōla empire, conquered its southern provinces and burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur about the year 1220 A.C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1900, para 12; and for 1926, para 32).

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PERUNJINGA AND HIS FATHER:—The elder Kāṭavarāya Aḷapiya-
śīyan Avaninappirandān Perunjiāga, the father of Koppurunjiāga or Maharāja-
simha, availed himself of this occasion to rebel against the Chōla king, whom he defeated in three battles at Teḷḷēru, Šavēr and Uratti and also imprisoned at Šandamaṅgalam, when Hoysalā Vira-Narasimha ran to the rescue of Rājarāja III, liberated him and set him upon his throne again (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, paras 5, 7 and 8). No. 380—G.T. from Yogi-Mallavaram reports that a hot contest at close quarters took place at Uṛatti between the Yādavarāya Vira-
Nārasiṅgadāva and the elder Kāṭavarāya, and that Nārasiṅga-Pillai, the brother-
in-law of the Yādavarāya, lost his life in it. About 1230 A.C. Koppurunjiāga himself took up arms against Rājarāja III, captured him and shut him up for a second time at Šandamaṅgalam until released once again by Hoysalā Vira-
Narasimha. The civil war between Rājarāja III and Rājendra III furnished the opportune moment for the Kāṭava Koppurunjiāga to crown himself and assert his independence. The northern invasion of Jātavarman Sundara-
Pāṇḍya I enabled the Kāṭava to extend his territory as an ally of the Pāṇḍya ruler and claim universal conquest (See page 102 ante). Both the Kāṭava
Köpperuñjiäga, addressed in Nos. 226 and 227—T.T. as “Sarvañña-Khadgamailla,” and Vira-Nārasiṅga Yādavarāya transferred their allegiance from the Chōla to the Pāṇḍya on the conquest of the Tcuñña-mañḍalam by Jaññavarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

YADAVARAYAS.

TIRUKKALATTIDEVA YADAVARAYA:—Of the Yādavarāyas, the earliest to come to notice is Tirukkālattideva Yādavarāya represented by No. 170—T. T. bearing the 19th year of his own reign. His inscriptions found elsewhere range in date between the 13th year of Kulātsuėga III (=1191 A.C.) (No. 87 of 1922 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and the 30th year of Rājarāja III (=1246 A.C.) (No. 495 of 1902) and Śaka 1168 (=1246 A.C.) (“Nellore Inscriptions,” Atmakur No. 7). Consequently his 19th regnal year in which he made the grant of Kuṭavār to the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭāśvara must correspond roughly to 1210 A.C. The praśasti that precedes the grant portion in No. 170—T.T. refers to Tirukkālattideva Yādavarāya as ‘the sole shelter of the terrestrial globe’ (Sakalabhuvana—mañḍalalīśraya), ‘the proud cuckoo of the royal park of all learning’ (Samasta—vidyōdyāna—mañḍalakanaṃṭha), ‘the honey-bee (sucking) at the lotus-feet of (God) Śrīkālahasti’ (Śrīkūlāhasti—chāraṃśravinda—mañḍhukara), ‘the ruler of the prosperous Veṅgarīpirā’ (Śrīmad—Viṅgaṣṭīpura—pālaka), ‘the chief of huntsmen’ (Viṅgaripālaka), ‘the overlord of Veṅgi’ (Veṅgi—Maḥēnāyaka), ‘the recipient of the excellent grace obtained from Piṣharaṅgī (Piṣhindī) (Piṣharaṅgī—labdha—varāprāśada), ‘the master of the Gūḍavari’ (Gūḍavari—valabka), ‘the lord of Kanupāka, the best city’ (Kanupāka—puravardhiṣvara), ‘the best among the learned men, (Pīdvajjanottama), ‘the retreat of the defeated kings’ (Pariṅḥarārājāśraya), ‘the ornament of the Lunar race’ (Ghandaṅkutilaka), ‘Chēḷukya—Nārīyan, ‘the abode of all (virtuous) qualities’ (Sakalaguna—saṅgrāma), ‘Mahāρājādhirāja, ‘Yādavarāja and ‘Śrīmadbhujabala.’

Relations between the Yādavarayas and the Telugu-Cholas:—Some of these birudas, especially Chēḷukya—Nārīyan assumed by Tirukkālattideva and Śaṅkula—Chēḷukki by Vira-Nārasiṅgadāva Yādavaraya, indicate the connection of the Yādavarāyas with the Eastern Chēḷukyas from whom it would seem as though the former acquired territorial domination over a portion of the Veṅgi kingdom originally. And with the extinction of the Eastern
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Chälukya dynasty, the Yadavaraya family must have nominally claimed dominion over the whole of the Vägi country. Subject, however, to the suzerainty of the Chälas later on, the Yadavarayas in fact exercised their authority over the northern and eastern portion of the Tonda-mangalam and held the Telugu-Chälas as their feudatories, as disclosed in the Vaṅkatagiri epigraphs Nos. 1, 7, 10 and 11 of the ‘Nellore Inscriptions,’ wherein we find Madhurantaka Pottapi-Chälä Etra-Sidharasa as the executor of the grants made by Räjamalladäva Yadavaräya alias Bhujabala-Sidharasa and his consort Kamala-Mahädävi alias Bejjädävi in Nägapudoli. It is therefore possible that the Yadavarayas were provincial governors and that the Telugu-Chälas were rulers of chiefships, especially in the Päkkäi-nädu or Päka-nädu, i.e., Präng-nädu, the ‘eastern district’ comprising portions of the modern Nellore and Cuddapah districts. In evidence of this we find Tirukkälatidäva’s inscriptions in the Nellore, Chittoor and North Arcot districts and they suggest the extension of his sway from Tiruvannamalai in the south-west (No. 495 of 1902 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) up to at least Kalahasti in the north-east (Ibid., No. 87 of 1922). Further the Yadavarayas honoured their Telugu-Chälä subordinates by giving their daughters in marriage to them and by choosing their own wives from their families, and this mutual alliance not only conferred a dignity on the Telugu-Chälä princes but also served to strengthen their position. Tirukkałatidäva is referred to in the Atmakur inscription No. 7 as the father-in-law (mämä) of Allun-Tirukka-latidäva Mahäräja, i.e., the Telugu-Chälä Tikka, one of whose queens Lakshmidävi is reported in Nos. 46 of 1893 and 195 of 1903 to be the daughter of Vïra-Närasängadäva Yadavaräya. On the other side, No. 149 of 1922 shows that a certain Yadavaräya wedded the daughter of a Pottappichäla-Märäšär (Mahäräja).

Two Queens of Tirukkalattidadeva:—Two queens of Tirukkalattidadeva Yadavaräya are known, viz., Puğöli-Mädüviyar who made a gift of cows to the temple at Kalahasti in the 13th year of Kulüttuiga III (No. 87 of 1922) and Chälükikula-Mädüviyar, daughter of Siṅgaräsär, whose gift of sheep to the same temple is registered in No. 196 of 1892 in the 10th year of Räjaräja III.

VIRARAKSHASA YADAVARAYA:—Tirukkalattidadeva’s son was Siṅgapillälai alias Virarakshasa Yadavaräya, who provided for a tiru-mantira-tiruppōnakam for Tiruväkṣātamuḷaiyän from the produce derived from the land granted by him in Tirukkuḍavür-nädu (Nos. 293 and 362—T.T.). His inscription at Kalahasti, No. 197 of 1892 of the Mad. Ep. Coll., is dated in the
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15th year of Kulottuṣaṅga III (=1193 A.C.) and it is probable that the 15th year of a Chōḍādaṇa, in which No. 293—T.T. is dated, also refers to the reign of the same king Kulottuṣaṅga III.

VIRA-NARASINGADEVA YADAVARAYA:—Vira-Nārasiṅgadāva Yāḍavaṇīya comes next. Some of his records in our collection are dated between his 12th and 51st years. His earliest mention occurs in No. 120 of 1922 bearing the 31st year of Kulottuṣaṅga III (=1209 A.C.) and the latest reference is found in No. 164—T.T. of the 12th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I (=1262 A.C.). Consequently his rule covered a minimum period of 54 years and this confirms the highest regnal year 51 given for him in No. 125—G.T. which quotes the corresponding cyclic year Rākṣasā. No. 143—G.T. wrongly quotes his 50th year as corresponding to the cyclic year Vikrama, which is nearly 35 years anterior to Rākṣasā, and the Tamil figure 50 must therefore be a mistake for 15. With Rākṣasā as his 51st year and Vikrama the 15th year, his first year would be Krōdhana (śaka 1127=1205 A.C.), while his last year so far known is the 12th year of Sundara-Paṇḍya (=1262 A.C.). This gives a duration of 57 years for Vira-Nārasiṅgadāva Yāḍavaṇīya. As a feudatory chief he administered a portion of the Tonḍamāṇḍalam comprising parts of the modern Chittoor, Vellore and Chingleput districts. He fought on the side of Rājarāja III in the wars which Köpperuṭṭi-jāga and his father waged against the Chōla monarch, as instanced by No. 380—G.T. in the fight that took place at Oratti, the modern Oratti in the Madhurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. Along with the Yāḍavaṇīya title of Saṅkula-Chāṭuka, he had early assumed the biruda Taniminiruvena (‘who conquered singly, unaided’) (No. 371—T.T.), and Rājāiraya (‘the asylum of kings’) (No. 659 of 1904). No. 371—T.T. records that Vira-Nārasimha conquered his enemies in war, extended his fame over the earth, wedded the Goddess of Prosperity and bore the insignia of royalty, viz., a garlanded elephant, a white umbrella, etc. He is therein also reported to have performed the Tulārāhaṇa ceremony, i.e., weighing himself in scales against gold, and to have presented that gold to the temple of Śrī Vākaṭaṭvara for gilding the vimāṇam and other structures. This invested the Vākaṭa Hill with a golden lustre by which it equalled Mount Mṛu in appearance. This gilding by Vira-Nārasimhadāva Yāḍavaṇīya seems to have taken place almost simultaneously with the fixing of the golden vase (kanaka-kalai) over the vimāṇam by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I (No. 172—T.T.). As a provincial ruler he made
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grants independently in certain cases and held enquiries pertaining to the progress of old grants and passed decrees (Cf. No. 384—G.T.). He installed an image of Mallikārjuna in the temple of Maṅikkeśagaindaiya-Nayanār at Kalahasti and an image of Vira-Nārasimhāvaramadaiya-Nayanār, after his own name, in the verandah round the central shrine of the temple at Tiruvornoiyur (No. 227 of 1912). Another image of Vira-Nārasiśa-Perumāḻai was installed somewhere in Tirupati, as noted in No. 195—T.T., and it is likely that the installation was done at the instance of Vira-Nārasiśagadava Yādavarāya himself. With his permission the central shrine of Śrī Vaṅkaṭāvara’s temple at Tirumala was renovated by a certain Desāntari Tiruppullāidāsār in the 40th year of the Yādavarāya’s reign, and on the completion of the repairs the inscriptions that were contained on the walls of the central shrine were required to be re-engraved in their original position. And so we have four Chōṭa records, Nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20—T.T., re-engraved on the north wall at the western corner under these injunctions of Vira-Nārasiśagadava Yādavarāya. This Desāntari is probably identical with the Tiruppulāidāsār of Saravani-mahādaśi-chaturvādi-māṇagalam or Shermadevi who constructed the temple of Kāṇaviniya-Perumāḻai at Kījachchavāḷ in the Tinnevelly district about 1247 A.C., before the 9th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇārinmaikoṭaṁ (i.e. Māravarmar Sundara-Pāṇḍya II) (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, page 64, para 34). And so the renovation of the central shrine of Śrī Vaṅkaṭāvara’s temple was effected two years earlier in 1245 A.C., being the 40th year of Vira-Nārasiśimha Yādavarāya.

His Queen and Daughters:—His queen Yādavarāya-Nāchchiyār presented cows and bulls to the temple for supplying ghee for the lamps set up in the presence of Śrī Vaṅkaṭā and Śrī Gōvindarāja (Nos. 381—T.T. and 113—G.T.). She also instituted a new festival for God Gōvindarāja, a duplicate Brahmatsavam, to be celebrated in the Tamil month of Āni, and granted half the village of Paṅgaḷapalli to meet the expenses of this festival. She must have been the daughter of Paṅgiyadaraiyar whose son-in-law (maruganār) Vira-Nārasiśagadava is stated to have been (No. 380—G. T.). Paṅgiyadaraiyar was the son of a certain Xandhar and he managed the affairs of the temple of Tippalādavaramadaiya-Nayanār situated in the western part of Tiruchchukkanār now separated and denominated Yōgi-Mallavaram. He was designated Pohkan or Pohkuṟan, i.e., treasurer, and he probably held that office under his own son-in-law. He was entitled Parasamayakāṭari, ‘the destroyer of the rival philosophical tenets.’ It was his son Nāraḷaṭappillai who lost his life.
in the engagement that took place at Uratti between Vira-Narasimhadasa Yadvavariya and the elder Këtavariya Ajagiya-Siyan. Vira-Narasimhadasa had two daughters of whom Lakshmidvi, one of the queens of the Telugu-Chëja Tikka or Allun-Tirukkaattidiva (Nos. 46 of 1893 and 195 of 1903 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.), was probably the elder one, while Sëjavvaiyär (No. 156 of 1922 of the same Coll.) was the younger one.

His Subordination to Vira-Ganadagopaladeva:—Vira-Narasihaga Yadvavariya is stated in the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905, para 42, to have been a subordinate of Vira-Ganadagopala, the Telugu-Pallava chief, whom Jatavarman Sundara-Pëdaya I claimed to have defeated and killed. The period of subordination, if at all, must have been very short and ended about 1252-53 A. C. corresponding to the 3rd year of Sundara-Pëdaya, since by that date Vira-Narasimha acknowledged the authority of the Pëdaya king (No. 165—T.T.).

TIRUVENKATANATHA YADAVARAYA:—Tiruvëakaëanëtha was a later member belonging to the Yadvavariya family. The four inscriptions of our collection representing him, viz., Nos. 189 and 195—T.T. and Nos. 11 and 40—G.T. are dated in his own regnal years 8 and 12. On the request of his general Siëgaya-Damäyaka, Tiruvëakaëanëtha granted half the village of Poëgälar situated in Illattär-näju as sarvamënya to Gcd Tiruvëakaëam-uëaiyän to serve for the expenses of celebrating the Âdi festival and conducting the Sitakaragangan-sandhi established in the name of the Mahâpradhâni Rëchaya-Damäyaka (No. 189—T.T.). The grant was made in the Âdi month of the 8th year, the opposite year 1, of Tiruvëakaëanëtha’s reign and itl was to take effect from the Âdi month in his 9th year. Since the village was granted at the instance of Siëgaya-Damäyaka, Poëgälar was surnamed Siëgaëanallür (No. 195—T.T.). Siëgaya-Damäyaka was the son of Mëdappan, i.e., Mëdappa-Damäyaka, identical with Mëdhava-Damäyaka, the son of Perumëjadëva who was the minister of Hçysaëa Vira-Narasimha III. This Mëdappa or Mëdhava had another son Vira-Chikka-Kataya who was a feudatory of Vira-Vallajëa III (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1907, para 49); and both the father Mëdappa and the son Kataya are stated to have been ‘governors of Padinäkku-näju with the seat of government at Terakamëmbi in the Gunduppi taluka of the Mysore district.’ And Siëgaya, the younger brother of Kataya, served under both the Yadvavariyas Tiruvëakaëanëtha and Ñraëaganëtha and the Hçysaëa Vira-Vallajëa III. These Damäyakas were the chiefs of Damäyakanëthai in the Satyamaëagalam taluk of the Coimbatore district, and they had the common
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biruda Sitakaraganāṇa among others. From the Sitakaraganāṇa-sandhi instituted in the name of Rāchaya-Daṇḍyaka, it is inferable that Rāchaya also was a Daṇḍyakankāṭai chief possessing that title.

His Vassalage under Vira-Vallalā III:—Tiruvākaṭaṇāṭha Yādavarāya also granted the village of Tirupati as a tirunāmattukkāni for the propitiation of Tiruvākaṭaṇamudaiyān during the Nārāyana-sandhi instituted by him in memory of an ancestor of his named Yādava Nārāyaṇa in whose name a deity was also installed in the village of Nāgappuḷḷi by Rajamalladāva alias Bhujabala-Siddharaśaṇ alias Yādavarāya during the last years of Kulātungā III. The conversion of this tirunāmattukkāni into a sarvamāṇa grant by Tiruvākaṭaṇāṭha himself in the 12th year of his own reign entailed the remission of numerous taxes one of which was the Vallaḷaḷaṭivar-varṝi (No. 11—G.T.). This tax levied in the name of Valladāva was probably the tribute paid by the Yādavarāya to Vira-Vallāḷa III who, on the dismemberment of the Paṇḍiya and the Yādava kingdoms caused by the southern invasion of Malik Kafur about 1310 A.C. and in the political disorder resulting from it, had aggrandised to himself a portion of the old Tondā-naḍilam and reduced the petty chieftains to submission and lorded it over them. Tiruvākaṭaṇāṭha's feudatory position is therefore indicated by the levy of the Vallaḷaḷaṭivar-varṝi within his province. Similar was the position of his successor Śrīraśganāṭha Yādavarāya.

His General Singaya:—These Yādavarāyas governed their chiefships as the feudatories of the last Hoysala Vira-Vallāḷa III, with the help of the Daṇḍyakankāṭai chiefs engaged as generals and ministers. It is therefore that Śiṅgaya-Daṇḍyaka appears as a general under Tiruvākaṭaṇāṭha Yādavarāya and as the Mahāpradhāṇī under Śrīraśganāṭha Yādavarāya. Rāchaya-Daṇḍyaka held the post of Mahāpradhāṇī (chief minister) under Tiruvākaṭaṇāṭha and on his demise Śiṅgaya occupied it for 3 or 4 years in the reign of Śrīraśganāṭha (No. 354—T.T.). This Śiṅgaya also served under Vira-Vallāḷa III during the last years of the latter's reign and finally assumed independence after the death of the Hoysala about the year 1342–43 A.C. and ruled independently until about 1348 A. C.

His Date:—Tiruvākaṭaṇāṭha was therefore an elder contemporary of Vira-Vallāḷa III and probably ruled his principality for about 15 years during the third and the fourth decades of the 14th century until 1336–37 A.C., the year of accession of Śrīraśganāṭha Yādavarāya. He must have predeceased
Vira-Valliāja who in turn predeceased Śrīrāgaṅanātha about the Śaka year 1265, cyclic year Chitrabhānu (=1342–43 A.C.), the latest known date for the Hoysaḷa (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1907, para 51). His relationship with the earlier members of the Yādavaraya family or with his successor Śrīrāgaṅanātha is not definitely known. It may however be surmised that Tiruvvākaṭṭanātha was the father of Śrīrāgaṅanātha Yādavaraya.

Taxation during the Period:—The numerous taxes numbering about forty, remitted from the village of Tirupati in favour of Śrī Vākaṭāvaśa’s temple, are found classified in the epigraph itself (No. 11—G.T.) as gold taxes comprising Pon-vari, etc.; grain taxes comprising Kadamaiyam, etc.; taxes relating to free service known as Amaṉji-vagai; taxes levied by the assembly of the Nūṭṭār; and other old and new taxes promulgated from the royal court. Some of the taxes enumerated in Nos. 189—T.T. and 11—G.T. related to tolls levied on animals; road-cess or a kind of poll-tax; profession tax on merchants, oil-mongers, weavers, etc.; license for planting gardens, for fishing in ponds, etc.; and poundage on stray cattle. These are akin to the feudal dues levied in the western countries during the Middle Ages. Two of the three “ancient and customary aids” are also represented in this list by the Tirumaganār—kānīkkai and the Tiruttāyār—kānīkkai, i.e., taxes levied for the benefit of the heir-apparent and the queen-mother. The third item, viz., the aid for ransoming the body of the king if captured by the enemy, occurs as a kind of tribute paid to the liege-lord; and in this instance it was the Vāḷḷāḍavvar-vari raised as tribute to be paid by the Yādavaraya to the conqueror and liege-lord the Hoysaḷa.

ŚRIRANGANATHA YADAVARAYA:—Śrīrāgaṅanātha Yādavaraya was probably the successor of Tiruvvākaṭṭanātha Yādavaraya. He is represented by half a dozen inscriptions ranging in date between his 3rd and 19th regnal years. No. 242 of 1912 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. from Tiruvoṭṭiyār near Madras furnishes his 16th year with the corresponding cyclic year Khar. The astronomical details given therein work out correctly for Tuesday, the 24th of May 1351 A.C., and the Śaka year then current was 1273. Hence the 1st year of his reign would fall in Śaka 1258, Dhatu, corresponding to 1336–37 A.C., during which he might have succeeded Tiruvvākaṭṭanātha Yādavaraya. From these dates it is certain that Hoysaḷa Vira-Valliāja III was an elder contemporary of Śrīrāgaṅanātha Yādavaraya, the first seven years of whose reign coincided with the last seven years of the Hoysaḷa’s reign. Since Śrīrāgaṅanātha continued
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to rule for about 20 years, his date must have extended at least up to 1355-56 A.C. (Śaka 1277-78) by which time the newly established Vijayanagara kingdom reduced that portion of the southern country included within the old Tondā—maṇḍalaṃ to its rule and after having defeated and subdued the Śambuvāraṇya embarked on the conquest of the Muhammadan principality of Madura under the able generalship of Kumāra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar assisted by his Brāhmaṇa general Goppaṇaṛa and the Sājuva chief Maṅgīṇa Mahārāja. Like other seemingly independent princes Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya must also have submitted himself to the Vijayanagara authority and henceforward ruled his principality as a Vijayanagara subordinate.

His Reign:—No. 181-T.T. describes a certain king as being "a Rāma in battle" and "the ornament of the Lunar race", and addresses him as "Chājukya-Nārāyaṇa". It bears the Śaka year (12) 81 with the corresponding cyclic year Vikāri which equate themselves with 1359-60 A.C. The epithets noted above pertain to the chiefs of the Yādavarāya family and from the date of the record it is possible that it belongs to Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya. If so, it yields his 24th year of reign, the highest date available for him, and he would then have reigned from 1336-37 to 1359-60 A.C.

His Wars:—King Yadava Śrīraṅganātha is reported in No. 380—T.T. to have waged wars against kings who defied his commands, driven them out of their magnificent cities and made them seek shelter on mountains. Then alone his wrath abated. Being victorious in his wars he adorned his wounded chest with a flower-garland symbolising his victory and later on built a royal mansion for himself on the Vākaṭa-Hill. The period of Śrīraṅganātha's political career comprised the reigns of Vīra-Vallāla III, the last king of the Hoysalā dynasty and of Harihara I and Bukka I, the first two kings of the Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara, and the time was one of political turmoil. Śrīraṅganātha might have taken an active part in such warfare either for self-aggrandisement or in support of the new Hindu monarchy of Vijayanagara that then came into being out of the ruins of the earlier Hindu states of the south including the Hoysalā kingdom, and these might have formed the basis for the wars reported in the above inscription.

Compensation for Water-Supply:—The village of Tirupati was a sarvamāṇya granted to God Vākaṭaśa by Tiruvākaṭanātha Yādavarāya. But some of the lands situated at the north sluice of the Peri-śri (big tank) in Tirupati belonged to Emperumānār, i.e., Śrī Rāmānuja, having been endowed for his daily worship. They were neglected and so became overgrown with
shrubs and bushes. In the 3rd year of Šrīraṅganātha’s reign these pāhāi lands were cleared of their overgrowth and irrigational facilities were provided. Along with the village, the Peri-ūrī also formed part of the property of God Tiruvākṣaṭamūḍaiyāṇ and water could not be drawn from it for the cultivation of the lands belonging to Emperumāṇar without some compensation being paid to Him. Consequently a sum of 2oo pāṇam was presented as tirumun-kāṇikkai to Tiruvākṣaṭamūḍaiyāṇ for the purpose. Thereafter the pāhāi lands were allowed to be irrigated from the big tank, in accordance with the practice prevailing in the matter of water-supply from it in regard to other lands in Tirupati (No. 115–G.T.).

HOBALA YADAVA :- King Ḫoḥala Yādava is the latest Yādavārya chief that comes to notice in these epigraphs. His gift of a gold covering for the Vaikunṭha-Hasta held in the posture of Varada-Hasta, i.e., boon-giving hand, of God Vākṣāvarā is recorded in No. 56–T. T. both in a Samskrīt and a Tamil verse. Ūbaḷaṅṅaṭha is mentioned in the Tamil stanza to have been the king of Taṅgiyai and to have acquired celebrity for learning. In the Tamil stanza, Tirumala is called Vaṇa-Vīṅkaṭa, i.e., the North Vākṣaṭa–Hill and is stated to have abounded in sweet-smelling herbs and plants.

TELUGU—CHOLAS.

ALLUN–TIRUKKALATTIDEVA OR TIKKA :- Tribhuvanachakra-vartigaḥ Madhumāntakaḥ (Pottapi–Chōla) Allun–Tirukkāḷattidēva appears in No. 430–T.T. dated in the 5th year of a certain king’s reign. He was a Chōla feudatory belonging to the family of the Telugu–Chōjas of Nellore who claimed descent from Kārikālā. Allun–Tirukkāḷattidēva or Tikka was at first a subordinate of Kūḷottuṅga III during his last years, as seen from his gift of lamps made to the temple at Nandalur in the Cuddapah district for the merit of his father Manuma–Siddharāṣāṇ and of Nalla–Siddharāṣāṇ in the 31st year of Kūḷottuṅga, corresponding to the cyclic year Śukla (=1209 A.C.) (No. 582 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). He continued to serve Rājarṣa III throughout the latter’s reign and ultimately assumed independence in the time of Rājendra III. As a Chōla feudatory he governed a part of Toṇḍa–maṇḍalam and exercised almost independent authority in the grant of lands and villages to temples, in particular to the Aruḷḷappurumā temple at Tiruvattiyār, i.e., Little Conjeevaram, wherein he instituted the service called the Gaṇḍagōpāl—
TELUGU—CHOLAS

sandhi (offerings) in the 15th year of Rājarāja III (=1230 A.C.) (Ibid., Nos. 432 and 434 of 1919). His independent reign was short, being limited to seven years only, as derived from No. 46 of 1893 from Conjeevaram and No. 201 of 1903 from Kalahasti, and it probably commenced in 1250 A.C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, page 92, App. F; and for 1922, para 59). The 5th year of our record No. 430—T.T. which seems to register a gift of land in Śeruvaṅā to the temple of Tiruvvākaṭamudaiyāṉ, possibly related to this Telugu—Chōḷa chief’s own reign and it would then correspond to 1255 A.C.

His Parentage and Military Exploits:—Tirukkāṭattidēva was the son of Manuma-Siddha and grandson of Erā-Siddha. His son was again a Manuma-Siddha “who was at first ousted from his dominions by his cousins” but later on restored by Kākatīya Gaṇapati on the intervention of the poet Tikkana-Sōmayājī, whose patron was Manuma-Siddha (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1900, paras 48 and 50). Of Tirukkāṭattidēva, i.e., Tikkantipati or Chōḍa-Tikka, “it is reported that, while young, he played the game of ball with the head of Pṛthvīśvara, that he defeated Karṇāṭaka-Sōmēśa, Śambhoraṇa and other enemies, established the Chōḷa king on his throne and, in consequence, assumed the surname Chōḷa-sthāpanāchārya” (Ibid.). He had married a number of princesses of whom two were from the Yādavarāya family, as noticed above. He was surnamed Gaṇḍagōpāla and it was after this surname that the offerings which he provided for Arulāppureraumāḷ through the grant of several villages year after year came to be denominated Gaṇḍagōpālam-sandhi. He was entitled Tribhuvanashakravarti during his short independent reign. As belonging to the Telugu-Chōḷa family, he was a different prince from the Telugu-Pallava Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla of the Bhāradaṇḍa-gūtra whose reign commenced in 1250 A.C. and lasted for about 35 years until 1285 A.C.

TELUGU—PALLAVAS.

VIJAYA-GANDAGOPALADEVA:—The Telugu-Pallava chief Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla is represented by about a score of inscriptions of our collection. Most of them being fragmentary, only three dates are available for him, viz., the 4th, 5th and 9th years of his own reign. His antecedents are not definitely known, but for one thing it is certain that he belonged to the Pallava family of the Bhāradaṇḍa-gūtra, as stated in No. 272 of 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. from Tripurantakam, No. 196 of 1923 from Uttaramerur and
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

Atmakur No. 25 of the "Nellore Inscriptions." It has been established from the Śaka year 1187 and the corresponding regnal years 16 and 15 quoted side by side in some of his records at Conjeevaram (Nos. 27, 35 and 36 of 1890 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) that his rule commenced sometime in Śaka 1172, i.e., 1250 A.C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, para 57). That he ruled for 35 years is evident from the Atmakur inscription referred to above. His records abound in the Chingleput district and in particular in the Conjeevaram and the Sripurumbudur taluks of it.

Absence of References to Contemporaries in His Records:—His epigraphs do not mention any of his contemporaries, and they have to be inferred only from the corresponding dates. Neither do they claim any military glories for him, as in the case of Jāṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, Köpperuṇṭiṇāga or Allun-Tikka or even Vira-Nārasimha Yādavarāya; nor do these contemporaries of his lay claim directly to any victories over him.

His Contemporaries:—His reign was coeval with those of Jāṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, Köpperuṇṭiṇāga, Madhurāntaka-Pottapi-Chōla Allun-Tikka and Manuma-Siddha and Kākatiya Gaṇapati. Of these, Jāṭāvarman claims to have defeated and killed Gaṇḍagōpāḷa whom our inscriptions Nos. 239 and 241—T.T. declare to be identical with Vira-Gaṇḍagōpāḷa and not Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāḷa. The boastful assertion of Köpperuṇṭiṇāga that he conquered both Vijaya and Vira-Gaṇḍagōpāḷas (No. 226—T.T.) was shown to have been based on the success of Sundara-Pāṇḍya I as against Vira-Gaṇḍagōpāḷa, for which the Tamil-Pallava also claimed credit. The Telugu-Chōla chief Manuma-Siddha Gaṇḍagōpāḷa lays claim to his conquest over a chief named Vijaya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1908, para 75) and, if this Vijaya should refer to Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāḷa, it is to be doubted whether full credence can be given to his statement. Manuma-Siddha's father Tirukkaḷattidasvāra or Allun-Tikka likewise boasts that "after having acquired his ancestral kingdom in due succession he captured the wealth of all princes who were self-willed, shook the southern quarter, killed the kings of the south, took Kāñchi and was ruling there after making it his own" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, para 55); and his performance is equally doubtful, for there exist records of such chiefs as Köpperuṇṭiṇāga and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāḷa, during the period of Allun-Tikka's short reign of 7 years, in the very city of Kāñchi which he called his own.

His Co-regency with Vira-Gaṇḍagōpāḷa:—It has been stated that Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, having killed Gaṇḍagōpāḷa in battle, restored his kingdom to his brothers, when they begged of him for mercy. It may be true that

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Vira-Gaṇḍagopāla was killed by Sundara-Pāṇḍya and that after him one of his brothers got possession of his kingdom. This brother may be Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla whose accession took place in 1250 A. C., the very year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya's accession to the Pāṇḍya throne. Probably till then the two brothers were together associated in their rule for about 4 or 5 years until Sundara-Pāṇḍya killed Vira-Gaṇḍa and thus made Vijaya-Gaṇḍa the sole ruler.

His Pallava Descent from Mukkanti—Kāduvetti:—Whatever his family relations, it remains certain that Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla belonged to the Pallava race and was of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, having descended from Mukkanti-Kāduvetti. His banner was painted with the figure of a club (Khaṭ-vāṅga-dhvaja) and his ensign was the bull (Vṛishabhā-lāṃchchana). He was lord of Kāṭi the best of cities and obtained the grace of the Goddess Kāṁkṣī of that famous religious centre. He was entitled Jagad-gopāla, 'the ruler of the world' (Atmakur No. 25 of the "Nellore Inscriptions"). These birudas form part of the prāṇita which is found to be commonly employed by a number of other chiefs in different periods of time who called themselves Pallavas of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and descendants of Mukkanti-Kāduvetti, the establisher of 700 agrahāras in the land situated to the east of Śrīparvata (i. e., Śrīvala) (D. 69 and Kg. 24 of the "Nellore Inscriptions").

His Mistaken Identity with the Telugu-Chola Allun-Tikka:—This Telugu-Pallava Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla has long been confounded with the Telugu-Chola Allun-Tirukkāṭattidāva alias Gaṇḍagopāla, who instituted the service known as the Gaṇḍagopālan-sandhi for God Arulḷapperumāḷ at Conjeevaram in the 15th year of Rājarāja III (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 81; for 1920, paras 53 to 57; and for 1922, para 59). The partial similarity between the proper name in the one case and the surname in the other was not sufficient warrant for the assumption of the complete identity of the two princes and its acceptance on all hands. A distinction was however attempted to be drawn between them through the suggestion that the Telugu-Chola Gaṇḍagopāla ruled in the south in the central Tamil districts, while the other Telugu-Pallava Gaṇḍagopāla reigned in the north in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency almost contemporaneously with the former (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, para 57). But the evidence of the inscriptions goes to show that the two chiefs had not possessed kingdoms comprising several districts and that their territories had not been distinct entities, the one situated in the south and the other in the north. On the other hand they indicate that both the chiefs had exercised their authority over the eastern portion of the Tonda-mandalam.
from the Chingleput district into the Nellore district with parts of the Vellore, Chittoor and Cuddapah districts. As already stated, the Telugu-Pallava was a nominal feudatory of Jaṅgarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and ruled the mid-eastern portion for about 35 years from 1250 to 1285 A.C., while the Telugu-Chāla was originally subordinate to Kulottuṣa III and Rājarāja III and latterly assumed independence about the same year 1250 A.C. in the time of Rājarāja III and continued to rule the coastal tract as such for about 7 years.

His Queen and His Officers:—From the inscriptions of our collection we learn that princess Dāvarasiyār was the queen of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla and that she made a gift of cows for setting up three lamps in the temple of Śrī Vaṅkaṭēśvara (Nos. 73 and 431—T.T.). In No. 173—T.T. we meet with one of the officers serving in the palace of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla, viz., Ammaiappan alias Amman-Perumāḷpriyan of the Kāiyapa-gūtra who set up a lamp and made a gift of 32 cows and 1 bull for its maintenance with ghee. A similar gift was made by one Anarakon, son of Vāniyan (merchant) Kattai, a resident of Nārawaṇapuram, for a lamp, together with the donation of 3 māḍai for the lamp-stand and 12 māḍai as capital for a light of camphor (No. 111—T.T.). One of the ministers of Kskatiya Gaṇapatī, named Brahmaśettī, son of Dāvāsetti of Alappūr, who presented cows and bulls to the temple of Aruḷḷapperumāḷ at Conjeevaram in the 7th year of the reign of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla (No. 47 of 1893 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) appears here in No. 296—T.T. as the donor of a certain charity arranged through Brahmamāryyan and the Śrīvaishṇavas of the locality. He is designated Pokkan, i.e., treasurer, and he probably held this office under Gaṇapatī.

TRIPURANTAKADEVA:—Tripurāntaka who comes to notice in No. 128—T.T. is another Telugu-Pallava chief identical with the Mahāmaṇḍalāvāra Tripurāntakadēva, the father of Madhusūdanadēva who made gifts at Takkolam in the 3rd and 24th years of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla (Nos. 264 and 267 of 1921 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and at Tiruvalangadu in the 18th year of the same reign (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 878). Tripurāntakadēva was a minister of Allun-Chāla-Tikka, the Telugu-Chāla chief (No. 34 of 1893 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. dated in Śaka 1156 = 1234 A.C.). Our record No. 128, a Samskrīt verse, calls Tripurāntaka a king and describes the valour of his son (whose name is lost) by stating that he dispelled the enemy’s elephants by the aim of his bow set against Kāṁchī. This son was probably Madhusūdanadēva who is further referred to as the younger brother of Vijaya-Gaṇḍa (No. 487 of 1902 of the
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Mad. Ep. Coll.). The war that is suggested by “the aim of his bow set against Kāñchi” is not known from other sources.

RAJA-GANDAGOPALA:—No. 72—T.T., a Tamil stanza, represents a certain Rāja-Gaṇḍagopala as a great benefactor whom all the worlds extol; but it does not state to what family he belonged and what kingdom he ruled over. Probably he was a Telugu-Pallava chief related to Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopala.

Forms of Religious Charity:—During this period we notice that religious charities were mostly in the form of lamp-lighting in the temples; but the later practice of instituting festivals and arranging for food-offerings which came into vogue in the Vijayanagara period is already visible in its nascent stage as registered in Nos. 111, 121, 134, 139, 141, 285 and 433—T.T. and 127—G.T. The standard of grain measure was the tambu, and the vaṭṭi (i.e., puṭī in Telugu) was a multiple of it. The particular measure that was in use in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarkī in Tirupati was known as the Čhūlī or the Chūkhyā-Nārāyana-kāl (No. 127—G.T.) and that at Tirumala was the Uchchiyilinīga—Nārāyana—(marakkāl) (No. 137—T.T.) or more generally denoted as Malakkinninyaṁrū—kāl in the later records. The latter was double the capacity of the former. The current coins of the time comprised the varūha-pāṇam and the māṇai. The māṇai was a gold coin issued by Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopala, the Telugu-Pallava chief, and on that account was denoted Gaṇḍagopala-māṇai (No. 143—T.T.), and a new issue of it was called the Gaṇḍagopala-pudu-māṇai. Of these two, the coin with the old marks pālam—puṭī—māṇai, in contrast with the new issue, was equivalent to seven and a half varūha-pāṇam probably (No. 126—T.T.). The gold coin was current throughout the province of Jaya-Koṇḍachēja—maṇḍalam and it contained pure metal (No. 129—T.T.).

The Śāliya-Sṛivaishnavas:—A section of the Śrīvaishnavas, known as the Śāliya-Sṛivaishnavas, perhaps the weaver class who call themselves Saurāśṭra—Brahmanas, claim to belong, some of them to the Vīshṇu-gōtra (No. 125—T.T.), some to the Kāśyapa-gōtra (No. 129—T.T.) and some again to the Ātriya-gōtra (No. 141—T.T.). The last of these were residents of Vikramādityapuram and quite possibly the first two classes also came from the same locality.
VIJAYANAGARA KINGS.

THE SANGAMA LINE

The numerous Vijayanagara inscriptions found here belong mostly to the Second dynasty of its sovereigns, and represent the First and the Third dynasties but scantily.

BUKKA I:—The first ruler of the First or Saṅgama dynasty who can be easily recognised in these epigraphs is Harihara II, mentioned in No. 103—T.T. dated in Śaka 1309, Prabhava. But there are three earlier records belonging to the reign of Bukka I (Nos. 487, 237 and 238, and 485—T.T.), though the king is not mentioned in any of them. No. 487, which is undated and fragmentary, registers the grant of a village to the temple for a sandhi (offerings) twice a day in the name of Bukkārayya and this Bukkārayya-sandhi is again referred to in No. 44—T.T. dated in Śaka 1379.

Saluva Mangideva:—Nos. 237 and 238 are the Telugu and Tamil versions of the record of services of (Sāluva) Maṅgīḍava Mahārāja rendered in the temple of Śri Vaiṣṇava through the fixing of a gold kalāsam over the vimānam of the shrine in Śaka 1281, the cyclic year Vikāri (=6th July 1359 A.C.). High-sounding titles, except “Maṅgaṇḍaśāvira” and “Maṅgīṇaṁśaragāṇa,” are absent from the record, and even the “Sāluva” biruda, which in later generations became a family appellation, is not to be found. It would appear that this title of “Sāluva” was assumed subsequently, when he proved his mettle against the Śambuvarāyas, the Musalmans of Madura and other enemies of Vijayanagara, and showed himself deserving of it. The Kāṇchi inscription of Śaka 1283 probably (No. 573 of 1919 and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919-20, para 59) and the Daḷavaṇār (South Arcot district) inscription dated in Śaka 1285 (ibid., for 1905, para 29) referring to Maṅgīḍava, both call him Sāluva Maṅgu Mahārāja. There can be no doubt as to the identity of Maṅgīḍava Mahārāja of our record with Sāluva Maṅgu Mahārāja of the above two inscriptions. It is known that he was a general under Kumāra-Kampaṣa-Uḍaiyar, i.e., Kampaṣa II, and materially helped him in his attack of Śambuvarāya as well as in his expedition against the Musalmans of Madura and that he was styled “Śamburāya-sthāpanāchārya” for his earlier service. The successive dates of these three epigraphs, combined with the fact that he moved south to conquer the Muhammadans, seem to suggest that Sāluva Maṅgīḍava was originally holding his post somewhere in the middle region and,
in all likelihood, at Chandragiri, which was the headquarters of the later Sauva chiefs, and in which Sauva Narasimha stationed his reserve army (mulabala), while extending his conquests (Vide "Sauvabhyudayam"). This is inferential from the fact that his record of Saka 1287 of the present collection precedes the other two in date and none other of an earlier date and more northward in situation has so far been found.

Kampana's Minister:—The third of the above three epigraphs, No. 485—T.T. bearing the cyclic year Kšlaka, mentions "śrī Vīra Kumāra-Kampaśa Udaiyar Pekaḍai". Pekaḍai, i.e., Pregaḍa, means a prince or a minister and it is more likely that it refers to a minister of Kumāra-Kampaśa-Udaiyar (Kampaśa II), and, if so, he must have been either Sūmappa (Sōvappagaḷu) (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, No. 33, page 324; and Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, page 241) or the Brahma general Goppaṇa of the Raṅganātha inscription of Saka 1293 published in Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pages 322-330. Therein Goppaṇa is reported to have taken the image of Ajaṭiyama-Manavāḷa-Perumāḷ back from Tirumala (Tirupati), where it was removed from Śrīraṅgam, when Trichinopoly was captured by the Muhammadans, and where it was safely preserved and "worshipped for a long time" until it was transferred to Śeṇji (Ginjee) in the South Arcot district, and thence to Śrīraṅgam and there re-consecrated and re-installed in Saka 1293 by Goppaṇa. Goppaṇa is stated to have gone on a pilgrimage to Tirumala while he held charge of the Śeṇji Province under Kampaśa II and there found "an additional bronze image" worshipped along with the image of Śrī Vākaṭāvāra. He enquired of the priests as to the cause of its existence and was informed that it was an image of Śrī Raṅganātha brought over from Śrīraṅgam for safe preservation during the Muhammadan invasion of the place. Being a devout adorer of Vishnu, he eagerly desired to restore the image to its original place; but seeing that Śrīraṅgam was still in the hands of its Muhammadan conquerors, he proposed to take the image first to Śeṇji, his capital town, and worship it there under his personal protection, until such time as when he could safely restore it to its own shrine in Śrīraṅgam on the expulsion of the aliens from the place. With the consent of the priests of the Tirumala temple, who looked after its worship so long, he transferred the image to Śeṇji and, placing it in the Raṅganātha shrine on the hill at Siṅgavaram, a suburb of Śeṇji, he had it duly adored until Saka 1293, when he finally carried it to Śrīraṅgam and re-consecrated it (Vide the late Mr. T.A. Gopinatha Rao's Introduction to "Madhurā-Vijayam" or "Vīra-Kampaśa-Charitram" by Gaṅgādāvi, page 26).
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It took 10 years for Kampaśa to defeat and drive the Musalmans from Srīraṅgam and the country round about Madura, after his conquest of the Sambuvarīya and the occupation of Kātī in Śaka 1283. And therefore the resetting up of the image in Srīraṅgam by Goppasa was only possible in Śaka 1293 and until that date it must have been preserved at Şelīji for about two or three years after its removal from Tirumala. The Kīlaka year corresponding to Śaka 1390 being very near in time to the date of re-installation at Srīraṅgam in Śaka 1293, it is almost certain that the Pregaśa's presence at Tirumala was owing to this mission of transference of the image from Tirumala and that the Pregaśa was none other than Goppasa, the Bṛāhmaṇa general of Kampaśa II and the Governor of Şelīji. It is a fanciful way of stating that Goppasa first learnt of the preservation and worship at Tirumala of the bronze image of Aţagiya-Maśavēḷa-Perumē of Srīraṅgam only on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Tirumala, while as a matter of fact, he, as a ruler, would have known it long before and predetermined its restoration in time. His pilgrimage itself would therefore have been primarily planned and undertaken with this avowed object of its transference from Tirumala to Şelīji. The tradition current in Tirupati respecting this Srīraṅgam image agrees substantially with that noticed in article No. 33 of Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, but adds a little touching detail regarding its preservation by a father and a son for nearly six months in a deep and narrow gorge near Chandragiri from its threatened desecration by the Muhammadans during its transference from Tirumala. The above record indicates the extent of sway that Kampaśa II held over the Dakkan from Tirumala or Vaškaśātri southwards (Ibid., page 325).

The silver image of Maśavēḷapperumē consecrated by Sāmavai in the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra-Mahāndra-Panmar (Nos. 18 and 19—T.T.) is therefore a different image from the above Aţagiya-Maśavēḷapperumē, sometime preserved at Tirumala and latterly retransferred to Srīraṅgam by Goppasa or Gopparakṣa. But it is curious to find that in this place of preservation "for a long time" for over half a century until Śaka 1290 (=1368 A.C.) there occurs no kind of epigraphical or literary notice, except an oral tradition.

HARIHARA II.—No. 103—T.T., referred to above as belonging to Harihara II, records the institution of a festival for Śrī Vaiškaśāvāra in his name in the month of Māśi and an arrangement for its conduct by the head of a
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Bṛvaishāvā Maṭha through the payment by him of 100 paṇam each year, being the income of the village of Pāṅgāḷu. Probably the agent was given possession of the village also. This agency of a religious head would seem to indicate the slow pervasion among the kings of the First Vijayanagara dynasty of Vaishāvā influence which bore its first fruits in this temple in the resuscitation of the Vīḍāpūryaṇaṁ during the reign of Dvārāya II through the efforts of Mudaliyar Tirukkalikanḍāsar Alagappīnār and in the construction of maṇḍapams and gopuraṁs and the establishment of feeding-houses, flower-gardens, festivals and other services and charities together with the grant of villages towards their expenses by Sēḷuva Narasimha at the instance of Kandāḷai Rāmānuyyaṅgār.

Harihara II is mentioned to have made gifts at Kanakasabha (Chidambaram), Śrīkāṭāhasti, Vāsiskaṭādri (Tirumala), Kūrīṭh, Śrīsaila, Śrīraṅgāla (Tiruvaṅgāmalai), Aḥobala, Śrīraṅga and Kumbhakāṇam (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, page 116); and to have performed the sixteen great gifts (Mahādānas) (ibid., Vol. III, page 122, verse 17; and Vol. XV, page 9, and verses 10 and 11 on page 20). But nothing more than his indirect gift of the village of Pāṅgāḷu for conducting the festival at Vāšikaṭādri, noted above, is evident from our inscriptions and this may be part of the gifts intended in the above statement.

His Officers:—Two royal officers come to notice during this period. No. 340—T.T. dated in Śaka 1326, Tārāṇa (=18-12-1404 A.C.), registers a provision made for certain offerings by Giridāvappagāḷ, a brother of Śāntappā- Nāgappaṇaṇ, who were the sons of Śāyaṇagāḷ of Āṭrāya-gōtra. Since the celebrated Vādic scholar, Śāyaṇa or Śāyaṇāchārya, the brother of the Advaita teacher, Mādhavāchārya-Vidyārāṇy, belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and followed the Bōdhāyana-sūtra (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pages 118—119), the Śāyaṇagāḷ of the above record must have been a different person. Śāntappa- Nāgappaṇaṇ is perhaps identical with Nāgappa-Voḍeya who was in charge of the Śādāliya-rājya in Śaka 1393 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907—08, page 242) and who was followed in his charge by his son Dvāraṇa-Ωdēya between the Śaka years 1300 and 1306 (Ibid., page 243) or with Nāgappa-Dāmāyaka who is stated to have been one of Dvāraṇa II's "executive officers about the time of his coronation" and later on "raised to the rank of Mahāpradhāna" and deputed to govern the Mūlāvāyi-rājya in Śaka 1339 (Ibid., page 245).

DEVARAYA II:—Dvārāya II is represented by half a dozen inscriptions. In Śaka 1351, Saumya (=5-12-1429 A.C.), he made a grant of three
villages and a gift of 1200 āon for certain daily offerings (No. 188—T.T.),
while in Šaka 1355, Pramādhita ( =22-11-1433 A.C.), he granted, on the
recommendation of Uḍaiyar Dāvamā-Uḍaiyar, the half share of the Rāja-
Bhaṇḍaram (royal treasury), in the village of Siddhakuṭai alias Śrīnivāsa-
puram, yielding probably 200 paṇam annually as in the case of the other half
belonging to the Śrī-Bhaṇḍaram (temple treasury), to the 24 Brāhmaṇas
engaged for the Vindapāryāṇam during its rehabilitation in that year after a
temporary abeyance (Nos. 89 and 149—T.T.). This village is said to have
been situated in Koṭṭaṇṭhalam, a subdivision of Vaikunda-vaḷanāṭu. Though
the kōṭṭu (district) is not mentioned, it is known that both the Vaikunda-
vaḷanāṭu and the Tirukkuḍavār-nāṭu were comprised within the Tiruvākkaṇa-
kōṭṭam, a district of the Chandragiri-ṛājya.

His Officers: (1) Devanta-Uḍaiyar:—This Dāvamā-Uḍaiyar, who
recommended the grant of the half share in the above village, received in the
same Šaka year 1355 some tānikkai, probably for the Rāja-Bhaṇḍaram, from
one Šaṅkānpanambi Gōvindan of Tirupati, in connection with the sale of a
house by him to the temple. It is possible that this Dāvamā-Uḍaiyar was a
minister of Dāvarīya II and perhaps identical with the Dāvamā-Oḍeya who was
the son of Nāgarāṇa-Oḍeya, a viceroy under Bukka I, and who governed the
Śādali-ṛājya from the Šaka year 1300 to 1306 (page 133, ante). It would then
seem that he served the Vijayanagara sovereigns successively from Harihara II
to Dāvarīya II for over half a century from about Šaka 1300 to Šaka 1355.
And this length of service is not uncommon, since we know that another
minister of the time, viz., Mallaṇa, also served continuously under the same
four successive rulers from about Šaka 1309 to 1367 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for
1907—08, page 243 and note 10 on page 248; Ep. Ind., Vol. II, page 117; and
No. 64—T.T. of our Collection).

(2) Mallana:—Another minister of Dāvarīya II was Mallaṇa or
Mallaṇḍaiyar, otherwise called Śrī Mādhavaḍīsar. His earliest record in this
collection is dated in Šaka 1330, Sarvadhari (=13-3-1409 A.C.), which falls
into the reign of Dāvarīya I, though the king is not mentioned in it (No. 93—
T.T.). His earliest known date is Šaka 1309, as noted above, when he was
ruling the principality of Šaḥīve from his residence at Honnavura (Honavar)
as a dependent of Harihara II, and again governing in the same year the Tuḷu,
Šaḥīve and the Koṅkaṇa countries with his headquarters at Brākaṭru. His
next known date is Šaka 1312, when he was ruling the Ṭrāga country as Mahā-
pradhāna Mallappa-Oḍeya. At what time he was transferred from the Mysore
country to the governorship of Chandragiri is not known definitely, but the earliest date found for him here, i.e., Saka 1330, may be taken as approximately the year of his taking charge of the Chandragiri-rājya, on which occasion he made arrangements providing for a naivedyam and a nityadāpam for Śrī Vaṅkaṭāvara. The next date that occurs for him is Saka 1339, Hāvilambi (=25-8-1417 A.C.) (No. 88—T.T.), and at this time he completed the construction of the Tirumānagam-maṇḍapam in front of the central shrine, from the stone basement to the roof and the eaves, and probably the renovation also of the Ananda-vimāna over the Sanctum (No. 235—T.T.). His latest known date is Saka 1366, Raktākshi (=2-10-1444 A.C.) (No. 64—T.T.), which takes us to within half a dozen years towards the close of Dāvariya II’s reign. Probably he was transferred to the charge of Chandraguti-Ḡūve in Saka 1367, in succession to Irugappa-Oṣeyya (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, page 248, foot-note 10).

No. 92—T.T., a Sāṃskṛīt verse in the Bṛhadā-vikrīdita metre calls him “Amātyāśkhara”, and this rank is the same as that of the Mahāpradhāna which was conferred upon the ministers, governors and viceroyes of Vijaya-nagara, and which Mallaṇa is seen to have been honoured with as early as Saka 1309 during the time of Harihara II. From the uniform mention of his residence in Chandragiri in all the three inscriptions separated by long intervals of time, it may be inferred that he governed the Chandragiri-rājya continuously from Saka 1330 to 1366. But what position Dāvauṣa-Uḍaiyar held in the Saka year 1355, whether he was serving in the Chandragiri-rājya or in the Sādaliya-rājya, is not known.

Mallaṇa was the son of Dāvarasar, and the disciple of Gūpināthayyan. From the mention of his discipleship and the assumption of the cognomen Śrī-Mādhavadvāṣar, he appears to have been of a highly religious turn of mind.

(3) Sāluva Peri-Mallayadava Maharaja:—Even during the last years of Dāvariya II, the Sāluvas appear to have been rising to power. Sāluva Peri-Mallayadava Maharāja, son of Erkakampayadava Maharāja, comes to notice from No. 13—T.T. dated in Saka 1368, Kshaya (=10-10-1446 A.C.). He was a Mahāmaṇḍalārvara, i.e., a provincial ruler, and probably held charge of the Chandragiri-rājya after Mallaṇa left it. He might belong to a senior branch of the Sāluvas, having descended from one of the five brothers of Sāluva Maṅgideva Maharāja, and might therefore be a cousin of Sāluva Narasimha. His brother, Mallayadava, and his cousins appear in the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Virāpaṅkha.
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

(4) Tippada Nagaya-Nayakkar:—No. 100—T. T. dated in Śaka 1364, Dundubhi, registers the payment of 3000 homu as kāśike for the God by Tippada Nāgaya-Nāyakkar, son of Muddiya-Nāyara. Probably he was a general (Nāyaka) under Dvārāya II and belonged to the Vijayanagara forces stationed at Chandragiri.

(5) Śrīgirivara:—Śrīgiri, who presented a golden paṭalam (No. 99—T.T.) in the cyclic year Śāhāraṇa corresponding to the Śaka year 1352, expressed by “the eyes (2), the arrows (5), Rāma (3), and the Moon (1),” (=1–7–1430 A.C.), must be identical with Śrīgiri-Bhūpāla, surnamed Pratāpa-Dvārāya, the son of Vijaya and the younger brother of Dvārāya II “who witnessed the elephant-hunt” (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, page 306; and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905–06, page 82). He is said to have been ruling over the Marakatanagara-prānta, somewhere in the North Arcot district, in the Śaka year 1346 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907–08, page 248, foot-note 5). But while the Madras Museum plates of Dvārāya II state that Śrīgiri was the younger brother of Dvārāya II, the above epigraph declares that he was the son of Dvārāya; the expression runs “Vissaṇa-Dvārāya-tanayah-Śrīgiri-yantāvārah.” This filial relationship claimed in the above record for Śrīgiri with Dvārāya II appears the more likely, considering the great difficulty that Virāpāksha had to surmount in coming to the throne, “not by natural succession after his elder brother’s death but as a result of a successful usurpation.” This “elder brother” must have been Śrīgiri, i.e., Pratāpa-Dvārāya, who is twice mentioned as the father of Mallikārjuna in the “Gaṅgādaśa-pratāpa-viśasa” (“Sources of Vijayanagar History” page 70).

Abdur Razzaq who heard of “an extraordinary and most singular occurrence” which “happened in the city of Bidjanagar” in 1442–43 A.C., while he “was still sojourning at Calicut”, records that “the king’s brother” attempted fruitlessly the assassination of Dvārāya II. And Śrīgiri who has been considered the brother of Dvārāya II was made “the king’s assassin” (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905–06, page 64, para 46). It is not improbable that the real “assassin” was Parvatarāja, who is said to have been an younger brother of Dvārāya II.

Since Śrīgiri predeceased Dvārāya II in Śaka 1368, Kashaya, and Śrīgiri’s son Mallikārjuna succeeded his grandfather on the throne in the direct line, it is likely that Virāpāksha II, the younger son of Dvārāya II, was incensed at this succession of his nephew and continued to bring about the siege of Vijayanagara “after the accession of Mallikārjuna by the allied
SANGAMA LINE

armies of the Gajapati king and the Sultan of the South" ("Gaṅgādāsa-pratāpa-viśāla" in the "Sources of Vijayanagar History"). Having been frustrated in this nefarious attempt by a defeat inflicted through Mallikārjuna’s prowess, Virāpākṣha had only to bide his time for about a decade until saka 1387, when, on the death of Mallikārjuna, he usurped the throne. His succession was however disputed, but some sanguinary act of his silenced all opposition (Ep. Ind., Volume XV, page 17).

MALLIKARJUNA:—Only one date is available in this collection for Mallikārjuna, viz., saka 1371, Sukla (=4-3-1450 A.C.) (No. 199—G.T.), which is about the second year of his reign. This record registers the sale of a house and house-site by two Śrīvaishānas of Tirupati in favour of one Rājamālīkam Chennappa-Uḍaiyar belonging to the Niyāgi sect of Brāhmaṇas and residing in Chandragiri. Probably this Chennāppa-Uḍaiyar was a state-official engaged in offering garlands of flowers to the kings and nobles on auspicious and ceremonial occasions (rāja-māliṅkam).

Tirupati and Chandragiri which are only seven miles apart, the latter being situated to the south-west of the former, are stated in this epigraph to have been comprised in the two different sub-districts of the Tiruvvākaṭṭam, Tirupati being in the Tirukkuḻavūr-nāṭu and Chandragiri in the Vaikunda-valanāṭu (Vaikunṭha-valanāṭu).

The Sāluva Chiefs:—From the time of Mallikārjuna began the decline of the power and glory of the Vijayanagara kings of the First dynasty (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 52) and the rise to power of numerous Sāluva chiefs, all kinsmen, leading ultimately to the assumption of the reins of government by Sāluva Narasimha during the reign of Virāpākṣha, so as to rescue the Hindu Empire from the imminent catastrophic consequences. Three prominent Sāluva chiefs, including Sāluva Narasimha, appear in this period. Sāluva Śīru-Mallayadāva Mahārāja, son of Malagaṅgayadāva Mahārāja, made a grant of money to the temple in saka 1372 for certain offerings (No. 23—T. T.). Sāluva Mallayadāva Mahārāja, son of Erakapayadāva Mahārāja and brother of Peri-Mallayadāva Mahārāja, noticed under Divārīya II, granted to the temple in saka 1385 the village of Elambākkam in the Chandragiri-rājya, including all the grain and money taxes, and also excavated two irrigation channels in the divadāna villages (No. 157—T.T.). This grant by Sāluva Mallayadāva makes it appear as though he was the governor of the Chandragiri-rājya at the time, ruling it almost independently of the reigning
sovereign of Vijayanagara and without reference to him at all. Another Sēḷuva chief was the son of this Mallayadva Mahārāja, named Sēḷuva Ramachandrarāja, who arranged for certain offerings during the same Śaka year 1385 (No. 154—T.T.). Two other sons of this Mallayadva make their appearance in the subsequent reign, one Sēḷuva Goppayya in Śaka 1391 (No. 155—T.T.) and another Sēḷuva Timmarāya in Śaka 1403 (No. 196—T.T.). This youngest Sēḷuva chief showed his liberality by presenting 7800 paṇam to the temple for certain daily offerings for Śrī Vaiṣṇava and Śrī Varāhasvāmi. These six Sēḷuva chiefs were the members of one single family comprising a father, his two sons and his three grandsons, and they were all of them ‘Mahāmaṇḍalāvvara Mahārājas’. This family bond must have consequently been a source of great strength to themselves and a source of grave danger to the empire.

Another branch of Sēḷuvas comprised Sēḷuva Narasimha and his elder brother Sēḷuva Timmarāya-Uṭaiyar (No. 69—T.T. of Śaka 1385), headed perhaps by their father Sēḷuva Guṇḍarāya-Uṭaiyar, also called Guṇḍayadva Mahārāja. Sēḷuva Narasimha’s first cousin was Sēḷuva Parvatarāja (No. 53—T.T.), son of Sēḷuvarāja who was one of the four sons of Gauta II and a brother of Guṇḍarāja III, father of Sēḷuva Narasimha. Lastly, king Tripurāntaka, a junior member of the family, was a second cousin of Narasimha, being descended from Tippa, one of the three brothers of Guṇḍarāja III and the brother-in-law of Dvārāya II, through his son Gopa or Goppa who was the father of Tripurāntaka. Besides these, there are a few more Sēḷuva chiefs mentioned in records found elsewhere. Timma or Gopa-Timma alias Tirumalaidsva Mahārāja was probably a brother of Tripurāntaka (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 77). Saṅgamadva Mahārāja, believed to be another cousin of Sēḷuva Narasimha, was ruling somewhere in the south (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 167).

Other Chiefs:—Besides the Sēḷuvas, there were chiefs belonging to other families, but they do not appear to have been knit together so closely as the Sēḷuvas, and hence not so powerful as these were. Theirs might have been personal individual strength but not that of a family as in the case of the Sēḷuvas. Aḥṭāḷarāya Kampayadva Mahārāja takes precedence in date which is Śaka 1381 (No. 10—T.T.). The next is Mahāmaṇḍalāvvara Sēḷuva Eṛḥmarāja, son of Attimalla Allibhima Timmarāja of Chųṭukyanāṭyaśachchāri (probably Gṛṅṭaṭahasti) and his record is dated in Śaka 1385 (No. 153—T.T.). It cannot be known whether this Eṛḥmarāja really belonged to the Sēḷuva lineage or he merely assumed the “Sēḷuva” biruda through his association
with any of the Sāluva chiefs. The titles of his father Timmarāja throw a suspicion on his Sāluva descent and seem to connect him with the Śambuvārāyas. A third chief was Śrīman Mahāmaḍalāvāvara Tammayadāva-Chōḍa Mahāruja, son of Nallān Tirumalarāja of Kuvalagūṇa, who granted Teppattināṃganchāvaḍi and another village in Paḍavīṭu-rājya in Śaka 1386 (No. 158—T.T.). He belonged to the Telugu-Chōḍa family and ruled over the Paḍavīṭu-rājya at the time. A chief of the Solar race was another Mahā-
maḍalāvāvara Tammayadāva Mahāruja entitled “Hosabirudaragāṇa,” who was the son of Gaṇḍam Rājavallabharāya (No. 7—T.T.). A resume at the end of his record declares that he belonged to the lineage of Pādīmī Pinna-
Mādhavavarman of Bejavēḷai who was of the Solar race (Cf. Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, para 29; ibid., for 1907, para 73). Another chief was Vallabhayadāva Mahāruja entitled Antembaragāṇa and he granted in Śaka 1390 the village of Parāndalār in Pottappināḷu in the Udayagiri-rājya, which belonged to him as a sīf (No. 159—T.T.). He seems to have been governing the Udayagiri-rājya at the time. Adirāja, the son of Lakkasāmi-amman, who was entitled “Durgavairi-rājuvāmām-vairikkarāṇu”, was holding his chiefship of Mandalāpalli (perhaps the modern Madanapalli, the headquarters of a taluka in the Chittoor district). He belonged to the Bejarvaya-kula, Āpastamba-sūtra and Maud-
galya-gōtra (No. 52—T.T. of Śaka 1391). Siṇgamū-Nāyakkar of Dhonakoḍi in Vāḍarājya was perhaps a general (Nāyaka) as his title indicates (No. 28—
T.T.). Dhonakoḍi is probably the modern village of “Donakoḍa” in the Cumbam taluk of the Kurnool district which was comprised in the Vāḍarājya, i.e., the northern kingdom, the Udayagiri-rājya. Of a little later date, viz., Śaka 1397, is Śrīman Nīsidhāpabrhu entitled “Gāyigaḷa”, possessing a string of euphuisitic birudas referring to his victory over the Pāḍiya king, his establishment of the Kākatiya kingdom, his personal bravery, valour, prowess, munificence, etc. He was also entitled Khaḍga-Nārāyaṇa, Sarvaṅga and Raja-sāmaja-simha. He is said to have equalled not only the Ashya-Dik-
pālas but also the Tri-Murtis and to have been the Moon to the ocean (of the family) of Rāvu Pinnannabhāpāla. But at the end of the inscription he is called the son of Pinnannabhāpāla (No. 347—T.T.). His brother Kāsaya-
Nāyaka appears in No. 574—T.T., dated on the same day as No. 347 above representing Nīsidhāpabrhu and he is given all the birudas of the latter together with an additional title meaning “Tribhuvanarāja”. Both were the disciples of Kumāra-Tīṭayyaśgar of Tirupati, son of Śōṭai Tiruvēka-
Tīṭayyaśgar of Śaṭhamarshaṇa-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra. A certain Konari-
raja is mentioned in No. 369—T.T. of Saka 1415, Pramadicha, which registers the gift to the temple by Kṣyil-kṛi Emperumānjar jīyar of the village Maruttuvakkūṭi which the jīyar received previously from Kānārījā. The village is said to have been situated in Mānhur-tīrūmakaichchār-paggū within Uyyakkoḍa-Śēśa-valanāṭu and comprised within the Tiruvārur-ūsāvāṭi in the Chājra-maṇḍālam to the south of the Kāvār river. Kānārījā must therefore have held charge of at least a portion of the Chājra-maṇḍālam in which the grant village was situated.

During this period appears also a family of chiefs of whom three generations are represented, descending from Kommarājā-Ūḍāiyar with his two sons Periya-Timmarrājā-Ūḍāiyar (Nos. 82—G.T. and 585—T.T.) and Śīru-Timmarrājā-Ūḍāiyar (Nos. 563 and 564—T.T. and 68 and 69—G.T.) and the latter’s son Narasarājā-Ūḍāiyar (No. 105—G.T.). These chiefs bore the titles Śrīman-Mahāmāṇḍālītvara, Uttama-gaṇḍa, Ubbhaya-gaṇḍa, Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa, Gaṇḍabhairūṇḍa and Sarasvatai-maṇḍānāṭārā-chārakā or chauryakā, which are similar to those borne by the members of the Gobhūrī family, as described in the Telugu Kūyas “Rāmābhhyudayamu” of Ayyalarāju Rāma-bhadra-kavi and “Narasabhaṇītyamu” of Mūrti-kavi. The last biruda indicates their learning and literary talents. As the sāmuvā bird (haw) formed the emblem of the Sāmuvā chiefs, so probably the gaṇḍabhairūṇḍa bird (eagle) lent itself to the ensign of the Gobhūrī and the Nandyākīa chiefs. Periya-Timmarrājā-Ūḍāiyar made a grant to the temple in Saka 1416, Ānanda (= 5-6-1494 A.C.), of Puduchchāri, a hamlet of Vēsuvā-kuḷattār, which is stated to have been situated within the family’s hereditary fief (Paṭaiya-nāyakattanam-āna-türmai). Consequently this Periya-Timmarrājā must have administered this hereditary fief, while his younger brother Śīru-Timmarrājā governed the Vaiḍa country and had as his secretary (kṛyattukkukkhaṇa) Baicharājā-Timmarrājā entitled Antembarā-gaṇḍa, who is said to have been ‘lord of Warangal’ (Uragola-suratṛṇa) (Nos. 68 and 69—G. T. and 250—T. T.). Nos. 304 and 613—T.T. furnish the information that Timmarājā-Ūḍāiyar, son of Kommarājā, had a sister (uḍāṇpiranda) Lakshmi-amman who arranged for certain offerings for God Vākāṭāsa. Periya-Narasamman was the wife of Periya-Timmarrājā and she made a donation of 1400 paṇam in Saka 1415, Pramadicha, to the temple.

Political Condition of Vijayanagara Empire in Saka 1400—
With these puissant chiefs, governors and viceroys, the Vijayanagara Empire at the end of the 14th century of the Saka era must have been
comparable only to a medieval feudal state of the West, with all its nascent tendencies to disruption, decay and dissolution through clannish wars and dynastic quarrels, affording untold avenues for riches and power and territorial aggrandisement and military glory, to the brave and the strong who were ready to hurl the weak and the vacillating to the ground. This must have been the political condition of the Hindu Empire under the last sovereign Virūpāksha of the First dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Saluva Narasimha's Meritorious Service to Vijayanagara Empire:—

It is possible to form a mental picture of the political state of the time, but, as to the actual course of events that followed, nothing is possible to discern but that Saluva Narasimha had before the end of the first decade of the 15th century of the same Saka era emerged triumphantly over the rest and managed to steer the state clear of shoals and rocks and landed it safe and unharmed and fit to wade calmly and fearlessly through similar storms subsequently. Being supported by his trusted generals and officers, he occupied the most advantageous position in the state, that of a prime-minister. He was again the most powerful of the Vijayanagara subordinates of the time, through the possession of an extensive territory and a numerous and strong army. It is certain that he had not waged wars with his colleagues and conquered them. He slowly went on aggrandising the territory of the Empire and consolidated it. From his supreme position of the minister, he held the reins of government in his hands and did not let them loose. It would appear that his prudence got the better of his valour and saved him from ruin. This was a lesson learnt from himself by his generals Tuḷava Narasa and the latter's son Vīra-Narasimha either of whom successfully practised it over his own son Immaḍi-Ṇṛisimha, who is considered to have been dethroned and shut up by them in the fort at Penugaṇḍa. After all, it was a meritorious service of his that he preserved the Empire in tact and passed it on to Kṛishṇarāya, the greatest of the Vijayanagara sovereigns, who further welded it and infused vigour into it so as to last as an Empire for two more generations after him.
THE SALUVA LINE

SALUVA NARASIMHA:—Having originally been a semi-independent chief in the South in the days of Mallikārjunā (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1907, para 58) and having gradually extended his power and rule over the present North Arcot (Chittoor and Vellore), Chingleput and South Arcot districts (Ibid., for 1910, para 54), Sāluva Narasimha became the prime-minister and general of the last sovereign of the First dynasty and the de facto ruler of the empire. In the fourteen inscriptions in which he is here represented ranging in date between the Śaka years 1378 and 1411, he is given only the title of “Mahāmaṇḍalāsva”, indicating the subordinate position he held, while the other birudas, viz., “Medini-misaragāṇḍa” and “Kaṭhāri-Sāluva”, are those that are common to the Sāluvas. He was the son of Sāluva Gunaḍayādeva Mahārāja and Mallāmbikā (No. 197—T.T.) and he had an elder brother by name Sāluva Timmarṭiḍēva Mahārāja-Uḍaiyar (No. 69—T.T.). Śrīraṅgādāvī-amman was his queen (No. 341—T.T.). He had three sons, viz., Kumāra-Narasayyana, Chikka-Saṅgaman and Periya-Saṅgaman.

His Sons:—These three names occur in conjunction with those of himself and his mother in No. 197—T.T. which registers a grant by him of the village of Dommarapaṭṭi in Kalavai-pāṭtu, a sub-district of the Paḍāvīḍu-rājya, made for the conduct of the Dēlōtsavam (swinging festival) newly started by him in the temple at Tirumala in Śaka 1395, together with the provision for a sandhi established in the name of his mother Mallayaṃman during the said festival, and the offering of four appa-pañjis to the processional image on the 7th day in each of the Brahmotsavams celebrated at Tirumala at the time, in the name of Sāluva Narasimha himself, Kumāra-Narasayyana, Chikka-Saṅgaman and Periya-Saṅgaman at the four maṇḍapams built by him. Thus in the arrangements made by him for the festival and the offerings, it is very unlikely that the offerings stipulated to be made in the name of persons who were unrelated to him by blood and whose status was not commensurate with that of himself would be permitted to be clubbed with those intended to be offered in his own name and in that of his mother; and it is more reasonable to expect that these three individuals were also members of his family; and, if so, the three must have been the sons of Sāluva Narasimha. Of these, Kumāra-Narasayyana must be identical with Immaḍi-Narasimha, “Kumāra” here indicating the “Rajakumāra” (prince), the son of the ruler who is in this case the donor. And probably by the date of the record, i.e., Śaka 1395, Immaḍi-Narasimha had been
designed the crown-prince (Kumāra) to succeed his father, Śājuva Narasimha. The possible identification of Kumāra-Narasayyan gives additional weight to the presumption that the remaining two, Chikka-Saṅgaman and Periya-Saṅgaman, represent two other sons of Śājuva Narasimha. Just as three members of the collateral branches of the Śāluvas of the previous generation were named Mallayadēva, so we find three members of the next generation named “Saṅgama,” two of whom were Śājuva Narasimha’s sons and the third a cousin of his ruling in the South (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 167).

