CHAPTER III
OTHER SUBORDINATE FAMILIES
As shown in the previous chapter, the known history of the Kakatiyas begins from the closing part of the tenth century. They emerged as sovereign power in the beginning of A.D.1163. Till then they were the subordinates of the Rastrakutas and their successors, the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana. During this period their sphere of activity being almost in Telengana of the present Andhra Pradesh State, their dealings were directly connected with the other subordinate families of the region. Among them three feudatory families surrounding the Kakatiya principality, namely the Chalukyas of Mudugonda in the south-east i.e. in the present Khamma district, the Polavasa chiefs in the north-west, (i.e. in the present Karimnagar district, and the Choda chiefs of Kanduru in the south-west deserve particular mention. The region to the west of Anumakonda-zishaya was under the direct control of the king. It was being administered by his officers with their seat of administration at Kolanupaka alias Kolipaka about seventy kilometers to the south-west of Anumakonda. The relationship of the above chiefs with the Kakatiyas was more or less hostile. An attempt is made here to study each of these families in as much detail as possible with particular reference to their relationship with the early Kakatiyas.
I) THE CHALUKYAS OF MUDUGONDA

The history of these chiefs is traceable from the early tenth century. Two sets of copper plate grants and an equal number of epigraphs form the main source of history of this family. The two copper plate grants are the Mogalicheruvula grant of Kusumāyudha IV¹ and the Kukkanuru plates (Krivraka grant) of Kusumāditya². The two epigraphs are the Koravi epigraph of Niravadya of the time of Chalukya Bhima II³ and the Chennuru epigraph of the time of the Vemulavāda king Arikasari II⁴. The two copper plate records furnish two different genealogies the connection between the two being not easy to decide. The former record states that Kusumāyudha, the fourth king of that name in the family of Chālukya Ranamarda, granted the village Mogalicheruvula near Koravi in Manchikonda-vishaya to a brahmana named Dōneya. The charter is not dated. But on palaeographic grounds its editor has assigned it to eleventh century A.D. which is doubtful. It furnishes a genealogy of eight generations starting from Ranamarda who is stated to have acquired the regions of Manchikonda-vishaya and Kondapalli. It is further stated in the record that they had their capital at Mudugondūr, after which they were called Mudugonda Chālukyas. This town is situated near Khammammet the headquarters of the district of that name in A.P. It is also called Khammam. Of the eight generations given in it, the last two members were Nijjayita and his son Kusumāyudha IV, the donor.
The other copper plate charter recently discovered in a village Kakkanuru near Bhadrachalam in the Khammam district records the grant of the village Kriwaka in Visurumādū to the ministers Indapa and his brother Rēmana, as agrahāra along with the insignia of a Mahāmandalēśvara by the Chālukya king Kusumāditya on the occasion of Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti. The genealogies of the two lines are given below.

I. From the Mogilicheruvula grant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chālukya family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kokkirāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranāmārdā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusumāyudha I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallapa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chālukya family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kariya-Gonaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimjyayaraja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusumāyudha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēta rāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēta Bēta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. From the Kukkanuru grant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chālukya family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kusumāyudha IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(donor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lōmba ChaYaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chālukya family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kusumāditya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(donor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magatirāja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately both the records are undated. It is only on the basis of similarity of the names Nimjyayita and his son Kusumāyudha of the last two members of the first grant and the early two members of the second grant it is believed that the two lines supplement each other. Their Chālukya origin and their connection with Koravi town are of course, supporting evidences. If it is taken for granted that both the lines of kings belong to the same stock we have to encounter certain
difficulties in constructing a connected history of this family. It is not being detailed here as that aspect does not come under the purview of the present investigation, that is their political relations with the Kākatiyas. From the Koravi epigraph and some copper plate grants of the Eastern Chālukya kings it is seen that these chiefs remained continuously for a long period as subordinates to the Chālukya kings of Vēṇgi. Leaving their respective genealogical lists these two sets of copper plates do not furnish any political events worth mentioning which may enable us to fix some chronological order of these chiefs.

In the present context it would be sufficient if we deal with the later kings of the family mentioned in the Kukkanuru copper plates. The names of two chiefs in that line namely Boṭṭu Bēta and his younger son Nāgatirāja are similar to those found in the Kākatiya records. The Gudur stone inscription of the Chālukya prince Kumāra Somēśvara dated C.V.49, A.D.1124 states in its Telugu portion that Viriyāla Eśra reinstated Boṭṭu Bēta in Koravi while his wife Kāmavasāni took up the cause of the Kākatiya chief Garuda Bēta who was young at that time and made secure his position as a subordinate. Second reference is noticed in the Pālampet inscription of Rēcharla Rudra the famous general of Gaṇapatiḍēva datable to A.D.1213 wherein certain Nāgatirāja is mentioned as one of the enemies defeated by the Kākatiya general.

Both the brothers Nāgatirāja and Kusumāditya find mention in an inscription at Nattaramēśvaram in the West Godavari district
dated A.D. 1218? They must be therefore identical with the two sons of Botṭu Beta, of their namesake mentioned in the Kukkanuru plates.

If we identify the two chiefs of the Gudur and Palampet inscriptions with Botṭu Beta and Nagatirāja of the Kukkanuru plates, there will be serious chronological discrepancy. For, between Botṭu Beta of the Gudur record of A.D. 1124 and Nagatirāja of the Palampet inscription dated A.D. 1213 there is a gap of ninety years whereas the Kukkanuru plates they are stated as father and son. Further, A.D. 1124, the date of the Gudur record cannot be the date of Botṭu Beta, since he is said to have been reinstated by Viriyāla Erra the great grandfather of Malla the donor of that record. It is a narration of the past events, dating back to four generations, that is the early part of eleventh century say between A.D. 1000-1010.

The three families may be shown as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Viriyāla chiefs</th>
<th>Kākatiyās</th>
<th>Muduṇḍa Chalukyas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Sūra</td>
<td>2. Prōla I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Malla</td>
<td>4. Prōla II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(donor of Gudur epigraph A.D. 1124)</td>
<td>(A.D. 1124)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Mahadeva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Ganaṣṭhidēva</td>
<td>A.D. 1213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Palampet)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Palampet and Nattaramesvaram inscriptions)
Further, as stated already, Bōṭṭu Bēta of the Mudugonda Chālukyas and Garuda Bēta of the Kākatiyas are shown as contemporaries in the Gudur record. Therefore it follows that Bōṭṭu Bēta of the Gudur epigraph was an earlier ancestor of Bōṭṭu Bēta of the Kukkanūru grant. Obviously this grant has omitted in its genealogical account the mention of that Bōṭṭu Bēta who in the Gudur epigraph is shown to be contemporary of Garuda Bēta, that is Kākatiya Bēta II.

From the Koravi epigraph of about A.D. 935 it is known that these Chālukya chiefs were enjoying a sort of freedom in the region what is now called Khammam district including Koravi region in the Warangal district. For a long time they owed their allegiance to the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi in preference to the Rāstrakūta kings who held sway in Telingāna at that time. During the time of Rāstrakūta Gōvinda IV (A.D. 919-935) a chief of this family named Gonaga according to the Kannada work Vikramārjunavijaya of the famous poet Pampa, sought asylum in the court of the Vemulavada Chālukya king Arikēsarīn II (A.D. 930-956). His younger brother Niravadya with the help of Chālukya Bhīma II (A.D. 934-944) became the king of Koravi. It is assumed that this Niravadya of the Koravi epigraph was identical with Nijjāyita of the two copper plate grants. We can ascribe this event to A.D. 934 on the basis of the Chennur epigraph cited above. After Nijjāyita, came to power in succession Kusumayudha I, Bētarāja and Kusumayudha II. We have no details regarding their activity. But the next ruler Bēta appears to have had some clash
with the Kakatiyas. Though there is no clear evidence to this effect there is reason to come to this conclusion on basis of the Gudur epigraph of Viriyala Malla. This inscription tells us that Bottu Beta of this family was reinstated by Viriyala Erra by killing an enemy. Further, the same record says that Erra's wife Kamasani took pity on the young Kakatiya chief Garuda Beta and appealing to the (Chalukya) emperor re-established in the line of Kakati. Putting these two statements together we can surmise that for some reason or the other Pindigunda the father of Kakati Garuda Beta attacked Bottu Beta. Thereupon the latter sought the help of the ruling king Chalukya Taila II who deputed his Viriyala chief Erra to help Bottu Beta. In the fight that ensued Pindigunda lost his life and Bottu Beta was made secure in his position. Thanks to the good offices of Kamasani, the Chalukya king granted Garuda Beta Anumakonda where he continued to be a subordinate to the Chalukya king. This event appears to have taken place in A.D. 1000 or some time before. There is hardly any doubt that this Bottu Beta was one Beta-raya whose name was not mentioned in the Kukkanur plates as explained above.