**His Officers:**—Mukapppālam Nāgama-Nāyaka was a general (Nāyaka) under Śājuva Narasimha (No. 243—T.T.). In Śaka 1409 he arranged for the offering of a flower-garland to Śri Vaiśkaṭāvarā and the lighting of two lamps in His presence, for the merit of Śājuva Narasimharāya Mahārāyār, and towards the conduct of these services he made a gift to the temple of the village of Tiradampāli in Kachchipattu-ūrmaī, which had been in his possession and enjoyment having been bestowed upon him for his “nāyakattanam” by Narasimharāya-Uḍaiyar. He is identical with the Nāgama-Nāyaka styled as the “foremost of the servants of Narasiagārāya” and believed to be the father of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka the founder of the Nāyaka family of Madura (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 165). Siddhanāyār, son of Padumālai Dēvappa of Bhāsaḷa-sātra and Jāmadagnya-Vatsa-gotra was Śājuva Narasimha’s secretary (lāryattukkakkaṭva) (No. 160—T.T.). No. 366—T.T. dated in Śaka 1382 furnishes the interesting information that there was a dramatic hall (nāyaka-iśailai) attached to the palace of Narasiagadēva Mahārāja, and that one Tippu-Nāyakkar, son of Timmā-Nāyakkar, was one of the actors in it. The theatre and dance noticed in Chōla times “as an adjunct to the temple” and provided through benefactions for royal and public entertainments (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924-25, page 82, para 13) continued throughout the period of Hindu rule down to the last days of the Vijayanagara empire, and into the present time. But the nāyaka-iśailai referred to above was a royal theatre maintained for royal amusement and was probably situated in the capital city of his kingdom, i.e., at Chandragiri.

**His Rule:**—Śaka 1378 is the earliest date furnished for Śājuva Narasimha by epigraph No. 3—T.T. which records his gift of the village of Ālipuram as a sarvamānva, while the latest date Śaka 1411 comes from No. 271—G.T. which registers the charity of the excavation of a well with steps by Karavēṭtipplāvār Mānarpillai of Uttaramārār. But since the earliest date occurring for his son Immaḷi-Nyisimha in the records found elsewhere is
Saka 1414 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, page 254), Sājuva Narasimha's rule has consequently to be considered to have continued up to that year, i.e., Saka 1414, and this makes apparently a reign of 36 years from Saka 1378. But the assignment of 44 years' reign for him by Nuniz ("Forgotten Empire," page 307) might have been based on actual rule and then this differential period of 8 years has to be affixed before Saka 1378.

The Narrative from Sājuvabhyudayam:—The Samāskrīta-kāvyasājuvabhyudayam" relates its first canto that Guṇadēva I, the ancestor of Sājuva Narasimha ruled his kingdom from his capital at Kālyānapuram and suggests that both Sājuva Maśagidēva and his brother Gautaya held possession of this patrimony of theirs in their turn. The second canto narrates that Guṇadēva III, son of this Gautaya and father of Sājuva Narasimha ruled this ancestral kingdom for a time and when Narasimha became old enough to assume the reins of government, the father abdicated the throne in favour of the son whom he crowned, and then retired into the forest along with his queen Mallāmbikē, in search of a calm and peaceful life in contrast with the hard and strenuous life that became a king and in consonance with the custom that prevailed among the kings of this line. The third canto begins with the lamentations of Sājuva Narasimha over the bereavement caused by the retirement of his father into the forest, his apparent diffidence in his ability to govern, though primarily willing to administer his patrimony soundly and peacefully, and the exhortations of his minister to take courage, assume the reins of government and immediately set on a conquering expedition. The minister counselled to him the advisability of changing the capital to Chandragiri near Vākaṣṭī, owing to the inaccessibility of its hills and the impregnability of its fortifications, and of stationing his main army (mūlabala) in it and proceeding on his conquests with a picked force. Sājuva Narasimha took the advice of the minister, determined to start on an expedition and issued orders to his men to get ready immediately, having also transferred his whole army to Chandragiri. He proceeded first against Kajīga, and after conquering it, turned his victorious arms against the south and subjugated it also.¹

From this narrative it is apparent that Sājuva Narasimha had inherited an ancestral kingdom whose capital was at Kālyānapuram but which was subsequently changed to Chandragiri, owing partly also to the fact that the

Note 1:—I am obliged to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, for the loan of his manuscript copy of the "Sājuvabhyudayam" from which the above information has been extracted.
old capital was burnt down (Ibid., Canto III, stanza 4). Consequently we may take it that the earliest record of Sāluva Narasimha, viz., No. 3—T.T. bearing Śaka 1378 occurring in this collection, is dated sometime after the transference of his capital to Chandragiri. And the period anterior to Śaka 1378 is possibly 8 years and covers his earlier reign at Kālyānapuram up to the date of transference and at Chandragiri from that time to the date of the record. Thus Nuniz’ account of a reign of 44 years for Sāluva Narasimha may be taken as substantially correct. It does not seem necessary to assume with the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri that “Perhaps, Nuniz did not count the rule, in the interval, of Immaḍi-Nrisimharāya, which is proved by the Dāvulapalli plates and other lithic records” (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907–08, page 254, note 13). To substantiate this assumption it required also to be assumed that “the second usurpation of the Vijayanagara kingdom by the Tuluva general Narasana Nāyaka” took place about Śaka 1422, the last year furnished for Sāluva Narasimha by calculation from Śaka 1378 of the period of 44 years’ reign attributed by Nuniz (Ibid.). This assumed “second usurpation” is no usurpation at all, in the face of the actual reign of Immaḍi-Nrisimha for a further period of 5 years up to Śaka 1427. Thus the 44 years’ rule of Sāluva Narasimha must have begun early in his teens at Kālyānapuram, the original capital of his ancient kingdom, about the Śaka year 1370 and lasted till about Śaka 1414, the date of the earliest record of his son Immaḍi-Nrisimha.

His Alleged Usurpation:—The nature of his rule also has been variously estimated. The statement contained in the Dāvulapalli plates that he “became an Emperor by defeating all his enemies with the sole assistance of his sword” has been considered a sufficient proof of his usurpation, and the occurrence of the imperial titles as “Māhārāja-dhirāja,” etc., in a record of Śaka 1408 has led to the determination of the year of such usurpation (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907–08, pages 253–54). There are about 20 inscriptions in this collection representing him and in none of them has he been styled other than a Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara. “Māhārāja” and “Uḍaiyar” are suffixed to his name indifferently in the epigraphs which call him sometimes Sāluva Narasimharāya-Uḍaiyar and sometimes Sāluva Narasimhayadāva Māhārāya-Uḍaiyar, and as such no importance can be attached to the occurrence of the epithet “Māhārāja” in his record of Śaka 1408, especially when we find it attached to him even in his earliest record, viz., No. 3—T.T. of Śaka 1378. Again this Māhārājaship is assumed by almost all the Vijayanagara chiefs of this period, by his own elder brother as well as his father and the numerous
Sājuva chiefs and other ministers and generals belonging to other families (See pages 137-140 ante). Like others he was a “Mahārāja” within his province and it carried no higher honour or status than the “Uṭaiyar”. This distinction drawn between “Mahārāja” and “Uṭaiyar” looks therefore unreal. The import of the title “Sārvabhauma” occurring in No. 273—G.T., a Saṁskṛit stanza, dated in Śaka 1407, recording his installation of God Śrī Nṛsimha is nothing when compared with the title “Kshitipati” applied to his father Guṇḍa. The eulogy bestowed on persons in literary works and poetical records is often found to be exaggerated and hence requires to be taken with caution. This ‘Sārvabhauma’ does not therefore seem to connote anything more than the ruler of a province which he was, like his father and any other chief of the time.

The epigraphs of this period do not mention the Vijayanagara emperor who was reigning at the time. All the Vijayanagara subordinates as well as private donors looked as though they owned no king at all at the capital. Nor is Sājuva Narasimha recognised as such in any of them. Not even his own men yield to him that dignity. They alone make gifts for the merit of Mahāmaṇḍalsāvara Sājuva Narasīngayadava Mahārāja-Uṭaiyar; and they include his general Mukappālam Nāgama-Nāyaka (No. 243—T.T.), two head-men of a village, Kōnāri and Ulagaḷandavissi (No. 59—T.T.) and his elder brother Mahāmaṇḍalsāvara Timmarajadēva Mahārāja-Uṭaiyar (No. 69—T.T.), on the political side. On the religious side, Kandālai Rāmāṇujayyaṅgār is the prominent spiritual leader of the place, who had devoted his life to the cause of religion and the service of the temple and who presumably was the guru of Sājuva Narasimha. This religious leader had been of much help to him in organising and maintaining the free feeding-houses established by Sājuva Narasimha both in Tirupati and Tirumala and in recognition thereof Sājuva Narasimha appears to have given him a free hand in the administration of his Rāmāṇujakṣiṣams for which he granted lands and villages. Kandālai Rāmāṇujayyaṅgār established certain services and charities for the merit of “Narasimharāya-Uṭaiyar” (Nos. 163 and 494—T.T. and 67—G.T.); and neither the Sājuva title nor the dignity of a Mahāmaṇḍalsāvara is conceded to him in those epigraphs. Since even the records of Śaka 1405 of his śākhyā (No.163—T.T.), of Śaka 1409 of his general (No. 243—T.T.) and of Śaka 1411 of his officer Mannarpilāi (No. 271—G.T.) do not hint at his occupation of the supreme position of the ‘Vijayanagara Emperor,’ we are not warranted in investing him with imperial robes.
SALUVA LINE

It has consequently to be understood that Sāluva Narasimha remained, throughout his life, only a general of the Vijayanagara Empire, but the most powerful general, with an ancestral kingdom of his own to govern. As such, he was a compeer of the other powerful generals of his time serving in the Hindu Empire. But being at the same time the chief minister, he wielded great power and authority in the state, especially over the divisions of the empire which were directly subordinate to the empire and in his own kingdom. The accounts of the European travellers and the Muhammadan historians cannot signify anything more than this, that Sāluva Narasimha was the most powerful Minister and General, ruling certain Vijayanagara provinces almost independently. In so far as he kept himself active, fighting against the Bahmani Sultans, he became more prominently known, and his zealous efforts to ward off the attacks of these Musalmans and the Gajapati king only exhibited his intense patriotism and earned for him the reputation as the saviour of the Hindu state which is implied in its being called the “kingdom of Narsymga” (“Forgotten Empire”, pages 236 and 239; and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1921, para 49). He was the generalissimo of the Vijayanagara Empire and consequently occupied the position of the “Princeps”, the “Protector” or the “Dictator”.

IMMADI-NRISIMHA:—Sāluva Narasimha’s rule has been extended to 1498 A.C. (Saka 1420), from which date by “a pure guess” Narasa-Nayaka has been allowed a reign of 5 years (“Forgotten Empire”, page 110). From No. 197—T.T. noticed above, it may be seen that the minimum age of the youngest of the three sons of Sāluva Narasimha in the year 1498 A.C., the assumed final year of Sāluva Narasimha’s rule, would come to 25 years; and Kumāra-Narasayyan, i.e., Immaḍi-Nṛsimha, who is definitely and positively known to have survived his father and ascended the Vijayanagara throne, would have been aged in 1498 A.C., on the same hypothesis, nearly 35 years, allowing an average difference of 3 years between each of the three sons; and since there are inscriptions of Immaḍi-Nṛsimha dating from Saka 1414 (=1493 A.C.) enabling us to carry back the date of Sāluva Narasimha’s death, we should still find Immaḍi-Nṛsimha’s age in Saka 1414 to have been almost 30 years; and it is possible that he was still older. We have therefore to conclude that the statement of Nuniz quoted by Sewell on page 110 of his “Forgotten Empire,” viz., “these youths being too young to govern, the dying king intrusted the kingdom to his minister Narasa Naik,
and both the princes were murdered”, is not only inaccurate as regards the number of the princes but inaccurate also as regards their age. It may be that all the three sons survived their father and that “the dying king intrusted the kingdom to his minister, Narasa Naik,” seeing that Narasa-Nāyaka was the most trusted, capable and influential subordinate in the kingdom at the time to take up the onerous responsibility of the government as the minister of the king. But this “intrusting” could not have been occasioned by “these youths being too young to govern,” since we have found that at least the eldest son passed from youth to manhood by the time of Sāluva Narasimha’s death; but it must have been a diplomatic step taken by Narasimha to safeguard the new position of a king conferred on his son, through the continuance of the loyalty of his trusted minister and general Narasa-Nāyaka who had been so long his right hand in his own upward career.

His Alleged Murder:—Again Nuniz’ statement with reference to the murder of “both the princes” may be correct, in so far as there were three princes at the beginning and out of them only one, namely Imama-Nrisimha, is recorded in the inscriptions and in literature to have ruled the Vijayanagara kingdom for a time, while the other two left no traces of them behind and consequently leave room for the suspicion that they might have been murdered, the one at the instance of a guard “Tymarasa” inimical to the minister Narasa-Nāyaka and the other at the minister’s own instigation. The inaccuracy, so far, of Nuniz in this affair of murder has lain in the interpretation conveyed by his statement that even originally Sāluva Narasimha had two sons only and not three. The clue furnished by the above epigraph as to the existence of three sons of Sāluva Narasimha obviates the difficulty that stood in the way of the late Mr. Sewell’s interpreting Nuniz and unravels the mystery of the murder of ‘both the princes’ as well as the reign of Imama-Nrisimha. For the continued rule of the latter until Saka 1427 is proof itself of the survival of the eldest son of Sāluva Narasimha, while the two younger ones were done to death early in Saka 1414.

First Real Usurper:—Imama-Nrisimha was the first real usurper of the Vijayanagara throne, for he had no sort of valid title to it except the power and the prestige of his father Sāluva Narasimha and the support of their powerful general Tuluva Narasa. He is represented in our collection by only one inscription, No. 271—T.T. dated in Saka 1426, the penultimate year of his reign. A certain service was instituted in the temple for the merit of Imama-Narasiagarāya Mahārāya, son of Narasiagarāya Mahārāya, by Tiruvanakkach-
chirukkan Tiruppanippillai Emperumānār, a subordinate officer of the state holding charge of the public works relating to the temple.

His Officers:—Periya-Obaḷa-Nayakkar Rāmā-Nāyakkar appears to have held the chief command of the Vijayanagara forces during his reign, for his inscription dated in Śaka 1426, Raktākshi ( = 4-9-1504 A.C.) bestows on him the title of Śrīman Mahānāyakamāchaḥārya (No. 305—T.T.). With the permission of the reigning king whose name is not mentioned (Rāyar-rāyasam-konṭavandu), he made a gift of the village of Kaṭalūr situated in the Tirukkuḍavār-nāṭu. His two later gifts are dated in the reign of Krishṇarāya and he probably served also under both Vīra-Narasimha and Krishṇarāya. The compound name Periya-Obaḷa (Ōbila)-Nāyakkar Rāmā-Nāyakkar seems to suggest that his proper name was Rāmā-Nāyakkar and that he was the son of Periya-Obaḷa-Nāyakkar. Another general also comes to notice during this reign, namely Timmaṇa-Dāṇiyakkar, son of Karaṇikka Annadāta-Dāvagāl (No. 308—T.T. dated in Śaka 1415). The epigraph mentions that he resided at Chandragiri and this seems to imply that he was the commander of the forces (Dāṇiyakkar) stationed at Chandragiri. He was a Niyaṇi Brāhmaṇa of the Harita-gātra and Śrī Viṣṇu-yana-sūtra. This Annadātadāvagāl is probably identical with Dāvappagāl son of the Mahāpradhāṇi Annadāta-Dāṇiyakkar who served under Mallikārjuna-Prauḍhādāvarāya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1911, para 52; and No. 335 of 1921 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). In that case Timmaṇa-Dāṇiyakkar would be the grandson of Annadāta-Dāṇiyakkar and son of Dāvappagāl or Dāvagāl. From the nature of the services he arranged at Tirumala, i.e., of providing offerings for the processional image during the Pāvitrōtśavam instituted by Sāluva Mallayadēva Mahārāja (No. 157—T.T.) and the Pōḷāmahōtśavam instituted by Sāluva Narasimha (No. 197—T.T.), it is likely that he served also under Sāluva Narasimha in whose honour he probably made the above provision. Kumāra-Kulasākharā-Mediniṟṟuvu Timmai-Nāyakkar mentioned in No. 307—T.T. as a disciple of Kumāra-Tṭayyaṅgār, who was the preceptor of Nyāsimhaprabha entitled Gōyigovāja (page 139 ante) and who provided for the offering of one rājana-tirup埔ṇaṅakam in Śaka 1415 in the name of the disciple, was perhaps a royal officer of some standing. The compound name seems to suggest his proper name as being Timma-Nāyakkar, the son of Mediniṟṟuvu entitled Kumāra-Kulasākharā. From the dates of their records it is possible that Kommarai Periya-Timmaraija, his younger brother, Śrī-Timmaraija and the latter's son Narasaraija, as well as Konṭiraija noticed under Mallikārjuna (page 140 ante), were also subordinates of Immaṇi-Nyāsimha.
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

THE TULUVA LINE

VIRA-NARASIMHA:—No. 255—G.T. dated in Śaka 1430, Vibhava (187-1508), mentions Vira-Narasīṅgaraya Mahārāya for whose merit Appāppīḷḷai, son of Karavāṭippudiyāvar of Uttaramārur, instituted the Anna-tūjal-tirumāl (the swinging festival) in Śrī Gōvindaṛāja's temple in Tirupati. This festival was a desideratum here when once it was instituted in Śrī Vākaṭāvarara's temple at Tirumala by Sāluva Narasimha (No. 197—T.T.). Appāppīḷḷai's earlier gift to the temple of Śrī Gōvindaṛāja made in Śaka 1428, Akṣhaya (=30-11-1506 A.C.) (No. 197—G.T.), also falls into the reign of Vira-Narasimha. He also figures later on under Kṛishnārāya for whose merit he endowed the temple in Śaka 1433, Prajāpati (=7-4-1511 A.C.) (No. 604—T.T.) with Virakampanallūr situated in Āraṇi-ṭūrmai. From Nos. 411 of 1919 and 323 of 1913 we find him making gifts at Conjevaram and Chidambaram in the years Śaka 1431, Šukla (=11-3-1510 A.C.) and Śaka 1432, Pramōḍāta (=30-12-1510 A.C.) respectively in the reign of Kṛishnārāya. The donor and his brother Mannarpīḷḷai, who dug the well at the foot of the hill between the tower of Lakshmi-Nārisimhā-Perumāl and the big tower built by Sāluva Narasimha (No. 271—G.T.), seem to have been in some way connected with the state and to have been royal subordinates from the time of Sāluva Narasimha to that of Kṛishnārāya. The Śaka year 1430 of No. 255—G.T. which mentions the king is probably the penultimate year of his reign (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 65). Vira-Narasimha was the real second usurper of the Vijayanagara throne, just as Immaḍī-Nṛsiṁha was the first, for neither bore hereditary titles to it. Vira-Narasimha is said to have made extra-ordinary gifts (Nāmaḍabahujā-Mahādānas) at Vākaṭāḍri, i.e., the temple of Śrī Vākaṭāvarara, along with those made at Kanakasadas (Chidambaram), Śrī Virūpākṣha's temple at Hampe, Śrikiṭṭāhastī's temple at Kālahasti, Kāṭī, Śrīśaila, Śrīśaila (Tiruvannamalai), Hariharas, Ahōbaḷa, Saṃgama, Śrīraṅga, Kumbhaghoṇa, Mahānanditīrtha, Nivṛtti, Gōkarna, Rāmasūtu (Ramesvaram) and other holy places; and those gifts comprised the Śūḍa-Mahādānas, viz., Brahmāṇḍa, Viśvachakra, Gṛha, Mahābhūtaka, Ratnadhiṇu, Saṃtbodhi, Kalpakshīruthralatika, Kāṭchana-kōmadhīṇu, Svārakṣhīṃ, Hiraṃyāvaratī, Tulāpurusha, Gōsahasra, Hīmāśva, Hīmagarbha, Kanakakariratha and Paṇchalāṅgali (Kuśiyāntaṇḍal Grant of Vīra-Nṛsiṁha in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pages 231-240; Kṛishnārāya's Hampe Inscription in Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pages 361 ff.; and No. 459—T.T. of our collection). But no epigraphical evidence is available in this place to confirm the above statement as to their actual performance at Vākaṭāḍri.
1. Stone Inscription of Krishnarāya from Tirumala Temple, No. 178—T.T. recounting His Victories over the Gajapati King and recording His Presentation of Gold Coins and Ornaments to the Temple in Śaka 1438, Daśā and Śaka 1442, Vikrama. Vide Pages 165—166.
KRISHNARAYA

KRISHNARAYA.

His Trilingual Records:—Krishnārāya is represented in our collection by nearly fifty inscriptions belonging to himself and his two queens Chinnājīdevi and Tirumalādevi. They range in date between Śaka 1434 (= 1513 A.C.) and Śaka 1445 (= 1524 A.C.) and register personal offerings and direct gifts made during their frequent visits to the temple of Śrī Vēkkāḷiśvara on Tirumala whom he venerated as his Patron–God, as well as the edicts of grants issued by him from his capital city of Vijayanagara. As in the case of his charities elsewhere, Krishnārāya’s gifts in the Tirumala temple also are generally recorded in the three South Indian languages Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese, as if indicating his sway over the entire Southern India in which they were spoken.

His First Visit to God Tiruvengalanatha:—His first visit to Śrī Vēkkāḷiśvara’s temple was paid in company with his two queens on the 7th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna in the cyclic year Āṅgirasa, corresponding to the Śaka year 1434, equivalent to the 10th February 1513 A.C., when he presented a kirītam (crown) of gold set with the nine kinds of gems, and 25 silver āratis (plates) for waving lights of camphor. This is recorded in eight epigraphs of which two are in Telugu (Nos. 2 and 582–T.T.), three in Tamil (Nos. 84, 356 and 696–T.T.) and two in Kanarese (Nos. 31 and 40–T.T.) in their respective script, while No. 550–T.T. in Kanarese language is written in Nandi-Nāgari characters. Similarly the gifts of his two queens of a golden cup apiece for offering milk for God is registered in two sets of three Kanarese (Nos. 8, 39 and 483, and 9, 34 and 484–T.T.), three Tamil (Nos. 85, 359, and 694, and 86, 355 and 695–T.T.) and two Telugu (Nos. 12 and 699, and 11 and 700–T.T.) inscriptions in their proper script and two (Nos. 635 and 638, and 636 and 637–T.T.) in Kanarese language and Nandi-Nāgari characters.

His Second Visit:—The second visit, without his queens this time, came close upon the first within the next three months, on Monday, the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in Śaka 1435, Śrīmukha (= 2nd May 1513 A.C.),

Note 1:—Vide “Manucharitramu,” Canto I, verse 47 and Canto III, verse 1; and “Pārijātāpharanam,” Canto IV, verse 1. Krishnārāya dedicated his “Āmuktamālīyada” to God Vēkkāḷiśa (Canto I, verses 46–49).
when he gave a number of ornaments for God and three small kirtams for the procession images of Śrī Viśākhaśvara, Śrīdāvi and Bhūdāvi, which are again recorded in three languages, No. 1—T.T. in Telugu, No. 41—T.T. in Tamil and Nos. 95 and 96—T.T. in Kanarese.

His Third Visit:—The next date that occurs for Śrī Kṛishṇarāya in these epigraphs is about a month and a half later and falls on Monday, the 11th lunar day of the bright half of the Āśvāha month in the same cyclic year Śrīmukha, Śaka 1435 (≈13th June 1513 A.C.), when he granted five villages to God Viśākhaśa with libations of water to serve for the expenses of His nitya-nāvoḍāya and the conduct of the vatsara-nāvōḍāya in the Tamil month of Tai which he instituted for Śrī Viśākhaśa for the merit of his father Narasā-Nāyaka-Voḍayalu and his mother Nāgājammanāgaru, the grant to take effect from the first day of the Telugu month of Śrāvana (No. 459—T.T.). From the nearness of the date to the previous occasion and from the visit that is reported to have been paid to the Kalahasti temple on the same day (Nos. 151 and 162 of 1924), it is possible that the grant was made by Kṛishṇarāya at Tirumala in the presence of God Viśākhaśa.

The Sanskrit Introduction Giving His Ancestry and His Prasasti:—These services and the grant which are recorded in Telugu in No. 459—T.T. and in Kanarese in Nandi-Nāgarī characters in No. 330—T.T. are preceded by an introduction (partly mutilated by fire) in Sanskrit verse and prose, identical with that found prefixed to his Hampe inscriptions of Śaka 1430, Śukla, registering the grant of Śrīgānāyakkanahāli on the occasion of his coronation (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 361 ff.; and S. I. I., Vol. IV, pages 51-54, No. 259). Commencing with adorations to Hari (Vishṇu) in his Boar incarnation and Gajānana (Gaṅgā), it traces the mythical ancestry of the Tuluva dynasty from Moon, the dispenser of darkness, who arose from the milky ocean when it was churned by the Gods, through his son Budha, his son Purāravas, his son Āyas, his son Nāhusha and his son Yāyāti to Turvasu, the son of Yāyāti and the husband of Dāvayāni. It then relates that in the lineage of Turvasu was born king Timma, who was the husband of Dāvakī and who won great fame among the Tuluva kings like Śrī Kṛishṇa in His own race; and he begot king Īvara, the crest-jewel of kings and the husband of Bukkamā. This Īvara was a great warrior and, having wedded the daughter of a king and killed the Mandāhas, he became famous throughout the land extending from the eastern to the western ocean and from Sstu to the Himalayas. To
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this Īvara, the son of Dēvaki,1 was born king Narasa, as Kāma (Manmatha) was born to Śrī Krishna, the son of Dēvaki. Narasa dammed the Kāverī and, crossing it, captured alive the enemy in battle, conquered his kingdom, took Srirangapatam and planted a triumphal pillar. He also subdued the Chēra, the Chōla and the self-respecting Pāṇḍya who was lord of Madura, as well as the valorous Turk, the Gajapati king and other enemies and brought the whole land from the Ganges to Laṅka and from the eastern to the western range under his authority. He performed the śhōdaśa-dānas repeatedly.

NOTE 1:—The editors of the Conjeevaram Plates of Kṛishṇarāya in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, on page 131 translate this verse as: “King Narasa was born to him. He was born of Dēvaki, as Kāma was from the son of Dēvaki (Kṛishṇa),” thus introducing a Dēvaki as the mother of Narasa and a second wife of Īvara. Again as to the preceding verse, they interpret that Timma begot “of his wife Bukkamā, Īvāra, the protector of the earth.” The interpretation of the two verses is only ingenious but not in consonance with facts. As the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastriar observed in a footnote on the same page, “The Hampi inscription and many others read Dēvakiṁ nandānākāmbī………… and this must be right, as the reading of this inscription (i.e. the Conjeevaram plates) introduces a second Dēvaki as wife of Īvara, whose wife Bukkamā is well-known and has been mentioned in line 11.” Further the literary works mention one Dēvaki only, viz., the wife of Timma and the mother of Īvara, whose wife was Bukkamā alone and not Dēvaki. Similarly Bukkamā was not the wife of Timma and the mother of Īvara, as the editors there make her out to be. Timma’s wife was Dēvaki, the mother of Īvara; and Īvara’s wife was Bukkamā, the mother of Narasa. This relationship is supported fully both by epigraphical records and literary works.

Kṛishṇarāya who thought it fit to modify the stanzas mentioning his two queens in the eulogic dedicatory verses which he incorporated from his poet-laureate Peddana’s “Manucharitramu” into his own “Āmuktamālīyada” (Canto I, verse 33) had not likewise considered it necessary to modify the genealogy of the Tulva family from Timma, his great-grandfather, down to himself (Compare “Āmuktamālīyada,” Canto I, verses 24–31 with “Manucharitramu,” Canto I, verses 23–31). Timmakavi in his “Pārijāta-paḥaraṇam” gives almost the same genealogy down from Timmayya-Īvāraraṇa (i.e. Īvara, the son of Timma), through Narasa born of Lakkāmbika to Vira–Narasīthha and Kṛishṇarāya, the patron of the poet. Though Bukkāmbi here is termed as Lakkāmbika, there is no mention of a second Dēvaki as the wife of Īvara. Again Rājanātha-kavi in his “Achyutaraṇyābhyyayam” (Canto I, verses 23, 25, 27 and 52) furnishes us with an identical lineage from Timma, through his son Īvara by Dēvaki and the latter’s son Narasa by Bukkamā, to Vira–Narasīthha and Kṛishṇarāya. Verse 27 clearly states that Narasa was born to Īvara by Bukkamā.

The interpretation of both the verses by the editors is therefore misleading and contrary to historical evidence. The poet has merely repeated the expression “Dēvakiṁ nandana” to bring about a comparison between the son of a certain Dēvaki who was in this case Īvara with the son of the mythical Dēvaki who is Kṛishṇa, the famous epic hero. The name Dēvaki of Īvara’s mother suggested the comparison.
at various holy places like Rāmāvaram and acquired great fame for charity. Narasa had two sons, Vīra-Nṛisimhāṇḍra by Tippājī and Krīṣṇarāya by Nṛgalādāvat. Śrī Vīra-Nārāsimha ascended the Vijayanagara throne and ruled the kingdom extending from Sātu to Māru and from the Eastern to the Western Ghats, exceeding in fame the famous kings of the past, such as Nyga, Naḷa and Nahusha. At Kanakasadas (Chidambaram), at the temple of Śrī Virāpāksha (at Hampe), at Śrīśaṅkha, Vāṅkaṭāḍri (Tirupati), Kāṭchi, Śrīśaila, Śōṇśaila (Tiruvannamala), Hariṇa, Ahōbala, Saṅgama, Śrīraṅga, Kumbhaghoṣa, Mahānanditrtha, Nivrītti, Gokarna, Rāmāsṛtu and other holy places, he performed the following mahādānas, viz., Brahmuḍa, Viśvachakra, Ghaṭa, Mahābhūtaka, Ratnadānu, Saṃśābhodi, Kalpa-vāsikṣha, Kāṭchana-śāmadānu, Svarṇa-kṛśhā, Hiraṇyāīvaratha, Tulāpārisha, Gōsahasra, Hīmāśva, Hīmāgarbha, Kanakakariṛatha, and Pāṭchalaśāgali. After Vīra-Nārasiṇha’s death, Krīṣṇarāya succeeded to the throne and wrapped the entire universe in his glory which shone brightly and thus forced even the Gods and Goddesses to assume distinguishing marks in advance, such as the third eye o. Śiva in the forehead, the four arms of Viṣhṇu, the four faces of Brahma, the sword of Kāṭṭi, the lotus of Lakṣmī and the lute of Sarasvatī. He owned in his vast armies numerous horses which raised dust so as to dry up the seven oceans, and in substitution thereof he created oceans with the immeasurable waters poured on the occasions of his mahādānas such as Brahmuḍa, Svarṇa-Māru, &c. With a desire to bestow long enjoyment to his suppliants of the wealth given to them by him through obstructing the progress of the Sun’s chariot in the heavens, he planted pillars of glory on the earth as high as mountains recording his expeditions for the conquest of the four quarters together with his birudas. Again and again he performed the great gifts, such as Kanaka-Tulāpārusha, and also minor gifts at Kāṭchi, Śrīśaila, Śōṇśaila, Vāṅkaṭāḍri and other sacred temples and holy baths (tirthas). His birudas comprised Rōshakrīta-pratipārthiva-daṇḍa, Śīshabhūja-kṣitirakṣaṇa-dauṇḍa, Bhāṣagā-ṭappuvarāya-gaṇḍa, Arthītukṣa-h, Raṇachanda, Rājāḍhirāja, Rājaparamesvara, Mūrūryaragaṇḍa, Pararāya-bhayaikara, Hindurāya-suratrāṇa, Dūṣṇājīrāṇa-mardana and Gajaugha-gaṇḍabheruṇḍa. He was served by the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaḷiṅga, and other kings. Ascending the Vijayanagara throne, king Krīṣṇarāya shines with glory from the eastern to the western mountain and from the Himalayas to Sātu.

His Praise:—Then follows the gadya which recounts that Krīṣṇarāya Mahārāya who won glory for liberality, gallantry and heroism which delighted
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his poets, who was terrible in war, who through his glorious acts caused the tales of Nīga, Nañja, Nahusha, Nabaga, Dundhumāra, Manḍhātṛi, Bharata, Bhagiratha, Dasaratha and Rāma to be only smiled at, who gave protection to Brāhmaṇas, who disgraced the Sultan, who was like fever to the elephant which was the Gajapati, who was proficient in all the sixty-four arts, who excelled the lotus by the beauty of his face, who was the second Bhōja, who understood the hidden meaning of literary compositions, who was well versed in ethics, who held annual feasts during the pleasant spring season, who made liberal gifts to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of his sacrifices (yāgas), who was a successful man, who was chief among kings, who was a blessed man, who was the son of Nśāmbikā and Narasarāja, who delighted the minds of all, who was like Arjuna on the battle-field, who conquered all the quarters, who won Śamparāya (battles) by the strength of his arms, and who now rules the whole earth from his throne at Vijayanagara, issued an edict to God Śrīṁvasa, who exercises care in the protection of the earth, who is called Vākaṭāśa and who abides on the Śrīśāma.

Its Formal Character and Its Ultimate Fulfilment:—This Sāṃskṛtikā-
prālasti is a mere formal introduction, prefixed to his grants dating from 1509-10 A.C., i.e., from the time of his accession to the throne, and is not a record of the time of the coronation for his actual achievements which were

NOTE 1:—Compare karparadāvatūra (‘who gave respite to (i.e. repressed) the army of the Turks’), a term of address for Krīṣṇarāya in “Manuchariramu,” Canto VI, verse 1.

NOTE 2:—Pans writes that Krīṣṇarāya was “of fair complexion and good figure” (“Forgotten Empire,” page 246), but the implication of verse 121 of Canto IV of “Manuchariramu” seems to be that he was of black complexion, being, as euphuistically stated therein, enwrapped by the sin of killing numerous warriors in battles with his sword.

NOTE 3:—The expression of the inscription runs: Pratirvarshaprasarīita-kanaka-Vasanta-mahōtsava. Tinnakavi in his “Pārijātāraharaṇamu” (Canto I, verse 139) mentions an annual assemblage of poets during the spring festival, Pratirvarha-Vasantotsava, at the court of the king who gave them liberal presents.

NOTE 4:—This formal character is exemplified by the adaptation of Vira-Narasimha’s Prālasti for Krīṣṇarāya with the addition of certain features peculiar to himself (Cf. the introduction of the Kuḍiyāntaḍal Grant of Vira-Nṛsiṁha in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pages 236-240); likewise, the adaptation of Krīṣṇarāya’s Prālasti for Achyutarāya with certain other peculiar attributes (Vide Pōḷipalli Grant of Achyutarāya in “Nellore Inscriptions,” Vol. I, pages 80-86; and Unāmaṭāri Plates of Achyutarāya in Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pages 151-153); and similar adaptation for Sadāśivarāya (Cf. his British Museum Plates in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pages 12-13).
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only wrought later on. But in essence they were gained subsequently through his victories over the Ummattar and Ikkori chiefs, the Gajapati king and the Musalman Sultans; and even the religious charities were performed at the sacred centres, such as śrīällä, Ahobala, Bezhada, Rajahmandry, Amaraśvara, Kāliāchasti, Tirupati, Kālīch, śrīraāgam, Kumbhakāgam, Rāmāvaram, Gēkāram, &c. Similarly the building of towers and the planting of triumphal pillars became veritable facts when in later years he constructed the huge gīpurams of the temples at Kalahastī, Tiruvannamala, Chidambaram and other places and planted pillars of victory at Simhādri and śrīkārmm. He was a great scholar and poet himself and patronised Telugu poets of talents. In short, Kṛishṇārya proved himself to be the greatest of the Vijayanagara sovereigns in particular and the crown of the South Indian Hindu monarchs of yore in general, eclipsing their glory by the universal fame that he acquired through his military conquests and liberal gifts, and successful administration of the extensive Vijayanagara empire. He was really the Rājādhīrāja and Rājaparamēvāra, 1 so far as South India was concerned. As for his alleged sovereignty over the kings of Āgā, Vaṅga and Kaliĝa, whose conquest Allasāni Peddana also mentions in verses 81 and 83 of Canto I of his "Manucharitramu" (Baṅgāḷaṅkāraśya), his expedition against Kaliśa (extending north from the Gōdāvarī up to Orissa) brought that province under his sway, though he relinquished it in favour of the Gajapati himself; Āgā (the northern part of modern Bihar) and Vaṅga (Bengal) might have been considered at least nominally tributary to Vijayanagara, if we trust the statement of the "Sāluvabhhyudayam" (Canto 7) that Sāluva Narasimha carried his conquests into North India also and celebrated the Jayaalakshmi-vivaham for himself, when, along with other kings, the Vaṅga king offered him a bṛīgāram (a golden vase) and the Āgā king presented a tāmbulakaranāga (a casket) and also became the aṅgapadaka (body-guard) of Narasimha, as a mark of allegiance to him. It may therefore be a formal assumption of a biruda, like the presumed victory over Sēmparāya which was really gained by Kampaņa II of the First dynasty, or the mastery over the Gajapati, the natural

NOTE 1:—Paes describes Kṛishṇārya as "the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; ......... He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage; ....... he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in (?) armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things" (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire," page 247).
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hereditary enemy of Vijayanagara until finally reduced by Krishnaraya himself later on. This is borne out by the simple epithets, viz., Srīmāna Mahārajadhīraja, Rajaparamivarasa and Śri Virapratapa applied to him in all the above thirty-four epigraphs so far noticed as well as in the nine trilingual inscriptions of the following year, i.e., Saka 1436, Bhāva (=1514 A.C.), in contrast to the significant birudas found in his records of Saka 1437, Vyasa (=1515 A.C.) and onwards, viz., Purva-dakṣiṇa-paichima-samudrādhīvarasa, Yavanarāja-sādhana-pāchārya and Gajapati-vibhāga, assumed after actual performance of the acts connoted by these titles.¹

His Fourth Visit:—An opportunity was taken by Krishnaraya to pay his obeisance for the fourth time to God Vākaṭāśa during his return to his capital city of Vijayanagara after pursuing Prataparudra Gajapati as far as

NOTE 1:—It is apparent that the acts connoted by the two latter birudas had been accomplished by Saka 1437 and that consequently Krishnaraya assumed them. As a matter of fact the conquest of Prataparudra Gajapati was effected during Krishnaraya’s earlier campaigns in the east, the first directed against Udayagiri terminating in June 1514 when the Gajapati was “crushed and pierced” and driven as far as Kopḍavīḍu, and the second against Kopḍavīḍu in June 1515 when its fortress was captured and Virabhadra and other princes were taken captive and Krishnaraya marched to Dharanikōta (Amaravati) and performed the Tulāpurusha-mahāvīra in the temple of Amarāvata and had the Rātnadēsa-mahāśūla performed through his favourite queen Chinakādevi and the Saptadāgera-mahāśūla through his senior queen Tirumaladēvi on the 8th July 1515. These victories over the Gajapati and the conquest of the southern portion of his territory must have been considered sufficient warrant to give a right to Krishnaraya—irrespective of his Kaliṅga expedition five months subsequently in December 1515—to assume the biruda “Gajapati-vibhāga” which must therefore be taken to denote the military exploits of Krishnaraya performed during his first two campaigns in 1514 and 1515 against Udayagiri and Kopḍavīḍu. This is also substantiated by the Gajapati’s son Virabhadraraya accepting service under Krishnaraya as governor of the Maleya—Bennūr country and making a gift of a tank for the merit of king Krishnaraya in acknowledgment of his subordinate position, during the cyclic year Vyasa, Saka 1438, in the month of Kārtika, corresponding to October 1515 A.C., i.e., within four months after his capture at Kopḍavīḍu by Krishnaraya in June 1515 (No. 744 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.).

Again Krishnaraya is stated to have liberated the three sons of a former Sultan of Bahmani who were confined in prison by the Adil Shaha of Bijapur and set upon the throne the eldest among them (Sewel’s “Forgotten Empire,” page 157). As such the other title “Yavanarāja-sādhana-pāchārya” equally signifies his placing its rightful heir on the throne of the Bahmani kingdom which must have taken place sometime before or during Saka 1437, i.e., before June 1515 A.C. Compare also the epithet Yavanākābhuṣaṇa-sthāna-vibhāga, i.e., ‘the establisher of the Muhammadan king,’ applied to Krishnaraya in “Manucharitramu” (Canto III, verse 142).
KOḍAVATI AND CAPTURING THE UDAYAGIRI FORTRESS DURING HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GAJAPATI IN SAKA 1436, BHAVA, ON THURSDAY, THE FULL MOON DAY IN NOTE 1:—This first campaign in the expedition was directed against Udayagiri; and, from the narration of the events in "Rāyavāchakamu," it appears that Kṛishṇapāya advanced straight from Raichur with his whole army and necessary equipments by way of Guttī in the Anantapur district and Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Cuddapah district to Udayagiri in the Nellore district ("Sources of Vijayavamsa History," page 122). According to "Rāyavāchakamu" ("Sources," pages 118-121) and "Kṛishṇapāya-Vijayamu" (Canto III, verses 4-53), Kṛishṇapāya's dig-jātra-yātra (Canto II, verse 146) commenced with his reduction of the kings nearer home and continued, through the attack and defeat of Gaṇḍarāja, the lord of Ummattūr and Sivasamudram, to his advance against Srīraṅgapatnam (Srīraṅgapatam) whose ruler Saṅkula-Nayaka submitted himself after some resistance and received pardon from Kṛishṇapāya. From there he planned an assault of the forts situated in the Bijapur sultanate, but meanwhile the chiefs of the forts themselves surrendered them and offered presents in token of their allegiance to him. He treated them kindly and garrisoned the forts of Ādavani (Adoni), Madugallu (Mudkal), Rāchūru (Raichur) and other strong places with his own men, as did Raghu Maharāja of yore, and prepared to proceed against the city of Gōlaṅkonda. On nearing of Kṛishṇapāya's advance, the people of Āmudānagari, Vijāpuri and Gōlaṅkonda trembled in fear and the Turkish chiefs of the three houses (i.e., the three sultans) quickly came to oppose the Hindu monarch and encamped themselves on the south bank of the Kṛishna river, having crossed it. Being informed of the combined defence of the three sultans, Kṛishṇapāya called for a council of war of the "Amara-Nāyakuṭu" and the "Manallū" and made presents to them as an encouragement. During the deliberations, the daring, valorous and faithful Rāmāḷīḷganṭipāla who was the moon to the Pemmasāni family and who had the support of his numerous relations begged to be permitted to fight with the Turks; and all men likewise offered their services. Kṛishṇapāya then gave betel-nuts and leaves to all of them, declared to them that he had no more anxiety regarding the result of the battle inasmuch as they were great heroes, and urged them to win success. The three Vāzirs were frightened on hearing this determination of the infidels and regretted their advance to the southern side of the river.

Then began the action between the two armies. Pemmasāni Rāmāḷīḷgarāja entered the thickest of the fight and wrought destruction among the Turks who appeared to be giving way at the moment. Having waited for this advantageous situation, Kṛishṇapāya mounted his state elephant and drove into the midst of the fight with his contingents and ordered the sounding of the trumpets. The sound unnerved the Persian army and threw it into great confusion. The Kṛishna river was then in flood. The sultans and the chiefs of the first rank in the Muhammadan army changed their dress so as not to be recognised, crossed the river and took to flight for safety, leaving their elephants and horses as well as their treasure to be seized by the victorious emperor. Kṛishṇapāya felt triumphant over his victory as it was the first that was gained by him and ordered the seizure of the camp equipage, &c., of the enemy. At that moment Mādayyagāri Mallānārya, Atlāsāni Pedḍārayavya, Mukku Timmana and other prominent poets praised the prowess of the king who then presented them with gold cloths and jewels. Kṛishṇapāya was
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the month of Āshātha (= 6-7-1514 A.C.). This time he had a kanakābhishekham performed for God Tiruvēgājanātha with 30,000 varahās, presented some ornaments for Him and arranged for His daily offerings for which he granted Tāṇapāka village in the Potapaniśṭa. From the donor's share of a quarter of the prasādams offered daily in his name, he stipulated for the issue of a portion to Raṅgā-Dikshitu, Śivā-Dikshitu and Tiruppaśipīlai and the balance to the latter for being utilized for feeding Brāhmaṇas in the satram (Nos. 201, 254, and 256—T.T.). Of his two queens who accompanied him to Tirumala from the military campaign, Chinnādavi presented a padakam (pendant) and a kaṇṭhamāla (necklace) and gave Muḍiyār village in Toṇḍa-maṭālam to serve for the daily offerings instituted by her with a similar provision for issue of the donor's share to Tiruppaśipīlai, a quarter for himself and three-quarters for the same satram (Nos. 202, 257 and 262—T.T.), while Tirumaladvī presented a padakam and arranged for similar offerings and distribution from the produce derived in grain and coin from the village of Pirāṇikulattīr in Chūsāgarāparari (Nos. 203, 255 and 261—T.T.). One of the above donees, Raṅgā-Dikshitu, was the father of Kṛishnārāyaṇa's purāṇa Yagānārāyaṇa-Dikshita who also appears to have followed the royal party to Tirumala and offered 10,000 chakrams to the temple for certain services only four days later, i.e., on the 10th July 1514 A. C. (Nos. 192 and 254—T.T.). The father must have also followed the king so as to be the recipient of the granted prasādam.

His Military Achievements Reported in His Record of Gift of a Prabhāvali:—A set of four epigraphs in four languages, Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil and Saṁskṛit (Nos. 579, 580, 619, and 620—T. T. respectively), introduces us to, Kṛishnārāyaṇa's halt at Vijayanagara, on Thursday, the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika in Śaka 1437, Yuva (=25th October 1515 A.C.), and the presentation of a navaratina-prabhāvali or maṅkaratōraṇa for God Tiruvēgājanātha. The first three inscriptions contain an introduction,1 which recounts in detail the military achievements of Kṛishnārāyaṇa against the Gajapati from the time of his starting on his eastern expedition up to the time of

impelled to pursue the fleeing enemy and occupy the country but he was dissuaded from his attempt by his wise minister Appāji (Sāluva Timma), Ayyamarasu, Koṇḍamarasu and Bācharasu and advised to turn his arms against the Gajapati who might give him a flank attack and cut off his supplies during Kṛishnārāyaṇa's projected pursuit of the sultan. On this advice, Kṛishnārāyaṇa proceeded pleasingly to the assault of the Udayagiri fortress.

Notes 1: This introduction is identical in its contents with that of the Tiruvannamala inscription (No. 572 of 1902), a review of which is found in para 16 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1903.

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returning to Vijayanagara after performing the Tulāpurusha-mahādāna at Dharāṣikṣa- Amarāśvara and other mahādānas at that sacred centre through his queens Chinnajidevamma and Tirumaladēvamma. It relates that Krishnārāya, having started on his eastern expedition (Parva-digvijaya-yatra) occupied the fort of Udayagiri, captured Tirumala Rautarāya Mahāpātra, and in one

Note 1:—Kumāra-Dhārjata in his "Krishnārāya-Vijayamur," Canto III, verses 58-69, mentions that the princes of Ārviḍu, Toragallu, Gobbāru, Nandēla, Auku and other chiefśhīps, as well as those of Veṭugōṭi and Rāvela families, and Tulavá chiefs and Bōyus fought at many points day and night for taking the impregnable fortress of Udayagiri. Krishnārāya was much irritated at the continued unsuccessful fighting and so rushed forward to the attack, escaladed the wall followed by his men and suddenly got down into the fort. To the defenders of the fort who submitted to him, he gave assurance of safety of their lives, and, placing his faithful servants in charge of the citadel, proceeded against Kandukūru, then Koḍḍavidi, next Koḍḍapali, thence Vinukopḍa and other forts whose governors under the Gajapati, on hearing of Krishnārāya's advance, left the forts undefended and fled to the hills. Having thus possessed himself of all fortified positions on the hills and plains, Krishnārāya marched against Amudānagaram (Ahmadabad-Bidar) and gave battle to the Persian army that defended it. Finding many of the enemy ranks taking to flight from the field during the contest, he treated those runaways with scorn, planted a jayadhvaja (flag of victory) there and resumed the invasion of the Gajapati's territory. (Cf. "Rāyavāchakamu" in "Sources of Vijayanagar History," pages 123-124).

The narrative of "Krishnārāya-Vijayamur" and "Rāyavāchakamu" shows clearly that Krishnārāya's main theme of conquest was only the Gajapati's dominions for the realisation of which he had as a preliminary step first to bring to allegiance the recalcitrant chiefs in the south such as Gaṇḍarāja and Saṅkula-Nāyaka, fortify the outposts on the borders of the Muhammadan states so as to check any Musulman incursion on the northern side into the Vijayanagara kingdom and equip himself with necessary men and munitions. The epigraphical records denote this military ideal of Krishnārāya, which he was fortunate enough to realise, as his Parva-digvijaya-yātra and Kaliṅgadēśa-digvijaya, while his own "Āmuktamālaya" terms it Kalāṅga-rāja-vījya-kha. His direct march against Udayagiri from Raichur and his attack and destruction of the fort of Amudānagaram (Bidar) in the interval between his second and third campaigns, i.e., before starting on his Kaliṅga expedition, are illustrations to the point. It is thus clear that Krishnārāya did not reckon his fights with the Muhammadan Sultans as noteworthy events at all, but only as by-products of his main project.

According to the "Rāyavāchakamu" ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 122), Krishnārāya placed Kampaṇna in charge of the Udayagiri fortress after its capture by him.

Note 2:—He was the younger paternal uncle of Pratāpurudra Gajapati. He is variously named as Tirumala Kāṁṭarāya in the Udayagiri Nos. 38, 40 and 41 ("Nellore Inscriptions"), Tirumala Rāghavārāya in the same No. 37, and Tirumala Prāyutarāya Mahāpātra in the Amarāvati inscription. Certainly he is the same as Parva-Rāḥuttar (Tirumala Rautarāya) whose Erode inscription shows him governing the Mēl-nāḍu in Śaka 1432, Prajōptpatti (=1510-11 A.C.) (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1911, para 53), as an agent
single campaign took Addaâki,² Vinikôpa, Bellamkôpa, Nágârujuniñâka,

of Pratâparudra Gajapati. It is possible that, in consonance with the account of the “Krîshnârâya-Vijayamu,” Canto III, verses 81 and 82, wherein the Gajapati is represented to refer to the pilgrimage tour of the “Peda-Gajapati-Bhûvarûdu,” i.e., the elder Gajapati king, the predecessor of Pratâparudra, for a visit to Sêtu in the past through the southern country accompanied by a Turkish force which performed wonderful exploits there, and to lay claim to all this southern territory as belonging to himself, this Mêlânaâdu or Mêkarai-naâdu as well as the Koṅgu-mañḍalam which comprised the Mûs must have formed part of the dominions of the Gajapati who apparently held sway over his vast empire extending from his home territories in Orissa, Kaliṅga and Utkala in the north down into the modern Nellore, Cuddapah, North Arcot and Salem districts and the Mysore State in the south. It must have been this incursion, which, as the Gajapati hints at, took place in the time of his predecessor, into the heart of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the consequent interception of its southern provinces that exasperated Krîshnârâya to march against the Gajapati’s native country and devastate it completely in revenge; and not even the ‘testament’ of Sâluva Narasîrîha for the mere capture of three stray strongholds, Raichur, Mudkal and Adoni, on the Muhammadan border could have acted as such a powerful incentive to his digvijaya. It is properly therefore the successful accomplishment of his pûra-digvijaya and Kâlîkâru Mêsa-digvijaya that he counted upon as the true kingly virtue which he could reveal in his life; and he did realise his object with a uniform steadiness, in the face of dissuasion from his ministers and generals (“Râya-vâchakam” in “Sources,” page 124; and “Krîshnârâya-Vijayamu,” Canto II, verse 67) who for that reason appear not to have shared his vision (Cf. “Krîshnârâya-Vijayamu,” Canto II, verses 142 and 143). He perceived the enemy’s vulnerable points in his extended southern outposts of Ummattur and Bâivasamudram as well as Salem (where occurs the record of Parvata-Râhuttar, No. 169 of 1910), far removed from his centre of rule in the north from which he could not easily defend them, and therefore attacked him first in the south, and wrested from him these strongholds in Koṅgu-mañḍalam, then moved north for the capture of the strategic positions Adoni, Mudkal and Raichur and from this last place marched straight by way of Guttî and Gândikôṭa to Udayagiri lying in the Gajapati’s own kingdom, after whose capture he doggedly pursued Pratâparudra and ceaselessly fought him from post to post until he seized his twin capitals Sînhadri and Kaṭakapuri and brought the Utkala king upon his knees. It must therefore appear that Parvata-Râhuttar who ruled the Mêkara-naâdu or more probably the Koṅgu-mañḍalam itself under the Gajapati in Sêka 1432, at the beginning of Krîshnârâya’s reign, must have wheeled round by the north-east to Udayagiri, when Krîshnârâya subdued the Mysore territory from him the latest in Sêka 1434 during his ‘state business’ at Bâivasamudram by 22nd September 1512 A.C. (No. 180 of 1913 from Bukkanapinam); and from that time Rautarâya—a vernacular term for the Sôhâkapîtic Parvata-Râhuttar—must have held the governorship of the Udayagiri fort until its seizure with himself in it on 9th June 1514 by Krîshnârâya, who in utter indignation at the sight of the chief that made bold to resist him twice successively must have been impelled to kick his crown, as related in the “Aṁukamâlîyada?” (Canto I, verse 89), when he was probably obliged to pay his homage to the captor on his capture.

Note 1:—“Pârijâtâpaharaṇamu,” Canto I, verse 23, combines some of these
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Taṅkāla, Katavaram and other forts, situated on hills and plains. He next marched to the Koṅḍavīḍu fortress, laid siege to it, put up square sheds round forts, viz., Udayādri, Vinukonda, Koṅḍavīḍu and Bellamkonda in a series with some of those captured by Kṛiṣhnaṇāya subsequently in his Kalīṭha campaign, viz., Jalilipalli, Anantagiri and Kambambureṣṭu and inserts Dēvarakonda in the middle of its list. Probably Dēvarakonda (Vēlupugonda in the “Sources,” page 140) is the same as Nāgārjunakonda of the inscriptions or the modern Dēvarakonda in the Nalgonda division of the Hyderabad State. This list also makes it appear as if the capture of Koṅḍavīḍu preceded that of Bellamkonda and Dēvarakonda, and as if Anantagiri came in between Jalilipalli and Kambhammeṣṭu. Quite likely the poet Timmaṇkavi exercised his privilege of a poetical license in the matter of the serial order of events.

With the same privilege Kumāra-Dhūrjaṭi in his “Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya-Vijayam,” Canto III, verse 63, mentions Kandukūru, Koṅḍavīḍu, Koṅḍapalli and then Vinukonda and other forts as having been taken by Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya one after another in chronological order, in the interval between his capture of Udayagiri and his defeat of the Muhammadan army at Amudānagaram. While according to the inscriptions Vinukonda came earliest immediately after Udayagiri and Addaṇki, and Koṅḍavīḍu was the last fort to be seized during Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya’s second campaign; and some months elapsed before Koṅḍapalli was captured during his third or Kalīṭha expedition. There is no mention of Kandukūru at all in inscribed records. and Kumāra-Dhūrjaṭi appears to have followed “Rāyavāchakamū” in his treatment of the wars, though he adds Koṅḍapalli and omits Bellamkonda and Nāgārjunakonda and changes the order of events as noted in the latter work.

Of these forts Addaṇki is the nearest to Udayagiri being within 100 miles and Katavaram the farthest being about 170 miles north of Udayagiri.

Nota 1: “Rāyavāchakamū” relates that Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya placed his own officers and generals in charge of these captured forts, viz., Koṅḍayya at Koṅḍavīḍu, Bhāskaraya at Vinukonda, Virabhadrayya at Bellamkonda and Ayyalaya at Nāgārjunakonda. It then continues that Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya next marched against Ahamadānagaram where he gave battle to the enemy outside the fort and defeated them. On hearing of this defeat, the nobles of the first rank who were in the fort deserted it and fled for safety. Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya then demolished the fort, ploughed the ground and sowed castor-seeds and the seeds of the gigantic Swallow wort (julifl.), there and returned to the conquest of the Gajapati’s country (“Sources,” page 124).

Koṅḍayya may be identified with Rāyasam Koṅḍamarasayya, the grandson of Āryapatiyāchārya and son of Timmarasamantri, and “the hero who actually accomplished for Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya the planting of the pillars of victory at Simhādri and Śrīkārmam” (See under Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya’s Officers). Bhāskaraya is identified by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar with Rāmayamantri Bhāskara (“Sources,” p. 114). If so, he was the paternal uncle of Bhayakkāra Rāmapappayyar (See under Achyutarāya’s Officers). Virabhadrayya is possibly Kumāra-Vīrāya or Kumāra-Vīra-Śrīmaraya of Srirangapatam, mentioned as the father-in-law of Kṛiṣhṇaṇāya (Sewell’s “Forgotten Empire,” page 330). Ayyalaya may be the same as Rāyasam Ayyapparasa, the agent of Koṅḍamarasayya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1913, para 57; and Nos. 97 of 1913 and 209 of 1894).
the fort, demolished the rampart walls, occupied the citadel and captured alive Pratāparudra Gajapatiṛāya's son Virabhadrarāya,1 Kumāra-Hainvtra-Patra's son Naraharidāva, Rāchurī Mullukhān, Uddanīlakhān, Jannāzīl Kaasava-Patra,2 Pāṭana Gāchirī,3 Śrīnātārāja-Lakshmipatirāja,4 Paśchimabālachandra-Mahāpātra and other Pātra-Sāmaṇantu and Maunevāru and granted them their lives. He then proceeded to Dharaśikṛṣa-Amarāśvara and, in the presence of God Amarāśvara on the bank of the Krishnāvat, performed the Tulāpurusha-mahādāna himself and had other mahādānas performed through his queens Chinnājīśvi and Tirumaladāvi and then returned to Vijayanagara. The Sāmkrit verse of No. 620 does not narrate these events but merely records the presentation of a prabhavali. In consonance with the military achievements he gained till then, Krishnārāya assumed the significant bīrudas, Pārra-dakshina-paśchima-samudrādākivara, Yavanarājya-shāpanacārya and Gajapati-oibhada in addition to the merely conventional ones noticed in his Sāmkrita-prakāṣt, viz., Marurāvyara-gaṇḍa, Aripaṇāya-oibhada, Asaṇḍikkurāya-manobhayānkara and Bhāṣagatoppuvarāyara-gaṇḍa.

His Fifth Visit.—For the fifth time Krishnārāya visited Tirupati and paid his respects to God Vākaṭāśa on Friday, the 10th day of Pushya in the cyclic year Dhaṭu, Śaka year 1438 (=2-1-1517 A.C.) (No. 578—T.T.), which happened at the end of his wars against the Gajapati king. It narrates the events of his campaigns up to the performing of the Tulāpurusha-mahādāna at Amarāśvara and returning thence to Vijayanagara, and then continues that Krishnārāya, while ruling, started on a conquering expedition against Kaḷiṅga,4

Note 1:—Virabhadrarāya is stated in “Pāṛjātaḥpaharaṇamam,” Canto I, verse 20, to have been pardoned by Krishnārāya in the battle fought at Koṇḍaviṇḍu.

Note 2:—“Maṭurcharitram,” Canto I, verse 37, mentions Kaśavapātra alone as having been attacked and captured by Krishnārāya.

Note 3:—Pūṣapāṭi Rāchirāja is said to have been the son-in-law of Pratāparudra Gajapati and to have been the governor of the Kēṭavaram fort (“Jirṇa-Karnaṭakarājya-Charitrāmu,” page 110). He was the son of Tammarāja.

Note 4:—This is the expression of Nos. 576, 578 and 580—T.T. It occurs as ‘Śrīnātharāmarāja Lakshmiṭapattirāja’ in No. 579 and ‘Śrīnātharāmarājāvān Lakshmiṭapattirāja’ in No. 619. “Jirṇa-Karnaṭakarājya-Charitrāmu” (page 109) mentions that Lakshmiṭapattirāja was the son of Śrīnātharāja Rāmarāja. This latter compound name is probably divisible into ‘Rāmarāja, the son of Śrīnātharāj.’

Note 5:—“Rāyaścakam” (“Sources,” page 124) and “Krishnārāya-Viṣṇuham” (Canto III, verses 70 and 71) relate that, while passing through the gorges to the conquest of the Gajapati’s territory from Amudānagara, Krishnārāya was attacked by
proceeded to Bejavāda, seized Koḍapalli fortress, captured alive Prahararāja-
śrīraschandra-Mahāpātra, Bōjajana-Mahāpātra, Bījilikhān and others who were
in the fortress, gave them assurance of safety for their lives, and, after
reducing Anantagiri, Uṣṇakṛṣṇa, Urīlagopā, Aruvappali, Jallipali, Kandikopā,
Kappaluvāyi, Nallagonā, Kambhammeṭṭu, Kanakagiri, Śaēkaragiri and other
forts in the Tuluṇu-rāya in a single campaign (in one assault), reached
Simbādri-Poṇṭāru, planted a pillar of victory and performed a mahādāna there,
then returned to Rājamahāndrāvara, had mahādānas performed at the hands
of his queens Chinnavañama and Tirumaladāvamma and then went back to
Vijayanagara. He was present at Tirumala on the above date, paid his
homage to Gcd Tiruvāgajānatāha and gave a koṇḍhamāla (necklace) and a
padakam (pendant) for Him, and also 30,000 varahās for gilding the vimānam
over the sanctum, together with the grant of tolls (sunkamu) from Tirupati
relating to Gōḷagar-nādu (Kuṇḍavūr-nādu) amounting to 1000 varahās to serve
for the expenses of conducting the weekly ablutions (puṇikāpu) and the
taxes known as nityamalavisamāṇu and talārikamāṇārikam from Tirupati
relating to Gōḷagar-nādu amounting to 500 varahās for the morning offerings
of God. Kṛishnārya then returned to Vijayanagara and was ruling.

Indication of Completion of his Kalinga Expedition:—The following
points may be noted from this epigraph. The record brings the Kajjāga
expedition of Kṛishnārya to a close before 2-1-1517 A.C., on which day he
was present at Tirupati. Regarding the capture of Koḍaṅṭī, it merely states
that Kṛishnārya alighted on the Koḍaṅṭī fortress, captured the citadel after
escalading the walls. Again it mentions the Tuluṇu-rūsha-mahādāna alone of
Chittaprahānu who lay with his archers in ambush for him but that he managed to cut off
a number of the archers and drive them off. He then stationed his own men at important
posts and, marching onwards, reached the Kaliṅga capital and encamped himself at
Poṇṭāru-Simhādri (verses 72 and 74).

Note 1:—Sewell mentions that Kṛishnārya here captured a wife and a son of
the king of Orissa. Only one son of the Gajapati is known, viz., Prince Virabhadrā, and,
as already noticed, he was captured at Koḍaṅṭī. “Manucharitra,” Canto III,
verse 142, refers to the conquest of the king of Kaliṅga and the imprisonment of his
queens by Kṛishnārya during his expedition to the north, but the exact place is not given.

Note 2:—These forts form a cluster with Uṇḍrakoṇḍa and Anantaṅtri in the south
(within about 10 miles to the south-west and west respectively of Kēṭavaram), Nallagonā in
the south-west, Jallipallī, Kappaluvāyi and Kandikopā in the north, Aruvappali in the east
just below the Gōḍīvārī river, and Kambhammeṭṭu and Urīlagopā in the middle. Their
positions from Uṇḍrakoṇḍa in the south to Kandikopā in the north range within 55 miles
and from Nallagonā in the south-west to Aruvappali in the north-east to within 140 miles.
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Kṛṣṇaṁśrīya at Dharaṇikṣa-Āmarāśvara and omits the mahādānas of his two queens at that place noted in No. 579 above. It clearly states that Kṛṣṇaṁśrīya after returning to Vijayanagara from Amārāśvara and attending to administration, started on his Kaḍaṇga expedition (Kaḍaṇgakaḍa-dīgviṣaṇya) and directly reached Bejāvāṇa. After capturing the forts in the Telugu country and planting a pillar of victory at Siṃbāḍri-Poṇṭuru, Kṛṣṇaṁśrīya is said to have ‘returned’ to Rājamahāndrāsvara (from Siṃbāḍri) and, after performing certain mahādānas there through his queens, reached Vijayanagara.

His Gilding the Divya-Vimana:—The next record No. 576—T.T. of Kṛṣṇaṁśrīya’s charity at Tirumala is dated on Thursday combined with Svāṭi, being the 5th lunar day in the bright fortnight of the Tamil month of Kanya in the cyclic year Bahudhānya, śaka 1440 (=9-9-1518 A.C.), and registers that he had the Divya-vimana of Tiruvāṅkaṭamadīyan gilded with gold, after returning to Vijayanagara from Rajahmandry. This inscription No. 576—T.T. is preceded by an introduction in Tamil which recapitulates the events of his campaigns against the Gajapati in terms identical with those of No. 578 noticed above. During his last visit on 2-1-1517 A.C. Kṛṣṇaṁśrīya paid 30,000 varākās for gilding the vimānam and the gilding was completed by 9-9-1518 A.C. This gilding is also recorded in Telugu in No. 577—T.T. which purports to be a summary of No. 576—T.T. in Tamil.

His Sixth Visit:—We are informed in No. 697 of 1922 from Kamalapuram in the Bellary district that Kṛṣṇaṁśrīya visited the temple of Tiruvāṅkaṭamadīha with his senior queen Tirumaladāvi in śaka 1440, Bahudhānya, i.e., on 16th October 1518 A. C., only within five weeks after the gilding of the vimānam, and granted some land for the merit of (Prince) Tirumalarāśra Mahāṛāśa, that is to say, for the prosperity of his new-born son in the very year of his birth (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 79, page 119). He must have felt himself greatly blest on the birth of the son and so hastened to offer his adoration at the feet of his Patron-God Tiruvāṅkaṭamadīha and invoke His blessings for the health and prosperity of the babe. But unfortunately

Note 1:—This is the fourth occasion on which this Ananda-Divya-Vimāna of Ārya Vāṅkaṭamadīva’s temple at Tirumala was gilded with gold. It had been previously done by Jagāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (No. 172—T.T.), Sālava Mahāḍīva Mahāṛāśa (Nos. 237 and 239—T.T.) and Amāśaṭākharā Mallaṇa (No. 235—T.T.). It was later on repeated twice, once by Kṛṣṇaṅkaṭaṭa Tāṭachārya of Kaṭach (No. 354 of 1919) during the time of Vāṅkaṭa I, and again by the late Adhikārī Rāmalakshmanadāsa Bāvīji, a brother disciple of His Holiness Ārya Mahāṇ Prayāgaṅdāji, the present Vīḍādhaṅkara of the Dvēśṭhānaṁ, in 1909 A.C. (No. 242—T.T.).

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his happiness in this respect was cut off after six years only when this Prince Tirumalaraya breathed his last ("Forgotten Empire," page 359; and S. I. L., Vol. V, p. 383, No. 1004).

His Seventh Visit:—For the seventh and the last time Krishnaraya visited Tirumala and paid his obeisance to God Tiruvagathanatha on Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of the Telugu month of Phalguna in the Vikrama year, Saka 1442 (= 17-3-1521 A.C.), and had by himself presented a prāṇam set with the nine kinds of gems, a capa (kuḷāvum) with pearls, diamonds, emeralds and sapphires embedded into it, two fly-whisks set with the nine kinds of gems, a padakam and 10,000 varahās; and a navaratna-padakam through his queen Tirumaladevamma. These gifts of Krishnaraya and his queen are also recorded in No. 578—T.T. as their charity subsequent to his gift of 30,000 varahās towards the gilding of the vimānam. There are four other epigraphs registering these gifts of the king and the queen on this date, Nos. 301 and 594—T.T. in Kānarese, No. 302—T.T. in Tamil and No. 586—T.T. in Telugu language and Nandi-Nāgari characters, but all these four lack the detailed narration of the wars with the Gajapati which No. 578 gives us.

His Gifts to Vyāsatirtha:—The last time that we come across Krishnaraya’s charity at Tirumala is in Saka 1445, Svabhānu, on Tuesday combined with the star Āvini, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the Tamil month Makara (= 12th January 1524 A.C.) (No. 246—T.T.). This inscription registers the transference of two houses and house-sites at Tirumala and Tirupati by the Śīhanātīr of Tirumala to the Mādhva teacher Śrīmat Vyāsatirtha-Śrīpāda-Uḍāiyar, together with the issue of certain prasādams from the temple which Krishnaraya arranged for being offered through the grant of the puroṣṭam of the Purāṇa—tirunan and the proceeds of half the village of Kaṇāikāṇānūṇai situated in Uḻ-maṇḍalam and of the full villages of Tāḷḷapākkam, Pirāṭam, Dārattār, Muṇiyār, Chatravāḍī and Tūṇaiyar, all situated in Purā—maṇḍalam. It appears from the inscription that with the donor’s quarter share of the offered prasādam was maintained a satram where Brāhmaṇas were fed (page 159 ante), and that later on Krishnaraya ordered the issue of a part of the donor’s share to Vyāsatirtha for distribution in his Maṭhas, which were

Notes 1:—Probably this cap now presented to God resembled his own “cap of brocade in fashion like a Gallician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk,” which Pass relates that Kṛishnaraṇa wore when he gave audience to the Portuguese (“Forgotten Empire,” page 252). In his statue at Tirumala he is represented to put on a long cap or crown.
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required to be constructed on the site of the houses now given to him. A portion of the site now granted to the spiritual teacher was originally the property of one Nambi (temple-priest) Sigrappayan on whose misappropriation of some temple-jewels the house was confiscated to the temple-treasury by Narasimharāya Mahārāya, i.e., Sañuva Narasimha. Of the villages mentioned above, Dārattār, Charlievādi and Tugaiyār are observed to have been granted by Krishnarāya on 13–6–1513 A.C. (Nos. 330 and 459—T.T.), Tājapākam on 6–7–1514 A.C. (Nos. 201, 254 and 256—T.T.), Muñiyār on the latter date by Chinnājīdāvi (Nos. 202, 257 and 262—T.T.) and Pirāgam, possibly Pirāgī-
kulattār, by Tirumaladāvi (Nos. 203, 255 and 261—T.T.). Kaññikātānanpādi occurs in no other inscription, while Karakampāvāi or Karakanambāgu noticed in Nos. 330 and 459—T.T. is not included in the above list in No. 246—T. T. Probably these terms are variants of Kaññikātānanpādi of No. 246—T.T.

The Period of his Reign:—Krishnarāya's earliest date in our collection is that of his first visit, i.e., 10th February 1513, which is about three years and a half subsequent to his accession to the Vijayanagara throne. The nearest date to his accession is furnished by No. 703 of 1919 from Gulya in the Alur taluk of the Bellary district, viz., śaka 1430, śukla, Śrāvaṇa śu. 10, Thursday, which is equivalent to the 26th July 1509 A.C. This date is by a half-year anterior to śaka 1430, śukla, Māgha śu. 14, equivalent to 23rd January 1510 A.C., being the date of the two Hampe records of Krishnarāya referring to his coronation (Nos. 29 and 30 of 1889; S.I., Vol. IV, No. 259), and may be considered as the earliest date for him, in comparison with the latest known date of his elder brother and predecessor Vira-Narasimha quoted in No. 342 of 1892 from Tadpatri, to wit, śaka 1431, śukla, Varadāka śu. 15, Friday, which is equivalent to 4th May 1509 A.C. Between these two dates there is only a narrow interval of a little less than three months from May to July, during which period Vira-Narasimha might have deceased and Krishnarāya occupied the throne. Similarly the latest date of our inscriptions for him do not carry us beyond śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (=April 1528 A.C.) (No. 27—G.T.), which is almost two years earlier than still later dates found elsewhere. One such date, viz., śaka 1451, Virodhī, Māgha śu. 11, corresponding to 9th January 1530, is given in No. 216 of 1913 from Yalpi in the Bellary district, which, under the introduction of Krishnarāya Mahārāya, registers the charity of a certain Timmarasa made 'for the merit of king Achyutarāya-Mahārāya.' The dual kingship indicated in this record is of particular interest in so far as it shows us the continuation of Krishnarāya's reign at that time with the
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region. The 'state business' at Śivasamudram¹ concerned itself with the expulsion of Parvata-Rāhuttar or Tirumala Rautarāya from the Māl-nāgu and the suppression of the rebellious Ummattār chiefs who had their capital at Śivasamudram and who, with the title of Penugōṇḍachakrīvara, presumed themselves to flout the authority of Vīra-Narasimha, the elder brother and predecessor of Krishṇarāya, on the throne of Vijayanagara (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1914, para 30). In this southern campaign, therefore, in the course of his military expedition undertaken nearly two years and a half after his accession to the throne, Krishṇarāya drove back the Gajapati's officers from the Māl-nāgu and other nāgas of the Koṅgu-maddalam, reduced to submission Gaṅgarāja of Ummattār and the Ikkarī chief Saṅkula-Nāyaka,² and continued his military progress through the kingdom in 1513 A.C., repressing the risings of the recalcitrant chiefs and collecting contingents for his future campaigns, as well as garrisoning the important military outposts such as Adoni, Mudkal and Raichur³ on the borders of the Bijapur State. This completed, Krishṇarāya started from his capital on his war against the Gajapati sometime after the date of his Sankalapuram inscription, i.e., the earliest in the last quarter of 1513 A.C.