We do not know the account of the family immediately after Beta or Bottu Beta. It is quite likely that some more chiefs not mentioned in the genealogical list of the Kukkanur grant came to power.

From about A.D. 1000, these Bottu chiefs were in possession of Koravi-raya as subordinates of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. The Kakatiya chiefs too did not trouble them any more till about A.D. 1170. But when Kakati Rudra became independent in A.D. 1163
It became necessary for him to reduce all the neighbouring chiefs to subjugation or to dispossess them of their fiefs. Therefore with that ambition Rudra in his last days deputed his general Kēcharla Rudra to subdue the Boṭṭu chief of Koravi, whom the reputed general put to flight as stated in his Palampet inscription referred to above. The same is confirmed by the Kukkanur copper plate grant which narrates that when Boṭṭu Bēta's son Kusuṁāditya came to power there happened an upheaval (bhū-prakhattana) owing to which they had to leave with their bag and baggage to other neighbouring territory (paramandala) eating roots and fruits in the forests, being escorted by their pegadas or ministers Indupayya and his brother Kōmayya. After living there for twelve years outside their home land they could return to their original territory of Visurunādu with the help of the same ministers. On that joyful occasion the village Kriwaka was granted as agrahāra by Kusuṁāditya to the ministers in recognition of their great service. But it appears that after sometime these chiefs were again ousted from Visurunādu by the Kākatiya general Eguva Bhīma as narrated in the Tallaproduturu inscription. The Nattaramesvaram inscription of 1218 A.D. cited above tells us that these chiefs Kusuṁāditya and his brother Nāgatirāja made some donations in the Veṇgi region at the instance of the Kolani king. The last mention of these chiefs is in a late broken epigraph at Śrīkākolanu in Krishna district wherein certain Boṭṭu Śrīrāmaśadra is attributed with the titles Mānavyasa-gōtra and Koravi-Puravarādhīśvara. After this we know nothing about these chiefs.
Starting their independent political career in the Mudugonda region near Khammam in about 8th century they continued to hold that region including Koravi for a pretty long period till the end of the twelfth century. Between the powerful kingdoms of the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rastrakutas and subsequently the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana they could retain their individuality as subordinates. But when the Kakatiyas emerged as an independent power in Telangana they had to leave their ancestral principality and seek shelter in the coastal region. Their relationship with the Kakatiya chiefs was very limited. Only in the beginning and after becoming independent the Kakatiyas fought with them. In the intervening period there seems to have been practically no interference in each other's affairs.

ii) THE POLAVASA CHIEFS

Like the chiefs of Mudugonda those of Polavasa also played an important role during the time of the early Kakatiyas. Their head quarters Polavasa is the modern Polas in the Jagtial taluk of Karimnagar district to the north of Warangal. The Thousand Pillared temple inscription of Kukati Rudra and the fragmentary epigraphs of his minister Gangadhara refer to Madaraja of this family as an enemy of Rudra. This family of Madaraja with its feudal principality in the region extending from Polavasa to Narasampet touching Anumakonda-vishaya in the north is closely associated with the early Kakatiyas, particularly Prōla II and his son Rudra. About half a dozen epigraphs belonging to these chiefs have come to light till now.
1. Banajipet  
Narsampet Tq. (A.D. 1082)  
Warangal Dist.  
£.1004 Records the gift of lands, house site and 12 gadvānas by Mahāmandalēśvara Kākatiya Bēta (III) to Vīrakamala Jinālaya built by Mahāmandalēśvara Mēdarasa of Vengonta-kula, Ugravādi(region) and the line of Mādhava-varman. This mentions Chālukya king Trīhuvaṇamaṇḍa as overlord.¹⁵

2. Polavāsa  
Jagtiāl taluk (A.D. 1108)  
Karimnagar  
district  
Records some gifts by vīra-balaṇja merchants to the god Pulastyēśvara of Polavāsa the capital of Mēdarāja who bears among others the titles of Lattalūr-puravāradhīśvara, Suvarṇa-varude-āhva and Chakrakotta-ṛāvadiś paṭṭa. There is no mention of the Chālukya king in this record.¹⁶

3. Mēdapalli  
Narasampet tq. (A.D. 1112)  
Warangal dist.  
£.1034 Records the construction of a Trikūṭa temple and gifts of land to the same by Āchirāja, the minister of Mahāmandalēśvara Jaggadeva son of Mēdarāja of the family of Mādhava-varman and the
4. *Padmâkshi temple*  
Anumakonda  
Warangal dist.