His Eastern Expedition and Capture of Udayagiri in its First Campaign —Since the trilingual records of Conjeevaram (Nos. 478, 510, 513 and 569 of 1919), though dated in Śaka 1436, Bhāva (=31st May 1514 A.C.), nearly six months after Krishṇarāya started on his 'eastern expedition' against the Gajapati, do not make any reference to his war, it is presumable that his first campaign in the north had not ended by the above date and no military success worth recording had been achieved so far. Consequently the Udayagiri inscription, No. 203 of 1892 dated on the 2nd day of the dark

Note 1:—See note 2 on page 160 ante. Timmakavi in his “Pārijatāpaharamam” mentions that Krishṇarāya destroyed the forts of Ummattūr and Śivasamudra (Canto II, verse 103), and that he caused the waters of the Kāvērī to flow red with the blood of the enemy kings (Canto I, verse 18), probably meaning Krishṇarāya's slaying the army of the Ummattūr chief.

Note 2:—See note 1 on page 158 ante. Vide also “Krishṇarāya-Vijayamu,” Canto III, verses 6-9; “Jirpa-Karpāṭakarājya-Charitramu” in Telugu, pages 102-103; and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar’s “Krishna Deva Raya,” pages 5 and 9.

Note 3:—“Rāyavāṭhakamu” clots Adanāki with these forts (“Sources of Vijayanagar History,” page 118), but its capture on this occasion seems very unlikely for the double reason of its distant situation in the farthest east whither Krishṇarāya would not have ventured at this time, and of its capture later on immediately after the reduction of Udayagiri.
fortnight of Jyēṣṭha in the cyclic year Bhāva, Śaka 1436 (=Friday, 9th June 1514 A.C.), which "records that Kṛishṇarāya made a gift to the temple after his return from the conquest of Pratāparudra whom he had pursued as far as Koṇḍaviśā" must be the earliest in date, immediately following the capture of the fortress of Udayagiri, to refer to the first military campaign of Kṛishṇarāya against the Gajapati. The capture of Udayagiri was effected within nine days after the date of the Conjeevaram trilingual records and the date of its capture, i.e., 9th June 1514 A.C., is by about a month anterior to the 6th of July 1514 A.C. (Śaka 1436, Bhāva), the date of the Tirumala (Tirupati) trilingual inscriptions (Nos. 201, 254 and 256—T.T. of the present collection) (Nos. 53, 54 and 55 of 1889) which "vividly describe how Kṛishṇarāya "started on a military expedition against Pratāparudra Gajapati, crushed and pierced (i.e. drove) him as far as Koṇḍaviśā, took possession of the fortress of Udayagiri and on his way back to the capital of Vijayanagara went up to the top of the Tirumalai hill, paid homage to the lord Veṅkaṭanātha, had him bathed in gold (kanakābhīshaka) with 30,000 gold pieces (varāhans) and presented a triple-stringed necklace and a pair of gold-bangles of very high value set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz,"' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 176) (See page 159 ante).

Duration of His Udayagiri Campaign:—After this visit to Tirumala, Kṛishṇarāya proceeded to his capital Vijayanagara, as indicated in these Tirumala trilingual inscriptions as well as in the Udayagiri No. 37 of the "Nellore Inscriptions." It is after an interval of more than seven months that we find him consecrating and installing in the Kṛiṣṇa temple at Hampe the image of Bāla-Kṛiṣṇa which he had very carefully brought from his victorious expedition against Udayagiri, at the end of the same Śaka year 1436, Bhāva, on the 16th of February 1515 A.C., when he made a present of valuable jewels and a gift of nine villages (Nos. 25 and 26 of 1899 and No. 498 of 1907; also Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 176). Thus the capture of the Udayagiri fortress, which was the main event of Kṛiṣṇarāya's first campaign in the north took place within nine days of the date of the Conjeevaram trilingual inscriptions, i.e., 31st May 1514 A.C., and nearly a month before the date of the Tirumala trilingual inscriptions, i.e., 6th July 1514 A.C. That is to say, it occurred on the 9th June 1514 A.C. and only twenty-six days elapsed between Kṛiṣṇarāya's capture of Udayagiri and his visit to Tirumala. The statement of Nuniz ("Forgotten Empire," page 316) that Kṛiṣṇarāya "laid siege to it for a year and a half," for the purpose, as it appears, of contriving
“Many paths across rocky hills, breaking up many great boulders in order to
make a road for his soldiers to approach the towers of the fortress,” because
the place at this time was so strong that they could not approach it except by
one way which was so narrow that men could only pass along it one at a time;
and in this place he made a broad road, and many others also, so that he could
come close to the fortress,” and “because it could not be taken except by (its
inmates) being starved out,” cannot command our acceptance of it, since the
indigenous sources of information, e.g., our inscription No. 579—T. T.,
attribute the above narrated processes of reduction to the Koṇḍavīḍu fortress
in these terms, Koṇḍavīḍu durgam mindamu viśi, durgam chimu koṇḍacakappa-
rālu petti, ālu pagachośchiti, durgamunu pāṭaproni, all these contrivances
involving much labour and time, and not to the Udayagiri fortress whose
capture they refer to as a matter of a little effort, Udayagiri durgamunu
sadhāchiti. And Nuniz himself says of Koṇḍavīḍu that Sāluva Timma occupied
only ‘two months besieging it; and he took it.’ Though the capture of the
Udayagiri fortress might have prolonged for some time as indicated in the
“Krīṣṇarāya—Viṣayamu” (Canto III, verses 57—60), altogether the Udayagiri
campaign itself did not extend beyond nine months at the most from the 20th
September 1513 when Krīṣṇarāya is reported to have been staying at his
capital, apparently before starting on his ‘eastern expedition,’ upto the 9th
June 1514 when the fort was actually taken by him.

Seizure of the Gajapati’s Forts in Utkala:—The epigraphs from
Udayagiri, Tirumala and Hampe noticed above, all of them dated in Śaka 1436,
Bhāva, though they mention the pursuit of the Gajapati and the capture of
Udayagiri by Krīṣṇarāya, fail to record the capture of Raṅgarāya-Mahāpātra,
the governor of Udayagiri under Pratāparudra Gajapati, and the reduction
‘in a single expedition, of the forts of Addaśī, Vinikopa, Belaśīkmopa,
Nāgarjunikopa, Taṅgopa, Kutvaram and other forts on hills and plains’—
events which are found recorded in Krīṣṇarāya’s inscriptions of Śaka 1437
and later. It is therefore certain that, by the date of the Hampe inscriptions
(Nos. 25 and 26 of 1889), these forts (situated to the north of Udayagiri in the
modern districts of Nellore and Guntur) had not been seized, as that of
Udayagiri (in the Nellore district) had been, prior to that date by Krīṣṇarāya
personally, and that their subjugation came later. It must have taken place
after the capture of Udayagiri in June 1514, in the interval of four months
between the setting up of Bāla-Krīṣṇa at Hampe on the 16th February 1513
and the capture of Koṇḍavīḍu (in the Guntur district about 120 miles further
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-north of Udayagiri) on the 23rd June 1515 A.C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1903, para 16), through the efforts, it is said, of his able minister Sāluva Timma (Nos. 255 and 257 of 1892; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pages 108-133).

Capture of Konadavidu with its Generals in the Second Campaign:—Having reduced the fortress of Koḍavīṭu in June 1515 during his second campaign, within a day and a half as per the statement of the “Rāya-vāchakamu” or ‘after a two months’ siege’ as Sewell mentions in his “Forgotten Empire” (page 131), Krishārarāya therein captured alive Pratāparudra Gajapatirāya’s son Virabhadrarāya,1 Kumāra-Hamvīrārāya’s son Narasādava or Naraharidēva, Rāchar Mālukhnān and Uddāṣakhnān, Janyālā Kasavāpātra, Pūsapāti Rācharāja, Śrīnātharāja Lakshmīpatirāja, Paśchima Bālachandra-Mahāpātra, and other Pātra-Sāmantis (feudatory princes) and Mannevāru (hill-chieftsains) of the Gajapati king, gave them assurance of safety, and at the close of this second campaign performed the Tulāpurusha ceremony in the Amarāvāra temple at Dharaśikōṭa, returned to Vijayanagara and ruled for a time (No. 576—T.T.). The Amaravati inscriptions (Nos. 266 and 272 of 1897) dated in śaka 1437, Yuva, (=8th July 1515 A.C.),—just a fortnight after the reduction of Koḍavīṭu on 23rd June 1515 A.C.—which “refer to the capture of Virabhadra, the seizing of Koḍavīṭu and the performing of Tulāpurusha at Amarāvati,” must be the earliest dated records to mention these events and their date is immediately anterior to that of the Śrīraṣilam inscription (No. 18 of 1915), namely, śaka 1438, Yuva (=25 July 1515 A.C.), which states that Krishārarāya, after making gifts at Amarāvāra, went to Śrīparvata (Śrīraṣil) and granted two villages to the temple.

Commencement of His Kalinga Expedition:—But both of them make no reference at all to the Kaliyag expedition of Krishārarāya which is mentioned in No. 64 of 1915 from Ahōbalam (dated five months later) whose shrine Krishārarāya is reported to have visited during his campaign against

Note 1:—Krishārarāya mentions in his “Āmuktamālīyada” (Canto II, verse 101) the capture of the generals of the Gajapati’s son Virabhadra both at Koḍavīṭu and Pūrvādrī (Udayagiri); and Peddana in his “Manucharitramu” (Canto I, verse 46) refers to the capture of the son of the Kaliṅgarāja, i.e., Virabhadra himself, quite easily in half a second.

Note 2:—“Krishārarāya-Vijayamu” (Canto III, verses 84-94) names fifteen out of the sixteen Pūtris summoned by the Gajapati for a council of war, when Krishārarāya pitched his camp at Poṭṇurisimhādrī (verse 74); but none of them is identifiable with those Pūtris reported in lithic and other records to have been captured by Krishārarāya at Koḍavīṭu and Koḍlapalli.
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Kaliyga. Kṛṣṇarāya's march against Kaliyga must have therefore been undertaken just a few days before his visit to Ahōbalam on the 21st of December 1515 A.C. (Śaka 1438, Yuva), and continued towards Bezvada which he probably reached before the middle of January 1516 A.C. He had therefore a very short respite of about six months only between his seizing the Kopaḷīḍha fortress and capturing Virabhadrarāya and other Pātra-Sāmantas in June 1515 A.C. and setting out on his third campaign against the Gajapati king into the Kaliyga country about the middle of December 1515 from his capital, from which he covered a distance of about 350 miles to Bezvada in about 25 days through rapid march.

Completion of the Kalinga Expedition:—Having proceeded to Bezvada, he took the fort of Konaḍapalli, captured alive Praharārāja-Sirāchandra-Mahāpātra, Bṛṣajana-Mahāpātra, Bijilikhān and others who collected

Note 1:—"Āmuktamālyada, Canto I, verse 11 relates that Kṛṣṇarāya halted at Viṣṇuvaḍa, i.e., Bezvada, for a few days, in the course of his Kaliyga expedition and from there visited God Andhra-Madhumathana, i.e., Andhra-Vishnu, abiding at Śrīkākulam, where he fasted in His contemplation on the Harivāsara or Ḍādalī day during the fourth quarter of which night that God Andhra-Jalajākha appeared to him in his dream, and directed him to compose a Telugu work and dedicate it to Viṣṇu who is identical with Himself. The Ḍādalī in the bright fortnight of the Telugu month Māgha, which was then current, fell on Tuesday, the 15th January 1516 and in the dark fortnight of the same month on Tuesday, the 29th January. The expressions in the Telugu work imply that Kṛṣṇarāya spent a few days at Bezvada prior to the observance of the Harivāsara at Śrīkākulam. After the Harivāsaraṇāsaras he must have started for the siege of Konaḍapalli, which was reduced and clubbed along with its surrounding territory with the Kopaḷīḍha province through an edict set up under orders of the king by Rāyaam Konaḍamarassayya,' recorded in No. 325 of 1919 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. from Bezvada, dated in Śaka 1438, Yuva, Phālguṇa 6u. 5, Thursday, equivalent to 7th February 1516 A.C. Though the reduction of the Konaḍapalli fortress might not have prolonged for a number of days, the occupation of the adjoining territory might have required some day's work for him. On the whole the time between the Harivāsaram day and the date of the Bezvada edict is in the one case twenty-three days for the bright half of Māgha and in the other case nine days only for the dark half of the month. However, it seems quite likely that, after his visit to Ahōbalam on 21st December 1515 A.C., he reached Bezvada within three weeks, spent a few days there in reconnoitring the country round about, observed the Harivāsaraṇāsaras at Śrīkākulam in the earlier fortnight of Māgha on the 15th January 1516 A.C. and then started for the siege of Konaḍapalli.

Note 2:—This Praharārāja-Sirāchandra-Mahāpātra must be identical with Pātra-Praharāḍvara mentioned by Kṛṣṇarāya in his "Āmuktamālyada," Canto III, verse 93, as having been captured alive by him at Konaḍapalli along with other chiefs of the Utkala king, i.e., the Gajapati. The commentator of the "Āmuktamālyada," however, wrongly identifies the younger paternal uncle (pitrīya) of Pratāparudra Gajapati, whose diadem
together within the fort and defended it against his attack, granted them their lives, seized in a single attack Anantagiri, Uḍḍrakoṇḍa, Urlagōṇḍa, Arupavalli, Jallipalli, Kandikoṇḍa, Kappaluvāyī, Nallamakoṇḍa, Kambhammeṭṭu, Kanakagiri, Śaṅkaragiri and other fortresses in the Teluguśa-ṛājya, set up a pillar of victory to the north of Simhāḍri-Pōttanāru, and, having made great donations there, returned to Rājamaḥandrāvāra, and, after performing at the place a number of mahādānas through his two queens Chinnājitāvāmma and Tirumala-dāvamma who had accompanied him in his expedition, reached his capital Vijayanagara (No. 576—T.T.). The Simhāchalam inscriptions (Nos. 243 and 245 of 1899) dated in śaka 1438, Dhātu (=29th March 1516 A.C.), summarily recount the military deeds of Krīṣṇarāya and state that he presented a number of ornaments by himself and through his two queens on the above date to the God thereat.

**Duration of the Kalinga Expedition:** —Koṇḍapalli fortress seems to have fallen early during its siege and the country round about was then clubbed with the province of Koṇḍavīṭu and their government organised and placed under Rāyasam Koṇḍamaraśayya, its first governor, who issued an

Krīṣṇarāya is stated to have kicked with his foot at Udayagiri, with this Praharēvāra (Canto I, verse 89) who took his stand only at Koṇḍapalli. From the Udayagiri Nos. 37, 38, 40 and 41 of the “Nellore Inscriptions,” it is evident that this younger paternal uncle (pinatalyāvi in Telugu and Chikkaṭta in Kanarese) of the Gaṇapati was Tirumala Kautarāya who was the governor of the Udayagiri fortress, when it was seized by Krīṣṇarāya along with him on the 9th June 1514 A.C. (See note 2 on page 160 ante).

**Note 1:** —“Krīṣṇarāya-Vijayanū” (Canto II, verse 136) narrates that, when once the Gaṇapati king proceeded to the Gōḍāvari for a bath, a host of the Paḍeśāyavirula (the Muḥammadāṇas) attacked the king at Kanikoṇḍa, and that only four Kṛhaṭvijaya-Pāstra gallantly put them to rout and slew them. It therefore appears that this Kanikoṇḍa or Kanigiri must be somewhere adjacent to the Gōḍāvari beside the cluster of forts reduced by Krīṣṇarāya, and identical with this Kanakagiri of the inscriptions. (Cf. Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 179, note 5).

**Note 2:** —“Manucharitramu” (Canto II, verse 79) states that Krīṣṇarāya seized several towns of the Utkala king situated in the land lying between the Kṛṣṇpā and Gautami (Gōḍāvari), and these must evidently refer to the above forts as well as those taken during the last campaign, viz., Addāṅki, Vinukopoṇḍa, etc., which are almost all of them situated in the Utkala or the Vēṅgi country bounded by the two rivers.

**Note 3:** —This planting of the pillar of victory is recorded by Krīṣṇarāya himself in his “Āmuktamālyada,” Canto IV, verse 289; in “Manucharitramu,” Canto I, verse 39; in “Krīṣṇarāya-Vijayanū,” Canto III, verse 112; and in “Rāyavācakānumu” (“Sources of Vijayanagar History,” page 125).
edict under the orders of Krisha\r\n\raya with reference to these two\sm\nsubjugated provinces. No. 325 of 1919 from Bezwada which refers to this edict is dated on the 7th February 1516 A.C. (\saka 1438, Yu\va), and hence the capture of the fort of Ko\d\apalli, the subjugation of the province and the settlement of government must have taken place prior to that date, i.e., at the beginning of February 1516 A.C. The siege of Ko\d\apalli did not occupy three months, as Sewell says in his "Forgotten Empire" (page 131), for we see that it was taken within three weeks' time after his fast at \sirkakulam on the 15th January (See note 1 on page 174 ante). The war with the Gajapati and the capture of the other forts enumerated might have been accomplished before the date of the above edict, namely, the 7th February 1516 A.C., and must have been completed, at any rate, before the date of the Simh\achalam epigraph which registers Krisha\r\raya's visit to God Simh\drin\tha on the 29th March 1516 A.C., after capturing Udayagiri, Ko\d\apalli, Ko\d\apalli, Rajama\andr\varaa, and other forts during his eastern expedition. This summary of the events is significant in that it refers to Krisha\r\raya's capture of Rajama\andr\varaa before proceeding to Simh\dr, while other records relate that he "returned" to Rajama\andr\varaa after visiting Simh\dr and planting a pillar of victory at Simh\dr-Po\mun\ru. From this epigraph it appears that Krisha\r\raya first captured Rajahmandry, thence proceeded to Simh\dr and from there went back to Rajahmandry where he had through his two queens performed certain m\h\da\nas and finally returned to his capital city of Vijayanagara. This double halt at Rajahmandry is borne out by the expression "having returned" in the other inscriptions, intended to indicate Krisha\r\raya's return journey from Simh\achalam to Rajahmandry. It does not appear that Krisha\r\raya halted at Rajahmandry on the second occasion for a period of six months, as Sewell mentions, but only for three months, if at all, until the end of June; and he might have been during this period engaged in settling the government of these newly acquired territories. For he must have reached his capital at the latest sometime prior to the 29th of June 1516 A.C., the date of the Kanekkal (Bellary) inscription (No. 457 of 1923) which records his grant of certain dw\varaya and brahma\varaya lands from the bank of the Tu\g\bad\r in the presence of God Vir\p\ka on the occasion of the Karka\ka-Sim\r\nti which occurred on the above date. The return to the

Note 1:—Probably there is an implication of the union of these two provinces in Peddana's expression of address to Krisha\r\raya, viz., Ko\d\apalli-Ko\d\v\iiti-may\diya ("Manuchariliramu," Canto III, verse 144).
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capital is indicative of the close of the war with the Gajapati which Krishnaraya waged for nearly two years and a quarter from about the end of the year 1513 to March 1516 A.C., deducting his three months’ halt at Rajahmundry, and through which in three campaigns he reduced Prataparudra to submission, and assumed the biruda “Gajapativibhaja,” having robbed him of the seven emblems of royalty (“Gajapati-saptāṅghaharaṇa”).

His Burning the Gajapati’s Capital Katakampurī:—No. 824 of 1922 from Kommuru in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district, dated in śaka 1438, Dhātu, (=12th March 1517 A.C.), incidentally mentions that Krishnaraya accomplished his conquest of the Kāligā country as far north as Kaṭaka (i.e. Cuttack in Orissa). It is therefore certain that Krishnaraya’s march against Kaṭaka had taken place prior to the above date, whether it formed an integral part of his Kāligā expedition or a sequel to it. But the accounts furnished by the Telugu-kavyas,—namely, “Manucharitramu” that Krishnaraya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar (of victory at Poṭṭunāru) but went further north, even, into the interior of the Gajapati’s dominions, devastated the country of Oḍḍādi and burnt his capital town of Kaṭaka (i.e. Cuttack)—(Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, pages 179-180), and “Pārijātāpśaraṇāmu” that from the subjugation and devastation of the forts of Udayagiri, Vinukonda, Kondavidu, Bellamkonda, Velupukonda, Jallipalle, Anantagiri and Kambambumelū, the king of Utkala, i.e., the Gajapati, daily feared that the forces of Krishnaraya might ever march against Kaṭakamu and bury it deep in the

Note 1:—It is to be doubted if “the country of Oḍḍādi” was actually “devastated” and Katakampuri “burnt,” for Peddana describes the military career of his patron king in hyperbolical language in the manner of a poet comparing the king’s “valour” to “fire” (pratāpāyin). But there can be no doubt as to the capture of the towns of Oḍḍādi and Kāṭakamu by Krishnaraya, after the reduction, one after another, of Udayādri, Kondavidu with Kasavaipatī in it, Jammilīya, Vēgi, Kōna, Kottāmū, Kanakagiri, Gautami or Gōdāvari, Poṭṭunāru and Māleccionu (Canto I, verse 37)—the bare events that come to light when the figurative language is dispensed with.

Vide also “Manucharitramu,” Canto II, verse 70 for a further reference to Krishnaraya’s capture of the Gajapati’s towns in Utkala; and Canto VI, verse 123, for a reference to the Gajapati’s capital city being Kāṭaka. From the mention of the Gajapati’s palace at Siṁhādṛī both in the “Rāvaṇāčakamamu” (“Sources,” page 123) and “Krishnarāya-Vijayamgu” (Canto III, verse 113; and Canto IV, verses 18, 19, 23, 31, 72 and 74), wherein the Gajapati is stated to have celebrated his daughter’s marriage with Krishnaraya (Canto IV, verses 113-137), it appears that Siṁhādṛī too formed the Gajapati’s other capital, perhaps a secondary one with the primary position at Kāṭaka or Katakampuri (Cuttack) on the Mahānadi.
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ground,—suggest that Krishnaraya's march to Kaṭakamu and his burning the town happened during his expedition against Kaliṅga which ended in March 1516 with his visit to Simhachalam and the planting of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭūr. It is not quite likely that the devastation of the town Oḍḍādi and setting fire to Kaṭakapuri were undertaken in a separate campaign subsequent to Krishnaraya's return to his capital in June 1516, since these could have been accomplished during his three months' halt at Rajahmandry from March 1516, if not effected earlier. At any rate, it is certain that it was not undertaken in 1517 after Krishnaraya returned to his capital from his religious tour in the south. The inference drawn from the inscriptions at Kalahasti, Chidambaram, Tiruvannamalai and in particular from that at Simhachalam, that Krishnaraya "must have started again on a fresh campaign against Gajapati," after making "charities on a very large scale in almost every Śiva and Viṣṇu temple in the Čhōla-mañḍalam" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 180), is not tenable in the light of the facts furnished by the epigraphs recording his charities at some of the important religious centres in South India during his pilgrimage tour.

His Religious Tour to Kumbhakonam for Mahamakha Festival at the End of Saka 1439:—His religious tour¹ undertaken with the main object

NOTE 1:—"Rāyavāchakam" ("Sources," pages 125-129) narrates that Krishnaraya started on his pilgrimage tour in his own kingdom straight from Śimhādri, without returning to his capital, and proceeded first to Tirupati. Meanwhile he had finished his conquest of the Gajapati's kingdom, planted a pillar of victory at Poṭṭūr-Śimhādri and restored the conquered country to Pratāpāruda who in gratitude gave him his daughter in marriage and conferred on her as dowry his territory lying south of the Śimhabā. On his way he received in audience the three Dvaitārī (chiefs) of Golakupā, Vījayapura and Ahamudhānagaram and accepted their allegiance and, turning towards Kaḷabarīge, seized its fort along with its chief and his cavalry, placed Gujjari Kalyānārāvu in its charge and reached Tirupati. Here he paid his offerings of money and jewels to God Kaḷyāna-Veṇkaṭāvara abiding with his consort Alambūmaṅga, performed all the abhishekas in His presence and fixed, beside the entrance gate of the temple, copper-cast statues of himself and his two queens Tirumaladēvi and Chinnadēvi on either side of him, all standing with joined palms in a worshipping attitude, having consecrated these statues with the presence of the processional image of Śri Veṇkaṭā. He next visited Śri Kaḷahastīvara at Kalahasti where he granted villages to the deity, repeated the abhishekas and constructed numerous satrams. This visit to Kalahasti is stated to have occurred in Śrīmukha, Āsvayuja 60. 12, equivalent to the 11th October 1513 A.C., falling within the period of preparation for the Gajapati war and not after their completion. After visiting God Vandalīvara, he passed through Alagaruḍī (Alangarkoṭi or Tirumalirunjolai near Madura) to Madura where he halted for three days and then reached Śrīvalliputṭūr,
of attending the Mahāmakhā festival at Kumbhakonam does not appear to have been a comprehensive one, though extensive. It commenced early in

at which place he presented jewels and a lākh of mūdās for the excavation and construction of a tank with a central maṇḍapam in it. Next visiting in order Karuvalanilūr, Śaṅkarānārayana temple (Sankaranarayananarkoyil), Dakshīna-Kēsi (Tenkasi), Trikṣṭāchala (Kurīlīam), Agastayarpavata (Podiyil Hill), Gajendramokāha, Śīlavāparu (Tiraneely), Tōtādri (Vānāmālai), Kuruṅgudī (Tirukkurungudi), Kanyākumāri (Cape Comorin), Śīrkaṇḍāru (Tiruchendur), Nava-Tirupati (near-Alvar-Tirunagari) and Ādi-Sētvu (Ramesvaram), he crossed the sea in barges to Dhanushkōṭi, washed his bloody sword, performed the Śivaṇāma, a Tūlāpurusha-dūnam and other dūnas, worshipped the deities, bathed in the twenty-four tirthas, fed a crore of Brahmānas, performed three Tulas in the presence of God, presented several gem-set jewels to the Goddess, stayed for three nights, bathed in the Kōṭi-tirtha and commenced his return journey after obtaining the permission of the deity. He proceeded to Gōkarpā, thence to Śirēraṅgappāṭam (Srirangapatam) and reached Vidyānagara, his capital city, in a propitious moment. There he worshipped the Gods Viṣṇu and Virūpākṣa, offered kīnakas and jewels to them, entered the city, and in an auspicious hour held a full dākhar attended by all the royal relations in which he seated Appāji on a jewelled carpet, performed a Rāmākhīṅkha and a Sīvarākhīṅkha for him, presented him with valuable cloths, jewels and ornaments, and honoured other officers also suitably and, seating them all on elephants, despatched them home.

"Krishnaraya-Vijayavama" relates that Krishnaraya, having conquered the Gajapati's country, restored it back to him, married his daughter Tukkhā, and receiving the territory lying south of the Kṛishṇa as a present (arāṇaṇa) to him as the Gajapati's son-in-law, commenced his return journey with the object of a pilgrimage to the prominent shrines in his own kingdom (Canto IV, verse 140) during which he captured the fort of Kalbaragi. He visited Śrīalāla, Kēlahasti, Chidambaram and other Śivasthales, Śīrāṅga, Kānckā, Śīlaṅkha (Tirupati) and other Viṣṇusthales, the Sea, the rivers TāmAhārṇi, Kēvērī and other famous tirthas, the aghārāras lying in the Chōla, Kērala, Pāṇḍyā and other provinces within his sway, augmented the festivals in temples and then returned to Vijayanagara as from a victorious tour (digavijaya) to the embarrassment of the chiefs of Vijayapuri (Bijapūr) and Gōlakōṭa. He ruled his empire, accepting the dedication of Prasēka-Kūrvaṇa, such as the "Manucharitravama."

Both the accounts agree in mentioning the restoration of the Gajapati's kingdom, the marriage of Krishnarāya with the Gajapati's daughter, the receipt of the portion of the original Gajapati's territory lying south of the Kṛishṇa river, the acceptance of allegiance from the three Sultans, and the completion, before returning to his capital, of his extensive tour of Bhūpradakṣhinam during which he washed his blood-stained sword at Dhanushkōṭi and performed three Tūlābāras at that sacred place. At the same time they do not make any reference to Kumbhakonam and the Mahāmakhā festival there at which the king was present as reported in the inscriptions. However from the sequence of events that are detailed in both the literary works as well as the līthīc records, it is certain that Krishnaraya's pilgrimage in South India comprised also his visit to Kumbhakonam on the occasion of the Mahāmakhā festival which occurred on the 6th February 1517 A.C., and that, after attending it, he passed through Alagarcoyil, Madura, Sṛvīlīputtura and other places to Ramesvaram and thence through Srirangapatam and
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January 1517 during which month he passed through Tirupati on its 2nd day (Nos. 628 and 628-A of 1904; and No. 578—T.T. of our collection), through Kalahasti on the 5th day (No. 196 of 1903) and thence successively through Arigandapuram or Nagalapuram in the Chingleput district (Nos. 628 and 628-A of 1904; and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905, para 33); Conjeevaram (Nos. 474 and 533 of 1919), Tiruvannamalai (No. 574 of 1902) and Chidambaram (Nos. 174 and 175 of 1892 and No. 371 of 1913), and was at Kumbhakonam at the beginning of February 1517 A.C., on the 6th day of which month the Mahamakha festival took place (Nos. 628 and 628-A of 1904). Though the date of the two Nagalapuram inscriptions is remote from the occasion by five or six years, the proximate date is furnished by No. 493 of 1907 from Kuttalaiam (Tanjore district) which records that Kṛishṇarāya made a gift of taxes to its temples on the occasion of the “Māmāṅgam” festival at the request of Basavarasa. This is dated in the cyclic year Dhaṭu, actually corresponding to the Śaka year 1438 which is wrongly given in the inscription as Śaka 1440, expired.

Consequent Impracticability of Conducting the Katakam Campaign in this Tour Period:—The Mahamakha festival is an event which occurs once in twelve years, and it last occurred in 1921 and will recur in 1933 A.C. The date can be verified by calculating backwards and we find that it must have occurred in 1517 A.C., in the Tamil month of Kumbha, corresponding to the Telugu month of Māgha. Thus we arrive at the 6th of February 1517 A.C., as the date of the Mahamakha festival at Kumbhakonam at which Kṛishṇarāya was present and made gifts for the temple at Kuttalam. On his return from Kumbhakonam, he visited Kāśchī at the beginning of Śaka 1438, Śivarāṇi, on the 1st of April 1517 A.C. (No. 641 of 1919), and probably proceeded thence to his capital straight. Thus Kṛishṇarāya’s journey to the Mahamakha festival

Gokarnam reached his capital city. The halt of Kṛishṇarāya at his capital meanwhile on the 26th September 1516, as per the statement of No. 457 of 1923 from Kanekkal, prior to his starting on his religious tour, is not taken into account by the two narratives. The washing of his bloody sword at Dhanushkoti seems to imply again the completion of his wars with the Gajapati. The three Tulabhūras performed at Dhanushkoti must relate to the weighing of himself and his two queens Tirumaladēvi and Chinnājīdēvi, both of whom must have accompanied him during his pilgrimage tour as they did during his military campaigns. From the positions of Gokarnam and Srirangapatnam, it appears quite likely that Kṛishṇarāya first visited Srirangapatnam and then Gokarnam which is about 250 miles to the north-west of the former and from there reached his capital, about 150 miles east-north-east of Gokarnam.
and back to his capital occupied a period of three to four months' time from January to April 1517 A.C., when it is impossible that he could have conducted his campaign against Kaṭaka. Hence it is reasonable to infer that the expedition of Krishnāraya "as far north as Kaṭaka" referred to in the Kommuru inscription dated on the 12th of March 1517 A.C., was according to the available evidence undertaken and completed quite possibly before June 1516 or even March 1516 A.C.

Catuir or Kataka Campaign Effectuated during Kalinga Expedition:—
This is the campaign against 'Catuir' which Nuniz describes in his narrative at the end of Krishnāraya's wars ("Forgotten Empire," pages 320-322). Defective knowledge of the country and deficient information of the locality and its topography might have occasioned the Portuguese traveller's vague description of the invaded territory and the omission of its proper name. This cannot certainly be considered as an anachronistic narration made by Nuniz, as suggested by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his brochure on "Krishna Deva Raya," pointing to the invasion by Krishnāraya at the beginning of his reign against the Kāḍava (Pallava) princes, who were holding sway over the territory round about Conjeevaram, while both literary and epigraphic evidences substantiate Nuniz' statement that Krishnāraya's attack was directed against Kaṭaka, the Gajapati's capital in Orissa, at the end of his Kaḷiṅga expedition.

His Complete Subdual of the Gajapati:—The Gajapati having thus been completely reduced to submission through his defeat in battle and devastation of his kingdom and its capital, Krishnāraya had no more anxiety on the north-eastern frontier of his empire and was now free to turn his arms against the Muhammadan States of Bahmani¹ which, being in alliance with Utkala, exhibited their hostility to Krishnāraya by supplying contingents to Pratāparudra under Muhammadan generals, such as Mallukhān, Uddānakhān

NOTE 1:—While returning from the Gajapati's capital after his marriage with Pratāparudra's daughter, at the end of his wars, with the object of making a religious tour to the important Śiva and Vishnu temples in his own kingdom, Krishnāraya is stated to have, on his way, attacked the fort of Kalbaragi (Kulburga), escaladed its walls and captured it (See note 1 on page 178 ante). This defeat of the Kalbaragi chief is also referred to in the "Manucharitramu," Canto II, verse 81. Krishnāraya in his "Āmukta-mālyada" (Canto I, verse 41) mentions that he killed in battle a large number of the Śācaparas of the combined forces of Kalbariganagara and Sasārapuravara (i.e. Ayōdhya, according to the commentator). It is probable that 'Sasārapuravara' refers to Sugar situated about 50 miles south of Kulburga in the Nizam's dominions, rather than to 'Ayōdhya' as mentioned by the commentator.
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and Bijilikhān, in upholding the siege of the fortresses of Udayagiri and Kōḍavīṇu.

His Grant from Bezavada of 10,000 Varahas for Temples in Chola-Mandalam:—Meanwhile, after his return from Kumbhakonam, Kṛiṣṇarāya had a divine duty to discharge towards the Gods who blessed him with success in his previous wars, and whose protection was required to be invoked in his future wars with the Bijapur Sultan. During his journey to Kumbhakonam for the Mahāmaha festival and back, he visited only a few of the more important shrines, to whose deities he personally made donations; but a great number of the less prominent ones had not been accorded similar honour of a personal visit. These deities had to be appeased and consequently an edict was issued in Śaka 1439, Śivarātri, while he was staying on the bank of the Kṛiṣṇapavārā (Kṛiṣṇā) between the temple of Anantaśayin at Uṇḍavallī (Guntur taluk) and the temple of Mallikārjuna at Bezvada, remitting a revenue of Jōdi, Śalavari, Pīkavari and Araiupēdu amounting to 10,000 varāhans in favour of the Śiva and Vishnu temples in Chōla-maṇḍalam and this grant was ordered to be registered in all the temples so benefited (Nos. 74 of 1903 and 80 of 1911 and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1903, page 5, para 16). A list of them numbering more than fifty is furnished by No. 125 of 1904, No. 511 of 1905, No. 406 of 1918, and No. 167, etc., of 1925 (vide Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, para 23; and for 1925, para 32). The epigraphs coming from some of these places are uniformly dated in Śaka 1439, Śivarātri, and a few of them, such as No. 406 of 1918, Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917, and Nos. 184, 226 and 235 of 1925, from their astronomical details yield the date, the 28th of December 1517, A.C. for Kṛiṣṇarāya's donation from the banks of the Kṛiṣṇā; and it may be noted that this grant was made two years subsequent to the termination of his war with the Gajapati. Out of the total number of beneficiaries specified in the above lists, a few temples missed the benefit and the omission was subsequently rectified on the 4th June 1520 (Śaka 1443, Vikrama) in the case of the temple of Tirukkadaiyur (Tanjore district) by three residents of the place proceeding to Vijayanagara and representing the matter to the king in person (No. 246 of 1925).

No Second Kalinga Expedition against Catuir after the Grant:—

' The choice of the bank of the river Kṛiṣṇā for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōla-maṇḍala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained,' at this distance of time, but the surmise 'that Kṛiṣṇarāya was about this time viṣ., the end of Śaka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kaliśāga country against 'Catuir' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908–09, page 182), cannot be
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relied upon in the face of the Kommuru inscription (No. 824 of 1922) noticed above, since the campaign against 'Catuir' (Kašaka) took place, as we have seen, before March or June 1516 A.C., i.e., about a year and a half before the date of the grant on the 28th December 1517 A.C.

Raichur Battle the Result of Adil Shah’s Attempt at its Recapture—
The ratification of the grant in the case of the temple at Tirukkadaiyur was made by Krishnaraya at Vijayanagara on the 4th June 1520 A.C., only a fortnight after the battle of Raichur which was fought, according to Sewell’s calculation, on Saturday, May 19th, in the same year 1520 A.C. Krishnaraya therefore returned to his capital soon after the battle within a fortnight, and this is sufficient evidence to show that the fort of Raichur was already in his possession and he was only required to repulse its attack by Ismail Adil Shah who advanced to retake it from Krishnaraya. This confirms the statement of the “Krishnaraya-Vijayamu” (Canto III, verse 9) and “Rāyāvāchakamu” (“Sources,” page 118) that Krishnaraya had already occupied the fort of Raichur during his military progress through the country early in his reign in 1513 A.C. and garrisoned it while Ismail Adil Shah was ‘too much employed in attending to the internal affairs of his government to afford it timely relief’ (Sewell’s “Forgotten Empire”, page 127). Consequently, the fact appears to have been, not that ‘Krishna Deva, flushed with victory, returned at once to the attack of Raichur, and the fortress was after a short time captured,’ as Sewell mentions (Ibid., page 140), but that Krishnaraya first compelled Ismail Adil, who attempted to recapture it with the help of the Ahmadianagar and Golconda Sultans, to raise the siege of the fortress, decisively defeated the combined forces in a pitched battle and drove them across the river. He

NOTE 1:—Compare the account of the battle from Farishah’s narrative—‘Ismail Adil Shah marched “to recover Mudkal and Koljore from the royalty of Beejanugger,”’ (Sewell’s “Forgotten Empire,” page 151). Compare also the representations of the envoy from Ismail Adil Shah to Krishnaraya (Ibid., page 352)—“that he was without suspicion when they brought him the news how thou hadst besieged the city of Rachol, and hadst robbed and destroyed the country round about, which news caused him to move and come to its rescue.” These go to confirm the fact that Krishnaraya had previously possessed himself of these forts, and Adil Shah attempted to retake them by force when conciliatory means failed. His hopeless failure in this attempt also brought about the humiliation of all the three Muhammadan Sultans (Dāvidādhu) in that they were forced to acknowledge their fidelity to Krishnaraya during his return journey from Sumhādri (Note 1 on page 178 ante).

NOTE 2:—The description given in “Krishnaraya-Vijayamu” (Canto III, verses 11 and 40-47) of the battle fought between Krishnaraya and the three Muhammadan

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then seized the military camp of Adil Shah who escaped for life, and with great spoil returned to his capital Vijayanagara triumphantly.

His Earlier Military Operations for a Decade followed by Later Respite for Intellectual Avocations:—Krishnāraya was thus obliged to devote the first dozen years of his reign, since his accession to the throne, to warfare constantly with the Gajapati primarily during the quinquennium from 1512 to 1516 A.C. and occasionally with the Muhammadan Sultans in the succeeding years, whereby he dealt a death-blow to the Uttara kingdom of the Gajapati and infused ‘a wholesome dread of Krishna Rāya and his valiant troops’ such that ‘the Sultah, panic-stricken, never again during his enemy’s lifetime ventured to attack the dominions of Vijayanagar’ (“Forgotten Empire,” page 130). After this preliminary period of strenuous life, Krishnāraya secured the much needed rest for a decade which he utilised in intellectual avocations through encouragement and cultivation of Poetry, Drama, Music, Dancing, Sculpture, Architecture and other allied arts of peace. He accepted the dedication of Prasādha-kavyas and Rasākhaṇḍakavi-kavyas, such as the “Manucharitramu” and the “Pārijātāpaharaṇamu,” and himself composed the “Āmuktamālasya,” one of the best Telugu poems, and

Sultans on the south bank of the Kṛishṇā river seems to relate to the battle of Raichur, though it is not mentioned by that name. In the order of events as narrated in the same Telugu work, this battle took place before Krishnāraya’s march against the Gajapati and his capture of the Udayagiri fortress on the 9th June 1514 A.C. (See note 1 on page 160 ante).

Note 1:—Krishnāraya in his “Āmuktamālasya” (Canto I, verse 42) mentions that he cut off the head of Ėdulakhānu (Adil Shah) and hung it in the extensive dry fields of the north as a scare-crow.

Note 2:—Not satisfied with these victories over the Sultans, Krishnāraya is stated to have prepared for an attack of Billgao (Belgaum) in his last days but to have been prevented from carrying it out through his illness which proved fatal (“Forgotten Empire,” page 362).

Note 3:—As mentioned above (page 167, ante), Krishnāraya’s accession to the Vijayanagara throne must have taken place about the 26th July 1509 A.C., in view of this earliest date furnished for him by the Gulya inscription No. 703 of 1919 and in relation to the date of No. 289 of 1915 from Vikravandi (Villupuram taluk, South Arcot district) supplied for Vīra-Narasītha’s reign, viz., Śaka 1431, Śukla, Karkaṭaka Šū. 5, Friday (?), Hasta, corresponding to 22nd July 1509 A.C. From the closeness of these two dates, this 22nd July 1509 A.C. must be the absolutely latest date for Vīra-Narasītha’s reign and likewise the 26th July 1509 A.C. the absolutely earliest date for Krishnāraya’s reign. Krishnāraya must therefore have ascended the throne within the three days’ interval between these two dates during which Vīra-Narasītha must have breathed his last. Krishnāraya’s formal coronation, however, happened, after the lapse of six months, on the 23rd January 1510, as recorded in his Hampe inscriptions.

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the "Jāmbavati-Kalyāṇa," a Śaṁskṛīt drama. As the Vidvat-sabhā-rāya, he presided over the "Council of Music and Dancing" wherein the chorus was led by such masters as Raśjakam Śīraṅgarāja (Nos. 87 and 300, A.—T.T.), his daughter Raśjakam Kuppāyi (No. 110—G.T.) and Naṭṭuva Nāgayya (No. 558 of 1915). A work on music known as "Śaṁgīta-sūryōdaya" was written at his instance and guidance by Lakshmaṇa, probably the descendant of Chatura Kallinātha, the famous commentator on "Śaṁgīta-ratnākara" of Śāṅgagāva. Under his patronage Tīrmayya rendered "Mahābhāratī" into Kanarese in Shatpati metre. The translation was made not directly from Śaṁskṛīt but from the Telugu version of Tikkana whose terse and classical style must have excited the admiration of even the Kanarese scholars. The effect of some of these royal pursuits is illustrated by the literary attainments and classical scholarship possessed by his own officers who were, besides, both capable military commandants and efficient civil administrators, e.g., Śīraḥpradhāṇi Sālīva Tīṁmaya-Dārājanātha's commentary on Agastya's "Bālabhāratā" and his nephews Nāḍīḍa Appamantri's and Gōpamantri's Telugu and Śaṁskṛīt works.

His two Queens Tirumaladēvi and Chinnadevi:—Two queens of Kṛiṣṇaraṇyā, namely, Tirumaladēvi and Chinnājīdāvi, are generally mentioned in the inscriptions. Of these two, Tirumaladēvi was his senior queen, having been wedded prior to his accession to the throne, as it is known from No. 87 of 1912 from Chāla-amudram (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 55) which states that the emperor Kṛiṣṇaraṇyā 'ascended the Kāraṇa throne with his queen Tirumalāmbikā.' Kṛiṣṇaraṇyā must have therefore married Chinnājīdāvi after he ascended the throne and consequently she must have been only the junior

Note 1:—In the preface to this work, the author, referring to the military career of Kṛiṣṇaraṇyā says that, even while young, he overcame Gaṅgarāja, captured him alive and took his stronghold Nīvanasamudram and conferred prosperity on the place. He also defeated the Gaṅapati and received the latter's wealth as well as his daughter in marriage. Further Kṛiṣṇaraṇyā drove the Muhammadan chief of Raichur from his camp at Gobhāru and seized his horses and elephants and took possession of the strong fortress of Rāchāru. He next crossed the river Kṛiṣṇa, burnt down the whole Vārama country and occupied Pērōjāhīdu, Surīkhādāsara (Khasimbād (?)), Sagara and other forts, routed the Persian army and invested Kalubārīkapurtle and captured the three sons of the Sultan together with the ladies of his harem.

Note 2:—I am obliged to Mr. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., for this information as also the extract from the preface to the "Śaṁgīta-sūryōdaya" (Note 1 above).
queen disabled from acquiring the dignity and prestige of the chief consort. They are also the two queens noted in the Telugu-kavyas of the time, both being therein accorded the honour of wedded queens (dāvuru). And these two queens alone are represented in the two statues placed beside Krishnarāya in a group in the temple of Śri Vākṣaṭāvarā at Tirumala, Chinnadēviyaru on the right, Krishnarāya Mahārāyaru in the middle and Tirumadalāyaru on the left, with their names incised on their shoulders. But Krishnarāya in his "Āmuktamālyada" (Canto I, verse 33), while apparently quoting the eulogistic verses from his poet-laureate Allāsāni Peddana’s “Manucharitramu” dedicated

**Note I:**—"Krishnarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto II, verse 148) mentions that Tirumaladēvi gave Kappurapu-divana-videmu (betal leaves and nuts indicative of favourable sign of success) to Krishnarāya at the time of his starting on his digiśraya, being the privilege of the queen-consort.

**Note 2:**—"Rāyāvāchakamu" informs us that Krishnarāya set up, as indicative of their eternal service (obeisance) to God, these three statues cast in copper in a worshipping posture with joined palms, at the entrance gate of the temple, i.e., adjoining the entrance gopura on its inner side northward of the passage into the temple, and also had the deity (the processional image of Śri Vēṅkaṭēvara) brought before these statues to bless them ("Sources", page 127). The installation of the three statues is reported to have been effected on the occasion of Krishnarāya’s visit to Tirumala during his South Indian religious tour undertaken after successful completion of his war with the Gajapati (Note 1 on page 178 ante); and we know that this visit occurred on the 2nd January 1517 A.C. The statues must therefore have been fixed in the Tirumala temple on or before the 2nd January in the king’s immediate presence and under his direct supervision; and, as such, they must be expected to give a true and genuine representation of the three royal personages with the king in the centre in his military suit according to the artistic conventions of the time. The figure of the king also agrees well enough with the description of Krishnarāya given by Paśas being ‘of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure’ ("Forgotten Empire," pages 246-7), and he could not obviously have put on ‘fat’ with his daily consumption of gingelly oil and immediate recourse to physical exercises (Ibid., pages 249-50), which only tend to strengthen the muscles and joints, making the man robust and not fatty, as indicated by Peddana in his expression of address to Krishnarāya in the “Manucharitramu” (Canto VI, verse 121), viz., ‘Vṛṣṭiṣṭha-sīla-sandhiśandhanda.’ (Cf. however, Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, Part 1, para 9, pages 3-4).

**Note 3:**—Of the three literary works mentioning Krishnarāya’s two consorts, Peddana’s “Manucharitramu” and Timman’s “Pārījātāpaharaṇaṇamu,” which name them as Tirumaladēvi and Chinnadēvi, are certainly anterior in date of composition to Krishnarāya’s “Āmuktamālyada” for the very obvious reason that the latter work incorporates into itself the dedicatory verses from the first of the two former works which must have evidently been composed immediately on the close of Krishnarāya’s war with the Gajapati in March 1516 A.C., while Chinnadēvi was alive and Krishnarāya had not yet married Annāpūrṇadēvi; and “Āmuktamālyada” must have been composed
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to him, slightly modifies this stanza which names his queens, substituting
"Annapārādāvī" for "Chinnādāvī" and giving precedence to Tirumalaśī. This
change of names cannot be lightly taken as mere verbal alteration,—a
substitution of a cognomen for the primary name,—for in that case we should
have had warrant for it in the works of the poets and other records of the
period; and the king would not have taken the trouble and the liberty to
recast the particular stanza for the fun or pleasure of a change of expression.
It must have been a responsible act done by the king intentionally to
indicate a real change of persons, the replacement of one deceased queen
Chinnādāvī by another newly wedded young queen Annapārādāvī. Again
the inscriptions of the time up to Śaka 1440 (1517–18 A.C.) refer to these
two queens, while the later ones point out to only one queen Tirumalaśī
do not at all bring Annapārādāvī to our notice. Consequently it is
reasonable to infer that Tirumalaśī and Chinnādāvī were the king’s two
consorts during the earlier period of his life, that Chinnādāvī deceased sometime
after the religious tour in 1517 and that her place was subsequently occupied
by Annapārādāvī. We know that Chinnādāvī lived on to witness and share
the glory of her lord’s victory against the Gajapati and also performed certain
mahādānas at Simhāchalam and Rājamahāndrāvara in company with the senior
queen before Krīṣhṇarāya’s return to his capital in June 1516 A.C. Though

subsequent to those works, after the death of Chinnādāvī and his marriage with
Annapārādāvī, perhaps after some interval of time. Krīṣhṇarāya, though he repeatedly
refers to his war with the Gajapati through the several incidents pertaining to it in the
introduction as well as in the colophons at the end of each canto of his “Āmukta-
mālāyada,” has not given us even a single reference to his marriage with the Gajapati’s
daughter, in spite of his changing the names of his queens (Canto 1, verse 33), which
therefore seems to indicate a distinctness of personages of Annapārādāvī and the
Gajapati Princess. This omission, coupled with his exultant spirit that pervades the
above prologue and epilogues, throws back the time of the composition of the
“Āmuktamālāyada” to a date much anterior to the occasion of the marriage, when
the excited feelings of both Krīṣhṇarāya and Pratāparudra had cooled down for an
alliance; that is to say, if “Manucharitramu” and “Pārijātāpahāraṇamu” were
written about 1516–17 A.C. at the close of the wars while Chinnādāvī was living,
“Āmuktamālāyada” might have been written within the next three or four years, i.e.,
about 1519–20 A.C., by which time Chinnādāvī had died and Krīṣhṇarāya married
Annapārādāvī. And his marriage with Pratāparudra’s daughter, which is vouched for by
the “Prabūdha-Chandrōdaya-Vyākhyā,” the “Tamil-Nāyalar-Charitai” and the
“Sahgita-sāryādaya,” must have been taken place sometime after 1520 A.C. It seems possible
that the Gajapati Princess, on her marriage with Krīṣhṇarāya, did not acquire the status
and prestige of his chief queens, and consequently she was not represented by the lithic
records dated during this second decade of Krīṣhṇarāya’s reign.

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it is not explicitly stated in the records that Krīṣhṇarāya had the company of his queens during his pilgrimage tour in South India in the first quarter of 1517, still we have reason to infer their presence at Tirupati and Dhanushkōṭi from the mention in the “Rāyavāṭhakamu” of the fixing of their statues along with that of the king at the former place and the weighing of the three Tulas at the latter place. The definitely known occasions on which we miss her, while we meet with Tirumala devi, are during Krīṣhṇarāya’s sixth and seventh visits to Tirumala on the 16th October 1518 (No. 697 of 1922) and on the 17th February 1521 (pages 165 and 166 ante). Her demise must therefore have taken place some time between April 1517 and October 1518 A.C.

Statute and Parentage of Chinnadevi:—Chinnājīrē is considered by some as the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati, and by others as a damsel not regularly espoused to Krīṣhṇarāya. Neither supposition is right. The recognition given to her by the court-poets as one of the two duly wedded wives (dānūruḷu) of the king who was himself celebrated for his chastity is sufficient evidence of her lawful marriage with Krīṣhṇarāya, and this is strengthened by the testimony of lithic records of the time found throughout the country as well as by her statue placed beside those of Krīṣhṇarāya and Tirumaladēvi at Tirumala. It is therefore inexpedient to suspect her as a favourite damsel of low birth and dubious parentage in the face of this available evidence from native sources and give credence to the statements of foreigners like Nūniz and Paes, who could not have had full knowledge of Hindu manners and customs and of Indian life. It may be that Krīṣhṇarāya had four or a dozen ladies or even more in his harem, but they were all of no account at all and went unrecognised by the men of that age, while the queenly rank was accorded to only two among them. It may, however, be conceded that she was the favourite queen of Krīṣhṇarāya, being apparently given precedence in the records in the matter of mention of her name before that of the senior queen in registering their charities at some of the religious centres. Again as to her filial relation with the Gajapati, two of the other authorities beyond tradition that we have for the marriage of the Gajapati’s daughter with Krīṣhṇarāya are the narration of the “Krīṣhṇarāya-Vijayamu”

**Note 1:**—See note 1 on page 178 ante.

**Note 2:**—“Pārijāṭāpaharaṇamu,” Canto I, Introduction, stanza 17, euphuistically suggests that Śrī Krīṣhṇa of Dvārakā was born on earth as king Krīṣhṇarāya in order to fulfill certain desires of His, one of which was to live as a brother towards other women, since He had spent His life in jesting with the cowherd women.
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wherein her name occurs as "Tukkhā" (Canto IV, verses 12, 25 and 72) and the statement of the "Rāyavāchakam" which calls her "Jagannāhini" ("Sources," page 126), while "Prabodha-Chandrododaya-Vyākhyā" of Nādiālā Gopamantri, "Tamil-Nāyalar-Charita" (Ibid., pages 144-5 and 155-6) and "Sāṅgīta-sārēyodaya" merely mention the marriage of Krishnarāya with the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajēśvara, the Oḍīyan (king of Orissa), and omit the name of the princess. It is also evident from the first two literary works that the marriage was the result of and the sequence to Krishnarāya's victorious war with the Gajapati. It must have therefore taken place subsequent to March 1516 when Krishnarāya planted his pillar of victory near Simhadri and made his offerings to God Simhādrinātha (page 175 ante). But, as a matter of fact, Chinnādāvi had been married to Krishnarāya some years before this date, since her name finds mention in the epigraphs dated so early as Śaka 1434, i.e., February 1513 A.C. (Nos. 2, 31, 40 and 84—T.T.). It is not therefore correct to say that Chinnādāvi was the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati.

His Marriage with Annapurnādevī after Chinnādevī's Death:—As regards Annapūrṇādevī, it has been shown that she took the place of Chinnādāvi and that she was a lawfully married wife, as testified to by her royal husband himself in his "Āmuktamālyada." As to the date of the marriage, it must have been far later than the date of the death of Chinnādāvi. Even the inscriptions of Śaka 1442 (February 1521) (Nos. 301, 302 and 578—T.T. of this collection) fail to mention her, while they register the presentation of a valuable ornament for Śri Vākaṭāsa by the senior surviving queen at the time, viz., Tirumallādāvi, and omit the name of the deceased favourite queen Chinnādāvi and her substitute Annapūrṇādevī. Again she might be considered as the daughter of the Gajapati, as tradition is supported by literary evidence as well as the accounts of the Portuguese travellers Nuniz and Paes, and "Annapūrṇādevī" as a new name given to her after her marriage, while her original name was Tukkhā or Jagannāhini. But in the acceptance of this equation, a discrepancy arises as to the date of her marriage with Krishnarāya. It has been pointed out that the marriage1 must have taken place long after

Note 1:—See note 3 on page 186 ante. The detailed description of the celebration of the marriage given in the "Krishnarāya-Vijayam" (Canto IV, verses 73-137) invests the subject of marriage with an air of genuine reciprocal love, while the "Tukkhā-Paṭcchakam" ("Sources," pages 143-4) denies it on the part of Krishnarāya. If "Tukkhā" was only an alter of "Annapūrṇādevī," the reciprocity of love is strengthened by the avowal of this sensibility by his mention of her name in substitution of "Chinnādāvi"
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the close of the Gajapati war and also subsequent to Krishnāraya's religious tour in the South in Śaka 1438 (=1517 A.C.), and even later than Śaka 1442 (=1521 A.C.); but "Krishnāraya-Vijayam" and "Rāyavāchakamu" narrate that the marriage was celebrated immediately at the close of Krishnāraya's war with the Gajapati and before his setting out on his religious tour, that is to say, between March 1516 and January 1517. Further evidence is needed to settle the point of time.

Four Queens Married by Him:—However, the statement of Nuniz that 'this King Crisnarao married four,' though he had many other wives ("Forgotten Empire," page 363), appears to be substantially correct, in view of the combined evidence of the literary works. Of them, Tirumalaḍēvi was the first and foremost queen, the queen-consort, along with whom Krishnāraya ascended the Vijayanagara throne in 1509 A.C., and she lived on apparently for the full two decades of his reign and kept him company throughout his life.

in his "Āmuktamālīyada," and then the "Tukkā-Paṅchakama" would need to be relegated as spurious. On the other hand, if Tukkā was a different personage from Annapūrṇādevī, "Tukkā-Paṅchakama" would stand as a true indicator of the inharmonious relations of the royal couple, and as a pointer to the deliberate attempt of Krishnāraya to dishonour and disgrace the Gajapati towards whom he had entertained malice and spite for the very reason of the Gajapati's encroachment into the southern provinces of the Vijayanagara kingdom prior to the accession of Krishnāraya (note 2 on page 160 ante), for the ventilation of which ill-will he should have found ample scope through the alleged ill-treatment of Prañaparudra's daughter whom he must have therefore wedded with the ostensible purpose of such revengeful degradation. But from the courteous and statesmanlike treatment that he accorded to the Gajapati's son Virabhadrāraya, in appointing him as a viceroy, the alleged disgracing of the Gajapati's daughter seems incredible.

Mr. M. Ramakrishnakavi furnishes me with the following note of his regarding "Tukkā-Paṅchakama":—"Tukkā-Paṅchaka" consists of five verses apostrophising the neglect of a lover towards his love. The "Sources of Vijayanagar History" attributes them to the pen of Tukkā, the Gajapati's daughter. One of these verses is found in Vallabhadeva's "Subhāṣitāvalī" whose compilation cannot be dated later than 1400 A.D. One more verse of the celebrated five is also found quoted by Mukula Bhaṭṭa in his "Abhidhānāṭitamālīkā," a work of 900 A.D.). The remaining three verses have not been traced to their sources. Thus it has to be doubted whether Tukkā was ever a poetess. It is also doubtful if Tukkā was the name of the daughter of the Gajapati married by Krishnāraya. For the verse in the commentary on "Prabōdhachandrādaya," which refers to this marriage appears to indicate in a pun that she was "Subhadra." It is not improbable that the Gajapati would call his daughter by the name of his Guardian Deity at Jagannātha, that is, Subhadra. Thus the above facts reject the evidence of the "Tukkā-Paṅchaka" in accusing Krishnāraya of sacrificing the sacred laws of matrimony to mere political revenge.

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Chinnādāvi was his junior queen married after his accession and enjoyed the royal favour for five or six years until her demise in 1517-18 A.C. Her junior place was then taken by Annapārṇādāvi about a year or two later and she probably lived through the remaining years of the reign. Subsequently Krishnārāya espoused Tukhkā or Jaganmōhini, the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati, and presumably she was alive during the next six or seven years till the end of her lord's rule. It is thus clear that Krishnārāya altogether married four queens, of whom one died within half a dozen years and the other three survived through his reign. Among them, Tirumalādāvi might have been the daughter of Kumāra-Vīra-Śyāmarāya, 'King of Serigapatao,' i.e., the governor of Srirangapatam, who took part in the battle of Raichur ("Forgotten Empire," pages 327 and 336), and Tukhkā or Jaganmōhini, the daughter of the Gajapati king, while the parentage of Chinnādāvi and Annapārṇādāvi remains unknown.

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Some of the officers of Krishnārāya appear in these inscriptions as offering their obeisance to God Tiruvāsiganātha and making donations and gifts to His temple.

Pradhani Sāluva Timmarasa and his Family Relations:—His chief minister (Pradhānī) Sāluva Timmarasayya granted the village of Parāndalār in Pottapi-naḍu in Śaka 1433, Prajāpati (≈1-1-1512 A.C.) (No. 277—T.T.). He was the son of Rāchirāja or Rāchcharasa and grandson of Vāmaya or Vāmaraṇa and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gātra, Āpastaṁba-sūtra and Yaṣṭi-sākhā. He had married Lakṣhmī-amman, the sister of Nādiḍiḍla Timmarāja (Nos. 277 and 334—T.T.) of Kauśi-gātra and gave his sister Krishṇambā or Krishṇamāmbā in marriage to Nādiḍiḍla Timmaya (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, No. 12, page 111). Kōṇa, Appa and Gōpa, the sons of Nādiḍiḍla Timmaya, were therefore the nephews of Sāluva Timmarasa and this bond was strengthened by the matrimonial ties of the two daughters of Sāluva Timmarasa-mantrindrā with the two younger sons Appaya and Gōpaya of Nādiḍiḍla Timmaya (Ibid.). Tirumalāmbā who was married to Appamantri ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 148) must be the elder daughter of Sāluva Timmantri. Sāluva Timmarasayya's younger brother was Sāluva Gāvīndarāja who is mentioned by Paes to have held the governorship of the capital city of Vijayanagara (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire," page 284). It has been stated
on the authority of the inscription No. 196 of 1916 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. that Pradhâni Sâluva Timma was the younger brother of Sâluva Gòvindarâja, but Nos. 278—T.T. and 102—G.T. of our collection are quite positive in declaring that Gòvindarâja was the younger brother of Timmarasâyâyâgar. Twenty days prior to the above gift by Sâluva Timma, his wife Lakshmi-amman provided for offerings to the deity through the payment of 1200 nathâram into the śrī-Bhanḍâram and stipulated that the donor’s quarter-share of the offered prasâdam belonging to her be issued to her son-in-law (marumakan) Appayyan, the son of Nāridâlia Timmarâja. This is Nādiâla Appa, the second son of Nādiâla Timma and the elder brother of Gopa. From the above stipulation it seems as if Appa was in or near Tirupati at the time and quite probably at Chandragiri holding some office under the king so that he would be able to receive the prasâdam at least through any local agent of his. Nothing is known of the eldest brother Kôna, but the other two brothers Appa and Gopa are stated to have ‘served one after the other as governors of Koñâvâju soon after it was captured from the Gajapati king’ (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908–09, page 183; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, page 112). From the “Râjaśêkhara-Charitramu” we learn that Gopa was the governor of Guttì and this post he probably held before his appointment at Koñâvâju. The fortress of Koñâvâju was captured on the 23rd June 1515 A.C. through the personal valour of Sâluva Timma-Daçânâtha who was consequently appointed its first governor. But as Sâluva Timma accompanied the king in his further campaigns against the Gajapati, Timma’s elder son-in-law Appa was placed in charge of the fort temporarily, and, on the settlement of the administration of the country after the close of the wars, Timma is said to have ‘installed Appa’s younger brother Gopa as governor of Koñâvâju in Saka 1442, while Appa himself received the governorship of Vinukona, Guttì and Amarâvati’ (Ibid., page 112). But from No. 325 of 1919 from Bezwada dated in Saka 1438, Yuva (=7th February 1516 A.C.), we know that the provinces of Koñâvâju and Koñâapalli were clubbed together and placed under Râyasam Koñâmarasayya. It therefore appears that Krişna-râya first appointed Appa as governor of Koñâvâju as a temporary measure soon after its capture in June 1515, and that he next posted Koñâmarasayya to the charge of the joint province when the adjoining country was subjugated and formed into a single administrative unit early in 1516 A.C. (Saka 1438) (page 176 ante). Koñâmarasayya governed the Koñâvâju province until about Saka 1440 and Udayagiri until Saka 1442, when Nâdiâla Gopa was posted to Koñâvâju as governor. Meanwhile, Nâdiâla Appa, its first governor, must
have been transferred to the governorship of the combined province of Vinukonda (whose fortress was reduced earlier during the first campaign in 1514-15 A.C. prior to the capture of Koḍāvītu in June 1515), Gutti and Amarāvati, on the appointment of Koḍāmarasayya in February 1516 A.C. to the Koḍāvītu province. Thus the two brothers Appa and Gopa primarily owed their preferment in the king’s service to the favour of their uncle and father-in-law Pradhāni Sāluva Timma, and occupied responsible posts in the state.

**Sāluva Timmarasa’s Gifts and Other Transactions at Tirumala:**
Pradhāni Timmarasa is once again mentioned in No. 80—G.T. dated in Śaka 1446 (=1524-25 A.C.) in the reign of Krishnāraja, and is also represented by two more records Nos. 278 and 270—T.T., falling into the reign of Achyutarāja. No. 278 with the date Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26th February 1535 A.C.), registers the sale by Sāluva Timmaṇa of the right to the donor's share of the prasādams, arranged for being offered to Śri Vaiṣṇava and Śri Gōvindarāja previously by his younger brother Sāluva Gōvindarāja to whom the share belonged, in favour of Tirumalayyaṇgār, son of Tāḷḷapākam Annamayyaṇgār, for a sum of 4500 paṇam. No. 270 dated in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=29-12-1535 A.C.), is a similar document registering the sale by Sāluva Timmaṇa of his own right to the donor's share of the prasādam which he himself provided for the two deities previously, in favour of the same Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṇgār. In this case a condition was imposed on the purchaser of the right that he should reside permanently at Tirumala. The object of the condition was probably the insistence on some personal service to be rendered by Tirumalayyaṇgār, such as singing certain adulatory songs before Śri Vaiṣṇava during the rites of waking Him up early in the morning (Suprabhātām) and putting Him to bed in the night (Ekānte-sava or Āṇuvpa-sava) (No. 497—T.T.), as is now being done. Another epigraph No. 102—G.T., whose date is lost, records the sale of certain prasādam belonging to Sāluva Timma and his younger brother Sāluva Gōvindarāja for a sum of 5203 paṇam, probably to the same Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṇgār, and this sale deed must be a combined record of the above two deeds executed separately at an interval of ten months, and must be dated some time later. Two Sāṃskṛt verses in the Anushkhp metre relate that Pradhāni Timmaṇa presented a pitāmbara, a yellow silk robe, for God Prasanna śrīnivāsa, i.e., the benign Śri Vaiṣṇavaṇa (No. 59—G.T.).

**Sāluva Gōvindarāja:** Sāluva Gōvindarāja's gift to this temple, of Mulpāḍi village in the Gaṇḍikōṇa-ṇari, was made in Śaka 1445, Chitrabhānu.
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(=27-8-1522 A.C.), for the merit of Krishnaratya (No. 97—G.T.). His next gift of Hanumanimagam village in the Uruvakosa-urmii dated in Saka 1446, Taraa (=20-11-1524 A.C.), was made for the merit of his daughter Tirumalamma, and the food-offerings intended to be provided for Sri Vakasa and Sri Govinda�a from the income of the grant-village were arranged through Pasiilikojuku Chennayyan, son of Narasigaayyan of Harita-gota, Aparastambha-satra and Yajus-sahha (No. 12—G.T.). Tirumalamma was also the name of the elder daughter of Saluva Timma, married to Nadiyal Appa. A third gift by Saluva Govindaraj of another village is dated in Saka 1463, Plava (=5-11-1541 A.C.), in the last years of Achyutaraya’s reign (No. 85—G.T.). The situation in the Gajikosa-urmii and the Uruvakosa-urmii of the two villages granted by Saluva Govindaraj, combined with the daivasvanda gifts made for the merit of Krishnaraya and Suluva Govindaraj Vodyalu jointly at Devagudi in the Cuddapah district as mentioned in Nos. 342 and 343 of 1905 dated respectively in Saka 1437, Dhati, and Saka 1440, Bahudhiyana, leads to the inference that Saluva Govindaraj administered, sometime during the period from about Saka 1437 to 1446, also the Udayagiri-raya in which the above divisions were comprised. Govindaraja is stated to have governed for a time the Gitti-raya, Koogu-nadu and the Terakambeyaa-ame in Mysore and to have ‘after that apparently, filled some important office at the capital Vijayanagara’ (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 183).

Saluva Timmana’s and Govindaraja’s Continuance in Service under Achyutaraya:—Srirahpadhanii Saluva Timmana-Dasanatha had successively served the first three kings of the Tuluva dynasty, viz., Vira-Narasimha, (Nos. 342 and 343 of 1892), Krishnaraya and Achyutaraya as their Pradhani for a period of over thirty years until about 1535-36 A.C. (Saka 1458), the date of his latest record in this collection. He took a prominent part in Krishnaraya’s wars against the Gajapati king and the Bijapur Sultan. The successful termination of the wars as well as the prosperous rule of Krishnaraya are attributable to the wise statesmanship of this able minister Saluva Timma—Sri Krishnadvaraaya-samajyabharar-dhurandharindo (“Krishnarjuna-Sam-vadamu” in “Sources,” page 150). The capture of the Koogaviidu fortress in Saka 1437 (June 1515 A.C.) is ascribed to the valour of Pradhani Timmana. He was therefore famous both as a minister and as a general, besides being a literary scholar who commented on Agastya’s “Bala-Bharata” (“Sources,” page 143). The story related by Nuniz (Sewell’s “Forgotten Empire,” pages 359-361) of the Pradhani’s alleged treachery against his
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king committed through the poisoning of the six year old prince Tirumalaraya Mahārāya and his consequent imprisonment along with his younger brother Gōvindarāja and his son 'Timadanayque,' with their eyes put out, is incredible in the face of the later records of Timma-mantradra who continued to enjoy his ministership even in the reign of Achyutarāya. If the murder of prince Tirumala was a fact, that heinous crime must have been perpetrated by some other Timma who was perhaps also honoured with the position of a minister; and the Portuguese traveller must have confounded the traitor Timma with the Pradhāni Sāļuva Timma. Sāļuva Timma's younger brother Sāļuva Gōvindarāja also enjoyed a privileged position at the royal court, as it would appear from the epithets Mahāśradhāni and Śirahpradhāni applied to him in some of the records (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 183). Like his elder brother, he also served the same three kings both as a minister and a general until almost the end of Achyutarāya's reign. He must therefore have outlived his brother by about half a dozen years up to 1541-42 A.C.

Periya-Obaḷa-Nayakkar Rama-Nayakkar a Commander:— Periya-Obaḷa-Nāyakkar Rāma-Nāyakkar, entitled Śrīman Mahānāyaṅakāchārya, i.e., the great commander-in-chief, must be a prominent Vijayanagara general. His earlier gift made in Śaka 1426 is recorded under Immaṭi-Nṛṣिनḥa, the son of Sāļuva Narasimha (No. 305-T.T.). During the reign of Krishaṛāya, he made a gift of the village of Śeṇgaṇḍupali in Śittanavādu-rāmali in Pulugar-nāṭu in Śaka 1434, Āgarasa (=14-7-1512 A.C.) (No. 312-T.T.). He also presented 200 cows to the temple in Śaka 1435, Śrīmukha (=18-1-1514 A.C.) (306-T.T.). He too had served three successive kings, viz., Immaṭi-Nṛṣिनḥa, Viranarasimha and Krishaṛāya, as the commander of the Vijayanagara forces, stationed at Chandragiri in all likelihood.