5. *Govindapuram*  
tank, Narasampet  
taluk Warangal  
Dist.

6. *Gamgâpuram,*  
Manthena Tq.  
Karimnagar Dist.

---

* notas of Maninâgapura. This does not mention the Châlukya king.*

Records the construction of Kadalâlaya-âsâdi by Mailama wife of Pergâda Sêta, the minister of Kâkati Prâla (II). Also records some gift of land to the same by Mêgarâja of Vengonta-kula, Ugravâdi region and a descendant of Mâdhavavarman. This refers to the reign of Châlukya Trîkhuvanâmâlladeva.

Records the installation of the image of Pârâva-Jînâsvara by Nâgarâja the minister of Mêgarâja of the line of Mâdhava Chakravar-tin who possessed eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot soldiers. This does not mention the Châlukya king. Mêgarâja and Gundarâja also grant some gifts to the deity.

Refers to the Chalukya king Bhûlökamalla and records some gifts by Gundarâja.
Leading the Polavāsa inscription all their records mention Mādhavavarman as the founder of the family, whose historicity remains doubtful. It is also noticed in one of the Dākṣārām inscription that even the Kākatiya chief Durga, son of Prōla II is stated to have belonged to the family of Mādhavavarman.

The Govindapuram epigraph (No. 5 in the above table) furnishes the genealogy of the Polavāsa chiefs which remained a puzzling problem before its discovery. The members of the family are stated in the following order.

Family of Mādhava-чакравартин

- Durgarāja
- Medaraja (I)
- Jaggadēva
- Medaraja (II)
- Gundarāja

Apart from their mythical ancestor Mādhava-чакравартин and Durgarāja who is otherwise unknown this short family of four members namely Meda I, Jaggadēva, Meda II and Gunda are seen from their records to have flourished during the period between A.D. 1075 and 1160.

Two records namely the Bāgājipet epigraph dated 6.1004 and the Polavāsa epigraph of the year Sarvadhārin corresponding to 6.1030 belong to Medaraja I. Of these two, the former begins with the reference to the prosperous regin of the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla whereas the latter record does not refer to any
overlord. Another noteworthy point in the Barajipet record is that Kakatiya Beta (III) appears to be the donor of some gifts to the Jaina temple Virakamala-Jinalaya built by Medaraja. Following the Chalukya overlord Tribhuvanamalladeva, Mahamandalesvara Medaraja born in the vaishya of Madhavavarma and Vengontaulu is stated to have built the Virakamala Jinalaya. Next follows the statement that Mahamandalesvara Kakatiya Betaasa (III) granted some land to that Jinalaya. The order of mentioning the subordinates in inscriptions is generally according to their status. Thus it appears that Medaraja held a superior position to that of Beta III. The question now arises whether Kakatiya Beta III credited with the titles samadhigata-paucha-mahākartha and Mahamandalesvara in the same record was at that time a subordinate under Mahamandalesvara Medaraja. According to some scholars, Kakatiya Beta III during the war of succession between the Chalukya kings Bhuvanaikamalla Somesvara II and his brother Vikramaditya might have supported the former and lost the favour of the latter and consequently Tribhuvanamalla who came out successful in capturing the Chalukya throne, with a vengeance, reduced Beta III to a position inferior to that of Medaraja. But such a view seems more fantastic than real. There is no evidence to show that Beta III incurred the displeasure of the king Vikramaditya VI. Beta's visit to the temple can be said only in friendly terms. As the temple was built by Medaraja in his own territory and he too was enjoying the status of Mahamandalesvara no special significance in the order of mentioning the names need be attached. Both of them were holding their respective fiefs
in their individual capacities and neither of them was a subordinate to the other. There is no reason to say that Beta supported Bhuvanaikamalla against Vikramaditya VI.