Rayasaṃ Kondaṃaramasaraya:—Two of the prominent officers of Krishaṛāya who took part in the battle of Raichur, viz., Rayasaṃ Kōṭdamarasaya and Tryambakadāva, are brought to our notice in Nos. 77 and 182—T.T. The former records the gift of Mulumbādi in the Nellār-rāmali in the Udayagiri-rāja in Śaka 1441, Pramādi (=17-4-1519 A.C.), by Rayasaṃ Kōṭdamarasasya, son of Timmarasasyaṅgar of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āvīlāyana-sūtra and Kikākha. No. 87 of 1912 from Cholasamudram is reported first to introduce king Krishaṛāya in a long passage and next speak of his military officer Rayasaṃ Kōṭdamarasasya. It is stated that 'he was the grandson of śripatyaḥchārya, the chief of Podaṭṭru which was a flourishing village in the Drāvida country, and a Brūhmaṇa of the Udayagiri-Kannāḍiga sect, the son of
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Timmarasa-matrim and Saagamambika, the chief of fortresses such as Ghanagiri (i.e., Penugonda), Udayadri (Udayagiri) and others, the hero who actually accomplished for Krishnaraya the planting of the pillars of victory at Simhadri and Srikaram and a scholar who was acquainted with the curious writings prevalent in the fifty-six countries (Chhappanna-disa). The grant was made so that the king may be blessed with issue. It is evident from the above record that Koondamarasayya was a Karshtha-Brha, and that he was both an erudite scholar and an able general. His father and grandfather had served the Vijayanagara kings as administrative officers and the son followed in their wake. He was a capable military officer and earned distinction as the actual planter of the pillars of victory at Simhadri and Srikaram. All epigraphical records of Krishnaraya and literary works of his time mention his one pillar of victory planted at Simhadri but this inscription is unique in mentioning the second pillar planted at Srikaram. The object of the grant by Koondamarasayya was that the king may be blessed with issue, and it indicates that Krishnaraya had no issue up to that time and that prince Tirumala was born to his senior queen Tirumalambika some time after. Koondamarasayya's later gift is registered in Saka 1463, Plava (=1541-42 A.C.) (No. 110—G.T.), during the reign of Achyutaraya, and it shows that he continued to hold his position as a viceroy and a general to the end of Achyutaraya's reign.

Koondamarasayya's Viceroyalty:—He was the first general who was placed in charge of Udayagiri, soon after its capture (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 184) by Krishnaraya on the 9th June 1514 A.C., and he must have held charge of it until about February 1516 A.C. when he was sent to govern the combined province of Koondavvu and Koondapalli, with reference to which he issued an edict under orders of Krishnaraya (page 176 ante). No. 96 of 1913 from Kambaduru in the Kalyanadrug taluk of the Anantapur district registers a gift of land made by Rayastra Koondamarasayya for the merit of Krishnaraya in Saka 1434, Aagirasa, Karthika 4w. 12, equivalent to Friday, the 22nd October 1512 A.C., and states that the Kundurupi-sime in which was situated Kambaduru was the Jaghir of the chief. This indicates that he was governing the Gutti-riya prior to his transfer to Udayagiri about June 1514 A.C. The Jaghir of Kambaduru which was bestowed by Krishnaraya

NOTE 1:—That Koondamarasayya was the governor over Penugonda is supported by Aralikutna inscription of his dated 1434 Saka in which he is reported to have granted... for the merit of Krishnaraya, Rayakuppa village in the province of Penugonda. (Ep. Car., Vol. XII, Pa. No. 5).
upon Rāyasam Kṣaṇamārasayya and enjoyed by him at the time is found from No. 99 of 1913 from the same village to have been granted by Achyutarāya as Nāyakatana (fief) to Bayyapa-Nāyaka, even though Kṣaṇamārasayya was in Achyutarāya's service during that period and so continued for half a dozen years more. The practice therefore appears to have been that in each province certain fiefs were reserved for the maintenance of the provincial governors, military officers and other subordinates, that these officers were permitted to enjoy the proceeds from such Jaghirs and make grants of lands and villages out of them, during the period they remained in service within that particular province, but that they had no kind of hold on the fiefs in that province, when they were transferred to another province within which they could again exercise those rights and privileges, and that the fiefs were not granted as hereditary estates to the chiefs administering the several provinces and districts, and to the commanders and generals guarding the empire. From the Atmakur Nos. 28, 6 and 5 of the "Nellore Inscriptions" which record the charity of the construction of a tank and a temple with the installation of a deity in it at Kaluvayi in Śaka 1441, Pramādi (=14-4-1519 A.C.), and another tank at Anantasāgaram in Śaka 1444 (wrong for Śaka 1442), Vikrama (=31-5-1520 A.C.), by Rāyasam Kṣaṇamārasayya, the Kāryakarta (Viceroy or Agent) of the Rāyasimhāsana (royal throne), for the merit of his mother Saṅkāyamma and his father Timmarasayya, it appears that he held charge of the Udayagiri-rājya for a second time during the years 1519 and 1520 A.C., having been transferred to it from Kṣaṇavīru. And it must have been from Udayagiri that Kṣaṇamārasayya proceeded with his contingent of 'one hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse and sixty elephants' to take part in the battle of Raichur fought on 19th May 1520 A.C. His administration of each province was therefore generally limited to about two years' time. This is a typical illustration of the general principle of periodical transfer of the administrative officers from province to province scrupulously enforced by Krishṇarāya with a view to safeguard the Hindu Empire from the catastrophic consequences of the establishment of hereditary chiefships which threatened to wax strong in time and subvert the central authority. No. 97 of 1913 from the same village Kambaduru, dated in Śaka 1447, Pārthiva (1525-26 A.C.), during the reign of Krishṇarāya, registers the gift of the village of Jalavati to the temple of Mallikārjunadeva at the place by Rāyasta Ayyapparasayya 'in order that Rāyasta Kṣaṇamārasayya may dwell in heaven'. From this it has been suggested that 'Kṣaṇamārasayya must have died by the time the record
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was engraved'. Certainly the statement of the above record must relate to some event entirely different from Koṇḍamarasāyya's death, since Koṇḍamarasāyya had not died by that date, i.e., Śaka 1447 (=1525-26 A.C.), in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, but lived on for more than sixteen years until about Śaka 1463, Plava (=1541-42 A.C.), and served Achyutarāya almost to the end of his reign as his minister and general.

Tryambakadēva:—Tryambakadēva was the son of Tipparasa and belonged to the Vāsishṭha-gōtra and Āśvilāyana-sūtra. He is mentioned to have been residing at Śivanasamudram and this probably means that he was a native of the place. Kṛishṇarāya demolished to their foundations the fort-walls of Ummattāru and Śivanasamudram and seized the forts early during his military progress in September 1513 A.C. (note 1 on page 170 ante.); and quite possibly he appointed Tryambakadēva to administer the subdued territory round Śivanasamudram. Tryambakadēva's gift of the village of Morandai in the Tirumāṇi-sārmait is dated in Śaka 1439, Īvara (=12-10-1517 A.C.), and was intended for the propitiation of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara on different occasions (No. 182—T.T.). From the “Chronicle” of Nuniz he is known to have taken part in the battle of Raichur, fought in May 1520, with his contingents consisting of ‘fifty thousand foot and two thousand horse and twenty elephants,' and led the second line after the advance rank commanded by Kāma Naik, the chief of the guard (“Forgotten Empire,” page 326). He is stated to have been ‘one of Kṛishṇarāya's chiefs, who was governing the Muluvāyi country, in the last "days of his reign" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 66); but from the mention in our record of his residence at Śivanasamudram in Śaka 1439, Īvara (1517 A.C.), and of his administration of the Muluvāyi country subsequently in Chitrabhānu and Svabhānu (1522 and 1523 A.C.), it is likely that his whole public career was generally confined to the Muluvāyi-rūjya itself.

Karaniikkā Basavarasa:—Karaniikkā Basavarasa was another officer of Kṛishṇarāya, probably belonging to the king's personal staff. He was the son of Sōmarasa of Gautama-gōtra and Āśvilāyana-sūtra. He is stated to have been a resident of Tiruppettur, perhaps the modern Tiruppattur in the Vellore district. For the merit of Kṛishṇarāya, he constructed an irrigation channel in the āswādāna village of Maniyakkōṇaṭṭu in Śaka 1437, Yuva (=12-9-1515 A.C.). He also provided for a number of offerings for the deity in his own name and in the names of Rāmāyyan, son of Gopparasar, residing at Rāutto-nallār; Kaṅgāṭṭiyār, son of Iḷākeṭṭuta-perumāḷ of Vāsiṣṭha-gōtra and Āśvilāyana-sūtra, residing at Iraiṉaḷaḷtār; and Tammarasar, son of Sūrapparasar of the

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Kāyapa-gōtra and Āśvīlāyana-sūtra, residing at Pārīmaṅgalam. Like himself the three persons mentioned above may have been accountants engaged in the service of the king or some near relations of the donor. He laid out a flower-garden at Tirumala and built a manṭapam in it and arranged for certain offerings in that manṭapam for the processional images on a particular day in the year (No. 311—T.T.).

Karaṇikka Attavanai Basavarasa:—Another Karaṇikka Basavarasa also appears. This was the son of Chaṇḍikai Obaḷadāva or Aubaḷadāva and belonged to the Kaunāṅiya-gōtra, Āśvīlāyana-sūtra and Rik-sākha. He provided for offerings for the God for the first time in Śaka 1443, Vishu ( = 1521-22 A.C.) (No. 184—T.T.) and for the second time in Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (21-9-1528 A.C.) (No. 29—T.T.), both the dates falling into the reign of Kṛishnārāyaṇa; and for the third time in Śaka 1456, Jaya ( = 16-8-1534 A.C.) (No. 275—T.T.), and the fourth time in Śaka 1457, Mahāmathā ( = 8-1-1536 A.C.) (No. 616—T.T.), both the latter during the reign of Achyutārāya. In the three latter records the historical introduction of the kings precedes the main donation and it indicates a certain relationship of the donor to those kings. This Karaṇikka Basavarasa is in No. 184 called Aṭṭavaṇṇai Basavarasar and this designation of aṭṭavaṇṇai, an adaptation of the Hindusthani revenue term aṭṭavaṇṇai, shows that he was a revenue officer and as such he may have served both Kṛishnārāyaṇa and Achyutārāya. It seems that these Karaṇikkas were Niyōgi-Brāhmaṇas like their modern representatives in the Telugu districts.

Gindi Basavarayalu:—A summary in Telugu of a record of gift mentions Gindi Basavarayalu as the donor and states that he was in the service of Śri Kṛishnādāva Mahārāya (No. 198—T.T.). It is not certain if he was identical with either of the two Basavarasas noticed above.

Avasara Narasayya and His Brother Timmayya:—Three brothers Narasayyan, Timmayyan and Narasayyan and their mother Basavamma are met with in a family group in No. 60—T.T. The epigraph, dated in Śaka 1434, Aṅgirasa ( = 7-8-1512 A.C.), records the incessant obeisance offered by the family to God Tiruvāṅgalāṇātha on the above date. It states that the two elder brothers Narasayyan and Timmayyan were porters in the palace of Kṛishnārāyaṇa (Rāyara-bāgīla-Avasaradu). They were Royal Messengers (Avasara) stationed at the entrance door of the king's palace (Rāyara-bāgīla) as informants to the king announcing the visitors that sought an audience with him. Of the two door-keepers, Timmayyan may be the Vākiṭi-Kāvali Timmana referred to in the episode of professional jealousy alleged to have existed
between a Bhaṭṭu (a bard), a new aspirant to literary fame, and Allasāni Peddana, the famous poet-laureate of Kṛiṣhṇarāya. The story relates that Peddana sedulously endeavoured to shut out the Bhaṭṭu from the royal presence for fear of his gaining the king’s favour through his poetic talents, but that the bard somehow managed to obtain an audience with the king to whom he represented the matter. Kṛiṣhṇarāya assured him of his patronage and since then the Bhaṭṭu attended the royal court in company with the other poets. After rising high in the king’s favour, he wished to make a show of his exalted position and with this object he requested the king to exclude the other poets from his court for a time, to which the king readily consented. When the king’s order was communicated to the poets, they gathered at the house of Timma, the gate-keeper of the royal palace, and were considering over the matter, when the Bhaṭṭu, returning from the court in a palanquin, observed the group of poets assembled on the outer pial of the house. Desiring to add personal insult to the disgrace of the poets, he uttered a half of an extempore verse in which he compared the group of poets, assembled at the gate of the Gate-Keeper Timma’s house, to a fold of pigs. The aggrieved poet-laureate instantly made up the first half of the verse and vociferated the full verse, with an out-burst of anger, so as to be heard by the Bhaṭṭu who had passed along. He retorted that with reference to a heap of pignuts which were the poetasters (like the Bhaṭṭu) who were dumfounded by the piggish noise, viz., the Prākrit, and Saṃskṛt languages, the host of poets assembled at the gate of the Gate-Keeper Timma were certainly a fold of pigs (which would devour the pignuts of poetasters) (“Kavijñitamulu” by Gurujada Sriramamurti, Third Edition, 1913, pages 170–173). From the assembling of the Court-Poets at the house of the Palace Gate-Keeper Timma, it appears that he must have been a person of distinction and rank at the Court who enjoyed the confidence of the king. Quite possibly it was this same Timma who is mentioned with the honorific name of Timmabhāpa, the king’s door-keeper, in No. 455 of 1906 of Śaka 1441, Pramāthin (=1510–20 A.C.) from Anaimalai in the Madura district. The title Bhaṭṭa connotes the rank of a feudatory chief with a tract of country to rule over. It must be again this ‘Amaram Timmarasa who was the chief in waiting at the door of the king’ that introduced the three sthānikas of the temple of Aragalur in the Salem district into the presence of Kṛiṣhṇarāya at the capital city of Vijayanagara and ‘had their grievances redressed’ and had them ‘presented with a garland, a head dress, a horse and an umbrella,’ in Śaka 1441, Pramāthin (=10–6-1519 A.C.) (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1914, para 30). Probably
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Timmappa-Nāyaka mentioned as the father of Vākiṭi Ādeppa-Nāyaniṅgūr, whose agent Sārapparāja freed the temple servants at Gorantla from certain obligations (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 55 and No. 91 of 1912), is identical with this Amaram or Vākiṭi Timmayyan.

Udiyam Ellappa-Nayakkar:—A certain Ellappa-Nāyakkar comes to notice in three records of Krishnārāya's time and one of Achyutarāya's time. For the merit of Krishnārāya he granted three villages Kaṭṭalaiṟpu, Nelvāy and Kolliṟumbai to the temple in Śaka 1438, Dhātu (=2-6-1516 A.C.) (No. 180—T.T.), made some gift for a satram in Śaka 1449 (i.e. 1527 A.C.) (No. 291—T.T.), and also deposited 4600 pāṇam in the temple-treasury for offerings for God Gsvindarāja from its interest (No. 266—G.T.). The satram for which he made the gift was the Kal-Tir-Satram that he himself constructed, as mentioned in No. 292—T.T. dated on the 2nd day of the Chittirai month in the Śaka year 1449, corresponding to Friday, the 29th March 1527 A.C. The Kal-Tir or the stone-car at Tirumala is at the present day lying half-buried at the north-east corner of the village, and the satram must have been situated beside this stone-car at the north end of the East Street. No. 548—T.T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=3-4-1536 A.C.), in the reign of Achyutarāya, supplies the information that Ellappa-Nāyakkar was the son of Sāṭṭayappa-Nāyakkar, that his birth-star was Chittirai (Chitta) occurring in the month of Chittirai, and that he was the Udiyam of Achyutarāya Mahārāya. The service might be that of a personal attendant upon the king and possibly he attended upon the persons of both Krishnārāya and Achyutarāya successively.

Adaiṭṭam Baiyappa-Nayakkar:—Baiyappa-Nāyakkar, the son of Timmappa-Nāyakkar of the Kāṭiyapa-gōtra, was an Adaiṭṭam officer. For the merit of Krishnārāya he arranged in Śaka 1441, Pramādi (=16-5-1519 A.C.), for the propitiation of Śrī Vāikatāma (No. 79—T.T.). The Adaiṭṭam was the betel-bearer of the king and had to be in attendance upon the royal person, just like the Udiyam. Baiyappa-Nāyakkar continued in service as an Adaiṭṭam of Achyutarāya also, in whose reign he endowed this temple with 53,320 nāṟṟapān in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=9-11-1535 A.C.) (No. 469—T.T.), and again with a further sum of 15,630 nāṟṟapān in Śaka 1460, Vijambī (=6-9-1538 A.C.) (No. 471—T.T.). The latter sum was made up by the donor on two occasions, viz., 15,000 nāṟṟapān on the 20th day of Tai in the cyclic year Durmuḷkhi (=Tuesday, 16th January 1537 A.C.), and the balance considered to have been paid on the date of the record through an authorisation by the donor to the Sthēmatār of the temple to collect the tolls and

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other income amounting to 630 \( \text{ponam} \) from the village of Vējilpālayam (Grāmattil-Uttāram-kuśutta-ponam). The village must have been a fief granted to Baiyappa-Nāyakkar who transferred a part of its income to the temple. It was evidently to this same Baiyappa-Nāyakkar that Achyutarāya granted as \( \text{Nāyakatana} \) the Kundurupiya-sthāne which Krishnārya had previously bestowed upon Rāyasam Koṭḍamarasayya (page 196 ante).

Mannarpillai and Appappillai:—Mannarpillai, son of Karavaṭṭippuli-yālvar of Kaunaṭīnya-gōtra and Āpastaṃba-sātra and a native of Mahṭpālakulakalachchēri, a hamlet of Rajendraśāla-chaturvādi-maṅgalālam alias Uttaramārā, was another subordinate of Krishnārya. He made gifts of money on two occasions in Śaka 1434, Āgirasa, on the 27th June 1512 (No. 265-G.T.) and on the 20th December 1512 A.C. (No. 607-T.T.). He is also mentioned in No. 288-G.T. registering the donation of Tirumalai-Nāyakkar in the same year Śaka 1434, Āgirasa. His charity of the construction of a well at the foot of the front hill between the first two towers is recorded in No. 271-G.T. dated in Śaka 1411, Saumya (\( =25-1-1490\) A.C.), during the time of Sāluva Narasimha. From the inclusion of Karavaṭṭippuli-yālvar Mannarpillai as the recipient of a share of the offered \( \text{prasādam} \) along with the functionaries of the temple in No. 288-G.T., it is likely that he held some post in connection with the management of the temple, subordinate to the king, and not directly under the authority of the Sīkānattēr or Managers of the temple. Appappillai was his younger brother, as may be inferred from the dates of his records, No. 197-G.T. of Śaka 1428, Akshaya (\( =30-11-1506\) A.C.), and No. 255-G.T. of Śaka 1430, Vībha (\( =18-7-1508\) A.C.), both falling into the reign of Vīra-Narasimha, the elder brother of Krishnārya. The latter record of Śaka 1430 registers the donor’s payment of 7800 \( \text{narapaṇam} \) for the merit of Vīra-Narasīgarāya Mahārāya. His later gift of Vīrakampanallēr situated in Āraṇi-śārmai in Mūrugaśāgalā-pāḷī within the Paṅavīṭṭh-ṛāya made for the merit of Śrī Vīra-Krishnārya Mahārāya in Śaka 1433, Prajāpati (\( =7-4-1511\) A.C.), is registered in No. 604—T.T. From No. 411 of 1919 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. we learn that he also made a gift of land to the temple of Arulāṭa-Perumāl at Conjevaram some time earlier during the same reign in Śaka 1431, Śukla (\( =11-3-1510\) A.C.), and the land is stated therein ‘to have been handed over to him by Narasiṇgarāya-Mahārāya,’ i.e., Sāluva Narasimha evidently. It is therefore certain that both the brothers Mannarpillai and Appappillai were Vijayanganagara subordinates from the time of Sāluva Narasimha to that of Krishnārya. No. 264-G.T. of Śaka 1431 which records the consecration of
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an image of Hanumān, by one whose name begins with “Kara...” and who belonged to the Kaumānya-gotra and Āpastamba-sūtra, must certainly pertain to one of these two brothers.

Other Subordinate Officers:—A few other subordinates of Krishnārāya also appear in some of the epigraphs of this collection. They are:—

(1) Bāhūr Mallarasā, son of Nāgarāsa, whose donation to the temple is dated in Śaka 1440, Bahudhānya (=14-10-1518 A.C.) (No. 105—T.T.). From the closeness of this date of donation by Mallarasā to the date of Krishnārāya’s gift of land to the temple at Tirumāla on 16-10-1518 A.C. (page 165 ante), i.e., only two days earlier, it is quite likely that he accompanied the king during his sixth visit to Tiruvālgaḷanātha’s shrine. An extract of an inscription furnished in No. 579, A.—T.T. records that Bāgāri Mallarasu was the Uḍīgam of Krishnārāya Mahārāya, that Śripati was the Rāyasam of Krishnārāya Mahārāya and that the epigraph was engraved by Śripati, the son of Ppedayyaśārī. It is therefore certain that Bāhūr Mallarasā or Mallamarāju served on the personal staff of the king as his Uḍīgam or Uḍīyam officer (Attendant or Messenger), just as Śripati must have done as his Rāyasam officer (Secretary), and both must have accompanied Krishnārāya to Tirupati during his sixth visit.

(2) Nāgarāju, son of Mallamarāju, and Basavappa who paid their obeisance to God in the cyclic year Vīshu corresponding to Śaka 1443 (=4-11-1521 A.C.) (No. 107—T.T.). The similarity of the names under these two items (1) and (2) suggests that the persons were related one to the other, and possibly Nāgarāju and Basavappa were both sons of Mallamarāju or Mallarasā who was in turn the son of an earlier Nāgarāju or Nāgarāsa, the grandfather therefore of Nāgarāju and Basavappa.

(3) Tammu-Nāyakkar, son of Jilḷāla Basava-Nāyakkar (No. 251—T.T.). He was a mace-bearer of the king (Kaṭṭikai) and also held the rank of a general (Dājavāyi). Another epithet Dādīsmāni or Dādīnāyakkar applied to him is not intelligible. The above inscription registers his donation of 1200 narpaṇam in Śaka 1435, Śrīmukha (=30-12-1513 A.C.), for daily offerings for God Vaikṣṭha. A Telugu summary of this document is furnished by No. 265—T.T., and from this we learn that Kaṭige Dādīnāni
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Đālāvāyi Timmaya was the disciple of Anusandhanaṃ Rāmānuja. A third epigraph No. 300, B—T.T. records an incessant obeisance of his and in it the name occurs as Kaṭṭikai Tammayan.

(4) Another son of Jilledu Basava-Nāyakkar, by name Tiruvēkaṭṭayyan, appears in No. 252—T.T. dated in Śaka 1440, Bahudhānya (=11-10-1518 A.C.). From the later date of the gift of Tiruvēkaṭṭayyan, it may be inferred that he was the younger brother of Kaṭṭikai Tammayan or Tammu-Nāyakkar. Tiruvēkaṭṭayyan is also stated to have been the disciple of Anusandhanaṃ Rāmānuja Jiyan, the spiritual teacher of Tammu-Nāyakkar.

(5) Ībālayyan, son of Ībayyan, and an accountant of Kandaṇavolu or Kurnool, who made a gift in Śaka 1439, Āvēra (=31-10-1517 A.C.) (No. 260—T.T.).

(6) Lakku-Nāyakkar, son of Nāgu-Nāyakkar whose gift is dated in Śaka 1441, Prāmādi (=4-10-1519 A.C.) (No. 349—T.T.).

(7) Tirumalai-Nāyakkar, son of Ellappa-Nāyakkar, who provided for offerings in Śaka 1434, Āagirasa (=1512-13 A.C.) (No. 288—G.T.). It is not known if this Ellappa-Nāyakkar, the father of Tirumalai-Nāyakkar, is identical with Ellappa-Nāyakkar, son of Śaṭṭayappa-Nāyakkar, noticed above. Tirumalai-Nāyakkar excavated an irrigation channel in the village of Parittiputtār, and it was from the enhanced yield that was expected from this irrigation facility afforded to the village that the offerings were arranged for. In the distribution of these offerings Tirumalai-Nāyakkar allotted a share to Mannarpillai. The excavation of a similar channel in the village of Pānakam by Tirumalai-Nāyakkar is mentioned in No. 153—G.T. which registers a donation of 150 narpaṇam by one Tiruvēkaṭṭamudaiyān in Śaka 1434, Āagirasa (=20-1-1513 A.C.), for investment in Tirumalai-Nāyakkar’s channel in Pānakam, and therefore the original excavation of the Pānakam channel must have been effected some years earlier. Likewise a provision appears in No. 289—G.T. dated in Śaka 1454, Nandana (=1532-33 A.C.), for improvements to Tirumalai-Nāyakkar’s channel in Parittiputtār through an investment of 500 narpaṇam.

(8) Chinnappa-Reṇṭi, son of Sārappa-Reṇṭi Tammu-Reṇṭi, a Veḷḷāja of the Mudiṭār family. For the merit of Krishṇarāya he made a
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Gift in conjunction with other persons in Śaka 1448, Vyaya (=17-1-1527 A.C.) (No. 276—G.T.). The residence of the donor was Pataliapāṭṭu (Bhūtālapāṭṭu, i.e., the modern Patalapaṭṭu village about seven miles east of Chittoor, the head-quarters of the district), which was at that time comprised in the Tuyya-nāṭu, a sub-district of Tiruvēkkaṇa-kōttam.

Ranjakam Śrīrangaṇa and His Family:—As we had occasion to note the existence of a Nāṭakāśala attached to the palace of Sāluva Narasimha, so we here find the existence of a Nṛttaśālā attached to the court of Krishnārāya, besides a similar Nāṭakāśala by means of which he probably had his own Sanskrit drama "Jāmbavatikalyāṇam" enacted during the Chaitra festival of Vīrāpāksha at Vijayanagara ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 142). Our ancient kings had resorted to both the pastimes Nṛtta and Nāṭaka quite frequently, just as they had often called for an assemblage of poets and philosophers whom they patronised. Krishnārāya was the President of the Council of the learned men (Vīdutsabhārāya), and the troupe of dancers delighted him with their dancing and music. The master of this troupe was a certain Śrīraṅgarāja, son of Tirumalaināthan, and he was designated Vīdutsabhārāya-Roṇjakā (No. 300, A—T.T.). He was probably granted a Jaghir, out of which he presented the village of Erlampāṇi in Vālamāpuram comprised in the Māṭanallūr-armai to the temple in Śaka 1436, Bhāva (=29-12-1514 A.C.) (No. 87—T.T.). Two generations of his descendants are met with, of whom his daughter Raajakam Kuppāyi or Kuppaṣṇi made a gift to the temple in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa (=27-6-1512 A.C.) (No. 110—T.T.). Kuppāyi had two daughters, Tirumalamma, probably the elder, and Muddu-Kuppāyi, the younger, as may be inferred from the dates of their records. Tirumalamma's gift of 3000 poḷam is registered in No. 300—T.T. dated in Śaka 1439, Isvara (=12-10-1517 A.C.), and an extract in Telugu (No. 300, A—T.T.) of this document mentions that she was the granddaughter of Śrīraṅgarāja and the daughter of Kuppaṇna. The younger daughter Muddu-Kuppāyi was originally attached to the palace of Achyutarāya at Vijayanagara, and was directed to proceed to Tirupati and render service to Śrī Vēkaṇa. The remuneration for her service in the temple was a plateful of cooked food ordered to be given to her every day from the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja. This order of Achyutarāya is dated in Śaka 1453, Khara (=6-6-1531 A.C.) and registered in No. 1—G.T. In this record Kuppaṣṇi, the mother of Muddu-
Kuppāyi, has the same designation applied to her as that of her father Śrītraṅgarāja, viz., Vidyatsabhāraya-Raṇjakam.

**Two Subordinates of the Gajapati in Krishnarāya’s Service:**—Krishnarāya’s statesmanship is brought to light by the generosity he showed not only to the fallen enemy Pratāparudra Gajapati and his son Virabhadra, but also to the subordinates of the Gajapati king. He took them into his service, granted them villages as fiefs and honoured them with dignities probably similar to those that they had enjoyed under their old king and thus brought them to his allegiance. Subuddhi Rāmādāsa, son of Śaṅkaradāsa of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, who previously held the post of Śithāṅapati under Pratāparudra, and Ambikāmudusūlī, son of Bhimayya of the Kāvyapī-gōtra, who also served the Gajapati in some capacity, were both taken into his service by Krishnarāya and granted respectively the villages of Taṇḍalam and Taḷapāika situated in the Jagadvāchchhēri–ūrmai, which they later on gave to the temple in Saka 1443, Vishu (s. 1-11-1521 A.C.), to serve for certain offerings intended for Śrī Vāṅkaṭāsa (No. 104—T.T.).

**His Purohitas:**—Royal grants usually refer to the presence of the court Purohitas and other learned men on the occasion of the gifts of kings, and in consonance with this practice we find his Purohitas Raṅgā or Raṅganātha-Dikshita, his son Yagṛṇa-Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa or Dikshita and Śivā-Dikshita, who had performed the different sacrifices (Savakrātu-Vājapeya-Sarvatānukha-Yājis), present with Krishnarāya at the temple of Śrī Vāṅkaṭāsa during his fourth visit to His shrine on the 6th July 1514 A.C. During this visit Raṅgā-Dikshita and Śivā-Dikshita were granted a portion of the donor’s share of the offered prasadām arranged by Krishnarāya with the produce derived from the village of Taḷḷapāika in the Pottapināṭi-sīma endowed to the temple for the purpose (page 159 ante). Within the next four days, i.e., on the 10th July 1514, the son Yagṛṇa-Nārāyaṇa-Dikshita presented 10,000 chakram or chakrapāram to the temple for certain offerings intended for God Vāṅkaṭāsa and required the feeding of twelve Brāhmaṇas with the donor’s quarter share of the offered prasadām (Nos. 192 and 245—T.T.). This donor paid his respects to God Tiuvedāgaḷandhāta for a second time in Saka 1443, Vishu (s. 9-3-1522 A.C.), when he made a further deposit of money for His propitiation on the days of his father’s birth-star Punarvasu (No. 346—T.T.). Both the royal Purohitas Raṅganātha-Dikshitulu and Śivā-Dikshitulu, entitled Savakrātu-Sarvatānukha-Vājapeya-Yājis, likewise attended the performance of the Taḷḷāpurusha-mahādāna by Krishnarāya, the Rathaḥtiṇa-mahādāna by Chinnādevamma and the Saṃpāṭṣaṅga-mahādāna by
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Tirumaladēvamma in the presence of God Amarāvāra at Amaravati in Śaka 1437, Yuva (15-7-1515 A.C.), in their return journey to the capital city after Krishnārāya's capture of Kōṇavīṭā during his second campaign against the Gajapati, and received two villages as their share of the gifts following upon the grant by the king of a village to God Amarāvāra and two villages to 108 learned Brāhmaṇas (No. 272 of 1897 published as No. 248 in S. I. I., Vol. VI).

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Vyasatirtha the Founder of the Vyasaraya-Matha:—Even though Krishnārāya's religious leanings were towards Vaishṇavism, as amply testified to by his composition of the Telugu-kavya "Āmuktamālāyada" with the alternative title of "Vishnuchititiyamu," he had shown special favour to and greatly honoured the Madhva-guru Śrimat Vyāsatirtha Śrīpāda-Uḍaiyar, the disciple of Śrimat Brahmāyatirtha Śrīpāda-Uḍaiyar. The discipleship is expressed by the term Karnakama-saṅjīta, i.e., born out of the lotus-like hand of Brahmāyatirtha. He was the founder of the Vyāsaraya-Maṭha. He was entitled Śrimat Paramakamṣa-parivrēja-bhākṣyavargya. Padavākya-pramūrga, Durvādigarvasarasvasāpahāra, Śrimat Vaishāvā-siddhānta-pratishkēpakākhyaya and Sakala-vidvajjana-manahpadavama-saṃpastika. Another biruda is mentioned in para 33 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905, to wit, 'he who commented on all the Śāstras.' He figures as the donee in three records (Nos. 98 and 246—T.T. and No. 200—G.T.) dated on the same day in Śaka 1445, Svabhānu (=12-1-1524 A.C.). Krishnārāya granted to him with libations of water, for the express purpose and on condition of building Maṭhas, the houses and house-sites belonging to one of the temple-priests, viz., Nambi Śīrṣappaiyān who once committed the sacrilege of the theft of temple-jewels for which his houses and house-sites were ordered by Sāluva Nara-simharāya Mahārāya to be confiscated to the temple, and he also issued an edict (rāyasam) embodying the above order together with the authorisation to receive the donor's share of the prasādam arranged for being offered in the name of Krishnārāya and to utilise it for his Maṭhas. The houses of the delinquent Nambi were situated, one of them to the north of the temple of Śrī Govindaperumāl in Tirupati and another in the North Street to the north of the Svāmi-Pūshkāriṣi at Tirumala. In the grant by Krishnārāya one more house at Tirumala in the North Street standing by the side of the pathway

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leading to the Pāpāvināma-tirtha was included. In one of these epigraphs (No. 246—T.T.) it is stated that Kṛishñarāya had previously granted to the temple the pūrṇam levied during the Puraṁśali-tirunāl; and also presented half of the village of Kṣaṇikāmpaṇḍi situated in Ut-maṇḍalam and the full villages of Tāḷiappākkam, Pirāṭam, Dārattur, Muśiyyur, Satraṇadhi and Tuṇṭiyur situated in Pura-maṇḍalam, being intended for offerings for Tiruvāḻaṅāṯa; and it is the quarter share of these offerings belonging to him as the donor which he authorised Vyāsatṛtha to receive and utilise for his Maṭha (page 166 ante). In two later records Vyāsatṛtha figures as the donor. In Śaka 1440, Tāraṇa (=8-11-1524 A.C.), he instituted a capital of 14,000 naṟṟaṇam for offerings for both Śṛi Vaiṁakṣam and Śṛi Gvindarāja during festivals and other occasions, and also granted the village of Śiyalaṉd̐hur in Paṇḍain̐ṇu-armai including the Kuṇṇam and Paṉvūsam (hamlets inhabited by people of the lower classes and village servants) for daily offerings for Śṛi Gvindarāja. The donor’s quarter share of the prasādam was required to be issued to his Maṭha (No. 612—T.T.). Again in Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (=April 1528 A.C.), he granted as a tiruvidaiyāṭṭam the village of Oḍḍampaṇṭi the income from which was 60 rikkha-pōn. Vyāsatṛtha’s transactions, so far known from his records in this collection, are confined to Kṛishñarāya’s time. An epigraph from Conjevaram, No. 370 of 1919 dated in the early years of Kṛishñarāya’s reign in Śaka 1433, Prajāpati (=28-8-1511 A.C.), registers a gift by Vyāsatṛthā for the conduct of the Āvaṭi festival and the presentation of a śaṅkha-vāḷanam (serpent-vehicle) with the sanction of the king to God Varadārāja. From No. 710 of 1922 we see that this Madhava-guru lived on into the reign of Achyutarāya and installed the image of God “Vṛga-Varada-Nrisimhavām” in the court-yard of the Viṣṭhala temple at Hampi; on Thursday combined with the Vaishnava-Nakshatra (Sravaṇam) in the dark fortnight of the Vṛṣṇi or Sravaṇa month in the cyclic year Nanda, current with Śaka 1454, equivalent to the 18th of July 1532 A.C. ‘The Vṛṣṭaṇi, a small work dealing with his life, says that he built a big tank called Vyāṣasamudra and resided for a number of years on the Tirupati hill’ (para 84 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923). The inscriptions of this collection relating to him appear to confirm the latter statement and the time that he spent at Tirumala must be apparently covered within their dates extending from Śaka 1445, Swabhānu (i.e. 1523-24 A.C.) to Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (i.e. 1528-29 A.C.), about six or seven years during the third decade of the 16th century. Quite likely he spent some time in his earlier life at Kāṭchi where his gift was registered and his-
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last days at Vijayanagara where he installed the image of Vöga-Varada- Nyśisimhasvămi in July 1532 A.C., and breathed his last at Vijayanagara.

‘Even to-day the pious pilgrim who goes to the Pamphaksōtra (Hampi) is
shown the tomb of this great religious teacher and scholar on an island called “Navabrandavana” in the Tusagabhadra river about half a mile to the east of Ānegondi.’ (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 84).

Vyasatirtha’s Anachronous Transactions:—But we are informed
that Vyāsaratāja, born about 1446 A.C., corresponding to the period of the rise
of the Šājuva chieftain, Narasimha, to power, ‘proceeded to the Court of
Śaluva Narasimha at Chandragiri;’ and that ‘owing to certain untoward
occurrences at the temple of Tirupati, this Āchārya had to remain there for a
number of years, noted down actually as twelve years’ (A review of ‘The
Life of Sri Vyasarajya by Somanatha’ by Mr. B. Venkoba Rao in the “Journal
of Indian History,” Vol. V. Part iii, Serial No. 15, pages 456-7). It is further
stated that, having been ‘often looked upon as guide and philosopher by
successive rulers of Vijayanagar, so much so that under Narasa, he became
the regular adviser to the Court,’ ‘he lived in Vijayanagar afterwards in one
of its suburbs.’ These statements therefore imply that Vyasatirtha stationed
himself at Tirumala for a full period of twelve years in the time of Šāluva
Narasimha, ‘owing to certain untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati,’
and set right the temple affairs, and that latterly he was called on by Tuluva
Narasa to the Vijayanagara Court where he continued to live during the
reigns of Vira-Narasimha, Krishnārāya and Achyutarāya. Among the one
hundred and odd epigraphs in this collection that belong to the period of time
intervening between the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Krishnārāya, not even one
gives any indication of ‘the untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati,’
or makes a reference to Vyasatirtha or Vyāsaratāja. The prominent person
that figures in those records in the affairs of the temple was Kandādai
Rāmānujayaagār, the manager of the Rāmānujabhāyams established by Šāluva
Narasimha who almost venerated him. From the way in which Kandādai
Rāmānujayaagār appears to have been honoured by Šāluva Narasimha, we
have to infer that there was no room for a second religious teacher at the
place. Probably there is a confusion here of the events of śripādarāja’s life
as depicted in “śripādarājaśhāaka,” which mentions that ‘Vira Narsaiga
Rāya Nripati resigned his great throne effulgent with light (Ujvala-mahā-
simkāśana) to śripāda Rāja who sat on it and expiated him from the sin of
Brahmānātya;’ with the events connected with the life of Vyāsatirtha or

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Vyāsarāja (See “Śrīpādarāja and Vyāsarāja” by Mr. C. Krishnaswami Rao, published in the “Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras,” page 361). Tradition also speaks to the twelve years’ time spent by Vyāsatirtha at Tirumala in worshipping Śrī Vākaṭāśīa on each Thursday evening during that period. It is said that God Vākaṭāśīa assumed a ferocious appearance in His hunting dress of a loose gown with a sword hanging from His belt and His whole body adorned with flowers, and that the temple priests were terrified at it. Vyāsatirtha stepped in, officiated as the Pujārī on each Thursday evening during His Pālmugī-sava and at the end of twelve years brought back the usual calm and benignant look of the God, and restored His worship on Thursday evenings to the temple Pujāris who gladly and thankfully resumed it. Vyāsatirtha did not afterwards desire to worship Him directly in the sanctum but contented himself with making his obeisance to His representation in the figure carved over the Vīmāna or pinnacle of the central shrine known as Vīmāna-Śrīniāsī. And to this day the pilgrims of the Mādhva community collect themselves on a raised platform under a porch to the north of the central shrine just facing Vīmāna-Śrīniāsī, and read Purāṇas and hold popular religious discourses.

If this ferocious appearance was one of the ‘untoward occurrences’ above referred to, it must have happened only in the time of Krishnāraṇya,—and not earlier,—when Vyāsatirtha can definitely be stated, from the existence of his inscriptions at this place dated in this king’s reign, to have lived at Tirumala even for a dozen years. Further Krishnāraṇya visited the temple and paid his obeisance to God Tiruvalluvarakamudaiyan a number of times in the second decade of the 6th century and he had not probably noticed the ferocious appearance and had not been terrified by it; and so this ferocity should have been manifested in the third decade. Whatever may have been the nature of the manifested appearance, be it an invention for a causal connection of Vyāsatirtha’s activities with the affairs of the temple, we may however accept the tradition so far as it relates to the passing of twelve years’ life of Vyāsatirtha at Tirumala. It may therefore be concluded that Vyāsatirtha, though he might be supposed to have lived for a time at the court of Svāluva Narasinha at Chandragiri, did not apparently reside at Tirumala, that his residence for six or seven or even the full period of twelve years happened only in the latter half of Krishnāraṇya’s reign as evidenced from the dates of his records at the place, that he changed his residence from Tirumala to Vijayanagara in the last years of Krishnāraṇya’s reign and established a Matha there in one of the
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suburbs of the capital city, and that he breathed his last at Vijayanagara during the reign of Achyutarāya.

Vyasatirtha's Momentary Filling of the Karnataka Throne:—A story is told that on a day in the reign of Krishnārāya there occurred a planetary conjunction in the starry heavens at a particular time denominated the Kuha-Yāga which portended calamity to the reigning king. Krishnārāya apprehended death to him if he was the occupant of the throne at the time and placed on the throne for the nonce the ascetic Vyasatirtha who came to the king's rescue on the occasion. The prognosticated evil hour passed off quietly without a mishap to either Vyasatirtha or Krishnārāya. So the Madhwa-guru became for once in his life the occupant of the Vijayanagara throne (Karnākha Simhāsana-dhīvara), and assumed the name Vyasa-Rāja, i.e., Vyasa-Rāja, signifying his reign. Mr. Krishnaswami Rao, in his above article (page 363), opines that the Kuha-Yāga must have occurred on the new moon day, preceding the date of the battle of Raichur fought on the 19th May 1520 A.C.

Vyasatirtha's Literary Activities:—Vyasatirtha was not only a religious preceptor but also a literary scholar and wrote works on Logic and Dvaita Philosophy, such as Tarkatattvava, Nyāyāntita, Sudhā, Mandaranaśīvī, Madhuvatātphilipravandrikā; and commented on several Upanishats, such as the Chhandogya Upanishat, Taittiriyopanishat and Maṇḍakhyopanishat (G. Oppert's "Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts," Vol. II, page 691).

Narayana Jiyar the Second Head of the Ahobila-Matha:—Śrīman Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, the disciple and successor of Śrī Vaiṣṇava Jiyar, who founded the Ahobila-Mathi of the Vaiṣṇava sect of the Śrivaishnavas, was an elder contemporary of Śrīmat Vyasatirtha. Nārāyaṇa Jiyar appears to have stayed some time at Tirupati in the course of his religious tours through the country. Within the space of three months he paid two sums of 1860 and 3800 nārpanām into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1438, Dhātu, the first on the 26th August and the second on the 7th November 1516 A.C., to form the capital fund from the interest on which he arranged for offerings for Śrī Vāskanātha, Śrī Gōvindarāja and Ālvārs and Uḍāiyavar on specified days (Nos. 60 and 106—G.T.). This Vaiṣṇava Jiyar, whose disciple Nārāyaṇa Jiyar was, must be the Śaṅkara-Yati whom Allāsāni Peddana, the poet-laureate of Krishnārāya, mentions as his guru and to whom he offers his adorations as the asylum of all learning, and the dispeller of the thick darkness of sins of his disciples through the moonlight of his kind looks' ("Manucharitramu," Canto I, Introduction, verse 6).
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The Guruparampara Account of the First Three Jiyars:—The “Sannidhi-Guruparampara”, a small work in Tamil dealing with the lives of the successive heads of the *Abhima-Mahta*, mentions that Vañ-Sañatakopa Jiyar was the son of Kiñāmbi Sri Kannākārya of Tirunarasayanapuram (Melkote in Mysore), having been born on Thursday, the 5th lunar day of the bright half of the solar month Puraśṭā in the cyclic year Siddhārthi, current with the śaka year 1301 and Kali year 4480; and these details work out to 18th August 1379 A.C. His *Vidyā-guru* was Gañikāvatam-Ammāli alias Varadakavi of Kanchi and he studied under him up to his 30th year. He had also married meanwhile. At the close of his studies, God Nṛishināsvāmi of Abhīlam appeared to Śrīnivāsācārya, the name of Vañ-Sañatakopa Jiyar in his *purāṇārama*, and called him on to Abhīlam, where he proceeded and received initiation into *Sanyāsa* at the hands of God Nṛishināsvāmi who on the occasion named him Sañatakopa Jiyar. Thenceforward he worshipped Śrī Lakṣmi-Nṛishinā of Abhīlam and even in his religious tours he carried with him the images of the God and the Goddess. At Alvar-Tirunagarai he reconsecrated the image of Nammālavar, converted the Pāṇḍiya king to Vaiṣṇavaism, thence proceeded north to Orissa, regained for Mukundadeva

**Note 1:**—This Mukundadeva who lost his throne of Orissa and regained it through the grace of Śrī Lakṣmi-Nṛishinā on his accepting Vaiṣṇavaism at the hands of Vañ-Sañatakopa Jiyar, as per the account of the “Guruparampara,” must be identical with the Orissa king mentioned on page 208 of Sewell’s “Lists of Antiquities,” Vol. II, as Mukund Deva or Telingā Mukund Deva, “the last of the independent kings of Orissa, and a man of great courage and ability,” who ‘reigned 8 years’ from 1551 to 1559 A.C. and during whose ‘reign Kālāpahār, the general of the Muhammadan king of Bengal, invaded the province with a large force,’ defeated and slew him ‘in a battle outside the walls of the capital, Jāipur,’ overthrew the monarchy in 1559 A.C. and ‘plundered the holy city of Puri.’ Epigraphical evidence credits Mukundadeva Gajapati with a longer reign than eight years, for No. 335 of 1919 from Draksharama in the Godavari district, dated in the 10th year of the reign of Vira-Mukunda-Gajapati Mahādeva, on Thursday, the 3rd day of the solar month of Makara and the 7th day of its dark fortnight, corresponding to the 7th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Pushya in the cyclic year Akṣhayā, states that the king, while ruling from his throne at Kaśika (i.e., Cuttack) having conquered the Gauḍa (country) giving promise of favour to the Gauḍa king, and having performed the pearī talpāpurṣa and other donations at the Gaṅgā (Ganges), remitted the duties on the marriages in the twenty-seven states attached to Rāja-mahāndravaram. The details of the date furnished by the record work out for Thursday, the 2nd January 1567 A.C., which is about two years subsequent to the date of the battle of Talikota and thus falls into the reign of Saddāvānya. Consequently Adi-Vañ-Sañatakopa Jiyar cannot be expected to have lived on, for half a century longer than his time, into the reign of Saddāvānya, after four of his immediate successors including
his lost throne through the grace of Śrī Lakshmi-Nrisimha, installed images of Nammathār and Emperumānar at Purushottamam or the modern town of Puri and returning to Melkote built the gopuram of Sampatkumāra temple through the help of some king and consecrated an image of Vēdanta-Dēśikā at the place. Next he journeyed to Tirupati where he laid over the front hill the stone steps of the pathway leading to the temple at Tirumala; he then marched on to Kānchi and there he built the thousand-pillared maṇḍapam for Śrī Varadarājāsvāmī, and from there proceeded to Śrīraṣṭāgam and installed Kaliyan (Tirumaisagaiyālvar) and Vēdanta-Dēśikā at that religious centre. From the expressions of the Saṃskrit verse quoted in the Tamil book from the “VāsantiKapariṇayam” (a Saṃskrit drama) by Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar, the seventh in succession from the founder of the Maṭha, it appears that Saṭhakōpa Jiyar visited Vijayanagara, the capital of the Karnataka kingdom (yayaṉ pūnagama vijayi Karṇaṁ-simhasanam). It is also reported that Maṇapākkaṁ Tāppar or Vaidikasārvabhauma, the author of several works on Dharmāśtra, became the disciple of Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar and through the guru’s help promulgated his Vaidika principles. Saṭhakōpa Jiyar is said to have occupied the pontifical seat as the head of the Ahobilamāṭha for sixty chāturmāyas (i.e. sixty years) and breathed his last at his birth-place Tirunarayanapuram. As for his Sṛṇivāsa Jiyar, the fourth head for a period of ten years from about 1541 to 1551 A.C., and a second Saṭhakōpa Jiyar, the fifth head for six years from 1551 to 1557 A.C., had occupied the pontificate and breathed their last in the interval. It is further mentioned in a foot-note on page 56 of the same “Sannidhi-Guruparampara” that Sādāśivarāya, while returning to Vijayanagara after his visit to God Vēkāṭṭhavar at Tirupati, renovated certain temples at Kamalapuram in the Cuddapah district through the consecration ceremony performed by Parāṇkuśa Jiyar, the sixth head of the Maṭha, for which the king remunerated him with the gift of the village Śrībhāṣyapuram situated on the bank of the Pīṅkīnī river. And this Parāṇkuśa Jiyar is stated to have presided over the Maṭha for a period of fifteen years which would roughly correspond to 1557 to 1572 A.C. It is therefore certain that it was the fifth head of the Ahobilamāṭha who was also named Saṭhakōpa Jiyar, and not Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar, that was a contemporary of both Sādāśivarāya and Mukundadēva and that helped the Orissa king to regain his throne from the Gauḍa king. As the epigraph from Draksharama reports, became the vassal of Mukundadēva. Apparently Mukundadēva Gajapati was not killed in the battle fought outside the walls of his capital Jāipur. Consequently Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar’s relations with Mukundadēva are anachronistic incidents in his life, pertaining proper to the life and activities of one of his successors, the second Saṭhakōpa Jiyar, the fifth head of the Ahobilamāṭha who administered its affairs between the years 1551 and 1557, and hence his help to Mukundadēva must have been rendered during 1556-57 A.C. which according to the Draksharama record becomes the first year of the king’s reign.
successor Śrīman Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, it is briefly recorded that he came to occupy the seat of the Maṭhādhipati on the 5th lunar day in the bright half of Chaitra in the year Bahudhānaya, the Kali year 4560, which works out to Friday, the 9th March 1459 A.C., held the post for fourteen years and died on the second day of the dark fortnight of Paṅguni in the cyclic year Nandana, corresponding to the 16th March 1473 A.C., after having established the Agraḥāram of Madhuramaṅgalam, and written the works, Purvaṅkaśa-Mimāṁsā, Siddhānta-Mimāṁsā and Brīttatva-Siddhāṅjana, and consecrated an image of Ādi-Vaṇ-śaṭhakopā Jiyar at Tirunarayana puram. And he was succeeded by Śrīman Parākṣuḷa Jiyar on the full moon day in the month of Pāṅguna in Nandana, Kali year 4574, corresponding to Friday, the 12th February 1473 A.C., and the latter is said to have presided over the Maṭha for a period of thirteen years.

The Dates of the First Three Jiyaś of the Ahobilā-Maṭha:—As for the dates of these three early Vaṁśaṅkaṭaṅka Jiyar was the guru of Allasāni Peddana, who wrote his “Manucharitraṁ” before 1520 A.C., and was therefore an elder contemporary of the famous Telugu poet. The date furnished for Nārāyaṇa Jiyar by the two epigraphs of our collection, noticed above, is 1516 A.C., and likewise the dates given by two records from Conjeevaram for Parākṣuḷa Jiyar are 5aka 1452, Vikriti and 5aka 1461, Vikāri, equivalent to Wednesday, the 15th July 1530 A.C. and Wednesday, the 14th January 1540 A.C. respectively (Nos. 374 and 373 of 1919), both falling within the reign of Achyutārya. But the dates indicated by the “Sannidhi-Guruparampara” are August 1379 for Vaṁśaṅkaṭaṅka Jiyar’s birth and August 1398 again for his receiving the Sanyāsa-ā́ramā; March 1459 for Nārāyaṇa Jiyar’s assumption of the headship of the Ahobilā-Maṭha and March 1473 for his death; and February 1473 for the accession of Parākṣuḷa Jiyar. From the epigraphical evidence these dates appear to be ‘antedated by nearly a cycle of sixty years.’ On the basis of the epigraphical dates we may endeavour to fix approximate dates for these three pontiffs, working from Parākṣuḷa Jiyar backwards. His pontificate has been limited to thirteen years and the dates of his two records at Conjeevaram, i.e., July 1530 and January 1540, are ten years apart. Distributing the remaining three years, we may roughly fix his period of activity as from 1528 to 1541 A.C. Likewise Nārāyaṇa Jiyar’s fourteen years may be taken to extend from 1515 to 1528 A.C. into which also falls the year of his two donations at Tirupati, viz., 1516 A.C. Calculating back sixty years from 1515 A.C. for Vaṁśaṅkaṭaṅka Jiyar’s religious activities, we come to 1456 A.C. as the year of his assuming the robe.
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at Ahobilam, and deducting a further period of twenty years from the latter date we obtain the year of his birth as 1437 A.C. roughly. But to assume the Siddhārthi year corresponding to Śaka 1361 and 1439 A.C. as the year of birth of Vaṣ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar would throw forward the period of his successor Nārīyama Jiyar by nearly two years, as 1517 to 1530 A.C., which would fall outside the date of his two records of our collection, viz., 1516 A.C. The dates thus calculated for the three Jiyars may be taken as approximately correct. We then find that Vaṣ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar was born in the reign of Dāvarīya II., became a recluse in the time of Mallikārjuna, when he continued his religious propaganda for sixty years down to a third of the reign of Krishnārīya, and had witnessed the alleged usurpations of the Vijayanagara throne at the end of the 15th century. From thence Nārīyama Jiyar lived almost to the end of Krishnārīya's reign and his successor Parākūnī Jiyar throughout the period of Achyutārīya's reign. Just as the Vyasārīya-Maṭha was founded by Vyāsatīrtha under the patronage of Krishnārīya, the Ahōbila-Maṭha had been established by Vaṣ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar during the time of Sājīva Narasimha or in the reign of Mallikārjuna at the earliest. It is therefore apparent that the two Maṭhas came into existence one after the other under royal patronage in the course of half a century.

Van-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar's Activities at Tirupati:—Ādi-Vaṣ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar's activities were seen to have extended to Tirupati also. He established a Maṭha at Tirumala sometime prior to Śaka 1427, Krēdhana (=13-3-1506 A.C.), on which date Dharmapuram Śīṭamu-Śeṭti, a merchant residing in the suburb of Narasingarāyapuram in Tirupati, while providing for certain offerings for Śrī Vaṅkaṭēśa after His ablutions on the alternate Fridays, stipulated for the issue of the donor's share of the prasādam to the Ekāki-Śrīvaishnavaṇas managing the Vaṅ-Śaṭhakōpa-Maṭha (No. 276—T.T.). The exact position of this Maṭha is not mentioned but it must have been situated in the north row of the South Street in Tirumala where a new building for the Ahōbila-Maṭha is now under construction. During his stay in Tirupati Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar had initiated a number of Śrīvaishnavaṇas into the philosophy and precepts of the Vaishnava religion, and some of these disciples of his are found in No. 275—G.T. making provision in Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (=November 1528 A.C.), for offerings for Śrī Vaṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarājā on specified days through a deposit of 260 paṇam. The above record brings to notice also a flower-garden laid out by him (Jiyar-nandavanam) below a tank which was the charity of a certain king (Rājar-kuḷa). Curiously enough we find Vaṣ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar made the
recipient of the donor's share of the offered prasādam arranged by a disciple of his by name Malaiperumāl in No. 504—T.T. dated in Śaka 1463, Plava (=23-3-1542 A.C.), in the last days of Achyutarāya's reign. We have seen that his activities had come to a close by about 1515 A.C., more than two decades and a half prior to this date, and his two successors also had left their mortal frames, Narāyanā Jiyar by 1528 and Parākṣuṇa Jiyar by 1541 A.C.; and so the date must relate to the fourth Jiyar, viz., Śrīnivāsa Jiyar, according to the succession given in the "Guru-parampara." Consequently 'Vaņ Śaņhakopa Jiyar' must refer to this fourth pontiff Śrīnivāsa Śathakopa Yatendra Mahā-Desikan. Vaņ Śaņhakopa Jiyar had thus followed the usual path of a religious preceptor for propagating the Vaishnava religion and its tenets through the establishment of a Maśha at this religious centre, through the initiation of a number of disciples and through the enjoining upon them of meditation and divine service.

Kandadai Madhavayangar and His Guru Ramanujayangar:—A third religious teacher, not quite so prominent and famous as the two founders of religious institutions noticed above, comes to notice in some of these epigraphs. He was Kandāḍai Madhavayyaṅgār, the disciple of Kandāḍai Rāmānujaṅgār whom Sājuva Narasimha held in high esteem and appointed as the manager of his Rāmānuja-kōṭiṅs at Tirumala and Tirupati. As the disciple of Rāmānuja-jaṅgār, Madhavayyaṅgār occupied the post of the guardian (karta) of the gold-treasury (Por-paṅgāram), i.e., the jewellery and other gold and silver articles belonging to the temple, along with the management of the free feeding-houses (Rāmānuja-kōṭiṅs), in succession to Rāmānujaṅgār who was first appointed karta of the Por-paṅgāram through an order (rāyasam) of Sājuva Narasimha issued in Śaka 1417, Rākṣasa (= 1-7-1495 A.C.) (No. 628—T.T.). The order authorised Kandāḍai Rāmānujaṅgār, the disciple of Aḷagiyamaṇaṉa Jiyar of Kanchi, to utilise from the aggregate income derived from the village of Narasigārāyapuram established by Rāmānujaṅgār in the name of the Rāyan, from the landāi, makama, and kuttakai probably from Tirupati, from the lands and villages granted by Narasimha for the conduct of the Rāmānuja-kōṭiṅs and from the proceeds of the donor's share of the offerings, a sum of 3000 paṇam for repairs to the gold and silver jewels. The repairs were required to be executed in the presence of the Sthānattār of the temple to whom the repaired jewels were to be handed over. Any balance remaining out of this sum of 3000 paṇam was to be carried over to the succeeding year and any deficit arising in this aggregate sum was permitted
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to be made up from the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram (the temple-treasury). Rāmānuja-
ayyaṅgār appears to have wielded great influence over Saṅiva Narasimha
whose establishment of the Rāmānuja-bhūyams both at Tirumala and Tirupati as
well as donations and grants to the temple are traceable to this religious
preceptor's initiative (page 49 ante). His religious activities were confined
to Tirupati and here to the community of the Sattāda-Śrivaishnavas. In his later
days he visited the 108 Tirupatis or the religious centres sacred to Vishnu and
on returning to Tirumala from his religious tour he had gilded the doors and
door-jambs of the passage leading into the inner shrine and the Vaikuntha
passage round the central shrine of Śrī Vaṅkaṭaśā's temple (No. 494—T.T.).
His greatness and his service were so far recognised as to permit the chanting
of his uḷā (encomium) in the presence of the deity at the time of the smearing
of the deity's holy body with civet oil immediately after the holy bath for Him
on alternate Fridays (No. 336—T.T.). Both Kandādai Mādhavayaṅgār and
Kandādai Appachchiyār-Appai must have been his kinsmen, although the
discipleship is claimed for the former and no relationship is indicated for the
latter who however made a gift of land for offerings for Śrī Vaṅkaṭaśā
immediately after the chanting of the uḷā of Kandādai Rāmānuja-yayaṅgār was
finished (No. 336—T.T.). Mādhavayaṅgār founded the village of Tirumaladavi
and made it over to the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram for the propitiation of God
which registers this gift of the village, refers to the Tai-tirunāl started by
Krishnārāya, to the Narasā-Nāyakkar-manapam, and to the grant of 1600 kuṭi
of sarvamāṇya land in Bhaṅgāravēlai villages in Kuṭavēr-nāṭu to Rāmānuja-
ayyaṅgār for the offering called Alaritsamāṅgai-Nāchchiyār-nippatam and to the
gift of land to the Rāmānuja-bhūyams by Tirumala-Nāyakkar on the date of the
record. In No. 107—G.T. dated in Śāka 1444, Chitrabhānu ( = 2-4-1522 A.C.),
we find this Mādhavayaṅgār recounting the previous grant of land for the
Rāmānuja-bhūyams, the utilisation of its phalabhāgam (income) for them and
the offering of three appa-paṭis yearly as the share of the donor in these
offerings. A later member of this family, viz., Kandādai Kumāra-Rāmānuja-
ayyaṅgār, presented a wooden car to the temple of Śrī Rama on the 18th day
of Tai in the cyclic year Viṅḍhī ( = 14-1-1530 A.C.), for the merit of king
Achyutarāya Mahārāya (No. 316—G.T.).

Kandādai Vedantachārya alias Dōddayyaṅgār-Appai—Kandādai
Vedantachārya alias Dōddayyaṅgār-Appai was probably a member of a
collateral branch of the family to which Kandādai Rāmānuja-yayaṅgār and others

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Achyutaraya’s Coronation:—Achyutaraya, the half-brother and successor of Krishnaraya on the throne of Vijayanagara, is represented by a large number of inscriptions of this collection. His earliest mention occurs in No. 316—G. T. which registers the charity of the construction of a wooden car for Raghunatha, i.e., Sri Rama or Sri Kodastra-Rama of Tirupati, by Kumara-Ramanujayyaaghur for the merit of Achyutaraya Maharaaya. The record is dated on the 18th day of Tai in the cyclic year Viradh, corresponding to the Shaka year 1451, (equivalent to Friday, 14th January 1530 A.C.); but Achyutaraya had already begun to rule when his ‘coronation was first celebrated at Tirupati where he was bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of the God Venkata, and again for a second time at his capital Vidyanganara (“Sources of Vijayanagar History,” page 158). It is however reported that his coronation took place at Kalahasti in the presence of God Srikrishnastava on the 5th day of the dark half of the lunar month Kartika in the same cyclic year Viradh, equivalent to Thursday, the 21st October 1529 A. C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924, para 45). There is still another date furnished by Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900 from Conjeevaram for ‘Achyuta’s coronation, viz., the 5th titki of the second half of the solar month Vrischika in the Viradhin year, which corresponded to the Shaka Year 1452—A.D. 1529-30’ (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1900, para 70). The solar month Vrischika did not coincide with the lunar month Kartika, but succeeded it, and hence the 5th day of the former fell a month later than the 5th day of the latter. That is to say, while the date of the coronation supplied by the Kalahasti inscriptions as noted above, is Thursday, the 21st October 1529 A.C., that supplied by the Conjeevaram inscriptions works out to Saturday, the 20th November 1529 A.C. Consequently, of the two dates, the 20th November must be the date of his coronation celebrated later at his capital Vijayanagara, as stated in the “Achyutarayabhuyadayam.” Thus Achyutaraya appears to have been crowned thrice successively, for once at Tirumala immediately on release from his confinement in the fort at Chandragiri, for the second time at Kalahasti and finally with all due ceremonial and pomp at the capital city of Vijayanagara, all the three within an interval of about a month during October-November 1529 A.C. But out of these three occasions, only the second one mentioned in the Kalahasti inscriptions, viz., ‘the day of Kartika-bahula-panchami,’ i.e., the 21st October 1529, is referred to again in Nos. 544 and 545 of 1919 from.
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Conjeevaram itself, whose other records Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900, are stated to give a date falling a month later. Since November 1529, therefore, Achyutarâya must have assumed the reins of government and ruled the Vijayanagara empire as a co-regent with his half-brother Krishnarâya, for some months longer during 1530-31, when he must have become the sole ruler on the death of Krishnarâya some time in 1531 A.C. (page 168 ante).

His First Visit to Tirumala:—As in the case of Krishnarâya, we do not come across any frequent visits of Achyutarâya paid to the temple of Sri Vâkaṭâvâra, notwithstanding his rich presents and gifts to it and other charities at Tirupati. One definite occasion is however noticed, viz., the Friday combined with the star Aâvini, which was the 7th lunar day in the solar month of Kumbha in the cyclic year Nandana, current with the Śaka year 1454, equivalent to 31st January 1533 A.C. On this occasion of his visit to Tiruvâkaṭâmuṇḍaiyân he was accompanied by his queen Varadâji-amman and his son Kumâra-Vâkaṭâdri, and he performed the mahâdânas Kapila pain (Kapila-dhīnu) and Svarṇavarṣhâm (Suvārṇamânu, Kâchhânamânu or Mâhâmânu), and presented to God Vâkaṭâvâra a big kapâ (garment for the body) fully decked with pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds; four pon-valaiyam, (bâhuv-valaiyam), a pair of uchehippa set with gems for the head; a kuṭâm ornamented with diamonds for the top of the crown; a long string of pearls and other jewels consisting of differently shaped gold beads and nuts. At that time he also conducted the Archana himself for Śri Vâkaṭâvâra, while the Archaka recited the Śrînivâsa-sahasranâma (No. 453—T. T.). This visit of Achyutarâya to the temple of Śri Vâkaṭâvâra on the 31st January 1533 A. C. took place more than a year since ‘he went on a war with the Tiruvaḷi (Travancore), and levied tribute from him, brought under subjection Tumbichchi-Nâyaka and Sâjûva-Nâyaka and planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tâmrâpura after marrying the daughter of the Pâdya sovereign,’ and had in conjunction with his queen ‘Varadâmâbikâ and (his son) Chikâvenkaṭâdri severally performed the Muktâ-Tulâbâhâra ceremony in the presence of the god Hari at Kânchit’ in Śaka 1455, Nandana (= 14-7-1532 A.C.), in commemoration of his victory (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924, para 45; and No. 178 of 1924).

His Second Visit:—A second visit of Achyutarâya to God Vâkaṭâvâra may be inferred from his two records, Nos. 544 and 546—T. T. dated in Śaka 1457, Mannâmatha (= 26th December 1535 A. C.). On this occasion he instituted two new festivals, viz., the Lakshmiidâwâ-mahâtsavam to be celebrated for
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Tiruvākaṭamudaiyān and Alaimalmaṅga-Nāchchiyār for five days, and the Punarvasu-tirūmāl for Raghunāthan (Śri Rāma), Nāchchiyār (Śrīdaṇḍī), and Iḷaiya-Perumāl (Lakṣmaṇa) on each of the 13 days of the Punarvasu star occurring in the year. Towards the expenses of the festivals, Achyutarāya granted to the temple the uttara-yām of 300 rākhaṇ-paṇ and 60 rākhaṇ-paṇ respectively from the villages situated in the Koṇavatīrṇaī and stipulated for the supply of all articles from the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram. In recounting the details of the Lakṣmīdēvi-mahōtsava, the month in which it was required to be celebrated has been left out, though the omission of the actual days of beginning and ending was made good in a post-script as being Uttarāyādināi for the akṣuṇārpaṇa (seed-sowing prior to the actual commencement of the festival) and Rōkai-māi for the Śāttumoṛai (last day). In the same record No. 544 are mentioned seven māṇjāpams two of which were named after King Achyutarāya-svāmi, two after his queen Varadarāja-amman-svāmi, one after his son Kumāra-Chikka-Vākaṭādri-Udaiyar, one after his father Narasā-Niyakkar and one after his mother Ībāchchi-amman, i.e., Ībāmbika. In consonance with the Hindu practice of perpetuating the memory of men through designating buildings, tanks, gardens and even certain charities and services in temples after their names, we here find the memory of Achyutarāya kept up by the māṇjāpams which he built as well as the tank which he constructed—Achyutarāya-Konēri, the suburb which he laid out—Achyutarāya-puram, the deity whom he installed—Achyuta-Perunēi, the feeding house which he established—Achyutarāyar-satram, and the offerings he provided Achyutarāyar-avasaram. Similarly his mother's memory was endeavoured to be preserved at Tirumala through the aṅgaṇa-māṇjāpam built in her name, that of his father by the aṅgaṇa-māṇjāpam and the tiruvidhi, his queen's memory by the māṇjāpam and the aṅgaṇa-māṇjāpam and the avasaram (offerings) provided in her name to God Vākaṭādri and his son's by the māṇjāpam named after him. Elsewhere their memory had been sought to be perpetuated by the establishment of villages and tanks and installation of deities, such as Ībāchchiamman-samudram in the Chingleput district and Ībāḷāvaraa in the same village (No. 47 of 1900); Bukkāvaradēva in a village in the Bellary district (No. 195 of 1913) and Kumāra-Vākaṭādri-samudram, Vākaṭādri-samudra and Kumāra-Vākaṭādriyapura, surnames of villages in the North Arcot (No. 58—T.T.) and Anantapur districts (Nos. 574 and 578 of 1913).

Officers who Accompanied Him in His Second Visit:—On this second occasion of his visit to Tirumala on the 26th December 1535, it does not
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appear that Achyutarāya was accompanied, as on the previous occasion, by his queen and his son; but from the date of donations and grants made by some of his officers, viz., Rāmā-Bhāṣṭarayyan, Rāyasam Rāmachandra-Dikshita, Malayapparayyan and Aḍaippam Rukmiṇi-amman and Aḍaippam Parmādamman, it is quite certain that they attended upon the royal person at the time. Rāmā-Bhaṭṭa, the Viceroy of Achyutarāya at Chandragiri, established an agrakārā known as Tiruvākaṭapuram and installed an idol of Raghunātha in it (No. 515—T. T.). Rāyasam Rāmachandra-Dikshita made some provision for offerings (No. 538—T. T.); Malaiyapparayyan presented the village, Paṭchavan-māḍāvi-grāmam in Tiruvadi-rajyam yielding an annual income of 140 rakhai (No. 537—T. T.); and certain offerings were provided for God in the names of Rukmiṇi-amman and Parmādamman (Nos. 540 and 541—T. T.). Sāluva Timmarasa, the famous minister of Krishnārāya, has a record registering his transaction of the sale of prasādams belonging to him as donor, effected in favour of Tāḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār for 1900 panam on condition of the latter residing at Tirumala permanently, dated only 3 days later than this second visit of Achyutarāya, i.e., 29th December 1535 A. C. (No. 270—T. T.); and this proximity of the two dates seems to admit the inference that Sāluva Timma continued in the service of Achyutarāya and accompanied the King to Tirumala on this occasion as a royal officer, like the rest.

His Third Visit:—Another visit of Achyutarāya to Śrī Vākaṭāvarā’s temple at Tirumala is indicated from the personal gifts made by some of his officers, viz., Bhācharasayya, Rāmā-Bhaṭṭu, Aḍaippam Visvanātha-Nāyaka, Salakārāja Siṅgarāja, Immaḍi Ellappayya and Krishnappā-Nāyaka in 5āka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.), when each of them made a donation of 15,000 marpanam to the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram for the propitiation of the deity with 300 appa-paṭis yearly on behalf of each one of them. No. 396—T.T. records the grant of the village Mallāpuram on the above date by an officer of Achyutarāya whose name is lost, made on the suggestion of Achyutarāya Mahārāya himself, for the propitiation of Tiruvākaṭamauḍiayān on the seventh days in each of the eight Tirukkoṭi-tirunāḷ held at Tirumala, with the stipulation that the donor’s quarter share of the offered prasādam might be delivered to a certain Appayyan. Probably this Appayyan is the Nādiṣṭhā Appayya mentioned as the recipient of similar prasādam provided by Lakshmī-amman, wife of Sāluva Timmayyaṅgārū in 5āka 1433, Prajātpatti (=25-12-1511 A.C.) (No. 334—T.T.). If so, the donor was perhaps Sāluva Timmayya himself.
His Construction of Kapilatirtham with Mantapams:—About a year and a half prior to his first visit to Tirumala in Saka 1454, Nandana, Achyutarāya had provided with steps of granite stone the Kapilatirtham which he renamed “Chakratirtham” as being sacred to God Tiruvāgājanātha, and also constructed Sandhya-vandana-maṇḍapams on the east and west sides, and planted stones bearing the discus of Vishnu (Sudarśanaśila or Tiruvāṭiṅkal) at the four corners of the pond excavated in rock. Three of these inscribed stones are visible, while the fourth is built into a parapet wall of a later building. They are dated in Saka 1453, Khara (= 25th June 1531 A.C.) and record, in the three South Indian languages Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil, this charitable service rendered by Achyutarāya through the laying of the stone steps and the construction of the maṇḍapams for the attainment of the four human ends (chaturvidha-purushārtha-siddhi) (Nos. 206, 207 and 208—G.T.) (Page 72 ante).

His Installation of Achyuta-Perumal at Achyutarayapuram:—Besides these charities, Achyutarāya had also built a temple in Tirupati for Achyuta-Perumāḷ in the land belonging to the village of Kōṭhūr which was a tiruvīḷaiyēḻam of Tiruvākaṭamuḍaiyān and established an agrahāram of 120 houses built round the temple, after paying 2400 narpanāṁ into the Śrī-Bhaṅgaḷam (temple-treasury) of Śrī Vaṅkaṭāivar as compensation for the site taken up (pages 69—70 ante). To facilitate the daily worship of this deity, he granted the village of Parittiputtār, dividing it into 20 shares assigned to this new temple. In Saka 1460, Viḷamī (≈8-2-1539 A.C.), he made a gift of 100 out of the 120 houses in the agrahāram to the Brāhmaṇas who occupied them at the time with all rights of possession, succession, sale, mortgage, transfer, gift, etc., but reserved the 20 houses the occupants of which had also enjoyed the 20 shares of the village of Parittiputtār assigned to the temple of Achyutaperumāḷ (No. 355—G.T.). The reservation must have been occasioned by the suspicion of a prospective evacuation of the houses by their inmates who, probably being archakas, parichārakas and other servants of the temple, were responsible for the conduct of the daily worship, and the fear therefore of an eventual cessation of the pūja of the deity in the case of such an evacuation. This agrahāram of Achyutarāya-puram must have formed the northern suburb of Tirupati situated at the foot of the hill to the east of the road leading to Kapila-tirtham, in the site in which a ruined tower now stands with raised ground of concrete and debris and broken idols and stones to its immediate west indicating the existence of a temple in the past. While the grant of one
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hundred houses in the agrahārām was made by the king in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi, the consecration of the deity, the construction of His temple and the establishment of the village must have taken place some years earlier. For there is a reference to Achyutapperumāḷ in a record of Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (= 31-1-1537 A.C.) which registers a provision for His propitiation at a certain maṇḍapam on the Paḍiyavēṭṭai-māḷ (No. 140—G.T.), and hence His installation must have been effected by Achyutarāya during the early years of his reign soon after his accession to the throne of Vijayanagara. A fragmentary inscription No. 317—T.T. dated on the 16th day of Āvaṇi in the cyclic year Viḷambi, Śaka 1460 (= 15-8-1538 A.C.), seems to register some provision made for Achyutarāya-Mahārāya-satram and for Achyutapperumāḷ in Achyutarāyapuram, and it therefore appears that Achyutarāya also established a satram or a free feeding-house in the suburb laid out by him. A different Achyutarāyapuram comes to notice in No. 532—T.T. as having been situated near Sāgararai in Gaṇḍikōṭa-ūrmai and the income from this village was granted to the temple by Gōvinda-Paṇḍitār, son of Viṭṭhōji-Paṇḍitar in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (= 6-1-1536 A.C.).

His Deputation of Damsels for Temple-Service:—In addition to these services of Achyutarāya in the cause of Hindu religion, he had also sent a number of damsels to Tirupati from his capital City of Vijayanagara to serve God Vaṅkaṭesa in their humble way and live on the prasādam granted to them from the temple. Muddu-kuppāyī, daughter of Kuppāyī and granddaughter of śrīraṅgarājā, entitled Vidvatsabhārāya-Raṇjakam, (page 205 ante), was one of these Emperumānaṇiyār and she was deputed by the king in Śaka 1453, Khara (= 6-6-1531 A.C.), for service in the temple (No. 1—G.T.). She was enjoined to reside permanently in Tirupati and maintain herself with the one plateful of prasādam ordered to be issued to her every day from the temple of śrī Gōvindarājā. She was further required to see to the continuance of this peculiar service through her descendants. Hanumāṇi, daughter of Uṣṭītā Timmayan, was another such damsel. The epigraph No. 422—T.T., which registers her gift of 820 narpaṇam to the temple in Śaka 1461, Vikārī (= 31-1-1540 A.C.), for providing certain offerings to God, states that she was one among the damsels resident in Tirupati who had been assigned to the temple by Achyutarāya.

His Grant of two Villages to Tailapakam Tirumalayyanga:—A private grant of Achyutarāya comes to notice in No. 588—T.T. which registers the gift of the villages of Paṇḍi and Saṅgamakōṭai to the temple by
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Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār in Śaka 1454, Nandana (=27–3–1532 A.C.). It is recorded that these villages were previously granted through a copper-plate to the donor Tirumalayyaṅgār who belonged to the family of musicians attached to the temple of Śrī Vākaṭēvarṇa and that on the above date Tirumalayyaṅgār gave them to the temple.

His Queen Varadajiamman’s Gift of six Villages to the Temple:—Varadājīdivi-amman, the queen of Achyutārāya, arranged for an avasaram for Tiruvākaṭamuḍaiyan in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=5–4–1534 A.C.), stipulated to be offered after His propitiation with the avasarams provided in the names of Achyutārāya and Kṛishṇarāya, and towards its conduct she granted the income from six villages amounting to 920 ṛkhāi-pon (No. 49—T.T.), viz., Chinamaṭapulūr and Muttukūr, situated in Gaṇḍikōṭa-ūrmai, each contributing 200 ṛkhāi-pon; Poliva in Koṇṭavīṭu-rājyam another 200 ṛkhāi, and Valli and Maṅgamrū in the same province 35 pon each; and Pāṇḍapali-gṛūmam in Nārāyaṇapurachchirmai 110 ṛkhāi; and all the villages together yielding 140 ṛkhāi more from other sources. The provision for offerings in the names of Achyutārāya and Kṛishṇarāya mentioned above is not known directly from their respective records, but is now and then referred to in connection with similar arrangements made by others.

Gifts Made for the Merit of the Royal Family:—Salakarāja Śrī-Tirumalarāja, the brother of Varadājī-amman, purchased a plot of ground in the West Street in Tirumala for 120 pon and laid an aṅgana-tiruvidhi for the merit of Varadājī-amman, the Paṭṭamakadiviyar of Achyutārāya Mahārāya, in Śaka 1463, Plava (=21–12–1541 A.C.) (No. 360—T.T.). Siagarāja, son of Salakarāja, had provided for certain offerings for Śrī Vākaṭē varṇa in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12–1–1537 A.C.), and in the disposal of the donor’s share of the prasādam he made it over to the āchārya of his own sister (Uḍappiyandāl) (No. 455—T.T.). Probably this sister was Varadājī-amman herself and, if so, he was a third brother of Varadājī-amman. We also find a military officer Śrīraṅga-Nāyakkar, son of Tuluva Veṅgaḷu-Nāyakkar of Paṇḍavīṭu, arranging for offerings through a deposit of 650 nāraṇām in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=14–12–1536 A.C.), for the merit of Śvāmi Achyutārāya Mahārāyar, Varadājī-amman-avargal and Chikka-Vākaṭāḍri-Uḍaiyar (No. 543—T.T.). Śrīg-Timmayyar, son of Bhagāram Apparasar, provided in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=23–8–1534 A.C.), for the puṇugu-kēppu-murai of Śrī Vākaṭēvarṇa on the 13 days of the Mrigaṅrham star as well as the 53 Fridays occurring in the year (No. 331—T.T.); and the reason for the consecration of the particular star

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for the special function is stated to be that Achyutaraya was born under its ascendency.

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Continuance of Some of Krishnaraya's Officers in Achyutaraya's Service:—As already noticed, some of the officers of Krishnaraya continued in service under Achyutaraya. Pradhāni Sāluva Timmaśa's transactions relating to the sale of prasādams belonging both to his younger brother Sāluva Gōvindarāja and to himself in favour of Tāllapākam Tirumalayyaśāgar are respectively dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26-2-1535 A.C.) (No. 278—T.T.), and in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi Tai, Thursday (=28-12-1536 A.C.) (No. 270—T.T.); and Sāluva Gōvindarāja's gift of a village is registered in Śaka 1463, Plava (=5-11-1541 A.C.) (No. 85—G.T.). Consequently the two brothers must have lived at least up to the end of 1535 and 1541 A.C. and served the king. Similarly Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya might have functioned as a minister of the crown up to the year 1541 A.C., on the 30th April of which his gift of money to the temple is dated (No. 110—G.T. of Śaka 1463, Plava). Karapikka Basavarasa, son of Chaṇḍikai Obaḷadāva, has two records of his dated respectively in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=16-8-1534 A.C.) (No. 275—T.T.) and Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=8-1-1536 A.C.) (No. 616—T.T.). Likewise Uḍiyam Ellappa-Nāyakkar, son of Saṭṭayappā-Nāyakkar, had served his sovereigns Krishnaraya and Achyutarāya successively until at least Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=3-4-1536 A.C.) on which day is registered his gift of 600 nārttāgam to the temple for offerings to be made for Tiruvākaṭamuḍaiyān on the day of the Chittirai (Chitra) star occurring in the month of Chittirai, being the birth-asterism of Ellappa-Nāyakkars, and other days during festivals at Tirumala (No. 548—T.T.). This same Ellappa-Nāyaka, son of Seṭṭiyappā-Nāyaka, is found in No. 288 of 1912 from Sivankudal in the Chingleput district to make a gift of a village to the local temple three years earlier in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=7-4-1533 A.C.). And so did the Aḍaippam officer Baiyappa-Nāyakkar, son of Timmappa-Nāyakkars, continue in Achyutarāya's service until about Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=5-9-1538 A.C.) (No. 471—T.T.). His earlier record during the same reign is dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=9-11-1535 A.C.) (No. 469—T.T.). It was this same Baiyapa-Nāyaka who was ruling, in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=18-6-1536 A.C.), the Kundurupiya-śīma which was granted to him as his fief (nāyakatama) by Achyutarāya, in supercession of Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya who enjoyed it during the reign of Krishnaraya (Nos. 96 and 99 of 1913) (pages 196-197 ante).
The Salaka Family:—Other officers of Achyutarāya appear to have gained prominence during his reign alone. The foremost among them were the two famous brothers Salakarāja Periya-Tirumalalarāja and Salakarāja Śīru-Tirumalalarāja who led the campaign against the Tiruvaṭi; i.e., the king of Travancore and Tumbichchi-Nāyaka and Sāluva-Nāyaka (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1914, para 32; and for 1923, para 82). As noted already, Śīru-Tirumalalarāja constructed an aṅgaṇa-tiruvindhi (rows of houses around an open space in the middle) in the West Street in Tirumala in Śaka 1463, Plava (=21-12-1541 A.C.), for the merit of his sister Varadāji-amman (No. 360—T. T.). Periya-Tirumalalarāja is mentioned in No. 542—T. T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=14-2-1536 A.C.), which records the donation of 150 varāhan to the temple for a daily offering by his wife Tatukkōsamman. This 150 varāhan must be equal in value to 1500 matraṇam usually invested as capital for a daily offering during this period and as such a varāhan must have been valued at 10 matraṇam. The donor’s share of the offered food was given to her aṭṭhāryar (spiritual teacher) Śīru-āgām Kandādai Appan. As their name indicates, the two brothers were the sons of Salakarāja, identical with the Mahāmaḍalāsva Timmarāja-Salakarāja who constructed a maṇḍapam at the Śīru-tṛtām (the short ascent) on the pathway to Tirumala and opened a watershed in it, for the maintenance of which he deposited a capital of 600 matraṇam in the temple-treasury in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=21-8-1533 A.C.) (No. 262—G. T.). It is this same chief who is represented by No. 492 of 1906 and No. 170 of 1924 in which he ‘has not got any distinguishing titles like Mahāmaḍalāsva’ and who is considered as the agent of Salakarāja Śīru-Tirumalalarāja (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924, para 48). This identity is confirmed by No. 544 of 1909 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. which is reported to trace back the ancestry of Peda-Tirumalayadeva-Mahārāja of the Salaka family from Lakkarāja his great-grandfather through Śīgarāja his grandfather to Salakarāja his father; and by No. 202 of 1913 which mentions Hiriya-Tirumalalarājāya-Mahārasu as the son of Salakayadeva-Mahārasu. A third son of Timmarāja Salakarāja, viz., Śīgarāja, appears in Nos. 455 and 421—T. T. The former epigraph registers the payment of 15000 matraṇam by Śīgarāja in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.), for offering 300 appa-paṭis to the processional image at his maṇḍapam built on the bank of Achyutaraśa’s tank. The donor’s share of the offered praśadam was stipulated to be issued to the aṭṭhārya of his sister. Quite likely this sister was Varadāji-amman herself, the queen of Achyutarāya. No. 421 registers another payment by Śīgarāja in Śaka 1463, Plava (=10-2-1542 A.C.), of
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15000 narpanam for a similar offering of 300 appa-padis, the donor's share in which was made over to his own āchārya Tirumalai Tātāyyaṅgār, son of Tirumalai Ṣoṭṭai Kumāra-Tātāyyaṅgār of Ṣaṭhamaṁshaṇa-gōtra, Āpastaṁba-sātra and Yajus-ākha. In this inscription Salakarāja is called Salakyaḍava Mahārāja. No. 253 of 1906 from Tiruppapanāgaru in the North Arcot district, dated in Śaka 1453, Khara, supplies the additional information that it was the Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Tirumalaiḍava-Mahārāja that led the expedition into the Tiruvaḍi-dāsa (i.e. Travancore country), the reason for so doing being apprehension of a certain Vira-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka who had deserted his charge and fled to the Tiruvaḍi, for protection. Having secured the chief it is stated that Tirumalaiḍava was pleased to arrive at Kāṭciḥipuram in the solar month Makara (i.e. Māga) of that year (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 188), which was January 1533 A.C., and accord permission for the grant of jōdi of 50 pōn for the merit of king Achyutarāya by his subordinate Bhūgayaḍava Mahārāja. Salakarāja Periya-Tirumalaiḍava must therefore have been the leader of the expedition, while his two younger brothers Śiru-Tirumalaiḍa and Śīgarāja might have assisted him in conjunction with other generals. ‘The Pradhāna (minister) Tirumalaiḍava,’ mentioned in No. 681 of 1922, must also represent the elder of the two brothers with the same name, and he granted some land as umbājikē in the Chiyaṣisima to Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Varadarāju Chennayadāva Mahārāju (No. 324 of 1926) and the village Kaṭabāru as a Jāghir to Veṅgalarāju (No. 510 of 1915). ‘The Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Hiriya (i.e. Pedda in Telugu) Tirumalaiḍava-Voḍeyaru, perhaps identical with the Salaka chief of that name, is stated to have constructed a temple for Tiruveṅgalāṇāṭha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra river and to have presented to it, jewels worked in nine kinds of gems, a golden flagstaff, vessels, and a village in the Malayāḷa (Malabar) country’ (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 190). In No. 422 of 1919 from Conjeevaram he receives the epithet ‘Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Chajukkarāja.’ While his earliest record, viz., No. 544 of 1909, dated in Śaka 1452, Vikriti (=1530 A.C.) comes from the Guntur district, within the ancient Koṭḍaviṟu-rājya, his latest one, viz., No. 202 of 1913, dated in Śaka 1461, Vikāri (=6-6-1539 A.C.), comes from the Bellary district, perhaps belonging to the old Guttī-rājya. His younger brother China-Tirumalaiḍava Mahārāja appears to have secured victory through the favour of God Maṇḍem Nārasimhaḍava ‘who was pleased to manifest himself in a field near Dharmavaram’ in the Anantapur district, and to have in gratitude given to the deity ‘the village Mallapanāyanipalle which he had
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founded, for the merit of his father Salakarāja and his mother Tippājamma, in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=1533 A.C.) (No. 59 of 1912). Probably this refers to certain political disturbances in that part of the Penugōḍa-raśiyā at the time. In Śaka 1454, Nandana (=February 1533, A.C.), he granted a charter to the people of Kevalāda-sime who had migrated from that district and personally prevailed upon them to rehabilitate the sime (No. 492 of 1915). No. 360—T.T. of our collection furnishes the latest date for him, viz., Śaka 1463, Plava (=21-12-1541 A.C.). Thus in the reign of Achyutarāja, the Salaka family comprised four members, a father and three sons, the two elder of whom, viz., Periya-Tirumalarāja and Śīru-Tirumalarāja, wielded much authority in the state and through their arrogant behaviour alienated the allegiance and sympathy of the feudatory chiefs of Achyutarāja, whose death was followed by a disputed succession, leading to the eventual usurpation by the Āravīṭu chief, who from very early times had rendered substantial military aid to the rulers of the First and Second Vijayānagara dynasties' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 190). Thus the power and prestige of the Salaka chiefs, which they enjoyed during the reign of Achyutarāja, suddenly came to an end with the accession of Sadāśivarāja under whom Āḷḷya-Rāmarāja, the prominent representative of the Āravīṭu family, exercised the suzerain authority in the state.

Bhutanatha Rama-Bhaṭṭa—Rāma-Bhaṭṭu was another subordinate of Achyutarāja. He was the son of Viramma and Bhātanātha Chiṣṭa-Bhaṭṭa of Gautama-gōtra, Āṣvalāyana-sūtra and Śīrō-Sākha, and resided in the suburb of Kpishūrayapuraṃ in Chandragiri situated in Vaikunṭavājanāḍu (No. 549—G.T.). His wife was Timmālī-amman who gave two villages in Tūrpu-Pāḍainīṭu-sīrmaī in Śaka 1460, Vilambi (23-12-1538 A.C.), for God Śīkṣāṭhastāvara for the merit of herself and her husband' (No. 167 of 1924). Rāma-Bhaṭṭa was born under the star Aṭṭham or Dhanishṭhā. In Śaka 1454, Khara (=12-12-1532 A.C.), he started the Kaṭaj-tirunāl (summer festival) in the month of Āni for God Periya-Raghunāthan, i.e., Śrī Rāma whose temple stands in the northern part of Tirupati (No. 251—G.T.). No. 515—T.T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26-12-1535 A.C.), mentions a maṇḍapam constructed by him at the entrance to Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati and an agrahāraṇa denominated Tiruvāṅkaṭapuraṃ established by him in Tirupati in which he installed an image of Raghunātha and provided for its worship. He also arranged for certain offerings for God Vaikṣṭha for which he paid in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=15-12-1536 A.C.), a sum of 225 Chakram-pon into the treasury of the

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temple to form a capital fund (No. 549—T.T.). He consecrated an image of Śrī Gopāla-Krishna in his tāppu (grove of trees) in Tiruchchukunār surnamed Varadarājapuram and in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=7-1-1537 A.C.), he deposited a sum of 1700 narpanām as capital from the interest on which the daily propitiation of the image had to be carried on (No. 135—G.T.). Within five days of the above date, i.e., on 12-1-1537 A.C., he arranged through a deposit of 15000 narpanām for the offering of 300 appa-paṭis yearly to the processional image of Śrī Vākṣapāta at his maṇḍapam built on the bank of the Achyutarāya-kōṇari (No. 425—T.T.). For similar offering of dīkai-paṭis he granted in Śaka 1462, Sārvāra (=25-1-1541 A.C.), the village of Alambākkam in Perumbārārmay yielding 150 rakhai-pom annually as income, together with the payment of 3600 narpanām in cash (No. 531—T. T.).

Rāmā-Bhaṭṭu had previously granted the village of Vajñītraṭṭi in the Vījuppurattu-ārmay of the Tīrūvādērāṭīyam to a śrīṭrīyam-Brāhmaṇa by name Trivedi Mahādava-Sāṇayi, son of Lingama-Bhaṭṭa of Rāvanur, belonging to the Harita-gṛta, Āpastamba-gṛta and Yajus-tākha, who in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=17-6-1534 A.C.), transferred it to the temple for offerings provided by him from its income of 250 rakhai-pom (No. 447—T. T.). The Vījuppura-ārmay was a sub-district formed of the villages situated round about the modern town of Vījuppuram, the head-quarters of a taluk in the South Arcot district and a junction station on the South Indian Railway. The Tīrūvadērāṭīyam was a province of the Vījayanagara empire and was formed of a portion of the territory comprised within the ancient Tōṇḍa-maṇḍalam of the Chōla times, while other portions of it went to make up the Paḍavīṭu-āṭīyam and the Chandragiri-āṭīyam of the Vījayanagara times. The Tīrūvadērāṭīyam seems to have been formed only during the reign of Kṛṣṇaśāya and sometime placed under the charge of Kāraṣṭikka Maṇgarasayya, as evidenced by No. 426 of 1909 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. dated in the cycle year śrīmukha (Śaka 1435 =1513 A.C.), and continued as a province throughout the reign of Achyutarāya as indicated by our epigraph No. 447—T.T. But during the reign of Sādaśīvarāya the Tīrūvadērāṭīyam was reduced into the Tīrūvadērārmay and made a 'subdivision of Tīrūmunapaṭṭi-valanāṭu, which was itself a portion of Vajudilamapaṭṭu-udāvāqi (i.e. chāvāqi) in Kūṟukkai-kāṭram, a district of Malāṭu alias Jananaiha-valanāṭu' (No. 312 of 1921). That is to say, the new groupings of the country, so far as they related to that particular province, were given up in favour of the older divisions (Cf. Nos. 308 and 311 of 1921 and No. 431 of 1909). To have granted a village in the Tīrūvadērāṭīyam, Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar must have
occupied the responsible post of the viceroyalty of the province sometime prior to śaka 1456. He is stated to have been the first governor of Udayagiri under Achyutarāya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1908, para 82) and, from the existence of his inscriptions at Tirupati, Kalahasti and other surrounding places, he appears to have governed the Chandragiri-rājya sometime during the period from śaka 1458 to 1463, i.e., 1536 to 1542 A.C. (No. 165 of 1922).

Rama-Bhatlaya’s Viceroyalty — Rāma-Bhaṣṭu must therefore have successively administered the Udayagiri-rājya as its first governor under Achyutarāya about śaka 1452 (= 1530-31 A.C.), the Tiruvadi-rājya about śaka 1456 (= 1534 A.C.) (No. 447—T.T.), the Udayagiri-rājya for a second time during the śaka years 1457 and 1458 (= 1535-37 A.C.) (Nos. 432 of 1923, 607 of 1907, 210 of 1894 and 159 of 1905), the Chandragiri-rājya between the śaka years 1458 and 1463 (= 1536 and 1541 A.C.) (Nos. 160, 167 and 174 of 1924 and 577 of 1919), and the Penugonda-rājya during śaka 1463 and 1464 (= 1541 and 1542 A.C.) (Nos. 176 and 177 of 1913). From Udayagiri he restored the grant of the village Anāpurāṇa to the temple at Nandalur in the Cuddapah district ‘on the request of Tālapāka Tirumalayyaśāgaru, with the permission of the king’, in śaka 1456, Manmatha (= 1535-36 A.C.) (No. 607 of 1907). In the Penugonda-rājya he ‘remitted rājulaguṭa tax in the māgaṇi of Krotacheruvu, for the merit of the king’, in śaka 1463, Plava (= 17-10-1541 A.C.) (No. 176 of 1913), and also the ‘taxes on marriages and the taxes on the earnings of Brahmans for the merit of the king’, in śaka 1464, Subhakṣrit (= 5-4-1542 A.C.) (No. 177 of 1913). He was an able ‘general and viceroy of Achyutarāya’ and occupied ‘a pre-eminent position’ in the state. In the grant of a village by the king, Rāma-Bhaṣṭa received ‘a small share probably in his capacity as a scholar’ (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1925, para 33). He had also received from Achyutarāya Mahārāya, through a copper-plate grant, the village Kāsaram in Kalimichchi-Śirmai, with the income of which he arranged for offerings for Ārtikālahastāvara in śaka 1454, Nandana (= 20-5-1532 A.C.) (No. 159 of 1924). From No. 432 of 1923 from Saṅgamāvaram in the Kurnool district, which records his grant of the village Bīravāḷu ‘to the gods Saṅgamāvara of Saṅgamāvaram and Mallikārjuna of Āṭitāḷam’ and for feeding Brahmaṇas, we are informed that Mosalimāḷugū-sima was granted to Rāmābhāṣṭu as nāyakāra by Achyutarāya. Kanduku No. 78 of the “Nellore Inscriptions” from Sīgarāyakohḍa dated in śaka 1458, Manmatha (= 2-3-1536 A.C.), furnishes the information that Rāmābhāṣṭu, ‘who was skilled in the administration of the empire of king Achyutarāya’ was at the time governing the Udayagiri-durgam.
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which was considered the primary durgam in the Vijayanagara empire, and
that he appointed, as his assistant to the office of the governor of Udayachala
or Udayagiri, Vaṅkaṭādrayya, the son of Yaṉḍalūri Tīma-Jōsya of Vīśāv-
vardhana-gōtra and a scholar who studied the Rīg-Vāda and other Vādas. The
record under reference registers the grant by Vaṅkaṭādrayya of the village
Chāṅgollī in the Kandukāru sima within the Udayagiri-rāja to God Paṅgaśāla
Śrī Narasinha at Sámārajupalli as a sarvamāṇya for the merit of Achyutadēva
Mahārāya and Rāmā-Bhaṭṭārayya. This Yaṉḍalūri Vaṅkaṭādrayya is the donor
whose gift of a village yielding 700 rākhai-pōn to the temple of Śrī Vaṅkaṭāvāra
in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=23-12-1538 A.C.), and of a sum of money to the
temple in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=4-5-1540 A.C.), is registered in Nos. 399 and
517—T.T. respectively. No. 582 of 1919 from Conjeevaram dated in Śaka 1472,
Śādhāraṇa (=7-2-1551 A.C.), during the reign of Sāḍāśivārāya, registers, under
the king’s introduction, the ‘gift of the village of Śiṭṭhāśījīrī by Rāmābhaṭṭa,
son of Bhūtanātha Chaṭṭabhaṭṭa, for offerings to the God Vāgavatī Raghunāthan,’
and this shows that Rāmābhaṭṭa not only served Achyutārāya throughout his
reign but also continued in service under his successor Sāḍāśivārāya for about
a decade until 1551 A.C.

Bhūtanātha Ellappayya:—Bhūtanātha Ellappayya, the donor in
No. 405—T.T., must be a cousin of Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar for whose merit he made a
gift of 200 pōn to the temple of Śrīkāḷahastīvāra in Śaka 1462, Śārvari
(=27-1-1541 A.C.) (No. 162 of 1922). He was the son of Bhūtanātha Ellā-
Bhaṭṭar, of Gautama-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Rīg-sākha, and like Rāmā-
Bhaṭṭar resided in Chandragiri in the suburb of Krīśnārāyapuram. In Śaka
1463, Plava (=9-12-1541 A.C.), he granted to the temple the income of 200
rākhai-vāraṇān from Rathakāvullī and of 100 rākhai-vāraṇān from Uttamapallī,
two villages situated in Ādīnāṭu-sūrmaī (No. 405—T.T.). The grant is
preceded by the historical introduction of Achyutārāya and it therefore
appears that he held some position among the provincial staff at Chandragiri.

Immaṇi Ellappayya:—Immaṇi Ellappayya, mentioned in No. 426—T.T.
as having made a donation of 15,000 maṇḍapam in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi
(=12-1-1537 A.C.), for certain offerings for God Vaṃkaṭāśa, was an officer of
Achyutarāya, though his antecedents are not known. He was the son of
Vaṃgāpuram Timmaṇa-Uṭṭaiyar and he constructed a maṇḍapam on the bank
of Achyutarāya’s tank. He was also probably related to Rāmā-Bhaṭṭa of
Chandragiri. The date of his donation is the same as the dates of the gifts
made by Achyutarāya and some of his officers, viz., Rāmā-Bhaṭṭu,
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Bāchcharasayya, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, Salakāraṇa Sīgarāja and Krīṣṇappa-
Nāyaka.

Bayakara Rāmappayya:—Bayakāra Rāmappayya or Rāmayya, 'the
partner of the king in the administration of the country,' comes to notice in
two records of which one belongs to Achyutarāya's reign and another to
Sādāvāraṇya's reign. He was the son of Hiriya or Periya-Lakkalīamma and
Periya-Timmarasayya of Parāṣara-gōtra, Āpastamba-sātra and Yajus-sāka and
a native of Pādirikuppam, and 'the daughter's son of Tōṭaramalla Kaḷāṭinātha,
the commentator of śāṅgadarśaṇa's Saṅgitaratnakara and the protege of
Mallikērjuna Praūṇhadāvarāya.' His son was Liṅgālayya and his daughters
were Kāmamma and Achenutamma. The provision made by him for offering
twelve magical incantations daily for Śrī Vaiṣṇaśā is referred to in connection with the
six tiruppōṇakams provided in śaka 1456, Jaya (=20-8-1534 A. C.), for the
merit of Chikka-Vaiṣṇavādrīrāya, i.e., Kumāra-Vaiṣṇavādrī, son of Achyutarāya,
by Bāchcharasayya, son of Śrīrāmayya of Parāṣara-gōtra, Āpastamba-sātra and
Yajus-sāka, residing in the same village of Pādirikuppam (No. 439—T.T.).
Rāmappayya's father Timmarasayya had similarly arranged in śaka 1460,
Viḷambī (=18-9-1538 A. C.), for the daily propitiation of Śrī Gōvindarāja in
Tirupati through the gift of the villages Chīrāla, Pērāla and Adūpalli situated
in the Kōṇḍavīṭu-śīrmāi and Koppāli in Manamapēlū-śīrmāi in the Kōṇḍavīṭu-
śīrmāi (No. 254—G.T.). The first three villages together yielded an income of
150 rōkhai-pon and the last village 350 rōkhai, making up a total of 500 pon.
In śaka 1466, Kṛōdhī (=16-8-1544 A. C.), falling into the reign of Sādāvāra-
ṇya, Rāmappayya instituted fresh services in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja,
partly in substitution of the services previously arranged by his father and
partly in addition to them. Towards these he granted the villages of
Paruchchār in Addaāki-śīrmāi, Kuppāyinīkoṇḍī in Vellamukkoṇḍī (i.e.,
Bellāṁkoṇḍa) and Kāruchchāṅ in another śīrmāi, all situated within the
Kōṇḍavīṭu-śīrmāi (No. 352—G.T.). The grant of Koppāli made by Timmaras-
sayyar was continued and for Chīrāla, Pērāla and Adūpalli was substituted
half the village of Kuḷatār, situated to the east of Tchampāḷi in Neṇu-nāṇu,
after deducting the agrahāram attached to it, so as to yield the 150 rōkhai-pon
hitherto derived from the three villages together, which were now released
from the grant. The five villages were expected to yield 950 rōkhai to the
temple annually and as charges upon this sum offerings were provided by
him for Śrī Gōvindarāja and certain minor deities for the merit of Bāchchara-
sayyar's son Krīṣṇappa. • A portion of the donor's share of the prasādam
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was given with libations in water in the presence of the same deity for the merit of Bāchcharasayya to Śrīnīvāsa-Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Dāvarāya-
Bhaṭṭar of Vaiśīṣṭha-gātra and Āvalayana-sūtra, to be enjoyed by him and his descendants. This Udayagiri Śrīnīvāsa-Bhaṭṭar was the famous commen-
tator of Kālidāsa's "Śākuntala-Nāṣaka", and he was at the time the priest (Pajāri or Nambi) conducting worship in the temple of Śrī Rāma or Raghunātha
situated in the northern part of Tirupati, where his descendants still continue
to discharge the priestly functions.

Ramappayya's Kinsmen:—From the genealogy of the family given
on page 105 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, we learn that Rāma-mantri who
married Telugamā had five sons, viz., Peda-Timmayya, Timma-mantri, Sūra,
Bhāskara or Rāmaya-Bhāskara and Bhāvaya, and a daughter Chinnamāṁba
married to Pratāpa-Yalla. Of these sons Peda-Timmaya, the father of
Bayakāra Rāmaya who was governor of Koṇḍaviṃ, is identical with Periyā-
Timmarasayyar, the father of Bayakāra Rāmappayya, mentioned in our record
No. 352—G.T. Bāchcharasayya who was the son of Śrīrāmaya and who
made provision for offerings in Śaka 1456 for the merit of Chikka-Vākaśādri-
ṛaya (No. 439—T.T.) is the same Bāchcharasayya for whose merit his nephew
Rāmappayya provided for offerings for Śrī Gāvindarāja in Śaka 1466
(No. 352—G.T.). Rāmappayya also constructed 'the temple of Bāchāvara,
Ammājamma and Krishṇāvara for the merit of his uncle Bācharasayya, his aunt
Ammājamma and his brother Krisṇappa' in Śaka 1461, Vikāri (≈25-8-1539
A.C.) (No. 306 of 1918). This Bāchcharasayya is identical with Bāskara or
Rāmaya-Bhāskara, the fourth son of Rāma-mantri in the genealogical table
referred to above. It also appears that Bāskara and Bhāvaya represented as
the fourth and the fifth sons on the table were really one and the same person
whose exploits and charities are attributed to two different individuals in the
In the same table Krisṇappayya is shown as the son of Peda-Timma and the
younger brother of Bayakāra Rāmappa, but it is explicitly stated in No. 352
of our collection that Krisṇappayya was the son of Bāchcharasayya, the
paternal uncle of Rāmappayya. This filial relationship of Krisṇappayya with
Bāchcharasayya is confirmed by the combination of their names in the
consecration of the deities designated after them. As the son of Bāchchara-
sayya, Krisṇappayya was a cousin of Bayakāra Rāmappayya with a brotherly
relationship and not his own brother as represented in the genealogical table.
Rāmappayya's aunt Chinnamāṁba is brought to notice in No. 401—G.T. of our
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collection as Chinnamman, the wife of Pratapa Ellamarasa of Atrya-gotra, Aivalayana-gotra and Rik-sakha, and as the donor of the village of Vaakayalapaedu surnamed Sri-Ramachandrapuram in Kondaevitu-trimai with an annual income of 300 rikkai, in Saka 1469, Plavaaga (=8th July 1547 A.C.), in the reign of Sadhasivaraya. This grant-village Vaakayalapaedu was previously converted into an agrahara and denominated. Ramachandrapura by Chinnambamba on the occasion of the lunar eclipse that occurred on the full moon day in the month of Chaitra in the cyclic year Svarri, Saka 1462, corresponding to the 22nd March 1540 A.C., in conjunction with her other charities, viz., the building of a temple of Siva called Parvatanatha at Santaluru and the construction of the tank Gopinatha-samudra near Vaakayalapaedu, as reported in No. 422 of 1915 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

Their Official Career under Achyutaraya:—Bayakara Ramappayya or Ramayamantri was an able minister and viceroy of both Achyutaraya and Sadhasivaraya (No. 464 of 1914). Like his uncle Bhaskara, he 'also obtained from king Achyutadvaraya the governorship of Kondaevitu together with the insignia of authority such as the parasol of pearls,' constructed a number of temples and tanks and 'founded many Brahman villages in the Andhradesa and presented them to Brahmanas' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, para 51). During the reign of Sadhasivaraya he is stated to have secured the viceroyalty of Kondaevitu from Ajiya-Ramaraja (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, para 51).

No. 439—T.T. of our collection is apparently the earliest inscription to refer to his activities in the reign of Achyutaraya in Saka 1456, Jaya (=20th July 1534 A.C.). At the end of the same year, i.e., on 7-2-1535 A.C., he is seen to be in charge of the Hadinathu-teme in the Mysore country wherein his agent 'restored the villages and lands belonging to the temple of Mallikarjuna at Old Moshahalli' (No. 245 of 1913). Eight epigraphs mentioning his charities relating to the building of temples, construction of tanks and establishment of villages come from some of the villages of the Bellary district, and all of them are dated in Saka 1461, Vikari, i.e., at the end of August 1539 A.C. (Nos. 300 to 307 of 1918). His second gift to the temple of Sri Vaakapavara at Tirumala was made in Saka 1466, Krudhi (=16-6-1544 A.C.) (No. 352—G.T.); and his later charities are again found in a village of the Bellary district in the latter part of the same year, i.e., on 27-1-1545 A.C. (Nos. 514 and 517 of 1914), while his latest record comes from another village of the same district with the date Saka 1478, Nala (=12-4-1556 A.C.) (No. 304 of 1925). With this distribution of his records in the different provinces of the empire compared
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with the statement of some of them, it is inferable that he was promoted from the lower ranks to the governorship, for the first time, of Koḍavīḍu by Achyutaraya and that he retained the rank since then, though transferred to the other provinces. If the statement of his inscriptions is taken literally, the inference would be inevitable that the governorship of Koḍavīḍu was confined in the family of Rāmayāmāṭya for two generations during which his uncle Rāmaya-Bhāskara administered it for about a decade from 1530 to 1539 A.C. and he himself governed it for nearly two decades from 1539 A.C. onwards. Rāmappayya was a capable administrator 'who was bearing the burden of the kingdom with the king' in the government of the provinces, just as Rāmā-Bhaṣṭrayya did. He was the author of "Śvaramālikakālānidihi", a treatise on music, which art he must have acquired from his maternal grandfather Tāṭaramallā-Kaḷīṇāṭha. His father Periya-Timmarasayya or Peda-Timmayya belonged to the personal staff of the king as his Rāyasam officer (Secretary) as mentioned in No. 254—G.T. His uncle Bāchcharasayya also held the viceroyalty of Koḍavīḍu for a decade during Achyutaraya's reign. It is reported that this uncle 'founded the town of Gōpīnāthapura (at the foot of the Koḍavīḍu hill) for the first time with its magnificent walls, set up therein an image of God Gōpikāvallabhā (i.e., Gōpīnāṭha) in all grandeur, that he ruled the Andhra-maṇḍala and conquered all the Muhammadan armies with his valour and that he was the able minister of Achyutadāvarāya' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, page 68). It was this Bāchcharasayya or Rāmaya-Bhāskara that was placed in charge of the Vinukoḍa fortress by Kṛishṇaraya as soon as it was captured from Pratāparudra Gajapati in the earlier half of 1515 A.C., along with other officers over the other captured forts, as mentioned in the "Rāyavāchakamu" (Note 1 on page 162 ante.) Bāchcharasayya accompanied king Achyutaraya and some of his officers, viz., Rāmā-Bhaṣṭa, Aḍaippam Viśvānāṭha-Nāyaka, Salakarāja Siagarāja, Immaṇi-Elappa-Uḍaiyar and Kṛiṣṇappa-Nāyaka to Tirumala in Saka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.) (No. 440—T.T.), when each one of them paid 15000 nāṭram into the Śrī-Bhaṣṭāram for the propitiation of the deity with 300 appa-pādis apiece yearly. It cannot be merely a religious tour that this group of royal officers and the king undertook at the time, but the progress of Achyutarāya through the country must relate to some military operations occasioned by some war waged probably in the south to which we have no direct clue at present Kṛiṣṇappayya, the son of Bāchcharasayya, must have followed in the wake of his family tradition of royal service and served Achyutarāya in some capacity

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Dalavayi Timmarasya.—As the seat of a viceroy and the capital of one of the provinces of the Vijayanagara Empire, Chandragiri was an important political and military centre. The original building of the fort at the place is traditionally ascribed to a Yadava Raja named Immađi-Narasimha and its date is given as Śaka 922 (=1000 A.C.). Probably Vira-Narasimha Yadavārṣa, a Chola subordinate of the 13th century (page 118 ante), is the Yadava Rāja referred to here and, if so, the Śaka year is ante-dated by about two centuries and a half. “Sālūvābhyyudayam” relates that Sālūva Narasimha, on the advice of his chief minister, transferred his main army (mūlabala) to Chandragiri before setting out on his conquering expeditions (page 144 ante).

It is reported that later on Kṛishnaṛāya confined his half-brother Achyutarāya along with other princes of the royal family in the fort at Chandragiri till almost the end of his reign when he ordered his brother’s release in or about 1528 A.C. in order to take part along with himself in the administration of the empire, after his hopes till then centred in his young son Tirumala were frustrated, owing to the prince’s sudden death prematurely. Part of Achyutarāya’s army was stationed at Chandragiri and it was under the command of his Brāhmaṇa general Daḷavayi Timmarasya, son of Pradhāni Sāmarasya of Kāyapa-gōṇa, Āvalāyana-sātra and Rik-jīkha. Epigraph No. 558—T.T. dated in Śaka 1462, Bārvāri (=31-12-1540 A.C.), registers his donation of 15,000 maṇḍapam and the gift of the village of Samapura-Timai in Gōkula-guḍacchhirmai with an income of 150 rākhai-pūrṇa. The deposited capital was intended for daily offerings for God Vākaṭṭā and the income from the village for occasional offerings for the processional image. He had also constructed a maṇḍapam in Narassā-Nayakkar-tīrurūdhi at Tirumala and another maṇḍapam in the grove of trees planted by him. The record states that Chandragiri was the residence of Timmarasya. From his two gifts registered at Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah district in the years Śaka 1462, Bārvāri (=1440 A.C.), and Śaka 1463, Pīlava (=1441 A.C.), in the reign of Achyutarāya (Nos. 302 and 303 of 1905), this general Timmarasya is stated to have been ‘in charge of the Ghaṇḍikā-sima, to which Pushpagiri belonged.’ His father Pradhāni Sāmarasya was the Upapradāhāna (i.e., second minister) Sāmarasa, an assistant of Timma (Sālūva Timmarasya, the Mahāpradāhāna of Kṛishnaṛāya) and the son of Mījāmanamanti of Chandragiri’ Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 80; Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 183). No. 186 of 1897 from Bapatla which registers a gift of land made by Sāmarasa-maṇtrāvāra, son of Chandragiri Mījāmanamanti, in Śaka 1440, Bahudhānya (=24-5-1518 A.C.), on the order
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of Mantrivara Sāluva Timmayārya with the permission of king Śrī Kṛishna-
rāya, records at the end that the above charity of Sōmarasayya was executed
by his son China-Tirumalayya, who must be identical with Daḷavāyi Timma-
rusayya. It is possibly this same Timmarusayya to whom, as a military
commander, was granted Yaḷape (Yaḷpi in the Bellary district) by Kṛishna-
rāya as a mukhāsa village with the obligation of maintaining certain contingents of
horses, as recorded in No. 216 of 1913.

Perunkondai Virappanna:—Peruṅkoṇḍai (Penugoḍa) Virappaṇa
was a royal officer belonging to the personal staff of Achyutarāya. He was
the king's door-keeper (Achyutarāya-mahārāya-vāśal), as mentioned in
No. 21 A—T.T. His parents were Lepākshi Nándilakku-ṭeti and Muddamma.
He had two younger brothers of whom Virāṇa-Nāyaka in conjunction with his
elder brother Virappaṇayya is reported to have built the prākāra walls for the
temple of Lakshmīdēvi at Lakanapura and granted certain incomes to the
same temple (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 56); and the other younger
brother Chikkā-Mallappa-Nāyaka of Penugoḍa is said to have made over part
of his rights in the dharmakartā-prasāda at Virapura, to a certain
Saṅkayadeva-Uḍaiyar, 'for the merit of his father Lakkā-ṭeti, mother
Muttāyamman and elder brother Virappaṇaṅga' (No. 163 of 1922). Virappaṇa
himself is seen to have constructed the Kalyāṇa-Vēṅkaṭa-Perumāl temple at
Narayanavanam in the Chittoor district in Śaka 1463, Plava (1541-42 A.C.),
during the reign of Achyutarāya, for the merit of Vēṅkaṭādīrāya-Mahārāya
(Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 56). He also made grants of villages and lands
to the temples at Śrīkūṭahasti in the Chittoor district (No. 166 of 1922) and
Lepākshi in the Anantapur district (Nos. 88, 89 and 90 of 1912). For God
Vēṅkaṭēśa he presented a vaṭbil (tray or platter) of pure gold of 10 maṅgu
(carats) fineness weighing 330 pagodas probably and valued at 5000 panaṁ
(No. 21 A—T.T.) and in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=15-12-1536 A.C.), gave the
village of Pāchikalapādu in the Gauḍikōṭa-ūrmai (No. 21—T.T.) and also
deposited in Śaka 1450, Hevilambi (=22-1-1538 A.C.), a certain sum of money
as capital for offerings for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuniyān for the merit of Achyutaḍāva
Mahārāya (No. 22—T.T.). From the valuation of the 330 pagodas or varahas
of pure gold at 5000 panaṁ, we get to know that on the average a varaha of
pure gold was worth about 15 panaṁ; but from the value of 10 narmpan
that we found the gold coin varaha or pon to have commanded during the
same reign (page 228 ante), we are forced to conclude that the coin in circulation
at the time was of inferior quality, containing only two thirds or less of pure

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metal in weight mixed up with a base metal such as copper to make up the remaining weight of a third. He made further gifts of a silver plate and a silver vessel in the cyclic year Vikṣṇi (=27-1-1540 A.C.) (No. 26—T.T.), and of 15,000 narpaṇam in Śaka 1462, Sārvāryi (=27-1-1541 A.C.), for offerings for the processional image at his maṇḍapam constructed in the Narasā-Nāyakkar-vidhi (No. 414—T.T.). He must have been holding some high position in the state to be enabled to make grants of villages to several temples and gifts of money on a large scale, together with the presentation of gold and silver vessels. From his original post of the door-keeper of Achyutarāya’s palace and sometime talavāra (talayāri) of Vidyānagara (Vijayanagara (Nos. 785 and 786 of 1917) he must have been promoted to the governorship or a slightly subordinate office in the provinces of Penugonda and Chandragiri. Virappaṇa appears to have been a devout worshipper of God Viṣṇuvara, abiding on the Kārmāśaila (hill) at Lāpākshipura in the Anantapur district, ‘who had bestowed favours on Virappaṇa,’ and to this deity he had not only made gifts of villages himself (Nos. 88, 89 and 90 of 1912 and No. 781 of 1917), but also caused the grant of several villages to be made by king Achyutarāya (No. 785 of 1917) and by his other officers such as Bhaṇḍāra Timmappa (No. 72 of 1912), Daḷavāyi Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka (No. 73 of 1912) and Achyutarāya Mallappaṇa (No. 576 of 1912). It is possible that the grant by these three royal officers ‘at the instance of Virappaṇa’ was occasioned by their subordinate relationship to him as his lieutenants in the administration of the Penugonda-rājya or its division the Rodda-nāgu.

Angarāja Naṅgappayya:—Aṅgarāja Naṅgappayya who paid his obeisance to God Veṅkaṭesha and presented 15,000 narpaṇam to the temple in Śaka 1462, Sārvāryi (=27-1-1541 A.C.) (No. 559—T.T.), in company with Rāma-Bhaṭṭar and Peruṅkoṇḍai Vīrappaṇa, must have been a body-guard of the king, as his designation “Aṅgarāja” indicates. He had built a maṇḍapam in the Narasā-Nāyakkar-akṣaṇam at which 300 appa-paṇīs were required to be offered to the processional image annually from the interest on the above sum.

Adaippam Viṣvanatha-Nāyaka, Founder of the Nāyaka Dynasty of Madura:—Viṣvanatha-Nāyaka of the Kāyapa-gōtra, the founder of the Nāyaka Dynasty of Madura, comes to notice in No. 451—T.T. He was the son of Nāgama-Nāyaka, the able general of Śāluva Narasimha, and served Achyutarāya originally as his Adaippam officer, i.e., betel-bearer. Like Peruṅkoṇḍai Vīrappaṇa and Aṅgarāja Naṅgappayyar, Viṣvanatha-Nāyaka also deposited 15,000 narpaṇam in the temple-treasury for offerings for the deity at his-
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mōgųpam built on the bank of Achyutarāya-būra, when he accompanied the king along with some of his officers, viz., Rāmā-Bhaṣṭi, Salakarāja Siyāgarāja, Immaṭi-Ellappayya and Kṛishappa-Nāyaka, to Tirumala in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (-12-1-1537 A.C.). Nāgama-Nāyaka who served under Sāuvanaraśimha does not appear in the succeeding reigns and his son Viśvanātha-Nāyaka who is first mentioned under Achyutarāya does not appear in the earlier reigns, and the latter's service under Kṛishnārya is only inferred. As a military officer, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka is reported to have followed Achyutarāya 'in his campaign against Travancore' and 'conquered many kings including the Pāṇḍyas on the battlefield in the Tiruvāḷi (Travancore) country and acquired by force the sovereignty over Madhurāraja' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 194). In addition to this sovereignty over the Madura country possessed during the reign of Achyutarāya, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka is stated to have acquired the Tiruvāḷi-dēśa (i.e., Travancore) as an amaranāyaṃ from Rāmarājar-Ayyu (i.e., Aḷiya-Rāmarāja) during the time of Sadasivara (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 58). He is mentioned in No. 599 of 1916 of Śaka 1472, Sādhāsina (=22-9-1550 A.C.), as the agent of Mahāmaṇḍalāvāra Rāmarāja-Viṣṭhalayādēva Māharāja, while No. 385 of 1916 of Śaka 1480, Kūḷayukti (=3-12-1558 A.C.), designates him as the agent of (the Karṣāta king) Rāmarājaṅdēva, i.e., Aḷiya-Rāmarāja who was the agent (kāṛyaṅkarta) of the whole empire of Sadāśivadēva-Mahāraja' (No. 475 of 1915). He also granted for the merit of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, 'son of Sṛtaṅgarājyadēva Mahāraja, i.e., Raṅga L,' 'an annual fee (to the temple) collected from each loom of the Kāikōla-Mudalis and from the residents living in the maṇḍavīṭāgam of the temple at An̄nīyūr' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 70). As in the time of Achyutarāya, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka appears to have taken part in the war against Tiruvāḷi carried on by Viṣṭhalayādēva and his cousin China-Timmaraṇja under orders of Sadāśivarāya and Aḷiya-Rāmarāja (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1917, para 48; and for 1915, para 50). It may be noted that the Nāyaka dynasty founded by Viśvanātha-Nāyaka flourished for nearly two centuries from 1559 to 1736 A.C. with Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha as its last ruler (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 194; Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1911, para 62).

Adaippam Mallappa-Nāyaka:—Another Adaippam officer of Achyutarāya was Mallappa-Nāyaka, son of Timmappa-Nāyaka of Nequńkunraṃ. He is recorded to have paid 450 rōkhār-bōn into the Śri-Bhagārām unto the cyclic year Vīḷamba which he supplemented by the payment of 206 rōkhāi in Śaka 1461, Vīḷāri (=26-2-1540 A.C.), and with this aggregate capital of
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656 rākhi-puṇ he arranged for certain offerings for God. It is mentioned that Achyutāraya 'had very high regard' for him and that for his merit the king consecrated a Dakshiṇāmūrti shrine in Kṛṣṇavān in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district, in the cyclic year Vikāri (=January 1540 A.C.) (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 67). Five inscriptions belonging to him come from Devikapuram in the North Arcot district ranging in dates between Śaka 1451, Virādhin (=1529 A.C.) and Śaka 1464, Śubhaṅkit (=12-2-1543 A.C.); one No. 108 of 1918 from Kugaiyar in the South Arcot district dated Śaka 1465, Śubhaṅkit (=12-8-1543 A.C.), during Achyutāraya's reign; and one more No. 240 of 1904 from Singavaram also in the South Arcot district of Śaka 1472, Śādhāraṇa (=1550 A.C.), falling into the reign of Śādāvaraṇa.

Rayasam Ramachandra-Dikshita:—Rayasam Ramachandra-Dikshita, son of Nāgara-Bhaṭṭa of Kāsiyapa-gōtra, Āpāstambā-sūtra and Yajuś-śakha, must have been a Rayasam or secretary of the king. Like other royal officers, he too had built a māṇḍapam on the bank of the Achyutāraya-kūndi at Tirumala as well as a māṇḍapam in a garden laid out by himself. In Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=1-7-1533 A.C.), he paid 200 rākhi-puṇ and also granted the village of Tāmarapākkam in the Yerumigaichhīrmai and arranged for the propitiation of Śrī Vākaṭaśāvara daily and of the processional image on certain festive occasions at his two māṇḍapams (No. 83—T.T.). Within a month and a half from the above date, i.e., on 13-8-1533 A.C., he made a further deposit of 5000 nāṭpāṇam and provided for offerings for Śrī Vākaṭaśāvara daily, as previously, and to the processional image and the two consorts on the days of the star Rūhi occurring each month, under whose ascendancy the Dikshita was born (No. 58—T.T.). His third record dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26-12-1535 A.C.), mentions his mother Nāgamman. The two earlier epigraphs refer to him as a native of Agaram-Kaṭalāṅi alias Kumāra-Vākaṭaśādrisamudram; and this agrahāram should have received the surname from Prince Vākaṭāḍri, son of Achyutāraya.

Bhandaram Timmappa and Siru-Timmaya:—Timmappa, son of Bhaṇḍārāma Apparas of the Bhāradvājagōtra and Kātyāyanasūtra, was a royal officer belonging to the treasury of the king, like his father. In Śaka 1453, Kharā (=23-3-1531 A.C.), he paid a sum of 3000 nāṭpāṇam which he intended to be utilised for purchasing the irrigation channel Mādhavan-kāḷvāyi flowing within the limits of the village Śīrpāṇi which was at the time in

Note 1:—Nos. 360, 376, 381, 383 and 394 of 1912 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.
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the possession of the Deśāntarasi (No. 62—T.T.). These latter had purchased it from Tāppil-Dikshitar who got it through a grant from Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya. In Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=18-7-1533 A.C.), Timmappan made a further payment of 2000 narpaṇam for offerings for the deity (No. 166—T.T.). This Timmarasa is stated to have granted the village of Muttakadahalli, under the name of Mahālakshmipura, in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=1536 A.C.), to the temple of Mahālakṣmi at Lakhanapuri near Hindupur, at the instance of Penugopāla Virappaṇa (No. 72 of 1912). From No. 576 of 1912 from Lepakshi in the Anantapur district we learn that Bhagāra Timmappa had sold to Achyutarāya-Mallappaṇa for a gift to the local temple of God Viṣṇu in Śaka 1459, Hemalambi (=18-6-1537 A.C.), the village Nandicherla alias Viśpākshapura which was originally granted in Śaka 1389, Sarvajit, Pushya śr. 2, Monday, Makara-Saṅkranti, to Timmappa's grandfather Vīrarsa by Viśpākshadasa-Mahārāya, son of Prauḍhapratapā-Dāvamahārāya, i.e., on 28th December 1467 A.C. He is also known from No. 179 of 1913 from Bukkapatnam to have 'made rent-free the dvadāya and brahmādyas lands below the tank of Hosakere, included in Penugopāla, a district of Yeramāsi-rājya' and announced it 'on the occasion when the king performed the Lakṣahkōma ceremony at Varadarājanmanna-pāṭhe', in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=28-2-1534 A.C.); and this authority of remission of taxes indicates that he was holding the reins of administration of the Yeramāsi-rājya, i.e., the Penugopāla-rājya. Timmappa or Timmarasa had a younger brother Śīvu-Timmayya who made a gift of 4000 narpaṇam to the temple in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=23-8-1534 A.C.) (No. 331—T.T.). With this sum as capital he arranged for the offering of one vadai-pādi to Śrī Viṣṇuṣṭha on each of the 53 Fridays occurring in the year on which the deity had the Puṇḍiṇi-avattu-veṭai (i.e. the anointing of the holy body with the civet-oil during the weekly bath) conducted for Him, and on the 13 days of the star Mṛgaśirsham in the year under which king Achyutarāya was born. Like their father Apparasar who served Kṛishṇarāya as his Treasurer, the two sons Timmappa and Śīvu-Timmayya served Achyutarāya as his treasury officers.

Nottakkara Nagappa:—A royal appraiser of gems and jewels in the king's treasury was Nottakkara Nagappa son of Rāmarasayyar, residing in the village of Kuṣjappalli. For the propitiation of the deity he gave two sums of money of which 1600 narpaṇam was paid in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=6-1-1536 A.C.), and 1560 narpaṇam in Śaka 1462, Śārvāri (=7-6-1540 A.C.) (Nos. 534 and 530—T.T.).
Dalavayi Krishna-Nayaka:—Krishna-Nayaka was the son of Chinnappa-Nayaka. Accompanying Achyutaraya to Tirumala in Sakas 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.), he paid 15,000 narpam to the temple for offerings for the processional image at his murtam built on the bank of Achyutaraya’s tank (No. 441—T.T.). His gift of the village of Goravanahalli surnamed Lakshminasagara in Rodda-naju, a district of Penugondha-rajya, to the temple of Lakshmidavi at Lakanapura in the same year Sakas 1458, Durmukhi, is registered in No. 73 of 1912 from Gorrepalle in the Anantapur district, which states that the gift was made ‘at the instance of Virappanayya’. Similarly the gift of Muttagadahalli surnamed Mahalakshminpura to the same temple in Sakas 1456, Jaya, ‘by Timmarasa, son of Apparasa of the treasury’, is recorded to have been also made ‘at the instance of Virappanayya of Penugonda’ (No 72 of 1912). It is therefore certain that both Timmarasa, son of Bhanasa Apparasa, and Krishna-Nayaka, son of the cavalier (Sani) Chinnappa-Nayaka, were in some political capacity related to Perurappan, possibly as his lieutenants. During the reign of Achyutaraya his career seems to have been confined to the Penugonda-rajya, as disclosed by his two epigraphs Nos. 73 and 96 of 1912. He was still in the Penugonda province at the time of the accession of Sastrasivaraya for whose permanent occupation of the throne of Vijayanagara he offered prayers and made a grant of a village in Sakas 1465, Sibhakrit (=19-4-1543 A.C.), as reported in No. 800 of 1917. He is therein mentioned as Dalavayi Krishna-Nayaka, the son of Dalavanayi Chennama-Nayaka, and as ‘the agent of the king.’ In Sakas 1472, Siddharaas (=1550 A.C.), he was governing the Ksura-sima, which was granted to him as an amaramaga, as well as the Noambavadi 32,000 country, as noted in Nos. 71 and 85 of 1904; and in Sakas 1483, Durmati (=January 1562 A.C.), he held the adigaram over the southern province, probably the Padavishv-rajya, which included Kugaiyur, in the modern South Arcot district, where his record No. 106 of 1918 occurs.

Periya-Timmappa and Chinna-Ramappa:—Periya-Timmappan and Chinna Ramappan were the sons of Basava-Nayaka who was the son of Koluva Tippu-Nayaka of Vaimali-gstra. Their payment of 15,000 narpam for the offering of 300 appa-kaalis annually to the processional image at their murtam built in Narasa-Nayakkar-tiruvidhi (No. 562—T.T.) is dated on the same day in Sakas 1462, Sarvari, i.e., 31-12-1540 A.C., as the gift of alavayi Timmarasayya of Chandragiri (No. 558—T.T.). It is quite likely that they were subordinates of the Dalavanayi and as such accompanied him to
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Tirumala on the occasion of his visit. Chinna-Ramappan is identical with Rāmappa-Nāyakkar-Ayyan, son of Basuvaṇa-Nāyakkar, who made a gift at Piranmalai for the merit of the king, as recorded in Nos. 217 and 222 of 1924, in the latter of which he is mentioned as the agent of Achyutarāya. From the dates of these two epigraphs it appears that Chinna-Ramappan or Rāmappa-Nāyakkar-Ayyan acted as the agent of the king in the south somewhere in the Ramnad district about the Śaka years 1460-61 (=1538-39 A.C.) and that he was then transferred to the Chandragiri-rājya in Śaka 1462 (=1540 A.C.), as indicated by No. 562 of our collection.

Minor Officers of Achyutarāya:—Other officers of Achyutarāya were less prominent. They were:—

Srīranga-Nāyaka:—(1) Srīranga-Nāyaka who provided in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=14-12-1536 A.C.), for offerings for God Vaiṣṇava for the merit of Svāmi Achyutarāya Mahārāya, Varadājamananavaragai and Chikka-Vaiṣṇavādri Uḍaiyar, through a deposit of 650 narpaṇam (No. 543—T.T.). He was the son of Tuluva Veṅgali-Nāyakkar who was a native of Paṇḍavi. This donation is a day earlier than the gift of 225 chakram-pon by Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar-Ayyan (No. 549—T.T.) and the grant of Pāchikalapālū village by Āruṇakoṇḍai Virappasān (No. 21—T.T.).

Sajjaraṅtu Chikkaya-Savāyan:—(2) Sajjaraṅtu Chikkaya-Savāyan, son of Pālu-Nāyakan of Tirupati, who paid some money in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=28-3-1535 A.C.) (No. 257—G.T.).

Matla Ramāya:—(3) Matla Ramāya, son of Mallaya and disciple of Parāśāra-Bhaṭṭāchārya of Harita-gōtra. His donation to the temple in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=6-3-1536 A.C.) is registered under the historical introduction of Achyutarāya (No. 553—T.T.).

Astigirināthar:—(4) Astigirināthar, son of Astigiri-Nāyakar Amārijyār of Puduppākkaṁ, whose arrangement for his daughter’s ubhaṇiyam for the deity in Śaka 1460, Viḻambi (=17-3-1539), is also recorded under the historical introduction of Achyutarāya (No. 195—G.T.).

Gangū Reddi:—(5) Gangū-Reḍdi, son of Ŭgumapāla Tappaṇa Basavu-Reḍḍi, whose deposit of 1500 narpaṇam in Śaka 1456, laya (=19-2-1535 A.C.), is also registered under the historical introduction of Achyutarāya (No. 475—T.T.). He paid a further sum of 10,080 narpaṇam in Śaka 1464, Subbakrīt (=11-9-1542 A.C.) (No. 428—T.T.), and made a gift in Śaka 1468, Parābhava (=3-11-1546 A.C.), both these dates falling into the reign of Sadāśivārāya. of the income of half the village of Korlaguṇṭa in Śrikara-nāṭu, amounting to
120 rakhai-pon annually which he agreed to pay himself into the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram each year, while retaining the possession of the half village as niśavāgal-kāṇiyātchi (No. 665—T.T.).

Adaippam Parmadaman and Rukminiamman:—Certain ladies are observed to have been on the personal staff of Achyutarāya. Adaippam Parmadaman and Rukmiṣi-āmman whose services in the temple are registered in Nos. 541 and 540—T.T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (¼ 26–12–1535 A.C.), under the king’s introduction, were the betel-bearers of Achyutarāya, as their designation represents them to be. On the above date the two ladies accompanied Achyutarāya, Varadāji-āmman and Kumāra-Vaiśkaḥādri during their visit to Śrī Vaiṣṇavaśvara’s temple (No. 544 and 546—T.T.), along with Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar (No. 515—T.T.), Rāyasaṃ Rāmachandra-Dikshītār (No. 538—T.T.) and Malaiyapparayyan (No. 537—T.T.). Two other ladies Mallamman and Āravīṭṭu Lakshmi-āmman are mentioned in Nos. 325 and 328—T.T., as having been in the harem (aravāvakku) of Achyutarāya Mahārāya. As her cognomen shows, Lakshmi-āmman must have belonged to the Āravīṭṭu family and as such related to Āṭiya-Rāmarāja, its prominent representative at the time. A certain Timmakkā is stated to have served both Kṛṣṇarāya and Achyutarāya as their hand-maid (No. 60, A—T.T.).

Vaidika Brāhmaṇas:—Certain Vaidika Brāhmaṇas and Paṇḍītas also came to notice in some of these inscriptions, viz.,


Malaiyapparaiyan:—(2) Malaiyapparaiyan, son of Yagdhalūr Tirumalabhaṭṭar of Vaiśṇavardhana-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Rikākha, who in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (¼ 26–12–1535 A.C.), made a gift of Paṇchavanmādevigrāmam in Tiruvadi-rājyam, yielding 140 rakhai-pon annually as income (No. 537—T.T.). From the date of the gift it appears that he accompanied the king to Tirumala during his visit, as one of his religious functionaries. From No. 164 of 1922 this ‘Malaiyappa-Ayyan, son of Tirumalai-Bhaṭṭar, a Vaidika-Brāhmaṇ, residing at Chandragiri’, is seen to have made a gift of gold to the temple at Kālahasti in Śaka 1462, Śrīvāsa (¼ 27–1–1541 A.C.), which was the occasion when ‘Rāmābhaṭṭa-āyyan, son of Bhaṭṭanātha Śiṭṭhayar, a Vaidika-brāhmaṇa, residing at Kṛṣṇarāyaapuram in Chandragiri’, consecrated an image of Viṣṇu-Vaiṣṇava-Tambirām, constructed a shrine and provided for his offerings as well as those for Nāyanār Tirukkāṭṭi-udaiya-Nāyanār, for the merit of
ACHYUTARAYA’S OFFICERS

Achyutarāya (No. 167 of 1922). Malaiyapa’s gift to the temple of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara of two villages, one in the Uttra-rājya with an annual income of 100 rkhai-pon and another in the Paṇḍava-rājya with 200 rkhai-pon, is registered in No. 661—T.T. dated in Śaka 1473, Vīrōdhikrit (=30-7-1551 A.C.), under the historical introduction of Sadāśivarāya. Of his two brothers, Vākaṭādrī-ayyan and Śrīrāma-Bhaṭṭar, the latter appears in the reign of Sadāśivarāya as making a gift of Muttar in Siddhavatī-āmrīmai with an annual income of 100 rkhai-pon and another village in Paṇḍava-rājya with 200 rkhai in Śaka 1463, Plava (=21-7-1541 A.C.) (No. 659—T.T.).

Veṅkatadri Ayyan:—(3) Vākaṭaṭdrī-ayyan, son of Tirumala-Jóṣyar and brother of the above Malaiyapparayyan, who gave a village yielding 700 rkhai-pon in Śaka 1460, Vilambi (=23-12-1538 A.C.), for offerings and for an incessant lamp (akhaṇḍa-dīpam) (No. 399—T.T.). Within a fortnight he paid 800 narpaṇām for eleven atirasa-pādīṣ in the same year on 6-1-1539 A.C. (No. 516—T.T.), and again 6000 narpaṇām for four veḷḷai-tiruppōnakam daily for Śrī Vākaṭāśvara in Śaka 1462, Śarvāri (=4-5-1540 A.C.) (No. 517—T.T.), and also granted on the last date the village Gollapalli situated in the Rāmāpura-āmrīmai, a subdivision of the Pāṇgu-ṇāṇu in the Udayagiri-rājya, with an income of 120 rkhai-pon for the propitiation of Śrī Gōvindarājā with eight veḷḷai-tiruppōnakam daily (No. 194—G. T.). From the “Nellore Inscriptions” this Vedic scholar Yaḍalārī Vākaṭādrī-ayyan is known to have been appointed to the government of the Udayagiri-durgam under Rāmā-Bhaṭṭlayya who administered the Udayagiri province in the early years of Achyutarāya’s reign and to have made a gift of the village Chaṅgollu for the merit of Achyutarāya and Rāmā-Bhaṭṭlayya in Śaka 1458, Manmatha (=2-3-1536 A.C.) (page 232 ante).

Kalahasti Dikshita:—(4) Kālahasti-Dikshita, son of Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭar-Upādhyāya-Sōmayājīyār of Bhāradvāja-gotra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuang-śākha, residing at Rāyaprāli, who deposited 150 chakram-pon in Śaka 1460, Vilambi (=13-10-1538 A.C.), for offering one tiruppōnakam daily to Śrī Vākaṭāśa (No. 552—T.T.). The usual capital for one daily tiruppōnakam at this time was 1500 paṇām or narpaṇām and as such the 150 chakram-pon herein invested as the capital fund must be equal to 1500 narpaṇām which would give a value of 10 narpaṇām for a chakram-pon. Consequently the chakram-pon and varākan must be one and the same coin (page 228 ante).

Mallarasar Nagaragal:—(5) Mallarasar Nāgaragal or Nāgara-Paṇḍitar, son of Anātraśaras or Ananta-Paṇḍitar of Vaiśṭhā-gotra, Vaiśalyāna-sūtra
and Rik-sākha, residing in Vijayapuram (Bijapur). He is stated to have been the disciple of Pāpavinnānam-Ayyagāl or Pāpavinnānam Śrīrāmayaṅgār. Nāgara-Paṇṭitar paid 1356 gāmi-varaḥaṇ to the temple in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=4-11-1535 A.C.) (No. 470—T.T.), a second sum of 1885 nāraṇaṇam in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=6-9-1538 A.C.) (No. 415—T.T.), and a third sum of 3240 paṇaṇam in Śaka 1461, Vīkāri (=6-12-1539 A.C.) (No. 416—T.T.). The last record refers to a maṇḍapaṇam built by him on the bank of the Tirikkoneri, i.e., the Śvāmi-Pushkāriṇī. No. 415 mentions his sister Gauramama.

Govinda Pandita:—(6) Govinda-Paṇṭitar entitled Vedaṅkaṅkai-Saṅkaṅsū, son of Viṣṭhoji-Paṇṭitar of Lavugasāhi-gōtra, Śāvalāyana-sūtra and Rik-sākha, whose payment of 600 rēkhai from Achyutarāypuram situated near Sagavara in Gaṅgikōṭa-ūrmaṇi is registered in No. 532—T.T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=6-11-1536 A.C.).

Panditar Purushottamayya:—(7) Paṇṭitar Purushottamayya, son of Vaśkaṭṭugalavār of Bharādvaja-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yaju-sākha, who as the agent of his wife and her sister provided in Śaka 1458, Durmirki (=24-11-1536 A.C.), for certain offerings for God Vaśakāśa (No. 424—T.T.). He is again mentioned along with Chinna-Timmayyan as making a gift of two villages one of which was Vennamapalli (No. 341—G.T.).

Nagarattar:—Some Nagarattar or merchants that appear in some of these records are:

(1) Narāyana-Śeṭṭiyār, son of Vaśikar Nāgu-Śeṭṭi, one of the Nagarattar of Tirupati. He arranged for offerings at the Vaiśaṅkaḥatpaṇam-maṭham for the processional image during the procession in the car on the 8th day of the Kartikai festival, through a deposit of 21,430 nāraṇaṇam made in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=11-11-1533 A.C.) (No. 51—T.T.).

(2) Periya-Śamu-Śeṭṭi, son of Mumma-li Śeṭṭi of the Vaṭṭanidhi-ṛishi-gōtra, one of the merchants of Tirupati. He made a gift in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=23-5-1538 A.C.), of Uttamanallir village, situated to the east of Koṭṭai in the Paṭaināṭu-ūrmaṇi of the Chandragiri-ṛājya, yielding 50 puṭṭis of grain and 12 rēkhai of cash, for certain offerings for Śri Vaṇkāṭavaṇa, for His processional image and for Śri Govindarāja (No. 94—T.T.). It is mentioned that the 12 rēkhai was expected to yield an interest of 12 paṇam per year, and this sum works out to a rate of 10 per cent per annum, in as much as one rēkhai was equivalent to 10 paṇam.

(3) Nāmi-Śeṭṭi, son of Sādayapalli Tippu-Śeṭṭi, a merchant of Kṛishnaṛyyapattanam, a suburb of Chandragiri. He deposited two sums of
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1575 and 1230 narpanam in Saka 1458, Durmukhi (=31-1-1537 A.C.), for offerings for Śrī Govindarāja and Achyutappurumāl on the Pādiyavai-ṇāḷ at the Pādiyavai-ṇāḷam built by him in the land which he purchased from the Kaikkuḷar (Nos. 140 and 258—G.T.) The former epigraph which refers to this purchase mentions the rod of 36 feet employed for measuring the land. Probably the rod of 16 spans observed in earlier times was replaced in the Vijayanagara period by the 36 feet rod or the latter was used side by side with the former. Achyutappurumāl was the deity whom Achyutaraya installed at Achyutarāiyapuram, the northern suburb of Tirupati, some time in the early years of his reign (page 224 ante).

(4) Charānu-Śeṭṭi, son of Periya-Pēṅgārālai-Śeṭṭi of Vāmakka-gōtra, a merchant residing in Tirupati. In Saka 1453, Khara (=9-11-1531 A.C.), he paid 1,000 narpanam and transferred a share of the land purchased by him from Saṭhakopā-Mudaliyar, for some offerings for Śrī Govindarāja on certain festive occasions (No. 281—T.T.).


The Gopala-Śeṭṭi Class:—A few members of the cowherd class are also represented. Tirumalaināṭhar-Pillai, son of Malaiperumāl, gave 5700 narpanam to the temple in Saka 1459, Hävilambi (=11-7-1537 A.C.) (No. 33—T.T.), Pīļaiporuttar, son of Malaiperumāl made a gift in Saka 1457, Mannathā (=1535-36 A.C.), of Perumalpalli-grāmam with an income of 100 rōkhai, Penniyapalli with an income of 30 rōkhai-pou, Marumāṇigaṇḍapuram with another 30 rōkhai, and two more villages, the aggregate income from all the five being 360 rōkhai-pou (No. 480—T.T.). Probably the two Malaiperumāls were one and the same individual, and then Pīļaiporuttar and Tirumalaināṭhar-Pillai would be brothers. Ellappi-Pillai, son of Kachchirāyakōṭar, belonging to the Gōpāla-Śeṭṭi class and residing in Tiruvakkai, made a donation once in Saka 1455, Vijaya (=6-10-1533 A.C.), and again in Saka 1457, Mannatha (=23-3-1536 A.C.) (Nos. 568 and 570—T.T.).
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

SADASIVARAYA

Duration of His Reign: Sadasivaraya is represented in our collection by nearly a hundred and fifty inscriptions most of which begin with his introduction. A peculiar feature of this praiasti is that to the king is ascribed not only the lordship of the eastern, southern and western oceans which fringe the Peninsula, but also that of the northern ocean that is non-existent in the case of India itself. The earliest date that is available for him in these epigraphs, viz., Thursday combined with the star Punarvasu, the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of the Karkataka month in the cyclic year Plava, current with the Saka year 1463, corresponding to the 21st July 1541 A.C., which occurs in No. 659—T.T. registering the gift of Mutur and another village to the temple by Srirama-Bhattachar, son of Yasalur Tirumalai-Josyar, is about eight months anterior to the latest date furnished for his predecessor Achutaraya in No. 504—T.T., viz., Thursday combined with the star Ardha, being the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the Mina month in Plava, current with Saka 1463, corresponding to the 23rd March 1542 A.C. It has been stated that Sadasivaraya had “been chosen crown prince already” in Saka 1459, Haviyambhi (=1537 A.C.), nearly five years earlier (Ar. Sur. Sep. for 1908-09, page 193), and this statement seems to be supported by the surname “Sadasivapura” found to have been given to Devarayapura in No. 89 of 1912 from Lepakshi dated in Saka 1460, Vijaambi, i.e., one year later. Though Sadasiva might have administered the empire apparently as a co-regent with Achutaraya, his position on the Vijayanagara throne appears to have been shaken immediately on the death of Achutaraya, through the attempted usurpation by Salaka Timmaraja, one of the two brothers-in-law of Achutaraya, and the ensuing civil war which continued for over a year. Along with his two younger brothers Tirumalaraya and Vaskadri, Alaya-Ramaraaja is said to have taken up the cause of his brother-in-law Sadasivaraya, vanquished the usurper Salaka Timma and then installed Sadasiva on the throne in Saka 1465, Shakhrit. The happy news of this enthronement of Sadasiva evoked a gift of a village, on the full moon day of the Vaisakha month during the same year (=19th April 1543 A.C.), from the king’s agent Dalavayi Krishappa-Nayaka, son of Dalavayi Chennama-Nayaka, “in gratitude for the fulfilment of his prayer that the king’s accession to the throne of Vijayanagara must be a permanent one” (No. 800 of 1917). Similar gratitude is found
expressed by Tāmalappa-Nāyaka in his grant of a village made on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the Śiṅha month of the same year (=6th August 1543 A.C.), "on the joyous occasion when the royal communication (rāyasam) reached him of Sadāsivarāya's capturing Vijayanagara" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 70). Consequently the political disturbances must have ended by the beginning of Śaka 1465, Śobhakrit, and Sadāsivarāya firmly established by Aṭṭya-Rāmarāja and his supporters on the Vijayanagara throne by March 1543 A.C.