The second record in order is that of Polavasa set up by the vIrakalayiga merchant guild in the year Sarvadharin which corresponds to A.D. 1108. It refers to Medaraja with the epithets Lattalur-puravar-achitsvara, Suvarna-zaruda-dhvaja, Chakrakuta-raya-disapatta etc., which indicate his Rastakuta affiliation. As pointed out in an earlier context, the Kakatiyas had also had Rastakuta affiliations as indicated by their Garuda banner and the word attached to one of the names. The title Chakrakuta-raya-disapatta might have been earned by Medaraja on an occasion when Vikramaditya VI led an expedition over Chakrakuta even before his accession to throne as stated by Bilhana22 probably in about A.D. 1066-67 while Trailokysamalla was alive. Subsequent to this Vikramaditya VI does not seem to have invaded Chakrakuta. From the same record we know that Polavasa was his capital. This fact was further corroborated by the Hanumakonda epigraph of Gangadhara the minister of Kakatiya PrOla II and his son Rudra23 which describes invasion of that town by Rudra.

The next record of this family is the Medapalli epigraph dated 8.1054 A.D. 1112. It was set up by Purga Adityaraja which indicates that Meda I died some time before this year and his son Jaggadeva succeeded him. His term of active career seems to be
of very short duration between A.D. 1110 and 1117 the date of
the Padmākshi temple inscription of Kākati Prōla II wherein some
gift of land made by his (Jaggadeva's) son Mēda II is recorded.
This record was set up by Kākati Prōla II's minister Bēta's wife
Mailama. It refers to the Chālukya overlord Trīhuvanamalla
Vikramāditya VI. The Govindāpuram epigraph, next in order is
dated in the Saka year 1043, A.D. 1122. It mentions the two sons
of Jaggadeva namely Mēda II and Gundarāja. It is stated that
Mēda's minister Nāgarāja installed the image of Pārśvānātha and
both the brothers made gifts to that temple. Another record
belonging to this family is the fragmentary epigraph of Gangāpuram
village near Manthena which refers itself to the prosperous reign
of Chālukya Bhūlokamalla and his subordinate mahāmandaṅgārāvara
Gundarāja. Although it does not furnish any praṃasti of Gundarāja
its provenance, reference to Bhūlokamalla and the absence of any
other chief of that name during that period in that region enable
us to identify him with the younger brother of Mēgarāja mentioned
in the Govindapuram record. On the basis of all these records
the following chronology of the chiefs of this family can be shown
as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>End</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dūrgarāja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>to C.1080 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēda I</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1080 to 1110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaggarāja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1110 to C.1115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēda II</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1115 to 1158 (Rudra's enemy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gundarāja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1115 A.D. to 1136 (killed by Prōla II)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During this period of about three quarters of a century only in two records namely the Banajipet epigraph of the early part of the reign of Trikshuvanamalla Vikramaditya VI and the fragmentary Gangāpuram epigraph of the time of Bhūlsamalla Somaśvara III we notice these chiefs as faithful subordinates of the Chālukya kings. In all the remaining records namely (1) the Polavāsa epigraph, (2) the Mēdapally epigraph and (3) the Gōvindāpuram epigraph which directly belong to their family no mention of the overlord is made. As a contrast we notice that the Kakatiyas never failed to mention the Chālukya overlord in this records. This obviously indicates that Mēdarāja and his successors tried to flout the authority of the Chālukya king, which necessarily resulted in the latter’s taking steps to subdue them. This is indicated by the recently discovered Anumakonda inscription which states that Kakati Prōla, in the presence of the king attacked these chiefs and put them to flight. The same incident has been dealt at length in the Thousand Pillar Temple inscription of Rudra while describing the victories of Prōla II and himself. Annexation of Polavāsadēsa to Anumakonda-vishaya is one of the most glorious achievements of Rudra before asserting independence. The graphic description of the event how Mēdarāja was defeated and his town Polavāsa was burnt are also recorded in the fragmentary epigraph of Rudra’s minister Gangādhara mentioned above. This was the end of Mēdarāja’s family. This event might have taken place in the fifties of the twelfth century. The matter will be discussed in detail in chapter IV and VII in the context of the victories of Prōla II and Rudra.
Both the families of the Kākatiyās and Mēdarāja belonged to the same stock of Rāstrakūta generals of rank and settled in Telīṅgāna as their subordinates. Subsequent to the end of Rāstrakūta power, the Chālukyas allowed to continue them as mahāmandalāsvaras with their respective fiefs adjacent to each other. Though cordial in the beginning their relations after some time were far from friendliness. Finally Mēdarāja as it seems joined hands with the rivals of the Chālukya king Bhūlōkamalla and revolted for independence. King Jagadēkamalla II soon after his accession led an expedition to put down the rebellions in Telīṅgāna. Prōla II and Rudra taking advantage of the disloyal behaviour of Mēḍa and his brother Gunda stood by the side of the Jagadēkamalla II and suppressed the revolt by killing Gunda and making Mēḍa II flee from his principality. As regards their religious leanings, the Banājipet, Govindapuram and Hanumakonda inscriptions clearly indicate that they were ardent followers of Jain faith.