Similarly the latest date available in our collection for Sadāsiva is Śaka 1495, Śrīmukha, Kumbha (=29th January 1574 A.C.), furnished by No. 133—G. T. which registers the gift of a certain Āraṇīśā chief. But the latest date found for him elsewhere is Śaka 1497, Yuva, Bishabha, corresponding to 9th May 1575 A.C., and it is remarked that this later date "only suggests the continuance of the nominal rule of Sadāsiva even after Tirumala I had practically assumed the reigns of government in Śaka 1493", as indicated by the imperial titles that are attributed to the latter in his records dated in the same Śaka year 1493, in place of the Mahānaṅgālāsivara-biruda given for him in the records dated up to Śaka 1492 (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, para 45; and Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 180). Sadāsiva's reign therefore extended over a period of about 40 years from Śaka 1459 to Śaka 1497, including his co-regency during the last years of Achyutārāya.

His Visits to Sri Venkatatesa's Temple:—Two visits of Sadāsiva to Śrī Veṅkaṭaṭeṣvara's temple are indicated. The first one occurred in the month of Kumbha in Śaka 1475, Pramāḍicha (=3-2-1554 A.C.), when he granted with libations of water a portion of the prasādams, arranged by Achyutārāya Mahārāya for Tiruvēṅkaṭaṇamuḍaiyān and utilised for his satram till then, to a certain Śrīnīvāsan and others; and the grant was executed by Aṭṭya-Rāmarājāyādīva Mahārājāyya (No. 393—T.T.). The other visit is mentioned to have taken place on the auspicious occasion of the Mahāra-Saṅkramam which occurred prior to the Karkaṭaka month of Śaka 1476, Ānanda, i.e., in the year Pramāḍicha on the 28th December 1553 A.C. (No. 417 G.T.). It is recorded that Sadāsivarāya Mahārāya then granted with libations of water, as a sarvamāṇya gift, the taxes saḷāyam, pṝṇyam, makamai, mulaivīram and taraku on all loads except on those of teppāmu, pachchaivādham, ney and essai, brought to Tirupati on 200 pack-bullocks impressed with the hamsa-mudra (swan-mark), together with the mélakai, makamai, kōdaī and other taxes from the Pāḍaiśṭṭu-rājya, Śeṇji, Tiruvadi, Pāṇagiri (Bhuvaṇagiri),

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His Private Grants:—A few grants of the king to private individuals also come to notice. It is mentioned in No. 651—T.T. that he granted a village near Perumāṇḍai (Penugonda) to one Padanāyar, son of Timmarasa-Padaṇṭayar, who made a gift of half of the village to the temple in 1468, Parābhava, Simha (=1498–1546 A.C.), for daily offerings for Śrī Vaiṣṇavaśāvara. The half village was accounted to yield 100 gaṇḍisēvāhan annually. A similar gift of the village Periya-Ekkalūr in Jagadāpū-Guttii-ārmai, together with a deed of grant executed on a copper-plate, to Śrīmivāsayyaśāgūr, son of Sōṭai Ettiṭ Tirumalainambi Kumāra-Tātayyaśāgūr of Śaṭhamarshana-gotra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuśśākha is registered in No. 415—G.T., dated in 1469, Plavaṅga, Mithuna (=1547 A.C.), when it was handed over to the temple by the donee for providing for offerings daily and on festive occasions, and for conducting Pallavotsavam started by him at the time. The yearly income from the village is said to have been 2000 chakram-poun; and to yield such a large income the village must have been very extensive and highly fertile. A third case relates to an exemption of taxes from the village Mutyālapattu for which Tāḷāpākam Tirumalayyaśāgūr, son of Annamayyaśāgūr, secured a rāyasam from Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya and a tirumukam from Rāmarājaya. In spite of irrigation facilities provided for this village through a tank which was improved by Tirumalayyaśāgūr at a cost of 100 poun, its soil appears to have been so poor as to yield a return of only 280 rākhai annually at the time when Tirumalayyaśāgūr endowed it to the temple in 1467, Visāvavasu, Karkaṭaka (=1545 A.C.), for the conduct of the festival started by him (No. 681—T.T.).
SADASIVARAYA’S OFFICERS

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The Aravidu Family:—Sadasiva’s reign was dominated by the chiefs of the Aravidu and other allied families by reason of the united support that they brought to him for his installation on the Vijayanagara throne at the hands of Aliya-Ramaraja. The Aravidu family is represented in our collection by ten chiefs whose relationship to each other stands as brothers and nephews. They are Potlapati Timmaraja, his four sons Timmaraja, Vishalaraaja, Chinna-Timmaraja and Pappu-Timmaraja; Aliya-Ramaraja and Tirumalaraja; Konataraja; and Potlapati Raagaraja and Sripati Obajaivara. The senior member among them was Potlapati Timmaraja, son of Ramaraja and grandson of Araviti Bukkaraja. Timmaraja’s two younger brothers were Peda-Konataraja and Sriraagaraja. Timmaraja had four sons by his wife Gopamamba, viz., Tirumalaraja or Timmaraja, Vishalaraaja, Chinna-Timmaraja and Papa-Timmaraja. Peda-Konataraja’s son was Konadiraja, who had four sons, viz., Aubalaraja, Konataraja, Timmaraja and Raagaraja, Sriraiggaraja had five sons Konaraja, Timmaraja, Aliya-Ramaraja, Tirumalaraja and Veekatkediraja, besides four daughters who were married to princes of the Gobburu and other families. Besides these members of the Aravidu family proper descended from Araviti Bukkaraja by his wife Ballambikai through his son Ramaraja, Bukkaraja had by a different wife Abbaladavi three other sons Siigarayya or Siigaraja, Ramaraja and Ahobalaraja on whom the father conferred the chiefship of Nandyala and whose descendants henceforth came to be known as the chiefs of the Nandyala or Nandala family. Siigaraja’s son was Nandyala Narasisingaraja whose two sons were Aubalaraja and Naraparaja. These Araviti and the Nandyala chiefs with their sons and grandsons must have formed a compact and powerful body whose combined strength, like that of the Suluva chiefs at the end of the Saingama dynasty of Vijayanagara a century earlier, was a factor to be reckoned in the state. Bukkaraja’s power is indicated by his firm establishment of Suluva Narasimha on his throne, but his four sons do not appear to have gained similar prominence. His grandsons in both the lines were mere rulers of chiefships, ostensibly without much power, subject as they were to the authority of Krishnaraya and Achyutaraya’s ministers the two Salakaraja Timmarajas. It was on the death of Achyutaraya that an opportunity presented itself to the great-grandsons of Araviti Bukka to take stock of their strength to oppose the Salaka chiefs and seize power in the kingdom. It was given to Aliya-Ramaraja to organise his family.
in this respect to bid for power, vanquish his enemies and exercise absolute authority in the Vijayanagara empire, and transmit that authority with the royal dignity to his brother Tirumalarāya.

Aliya-Ramarāja:—Aliya-Ramarāja was the most prominent figure during the reign of Sadasāvarāya. He was the de facto ruler of the Vijayanagara empire, while Sadasāva was the de jure king, so that the royal gifts and grants seemed to be ratified, as it were, by the minister. In the matter of the exemption to the taxes from the village of Mutyālapatśu, Talāpākam Tirumalayānagār had not only obtained the royal writ (rāyasam) from Sadasāvarāya Mahārāya but secured the executive order (tirumukam) from Ramarājaya (No.681—T.T.). In the grant by Sadasāvarāya to Śrīnīvāsan and others of a portion of the prasādams previously arranged by Achyutarāya, the executor of the grant was Aliya-Ramayadāva Mahārājayya (No. 393—T.T.). Gifts of some of the officers are also found to have been made for the merit of both Sadasāva and Ramarāja. It is mentioned in No. 360—G.T. that Poḷapati Timmarāja, the paternal uncle of Aliya-Ramarāja, arranged for the reading of Tiruvānkaṭa-Mahātmyam, i.e., “Śrī Vaṅkatsāchala-Mahātmyam,” in the temples of Śrī Vaṅkasāvāra and Śrī Gōvindarāja and for the propitiation of the two deities, for the merit of both the king and his minister. This arrangement made for the merit of both is again referred to in No. 48—G.T. which registers a provision, for the merit of Sadasāvadāva Mahārāya, by Aliya-Ramarāja himself for the aṅgarānga-vaibhāgam of Śrī Gōvindaperumāl in Tirupati through the gift of the village Pudupatśu near Neydal in Ārachchirmai in Śaka 1466, Krūḍhi, Makara (=January 1545 A.C.). This epigraph No. 48 calls Aliya-Ramarāja the son of Āraviṭi Bukkarāja-Śrīraagāraja, while his other inscription No. 414—G.T. states that he was the son of Bukkarāja-Ramarāja-Śrīraagāraja of the Ārāya-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra, thus showing the intermediate link, viz., Ramarāja, between Āraviṭi Bukkarāja and his grandson Śrīraagāraja. No. 414 records Aliya-Ramarāja’s gift of the villages Siṅgalabāvi in Rāchchār-ārmaṇi, Vaṭakōṭi in Mudukalluchchirmai, and Yāraḷachoṛi and Māgaṇipatśu in Peripākkak-ārmaṇi, altogether yielding 4000 rikhaipon, in order to serve for the offering of 200 veṭṭai-prasādam for Śrī Vaṅkaṭāvāra daily, together with the stipulation that, in lieu of the donor’s quarter share of the offered prasādam, viz., 50 taḷigais, available from Śrī Vaṅkaṭesvāra’s temple at Tirumala, this quantity might be made available from the prasādams offered daily to Śrī Gōvindarāja and issued to the Nammaṭvār-Rāmānujakāṭam built by Śrīman Mahāmanḍalāvāra Koṇḍurājayyan, son
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of Timmarāja-Kanṭayyan, in Śrī Bhaṣhyakārar street within the inner streets round Śrī Govindarāja's temple in Tirupati, for the leading of Śrīvaishnavas. Sewell notes that at the beginning of Achyutarāya's reign the frontier fortresses of Mudkal and Raichur together with the Doab were seized by the Adil Shah, "after they had been in possession of the infidels for seventeen years" since their capture by Krīṣhṇarāya early in his reign (pages 170 and 183 ante), and that they "were never again subject to Hindu princes" ("Forgotten Empire", page 166). But Mūrtikavi in his "Narasabhaṭāpiṭayamu" (Canto I, verse 82) states that Aliya-Rāmarāja not only killed Salakaya-Timma, i.e., Salakarāja-Timmarāja, established firmly the entire Karṇa kingdom, placed "Kutupana Mālka" (Kutb Mulk or Kutb Shah), "Saṃpāda" (Adil Shah) and the supplicant "Mālka-Nījamū" (Nizām Shah) on their respective thrones, but also wrested Rāchurū (Raichur) and Mudugallū (Mudkal) from the Adil Shah and ruled the earth like Rāma of yore. This statement of Mūrtikavi as to the recapture of Raichur and Mudkal appears to be attested by the grant of villages situated in both the districts of Raichur and Mudkal by Aliya-Rāmarāja himself, their conqueror, in Śaka 1476, Ānanda, Vīṣchikha (=12-11-1554 A.C.), and they must have been retained by Vijayanagara almost till the time of the eventful battle of Tālikē in 1565 A.C., when the Muhammadans devastated that part of the Hindu empire and parceled it out among themselves, never more to return to Vijayanagara. A fragmentary inscription No. 152—G.T. mentions the Mahāpradhāṇi of Sadasīvatāva and registers a gift of 10,000 kula of land in Pudarūr village to Śrī-Bhagāram in Śaka 1468, Parābha, Makara (8-1-1547 A.C.). This Mahāpradhāṇi must be Aliya-Rāmarāja himself.

Aliya-Rāmarāja's influence and power appear to have been derived from his connection with the royal family through his marrying the daughter of Krīṣhṇarāya Mahārāya. This alliance is attested by the statements of "Rāmābhuyadayamu" (Canto I, verse 55) of Ayyalarāju Rāmahadrakavi, "Rāmarājiyamu" (verse 290) of Veṅgayyakavi and "Svaramaṭalakāḷāṇidhi" of Rāmayāmāṭya Toḍaramalla, though the "British Museum Plates of Sadasivarāya" indicate his marriage with the sister of Sadasivarāya himself (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, page 4). "Svaramaṭalakāḷāṇidhi" was dedicated to Aliya-Rāmarāja by its author Rāmayāmāṭya Toḍaramalla, i.e., Bayakāra Rāmappayya (page 237 ante), who is therein mentioned to have constructed a palace called "Ratnamakāṭa" for his patron from whom he received the viceroyalty of the Kudavāḷa-rājya ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 190).
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Tirumalaraja — Tirumalayadava Mahārāja or Tirumalarāja represented in No. 633—T. T. was the son of Āravijī Bukkarāju-Rāmarāju-Śrīraagārāja, and the younger brother of Alīya-Rāmarāja. He constructed an Unjal-mañjapam within the Sampangi-pradakshinam i.e., the corridor round the inner prākāra wall which contains the dhvajastambham, and therein arranged for the propitiation of the processionial deities on festive occasions. This must be the one that is now known as the "Tirumalarāya- manjapam," situated just to the south of the dhvajastambham within the Sampangi-pradakshinam at its south-east corner. In Śaka 1483, Durmati, Dhanus (=15-12-1561 A.C.), he provided for offerings for the processional images during the five days of the Vasanta-Tirunāl, during the Unjal-tirunāl formerly instituted by Sājuva Narasimha, the ten Tirukkoḍi-tirunāl or Brahmutsavams, fourteen other festivals and numerous holy occasions observed at the time in Śri Vaiṣṇava's temple. The processions of the images for the five days of the Vasanta-tirunāl were to be conducted on the Śrīha-vāhanam (serpent vehicle) on the first day, on the Hamsa-vāhanam (swan vehicle) on the second day, on the Garuda-vāhanam (kite vehicle) on the third day, the Vaikuntha-vimānam (divine chariot) on the fourth day and the Ānai-nampiran (elephant vehicle) on the fifth day. This Vasanta-tirunāl during which Tirumalarāja arranged for processions and offerings at his Unjal-mañjapam is seen from Nos. 649 and 659, A—T.T. to have been established by Manumapalī Timmarāja, son of Kampanāja of the Kāyapa-gotra and Āpastamba-sūtra, belonging to the Solar race. Tirumalarāja's arrangement for the conduct of this Unjal-tirunāl or Dīṣaṁhātsavam is again recorded in a fragmentary inscription No. 190—T.T., comprising a few Samskrit verses which trace the genealogy of the Āravijī family from Bukkarāja to Tirumalāndra and his four sons. Bukka was entitled Antembavaragaṇḍa and he had the "Boar" ensign. By Vallaṃji (Ballāmbikā) he had a son named Rāmarāja. Rāmarāja's son was Śrīraagarāja who had acquired great fame on earth and resembled Jayanta. Śrīraagarāja was the lord of Kalyāṇapura and represented on earth the Amaranth (Bṛha-Pārijāta) in his gifts to Brāmāsas. On account of his daily gifts and prayers he obtained an excellent son, namely Rāmarāja, who was well versed in the sixty-four arts and who was wedded by the goddesses of Heroism, Earth, Learning, Fame, Wisdom and Beauty. Rāmarāja, was entitled Chaṇḍikka-Nārayana, Nārāyanā-iri-maṇḍalika-gaṇḍa and Rājarāhutta-miṅḍa. Tirumalāmbikā was the queen of Rāmarāja, just as Kausalyā was the queen of Daśaratha. Rāmarāja's brother was Tirumalāndra who was like

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Lakshmana towards Rāghava (Rāma). This king Tirumalāndra instituted the Dūtamahotsava according to the rules of the Śāstras. By his queen Vengālāmbé he had four sons, viz., Raghunātha who was a second Raghunātha (Śrī Rāma), his brother king Śrīrāga, the latter's brother Rāmarāja who possessed critical scholarship and who equalled Manmatha in form, and the latter's brother Vākaṭādri. Tirumalāndra brought all kings under his subjection. On the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Dhanurmāsa in the cyclic year Durmati (corresponding to Śaka 1483, on the 17th December 1561 A.C.), Tirumala made provision for the celebration of the Dūtsava for God Vākaṭādri. This date is two days later than that given by the Tamil inscription No. 633—T.T. noticed above. An extract in Telugu at the end of the inscription mentions that the above stone record registers the services, together with the genealogy, military conquests and the string of birudas relating to Tirumalarājaya's reduction of the Tulukāņam-Allā, i.e., Turkish or Muhammadan chief, of Tirumaladāva Mahārāja, the son of Śrīrāgarājaya and the brother of Ajiya-Rāmarājayaḍāva Mahārāja. It is significant that among the members of the Āravāṭu family, Tirumala and his second son Śrīrāga alone are in the epigraph accorded a royal dignity. They no doubt enjoyed it subsequent to the death of Sadāśivarāya, but it is to be doubted whether they had any chance to become kings during the lifetime of Sadāśiva, especially while Rāmarāja was still alive in Śaka 1483 (=1561 A.C.), which is some four years prior to the battle of Tālikōṭa. It was after this battle in which Ajiya-Rāmarāja lost his life that Tirumala could step into the place of his brother as the chief minister of Sadāśiva and ultimately ascend the Vijayanagāra throne about Śaka 1497 (=1575 A.C.), which is the latest date available for Sadāśivarāya (No. 5 of 1919). Tirumala's reign was short and during that period he had associated his son Śrīraṅga with himself in the administration of the kingdom, “and eventually retired from the Karṇāṭa throne in his favour” (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 181). Śrīraṅga appears to have reigned until Śaka 1507, Pārthiva (=1585-86 A.C.), and then succeeded by his youngest brother Vākaṭādri (Ibid., page 187).

Potlapati Timmarāja:—PoḷaḷāṆi Timmarāja was, as noted already, the son of Bukkarāja-Rāmarāja and the elder brother of Peḍa-Koṇḍarāja and Śrīraṅgarāja. As such, he was the paternal uncle of Ajiya-Rāmarāja and Tirumalarāja. He had four sons by his wife Gōpamāṁbā, viz., Tirumala or Timma, Viṭṭhala, Chinna-Timma and Pāppu or Pāpa-Timma. “Rāmarājīyamu” (verse 218) states that Timmarāja was given Avuku (Awku) by his
father Rāmarāja to rule over, and henceforth his descendants came to be known as the Avuku family. However our inscriptions not only call him Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja but apply this place-name “Poṭlapāṭi” to his son also by denoting him as Poṭlapāṭi Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadaṇava Maharāja (Nos. 372 and 405—G.T.). It is therefore possible that Rāmarāja, the son of Bukkarāja, must originally have acquired the chiefship of Poṭlapāṭu which, along with Avuku, must have been passed on to his son Timmarāja and the latter’s son Chinna-Timmarāja to bestow a family name on the chiefs. “Poṭlapāṭu” must be the modern town of Poṭlapāṭu situated in the Pattikonda taluk of the Kurnool district. Timmarāja is in some of the inscriptions (as No. 347—G.T.) mentioned as the son of Āravīti Bukkarāja, but this must be a mistake for Āravīti Bukkarāja-Rāmarāja as indicated in No. 561—T.T. Literary works evidence only one son of Bukkarāja by Ballāmbikā, viz., Rāmarāja, while they name three sons of his by Abbaladāvi as Siigarayya, Rāmarāja and Ahbālārāja (“Kaḷṇpūrṇōdayamu”); and there is no “Timmarāja” occurring among them. Consequently this Timmarāja must be identical with Timmarāja, the eldest of the three sons of Rāmarāja by his wife Lakkāmbikā and the ruler of the chiefship of Avuku.

Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja’s services in these temples are recounted here and there in the inscriptions registering the gifts of others. For the merit of king Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya and Rāmarājayya, Timmarāja arranged in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Makara (=January 1545 A.C.), for the recitation of “Tiruvāṇkata-Mahātyam,” i.e., “Śrī Vāṇkataśalā Mahātyam,” every day in the presence of Tiruvāṇkataṭamuṇḍaiyān at Tirumala, Gōvindarāja in Tirupati, Achyutapperumāḷ in the suburb of Achyutarāyapuram and Varadarājaperumāḷ in Tiruchhāni at the time of their tirumaṇjanam (ablutions). Two sums of 4 panam and 5 panam were required to be paid monthly to one Anantayaṅgār, son of Tiruvāṇkataṭyān as remuneration for his reading the Mahātyam daily in the temples of Achyutapperumāḷ and Varadarājaperumāḷ (No. 360—G.T.). He constructed an ankanam (a row of houses round an open space) in the Peria-Rājavidhi in Tirupati and the rent of 30 rikhai collected yearly from the shop-keepers carrying on retail trade in the premises was authorised by him to be utilised by Dāvarāya-Bhāṣṭar for the additional offerings of God Viṭṭhalaśvara installed by the said Bhāṣṭar (No. 367—G.T.). Timmarāja himself installed an image of Tituvāṇkataṭamuṇḍaiyān at the fourth iunai (dona in Telugu, a pool of water) above the Āḷvār-tirtham (Kapila-tirtham) and in Śaka 1469, Plavaṇga, Mithuna (=3–6–1547 A.C.), Śrīnivāsayyaṅgār, son of Soṭṭai
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Eṣṭōr Tirumalanambi Kumāra-Tātayyaagār, provided for daily offerings for this image (No. 415—G.T.). Probably this Gōtai Eṣṭōr Srṅṅivāsayyaagār was the family guru of the Avuku chiefs, viz., Poḷapāṣi Timmarāja and his sons (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 196). The village Pallipuram is said to have been granted by Timmarāja to Tāḷḷāpākam Periya-Tirumalayyaagār during the reign of Achyutarāya sometime prior to Śaka 1460, Viḷambi, Makara (-15-1-1539 A.C.), when it was made over by Tirumalayyaagār to the temple for certain offerings for the deities (No. 587—T.T.). It was probably by virtue of his authority as a royal officer that Timmarāja, in conjunction with the Sthāvatār of the temple, permitted the use of a small palanquin for Tiruvēkṣat-Māṇikkam who dedicated her life to the service of the temple, having been favoured with that solemnised name by God Tiruvēkṣatamudāiyān and Goddess Alamāimaigāi-Nācchiyār, and also ordered the grant to her from the temple on the occasion, of two taḷigas of ārañjīm without removal of Aḷḷu-Aḷḷu (shares due to other servants of the temple) from them, in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Karkaṣaka (=23-7-1546 A.C.) (No. 507—T.T.). From "Bālabhāgavatam" ("Sources," page 207) we learn that this Rāmarāju-Timmayya defeated Edulakkānu (Adil Khan) at Mānuva (Manve) and also heroically captured the fortress of Ādavoni (Adoni) with its tyrant and presented him to king Viḷa-Nṛṣimharāya and received from the king the Svāmidrōhaganda-paṇḍāramu, the anklet indicative of his vanquishing the rebel chief. Timmarāja must therefore have served the four Viḷayana-gara kings from Viḷa-Narasimha to Sadāsivarāya with an official career extending through almost the first half of the 16th century A.C.

Timmarājaya:—Timmarājaya was the son of Āravīṭil Timmarāja who must evidently be the same as Poḷapāṣi Timmarāja. Timmarājaya would then represent his eldest son Tirumalarāja mentioned in the "Bālabhāgavatam" ("Sources", page 208) to have laid a garden, built a maṇḍapam and choultries and provided for the aublutions with camphor and musk for Garuḍārāṇīthā, i.e., Śrī Nṛṣimha, the Lord of Ahobala, and also constructed a tank for Him. For the merit of Rāmarājaya, i.e., his cousin Aḷḷya-Rāmarāja, he arranged in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Kanyā (=21-9-1546 A.C.), for offerings for Śrī Viṃakaṣṭā and Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 356—G.T.). As at Ahobalam, he constructed a maṇḍapam, for the use of God Viṃakaṣṭā on certain auspicious occasions, in the aḷḷapam situated to the south of the temple and south-west of Achyutarāya's tank at Tirumala.
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Vīṭṭhalāraja :—Vīṭṭhalāraja or Vīṭṭhalāśvāra Mahārāja was the second son of Āravīṭṭi Bukkarāju-Rāmarāju-Timmarājaya, i.e., Poḷapāṭi Timmarāja, and hence a cousin of Ālīya-Rāmarāja and Tirumalarāja. In Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Karkātaka (5—7—1545 A.C.), Vīṭṭhalāśvāra granted three villages, Pālamaugālam in Nīṅgaiyānēru-ūrmaī with an annual income of 500 rākhai Pāraṇā in the same uśrmaī with an income of 250 rākhai and Vāṅkaṭattār in Pāḷaiyachchūrmaī with 250 rākhai as its annual income. With this aggregate yield of 1000 rākhai he arranged for daily offerings for Śrī Vāṅkaṭāśvāra, for the distribution of cloths to the devotees who congregated for the Purāṭṭāśi-tīrṇātī at Tirumala, for the free supply at the entrance to the temple of whey or butter-milk to the thirsty pilgrims and for the conduct of the Pāḷavaṭṭa-sava-tīrṇātī to be celebrated for five days in the month of Vaikūśi ending with the āltumūrcaī on the day of Ṛoḥiṇi under which Vīṭṭhalāraja was born (No. 561—T.T.).

Vīṭṭhala is known to have, in combination with his younger brother Chinna-Timmarāja, extended the Vijayanagara sovereignty “right up to the shore of the southern ocean and made the whole country free from oppressive rulers……..and set up pillars of victory at Rāmāsūtu (Ramesvaram) and Kanyākumārikā in order to establish their fame” (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, para 50). “Vīṭṭhala’s victorious campaign is reported to have commenced in Anantasāyanam (Travancore) in the south and ended at Mudugal in the north”. Having reduced the Tiruvaṭṭi-rājya, Vīṭṭhala ruled over it, holding also Trichinopoly and Madura under his charge; and this lordship of the southern portion of the Peninsula as a semi-independent prince continued for nearly a decade and a quarter. His overlordship of the Travancore country is found acknowledged by the Tiruvaṭṭi-rājya who was then ruling the Tiruvaṭṭi-rājya through the grant of half the village of Kūḷajāṭṭṭām situated on the bank of the river Tāmraparṇī within the Tiruvaṭṭi-rājya to God Vāṅkaṭāśa, for the merit of Vīṭṭhalarājaya, in Śaka 1479, Piṅgala, Kanyā, i.e., in the middle of September 1557 A.C. (No. 147—G.T.). This war, commenced in the earlier years of Achyutarāya’s reign, appears to have been renewed against Travancore in the last years of the same reign and in it Vīṭṭhala is credited with the reduction of Sāluva-Nāyaka and Tumbichchhi-Nāyaka and the ultimate subjugation of the Tiruvaṭṭi-rājya. The Tiruvaṭṭi-rājya conquered by Vīṭṭhalāśvāra and accorded a subordinate position was Venṛumaṭ-koṇḍa Bhātalavīra Rāmavanmar of Jatuṇga-nāṭu who, in ‘Kollam 722 corresponding to A.D. 1546—47’, ‘provided for special offerings to be made to the Vishnū
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shrine at Suchindram on the birthday of Viṣthalasvaramahārāja’ (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1900, para 80). And it was through his submission to the Vijayanagara authority that Rāmavarman was enabled to proceed to Tirumala and offer his obeisance to God Tiruvākaśāmuḍaiyān in śaka 1479, Piṅgaḷa (September 1557 A.C.). The other half of the village Kulayapāṭṭam was intended to serve as the dower of Śaṅkkuṭṭa-Nāṭchiyār.

Chinna-Timmarāja:—Chinna-Timmayadāva Mahārāja was the third son of Poḷlapāṭi-Timmarāja and the younger brother of Viṣthalasvara. He accompanied his elder brother Viṣṭhalarāja in his campaign against the Tiruvaḍi-rājya and, having reduced the country, ruled it jointly with him (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1917, para 45). It is, however, stated that ‘Chinna Timmarājadāva Mahārāja was ruling the Chandragiri-rājya as his own province (nammiṭā urmai) in śaka 1467.’ His direct gifts to the temple are not available but references occur in the records of other donors to the services of Chinna-Timmayadāva. For the merit of Poḷlapāṭi Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadāva Mahārāja, the Kōṇaṭis of Tirupati paid a certain amount into the Śri-Bhaṅgaḷam and the unexpended balance of 1565 poḷam from it was utilised for offerings provided by his younger brother Pāppu-Timmaya Mahārāja in śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Vṛiḍhika (=24-11-1547 A.C.) (No. 371—G.T.). Again in the arrangement effected by Sevvu-Nāyaka on the 4th day of Tai in Plavaṅga, current with śaka 1469 (=1-1-1548 A.C.), for offerings for God Gōvindarāja, provision was also made for the propitiation of the same deity at Sevvu-Nāyaka’s maṇḍapam in the name of Poḷlapāṭi Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadāva Mahārāja (No. 405—G.T.). Rāyasam Vēṅkataḍri stipulated for the offerings of atirasapaṭis to the processional image of Śri Vēṅkaṭaśa during the ten Brahma-savams celebrated at Tirumala at the time (No. 662—T.T.), and it is mentioned therein that the Ani-Tirukkoṭi-tirunāl was established by Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmarāja. This Ani-tirunāl or Ani-Tirukkoṭi-tirunāl is stated in No. 354—G.T. to have been instituted by Eṛya-Timmarāja, and it is possible that Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmayadāva was surnamed Eṛya-Timmarāja. No. 372—G.T. brings to notice an undertaking avowed on the 29th day of Āḍi in the cyclic year Paridhāvī (=27-7-1552 A.C.), by the shepherds supplying dairy products to the palace of Tirumalarāja, to the effect that they would measure out a definite quantity of ghee to the Śri-Bhaṅgāḷam. This palace of Tirumalarāja must have been situated in Tirupati wherein a Periya-Rājavidhi is mentioned in No. 367—G.T. to have existed, in which street Poḷlapāṭi Timmarāja constructed an ankaḷam occupied by retail merchants. This Periya-Rājavidhi
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is probably represented by the present "High Road" passing east and west through the heart of the town. This Tirumalarāja whose palace stood in the Periya-Rājavidhi in Tirupati must be identical with Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmayadāva who held the viceroyalty of the Chandragiri-rājya in śaka 1467, as noticed above. From No. 700 of 1917 we learn that this Chinna-Timmayadāva held Avukustma as a Nāyaśākara from king Sadāśivarāya. In No. 347—G.T. dated in śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Mina (=25-3-1546 A.C.), we are informed that Dāvarya-Bhaṭṭar or Dāvana-Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭar of Vāsīṣṭha-gōtra, Āsvalāyana-sūtra and Rik-dākha, was on the personal staff (Vākal-Kāryappar) of this Chinna-Timmayadāva Mahārāja; and in other records we find him as the recipient of the offered prasādam arranged by some of the donors, such as Manumapōḷi Ŭbularāja (No. 402—T.T.), Hanumayyan (No. 417—T.T.) and Padanṭayar (No. 651—T.T.).

Pāppu-Timmarāja:—Pāppu-Timmaya Mahārāja or Pāppu-Timmayarājāyayam, i.e., Pāppu-Timmarāja, was the fourth son of Potlapāṭi Timmarāja by his wife Gāpamāmbikā, and the youngest brother of Viṭṭhalarāja. He is represented by two records of our collection. The Kōmatīs (merchant class) inhabiting the suburb of Kottapāṭ̣i in Tirupati installed an image of Ṣanārdanaṇaperumāl and His consorts, and for these images Pāppu-Timmarāja provided in śaka 1469, Plavaiga, Viṣṇuḥika (=24-11-1547 A.C.), for daily propitiation through the gift of the village Koḷḷar in Pāḷaiyattu-ārmai yielding an annual income of 100 rākhai-pou (No. 371—G.T.). It is stated that the sum of 1565 pānam which was outstanding from the deposit made by the Kōmatīs for the merit of Potlapāṭi Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadāva Mahārāja was also utilised for the purpose. Pāppu-Timmarāja made a gift of another village Vāṇāḍu with an income of 250 rākhai to the temple in śaka 1477, Rākshasa, Māsha (=14-4-1555 A.C.) (No. 678—T.T.). This latter record mentions a maṇḍapam constructed by him at Tirumala. From No. 591 of 1919 it appears that this Pāppu-Timmayadāva Mahārāja was a joint ruler of the Chandragiri-rājya with his two elder brothers Viṭṭhalarāja and Chinna-Timmarāja.

Kondarāja:—Kōṇḍarāja was the son of Āraviṭṭu Rāmarāja-Kōṇḍirāja or Kōṇḍiṭayyadāva Mahārāja and as such the grandson of Periya-Kōṇḍarāja and the great-grandson of Āraviṭṭu Bukkarāja-Rāmarāja. Hence Rāmarāja-Kōṇḍirāja would signify the lineage of Kōṇḍirāja from Rāmarāja of the Āraviṭṭu family proper, the son of Bukkarāja by his wife Ballādēvī, just as Chinna-Timmarāja

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is denominated Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmarāja in distinction to the lineage from Siṅgarayya or Siṅgarāja and his two brothers of the Nandyala family, being also sons of Bukkarāja by his other wife Abbaladāvi. Konāraga is represented in our collection by five epigraphs. No. 660—T.T. registers his payment of 3000 nāṟṟam as capital, in Śaka 1468,—Prabhava, Sinha (="12-8-1546 A.C.), for the propitiation of Tiruvākāṭamudaiyān with special offerings on the day of Aviṭṭam (Dhanishṭha) in the Tamil month of Paṅguni as well as with one veḷḷai-ṭiruppōṇakam daily in the name of his grandfather Periya-Konāraga. In No. 407—G.T. Konāraga is reported to have purchased land lying to the north of Ayyanga-ṭiruvvidhi surnamed Śrī-Bhāshya-kāra-agraḥāram situated within the inner streets surrounding Śrī-Govindarāja’s temple in Tirupati, to have constructed a shrine for Nammāḷvār at the Rāmānuja-kāṭṭam established therein and to have arranged in Śaka 1472, Śādharaṃ, Tulā (="2-10-1550 A.C.), for the offering of 125 veḷḷai-ṭiruppōṇakam daily for this image of Nammāḷvār and their distribution among Śrīvisheṣavas. To this end he endowed the temple with ten villages with an aggregate income of 5713 ṛṭkhai-pon, namely, Taṅkōlam, Taṭyanār, Malaiyanār, Āṭṭiyār, Āṣār, Palandai, Mullaṭpatṭu, Kilaippakkam, Meyyār and Toruppāḍu. It was stipulated that with their income 125 veḷḷai-ṭiruppōṇakam might be offered to Nammāḷvār daily and all charges incident to the upkeep of the Rāmānuja-kāṭṭam might be met. Two men were engaged for watching the shrine of Nammāḷvār and they were paid 12 ṛṭkhai per year, that is to say, each of the two watchers received a salary of 5 paṇam monthly. Likewise the men guarding the ugrāṇum or the provisions-store of the Rāmānuja-kāṭṭam received 10 ṛṭkhai and 2 paṇam yearly. The accountant’s salary was 12 ṛṭkhai per annum. The servants, fifteen in number, got 180 ṛṭkhai yearly at 15 ṛṭkhai per month; and the cooks 9 ṛṭkhai and 6 paṇam per year, while the adhikāri or manager was paid 24 ṛṭkhai annually. Assafoetida is one of the articles of supply to the Rāmānuja-kāṭṭam provided in the record.

No. 408—G.T. details the purchase by Konāraga of certain gardens, lands and house-sites from the Śrī-Blathāram to which they were formerly granted by Āḷvār-Mudaliyar and the provision made by him for offerings for Śrī-Govindarāja Nāchchimār, etc., at his maṇḍapam constructed in the śelva-nārāyanam flower-garden, being one of the items of purchase, and on the car festival days in the four main festivals celebrated in Māsi, Aṇi, Vaikāki and Mārgalī in Tirupati. Towards the cost of the offerings which came to 57 ṛṭkhai per year, he granted in Śaka 1473, Virōdhikrit, Mina, (="10-3-1552 A.C.),
certain shares which he purchased from some of the *Vaidika-Brāhmaṇas* in the two villages Takkili and Pāḷśpalli collectively denominated Rāmāpuram, a *sarvamāṇya-agrahāram*, in the Penumbalai-nārma within the Puluguru-Nāṭṭu-
nārma. Ellama-Bhaṭṭar, son of Taṅgeli Liṅgama-Bhaṭṭar, residing in the
suburb of Krishnārapuram in Chandragiri, had parted with his two shares.
Likewise Periya-Timmayan, son of Ellāvadhāni Timmayan, of Gopīdāvipālai-
yam in Chandragiri, had sold his quarter of a share; so did Sarvādva-Sāma-
yāji, son of Pāṇāṭai Sāri-Bhaṭṭar of Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar-agrahāram in Tirupati, with
his two shares; Malaiṅkiniyaningaperumāl, son of Pratīvādibhayaṅkara Nainā-
rayyar with his one share; and Krishnayan, son of Periya-Anāyan of Achuy-
tappāṭṭai, with his half share; these making a total of five shares and three-
quarters. Kōṇḍarājā had secured other five shares in the same village and for
the aggregate ten shares and three-quarters he had paid a sum of 30 rēkhai.
Out of the estimated cost of 57 rēkhai per year for the offerings provided by
him, he got credit for 30 rēkhai worth of land purchased and granted to the
temple, and the balance of 27 rēkhai was made up by the collection of
vāsalvari of 25 rēkhai and mākāyanvari and kīḻvari of 2 rēkhai from Āḷvār-
Mudaliyar-pāḷaiyam, including ĭḻtari, Pāḷppalli-vṭiti and uppūr-ṛēkhai.

In Śaka 1475, Pramādīchā, Rishabha (=25-5-1553 A.C.), he made a gift to the temple of the village Nagari near Paraṅgar belonging to Viṣu-
grāmam in Nīṅgai-nāgu; and it fetched an annual income of 300 rēkhai-poun
to serve for the offerings of the different Āḷvārs on the days of their birth-
stars (No. 416—G.T.). As mentioned already (page 251 ante), Kōṇḍarājā
obtained a grant of tols and taxes from the several districts and sub-districts of the Vijayanagara kingdom from Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya on the auspicious occasion of the *Makara-Saṅkramam* (winter-solstice) which occurred on the
28th December 1553 A.C., and had it given effect to in Śaka 1476, Ānanda,
Karkatāka (=2-7-1554 A.C.), for the utilisation of the proceeds for the
Tiruppati-Rāmānujaṅkṣetram constructed by him to the north of Śrī Gōvindārāja’s temple. He had similarly secured, through his paternal uncle Alīya-
Rāmarāja, the grant of 31 villages from king Sadāśivarāya in Śaka 1478, Naḷa
(=1556 A.C.), for the Rāmānuja’s shrine at Sripurumbudur in the Chingleput
district (“British Museum Plates of Sadāśivarāya” in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV,
pages 1-22). He is also reported to have “handed over to the temple of
Ahōbalāvāra the copper-plate āsanā of Sadāśīva which registered the grant”
of a village for the Rāmānujaṅkṣetra at that holy centre (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915,
para 49). He “was in charge of the Vinukonḍa-sūma under orders of the
The Nandyala Family: Narapparaja:—The Nandyala family is represented in this collection by only one member, viz., Narapparaja. The Nandyala family was, like the Aravinsi family, descended from Aravini Bukkara and Balladvi and had Siavivibhu and other sons by Balladvi and Ramaraja by Balladvi; and that he conferred on Siavara and his brothers the chiefship of Nanda for them to rule over. These princes continued to rule their chiefship with Nanda as their capital, and hence their sons and grandsons came to acquire the family appellation “Nanda”, i.e., Nandyala. Being descended from Bukkara and Balladvi, the Nandyala chief’s also belonged to the Lunar race of Kshatriyas and partook of the Aravindaatura, Apastamba-satra and Yaju-satkha. Narapparaja was the son of Nandyala Narasigrara who was himself the son of Sivara, the progenitor of the Nandyala family. In Saka 1469, Kilaka, Dhanus (=December 1548 A.C.), he set up two Dvarapalakas in front of the central shrine of Sri Cavorinara and provided for their daily propitiation through the grant of the villages Pallipattu in the Nagari-sirmai and Guippudi near Anja which together yielded an annual income of 100 vishvaja-pupu-pon (No. 373—G.T.). The donor’s share of the offered prasadam was stipulated to be issued to his acharya Vadasanta-Sathakopapaliyar and to his disciples after him (No. 374—G.T.). This Vadasanta-Sathakopapaliyar must be the fifth head of the Ahobaja-Mutra who, according to the account of the “Sannidhi-Guruparampara”, occupied its headship for six years which would roughly correspond to the period from 1553 to 1558 A.C. It was his successor Paramuka-liyar, the sixth pontiff, that renovated the temples round about Kamalapuram in the Cuddapah district and received the grant of the village Sribhushyapuram for his service from king Sadasivaraya (note 1 on page 212 ante).

The Manamopoli Family: Srirangaraja:—Two chiefs of the Manamopoli or Manamboli family come to notice in some of these epigraphs, viz., Sriraangara and Pezilikoaktu Timmaraja. Srirangaraja was the son of Manampali Obularaja of Kasyapa-gotra, and in Saka 1466, Krodhi, Makara (=19-1-1545 A.C.), he made a gift of half the village of Ramanakkam in Patayachhirrai with an annual income of 100 pon, deducting the agraharam being the other half (No. 402—T.T.). The donor’s quarter share of the
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offered prasādam he transferred to Devappayyar or Dāvaraya Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Nirasīga-Bhaṭṭar of Vaiśīṣṭha-gōtra and Āvālayana-sūtra, to be enjoyed by him and his descendants (No. 403—T.T.). From the identity of the names it is likely that Manamapōli Ubuḷarāja and his son Śrīraāgarāja, were the same as the two chiefs of the Kuruchēḷu family, viz., Ubuḷarāja and his son Śrīraāgarāja, noticed in Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09 on page 196, the latter of whom is reported to have been a Vaishāva feudatory of Sadāśivarāya and to have made a gift of a garden to the shrine of Tirumaṅgai-Āṉār at Hampe in Śaka 1483, Raudra (=1560-61 A.C.). And these are probably again identical with Siddhirāja-Aubaḷarāja and his son Śrīraāgarāja who granted "the money and grain income in the village of Ḫaligera belonging to the Ādavāni-durga which was held . . . . . as an amara-umbali, to the temple of Kāśava-Perumāḷ at Halaharivi and to the choultry which was resorted to by itinerant Brāhmans travelling by the military road," in Śaka 1482, Raudri, Mārgaśira (=29-11-1560 A.C.) (No. 731 of 1919). They do not however appear to belong to the Čoḷa family of the chiefs, viz., Mahāmaṇḍalāsva Manumbāḷu Chennayadāva-Čoḷamahārāja mentioned in No. 718 of 1916 from Sermadevi in the Tinnevelly district, and Raṅgayadāvaśa Mahārāja, son of Čoḷikeyadāva-Čoḷa-Mahārāya, mentioned in No. 504 of 1919 from Little Conjeevaram. "Manamapōli" or 'Manambōli' was perhaps assumed by these chiefs from their residence or rule over Manambōlu or Manumbōlu, the modern town of Manubōlu, near Gudur in the Nellore district; and this name must have lent itself as the appellation of a few families.

Pendilikoduku Timmarāja:—The other member of the Manamapōli family, viz., Pendilikoduku Timmarāja, was the son of Kamparāja of the Kāśyapa-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra. In the two records that represent him, he is called the “Śūryavamādhipati,” i.e., the lord of the Solar race. In Śaka 1468, Plavaśa, Mithuna (=8-6-1547 A.C.), he started a Vasanta-tirunāḷ in the temple at Tirumala to be celebrated for five days in the month of Māśi from its commencement on the day of the Viśākha star to its close on the day of Śravaṇa; and towards its conduct, together with offerings for Periya-Perumāḷ, i.e., Mūla-Mārī Śrī Vaiṣakhaśvara, Malaikiniyanīra-Perumāḷ (the processional image) and Nachchimār (the two consorts), he granted to the Śrī-Bhaṅgāram three villages in the Vendāṇḍi-āṟmāḷ, viz., Baṅgāram with an income of 100 rākhai previously given to him by Erō-Timmarāja for providing for offerings for Tiruvaiṅkaṭamuṇḍāyāṉ, Vīṭṭāṟi with 50 rākhai and Būḍāpuram along with its hamlet (kuppam) with 50 rākhai, the aggregate income being
200 rākhai (No. 649—T.T.). In the course of the next half a dozen years the income from the three villages stopped, and, in lieu of these villages, Timmarāجا endowed the temple on the 20th day of Māśi in Śaka 1475, Pramāḍīchā (15-2-1554 A.C.), with Vattalāru in the Pādirikuppattu-aṁma which yielded by itself the total income of 200 rākhai with which the festival and offerings could be carried on as previously arranged (No. 649, A—T.T.).

The Matli Family: Varadarāja:—In the reign of Sādāsivarāya the Matli family is represented by only one member. This Matli chief was the son of Chennamma and Pōtarāja who was the son of Sōmarāja (No. 503—T.T.). In this record he appears with the birudas Kāvarivallabha, Gāyibhīṅgībiruḍa, and Okhetturājula-tala-guṇana-gaṇḍa-gaṇja-sīnḥa. In Śaka 1465, Gōbhakrit, Makara (=5-1-1544 A.C.), he provided, through a donation of 312 rākhai-pon as capital, for a daily offering for Tiruvēkaṭamuḍaiyān and occasional offerings for the processional images at the manḍapam, constructed in the garden laid in the name of his mother Chennamma, during the Tirukkoṭi-ṭirunāl and other festivals celebrated for the deity at the time. From the Telugu-Prabandha-Kāvya “Kakutsthavijayamu” we learn that Sōmarāju, the son of Bommarāju who was the progenitor of the Matli family, had five sons the eldest of whom was Pōtarāja. Pōtarāja married two wives Chinnamma and Rāmamāmba and begot Varadarāja and Vaiyārirāja on Chinnamma and Pāṭirāja, Rāmarāja, Chiṭṭirāja and China-Ellamarāja on Rāmamāmba. The eldest of these six sons, viz., Varadarāja, married Krishnāma and by her had a son named Vaiyārirāja. With a strong hand he put down evil-doers and ruled the earth. Just as Vishnū and Īśvara were the sons-in-law of the Ocean and the Mountain, so did Varadarāja become the beloved son-in-law of Krishnāraṇya by virtue of his possession of the divine river, sages, elephants, horses, trees, cows, fierce vehicle, forehead-ornament, mountain-ornament, etc. The above genealogy therefore indicates that one of the two brothers Varadarāja and Vaiyārirāja, the sons of Pōtarāja by his wife Chennamma and the grandsons of Sōmarāja, must be the donor in our record No. 503—T.T. And quite possibly it was the elder brother Varadarāja himself, the son-in-law of the famous Krishnāraṇya of Vijayanagara, that was the author of the afore-said services for Śrī Vēkāṭāḷavara. It is inferable that Krishnāmāmba, the single consort of Matli Varadarāja mentioned in the Telugu-Kāvya under reference, was the daughter of Krishnāraṇya, whose other daughter Tirumalāmba was married to Aḷiya-Rāmarāja to become the senior among his four wives (“Rāmarāṣṭiyamu,” verses 290 and 292). Varadarāja is known to
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have made a gift of money to the temple at Little Conjeevaram in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Mithuna (= 14-6-1544 A.C.), 'for providing daily offerings to the god and for special offerings on his natal-star day' (No. 528 of 1919); and to have granted a daśavanda charter to certain Redaśis, probably of Pottapi, under orders of Mahānamalaisivarā Rāmarāju-Tirumalarśayyadāva Mahārāja, i.e., Tirumala I, during the reign of Sadāśīvarāya (No. 434 of 1911). In the former epigraph Varadarāja is stated to be represented with the birudas, Kāviri-vallabha, Katikasurāhara, ōtteturajulattigunagadha and Gajasimha. This Varadarāja, the son of Poṭarāja, grandson of Sōmarāja and great-grandson of Bommarāja, the progenitor of the Maṭli family, was related as paternal uncle to Maṭli Anantarāja, the author of "Kakutsthavijayamu," being the son of Ellamarāja, grandson of Kōnarāja, great-grandson of Timmarāja, the younger brother of Sōmarāja, and great-great-grandson of Bommarāja. The Maṭli chiefs belonged to the Dēva-Chōja family of the Solar race and were therefore different from the ancient Pottapi-Chōjas and Uraiyūr-Chōjas, though these were also of the Solar race. It may be noted that the two sons-in-law of Krishnarāya, viz., Āraviṭi Aḷiya-Rāmarāja and Maṭli Varadarāja, had not made their appearance in the reign of Krishnarāya himself or in that of his successor Achyutarāya, but only in the succeeding reign of Sadāśīvarāya when the influence and power of the two brothers, the elder and younger Sālakarāja Tirumalarājas, had been undermined.

Śripati-Obalesvara:—Śripati-Obalesvara was the son of Maṛurāju-Rāmarāju of the Ātraya-gōtra, Āpastamba-suṭra and Yajuś-sākha, and, as such, probably belonged to the Āraviṭi family, though the names of the son and the father do not admit of identification with the known members of that family. This Obalesvara arranged in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Siṁha (= 13-8-1546 A.C.), for the offering of one jumma-paṭi and eight tiruppōṇakam daily for Śri-Vaškaṭasvara and, to meet the expenses, granted to the temple the village Pūrūr which yielded an annual income of 300 gasti-varāhan. This coin must have been of a higher value than the ordinary varāhan, pon or rēkhai-pon noticed in several inscriptions of our Collection.

Poṭlapati Rangarāja:—Rāṅgarāja must be another member of the Āraviṭi family, probably related closely to Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja, grandson of Āraviṭi Bukkarāja, noticed above. No. 361-G.T. dated in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Tula (= 13-10-1546 A.C.), which registers his gift of the village Rāchcherulu in Vidatoni-sīrmale with an annual income of 370 rēkhai-pon, states that Poṭlapāṭi Raṅgarāja was the son of Āraviṭi Nārapparāja of the Ātraya-gōtra.
Among the members of the Āraṇi family the name Nārapāraṇa does not occur. One Raṅgaraṇa of the Āraṇi family was the son of Kāṇṭhāraṇa and the younger brother of Konāraṇa, while another was the son of Pīṇa-Koṇḍarāṇa who was the son of Pōḷapāṭi Timmarāṇa. This Pōḷapāṭi Raṅgaraṇa provided for offerings for Tiruvaṅkaṭamudaiyāṉ during the tirvārayādhana (worship) following the daily aublations and for the image of Śrī Vākaṭasā installed in the eastern portion of the Maṭham in Tirupati presided over by Vānāmāmalai-Jīyar. This Maṭham is the local Jīyar-Maṭham noticed earlier (pages 91 to 95 ante and still found linked on to the temple of Śrī Vākaṭasāvarā.

Bayakara Ramappaya :— As noticed under Achyutarāṇa, Bayakara Rāmappayya continued in service under Sādāśivaraṇa in whose reign he resuscitated the provision for offerings for Śrī-Govindarāṇa originally made by his father Rayasam Periya-Timmarasayya and also supplemented the same in Śaka 1466, Krōḍhi, Mithuna (=16-6-1544 A.C.) (page 234 ante). • From the statement of his records and his work on music "Śvaramāṭkāḷānīdhi" which he dedicated to Aliya-Rāmarāṇa, he appears to have been the protege of this all-powerful Mahāpradhāṇi from whom he is stated to have received the governorship of Koṇḍavīṭu, that is to say, he retained the governorship of the province through the favour of Aliya-Rāmarāṇa. Hence for this patron, Rāmappayya constructed the palace called Ratnakāṭa, possibly in the capital city of Vijayanagara itself. Rāmappayya was therefore a versatile genius, being, like others of his time, not only a scholar, a musician and a statesman but an architect as well. The charity of his aunt Chinnamāmba, the wife of Pratīpa-Ellamarasa, relating to the gift of Vākaṭalapāṭu to the temple for daily offerings for Śrī Govindarāṇa and Viṭṭhalāsavāra is recorded in No. 401—G. T. dated in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Karkāṭaka (=8-7-1547 A.C.), in the reign of Sādāśivaraṇa.

Rayasam Venkatadri and His Brother Konappaya :— Rayasam Vākaṭadri was the son of Timmāya or Timmarasaya and grandson of Mōslimāṇu-Viramarāṇa or Viramarasaya of Haritasagātra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajujā-sākha. For the purpose of offering 250 atirasapaṭis to Śrī Vākaṭasā on certain days during the ten Tirukkoṇdi-tirunāṭ at Tirumala and other holy occasions, he granted to the temple in Śaka 1473, Virādhikṣīt, Karkāṭaka (=8-7-1551 A.C.), three villages, viz., Dāsāri with an annual income of 700 rēkhai in the Jagattuvāchchēri-sīrmai in Kalava-pāṭrū within Meyyūr-nāḷu in Palakunra-Kōṭam of Paḷaṇiṉṉu-ṉāḷai, Velāṉinṛṇṭu with 200 rēkhai-pōn in Jagattuvāchchēri-sīrmai in Nārāyanapurapāṭrū in Tēnīgan-nāḷu within Kunṭa-
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vardhana-kōṭṭam of Chandragiri-rājya, and half of Kuṭuvār alias Timmasamudram with 130 rēkhai in Gaṇḍikotta-sūrmaī, making a total income of 1030 rēkhai (No. 662—T.T.). The institutors of the festivals with the month of their celebration are mentioned in this inscription. The Tiruninca-Drudāiyar, i.e., the temple-accountants, instituted the festival celebrated in the month of Āvaṇī; Kāṇvanperundāvi, the queen of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, instituted the original festival Brahmoṭsavam in the month of Purāṭāsi in the name of Ādi-Brahma; Devāraya Mahārāya in Arpadi; Bukkarāya Mahārāya in Kārtikai; Krīshnārāya Mahārāya in Tai; Harihararāya in Māsi; Vīra-Nārasīga Yādavarāya in Paśguni; the temple-accountants in Chittirai; Tāḷappāka Tirumaiayāṅgār in Āni; and Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmarāja one more in the same month of Āni. It may be noted that one of these donors, viz., Kāṇvanperundāvi, the queen of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, i.e., the first of that name who extended the Pāṇḍya supremacy into the north up to the Krīshna river in the middle of the 13th century, is apparently different from Sāmavai alias Kāṇvanperundāvi, the queen of the Pallava chief who was a subordinate of Koppātra-Mahāndra-Panmar (page 20 ante.). These festivals which were only nine in the time of Achetuṭarāya rose to ten in the same reign and to eleven during the period of the Āravīdū dynasty (No. 329—G.T.).

In Śaka 1483, Durmathi, Dhanusi (=5—12—1561 A.C.), Rāyasam Vākaṭādiyam once again provided in conjunction with his younger brother Kōnappayyan, for special offerings for both Śri Vākaṭāsa and Śri Gōvindarāja (No. 645—T.T.). The charges of his provision at Tirumala came to 100 rēkhai and at Tirupati to 429 rēkhai per year, and towards these expenses he endowed the temple with two villages and 34 vrittiś of land in different villages. Āppūr with an annual income of 50 rēkhai in Śegajunipatitu-sūrmaī and Kākai-Sūryampaṭṭi with Ghaṭākakuppam in another sūrmaī were the two full villages granted by him. The vrittiś were situated in Satravāṭai surnamed Timmarasapuram in Kōṭtār-sūrmaī, Vāppagughtai alias Kumāra-Timmarasapuram in Pārār-sūrmaī, Echchiyār-agrāhāram in Kōṭṭār-sūrmaī, Panaippakkam near Yirupūr and Puttār and other villages. Most of these villages are now found near Tiruttanī and Arkanam. The younger brother Kōnappayyan's Ubhāiyam consisted of a single item of four tiruppānakkam to be offered each day for Tiruvākaṭāmaṇḍiyān, the total cost for a year of 365 days aggregating to 117 rēkhai, for which he granted two villages Ilaiyāṭānampaṭṭu and Perumāṇipāndi with 22 vrittiś of land in Viṭṭu-grāma in Viṭṭuru-sūrmaī. The total endowments of the two brothers were therefore four full villages and
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36 vrittis of land and they fetched an income of 646 râkhai to the Śri-
Bhongāram annually. From the large number of vrittis that Rāyasam
Vākaṭādriyayyan and his brother Kōnappayyan transferred to the possession
of the temple on this occasion as well as from the gift of the 30 additional
shares made 'as a preferential share, to the minister, the secretary (rāyasa)
Vākaṭādri, a son of the minister Timmaya and grandson of the minister
Mosalimalāvirama, who belonged to the gōtra of Harita, was a distinguished
student of the Yujurveda, and followed the sūtra of Āpastamba', out of the
entire grant of the village Uhinai surnamed Achyutandramahārāyapura effected
by king Achyutarāya in śaka 1462, Śārvāri, Kārtika (=12-10-1540 A. C.);
as recorded in the Unāmājēri Plates of Achyutarāya (Ep. Ind., Vol. III,
page 151), it is evident that they were Vaidika-Brāhmaṇas, and, as such,
Vākaṭādri-Nāyaka cannot be identified with this Brāhman minister Rāyasam
Vākaṭādri, as is done in the Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 193. Again as
mentioned therein, Musalimalāvuvu Viraparāja-Timmarājayyya was not the
brother of Rāyasam Vākaṭādri, but he was the latter's father, as noted there
alone and as may be gathered from Nos. 534 of 1919 and 191 of 1916 of the

Vākaṭādri served Achyutarāya as his rāyasam or secretary, while his
father Timmarāja, and probably grandfather Virapparāja also, had been
engaged as ministers of the crown during the same reign (Ep. Ind., Vol. III,
page 151). From No. 14 of 1904, we find that the father Timmarāja continued
in the service of Sadāśivarāya and made a gift of gold 'with the consent
of Ajiya-Rāmapayyadāva-mahā-arasu', at Hampe in śaka 1476, Ānanda
(=1554 A.C.). Likewise the elder son Rāyasam Vākaṭādri continued in
service under Sadāśivarāya also and made a gift of Turaiyur and another
village to the temple at Tirupukkuļi in the Conjeevaram taluk of the
Chingleput district in śaka 1483, Durmati, Tulā (=15-10-1561 A. C.)
(No. 191 of 1916) and received ten days later, i.e., on 25-10-1561 A.C., 'the
assignment, on interest . . . . . of the income of certain villages for
providing offerings to the God' at Conjeevaram (No. 534 of 1919); whereas
the younger son Kōnappayya appears to have entered service only during the
reign of Sadāśivarāya (No. 645-T.T.).

Rāyasam Hariyappa and his Son Lakkarasayya:—Like Rāyasam
Vākaṭādri, Rāyasam Hariyappa of the Kāyapa-gōtra, Āvalāyana-sūtra and
Rik-āśkha, also belonged to the secretarial staff of king Sadāśivarāya, as
indicated by his designation. Hariyappa provided for a daily offering for

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Tiruvâkâstamâdaiyan in Sâka 1466, Krâdhi, Kanya (= 11-9-1544 A.C.), and as capital therefor paid 1580 narâsâgam into the Ārâ-Bhânaâram (No. 443—T.T.). Lakkarasayya, son of this Vaâgâpuram Râyasam Hariyappa, is brought to notice in No. 82—T.T., wherein the donor authorised Lakkarasayya to receive the donor's share of the offered prasâdam in Sâka 1470, Kâlaka, Rishabha (= 7-5-1548 A.C.).

Adaippam Surappa-Nâyaka:—Surappa Nâyaka was the son of Pottappa-Nâyaka of Kâsyapa-gîtra, Āpastaîmâ-sûtra and Yajus-râkha. In Sâka 1473, Viradhâkryit, Rishabha (= 10-5-1551 A.C.), he provided for the propitiation of Sri Vâkâstamâvâra with eight veillâi-tiruppônakâm daily and established the Sâhasranâma-mahotsava-tirunâl in the month of Mâî with askhurâsâgam (seed-sowing) on the day of the star Makha, adlivâsam (dwelling, i.e., in the particular chamber outside the central shrine) on the day of Uttara and Sâttunnâta (closing function) on the day of the star Chitta (No. 666—T.T.). Towards the expenses of the festival and offerings he granted the village Villiyannallîr with an annual income of 400 râkhai-pon in Viluppura-sûrmai in Tiruvadi-râjyam. The epigraph also refers to the mañçapam of Bayyappa-Nâyaka and the tâçam (garden) of Surappa-Nâyaka. Several inscriptions of the Mad. Ep. Coll. indicate that his official career during Sadasivârâya's reign from Sâka 1465, Sôbhakrit, Mâgha (= January 1544 A.C.) (No. 334 of 1917), to Sâka 1489, Prabhava, Vrischika (= November 1567 A.C.) (Nos. 313 and 314 of 1921), was confined to the Tiruvadi-râjyam, i.e., Tiruvadi-sûrmai (a portion of the modern South Arcot district), which was 'a subdivision of Tirumunaiippâi-valahàthu, which was itself a portion of Valudilampaâstu-usâvaî (i.e. Châvaî) in Kupukkai-kúram, a district of Maiâlau aliases Jananâtha-valahâthu, (No. 312 of 1921). He appears to have been originally a lieutenant under Adigârâm Dâlavâyâki Krishnappa-Nâyaka for whose merit he made a gift to the temple at Devikâpuram in the North Arcot district in Sâka 1468, Parabha, Vrischika (= 26-11-1546 A.C.) (No. 391 of 1912), and his agent granted the tax talaiyârikam to the temple at Kugaiyir in Sâka 1483, Durmati, Makara (= January 1562 A.C.) (No. 106 of 1918). One of his early services consisted of the reconsecration in Sâka 1465, Sôbhakrit, Mâgha (= 31-1-1544 A.C.), of the temple at Emâyiram in the South Arcot district which was built by Râjendra-Chûla and (which) had become dilapidated' (No. 334 of 1917). This same record mentions that he was an younger brother of Aâapa Baiyappa-Nâyaka; and both Baiyappa-Nâyaka and Surappa-Nâyaka together made a gift of the village Sîrâmâr to the temple of Sembledu
in the South Arcot district in Śaka 1469, Plavaaga, Rishabha (=23-5-1547 A.C.) (No. 1 of 1919). This Baiyappa-Nāyaka is not the same Aqāippam Bayyappa-Nāyaka who had served under Kṛishnarāya as suggested in para 74 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1918, for the latter was the son of Timmappa-Nāyaka, while the former was the son of Pottu-Nāyaka or Pottappa-Nāyaka. It is stated that they had another brother Virappa or Viśvappa-Nāyaka (ibid). During the later years of Sadasivāraśa's reign Surappa-Nāyaka became the agent (kāryakartā) of the king whereby he exercised authority (pāravartanam) over the same Tiruvadi-rājya (No. 41 of 1922). Even by Śaka 1474, Paridāpi, Tula (=29-10-1552 A.C.), he is found to have assumed the biruda 'Mani-nāgapuravārādhīśava' ('lord of Maṇiṅāgapura') (No. 312 of 1921), and it probably indicates his rule of the surrounding territory from his capital at 'Maṇiṅāgapura'. He had a number of agents, such as Vādhamalai-Nāyaka, Vāskatappaya-Vēgappaya, Urattu Pāppu-Nāyaka, Kumārappa-Reḍdi and Timmayar-Anagāl, under him in the several towns of the Tiruvadi-rārmaj.

Adāippam Sevvappa-Nāyaka: Sevvappa-Nāyaka was the son of Maṇikkakākiyār of Maḷippākkam. In Śaka 1469, Plavaaga, Karkatāka (=8-7-1547 A.C.), he granted to the temple the income from the village Maḷippākkam situated in Perunagari-rārmaj for daily offerings for Śri Vānkaṭāvaṇara (No. 64—T.T.). The annual income from the village was 70 rākhai-pou. Sevvappa-Nāyaka retained the possession of the village as kāṇiyākshi and undertook to pay the 70 pou each year into the Śri-Bhaṅgarām towards the conduct of the offerings.

Tirumalai-Nāyaka: Tirumalai-Nāyaka, son of Bālu-Nāyaka of Āraṇi, provided for offering thrice a day for Śri Vānkaṭāvaṇara and therfore granted in Śaka 1474, Paridhāvi, Simha (=1-8-1552 A.C.), the income of the village Tachchār-Attimalai-pattu situated on the north bank of the river Śeyyāgu in Tachchār-nāḍu in Gaṅgāpāliṇa-pattu comprised in Rājagambhira-rājyam within Palakuriga-kōṭam in Jayaṅkōṇalōla-mandāla within Pāḍaśṛidhara-rājyam (No. 539—T.T.). The income from the village was 80 rākhai-naḍappu-pou annually. As in the case of Sevvappa-Nāyaka, Tirumalai-Nāyaka retained the village in his own hands as kāṇiyākshi, agreed to defray the salaries of the village servants (pāṇi-yākshi) and pay the 80 pou into the temple-treasury each year towards the expenses of the daily offerings and obtain the pāṭṭamuri (receipt) from the authorities of the temple.

Murti-Nāyaka: Murti-Nāyaka, son of Kaṭṭa Konaḷama-Nāyaka of the Chaturtha-gōtra residing at Kumārappalli, arranged in Śaka 1457, Krōḍhī, Simha
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(=7-8-1544 A.C.), for offerings for the procession images during the Brahmotsavams in the names of his kith and kin at the mantapam built by him in a grove of trees at Tirumala (No. 578. A—T.T.). During the Ādi-tirunāl the services were stipulated to be conducted in the names of Mārṭi-Nāyaka's parents Kondaama-Nāyaka and Bokkamma; in the Āvani festival in his own name; in the Puraṇāṭṭi festival in the name of his wife Mārtiamman; in the Arpaṭṭi festival his other wife Kanakamman; in Kārtikai festival his younger brother Narasayya; Tai festival his other brother Narayanan; Māyai festival his son Mattaiyan; Paṅguni festival another son Tattaiyan; Chittirai festival his wife's brother (machchināṇō) Kommu-Nāyaka; and in the Āni festival instituted by Taḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgār in the name of his rāyasam, viz., Tirumalalayya. He also established a watershed at the mantapam built by him beside the pathway leading to Tirumala and to the west of the pathway leading to Siṅgara-kōyil in Tirupati and engaged the services of two watermen at it on a remuneration of 1 rōkhai 5 sil āngām, per year probably. He set up two watersheds at Tirumala one of which was located at the ter-mantapam for whose annual repairs a sum of 1 rōkhai 6 paṇām was also provided. His services for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati consisted of an offering for the Garuḍa flag during the Āni festival in the name of his father Kondaama-Nāyaka; in the Māśi festival in the name of his younger paternal uncle Karu-Nāyaka; in the Vaikāal festival in his own name and in that of his brother Narasayan's wife, Chinnamman; and in another festival, perhaps the Mārgaḷa one, in the name of Muṭṭattayya-Nāyaka and Rāyasam Tirumalalayya. The total cost of the offerings was estimated at 75 rōkhai per year and towards their conduct Mārti-Nāyaka granted Rājandrasīganallār in Perundimā-nāḷu in Pāḍuvār-kōṭṭam and transferred to the temple his right valued at 25 rōkhai in half of the Kōṇiśi-
kālvāy in Puduppaṭṭu village situated in Kuḍāvār-nāḷu in Tiruvākaṭa-kōṭṭam within Chandragiri-nāṭam.

Sevvu-Nāyaka:—Sevvu-Nāyaka was the son of Siṅga-Nallapan of Kaṭṭāpāḷa-gōtra and belonged to the community of Veḷḷas of Pāṅgu-nāḷu (No. 403—G.T.). In Śaka 1468, Parābbhava, Makara (=13-12-1546 A.C.), he provided, through a capital of 2480 paṇām, for offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja in the names of Basayyana, son of Kodimikōṭil Pottunāyani-Basayyana; Pappayan, son of Erā-Basayyana; Pōṭṭu-Nāyaka, son of Sōmugaṅgāyana; Erāṅgarāja-Rāmayan-Timmayan; Uṅgaṅgam Rāmayan; Ārṇivāsan, son of Kuḷakippār Nallār; and Timmu-Nāyaka, elder brother of the donor Sevvu-Nāyaka. He also appears to have established a watershed in Tirupati and this charity is mentioned in

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two extracts registered in Nos. 438, A—T.T. and 438, B—T.T., while his services pertaining to the propitiation of the deity are referred to in No. 409—G.T., dated about a month later in the same year in the month of Kumbha on 6-2-1547 A.C. Śevvu-Nāyaka supplemented his original provision in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Tai (=1-1-1548 A.C.), with offerings for the processional image of Śrī Gōvindarāja on the Pādīyavaiṁāl in the name of Poṭlapāḍī Rāmarāju-Čhinna-Timmayadāva Mahārāja and Pōli-Reḍdi, son of Mummaḷu-Reḍḍi of Rāmānūjapalli; and in his own name for Raghunātha on the day of Pādīyavāḷi (No. 405—G.T.). The donor's share of the offered prasādam was required to be delivered to the donor Śevvu-Nāyaka himself, except that offered in the name of Pōli-Reḍḍi which was stipulated to be issued to the Kandaḷai-Rāmānūjakāṭṭār. This Rāmānūjakāṭām originally instituted by Sāṭuva Narasimha and managed by Kandaḷai Rāmānūjayaṅgal ār is heard of again after half a century in the reign of Sadasivarāya, in whose time it appears to have been under the management of Kandaḷai Kumāra-Rāmānūjayaṅgal ār. An extract at the end of the inscription records that this pōlīyaḷi pertained to Śevvu-Nāyaka, son of Sīnu-Nallappan who belonged to the Veḷḷaḷa community of Pāguṇāḷa, and states that he was entitled Gaṇḍaraṇaḍa ('the bravest of the brave') and Yōnikōpī-jīvaṁkellāṁ-rakṣāpāḷa ('the protector of the innumerable living beings') (No. 406—G.T.) A small Telugu inscription No. 198—G.T. mentions Tamma-Nāyaṇḍu and Chevvi-Nāyaṇḍu, sons of Chevvi-Nāyaṇḍu, and Rāmayya, son of their sister Rōḷam. From the provision for offerings made by Śevvu-Nāyaka in the name of Poḷlapāḍī-Rāmarāju-Čhinna-Timmayadāva Mahārāja, the younger brother of Viṣṭhālārāja, it may be inferred that the former was an official subordinate of the latter either in the administration of Avuku-sma which was a nāyakara held by Čhinna-Timmayadāva from the king (No. 700 of 1917), or in the joint government of the Chandragiri-rājiya by the three brothers Viṣṭhālārāja, Čhinna-Timmarāja and Pāppu-Timmayadāva Mahārāja (No. 591 of 1919).

Rāchavittu-Nāyaka:— Rāchavittu-Nāyaka authorised the utilisation of the 200 poḷum paid as capital by Sevvusāni, one of the uṇḍuṅuṇāmaṇḍiṣir of Tirupati, for the daily propitiation of Viṅgāvaḷa installed by her in the temple of Nāyaṇār-Kaṅāvaramuṇḍaiya-Nāyaṇār, towards the repairs to the pūṇaḷa walls and the kitchen attached to the same temple, while they were damaged by being struck by thunder during rains (No. 205—G.T.). In Śaka 1484, Dundubhi, Kumbha (=30-1-1563 A.C.), he however managed to carry out the original obligation of daily worship for Viṅgāvaḷa with a lamp,
flower-garland and offerings at a cost of 2 pañam monthly, being the interest on the capital of 200 pañam at one pañam per month per cent. This yields a rate of interest of 12 per cent per annum.

Attilanka-Nayaka:—Attilanka-Nayaka, son of Āmikāla Taṅgaḍa-Nāyaka, of Veṣambatupāḷaiyam, made a donation of 550 narpañam to the temple for certain offerings for the processional image at the maṇṭapam in his garden in Śaka 1466, Krōdhī, Mithuna (=5-6-1544 A.C.) (No. 513—T.T.).

Timmana-Udaiyar:—Timmaṇa-Uḍaiyar, son of Vaṅgāpuram Ellappa-Uḍaiyar, paid 12,000 narpañam into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Tula (=13-10-1546 A.C.), for offering daily six vellai-tiruppōṇakam for Śrī Veṅkaṭāvara along with the Achyutarāya-sandhi-avasaram (No. 400—G.T.). The donor’s quarter share of one and a half prasādam was required to be delivered to Vaṅgāpuram Nārāyanā-Śeṭṭī for maintaining the taṇṇīr-pūṇḍal (watershed) at Tirumala-aṭivāram (at the base of the hill) at Vaṅgāpuram Ellappa-Uḍaiyar’s maṇṭapam.

RELIGIOUS TEACHERS AND VAIDIKA BRAHMANAS.

Yatirāja-Jiyar and Vanamalai-Jiyar:—Some of the religious teachers that come to notice in the epigraphs of this period were servants of the temple who were obliged to conduct certain religious rites in these temples. Such was Yatirāja-Jiyar, the disciple of Aḷaṇṉaiyanavela-Jiyar and the manager of the Perarulūlam-Māṭham (No. 410—T.T.). He was designated Periya-Kōyil-kāḷi, the senior superintendent of the temple, in distinction to the Iḷaiya-Kōyil-kāḷi, the junior superintendent who at the time was Vānamāmalai-Jiyar. Yatirāja-Jiyar provided for offerings for the deity during the Āṇi and the Āḏi festivals through the payment of 820 narpañam into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1463, Plava, Mithuna (=21-6-1541 A.C.), in the last days of Achyutarāya’s reign. Some cash payments also were required to be made to the staff of the temple for conducting the tiruvōḷakam or āsthānam arranged by him on the day of Viṭṭaḻṟi (closing day) during the Āṇi-Tirukkoṇṭi-tirunāṭ; and we find the following dozen items of payment noted therein:—4½ pañam for the 4½ Sthaṅattāravagai, 1 pañam for Sabhāiyar-tirumunkōṇikkai, 1 pañam for avusandhānam, 1 for Kaṅṅāṭḷīṇ, 1 for viṇṇappamikyav, 1 for Kōyil-adlikāi, 1 for tiraiyāi, 1 for maṇṭapakkottar, 1 for maṇṭapam-vitānīkka-
RELIGIOUS TEACHERS AND VAIDIKA BRAHMANAS

kaikkōlar, 1 panam for uppīyar, 2 panam for tiruppallittānam and 1 for tūkkan, making a total tirukkai-valakam of 1 rākhal 6 panam. From this list it would appear that there existed three authorities in the temple, viz., the Sthānattār, the Adhikāri and the Kōyil-kīvī, whose jurisdiction could not have been co-ordinate. The Sthānattār might exercise superior authority, the general management and supervision over all matters religious and secular pertaining to the temples, while the duties of the Adhikāri might be confined to certain secular affairs and those of the Kōyil-kīvī to religious functions, both the latter forming part of the Sthānattār who alone executed all documents of the temples. In the name of Yatirāja-Jiyar were provided certain offerings for the deity during the month of Mārgalī by Ellappē-Pillai, son of Andakīlam-ttār, one of the Šeṭṭi class of Gōpāla-gōtra residing at Tiruvakkara, in Šaka 1465, Šobhakrit, Tula (=3-10-1543 A.C.) (No. 668—T.T.). Yatirāja-Jiyar was the head of the local religious institution generally known as the Jiya-Maḥam, and Vānamāmalai-Jiyar was the junior of this Periya-Kōyil-Kīvī Yatirāja-Jiyar. No. 509—T.T. states that Vānamāmalai-Jiyar was the disciple of Rāmānuja-Jiyar and grand-disciple of Vānamāmalai-Jiyar and that he was the manager of the Aṭagīyamaṇaṭṭān-maṇḍavaṇam and the Aṭagīyamaṇaṭṭān-Maḥam. In Šaka 1463, Plava, Kumbha (=24-2-1542 A.C.), he arranged for offerings for Śrī Vākaṭāvara and the processional image during the ten Tirukkoṭi-tirunāţi and other festivals and auspicious occasions. One such occasion was the Ādi-Pāram, i.e., the day of Pārva-Phalguni or Pubba star in the month of Ādi, which was the āṭṭai-tirunakshatram of his guru Rāmanuja-Jiyar. In the course of the procession of the processional images during the Jalakriḍāi-tirunāţi, the images were propitiated with offerings while being seated on the Uṭṭal in the nilaṭṭiruttār (the stationary stone-car) standing in front of the Maḥam over which he presided. From this it would appear that the Maḥam of the junior Jiya was situated somewhere adjacent to the stone-car which now stands half-buried at the north-east corner of the Tirumala village, whereas his present Maḥam is located near the south-west corner. In the distribution of the donor's share of the offered praśādam, he allotted a portion to Ānandāmpillai-Jiyar, who is stated to have been his aṭṭunīya, and to Kōyil Kandālai Anan, and the balance he stipulated to be delivered only to the Deśantār who took charge of the Aṭagīyamaṇaṭṭān-Maḥam. This indicates the principle of succession obtaining in the Jiya-Maḥam wherein the successors of the junior Jiya were Deśantāris, i.e., immigrants into Tirupati from the Tamil country and not natives of the town.
itself. We are informed in No. 402—G.T. that Kōyil-kāvi Vānāmāmalai-Rāmānuja-Jīyar built a shrine in the eastern portion of his Maḥam situated in the Sāvittī-tiruvvidhi of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati and set up an image of Tiruvākṣaṣaṭamūdayan and, through the payment of 2030 nārapānam as capital into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Tulā (=13-10-1546 A.C.), provided for its daily propitiation during the daytime with tiruppōṇakam cooked and prepared in the kitchen of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple at the time of the offering of the avasaram arranged by Poḷapāṭi Raṅgarāja, son of Āraḷīti Nārapparāja of Āṭrāya-gōtra, while Raṅgarāja also provided for rāppadi (night offerings) for the same image on the above date (No. 361—G.T.).

**Vedānta-Sāthakopa-Jīyar**:—Vedānta-Śaṭhakopa-Jīyar was the religious preceptor who presided at the time over the Ahōbala-Maṭham of the Vēlagalai-Śrīvaiśhavas of South India. He was the fifth pontiff in succession to Ādi-Van-Śaṭhakopa-Jīyar, the founder of this religious institution in the last years of the third quarter of the 15th century A.C. (page 215 ante). He was the spiritual guru of the chiefs of the Nandyāla family, as expressed in the grant of the donor's share of the offered prasādam made to his aḥārya Vedānta-Śaṭhakopa-Jīyar by Nārapparāja, son of Nandyāla Narasiṅgarāja, in Śaka 1469, Kilaka, Dhanus (=December 1548 A.C.) (Nos. 373 and 374—G.T.). It is this same Vedānta-Śaṭhakopa-Jīyar that regained for the Gaṇapati king Mukundadāva his throne from the Gauda king of Bengal as mentioned in the footnote on page 212 ante. From the date of our epigraph No. 373—G.T., it would seem necessary to push back the pontifical period of Vedānta-Śaṭhakopa-Jīyar by about three years or fix its commencement sometime earlier than the date of our record and extend it to nine years, instead of six years, up to 1557 A.C., in consonance with the date of the Drakshārāma inscription noticed in the above footnote. Unlike the Jīyars of the local Maṭham who were mostly confined to their headquarters Tirupati, owing to their obligatory service in the temples, the Jīyars of the Ahōbala-Maṭham with their nominal headquarters at Ahōbalam originally which they transferred to Tiruvallur near Madras at the end of the 19th century, felt themselves free to tour the country constantly.

**Vēṇakāṭṭuṭga innovate**:—Vēṇakāṭṭuṭga innovate belonged to the family of the Nambimār who carried on the worship of Tiruvākṣaṭamūdayan, i.e., the officiating priests of the temple. He was the son of Maḷaininī-Bhaṭṭar-Appayan of Kāṭyapagaṭra, Vaikhanasa-sātra and Yajuvaṅkaṅka. The Nambimār of the temple were paid certain remuneration in each of the festivals celebrated
in the temples and each one among them partook of it. Out of a sum of 130 pāraṇam paid as the Dhruva-dārākanam present at the celebration for five days of the Lakṣmiśeṣu-tirunāṭi instituted by Achyutarāya in Śaka 1457, Manmatha, Dhanus (26-12-1535 A.C.), Vāṅkaṭṭattrapāvaṁ obtained 60 pāraṇam as his share for his service for two days of the festival (No. 544—T.T.). During the ten Tirukkoṭi-tirunāṭi conducted at Tirumala at the time, this Nambiyār held three-eighths share in each as ākārīyaṁ, that is to say, for the ten festivals in the year his claim amounted to three and three-quarter days. No. 448—T.T. mentions two other items of remuneration which Nambi Vāṅkaṭṭattrapāvaṁ obtained each year, viz., 25 pāraṇam as pratīnai-dakshinai in the general distribution during the Tirukkoṭi-tirunāṭi and 20 pāraṇam for Namūrchanai or worship with the recitation of the 1008 apppellations of Śri Vāṅkaṭāśa. This amount of 45 pāraṇam, paid to him out of 1 ārana-vagai, he authorised the Sīhamattār to credit to the temple as an additional investment by him towards the expenses of the offerings which he arranged in Śaka 1461, Vikāri, Viśiṭhika (7-11-1539 A.C.), during the reign of Achyutarāya, through the deposit of 150 pāraṇam as capital in the īlal of the temple (No. 448—T. T.). In Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Viśiṭhika (26-11-1545 A.C.), falling into the reign of Sāḍśivarāya, he supplemented his original provision for offerings, oil and butter made in Śaka 1461, Vikāri, Kanya (17-9-1539 A.C.) (No. 446—T. T.), by arranging for the distribution of oil and turmeric powder during the procession of Śri Kṛṣṇa and by making further offerings to the deities (No. 667—T. T.).

A few members of the Nambyār family appear in some of these epigraphs, viz., Malainēparumāḷ, son of Karunākara-Bhaṭṭar-Gūvindayan of Bhāradvāja-gōṭra, Vaikhanasasa-grāha and Yajur-vākha (No. 448—T. T.); Ārtiṁvāsa, son of Malainēpar-Bhaṭṭar-Anānan; Malainēparumāḷ, probably son of Tiruveṅkaṭa-Bhaṭṭar-Akkaṇā; and Sīṭānar-Pārvārtaṇam, son of Periyaperaṇamāḷ-Bhaṭṭar-Ananṭappar (No. 667—T. T.). Another Nambiyār Ārtiṁvāsa, son of Tiruveṅkaṭa-Nambiyār-Timmayar, who belonged to the Ārtivatsa-gōtra and Vaikhanasasa-grāha, was the recipient of the offered pravānaṃ provided by the Tiruvāḍi-rājak for Śri Vāṅkaṭāśa and Śri Gūvindarāja in Śaka 1479, Piṅgala, Kanya (9-September 1557 A.C.), for the merit of Viṭṭhalarāja, the conqueror of the Tiruvāḍi-rājya (No. 147—G.T.).

The Tallapākaṇam Family of Musician-Poets: Annamayyangar:—Four generations of the Tallapākaṇam family that flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries A.C. come to notice in the Sankrāntana copper-plates and the
epigraphs of our Collection. The Tāḷḷapākam musician-poets were Nanda-varika Brāhmanas, like Allasāṁī Peddanāṁātya, the poet-laureate of Kṛisna-rāya, and belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āśvālayana-sūtra and Rīk-sākha. Annayārya is the earliest member of the family but no epigraphical records are available for him. Among the literary compositions of the family preserved on copper-plates in a small room in the temple of Śrī Vāsakāṭāvara at Tirumala, three works are found written by him. They are “Adhyātma-Saṅkīrtanalu”, “Śrīgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu” and “Śrīgāra-Maṅjari”. The prologues prefixed to the first two works recount that Tāḷḷapāka Annamāchārya commenced composing both the Saṅkīrtanas in Śaka 1346, Kṛόdhī (=1424 A.C.), being then in his 16th year of age during which he had a manifestation of God Tiruvēśāgaṇātha, and continued his work until the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in Śaka 1424, Dundubhi (=23rd February 1503 A.C.), from which date also commence his son Peda-Tirumalāchārya’s literary activities. That is to say, for a period of 80 years from 1424 to 1503 A.C., Annayārya went on composing Saṅkīrtanas in the name of Śrī Vāsakāṭā and sang one or more of them each day in His holy presence. And his age at his retirement from his literary-musical activities was therefore 96 years and he must have deceased about this date. He was thus contemporaneous with Ādi-Va śaḥkāpo-Jīyar and Kandāṇai Rāmānujya-aṅgār, having lived through the reigns of the last kings of the First dynasty of Vijayanagara from Dūvarāya II to Virāpāksha, into those of Sāluva Narasimha and his son Immaṭī-Nṛsiṁha, and witnessed the two alleged usurpations of the Vijayanagara throne by the Sāluvas and the Tuluvas in the middle of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries of the Christian era. In the “Śrīgāra-Saṅkīrtanas” God Vāsakāṭā is addressed as Nāyaka (lover) by the poet who conceives himself as the Nāyīkā (lady-love), and the Nāyaka is sometimes petted, coaxed, reproved, praised and petitioned with the ultimate object and request for being favoured with His divine grace. The theme of the “Adhyātma-Saṅkīrtanas” is the inculcation of Bhakti and insistence on the adoration of Tiruvēśakāṭapati, i.e., Śrī Vāsakāṭā. These Saṅkīrtanas are therefore addressed to the layman before whom is held up a picture of the depravity of a man's life not dedicated to God's service and the glory and merit that become the true devotee of Śrī Vāsakāṭāvara, and hence the necessity of His worship—“ Kaṁsāntaka-Vāsakāṭagiripatah praśamsaiva paśchād-iha-nāsti” , “ Trisāvandyānāgau-Tiruvēśakāṭapati vedaki-vedaki-savāchudā” (Plate 1). The third work “Śrīgāra-Maṅjari” deals with the love of a maiden for God
Veṅkaṭāśa and its consummation through the intercession of her companions. It is a short Telugu piece engraved both sides on four copper-plates. In the colophon of this "Śrīgāra-Maṇjari" Tāḷḷapāka Annayārya refers to himself as the guru-Bharadvāja-gōtra-pāvana and Nandāpurivāma-sāyaśātama, that is to say, he owned the Bharadvāja-gōtra and belonged to the Nandavarika sect of Brāhmaṇas. Annamayyaṅgaṅar’s grandson Tiruvāṅgālānātha also mentions in his "Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu" that he belonged to the Nandavara-vamśa, Bharadvāja-gōtra and Āṅvalīyana-sūtra. At the end of the "Śrīgāra-Maṇjari" a song is inserted apparently composed by his admirers or disciples to whom Annamayya brought enlightenment. The song relates that "Annamayya, the obtainer of Appa’s (Veṅkaṭāśa’s) grace, always stands by us. He firmly implanted Ādi-Nārāyaṇa, the protector of the universe, in his heart of hearts, i.e., he was unswerving in his devotion to God Vīṣṇu; and having attained the ecstatic state he was a compeer with Sanaka, Sanandana and other sages. He sang in praise of Hari (Vīṣṇu) and through those songs he taught the full essence of the extensive Vēdas, having himself comprehended and realised it. Gracefully he embraced the religion of Rāmānujāchārya and adhered to it; even to us among others Tāḷḷapāka Annamayya has given a feast (of the blissful vision) of Śrī Veṅkaṭānātha."

Being by birth a Sāmṛta-Telugu-Brāhmaṇa of the Nandavarika or Naudavaidika sect and, as his house-name indicates, a native of Tāḷḷapāka village in the Rajampet taluk of the Cuddapah district, Annamayya transferred his residence during his early life to Tirupati where he received initiation into the Vaiṣṇava faith later on with all the insignia attaching to it, viz., the Vaiṣṇava caste-mark Mudrādhāraṇam, etc., together with the nominal suffix of Āchārya or Ayyaṅgār. And likewise his sons and grandsons became adherents of Vaiṣṇavism. This change of faith must have been occasioned through their connection with the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭāvvara wherein one or more Sāmṛta-Brāhmaṇas rendering service are still seen to put on the Vaiṣṇava forehead marks without forswearing their Sāmṛta faith and without actually embracing Vaiṣṇavism in other respects. For his composition of the numerous Saṅkīrtanas and his erudition in the Drāviḍa-gama, i.e., the Nāḷāyira-Divya-Prabandha, Annayāchārya was famed as "Saṅkīrtana-chārya," Drāviḍa-gama-sārvabhauma" and "Pāṃchāgama-chakravarti". From the preface to the "Saṅkīrtana-Lakṣaṇaṁ" of Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār, we learn that Annamayyaṅgār wrote the same originally in the Sanskrit language and that his grandson Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār rendered it into Telugu verse
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at the instance of his father Tirumalārya-Dāsika who expounded it to the son. Annamayyaṅgār is also mentioned to have written a centum of Telugu verses depicting the love of Śrī Veṅkaṭāvara and Alamālamaṅga under the denomi-
nation "Śrīgaḷa-Vṛttapadyāḷa-Śatakamu" and dedicated it to Śrī Veṅkaṭāvara; and hence also called "Veṅkaṭāvarava-Śatakamu¹". It is reported that "many huge inscribed copper plates are kept" in "the underground cellars in the temple on Upper Ahōbalam", which "are of the same type as those found in the Tāḷḷapākamvāri-kōṭṭu on the Tirupati hill.......and actually also belong to that temple and not to Ahōbalam; for the Telugu songs both erotic and philosophical which are recorded on them in the various rāgas and tālas are all addressed to Veṅkaṭāśa or Tiruveṅgalaṅātha by their authors Annamācārya and his son Tirumalācārya of Tāḷḷapākam" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, page 96, para 19). Thus it is seen that the father and the son composed many more Sankirtanas in the name of Veṅkaṭāśa but somehow they have been transferred to the temple of Śrī Nṛsimhhasvāmi at Upper Ahōbalam wherein they are still preserved.

In his "Lives of Telugu Poets" Viresalingam Pantulu differentiates between Tāḷḷapāka Chinnanna who wrote "Aṣṭamaṁsi-Kalīṅaṁmu" and Tāḷḷapāka Tiruveṅgalaṅaṁtha, author of "Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu" and grandson of Annamācārya, and states that both Chinnanna and Annayārya lived in the reign of king Kṛṣṇaḍāvarāya of Vijayanagara and that the grandfather obtained grants of some agrākāras from the king (pages 208 and 260). But it is known that Chinnanna is the same as Tiruveṅgalaṅaṁtha and, as such, the two authors are one and that this Tiruveṅgalaṅaṁtha alias Chinnanna, son of Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār, lived in the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivāra and received from the latter the grant of the village Mallavaram in Śaka 1467 (=1545 A.C.) ("Nellore Inscriptions", Ongole No. 21). And we have seen that Annamayyaṅgār had not lived even into the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya's elder brother and predecessor Vira-Narasimha and so there could have been no grants of Kṛṣṇarāya to Annayārya. Again no grants are available of Kṛṣṇarāya executed in favour of Annamayyaṅgār's son Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār,

NOTE 1:—Mr. Vanguri Subba Rao states in his "Sataka-Kavala-Charitramu" (page 137) that this Śatakamu was transcribed from the copper-plates on which they were engraved for the "Journal of the Telugu Academy" ("Andhra-Sāhitya-prāshat-Patrika") some years previously. But it is unfortunate that the original copper-plates should now be missing from their place of preservation in the temple, having been probably removed to the Telugu Academy Office itself and not returned at all, as they ought to have been.
who lived on during the same reign. Royal patronage for this musician-poet Tālāvaka Tirumalayya, i.e., Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār, came only from Achyutarāya, as indicated by Tirumalayyaṅgār’s provision for special offerings for Śrī Vākaṭāsvaṅvara effected in Śaka 1452 Vikṛti, Vṛṣīchika (≈28–11–1530 A.C.), commemorating Achyutarāya’s birth-star Mṛgāśira (No. 589—T.T.), and by the poet’s presence in the following year at the royal capital Vijayanagara where he made a gift to the Viṭṭhalasvāmin temple in Śaka 1453, Khara (≈1531 A.C.) (No. 8 of 1904).

Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār:—As recorded in the preface to his “Śrāgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu”, the musical composition of Annamayyaṅgār’s son Tirumalayyaṅgār; commenced in Śaka 1424, Dundubhi, Phālguṇa (≈23rd February 1503 A.C.), at the bidding of the father who enjoined upon the son the sacred duty of composing a Saṅkīrtana each day and singing it before Śrī Vākaṭāsvaṅvara; and, as noted from the introduction to the “Adhyātma-Saṅkīrtanalu” and the “Śrāgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu” of Annāmāchārya, on this date Annamayya ceased to write Saṅkīrtanas, being then about 96 years of age. Tirumalayyaṅgār’s works comprise “Śrāgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu”, “Vairāgya-Vachanamālīka-Gītamuḷu”, “Śrāgāra-Daṅḍakamu”, “Chakravāla-Mājari”, “Śrāgāra-Vṛttapadyāla-Satakamu”, “Udāharaṇamu”, “Niti-Sisapadya-Satakamu”, “Sudarśana-Ragāla” and “Rṛphaṭakāramulu”. Of these the first three are respectively in tune with the style and contents of the three works of his father noted above. The fourth work “Chakravāla-Mājari”, though differing in style from the “Śrāgāra-Daṅḍakamu”, is similar to it in matter. The fifth “Śrāgāra-Vṛttapadyāla-Satakamu” is written in different vṛttas (metres) depicting the īṛṛgārachāśṭha of Śrī Vākaṭāsvaṅvara. “Udāharaṇa” is in praise of Vākaṭāsvaṅvara, combining in its style the vṛttas, koṭikas and utkāṭikas. “Niti-Sisapadyāla-Satakamu” is a century of verses in the sīsa metre addressed to Vākaṭāsvaṅvara and written with the object of teaching morals and hence it is an ethical code. So far these seven works are addressed to God Tiruvāṅgala-nāthadhāva. “Sudarśana-Ragāla” is taken up with the description of the form, qualities and merits of the “Sudarśana-Chakrama” held in the hand of Śrī Vākaṭāpati. The last work “Rṛphaṭakārālu” is, as the author himself states in the introduction to it, a compilation on prosody detailing the usage of the two R’s in simple and compound words in the Telugu language illustrated from the works of the ancient Telugu poets including the three classical authors of the Telugu “Mahābhāratam”. In these works this musician-poet calls himself Annaya-Timmanārya, Timmayya, Timmaya and Tirumalārya,
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while in the preface to each one of them he is likewise variously named as Tirumalāchārya, Peda-Tirumalāchārya and Tirumalayyaṅgāru, and the first plates of each of the works are denoted by the initial letters “Ti. A.” or “Pe. Ti. Chā” of the names “Tirumala-Ayyagār” and “Peda-Tirumalāchārya.” This denotation of the copper-plates with the initials “Pe. Ti. Chā” shows that the works contained on them, viz., “Vairāgya-Vachananālikā-Gītālu”, “Śrīgāra-Vṛttapadyāla-Satakamu” and “Udāharanaṃamu” are later in date than those engraved on the plates with the initials “Ti. A,” and that the particular initials were designed to distinguish the compositions of the father Peda-Tirumalāchārya from the writings of his son China-Tirumalāchārya, whose name contracted into “Chi. Ti” is affixed to his plates. Tāḷapāka Chinnanna alias China-Tirvägaṅanātha states in his “Aṣṭamahishi-Kalypṣam” that his father Peda-Tirumalāchāryavarya who was learned in philosophy wrote the works “Āndhra-Vādāntamu” in Dviṣpa metre, “Harivamānamu”, “Chakravāla-Maṅjari” and “Rāphaṅkāramulu” in Telugu. The last two works which are preserved for us on copper-plates in the temple have been noticed above, but the first two works are not available among the plates in the temple. Their composition however bespeaks of Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār’s eminent knowledge of “Vādāntavidyā”, as mentioned by his son.

China-Tirumalayyangar :- The works of China-Tirumalāchārya, son of Peda-Tirumalāchārya and grandson of Ānnamāchārya, consist of “Adhyātma-SAākirtanalu”, “Śrīgāra-SAākirtanalu”, “Asbābh śa-Daṇḍakam” and “SAākīrtana-Lakṣhaṇam”. The first two works fall in line with those of the same category of his father and grandfather, while the “Asbābh śa-Daṇḍakam” is written in praise of God Vēṣkaṭāśa, Lord of Vēṣkaṭādri, in Sanskrit and seven Prākrit languages. The colophon suffixed to it states that his grandfather Tāḷapāka Annayārya’s words were as sweet and elegant as the sound of the ṇa (lute) of Vāṇi (Sarasvati) and those of his father Timmayārya outshone those of Phaṇi (Ādi-Ḍaṇḍa). At the end is noted that this “Asbābh śa-Daṇḍakam” was transcribed on copper-plates, three in number, on Wednesday, being the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the Mārgaśīra month in the cyclic year ṇaḷambī (Saka 1459) (=7th November 1537 A.C.). This “Daṇḍakam” testifies to the profound scholarship of the author in the Prākrit languages besides Sanskrit and Telugu. And generally he must have been acquainted with the languages spoken in different parts of the Indian continent, just as Rāyasam Kōpāmarasayya was a master of the
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languages spoken in the Chhapannaśīka (fifty-six countries) (page 196 ante).

His "Saṅkṛtana-Lakṣhaṇam" written in Telugu verse treats of prosody and describes the composition of the Saṅkṛtana in different metres and styles, and prose, poetry, psalms and songs, and purports to be a Telugu rendering in verse of the "Saṅkṛtana-Lakṣhaṇam" written in Sanskrit by his grandfather Annayaguru, at the bidding of his father Tirumalārya-Dāsiika who expounded it to him. Herein he refers to himself as the eldest of the sons of Tirumalārya (tatsatāgraja) named China-Timmaya. His works contained on copper-plates preserved in Śrī Vākkaṭāvvara's temple are all denoted by the initial letters "Chi. Ti" of his full name China-Tirumalāchārya. In the genealogy given in "Ashṭamahishi-Kalyānamu" written in Dvīpada metre in Telugu by Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, the fourth son of Peda-Tirumalāchārya, and hence the third younger brother of Chinna-Tirumalāchārya, we have to recognise the eldest son of Peda-Tirumalāyyaṅgār, viz., Tirumala or Chinna-Timma, entitled Ashṭabhāshākaviḥakravarto as being our China-Tirumalāchārya, author of "Ashṭabhāshā-Daṇḍakam" and other works noticed above.

Peda-Tirumalāyyanagār's Transactions:—As already mentioned, Annamayyaṅgār is not represented by any epigraphical records. His son Peda or Periya-Tirumalāyyaṅgār's earliest inscription No. 76—T.T. is dated during the first half of Kṛishnārya's reign in Śaka 1439, Śivara, Dhanus (≈30-11-1517 A.C.), when he paid a sum of 1503 narpanam in the temple-treasury for the propitiation of God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha with one tiruppōnakam daily from the interest on this capital. His next record is dated almost at the commencement of the second year of Achyutarāya's reign in Śaka 1452 Vikriti, Vṛischika (≈28-11-1530 A.C.) (No. 589—T.T.). This time he granted to the temple four villages and a half and stipulated for the offering of four tiruppōnakam daily for Tiruvēṅkaṭānumuḷāiyān and 365 atirasa-paṣis both within the temple and outside it at his mantaṃ during certain festivals and auspicious occasions including the Achyutarāyavatirunāi, during which they were offered at the Saṅkṛtana-Bhagārām (the small room in the temple adjoining the central shrine wherein the copper-plates on which were engraved the Saṅkṛtanas of the Tāḷapākam poets have been so long preserved for us), the 13 days of the star Tiruvēṅgaṃ or Śravaṇam being the birth-star of Tiruvēṅkaṭānumuḷāiyān, the 13 days of Uttiram or Uttarā-Phalguni, the birth-star of his consort Alaimālmaṅgai-Nāchchiyār and the 13 days of Mṛigaśārtham being the nativity star of king Achyutarāya. The villages granted comprised Rāyalappāḷu in Avukkuchchirmai (Owk in the Koikuntla taluk of the Kurnool
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district), Sūmayājulappalli in Muddalārīl-Kalavaichchīrmai, Gaḍḍamuvāripallī (Gaḍḍamāyapalle) and Tippanappalli in Dāvūr (Duvūru)—Gaţi jukājICHchrmai in Mulikki-nāgu (portion of the modern Cuddapah district included in the Proddatur and Siddhavattam taluks) and half the village of Eḻraguṇṭhayappalli in Śiruvōgūr-sīrma. This tirunāl of Achyutarāya cannot be the Lakṣmidīvī-
Mahōtsavam started by him in Sāka 1457, Manmatha, Dhanus (=26-12-1535
A.C.) (No. 544—T.T.), since its date is five years later, but it must refer to
some festival such as a Tirukkoṭi-tirunāl which is also mentioned in No. 608—
T.T. of Sāka 1452, Vikṛti, Māsha (=15-4-1530 A.C.), pertaining to Kandāsai
RāmānujaYaYaṅgār. Probably Achyutarāya had arranged for the celebration of a
Tirukkoṭi-tirunāl or Brahmoṭsvam for Śrī Vākaṭaśivara as soon as he
was crowned in October—November 1529 A.C. (page 220 ante).

In Sāka 1454, Nandana, Māsha (=April 1532 A.C.), TirumalayaYaṅgār
arranged for further daily offerings for Śrī Vākaṭaśivā, the investment of three
sacred threads (riruyagnopavitam-pūnāl) at the time of Ṭāgāppirāi-tirumāṇam
each day and the presentation of one pannir-chembu on the
occasion of the Pūṭugukkāppu conducted on each Friday in the week (No.
588—T.T.). To cover the expenses of these items he gave the temple the two
villages Pūṇi and Sāngamakkōṭai in Māṭaichchrmai which together yielded
1000 rēkhai-pon annually. These two villages are stated to have been
granted to the donor previously by king Achyutarāya Mahārāya together with
a gift deed executed on a copper-plate. Out of these offerings, the one
Yagnopavitam-jōgrand the Pūṭugukkāppu-siddam filled in the pannir-
chembu on each Friday were required to be returned to TirumalayaYaṅgār at
the time of the singing of the Sankīrtanas. No. 497—T.T. of Sāka 1457,
Manmatha, Vaikāśi (=17-5-1535 A.C.), relates in Tamil verse that Tājilpākai
AnamayaYaṅgār and his son TirumalayaYaṅgār who both composed and dedicated
their Sankīrtanas to Tambirān (i.e. God Vākaṭaśiva) for the gati (salvation) of
the world, renovated the stone steps of the ancient holy tank (Pāṭakkōṅṅri),
reconstructed the Nīrāi-maṅgaṅam, the ankaṅams on the tank bund, the thick
prākāra walls and the gōpuram of Śrī Varāhasvāmi’s shrine and the maṅgaṅams
adjoining these prākāra walls; and out of these services, the construction of the Kōnīrīkaṅnaṃ, and the prākāra walls and the gōpuram of Gaṅnappīrān’s
shrine formed the services of the honey-mouthed Tājilpākayiyil AnamayaYaṅgār.

TirumalayaYaṅgār’s next transaction pertains to the purchase from Śājuva Timmarasayya, son of Rāchchirāja and the Mahāpradhānī of king
Krīṣṇarāya, of the donor’s share of the prasādam arranged by Timmarasa’s
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younger brother Sāluva Gōvindarāja for being offered to Śri Vākaṭaśa, for a sum of 4600 paṇam in Śaka 1457, Manmatha, Paṅgūni (=26-2-1536 A.C.) (No. 278—T.T.), of the prasādam arranged for Śri Vākaṭaśa by Sāluva Timmarasa himself for a sum of 1900 paṇam in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi, Tai (=28-12-1536 A.C.) (No. 270—T.T.), and also of those prasādamas arranged by the two brothers Sāluva Timmarasa and Gōvindarāja in Tirupati for Śri Gōvindappurumāḷ for 5203 paṇam (No. 102—G.T.). These sales related to the daily offerings provided by the two Sāluva minister brothers for the deities at Tirumala and Tirupati, but in the case of Sāluva Timmaṭa’s own prasādamas, the sale was coupled with the gift of certain prasādamas provided by him on some auspicious occasions (tiṅgaḷ-divasam and viśisha-divasam) for God Vākaṭaśa which Tāḷapāka Tirumalayaagār was required to receive in person through perennial service in the temple of Tiruvākaṭaṃuḷaiyāṇ.

In Śaka 1459, Ḥavīḷambi, Tula (=25-10-1537 A.C.), Tirumalayaagār again provided for daily offerings for Śri Vākaṭaśaśvara and occasional offerings for the processional images during the Tirukkoṭi-tirunāḷ said to have been started by himself, and the Kōḍai-tirunāḷ and other auspicious days (No. 683—T.T.). A vanabhōjanam (picnic) was also arranged on a day in the Kārtika month. This practice of a vanabhōjanam in the Tamil month of Kārtikai known as valasa is still observed in these villages whose entire population, young and old, leave them with their cattle on a day and flock to adjacent gardens or forest, enjoy a picnic and return home in the evening. During the Kōḍai-tirunāḷ the offerings were required to be made at the Nirāṭi-maṇḍapam renovated by him in the centre of the Kōṭi, as already stated in No. 497—T.T. Towards their expenses he granted two villages Maruvakarai and Kāṇaṃ together yielding 200 rekhai-pon annually. In the succeeding year, i.e., Śaka 1460, Vilambi, Makara (=15-1-1539 A.C.), Periya-Tirumalayaagār granted another village Pallipuram situated in Duṭvār-Gaṅji-kūḍaṭachchirmai which he had previously received from Bukkarāju-Timmaraja, i.e., Poṭlapți Timmaraja of the Āravāṭu family (No. 587—T.T.).

Tirumalayaagār is stated in No. 683—T.T. noticed above to have instituted an additional Tirukkoṭi-tirunāḷ by Śaka 1459, but no details are furnished therein for the festival. It was however actually started in Śaka 1460, Vilambi, Mina (=17-3-1539 A.C.), and arranged to be celebrated each year in the month of Āni, commencing with aṅkurāṛpaṇam on the day of Tiruvēṇam (Śravaṇam) and tirumuḷai on the day of Śataiyam (Śatabhisham) and ending
with śrītirthāvūri (holy bath) on the day of Mṛigāśīra, being the nativity star of Tirumalayyaśākara himself, the whole festival lasting for a period of thirteen days (No. 457—T.T.). Provision was made for numerous offerings at the several functions during the festival and for the repair and decoration of the car to be drawn in procession as well as for offerings during the other ten Tirukkoṇi-tirunāi and other festivals together with the lighting of a lamp each Thursday over the stone-pillar set up by him on the tank bund and burning of 32 lights over the tank bund on the Tiruvādai day (i.e. Mukkōi-dvādaśī). These charges were to be met from the interest on 2000 rākhai-pon which he paid into the temple-treasury to form the capital fund for the purpose.

Sakrītana-Bhanḍāram was first brought to our notice in No. 589—T.T. of saka 1452, Vikṛiti, when Tirumalayyaśākara arranged for certain offerings for śrī Viśakaśāvara in front of it during Achyutarāy-āṭār-tirunāi, and that Bhanḍāram was given prominence later on by his providing in saka 1462, Sārvari, Kumbha (=12-2-1541 A.C.), for daily offerings as well as occasional offerings for the processional images in front of the same through the grant of Kuppam near Kāvanār, and Kilaśkūntam, the two together yielding 300 rākhai-pon annually, supplemented by a cash payment of 450 paṇam at the same time (No. 682—T.T.). The donor’s share of the offered prasādam was to be received by Tirumalayyaśākara himself and some cash remuneration was authorised to be paid to the Śrīvaiśūnavas who were in charge of the Sakrītana-Bhanḍāram.

Periya-Tirumalayyaśākara’s next service consisted of a provision made by him in saka 1466, Krēdhi, Mina (=19-3-1545 A.C.), for the propitiation of Nammāḻvar enshrined beside Alvār-tirtham, on the tenth day, being the Svātumurai day combined with the star Viśākha, during his Tiruvadhyananam, at the Tiruvolakkom (assembly) held while the Alvār was seated in the maṇḍapam within his temple immediately after his procession on the car round the same temple (No. 393—G.T.). A sum of 1020 naṭapaṇam was paid into the Śrī-Bhanḍāram to form a fund, the interest on which was required to be utilised for the purpose.

In saka 1460, Viḻambi, Tirumalayyaśākara instituted a fresh Tirukkoṇi-tirunāi in the month of Āṇi through the payment of 2000 rākhai-pon, as detailed in No. 457—T.T. noticed above. No. 681—T.T. once again mentions this Āṇi festival and states that Tirumalayyaśākara had originally endowed the temple with the village Mutṭāḷappāṭṭu but that through some impediment the endowment had become void and that he conducted the festival through cash
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payment to cover the costs thereof. He then approached king Sadāśivaraṇya Mahārāja and secured from him a rāyasam and from his minister Ramanarayanan a tirumukham, secured possession of the village and invested 100 pon towards the repairs to the tank in the village. The annual income from the village was then assessed at 280 rākhai-pon. From these details it appears that, as first referred to in No. 683—T.T. of Śaka 1459, Havitambī, Tirumalayyaṇaṛ ārya had started a Brahmośavam in the Ānī month in Śaka 1459 through the grant of the village Mutyaḷapathaṇu but, the endowment having failed through some cause, Tirumalayyaṇaṛ ārya was obliged to renew the Ānī festival through a deposit of 2000 rākhai-pon as capital in Śaka 1460, Viṇḍambi, as recorded in No. 457—T.T. Since then he made efforts to give effect to his original endowment and he succeeded therein with his obtaining the royal writ in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Karkatāka (=3-7-1545 A.C.) (No. 681—T.T.). In addition to the restitution of the village, a sum of 36 rākhai was paid by him together with 70 rākhai by his iśhya (disciple) Śṛpati-Tonnaṇaṇyan on this last date, and a revision in the offerings and the days and places thereof was effected at the same time. The Ānī festival was reduced from 13 days to 12 days and a few additional offerings were provided in it as also in the other ten Tirukkoṇi-tirunāḷ, Koṇai-tirunāḷ and Uri-ṇāḍi days at Tirumala. The Uri-ṇāḍi on one of the two days was the ubhāiyam of Tiruvāṅgalappan, grandson of Tirumalayyaṇaṛ ārya and son of Śiru-Tirumalayyaṇaṛ ārya (No. 419—G.T.). During the 20 days of the Koṇai-tirunāḷ the occasion for the offerings was the time of the commencement of the Saṅkirtanas on those days. Provision was also made by Tirumalayyaṇaṛ ārya for the supply of maṇjal (turmeric) at Tirumala for Alamūlamāṅga-Nāchchiyār (i.e. Vakshasthala-Lakshmi) during Her Puḷugukāppu-tirumaṇjanam on 53 Fridays in the year and 13 days of the star Mrigashrī; and of betel-nuts, leaves, Nūl-Yagṇopavitam and maṇjal at Tirupati for Śri Gōvindarāja and Nāchchimir each day during the Tirumagal-aṇvarv-ar-tirumaṇjanam; as well as for the singing of Saṅkirtanas at the proper time each day by two persons in each of the two temples on a monthly remuneration of 1 rākhai 4 poṇam each and the reading of Śri-Bhāṣyam by a Śrīvaishnava in each of the two temples on a monthly remuneration of 5 poṇam. Though the Tāṭalapākam musician-poets considered themselves as the Saṅkirtanaṭhāryas of the temple of Śri Veṅkaṭēsvaram and in that spirit composed and dedicated their Saṅkirtanas to Him, we here find that they did not execute the concomitant duty of singing their Saṅkirtanas each morning and night before this deity, but arranged through the authorities of the temple.
for the employment of two separate men in each temple for the purpose on a fixed remuneration for their services. The same inference seems to be pointed to by the provision made for remuneration in cash to the Śrīvaśyānavaśas who were in charge of the Sākṣīrāta-Bhāṇḍārāma as stated in No. 682—T.T. above, while the receipt of the Yāgīṇāpavita-vidence each day and the Pūjīgūkāppu-vidence each Friday, as stipulated in No. 588—T.T., could be effected by Periya-Tirumalayyaśāṅgā himself in person at the particular time or through any agent of his. It is however possible that later on they themselves undertook this duty and rendered it themselves, as testified to by the performance of this service by their descendants at the present day. The other services instituted on this occasion consisted of some provision for offerings on Uri-aṭṭi days in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja and on the days of the Dhwajārāhiṇaṃ and Dhwajāvarāhaṃ during the Tirukkoṭi-tirunāl of Śrī Gōvindarāja in the months of Vaikāsi, Ānī and Māṣī.

Within a month again, i.e., in Sāka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Simha (=2-8-1545 A.C.), Tirumalayyaśāṅgā provided for Śrī Vākaṭāvāra with two taḷiṇā consisting of 4 rājāṇa-tiruppūṇakam daily the cost of which for the 365 days in the year was estimated at 114 rūkhai 24 paṇam (No. 450—T.T.). For this purpose he granted the village Gāḍama-Timmāppuram in Kariyapalli (āṭṭaṁ probably) which fetched only an annual income of 100 rūkhai-parāhaṃ. There was therefore a deficit of 14 rūkhai and odd and this sum Tirumalayyaśāṅgā had to pay into the temple-treasury each year. His disciple Śrī-Palipāṭṭāyan arranged on this occasion for the propitiation of the procession image on the car during the Ānī-tirunāl on the 8th day in front of Tirumalayyaśāṅgā's house at Tirumaṭa and of Śrī Gōvindarāja on the 10th day of His Ānī-tirunāl at the time of His proceeding to the tiruppoṭ-ōḍam, out of the capital of 16 rūkhai paid by him on the above date. This Palipāṭṭāyan, the disciple of Tirumalayyaśāṅgā, is stated to be the son of Narasayār, belonging to the Śaṭṭāda-Śrīvaśṇavava community which inhabited a part of Tirupati denominated Kulaikharapuram. Probably his other disciple, viz., Śrīpati-Tonnaṭṭāyan noticed in No. 681—T.T. above, was also a Śaṭṭāda-Śrīvaśṇavava, and it seems likely that, like Kandiṭṭhāri-Rāmanujayaśāṅgā of the preceding century, Tāḷḷapāṭḍa Tirumalayyaśāṅgā too had brought into the fold of his disciples certain members of the Śaṭṭāda-Śrīvaśṇavava community.

About this time Tirumalayyaśāṅgā appears to have constructed a Tīrthaṭṭi-maṇḍapam on the south bank of the Āṭṭur-tīrtham and therein installed an image of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇaperumāṉ; and for this image he
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provided, in śaka 1468, Parābhava, Mithuna (1st millennium A.C.), for a daily offering and an evening lamp, as well as for offerings on the 30 days of Tiruppaṭṭi-çuckchi, on the tirthavāra days of the Vaikāśi, Āni and Maṅī festivals conducted for Śrī Gōvindarāja, on the tirthavāra day of Achyutappurumāḷ's festival and other auspicious occasions, through the payment of 2300 narpoṇam as capital into the temple-treasury (No. 394—G.T.).

Tāḻapākka Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār's devotional services extended for a period of about four decades and a half from 1503 A.C. to 1546 A.C., the date of his latest record No. 394—G.T., while his father Annamāchārya's activities spread over eight decades up to 1503 A.C. (page 280 ante). As enjoined upon his son by Annamayyaṅgār, Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār continued the composition and dedication of Sankirtanaṅgas to God Tiruvāgaṅjanātha, and had them inscribed on copper-plates preserved in a small room in the temple adjacent to the central shrine, called in the epigraphs the Sankirtana-Bhaṅgārām and popularly known as the Tāḻapākka-āra.

Pedda-Tirumalayyaṅgār is known to have made a gift to the temple of Viṣṇhalāvaru at Hampe in śaka 1453, Khara (=1531 A.C.), as reported in No. 8 of 1904. He was also instrumental in the restoration of the grant of the village Aāḻupāru to the temple at Nandalur in the Cuddapah district by Rāma-Bhāṣṭālaya, the governor of Udayagiri, with the permission of king Achyutarāya, in śaka 1456, Manmatha (=1534 A.C.) (No. 607 of 1907). In No. 496 of 1919 from Little Conjeevaram we are informed that Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār and his son śīru-Tirumalayyaṅgār together provided for certain offerings for God Arulappurumāḷ of Conjeevaram and arranged "for conducting certain festivals at specified scales of expenditure," in śaka 1474, Partdhāvi, Makara (=3-1-1553 A.C.). Having originally been a Smārtar Brāhmaṇa who subsequently adopted the Vaishnava tenets from the example of his father Annamāchārya, Tirumalayyaṅgār became a staunch adherent of the Rāmānuja faith and a respected Āchārya with a following of disciples, through intensive study of the Vaishnava religious lore and philosophy and through deep devotion to God Tiruvāgaṅjanātha and earned the title "Vadāmāṛga-pratishṭhāchārya", as given in No. 8 of 1904 noticed above.

Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār's Transactions:—Tāḻapākka śīru-Tirumalayyaṅgār is represented in our Collection by two epigraphs Nos. 354 and 429 —G.T., the former of which records the institution by him in śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Simha (=17-8-1547 A.C.), of the Vaiṭṭikōṭsavaṃ to be celebrated for Śrī Gōvindappurumāḷ for five days in the month of Chittirai ending with
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the śītumūraí on the day of the star Rōhiṇī. Necessary details are furnished of the several rites and functions to be conducted on each day of this marriage-festival, together with the kind and quantity of offerings to be made at each function and the remuneration to be paid to the different servants of the temple for their particular services, the total expenditure amounting to 150 rēkhai. He endowed the temple with half the village of Nēdiyam with an annual income of 150 rēkhai-pon from the half village just sufficient to meet the charges. At the same time he also granted the village Vālumāppikam in the Māṇanallūr-sīrmai yielding annually 200 rēkhai-pon with which certain offerings were required to be carried on for Śrī Gōvindarāja, Viṣṇuśāvala, Achyutupperumāḷ, Raghunātha, Varadājaperumāḷ, Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇaperumāḷ installed by his father in the Tirthavedī-maṇḍapam at the Āḷvar-tritham, Nārasiṣāgaperumāḷ set up by himself in the Kāṭtirī-Hanumān temple, Śaṅkikukkuttā-Nāchchiyār, processional images and Tiruvāḷi-śīvān abiding at the entrance gōpuram of Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple in Tirupati; and for Tiruvāḷakāmudaiyān at Tirumala during the Āṇi festival started by Tirumalairāja. Tiruvāḷi-śīvān or Sudarśana had to be propitiated with two manohara-pūjas on the days of the star Mṛgāśīra in the month of Vaikāśi; being the āṭṭai-tirunakṣhatram of Periya-Tirumalayyaśāgar, and of the star Chittirai in the month of Chittirai being that of the donor Śrī-Tirumalayyaśāgar himself. In two other records, viz., Nos. 669—T.T. and 422—G.T., Periya-Tirumalayyaśāgar’s birth-star is stated to have been Mṛgāśīra occurring in the month of Chittirai and not in Vaikāśi as herein mentioned.

No. 429—G.T. secured from the temple of Kalāyag-Varakasīvāra in the Maṅgāpuram village, situated below the hill about seven miles to the west of Tirupati, records his renovation of the temple and its rehabilitation by him with reconsecrated new images of the deities, Āḷvārs and Āchāryas in Saka 1463, Sārvari, Chaitra (= 22nd March 1540 A.C.), at Alāmulamāṅgāpuram which stands on the bank of the river Vikāla mentioned in “Śrī Vaṅkaśa-Mahāmyam” described in the “Skanda-Purāṇa” and which was a sarvamāṇyo-agrāhāra. It is implied in the expressions of the epigraph that consecration of places situated on the bank of tirthas dedicated to gods was a function enjoined and approved also in “Śrīraagā-Mahāmyam” and “Dasādhyāya”, and that the donor had therefore discharged a sacred duty. Śrī Vaṅkaśāivāra, Nāchchiyār, Ananta, Garuḍa, Vishvaksāna, a certain Perumāḷ, Āḷvārs and Uṣaiyavar as well as Pārvāchāryas and Annāmāchārya who was his own Āchārya were all installed afresh in the renovated temple and evening offerings.
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provided for them. The birth-asterisms of the Āyurśi and Āchāryas for all the twenty-seven stars from Aśvinī to Rāvati were required to be observed in the temple. It is mentioned that the consecration ceremony was graced by the Āchāryapuruṣakas, Jiyyar, Chinna-Jiyyar and other Vaishnavas and that the document was drawn up by Śrī Yatirāja-Jiyyaṅgīr for being transcribed on stone. It would appear that, notwithstanding the august presence of these holy men at the function, the Kalyāna-Vāṅkaṭāvāra temple at Maṅgāpuram did not come under the care of the authorities of Śrī Vāṅkaṭāvāra’s temple at Tirumala. This Yatirāja-Jiyyar who composed the record was the Periya-Kōyil-Kālvi Yatirāja-Jiyyar, the disciple of Aḷagiyamaṇḍavāla-Jiyyar and head of the Pīḷḷarulṭal-Mañham noticed above (page 276 ante). It is interesting to find that even by Śaka 1462, Bārvari (=1540 A.C.), Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgīr had established his fame and acquired a number of birudas, viz., Śrīmad-Vadāṃrga-pratishṭhāchārya, Śrī-Rāmānuja-Siddhānta-sthāpanāchārya, Vāḍāntāchārya, Kavi-ārkika-śisari and Śarāṅgagata-vajrapoṇjarā which are titles usually found applied to Vāḍānta-Dāika. From the mention of his grandfather Annamāchārya as his own Āchārya by Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgīr, it would appear that Annamāchārya was the earliest member of the Tāḷāpākam family who had first sought religious inspiration in Rāmānuja-Siddhānta, i.e., Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, and led the way for his sons and grandsons who too became staunch adherents of the same faith and earned distinctive titles in the field of religion. The renovation of the temple (jirṇoddhārama) and installation of all idols and images afresh suggests the existence of an ancient temple at Maṅgāpuram and its dilapidation some time previously. But what happened to the old idols and images and why they were discarded and new ones were sculptured and cast are points on which no information is furnished in the Maṅgāpuram inscription. Even at the present day the temple is in ruins and the central idol of Kalyāṇa-Vāṅkaṭāvāra, a huge standing figure measuring over eight feet from the stone pedestal to the crown is in an abandoned state without Ṛṣaya and nāivedya and is found to be maimed of one or two fingers of its Kai-hasta (left hand resting on the girdle). It is much taller than its original, the idol of Śrī Vāṅkaṭāvāra in the temple at Tirumala, but lacks the grace and the majesty which are prominent features of the latter idol that still attracts to itself, with an abiding force, a perennial influx of pilgrims by thousands from all parts of the Indian continent. From No. 496 of 1919 from Conjeevaram we know that Śrī-Tirumalayyaṅgīr, in conjunction with his father Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgīr, provided for certain offerings and festivals for
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God Arulâlapperumâl of Conjeevaram in Śaka 1474, Parīdhāvi, Makara (=3-1-1553 A.C.).

China-Tirumalayangâra’s son Tiruvenkatayyan alias Tiruvenga-lappan:—In conjunction with Šigu-Tirumalayyaâgar, his son Tiruvēkaṭṭiyyan also paid in Šaka 1469, Plavaâga, Sinha (=17-8-1547 A.C.), 41 ṛṭhai into the Śṛi-Bhaṅḍāram as capital for offerings for Tiruvēkaṭṭamuḍāiyân on the 5th day, on the 8th day on the car, and on the 9th day at the Saṅkirtana-Bhaṅḍāram during the Šrī-tirunâl of Erâ-Timmârâja, as also on the day of the Šrī-pti arranged by Šigu-Tirumalayyaâgar in the west street at Tirumala (No. 354—G. T.). This Tiruvēkaṭṭiyyan is called Tiruvēgaḻâppan in No. 419—G.T. Along with the services of his younger paternal uncle Tiruvēkaṭṭanâthar or Tiruvēnâdâr, he provided, in Šaka 1475, Pramâdchâ, Kumbha (=19-2-1554 A.C.), for additional offerings for Śṛi Gâvindârâja during His Pencilâ-tirunâl at the Lakshmîdevi-mailâppan and other occasions, and for daily offerings for Tiruvēkaṭṭamuḍâiyân, through the grant by him of twenty shares in Tâppil-agrahâram and of the full village Ambatâr in the Nagari-ârmai with an annual income of 400 râthai. He engaged two Nâgasvârams (pipers) in the temple on a remuneration of 36 râthai per year for each of them. In the name of his mother Pedda-Mâgâman was constructed a pedda-chimukkâl where he installed an image of Periyâḻâr and arranged for his Tiruvadhyayana-pâṭâ. This Tiruvēgaḻâppar granted the village Vallattâñjârâ Parichchambâkkam to the temple of Arulâlapperumâl at Little Conjeevaram in Šaka 1475, Pramâdchâ, Bîshabha (i.e., in the first week of May 1553 A.C.), and with its income provided for offerings for that deity (No. 495 of 1919). Tiruvēgaḻâppa, son of China-Tirumalayyaâgar, wrote a commentary in Telugu called “Bâlaprabâdhi” on Amarasiâba’s “Nâmaliṅguṇaśana” or “Amara” as it is generally known. In the preface to it he states that he composed it after consulting the commentaries of Dikshita, i.e., Bommagañṭi Appaya-Dikshita who flourished at the court of Râcharla Siṅgabhâpâla, and others. Therein he traces his descent from Tamilâka Annâmâchâryâ who was the recipient of the grace of God Vâkâṣṭha and whose fame extended from Sêṭu (Râmâsvaram) to the Nihâragiri (Himâlayas), through the latter’s son Tirumala-guru whose learning equalled that of Guru (Brihaspati) and who was the moon to the milky ocean of the

Note 1:—I am obliged to Mr. M. Ramakrishnamâvi, M.A., for the extracts from “Bâlaprabâdhi” and “Kâvyapramâşa-Vyâkhyâ” and for the identification of Dikshita and Gâpâla mentioned in them.
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Bhâradyâjâvâya (i.e., he belonged to the Bhâradvâja-gôtra), to the latter's son China-Timmâ-Dikshita who was the brilliant central gem in the excellent jewelled necklace, viz., the Nandavara family, and who was privileged to hold two parasols of pearls; and then refers to himself, the son of China-Timma-Dikshita, as the foremost of the learned men, as the swan swinging in the lotus-tank of Âgvâda and as the swan again swaying among the red lotuses of friends. Tiruvâgâlappâ also wrote a brief commentary denominated “Sudhânidhi” on “Kâvyaprakâsa” of Mâmâtâ, based on the commentary of Lauhitya Bhaṭṭâ Gôpâla called “Sâhitya-Čhâgâmaṇî” compiled about 1350 A.C., and those of other commentators. In the preface to this work Tiruvâgâlappâ furnishes the genealogy of the family from Annâmâchârya down to himself in the very same verses prefixed to “Bâlaprabâdhikâ.”

Kandadai Appan:—With the services of the father and the son recorded in No. 354—G.T. are included those of Appan, son of Kandâjai Appâjâ of Vadhûla-gûtra, Âpâstamba-sûtra and Yajue-sûkha, who granted half the village of Pûnym in the Nagari-ûrmaî with an annual income of 60 rûbhai-pou with which offerings were provided for Śrî Vâkâstvâvara daily and for the processional images on the car during the Puraṭâjâ, Kârtikai, Tai, Paâguni and the two Âni festivals instituted by Tirumalayyaâgâr and Egî-Timmarâjâ; as well as for Śrî Govindarâjâ during the Vaikâśi, Âni and Mâsî festivals, for Sûdikkuḍutta-Nâchchiyâr, Uḍaiyâvar and Tiruvâjî-ālvaî installed at the entrance gôpuram. Tiruvâjî-śîvân was propitiated on the day of Mûla in the month of Chittirai which was the tirunâkṣhatram of the donor's father Kandâjai Appâjân. This birth-asterism of the father Appâvâjân, viz., Mûla, as well as that of the son Appan being Pûram or Pûrva-Phâlungi in the month of Âvâjî, was also commemorated in the temple of Śrî Vâkâstvâvara through offerings arranged on the two days by his kinsman Kandâjai Sûtraagâchârya, son of Bhûvânâchârya, in âjâka 1457, Viśvâvasu, Karkaṭaka (=5-7-1545 A.C.) (No. 655—T.T.). This father Appâjân must be the Paramâchârya, i.e., the preceptor of the father, of Tiruvâgâlânâtha, the fourth son of Peda-Tirumalayyaâgâr and the author of “Âshîmâshîshi-Kalâjanamu” which records this relationship. From the date of the record it appears possible that the son Kandâjai Appan was identical with Âjavândârû Kandâja Appâjârû whom Tenâlî Râmâkrishnapâvâvî mentions in his Telâgu-Kaivyâ “Pàduraâga-Mâhîmyamu” as the guru of Virârî Vâdâdrimantri, the patron of the poet. Herein Kandâja Appa is stated to have been the son of Âjâ of Vadhûla-gûtra, the biruda elephant of the court of Sûtraâgâpati, the establisher of the path of the Vâdas, the scholar who
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knows the meaning of the six Śāstras (Shaṭ-dārivanas) and who can interpret the Rāmānuja-Bhāṣya, the author of many Purāṇas and Ithāsas, the constant reader of the Divya-Prabandhas and the performer of the Pañchāsaviśākhas to the people. This same Kandāla Appa must also have been the guru of the poet Sāragu Tammaya, author of the Telugu work "Vaijayanti-Viṭṭāsam" otherwise known as "Viprānāraṇyaga-Charitramu", who was the Kāraṇamu (accountant) of Golaṅcāḍa during the reign of Mahammad-Ṣāhi (Muhammad Shah), its Nawab, between 1581 and 1611 A.C., and of Mādana and Nārana, the father and the elder father of Inmulapalli Peddanāmāṭya, to whom was dedicated the Telugu "Chitra-Bhāratamu" by its author Charigōṇḍa Dharmanna (Viresalingam Pantulu's "Lives of Telugu Poets", pages 268 and 280).

Poda-Tirumalayyanger's son Tiruvenkatanathar alias Chinnanna:—
An younger son of Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, viz., Tiruvākatanāṭha, appears in No. 669—T.T. which records his grant in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Karkaṭaka (=17-7-1546 A.C.), of the village Mallavaram situated in Koḍavittu-tīrma, yielding an annual income of 120 rikhai-gaṭi-varāhān. This income was to be utilised towards the expenses of the Vaiṇāḥikāṭsavāṁ started by him for celebration for Śri Viṅkāḷāvāra for five days from the day of the star Arārāda to that of Uttarāṣaṅga in the month of Pāṅguni each year, with certain rites and functions, processions, offerings and remuneration to the temple-servants. Among the charges were also included offerings and processions for different deities on various occasions. Accordingly Gōṇappirāṇ (Varāhasvāmi) was to be propitiated on the day of His śhāi-tirunakshatram being Tiruvāṅgām (Bravaṇgam) in the month of Arpaśi, and Periya-Perumāl (the presiding deity Śri Viṅkāḷāvāra as distinct from the processional image) on the occasions of the śhāi-tirunakshatram of Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, viz., Mṛga-irsha in the month of Chittirai, the tirunakshatram of Toppilipāḷai being Tirukklārtikai day, and that of Annamayyaṅgār being Viṅkāharm in the month of Vaikāśi, as well as on the days of śhāi-divasam (annual ceremony) of the donor's mother Tirumalammān on the 13th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Arpaśi; that of the donor's elder brother Tiruvākataṭappan on the 4th lunar day in the bright fortnight of Āni; and that of his elder father Narasayyaṅgār on the 4th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Māśi.

From the Ongole inscription No. 21 of the "Nellore Inscriptions," we find that this village Mallavaram situated in the Addaṅki-sīma of the Koḍavittu-rājya was granted by king Sadāśivarāya Mahārāja to Chinnana-Tiruvaṅgaṅanāṭha, son of Tāḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgār, in Śaka 1467, Viṅkāvasu-
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Ashadhā ( = 21-6-1546 A.C.), and in the very next year, i.e., in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Karkata ( = 17-7-1546 A.C.), it was given over to the temple of Śri Veṅkaṭāvara by Tiruvākaṭanāthār, son of Tirumalayyaṅgār. Consequently, this Tiruvākaṭanāthār of our record No. 669 — T. T. must be identical with Chinna-Tiruvengālanāthā of the "Nellore Inscriptions." It is this Chinna-Tiruvāgaṅanātha that was the author of the two Telugu Dwipada-Kāvyas "Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu" dedicated to Śri Veṅkaṭāvara and his consort Alamānga together and "Ashṭamahishti-Kalyāṇamu" dedicated to Alamāṅga alone under the name Tiruvāgaṅanātha commonly called Chinnanna. Chinna-Tiruvengālanātha was also the author of "Usha-Kalyāṇamu," another Dwipada-Kāvyā in Telugu, wherein he refers to himself as the son of Tirumala and grandson of Anayāchāryya of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and Āvalāyana-sākha. From No. 419 of 1915 from Gorijavolu in the modern Guntur district we learn that this "Śri Vaishnava teacher Tiruvāgaṅanāthayyaṅgārtu" received from king Sadāśivārya "the gift of the village Gorajjavrolu in Konaṭṭiymahishti, at Śrāṇipūshkarini tank, in the presence of Tiruvengālanātha (i.e., the God Veṅkaṭēśa at Tirupati)," in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Śrāvaṇa (= August 1546 A.C.). He was also the owner of the agrahāra Gūḍjavaram (which is said to be now deserted) in the modern Guntur district (No. 182 of 1917), having probably acquired it through a grant from the same king or from one of his provincial chiefs. The gift "in the presence of Tiruvāgaṅanātha" mentioned in No. 419 of 1915 suggests an earlier visit of Sadāśivarāya to the temple of Śri Veṅkaṭāvara in August 1546 A.C. From the genealogy of the members of the Tāḷḷapākam family furnished by him in his "Ashṭamahishi-Kalyāṇamu", we find that he was the fourth son of Peda-Tirumalāchārya and that he had an elder father Narasimha and three elder brothers Tirumala or Chinna-Timmanā, i.e., Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār, Annaya and Tiruvāgaṅa or Peda-Tiruvāgaṅa and an younger brother Kōṇaṭṭi-Veṅkaṭanātha. This Annaya was the recipient of "the village Minnikallu in Vinukonda-sīma belonging to Konaṭṭi-durga" under the name Annamayyaṅgār, probably from king Sadāśivārya, in Śaka 1468, Parābhava. Jyōṣhā ( = May 1546 A.C. (No. 314 of 1915). The elder brother Tiruvākaṭapāpan and the elder father Narasayyaṅgār whose death must have occurred prior to Śaka 1468 and whose annual ceremonies were therefore commemorated in the temple along with that of his mother Tirumalamma by Tiruvākaṭanātha through the propitiation of Periya-Perumāḷ with special offerings on those days, were therefore Tiruvāgaṅa or Peda-Tiruvāgaṅa, the third son of Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār, who was entitled
Saṅgīta-Sāhitya-nidhi, and Narasimha, the son of Annamayya by his first wife Timmāmba and hence the elder step-brother of Peda-Tirumalāchārya who was the second son of Annamayyaāgār by his second wife Akkāmba. It is mentioned in the "Ashṭamahishi-Kalyāṇamu" that this Narasimha was proficient in Saṅgīta and Sāhitya, besides being an invincible counter-disputant. The younger brother Kōṇāṭi-Vāṇkaṭanātha is known from the "Nellore Inscriptions" to have been the recipient of the two villages Volaparli and Boilāpalli both situated in the Addaṇki-sīma of the Koṇḍavi-rājya, granted by king Sadāśivadāva Mahārāya respectively in Ṛaka 1466, Kṛdhī, Khavaya (=Sunday, 28-9-1544 A.C.), and Ṛaka 1467, Vīsāvavasā, Ṛāṣāḥ (=Sunday, 5-7-1545 A.C.), under the name Kōṇāṭi-Tiruvāṇgaṉanāthayaāgārū, son of Tāḷāpāka Tirumalayyaāgārū, entitled Śrīmad-Vādamārga- pratishṭhā- chārya and Śrīmad-Ubdaya-Vēdānta-pratishṭhāpanāchārya (Ongole Nos. 141 and 15). This Koṇāṭi-Tiruvāṇgaṉanāthaya also made a gift of land to the temple of Channarāya at Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah district in Ṛaka 1481, Siddhārthi (=1559 A.C.) (No. 315 of 1905).

The village Mallavaram whose annual income was originally taken at 120 rakhai-gaṭṭi-varāhan is found appraised at 140 rakhai-pon in No. 419—G.T., which must be equal to the 120 gaṭṭi-varāhan apparently, and stated to have failed in its income to the temple between Ṛaka 1468 and Ṛaka 1475. Hence the donor Tiruvaṇḍāyayar was obliged to make a fresh grant, in lieu of it, of the village Dāvarāyapalli in the Vinukonda-sīrmai of the Koṇḍavi-rājya with an annual income of 470 rakhai-pon to the temple in Ṛaka 1475, Prāmāḍīcā, Kumbha (=19-2-1554 A.C.). Deducting the 140 rakhai for which expenditure was already incurred in Ṛaka 1468 in connection with the Vaivahikotsavam or Pendi-Tirunūl for Śrī Vākaṭēsvara, the excess of 330 rakhai in the present case was utilised for daily offerings for Tiruvāṇkaṭam-uḍaiyān and for His propitiation during the above Pendi-Tirunūl and the eleven Tirukkoṭi-tirunūl celebrated at Tirumala as well as on some auspicious days observed in the temple. This epigraph No. 419—G.T. calls the donor Tiruvaṇḍāyayar, Tiruvaṇḍādar and Tiruvaṇgaṉanāthan, and states that he was the son of Periya-Tirumalayyaāgār. In the record mention is also made of Narappārāja in whose name were provided certain offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja, and the offered prasādam was required to be delivered to Tiruvāṇgaṉanātha along with that belonging to himself. This Narappārāja must be the Nandyāla chief Narappārāja, son of Nandyāla Narasingarāja (page 253 ante); and probably Tiruvaṇgaṉanātha or Tiruvaṇḍāyayar was his protege.
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Once again in Saka 1479, Piśaga, Makara (=13-1-1558 A.C.), Tiruvēṇādar provided for additional offerings for Śrī Vaiṣṇavāvara during this same Pengili-tirunāṭ (No. 422—G.T.). It is mentioned that the Garuḍa flag was during this marriage-festival hoisted over the flag-staff (which was a special feature of the Tirukkoṭi-tirunāṭ alone) and one dūkai-ṇaṭi was offered to the Tirukkoṭi-ṇaṭi at the time. On the aṭṭai-tirunakshatram day of his father Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, viz., on the day of Maṅgaṅiṣṭha star in the month of Chittirai, provision was also made for the ablutions and obligations of Malaința-Perumāl (processional image of Śrī Vaiṣṇavāvara) and Nāchchimār (His consorts) at his maṇṭapam, besides propitiating of Śrī Vaiṣṇavāvara Himself as previously arranged. Betel-nuts and leaves were required to be presented to the processional images on each of the twenty days of the Kōṭai-tirunāṭ at Tirumala at the time of the singing of the Sankirtana. Offerings were also provided for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati on some days during His Vaikāśi, Āni and Māsi festivals, the Mārgaḷi festival of Sāṇikkūdutta-Nāchchiyār and the Pengili-tirunāṭ started by the donor’s eldest brother Śrī-Tirumalayyaṅgār in Saka 1469 (=1547 A.C.) and certain other special occasions. As at Tirumala, Śrī Gōvindarāja was presented with betel-leaves and nuts during His Kōṭai-tirunāṭ at the time of the singing of the Sankirtana. Tiruvēṇādar installed an image of Tiruvāḷi-ṇaṭi in a shrine built by him on the western side of the Gōvinda-pushkariṇi and arranged for its offerings thrice a day together with oil for the lamp, as well as special offerings and bath on Saturdays and the days of the star Kārtikai (Kṛṣṭikā) and other auspicious occasions, at a total cost of 252 rōkahai 3 paṇam annually. The aggregate cost of the several services of the donor in the present case came to 280 rōkahai for which he granted to the temple the village Kōṭīr in the Pārnbākka-raṇḍam in the Terkumāṅgāṇai with an annual income of 280 rōkahai-poun. It is possible that these members of the Tāḷḷapākam family were Sudariśana-uṇāsakas, as may be seen from the composition of “Sudariśana-Ragāla” by Pedda-Tirumalaiāchi, the installation of Sudarsana images by Chinna-Tirumalayaṅgār (No. 354—G. T. above) and Tiruvēṇādar or Chinna-Tiruvēṇaṅanātha (No. 422—G. T.), and their provision generally for special offerings for Tiruvāḷi-ṇaṭi installed at the gopura of Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple.

Tāḷḷapākam Poets’ Learning and Devotion—Within a short time after the publication of their respective works by the Tāḷḷapākam poets, the literary excellences thereof were recognised, as may be gauged from the small Telugu stanza of their contemporary poet Tenāli Rāmākrishṇakavi that
refers to three of the members of the Tallaakam family. It credits Chinnanna
or Chinna-Tiruvagalanatha who composed his three works in the Divipada
metre with being an adept in the writing of Kavyas in this Divipada style, his
father Peda-Tirumalayya or Tirumalayyaasgar in Padamu (four line verse) and
the latter’s elder half-brother Narasinganna in Padya and Gadya (both verse
and prose). Though this stanza indicates the composition of some Padya-
Gadya-Kavyas by Narasinganna, it is not known what those works exactly
were. Another poet Tiruvagalaayappa alias Tiruvagala-Dikshita translated
the Sanskrit-Sringara-Kavya “Amaruatak” into Telugu verse with
explanation in prose for the stanzas. He was the son of Vakaata-Dikshita
and consequently different from the members of the family noticed above.
“Ashtramahishi-Kalyagaru” ascribes to Peda-Tirumalascharya a profound
knowledge in Padanta as well as in Saagita and Saktiya with the authorship of
Andhra-Vadanta in Divipada metre, “Harivanamsam”, “Chakravala-
Maajari” and “Rapaakaramulu” in Telugu. Of these four works, only the
last two are found transcribed on copper-plates in our temple along with
others, while the first two are not otherwise known at all. Speaking of
himself Tiruvagalanatha alias Chinnanna declares in the same Telugu work
that he was so proficient in Poetry as to compose in a single day one thousand
Divipadas with proper rhetorical flourishes, that he was entitled “Kavi-
aahkampayoga-pratidvipada-navabirudaka”, and that he was presented
with an extraordinary pair of Makarakanvadas by the peerless deity Sri
Vakaataa1 to whom he dedicated his Kavya. It is also known that this Chinna-

Note 1:—The proper names in the expressions in the poem referring to this gift
of Makarakanvadas, viz., amanuca Sri Vekaataadhwa-datta Makarakanvada-yogma maddaal-
karra and maleni Sri Veekatksha neppichhi-----------Makarakanvadalamu-immai-gonuruda,
has been taken in the “Lives of Telugu Poets” (page 260) to apply to Vekaataa, the
younger brother of king Tirumala, or the latter’s fourth son Veekaata I. Apparently based
on this interpretation, it was suggested in the Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12 (foot-note 2 on
page 179) that Vekaataa, the brother of Tirumala, was called “Bhoja”, “perhaps with
reference to the patronage offered him by Tallaakaka Tiruvagalanatha, the author of
ParamayogIVALAMU.” The interpretation is incorrect, as the names “Sri Vekaataaadhwa”
and “Sri Veekatksha” definitely connote God Veekatksha of Tirupati, addressed as
“Seshachalarajpati” half a dozen lines earlier in the same work. This is substantiated
by the statement of Revunnuri Vekaataakavi to the effort that it was God Vekaataaramapa
that presented the poet, along with his brothers, with the Makarakanvadas and other
insignia of honour. Both Tiruvagalanathaa and Veekaataa lived in the reign of
Sadaivaraa from whom the former obtained grants of villages, but it is not known if the
poet was patronised by the minister.
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Tiruvāgāla wrote a śīkā called "Sudhāνidhi," "on Kāavyaprabhāka," a work on Alakhāra (Rhetoric) in Sanskrit by Mammaṭa and a śīkā again on "Amara" called "Bālaprabōdhikā." The presentation of Maharākūṭalas to Chinnanna as well as to his four brothers is also mentioned by Rāvaṇārī Vākaṭārya, who was the grandson of Saṅkṛtanāchārya Annamayyaṅgār through his daughter, and son of Tirumala Kondāyārya and who too dedicated his "Sākuntalā-parīṇayamu" to Vākaṭāsā. In his "Sākuntalā-parīṇayamu" Vākaṭakāvī relates that God Vākaṭaramana (i.e. Vākaṭāsā), being pleased to consider himself the son-in-law of the poet’s grandfather Annayāchārya, promised not to hear the Saṅkṛtanas composed by others with His ears that were satiated with the Saṅkṛtanas of Annamaya; that He expressed his son Pedda-Tirumalāchārya of His manifestation (pratyakshhaṃu) to three generations of his family and the grant of eternal bliss (mōkṣahāma) to seven generations from himself downwards; that He presented the five grandsons of Annayārya, viz., China-Tirumala-Dikshita, Annayāchārya, Tiruvāgājanāthā, Kōṇaṭi-Tiruvēgāganāthā and Veṅgāḷārya, with nicely worked āṭapatra (umbrellas) bearing pearls, Maharākūṭala (ear-rings of the form of the crocodile) set with gems, Karadipikā (torches), Prapādūkā (long flowing gowns) and other things as marks of honour; that He was moved to dance to the singing of the Saṅkṛtanaṃ by Tiruvēgāganāthā, the third brother, and that He protected in these ways these great men, the five brothers, just as Śrī Krīshṇa had supported the Pāḍāvas. This statement of Vākaṭakaṅkāvī fully establishes the constant devotion of the Tāḷiapākam poets to God Tiruvēgāganāthā to whose grace they firmly believed to have owed their life and their acquisitions. Possibly it was with the intention of fructifying the belief referred to by Rāvaṇārī Vākaṭakāvī, viz., that Śrī Vākaṭāsā was considered the son-in-law and, as such, His consort Alamēlumāṅga the daughter of Annamayyaṅgār, i.e., that She was born in the Tāḷiapākam family, that Tiruvēkājanāthā alias Chinna-Tiruvēgāganāthā alias Chinnanna instituted the Vaiṅakhīōtsavam or marriage-festival for Śrī Vākaṭāsā in Śaka 1468 (=1546 A.C.), and his eldest brother Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār started a similar marriage-festival for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Śaka 1469 (1547 A.C.). It may be noted that Rāvaṇārī Vākaṭakāvī alters the order of the last two of the five brothers and indicates that Kōṇaṭi-Tiruvēgāganāthā was also an elder brother of Veṅgāḷārya who is evidently the author of the three Dvipada-Kāvyas “Ashtamahishi-Kalūḷāmu,” “Paramayṣī-Vīḷīśamu” and “Uṣhā-Kalūḷāmu.” As noted above, the third brother Tiruvēgāganāthā, i.e., Peda-Tiruvēgāla, was
proficient both in Sangita and Sahitya and the dancing of Sri Vaikastsvara to his singing goes to prove this poet's musical talents. In the Telugu country the Tilapakam poets have come to be considered as scholarly but popular authors and this recognition is attested by the proverbial saying "partly one's own composition and partly that of the Tilapakamvaru"; and among them Chinnanna or Chinna,Tiruvagalanatha, the Doipada writer, has been accorded eminence as the most devoted poet of the family to God Tiruvagalanatha.