111) THE CHUDAS OF KANDURU

With Kōḍūru as their capital this line of the Chōda chiefs ruled over Kandūrunāḍu comprising the present Jadoharla block, Acchampet taluk in the Mahawānagār district and the Nalgonda and Miryalguda taluks of the Nalgonda district. Of all the available records of these chiefs the Ollāla epigraph²⁵, though slightly damaged, furnishes the names of some early members of this family. According to its narration a branch of the main Chōda line of kings of Oγayūru, was ruling over the region called Eruva.
Bhima (I) among those kings became the ruler of Pānugallu. The eastern suburb of Nallagonda town is called Pānugallu, where we find an old temple of the Chālukya period and some important inscriptions of these chiefs. It indirectly indicates that Brava region extended on both sides of the river Krishna and perhaps got its name after the Telugu word Brv, the river. To Brava Bhima, was born Tondaya (I). Tondaya's son was Chōda Bhima (II) who had in turn four sons. They were Tondaya (II), Igugaya, Malla or Mallikārjuna and another son, fourth in order, whose name was lost due to the breakage of the record.

Mallikārjuna Chōda is granted the village Ollala to his minister Appana peggada in the Saka year 1020, A.D. 1098. Another stone inscription found at Pānugallu which was set up by Tondaya, probably Malla's elder brother, in the Chālukya Vikrama year 15 corresponding to A.D. 1091 records some vrittis of land to a brahmana who carried the ashes (asthia) of Kanduru Bhima Chōda (II) to immerse them in the holy river Gaṅgā and offered pīndas (for the deceased king) at Gaya. The details thus furnished in the record enable us to fix the last date of Bhima II in the year A.D. 1091 and obviously this Bhima must be the father of the brothers Tondaya II and Malla of the Ollala record. The Ollala epigraph also states that Chōda Bhima, the father of Tonda II and Malla, having pleased the king Vikrama-chakravartin that is Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, obtained from him the region of Kanduru by means of a charter. Hence, they bore the title Kandur-puravarādhīvāras and are known as Kanduru Chodas. It is also noticed that the above cited unpublished Pānugallu
epigraph of Tondaya II dated A.D.1091 refers to the death of Chōda Bhīma II. Still an earlier record datable to A.D.1089, of this Tondaya II who is credited with the title Kōdur-
puravarāśvara is noticed in Kolanupāka in the Nalgonda district. It might be, that this Tondaya has assumed power even when his father was alive probably due to the oldage of the latter. It is worth noting that Bhīma II must have got this overlordship of Kandūru-vishaya from Vikramāditya VI on account of his help to the latter in wresting the throne from Sōmēśvara II. Other details of Bhīma II's political career are not known.

The actual history of these chiefs with reference to the Kākatiyas begins from Tondaya Chōda II, the eldest son of Bhīma II. About half a dozen epigraphs mentioning this chief have come to light so far. Two are from Kollipāka, one of which is dated Chālukya Vikrama year 13, A.D.1089, referred to above, the date of the other being missing. There from Panugallu including the unpublished one dated A.D.1091 cited above. Of the other two one is undated and the other is dated A.D.1124 and records a gift of a village Pittamapalli by Tondaya's wife Mailāṃwikā for the merit of her second son Bhīma. The same record states that she had three sons named Udaya, Bhīma and Gōkarna of whom the second named Bhīma seems to be the king of Panugallu at that time. Having been issued by Mailāṃwikā, the last cited record need not be assigned to the time of Tondaya II. In fact we have discovered a record of Bhīma (III) probably Tondaya's second son by Mailāṃwikā, in Rāmalīṅgālagudem near
Halgonda, and it is dated C.V. 29 corresponding to A.D.1105. As Bhima II according to the Panugallu epigraph above mentioned, died in A.D. 1091, this Bhima Chōda must be Bhima III, the second son of Tondaya II and Mailāmālka.