Udayagiri Devaraya-Bhattar — Devaraya-Bhattar or Devaana-Bhattar was the son of Udayagiri Narasiaga-Bhattar of Vasishtha-gstra, Avalayanastra and Rik-rakha and was a vaal-karyappar of Chinna-Timmayadaya Maharaaja, the fourth son of Ptalapi Timmaraja (No. 347—G.T.) (page 262 ante). No. 352—G.T. brings to notice Devaana-Bhattar's son Srinivasa-Bhattar, the commentator of Ka lidasa's "Sakuntala-Naaka", as the recipient of a portion of the donor's share of the offered prasadam granted by Bayakara Ramappayya in Saka 1466, Krshhi (1544 A. C.) (page 235 ante). During the succeeding years we find Devappayyaru himself receiving the donor's share of the prasadam belonging to Srirangaraja, son of Manumapili Obularaja (No. 403—T.T.); Hanumayyan, son of Palini Koppu-Nayakkar residing in Re gibhani, a disciple of Kumara-Tatayyaangar (No. 417—T.T.); Padasajjarayar, son of Timmarasa-Padasajjarayar (No. 561—T.T.) and of a portion of the prasadam of Gagum-Rejji, son of Ugampaji Tappa-Basava-Rejji (No. 665—T.T.).

Devarya-Bhattar's first act of charity related to the opening of a tanjir-pandal (water-shed) at his manapam raised to the west of that of Vyasa-Udaiyaru (Vyasaatirtha) in the north street adjoining Sri Govindaraja's temple. The items of expenditure comprised the jivitam (living, salary) of 4 rikhai 8 panam annually for the permanent waterman at the rate of 4 panam per month, the wages of 3 rikhai 5 panam for the temporary men engaged for extra supply of water to the water-shed during the Puraashti-trunjal (the original annual festival Brahmostavam instituted by Ka dan-Perundavi, queen of Sundara-Pandy I, in the name of Adi-Brahma, as stated in No. 662—T.T. registering the charities of Rayasam Vakastadri), and a payment of 6 panam per annum to the potters for their supply of pots, making a total expenditure of 8 rikhai 9 panam. In addition to his monthly salary, the permanent waterman was given one and a half prasadams daily out of two and a half prasadams granted to Devarya-Bhattar by the Sthanattar from their share in the temple of Sri Govindaraja. Another tanjir-pandal was at the same time established
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by him at the foot of the hill near the village Maigalam situated about three miles to the east of Tirupati past the lime-kilns adjoining it, and the yearly charges for it were limited to 6 rukhāi 1 pānam. A superintendent (śālavāt-adhikāri) was also engaged to supervise the distribution of water at the two water-sheds on a remuneration of one rukhāi yearly. Thus the aggregate annual charges for the two water-sheds came to 16 rukhāi which sum was expected to be derived as interest on the capital of 1600 narpaṇam paid to the temple by Dāvaraya-Bhāṭṭar in śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Makara (8-1-1546 A.C.) (No. 399—G.T.). The interest of 16 rukhāi or 160 narpaṇam for the capital of 1600 narpaṇam would give a rate of 10 per cent per annum, the usual rate at that time. The tract of land lying to the nort-east of Tirupati contains sites of the lime quarries which are still being worked.

Dāvaraya-Bhāṭṭar’s next service consisted of the installation of an image of Viṣṭhalaśvaraperumañ in Śri Gōvindarāja’s temple and the provision for its propitiation daily and on auspicious occasions. Towards this expenditure for offerings, he granted to the temple in śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Mina (=25-3-1546 A.C.), Viṣṭhalaśvaran-kālvāy excavated by him in Tiruchchukanaṇ ēr surnamed Varadarājapuram, Chennappuśāyān-ṉē with the land below it purchased from the Tiruvāreyakapāṭigai in the Puduppatu village and the village Viṣṭhalaśvarapuram founded in the above land, and the four shares in the half agrahāra-grāmam Neṭunēu-Kulātūr excluding the half tiruvāi-yāta-grāmam given to him by Bayakkērā Rāmappayyan, together with the 30 rukhāi donated with the accompaniment of a gift-deed by the several residents of Tirupati, viz., 10 rukhāi promised annually by the Kömaṇis (merchant class) of Tirupati, 10 rukhāi-pon by the Vṛṣṇis (Bōri-Śeṭhis) of Tirupati and 10 rukhāi-pon by the Vṛṣṇis residing in Kottappālīyam, a suburb of Tirupati (No. 347—G.T.). Some income seems to have been secured for Śri Viṣṭhalaśvara’s temple through kāṇikkai tendered by the votaries of this deity, and it was stipulated that the entire offerings should be devoted to the repairs of that temple itself (No. 348—G.T.).

Just as Dāvaraya-Bhāṭṭar had reduced the annual contribution of 30 rukhāi from the palapattadaiyār of Tirupati towards the propitiation of Viṣṭhalaśvara installed by him in śaka 1467, so had he raised further donation in the following year, i.e., in śaka 1468, Parābhava, Mina (=6-3-1547 A.C.), from the public on a large scale, obtained gift-deeds for the same and remitted them into the temple-treasury, apportioning sums towards charges for supplies and services to Viṣṭhalaśvara (No. 363—G.T.). The supplies consisted of ghee,
oil, firewood, flowers, silk-thread, old clothes, curds, milk, mud-pots, and brass vessels. The following payments were provided for, viz., the pounding of paddy, the salary of the men conveying necessary articles to Tirumala, measuring grain, the Kaikkōlar of Kottappālaiyam, temple-servants, Talaiyaris (watchmen), Tiruppāṇippuṇḍas, Rāmānujakāṇas, elephant-drivers, Nāyakākara, watchmen at the entrance to Viṣṇuḷāvāra's shrine, gardeners, accountants, bearers of procession vehicles, supplies of articles and water for tirumaṇjanam, distributors of prasādam, garland-makers and reciters of Vīṇā and Sahasranāma. Within the next two months, i.e., on the 15th day of Vaikāśi (=12-5-1547 A.C.), Dāvaraya-Bhaṭṭar arranged for the celebration of the Kōḍai-tirunāl of Śri Gōvindarāja on the 5th day in the premises of Viṣṇuḷāvāra's temple, the charges for which amounting to 104 3/4 pāṇam were required to be paid from the temple-treasury year after year (No. 364—G.T.). Dāvaraya-Bhaṭṭar once again secured further donations for Viṣṇuḷāvāra's temple to the extent of 52 rēkhai and added it to the balance of 70 rēkhai outstanding from his previous payments (No. 367—G.T.). Out of this amount of 122 rēkhai, he utilised, on the 15th day of Kārtikai in the cyclic year Plavaṅga (=14-11-1547 A.C.), only 77 rēkhai 7 pāṇam for the propitiation of Viṣṇuḷāvāra and allowed the balance of 44 rēkhai 3 pāṇam to stand to his credit in the temple-treasury. The present contribution comprised 30 rēkhai paid as makama by the shop-keepers for their use of the premises of the akkaṇams constructed by Poḷapāṭi Timmarājaya in the Periyā-Rājavidiṅhi, 10 rēkhai granted in addition to their previous gift by the pearl-merchants and 12 rēkhai paid by stall-keepers opening their stalls during the Purattāsi-tirunāl in the plot of land belonging to Viṣṇuḷāvāra, making up a total annual income of 52 rēkhai.

It is quite possible that Dāvaraya-Bhaṭṭar's ancestors had migrated to Tirupati from Udayagiri in the Nellore district about half a century previously during the time of Śri Kōdaṇṭha-Rāma when the temple of Śri Kōdaṇṭha-Rāma was constructed, and officiated as priests therein. It is still an Udayagiri family of Vaikānasa that render worship in the temple of Śri Rāma in Tirupati. Dāvaraya-Bhaṭṭar's son Śrīnivāsa-Bhaṭṭar was a learned scholar who commented on Kālidāsa's "Śākuntala-Nāṭaka".

Iyyunni Appayan:—The devotees that started festivals in the temples desired their commencement in an auspicious hour on the particular day of their celebration, and the temple authorities gave heed to such a desire. The Tirukkoṭi-tirunāl or Brahmotsavam, the Pēḷāli-tirunāl or Vaivahikōtsavam
and Pallavotsavam were among such festivals, as required to be begun under favourable auspices. This work of fixing the muhurtam was discharged by an individual who might be expected to have an intimate knowledge of astrology, and, during the festival, along with the other functionaries of the temple, he was also remunerated for his service. In the 16th century we find this service rendered in the temple of Śrī Vākaṭāśāvara by one Iyūmi Appa, a Śrīvaishnava-Brahmāṇa, who was paid one paṇam generally for each of the festivals. In the “Lakshmīdvi-Mahotsavam” instituted by king Achyutarāya in śaka 1457, Manmatha, Dhanas (=26-12-1535 A.C.), provision was made for the payment of one paṇam to Iyūmi Appa, along with that for āchārya, titvik, and reciters of Śrīsāktam, Kālpaṃantaṃ, Vāda, Lakshmī-sahasraṇāma, Lakshmī-gāyatri, etc. (No. 544—T.T.). During the time of Śadāivārya, Tāḷḷapāka Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār arranged in śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Mīna (=19-3-1545 A.C.), for a tiruvēlakham or āsthānam for Nammāivār installed near Kapila-tīrtham, on the day of the Śattumugai being the 10th day of his Tiruvadhyayanam; and among the items of expenditure we find the payment of one paṇam to Iyūmi Appan for fixing the muhurtam (No. 393—G.T.). In śaka 1467, Viśvavasu, Karkaṭaka (=5-7-1545 A.C.), Viṣṭhalaśīvara Mahārāja, son of Āravī Būkkaṭagā-ṉarāja-Timmarājaya, started the Pallavotsava-tirunāl for Śrī Vākaṭāśāvara to be celebrated for five days ending with the day of Rāhī in the month of Vaikāsi, and the expenses of the festival included a remuneration of one paṇam to Iyūmi Appan who fixed the muhurtam, along with that for Anantān-Vākaṭāṭatturaivār who read the “Tiruvēkaṭa-Mahātmyam”, that for the Vāda-pārāyanam, Tirvāyami, etc. (No. 561—T.T.). Similar provision for the payment of one paṇam in each case was made by Tiruvēkaṭāṭanāthar, son of Tāḷḷapāka Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, who instituted in śaka 1468 the Vaiyākhīṭisava-tirunāl for Tiruvēkaṭaṭamudaiyān (No. 669—T. T.), and by Tāḷḷapāka Siṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār who started the Pendoṭi-tirunāl for Śrī Gōvindappuṟumai in Tirupati (No. 354—G.T.). On the lines of the Pallavotsavams conducted for Śrī Vākaṭāśāvara at Tirumala, Śrīnīvasayyaṅgār, son of Seṭṭai Eṭṭṭur Tirumalainambi Kumāra-Tāṭayyaṅgār, arranged in śaka 1469, for a similar festival for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati, and he provided for the payment of two paṇam to Iyūmi Appayan for fixing the muhurtam (No. 415—G.T.). The remuneration of one paṇam to Iyūmi Appayan for the same purpose is one of the items of the charges in the Sahasraṇāma-Mahotsava-tirunāl instituted for Śrī Vākaṭāśāvara in śaka 1473 by Sāppappa-Nāyakkar, son of Pōttappa-Nāyakkar (No. 666—T. T.), and in the Rathasaptami festival.
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started in Śaka 1485, Rudhīrīgāri, Makara (≈26–1–1564 A. C.), for Śrī Vaṅka-
śāvara in the month of Tai by Appalaiyar, son of Karasikka Kāmarasappayan
(No. 376—G.T.).

Anantayyan Venkatatturavīvar:—The reading of the "Tiruvāṅkaṣa-
Māhātmyam" or "Śrī Vaṅkaṣāchala-Māhātmyam" was another service indented
upon by donors during their festivals in the temples and remunerated by
them. In the temple of Śrī Vaṅkaṣāvāra at Tirumala this service appears to
have been discharged by one Vaṅkaṣatturavīvar, son of Vaṅamālaiyan, during
the year Śaka 1466–67 (≈1544–45 A.C.), and in the temple of Śrī Govindarāja
by another Vaṅkaṣatturavīvar, son of Anantayyaśāgar and grandson of
Uruppūṭṭar Karuppai-Tiruvāṅkaṣāyan. For the former is mentioned in
No. 48—G.T. of Śaka 1466, Kṛdhī, Makara (≈January 1545 A.C.), to have
been engaged to render this service in the temple of Śrī Vaṅkaṣāvāra for the
merit of Sadaśīvāya Maharāja and Ajiya-Ramarājadēva Maharāja by Poḷlapāṭṭi
Timmṛṣaṭā on a monthly salary of 6 paṇam and that similarly the latter was
engaged in the temple of Śrī Govindarāja in Tirupati. Again No. 360—G.T.
of Śaka 1467, which registers the charities and services of Poḷlapāṭṭi Timmṛṣaṭā
both at Tirumala and Tirupati, merely refers to the reading of the "Tiruvāṅkaṣa-
Māhātmyam" daily before Śrī Vaṅkaṣāvāra at the time of the Aṅgappirāṅ-
tirumāṇjanam as arranged by himself, but names Anantayyaśāgar, son of
Uruppūṭṭar Tiruvāṅkaṣāyan, as the recipient at Tirupati of 4 rēkkai
8 paṇam yearly for his service in Achyutapperumai's temple during His
daily tirumāṇjanam and of 6 rēkkai for his service in Varadarājapperumai's
temple during His tirumāṇjanam. Both Uruppūṭṭar Karuppai-Tiruvāṅka-
sayyan-Anantayyaśāgar and Vaṅamālaiyan-Vaṅkaṣatturavīvar are found to be
given a share of the offered prasādam, along with Kūṁāra-Tatayyaśāgar, in
No. 514—T.T. of Śaka 1466, Kṛdhī, Karakata (≈July 1544 A.C.). Herein
Vaṅkaṣatturavīvar is mentioned as the reader of "Tiruvāṅkaṣa-Māhātmyam."
But this Vaṅkaṣatturavīvar, son of Vaṅamālaiyan, does not come to notice
after Śaka 1467, while the later records mention only the other Vaṅkaṣat-
turavīvar, son of Anantayyaśāgar, as being remunerated for his reading the
"Tiruvāṅkaṣa-Māhātmyam" both in the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati.
Just as the payment for fixing the mukūram was provided for, so was the
payment of one paṇam to Anantan-Vaṅkaṣatturavīvar authorised by śrī Viṣṇu-
Viṣṇuśāvara Maharāja during his Pallavētīsavēraśrūtī (No. 561—T.T.); by
Taḷḷapākka Tiruvāṅkaṣātanathar during his Vaṅkakāmētīsavēraśrūtī (No. 669—T.T.),
and by śrī Ṣaṭṭai Ṣhīr śrīnivāsayaśāgar of two paṇam during his Pallavētīsavērašrūtī.
RELIGIOUS TEACHERS AND VAIDIKA BRAHMANAS

for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 415—G.T.). It is this “Tiruvākaṭa-Māhātmyam” that is referred to as “Śrīnīvāsa-Purāṇam”, for the reader of which Kāṭṭi-Śeṭṭi, son of Paṇgaḷai-Śeṭṭi-Tiruvākaṭa-śamudaiyān, stipulated for a monthly remuneration in Saka 1465, Śobhakrit, Makara (31-12-1543 A.C.) (No. 466—T.T.).

Temple-Accountants:—Some of the accountants of the temple of Śrī Vākaṭavara are also seen to have made endowments to the temple for the propitiation of the deities. Tiruvanantāvar-Kuppayyan of Kuṭtiparambār, one of the accountants of the Tirumala temple (Tirumalaiyil Kēyilkaṇakku Tirumīlvaiyvaruḍaiyār by which designation they were usually known), installed images of Gōvinda-Kṛiṣṇa and Nachchimār in the shrine built by him on a piece of land purchased from the Tiruppaṇippillai of Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple and provided for their daily offerings from the temple of Gōvindarāja, out of the interest on the capital of 1500 naṇḍam paid by him into the temple-treasury in Saka 1464, Śubhakrit, Kumbha (16-2-1543 A.C.) (No. 377—G.T.). This installation is said to have been effected by Kuppayyan for the merit of the accountants of the Tirumala temple. The Tiruppaṇippillai was one of the functionaries of the temple whose duty among others consisted in sounding the gaṃakṣam (gaṃaru, a rattle) during the procession (No. 669—T.T.), and clearing the path-way and putting up pandals at particular maṇḍapams for which he was paid (No. 415—G.T.). For this deity Gōvinda-Kṛiṣṇa another temple-accountant Dāvarvaṇṇagavurupā-Vākaṭaṭṭattaradāvi arranged for offerings in the same month on 5-2-1543 A.C. during the 30 days of the Tiruppaṇippillai, together with the daily offerings for Alarmālaṅgai-Nāchchīyār resting on the chest (tirumārpu) of Tiruvākaṭa-śamudaiyān, i.e., Vaṅkaṭahal-Lakṣmiṇi, and occasional offerings for Gāṇappirān (Varāhavāmi) (No. 510—T.T.). In Saka 1468, Parābhava, Tula (25-10-1546 A.C.), another accountant Periya-Śejaiyān provided both for daily and occasional offerings, together with an evening lamp, for Tiruvākaṭa-Gōpaḷakriṣṇa installed in a maṇḍapam at the east end of Śrī-Bhaṅkaṭaśaṅkarar-tiruviṭṭdi, i.e., the present North Mada Street adjoining Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple (No. 370—G.T.).

Nagarattar:—Of the Nagarattar of Tirupati, Kāṭṭi-Śeṭṭi son of Paṇgaḷai-Śeṭṭi-Tiruvākaṭa-śamudaiyān of Peṇaṅka-gōtra, paid in Saka 1465, Śobhakrit, Makara (31-12-1543 A.C.), a sum of 1085 naṇḍam as capital into the Śrī-Bhaṅgaṭār from the interest on which certain offerings for Śrī Vākaṭāvarā and Śrī Varāhavāmi were required to be made and the monthly salary of the Brāhmaṇa reading the “Śrīnīvāsa-Purāṇam” disbursed (No. 466—T.T.). Vaṅkaṭapuraṇa Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭi, son of Periya-Nāgū-Śeṭṭi of Neṇūkumāra-
gōtra, endowed the temple in Śaka 1466, Krūḍhi, Tula (=19-10-1544 A.C.), with a capital of 48,900 narpaṇam on behalf of all the members of his family for offerings both for Śri Vākṣaṭiṣṭha and Śri Gōvindarāja (No. 396—G.T.). Through an additional gift of 2860 narpaṇam he arranged for a vanabhōjanam in Tirupati on the day of śravaṇam in the month of Kārtikai at which the offered prasādams were distributed among the temple-servants, prominent individuals and certain communities, viz., the Vṛṣapāris of Tirupati and Pājaiyam, Pāschiḷṭṭār, Kavarai, Kaikkōlar, etc. (No. 397—G.T.) Tāḷīḷpākkam Tirumalaiyaṅgār, Kumāra Tāṭayyaṅgār, Kandādai Appaiyaṅgār and Doḍḍaḷyyaṅgār Appai figure among the individual recipients of the prasādams. This Kaikkōlar or weaver class not only supplied men-servants to the temple but also furnished the temple-damsels (emperumāṇaḍiyār) as indicated in No. 395—1.T. of Śaka 1465 śōbhakṛti, Vṛṣipikha (=21-11-1543 A.C.), registering the provision made by a damsel named Śelli who was the daughter of a Kaikkōlar of Tirupati. The donor Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭi is stated to have built a Kōmaṭi-maṇḍapam at which also Śri Vākṣaṭiṣṭha was propitiated. The designation of the maṇḍapam shows that the donor belonged to the Kōmaṭi community with which the term Nāgarāṭṭār has to be equated. He also provided for the Kōyilaṭṭār-tirumaṇiṭṭam in Tirumala temple, i.e., the cleaning of the premises of the inner shrine and washing the walls thereof with sandal-paste mixed with camphor and saffron as a disinfectant, a process now generally employed in the same temple of Śri Vākṣaṭiṣṭha before the celebration of the annual festival Brahmośavam in the month of Puraṭṭāṭi (September-October). From No. 583 of 1919 from Little Conjeevaram, this Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭi is seen to have given “530 gold coins to the god, the interest from which was ordered to be utilised for sacred offerings on certain festival days” in the temple at Conjeevaram.

Some Temple-Servants:—The temple of Śri Vākṣaṭiṣṭha standing in the small village of Tirumala situated in the midst of a forest over the hill needed to be guarded day and night, and for this purpose the temple employed a number of watchmen and posted them at the entrance gate beneath the first Gōpuram of the temple and other important places within it. The set of guards stationed at the Periyā-gōpuravai gave expression to their piety and devotion to God Vākṣaṭiṣṭha by providing for His propitiation through the deposit of 570 paṇam in the temple-treasury in Śaka 1468, Parśbhava, Mithuna (=20-6-1546 A.C.) (No. 535—T.T.).
THE ARAVIDU LINE

As at the present day, numerous pilgrims from different parts of India were assembling at the temple of Śri Vaṅkāṭāsa during the festivals, and particularly the Purāṇāi festival or the original Brahmapāsavam and offering their kānukas to the deity in the past also. The different coins and gold and silver thus received in the temple required to be tested and valued before being brought to account in the temple and this testing and valuation appears to have been done by experts engaged on permanent service in the temple. One such expert, Nōṭakkāra Veṅgalū-Ṣēṭī, comes to notice in No. 499—G.T. He was the son of Guṇḍulūr Timmayan and belonged to the Parichārya-Rishi-vaṃśa, Traivārṣaka-kula and Pannukar-Tulāpaṇāṣachchiva-gōtra. He provided for the offering of one appa-padi to Śri Vaṅkāṭāsa in Saka 1468, Parābhava, Kumbha (=6-2-1547 A.C.).

THE ARAVIDU LINE.

TIRUMALARAJA:—The ruling line of the Āraviṇu family commenced with Tirumala, who, acquiring power as the chief minister of Sadāivarāya in 1565 A.C. after the death of his elder brother Aliya-Rāmarāya in the battle of Tālikōta, ascended the Vijayanagara throne ten years later in about 1575 A.C. (page 257 ante), having at the same time changed his capital to Penugangā. His was a brief reign lasting for two or three years during which his second son Śrīraṅgarāya or Raṅga II ruled as a co-regent with him. His Uṇjal-maṇṣapam, generally called the Tirumalarāya-maṇṣapam, with its exquisitely sculptured high pillars bearing the figures of a warrior riding a horse standing erect over an elephant with another elephant higher up stands in fact to this day as a memorial of his service in the temple and forms the seat of the āṭṭhāna of the processional image of Śrī Vaṅkāṭāivarā during the annual Brahmapāsavams in the temple.

SRIRANGADEVA MAHARAYA II:—The next reign, that is, that of Śrīraṅgadāva Mahārāya, is represented by half a dozen inscriptions ranging in date between Saka 1501 (1579 A.C.) and Saka 1508 (1586 A.C.).

Rayasam Tirumalayya:—In two of them dated on the same day in Saka 1504, Chitrabhānu, Makara (¼6-1-1583 A.C.), is mentioned Rayasam Tirumalaiyar, son of Mādarasappan of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, Kāśyayana-sūtra and Ṣukla-Yaju-sākha, one of the Brāhmaṇas residing in Kundanālurāmam in the
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Uruvakkapayi-ärmai, in whose name the donors, Appa Chinnappan, son of Takkapayi bevatti, one of the Kijaippilai class inhabiting Kijichchakkai in Kunercavardhamakosam (No. 49-G.T.), and Tillappa-Nayakkar, son of Kavunaqi Suñkaram Tammu-Nayakkar of Vijayanagara (No. 100-G.T.), provided for certain offerings for Sri Govindaraja. From these epigraphs we learn that paddy was priced at the time at 4 panam per vatti or mutti as measured with the measure known as Kaṣamaikkul, and the cost of the different panāyrams offered for the deities was estimated at the following rates:— 52 vañais prepared out of one measure of pulse, i.e., one vañai-panāti, at eight panam, one iddali-panāti at five panam, one sugiyam-panāti at five panam, one dēlai-panāti at three panam, one tītai-panāti at one rukhai or ten panam, one kumkku-panāti at five panam, one airasa-panāti at one rukhai, one gōḍi-panāti at six panam and one appa-panāti at one rukhai.

Kumara-Tatācharya:—One of the prominent Śrivaishnava teachers of the time, viz., Eṣṭār Tirumalai Kumāra-Tatāchāryararayan, entitled Srimad-Vidāmārga-Pratīśhāpanāchārya and Ubbhaya-līdānāchārya, appears in No. 671-T.T. He was the son of Ayiyāvayyaagār and the grandson of Tōjappāchārya of Sānفارshapā- gōtra, Āpastamba-sātra, and Yajus-Pākha. In Śaka 1505, Subḥānu, Kanya (=25-9-1583 A.C.), he granted four villages to the temple yielding an aggregate annual income of 720 rukhai, viz., Ayyanākkam with 330 rukhai, Pīdārī with 210 rukhai and Pulivāyī with 30 rukhai situated in the Pālavāṭuchchirmai in the Terkumāgāsai, and Mullaivāyī in Tūlāparīvāyi-ārmai with 150 rukhai. The expenditure for this amount of 720 rukhai consisted of daily and occasional offerings for Tiruvākaṭamuḷaiyān. The value of each pongal-tiruppolanakam is stated to have been 2 panam, that of two palams of chaundanam 3/16 panam and that of 100 betel-nuts and 200 leaves one panam.

Kumāra-Tatāchārya belonged to the family of “Śrīśailaṅātha, better known by his familiar name Periya Tirumalai-nambir” who “was the maternal uncle of the great Śrivaishnava aṅghara Ramānuja, and also one of the five disciples of Yāmunārāja, who was the immediate gurum of Ramānuja” (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, page 162). He was the son of Ayiyāvayyaagār as mentioned in our inscription No. 671-T.T. and in Nos. 30, 31 and 32 of 1921 (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1921, para 53). The father “Ayyāvayyaagār is called Eṣṭār Tirumalai Kumbakosam Tatāchāriyar Ayyāvayyaagār” in No. 31 of 1921. The inscriptions of our Collection furnish us with the ancestry of Kumāra-Tatāchārya for three generations extending to the time of Mallikārjuna of the
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First Dynasty of Vijayanagara. As noted above, Kumāra-Tattāchārya was the son of Ajīvāvayaṇāgār and the grandson of Tōjappāchārya; and this Tōjappāchārya or Tōjappar-Āyyaṇāgār is represented as the son of Śoṭhāi Tirumalainambi Tiruvākṣa-Tātayaṇaṇāgār and as one of the aṣṭāṅgaṇapravrttis inhabiting the Tirupātī-agaram, in No. 98—G.T. dated in Śaka 1385, Subhāṇu, Mina (=7-3-1464 A.C.), falling into the reign of Mallikārjuna. Nos. 347 and 574—T.T. dated in Śaka 1397, Manmatha, Kanya (=24-9-1475 A.C.), bring to notice another son of Śoṭhāi Tiruvākṣa-Tātayaṇaṇāgār, viz., Kumāra-Tātayaṇaṇāgār, who was perhaps younger than Tōjappāchārya, and who was the aṣṭāṅgaṇa of Śrīman Nṛśimha-Prabhū entitled "Gāyīgīvāla", the conqueror of the Paśyāya king and the establisher of the Kakattva kingdom, and of his brother Kāsaya-Nāyaka entitled "Tribhuvanarāja" (page 139 ante). Kumāra-Tātayaṇaṇāgār is again mentioned in No. 142—G.T. of Śaka 1410, Kīlaka, Simha (=12-8-1488 A.C.), which registers a provision for offerings for Śrī Gōvinda-śa on the day of his birth-star Pārva (Pūmba) occurring each month, and in No. 307—T.T. of Śaka 1415, Pramāṇīchā, Tula (=17-10-1493 A.C.), recording a similar provision for offerings for both Śrī Veṣṭākṣa and Śrī Gōvindarāja in his own name and in that of his disciple Kumāra-Kulaśākharā-Maḍinirāva Timma-Nāyaka (page 149 ante). This Kumāra-Tātayaṇaṇāgār's son was Tirumalai-Tātayaṇaṇāgār who is stated in No. 421—T.T. dated in Śaka 1463, Plava, Kumbha (=10-2-1542 A.C.), during the reign of Aṣṭhutāraṇa, to have been the guru of Śiṅgarāra, son of Sālakaṇaḍava Mahāraṇa (page 222 ante). We thus obtain a glimpse of four generations of the junior line from the same Tiruvākṣa-Tātayaṇaṇāgār to Tirumalai-Tātayaṇaṇāgār.

From the Conjeevaram inscriptions we find that Kumāra-Tattāchārya's dates range between Śaka 1400, Bhāva, (1574-75 A.C.) (No. 383 of 1919), falling into the reign of Śrīśraṇa II, and the cyclic year Pramōḍa (Śaka 1552=1630 A.C.) (No. 354 of 1919), which "records the construction of a Vimāna by Tattāchāryaṭṭ Phasipatigiri (i.e., Tirupati)." It is unquestionably this Kumāra-Tattāchārya that "repaired and regilt the Puṣyakṣiṃāna which was originally erected by"-Krishnāraṇa and which had become dilapidated. . . . and also erected the Kāyaṇakṣiṃāna and had it also gilt with gold", in Śaka 1536, Ananda, Māsha (=2-4-1614 A.C.), as reported in Nos. 649 and 650 of 1919. Having "basked in the sun of royal favour of king Veṣṭākṣaṇa, to whom he was the spiritual Guru who officiated at his coronation, and who in his excess of admiration for his aṣṭāṅgaṇa is said to have offered the whole kingdom to him", he "lived in kingly splendour at Conjeevaram at the latter

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part of his life”. The inscriptions of Conjeevaram mention him “as the manager-general of the temple affairs (Śrī-kūrṇa-dhurandhara) with a staff of subordinates under him”, and he supervised other Vaishnava temples in the Chingleput district. He is reported “In No. 363 of 1919 to have weighed himself separately against gold and silver and to have used all that wealth in the service of Varadarāja in erecting the Kalyāṇakoti-vimāna in gold for the goddess Lakshmi in the same temple. In the Sanskrit verses contained in No. 475 of 1919, his gifts of all the necessary vāhanas (vehicles) in gold and silver, of the elephant, the horse, the snake, the Garuḍa, Hanuman, the palanquin, the swan and the lion and of certain other costly jewels and ornaments to the god, his founding of beautiful agrahāras for Brahmans and the digging of a tank called Tātamasamudram are mentioned in glowing terms” (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, para 51). This same Kumāra-Tātāchārya or Tirumala- Tātāchārya is also mentioned to have performed the coronation of Ped-a-Veṅkaṇaṭaḷi or Veṅkaṭa II, the elder son of Raṅga IV who was a son of Aḷḷaya-Rāmarāja.

As noted above, the period of Kumāra-Tātāchārya’s activities extends from 1574-75 A. C. to 1630 A. C., i.e., over 55 years, as gleaned from lithic records; and, as remarked in the Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911—12, page 191, footnote 2, “it is not impossible that the Vaishnava teacher Tirumala Tātāchārya, who performed the coronation of Veṅkaṭa I, should have lived to the time of Veṅkaṭa II.” We have seen that Kumāra-Tātāchārya’s grandfather Tōḷappāchārya lived during the reign of Mallikārjuna and the maximum interving period between the time of Tōḷappāchārya and Tātāchārya is 168 years from Śaka 1385 to Śaka 1552, while the minimum period is 112 years upto Śaka 1496, the date of Kumāra-Tātāchārya’s earliest record No. 383 of 1919. Out of these 168 years we observed Kumāra-Tātāchārya carrying on his activities for a third of that period, i.e., for 55 years, and the remaining 112 years might have been thus lived by his grandfather and father, Tōḷappāchārya from the reign of Mallikārṇa to about the middle of Krīṣhṇarāya’s time until about 1520 A.C., and Aiyāvāyayaṅgār from 1520 to 1570 A.C. into the early years of Śrīraṅga’s reign. It is thus possible that each member of this senior line lived on for five to six decades, exclusive of the overlapping time during which both the father and the son in each case might have lived together. And inclusive of this overlapping period each individual’s full age would have lasted from eighty to ninety years, just as Tāḷḷapāka Annamayyaṅgār had lived for ninety-six years. And it is reasonable to believe that Kōṅkanyādānam
Lakshmikumāra Tātāchārya alone regilt the Anandanilaya-vimāna of the central shrine of Vaiśkāṭapatī (Vaiśkāṭa) abiding on the Phaśipatigiri (Śishūdrī, the hill which in form looks like a coiled serpent), in the cyclic year Pramūḍāta corresponding to Śaka 1552 (=1630 A.C.), which is possibly the first year of the reign of king Vaiśkāṭa II whom the āchārya crowned during that year and whose presents on the occasion he probably utilised for the gilding of the Anandanilaya-vimāna of Śri Vaiśkāṭavāra, just as he used the gold and silver against which he weighed himself "in erecting the Kalyāṇakūṭi-vimāna in gold for the goddess Lakshmi" at Conjeevaram and in regilding the Puṣyakūṭi-vimāna of Varadarājāsvarī. in Śaka 1536, Ananda, Māsha (=2-4-1614 A.C.) (Nos. 650, 649 and 363 of 1919). For a successor of this Kumāra-Tātāchārya, viz., Eṭṭūr Immaṭi Tirumalai Kumāra-Tātāchārya, appears four years later in Śaka 1556, Yuva, Sinha (=30-8-1635 A. C.), falling into the reign of Vaiśkāṭapatīrāya II (No. 201 of 1922).

Tradition regarding the ancestry of the family of Tātāchārya extracted from "Prappannāmpita" is quoted in Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, page 162, wherein it is mentioned that two earlier members of the family, viz., the brothers Narasimhāchārya and Raṅgāchārya, obtained the favour of king Virūpākṣha II of Vijayanagara, the successor of Mallikārjuna on the throne, and lived at his court; that "the ninth in descent from this Narasimhāchārya was Tātārīya", and that "Lakshmikumāra Tātāchārya, who was more familiarly known as Kōṭi-kanyakā-dānam Tātāchārya was the son of Paṅcha-mata-bhaṅjanam Tātāchārya". We have seen above that only three generations of the family lived between the reigns of Mallikārjuna, the predecessor of Virūpākṣha II, and Vaiśkāṭa I, and hence Narasimhāchārya, the ninth ancestor of Tātāchārya, must have been far more remote, perhaps far beyond the time of inception of the Vijayanagara kingdom itself. As for the parentage of Kumāra-Tātāchārya, No. 671 — T.T. of our Collection and Nos. 30, 31, and 32 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. for 1921 are quite explicit in stating that he was the son of Aiyāvavyaṅgār or Eṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumbakōṭam Tātāchāriyār Aiyāvavyaṅgār. And so this Paṅcha-mata-bhaṅjanam Tātāchārya must be taken to be identical with Tātāchāriyār Aiyāvavyaṅgār of the above records, who, according to our calculation of his dates, had not lived into the reign of Vaiśkāṭapatīdāvarāya I, as suggested in the volume of Epigraphia Indica under reference. Consequently it looks more probable that both Paṅcha-mata-Bhaṅjanam Tātāchārya and Kōṭi-kanyakā-dānam Tātāchārya were one and the same individual Kumāra-Tātāchārya who was the son of Aiyāvavyaṅgār and whose influence extended
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to Tirumalai, Kumbakonam and Tirumalirujišlai, according to Nos. 531 and 588 of 1919.

Venkamarasa-Reddi:—A Vaatlīja by name Veākamārasa-Reddi, son of Sellarpa-Reddi of Avulāli, a village situated in the Tiruvēdaiyāimm-Ul-maṇḍalam, i.e., the inner division of such gift villages, provided in Śaka 1506, Tāraṇa, Tula (=18-10-1584 A.C.), for offerings estimated to cost 32 pon to the temple, and set off this sum against the enhanced yield of 80 vattis of grain secured for the temple from the lands in the same village Avilāla irrigated by the new channel excavated by him at his own cost. As in the two previous records, the value of grain is stated to be 4 panam per vatti, while the 32 pon taken as the value of the 80 vattis also gives the same rate of 4 panam per vatti.

Avasaram Chennappar:—A certain Avasaram Chennappar, son of Nasīlukkār Narasayyar of Kauṇḍinya-gūtra, Āpāstamba-śrūtra and Yaju-śākha, comes to notice in No. 150—T.T. which registers his donation to the temple in Śaka 1508, Vyaya, Māsha (=22-4-1586 A.C.). As his designation indicates, he must have been an Avasaram officer (royal messenger) of king Śrīraṅga-rāya, just as Tirumalaiyar was the royal secretary (Rāyasam).

VENKATAPATIDEVA MAHARAYA I:—Veākaṭapatirāya, generally known as Vākaṭa I, is represented in our Collection by about a dozen inscriptions extending in date from Śaka 1514 (1592 A.C.) to Śaka 1538 (1616 A.C.). He was the fourth son of Tirumala and the youngest brother of Śrīraṅga II. From a record from Markapur in the Kurnool district, he is seen to have been a subordinate of Saddāsparvāya in Śaka 1489 (1567 A.C.). In two epigraphs from the Salem and North Arcot districts he is stated to be referred by his title alone, viz., “Viravasantarāya” (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 187). During the reign of his father Tirumala and his elder brother Śrīraṅga II, he governed the Chandragiri-rāya as its viceroy, as indicated in the Telugukāvya “Vasucharitramu” (Canto 1, Introduction, verse 81) and in No. 185 of 1922 dated in Śaka 1494, Āṅgirasa, Āṣaṭha (=9-7-1572 A.C.), during the reign of Śrīraṅga, and next held “charge of the Udayagiri, Koṇḍavīdu and other outlying hill fortresses”. He had married five queens out of whom Krishnāmīma or Krishnājījamman mentioned in No. 97—T.T. was one. During his reign, Rāga III surnamed “Chikkarāya”, the son of his elder brother Rāma III, was co-regent with him, as also Rāma IV, the son of Rāga III. His minister was Pemmasāni Pedda-Timmaraśi, the great-grandson of Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅgaraśi who served as the general of Krishnādvarāya and
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bore the brunt of the fight in the battle waged against the Muhammadan Sultans on the southern bank of the Krishna early in 1514 A.C. This minister's younger brother Chinna-Timmarrāja, represented in No. 687—T.T., was the ruler of the Gauḍikāga-sīma at the time.

His coronation was performed by Bhāra Tirumalai Kumāra-Tāṭāchara, represented in No. 671—T. T. of Ṣaka 1505, falling into the reign of Śrīraṅga II, who was his family priest. On his accession to the Karna throne, he transferred the seat of his government from Penugopāla to Chandragiri. Having been initiated by his guru Kumāra-Tāṭāchara, he became an ardent Vaishnava and encouraged the propagation of Vaishnavism. He was a staunch devotee of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara. As a memorial of his bhakti, a copper statue of his with folded hands and clasped palms in a prayerful aspect is found placed on the south side within the inner front manṭapa adjoining the entrance gopura of the temple of Śrī Vākaṭāśvara at Tirumala with the name "Vākaṭāpatirāyalu" incised in Telugu characters on its right shoulder. The figure appears to be muscular in form and of ordinary stature, but the warrior in the king is not prominent as in the statue of Krishna placed in a group with his two queens on the north side of the same manṭapa. A group of two statues made of stone representing a king and his queen are also placed near that of Vākaṭāpatirāya and it is believed that "they may represent the parents of Vākaṭa, viz., the first Karna king Tirumala and his queen Veṅgālāmbā" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911–12, page 189, foot-note 3).

Nottakkara Venkatayyan :—No. 686—T.T. brings to notice Nottakkara Vākaṭāyyan, son of Nottakkara Kōnappayan, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvājagotra, Āvalīyana-sātra and Rīk-ākha and a native of Daṇḍaya-Achuyṭapuram, who presented to the temple a silver Śrīṣa-vaḥkanam and a silver Siṅka-vaḥkanam and arranged for processions on these vehicles and for offerings at certain manṭapas during the eleven Brahmatirṣavams held at Tirumala at the time. On behalf of his wife he also provided for the celebration of the Paṭābhishakati-rūṇaḥ for Śrī Rāma on the day of Paṣam following the Śrī Rāma-navami day, at which Malakiniyāṁiṁa-Perumāḷ, Nāchhimār, Chakravarti-tirumakanār (Śrī Rāma), Sitaippirāṭṭiyār, Īlaiya-Perumāḷ (Lakṣmaṇa), Sānaimudaliyār, Emperumānār (Rāmaṇuja), Śrīuttiruvadi (Hanumān), Sugirvān and Aagadan were required to be given ablutions being seated on the iṅgāianam in front of the central shrine and propitiating with offerings. "Vēyū-Purāṇam" was read on the occasion by Purāṇa-Bhaṭṭar who was presented with a pachcha-vaṇḍam costing four paṣam. The total charges for the different services came
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to 200 āra. In lieu of this he granted to the temple in Śaka 1536, Ānanda, Viśchika (|=4–11–1614 A.C.), the two irrigation channels excavated by him in the villages Nāyakan-kālvāy and Nariyanār situated in Kuṭāvar-nāgu within the Tiruvīḍaiyāṭam-Uḻ-maṇḍalam, and also made over to the temple the additional return from lands irrigated by these two channels. Vākaṭappayya's wife Vākaṭamman was the daughter of Vākaṭayyan, a native of Chinna-Hōttār near Vijayanagar, who was of Gautama-gōtra, Kātyāyana-sūtra and Śukla–Yajus-sākha and belonged to the class of Ikkuma-Brāhmaṇas. It is mentioned that Aṃan-Rāmānuja-Jīyar, the Tirumalai-Tirupati-Periya-Kōyil-kāṭī, constructed in the Rāmānujan-tiruvidhi the Periya-Timmakkan-I asanta-maṇḍalam at which offerings were provided for the processionals images on the tenth day of the Chittirai-Tirukkoṭi-tirunāl. This Aṃman-Rāmānuja-Jīyar is the donor in No. 413—G.T. which registers his grant of the village Davarāyappalli to the temple in Śaka 1515, Vijaya, Makara (|=17–1–1594 A.C.), the income from which was utilised for offerings arranged in the name of himself and in that of Mādapūrī Tiruvappāgār–Aṃśvin-Appaṅgar of Kāṣyapa-gōtra, Āsvalāyana-sūtra, and Brīk-sākha. No. 413—G.T. informs us that Periyamudali-Gōvindappan, Akkāra Vākaṭaṭayyan, Tiruvākaṭayyan and Kailāsanātha Periya-Sėṭṭī, natives of Tiruchchukanār, were among the members of the body of the Sthānattār of the Tirumala temple.

Hanumayyar Anangar:—A military officer of Vākaṭapathirīya, viz., Hanumayyar Aṃgaṅgar, appears in No. 97—T. T. dated in Śaka 1528, Parābhava, Viśchika (|=28–11–1606 A.C.). He was the son of Lakappa-Nāyakkar and belonged to the military contingents stationed at the Mālyavanta hill near Vijayanagar. For the merit of king Vākaṭapati Mahārāya and queen Kṛṣṇājiamman, he provided for daily offerings for Śrī Vākaṭaṅga amounting to 365 rīkhai per year which was recompensed by the grant of the three-quarters of the village Aṃgaṅgarāṭiyan established by him within the limits of Ālippuram-Kōṭṭālam in the Tiruvīḍaiyāṭam-Uḻ-maṇḍalam, together with three irrigation channels excavated by himself. He is stated to have also constructed a tank named Vākkaraṭ gå-samudrām.

Bokkasam Narasayyan:—Narasayyan, son of Bokkasam Kṛṣṇāyyan, was another royal officer (No. 366—G.T.). He was a resident of Vijayanagar. He seems to have served Tirumalarāya, i.e., the father of king Vākaṭapati-rīya, in some capacity, and probably held an office in the Bokkasam (treasury) of the king. In Śaka 1528, Parābhava, Māsha, (=31–3–1606 A.C.), he arranged for offerings in his own name and in the names of Gōvindarājayan, grandson.
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of Ellamarasayan, a Brähmaṣa belonging to the Ātriya-gotra, Kātyāyaṇa-sūtra and Śukla-Yajuvāśākha, and residing in Vaddagudigrāmam in the Vijayanagara-ārmaṇi, and of a certain person of Paurṇa-gotra belonging to the Āṅgudaṇṭi community (smiths) of Tirupati. After the destruction of the old capital city of the Hindu empire, viz., Vijayanagara, and the transference of the seat of Government of the Kṣatrapa kingdom to Penuguḍa during the reign of Tirumala, the father of Vēṣaka I, Vijayanagara town appears to have become the head-quarters of a sīma, a sub-division resembling a taluk, as mentioned in the epigraph under notice.

Chinna-Timmaraṇayya:—A certain Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Chinna-Timmaraṇayya comes to notice in No. 687—T.T. dated in Śaka 1538, Naḷa, Viṣṇchika (=4-11-1616 A.C.). He was the son of Śrīgirirāja and grandson of Bhogalaraṇa and belonged to the Kaśyapa-gotra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuśākha. He purchased 12 prasādams forming the share of the temple in the avasaraṇam offered each day in the name of Rāmarāja, i.e., Alīya-Rāmarāja, for Tiruvēkaṭāṣṭamaiyān and made it over to the Rāmānujaṇaṁ for the feeding of Śrīvaishṇavas, along with other prasādams, and also provided for the propitiation of Śrī Veṅkaṭa daily and of Śrī Govindarāja during his four festivals held in Vaikāśi, Āni, Āvaṇi, and Māśi and arranged for the payment of the monthly salary of Tirunārāyaṇapuram Gaṭṭu Tiruvēkāṭayyan who supplied flower-garlands to the temple. The gift of an irrigation channel dug up by him, together with the increased yield of grain derived from its irrigation, answered for the above charges.

This Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Chinna-Timmaraṇa was probably belonged to the Pemmaṭāṇi family, an earlier member of which Rāmalinganṭipāla helped Kṛishṇarāya in the great battle fought by him against the Sultans of the Muhammadan States on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇa before proceeding to the capture of Udayagiri in 1514 A.C. (Note 2 on page 183 and Note 1 on page 158 ante). If so, he must be identical with the Chinna-Timmaraṇa who was the patron of the poet Chitrakavi Anantakavi, the author of "Indumati-Pariṇāyamu," and commentator of "Harischandra-Nalōpākhyānamu," and who was the younger brother of Pemmaṭāṇi Pedda-Timmaraṇa, the "Viceroy of Koṇḍavaṇa under Alīya Rāma Rāya" ("Sources," page 112 and foot-note 2 on page 241) and the minister under Vēṣaka I (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 188). From the "Lives of Telugu Poets" (page 294) we learn that Chinna-Timmaraṇa was the governor of Gaṇḍikōṭa in the
Cuddapah district during this period. These two Timmarājas must have been great-grandsons of Krishnārāya's general Pemmasānī Rāmaliśāgarāja.

**Minor Officers** :— Timmappa-Nayakkar, Siāga-Nayakkar and Nārāyaṇa-Dāsari-Nayakkar were other officers of Vākaṭapatiśāraya observed in Nos. 412—G.T., 324—T.T. and 427—G.T. respectively. Timmappa-Nayakkar is stated to belong to the Kavarai class residing in Vijayanagara and to own the Chaturtha-gōra. In the body of the inscription his name appears as Meykkoṭi Timmappa-Nayakkar; and Meykkoṭi Pōṭṭaṇa-Nayakkar referred to in it must be closely related to him. He had a garden in Tirupati in which he built a maṇṭapam where the processional images were required to be propitiated. He arranged for the reading of the "Tulasi-Māhātmya-Purāṇam." For the conduct of the offerings provided by him, he granted Pāṇḍamalli-agaram yielding 320 rēkhāi annually, in Śaka 1514, Nandana, Karkataka (=14-7-1592 A.C.) (No. 412—G.T.). Pāṇḍamalli-agaram (agrahāram), the modern Pōṅnamalli near Madras, is said to have been situated in the Pāḷaiyachchirmai in the Terkumāgārī. He made over the donor's share of the offered prasādam belonging to himself to Periyaperumāl Jiyaṛ.

Siāga-Nayakkar was the son of Sīnnaṇa-Nayakkar and was a native of some place in Jayaṅkaṇḍaḷa-māṇḍalām. It is stated that the stone record was executed by the Sthānattār of the temple in the presence of Vākaṭapatidēva Mahārāya in Śaka 1535, Prampāḍiccha, Vṛṣchika (=8-11-1613 A.C.) (No. 324—T.T.); and this indicates a visit of the king to the temple on this date.

Nārāyaṇa-Dāsari-Nayakkar's services consisted of the construction of a maṇṭapam and the installation of an image of Paṭābhi-Vākaṭāvāra-Perumāḷ in Śaka 1528, Parābhava (=1606 A.C.), and arranged for its propitiation daily and on certain festive occasions such as that of Muchikunda-mōksham celebrated for Śrī Gōvindarāja. He provided offerings in the names of Gōvindappār-Krishnārayan and Nāṭakkārā Vākaṭārayan. He had an accountant to write up his accounts by name Vākaṭaṭṭāṇām and, as such, appears to have been an officer of some standing.

**Other Donors** :— Nārāyaṇar, appearing in No. 398—G.T. dated in Śaka 1515, Vijaya, Mina (=13-3-1594 A.C.), was the son of Dharāṇī Kōṇāri-Reṇḍī of the Chaturtha-gōra and belonged to the Śirupṭīḷai class.

Śilambāṇṭāyir-Śēṭṭi, son of Tambi-Śēṭṭi, belonged to the Vṛyāparī class among the Nagarattār (the merchant community) residing in Rāmpūram. He installed Varadarāja, Nāṭchimār and Tirukkachchinchambi in a maṇṭapam
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in the Vṟṟāṟī street and provided for their daily propitiation, for which he granted to the temple in Śaka 1518, Durmukhi, Māsha (=19-4-1596 A.C.), the Kājakālvṝc in Rāmāpuram valued at 140 rākhai (No. 359—G.T.). The only temple in Tirupati which enshrines Tirukkachchinambi stands in the Bāri Street and it is held in high regard by the merchant class known as the Bāri-Śṝṣṭis as being the temple of the Vaishṇava saint belonging to their own community. The Vṟṟāṟī-tēṟuṟu wherein Tirukkachchinambi is stated to have been installed must be the present Bāri-viḍhi inhabited almost exclusively by the Bāri-Śṝṣṭis class, and hence the Vṟṟāṟis must be identical with the Bāri-Śṝṣṭis who deal in precious stones and metals and jewels and are expert professional shroffs.

RAMARAYADEVA MAHARAYA IV:—Rāmarāya, generally known as Rāma IV, was the son of Raāga III who was the son of Rāma III, the elder brother of Vākaṭa I. During the reign of Vākaṭa I, Rāma IV served as his co-regent and ascended the throne in Śaka 1536-37, Ananda (=1614 A.C.) (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 190). Only one inscription of our Collection, No. 329—G.T. dated in Śaka 1549, Prabhava, Rishabhā (=25-5-1627 A.C.), mentions him as the reigning king.

Nottakkara Narayanayyan:—The donor of the record No. 329—G.T. is Nottakkara Nārayanayyan, son of Vākaṭayyan and grandson of Nottakkara Köppaiyan of the Bhāradvāja-gūtra, Āsvalāyana-sūtra and Bīk-sūkha. Nottakkara Vākaṭayyan was seen to have served Vākaṭapatirāya (I) as his Nottakkara, i.e., estimator of jewels and other valuables. This Brāhmaṇa family acquired expert knowledge in the testing and valuation of precious metals, stones and jewels, and served the state for three generations as its Nottam officers. While the father Vākaṭayyan resided at Daṇḍa-Achuyṭapuram established by Vākaṭapatirāya, the son Nārāyanayyan is stated to be residing at Daṇḍayakkamaṅgalam, another village founded by the same king Vākaṭapatirāyadāva Mahārāya. On the above date the son supplemented the the provision for offerings made by his father in Śaka 1536 (1614 A.C.), on the third days of the eleven Tirukkoṭi-tirunāḷ and other occasions at Tirumala, the total charges therefore coming to 440 rākhai and a quarter paṇam, and as the capital for it he transferred to the temple the irrigation channels excavated by him in some of the tiruvīṭṭaiyam villages in the Kudavāṟ-nāṭu comprised within Uḻ-maṅgalam, forming the group of villages granted to Tiruvākaṭamuṇḍaiyān. From two of the channels was obtained
a quantity of 100 *vattis* of paddy valued at 60 *rikhai* at the rate of 6 *panam* per *vatti*. Within a dozen years between *śaka* 1536 (1614 A.C.) and *śaka* 1549 (1627 A.C.) we observe that the value of grain increased by 50 per cent., owing probably to the political disturbances of the period caused by the rebellion of Jaggarīya on the death of Vāskāṭa I. The *Kāṇamāthākūṭi* is still seen to have been the standard grain measure in this reign as in the previous reigns.

Matīla Kumāra-Anantarāja:—During this period appears the Matīla chief Kumāra-Anantarāja, son of Matīla Tiruvāgāḷanātharāja and Chennamāmba of the Daṇḍa-Chōta family belonging to the Bhānuvanīa (Solar race). Matīli, a village in the Royachoti taluk of the Cuddapah district, lent itself as the family name of these chiefs of the Daṇḍa-Chōta lineage. Their rule over the eastern half of the Cuddapah district comprising parts of Badvel, Siddhavattam, Cuddapah, Pullampet or Rajampet taluks, with Anantarājakpuram or Anantarājapēṭa near Rajampet as their capital, bestowed on the tract of the country forming part of the Rajampet taluk the name *Maṭlāvāri-simā*, as being the home territory to which was confined the authority of the latter members of the family. Matīla or Matīli Kumāra-Anantarāja was the grandson of the elder Anantarāja, the author of "Kakutstha-Vijayamu", through the latter’s son Tiruvāgāḷanātharāja (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 75).

Kumāra-Anantarāja’s services were directed to the construction of the big outer *gōpuram* of Śrī Gōvindarāja’s temple (No. 281—G.T.), the second *gōpuram* at the foot of the hill which is generally called the *Kotta-gōpuram* (new tower) and through which runs the pathway to Tirumala (Nos. 279 and 280—G.T.) and the one on the top of the front hill known as the *Gēli-gōpuram* (Nos. 269 and 270—G.T.). The first two towers contain inscriptions on their inner side stating that they were constructed by Matīla Kumāra-Anantarājayya, son of Tiruvāgāḷanātharājavya-Dāva-Chōta Mahārājulayya. In No. 281 from the big *gōpuram*, Anantarāja is seen to assume the *biruda Šrīman-Mahāmaṇḍa-lāṭuvāra*. Above No. 281 engraved on the inner side of its south base are carved the figures of a king and three queens possibly representing Kumāra-Ananta and his three queens and on the opposite inner side of the north base are chiselled the figures of Śrī Vāskāṭāvara and a king and a queen with an inscription below them naming them Matīla Tiruvāgāḷanātharāja and his wife Channamma (No. 282—G.T.). Similarly two figures representing Tiruvāgāḷanātha and Channamma are found carved with folded hands beside figures of Śrī Vāskāṭāvara and a king on the inner side of the east base of the
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Kotta-gopuram at the foot of the hill with names above them (Nos. 277 and 278—G.T.). And above the unnamed king standing with folded hands to the south of the deity are engraved the two inscriptions in Telugu and Tamil recording the construction of the gopuram (Nos. 279 and 280—G.T.). And naturally the single figure must represent Maṣa Kumāra-Anantarāja, the builder of the gopuram. An old ruined tower still stands at the foot of the hill, just a few yards to the south of the Kotta-gopuram of Kumāra-Ananta and the damage to this is said to have been caused by a thunder-bolt falling on it and rending it into two pieces from top to bottom which however still continue to stand together. The popular appellation of "Kotta-gopuram" for Anantarāja's tower, together with the winding pathway laid with a stone pavement round the ruined tower, would indicate a much greater antiquity for this ruined tower the passage through which is now barred.

Besides these towers, Anantarāja constructed in Śaka 1550 (1628 A.C.) a maṇḍapa adjoing this ruined tower to its south which contains on its east and west walls on the inner side two copies of a long Sisumālīka stanza, one written in Telugu and another in Grantha characters (Nos. 269 and 270—G.T.). They recount the deeds of valour and acts of charity of Anantarāja of the īva-Chaṣa family who was the moon to the ocean of the Solar race and who exercised authority over the tract of country lying between the Vākaṭa and Aḥūbala hills. Like Kapardi (Siva), he fought out fiercely the battles at Phalagiri, Animela, Pīkuru, Chappali and Vāmupalli; destroyed the armies of the enemies at Kotigala, Palakaṭa, Guesḷāru and Musliṭāru; and also at Kumājakīva. From God Udayāchālayāvara (Śri Raṅganāyaka of Udayagiri) he received a damyāi (drum) and a saṃajaḍava (elephant banner), and constructed for that deity an āhāra (sport)-maṇḍapa and an udāna (garden); he built for Śri Virarāghava of Tiruvaḷūr a vasanta-maṇḍapa; for Vākaṭacchalapati he presented a svaṇāśiva (golden horse-vehicle), a sindhura (elephant-vehicle) and a samarabhāpala-vāhana (war-chariot), a padma-piṭha (lotus-shaped seat), a ratiṇāka-maṇḍu (gem-set crown) and a naivūda-bhājana (plate for offerings) and constructed an unnata-(high)-kist-(sport)-maṇḍapa, a sūpāna-mūrga (pathway with a flight of steps), an agra-gopura (the tower on the top of the front hill called the Gāli-gopuram or the front tower probably denoting the Kotta-gopuram mentioned above), and other structures; for Śri Govindarāja of Tirupati he offered a gajā (elephant-vehicle) and a turakṣama-vāhana (horse-vehicle); and for the blue necked Kāḷahastīvāra of Kāḷahasti a kunaku...
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*maya*ra (golden peacock-vehicle) and a *Mahasana-vahana* (syrren or demon-vehicle). He also installed an image of Vakasathivara on the pathway over the hill to Tirumala from Tirupati. For the God at Nelandaluru (Nandalur in the Cuddapah district) he constructed the four *gopuras* on the four sides of the temple and *sarasima-mangala* (nirhil-mangalapuri) and laid a flower-garden also. For Raghunatha of Oshimitsa (Vontimitta in the Cuddapah district) he constructed the outer *mangalas* adjoining the prakara walls and the two huge *gopuras* on the north and south and laid the inner court-yard of the temple and arranged for the *nityapachara* (daily worship). He established the two *agraharas* of Chennamambapura and Chennamambasamudra. He installed God Chennakasava at Siddhavasa (near Cuddapah), constructed the prakara and the *gopura* of the temple and presented ornaments to the deity; and for God Siddhavasavara of the same place he presented a *Kanya-Prishaabha-vahana* (golden bull-vehicle). For Kapardi (Siva) at Somasila (Chandragiri) he built a *gopura*; for Prasavichalasavara (of Pushpagiri) he constructed the prakara and the *gopura* of the temple and arranged for the celebration of the annual festival therein; for Ramavibhu (Vakasathavara of Kadapa (Duvuni-Cuddapah) he built the prakara wall together with the *gopura*; and for Vrabbadra of Rachaviyu (Royachoti in the Cuddapah district) he painted the two *gopuras* of the temple. He established *anna-satras* (free feeding-houses) at Alvirthra (Kapila-tirtha at Tirupati), *Bishachala-kuruva* (pathway over the Tirupati hill), Siddhavasa, Oshimita, Pushpagiri, Urumpadu, Duvvuru, Guadaluru, Pornmentla, Nelavanuru, Urmila and Anantarajapura, for the satisfaction of travellers performing their pilgrimage on foot (pathika) between Suto (Ramaavaram) and Sisachala (Badari) over the Himlayas. He performed the *rojato-dana* (gift of silver), *swarna-dana* (gift of gold), *tuls-dana* (weighing himself in scales against precious metals and stones), *mahi-dana* (gift of land), *gula-dana* (gift of cows), many thousand *kanyaka-dana* (marriages for girls) to the Brahmans whom he enabled through these dana to perform adhvara (yagya, sacrifices) and other dana-dharma. He was lord of Anantarajapura with its *gopura* built by him, ruling the surrounding tract of country, being entitled *Kapakura-kurakura* and purified by the bath in the water of the Ganges brought every year. He constructed a huge tank at the hill-path near Chennuru (near Cuddapah). He was the son of Maitha Tirvagajaraja and Chennamambha. Beside the lovely and spacious Sisha hill he constructed the *Sripada-mangala* adored by Brahma, Livara, Sanaka and other Divas and Maunis, so as to stand as long as the moon and the stars endure.

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Kolal Tammayan:—Nos. 267 and 268—G.T., copies in Tamil and Telugu, register the eternal obeisance (sadaśe) at the feet of Śrī Vākaṭāvara and Alapatumaṅga of one Tammayan, son of Kolal Koḍayyan. The Telugu copy contains the date, Saṅka 1545, Rudhirāṅgi (≈1623 A.C.), and the record must pertain to the reign of Rāmarāya, though the king is not mentioned in it. These two epigraphs are engraved on either side of a prostrate male figure chiselled on a stone slab paved into the floor at Alipiri between the two rows of stone mahapamams. This figure is generally believed to represent a devotee of God Vākaṭāvara from one of the untouchable classes and its position at Alipiri as the limit up to which members of these classes can approach the sacred hill Tirumala and beyond which they cannot proceed.

KUMARA-VENKATAPATIRAYA II:—Kumāra-Vākaṭapatisiriyadāva Mahārāya is represented by two records Nos. 328 and 63—G.T. dated respectively in Saṅka 1553 (≈1631 A.C.) and Saṅka 1557 (≈1636 A.C.). This Kumāra-Vākaṭa, also known as Peda-Vākaṭa II, was the son of Raṅga IV who was a son of Alīya-Rāmārāja. He was chosen crown-prince along with his successor Raṅga VI by Rāma IV in Saṅka 1544 (≈1622 A.C.). He is stated to have been crowned king in Saṅka 1552 (≈1630 A.C.) by Tirumala Tattāchārīya.

No. 328—G.T. registers the provision made by a certain Rāma-chandrayya for offerings for Śrī Vākaṭāa and Śrī Gōvindarāja in Saṅka 1553, Prajōtpatti, Kanya (≈29–9–1631 A.C.), and the construction of a mahapam by him to the west of the Mahām of the Īla-Kiṣvī-Fiṣjar on the south side of the street adjoining the Sannidhi-vidhi to the south. He excavated a fresh irrigation channel in Varadarājapuram which was at the time in disrepair. No. 63—G.T. also refers to the excavation of an old damaged irrigation channel in the tiruvījaiyāsam village Avili by Ajagarayyaṅgār Aṃśagārāchārīr, son of Pratīvādibhāyaskaram Vāgārachārīr of Śrīvatsa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajūs-sākha, and his gift of some lands therein. The measuring rod of 32 feet is mentioned in it.

SRIRANGADEVA MAHARAYA VI:—Śrīraṅgadāva Mahārāya, generally known as Raṅga VI, was the son of Pina-Vākaṭa III, the younger brother of king Vākaṭa II. He was crown-prince during the reigns of both Rāma IV and Vākaṭa II and ascended the Karna throne on 29th October 1642 A.C. His reign lasted for a period of about 23 years up to Saṅka 1587 (1665 A.C.). During his reign, the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur invaded the Karnaṭa
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kingdom and conquered it and "the able general Mir-Zumla finally became its Nawab. King Rašga fled southwards and found refuge with one of his subordinates, a chief of Kelaži" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 193).

Śrīraṅgaraṇa is represented in our Collection by two epigraphs of which only one is dated, viz., in Śaka 1560, Bahudhānaya, Mithuna (=15-6-1638 A.C.). On this date a certain Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa-gṛuta and Āpastamba-sātra, born under the ascendancy of the star Mūla, provided for offerings costing 95 rākhaï for which he made over to the temple two irrigation channels, from one of which was derived 160 paṭṭi of paddy, as measured with the Kadaṃakkaḷ (No. 5—G.T.). The other channel is said to have been situated in Maniyakkōṇaṭṭhū, one of the villages comprised in the Tiruviṭaiyēṭṭam-Ul-mangalam. The second inscription No. 436—T.T. merely records the eternal obsequies of a certain Rāmuḷ of Tirupati, a servant of Śrīraṅgaraṇa, at the feet of Raghunātha.

VENKATAPATIRAYA IV:—Two later inscriptions, one dated in the cyclic year Rudhirāṅgāraṇa (1683 A.C.) and another in the Śaka year 1606, Raktākshi (1684 A.C.), do not mention the reigning king, but they are referable to the reign of Vāsakaṭa IV, the successor of Raṅga VI (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, page 91). It is significant that these two epigraphs, together with a third No. 290—G.T., are written in Telugu. It therefore appears that by this time the Telugu language had supplanted Tamil in this and the surrounding places and has come to stay as the main local language. No. 291—G.T. dated in Rudhirāṅgāraṇa, Vaiśākhha (Śaka 1605=16-5-1683 A.C.), registers the ubhayam (service) of a certain Timma, son of Tūvarāṇi Konaṭṭa Paṭṭita and the obeisance of his younger brother, while No. 290—G.T. merely registers, as an extract, the ubhayam of Rājaṛi Śiddalari Rāmāji-Mādarsu-Pantulūnāgāra. No. 263—T.T. of Śaka 1606, Raktākshi, Chaïtra (=20-3-1684 A.C.), records the gift of a kanthe (a necklace) of pure gold valued at 575 Śrīraṅgarāṇavarahā as the capital for offerings for Tiruvāḷaḷnathasvāmi and Varāṅasvāmi, following those of Mahārājaṛi Shudābhānu-Ju-Pantulu, by Rājaṛi Śivarāṇa-Rāmacandra-Yēṭṭamāṭaravu-Ḍabiruśāyi of Śrīvatsa-gṛuta, Āśvālayana-sātra and Bīk-sākhha, and Timmaṇāyaṅgāra. The value of rice required for offerings was taken at eight sālalu per varahā as measured with the temple-measure. The sālā must be a measure of sixteen times the capacity of our present grain measure, i.e., one varahā must have purchased 128 measures of rice in Śaka 1606. The necklace of pure gold is stated to have been five ettulu and,
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for the total value of 573 pagodas, one ettu of pure gold must have cost 115 pagodas. The ettu must therefore represent the weight of a seer of 24 tolas. Three temple functionaries are mentioned, viz., Jiyyanganru, Chinna-Jiyyanganru and Uttara-Parupatyam. The first two are respectively the Periya-Koyal-kavi-Jiyan, and the Naiya-Koyal-kavi-Jiyan, while the Uttara-Parupatyam is an officer of the temple deputed nowadays to announce to the pilgrims who pay for certain services in the temple of the hours when the particular rites take place.

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Between Šaka 1606 of No. 263—T.T. noticed above and Šaka 1771 of No. 350—T.T. there is a dearth of inscriptions in the temple and consequently the history of the temple from lithic records is a blank space during this period. When the British had established themselves in South India, they took up the management of the temples within their territorial jurisdiction in 1801 A.C. and credited the income of these temples under the general revenues of the state. Ultimately on their decision to relinquish their connection with the religious institutions in the country, they conferred the administration of the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭāvara, together with those in Tirupati and Tiruchānūr, on the then Mahant Śrī SEVĀDĀSUJI of Śrī Hāthirāmi Maṭha in Tirupati in 1843, through a sanad from the Collector of the North Arcot district.

When the management of these temples thus passed into the hands of the Mahants of Śrī Hāthirāmi-Maṭha, they as Vīchāraṅakartas thereof undertook the renovation of the temples and other ancient structures and added to them from time to time. No. 350—T.T. records such a renovation of the Svāmi-Pushkarini, stated to contain nine tīrthas in it, by Mahārāja-raja-Śrī SEVĀDĀSU, Śrī Mahant of Hāthirāmi Maṭha, in Šaka 1771, Saumya, Bhādrapada (=31-8-1849 A.C.), and his renewing the Jalakṣi-maṇḍapotsava. Another uncopied inscription in Telugu engraved in mortar over the Mukha-maṇḍapam Śrī Veṅkaṭāvara’s temple mentions the repairs effected to certain portions of the temple by the same Mahant SEVĀDĀSUJI. No. 283—G.T. is a tablet put upon the brindāvanam raised over the remains of this Mahant who is stated to have been the ishya of Śrī ANABHIHĀNANDA, by his own
disciple and successor Śri Mahant DHARMADĪSUJI in the cyclic year Raktākshi, Māgha (=2-2-1865 A.C.). This same Mahant DHARMADĪSUJI is reported in No. 209—G.T. to have renovated the Pushkariṇi known as Kapila-tirtham and its surrounding māṇḍapams in the same month Māgha (=10-2-1865 A.C.), and to have constructed the outer gopura of the temple at Tirumala called the Paśikāvali-gopuram, as also certain other māṇḍapams so as to please Śesha-giriśa (Veākāśa abiding on the serpent-like hill), in Bahudhānya, Bhādrapada (=11-9-1878 A.C.) (No. 382—T.T.). The latest record in the Collection No. 242—T.T. registers the fixing of the hanaka-kalasa (golden vase) over the vimāna of Śri Veākāśavara's central shrine by Rāmalakshmaṇadāsa, a brother-disciple of Śri Mahanta PRAYĀGADāSA, the present Vichārānakarta of these Devasthānams in Kīlaka, Āvayuja (=30-9-1908 A.C.).
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