We are not certain how long this Bhima's elder brother Udayāditya was in power. His earliest record of C.V.29, A.D. 1105 must be of the time of his young age. It seems customary with these chiefs that even uncrowned princes were allowed to issue independent grants. Such assumption alone will solve the chronological disparity, namely, that he happened to be an enemy of Kakatiya Rudra in the fifties of twelfth century A.D.

We have already noticed above a similar instance that Tondaya II set up the Kollipaka epigraph in A.D. 1089 while his father Bhima II was alive. In the later generations also we notice such overlapping dates in several cases. The recent discovery of Bhima Choda's inscription at Kistapuram, Ramannapet taluk Nalgonda district, datable to A.D.1157 confirms the assumption that Kakati Rudra vanquished Bhima some time after that year.

After A.D. 1124 there arose some differences between the two brothers Bhima III and Gōkarna. Kandurunādu was later granted as yuvāraṇa-vṛtti (appanage) to Kumār Tailapa, the king's second son by his queen Chandalādevi. According to a fragmentary inscription found at Pānugallu it appears that Kumāra Tailapa distributed his appanage between the two Chōda brothers, Kanduru-vishaya in Mahābānagar district to Bhima whereas Pānugallu-vishaya to Gōkarna Chōda. This arrangement continued without any hitch as long as the emperor Vikramaditya VI was alive. But soon after
the king died in A.D. 1126 there arose some disloyalty to the new king Bhūlōkamalla Sōmeśvara III, in Bhīma and his followers. This assumption is supported by the non-mention of the overlord in their records. But his brother Gōkarna Chōda's inscriptions on the other hand mention the Chālukya king indicating his loyalty to the overlord. For instance, the Anamala epigraph of this chief was dated in the first regnal year of Bhūlōkamalla Sōmeśvara III, A.D. 1127. It is interesting to note that there is another record in the same place dated just one year later i.e. A.D. 1128, which does not mention the ruling king. Further, it states that certain Sṛdevi Tondaya Chōda bestowed the lordship of Chagaku-70 division to certain Ajjana Peggeda obviously depriving the earlier chief of this position, probably who was an officer under Gōkarna. Subsequently Gōkarna himself was slain as is known from the Anumakonda inscription. Since, we do not get Gokarna's records later than 1128 A.D. it may be surmized that this incident took place some time in that year. Sṛdevi Tondaya's identity cannot be established with certainty. But it is likely that he was the son of Udayachōda, the eldest brother of Gōkarna, mentioned in the Panugallu inscription of their mother Mailambā. He was brought back to power in his late father's place, disposing of Gōkarna Chōda the loyal subordinate of Bhūlōkamalla. The presence of two records at Anamala belonging to the rival chiefs thus reveal the true picture of the political leanings of the members of the Chōda family.

The next phase in the family feud of the Chōda chiefs begins with the intervention of the Kākatīya chief Prōla II on one side
and Govindaraja, the nephew of Anantapala-dandanayaka the famous general of the Chalukya king on the other. When the old king Vikramaditya VI in the last years of his rule conquered Vengi country appointed his trusted general Anantapala-dandanayaka as its Governor. At the same time Govinda-dandanayaka was placed in charge of Kondapalli fort near Vijayawada the jurisdiction of which extended up to Burugugadda and the present Huzurnagar taluk touching the south eastern border of Panugallu-raja. Consequently to their defeat in the Godavari battle in about A.D. 1135 at the hands of the confederate mandalikas like the Velnathi Chodas of Chandavolu, the Chalukyas practically lost hold on the coastal region. Kumara Tailapa taking advantage of Bhulokamalla's declining power in the east conspired with Govindaraja the Governor of Kondapalli and apportioned a part of Panugallu-raja to him the remaining part being left as the fief of Sridevi Tondaya. At this juncture Gokarna's son Udaya Choda appears to have approached the king for help to get back his lost position from the usurper. It is also probable that at this time Kumara Tailapa was also trying to become independent with the help of Choda Bhima and Govindaraja. As indicated by the Anumakonda and other inscriptions king Bhulokamalla appears to have deputed Prola II to put down the rebels and reinstate Udaya Choda in Panugallu-raja. Prola accordingly marched at the head of an army to Panugallu in about A.D. 1136 and taking Govinda-dandanayaka captive reinstated Udaya Choda on his father's throne. On the evidence of the inscription of Udaya Choda dated in Bhulokamalla's eleventh
regnal year corresponding to December, 1136 A.D. at Peruru near Anamala in Miryalaguda taluk, Nalgonda district, it is to be believed that śrīdēvi Tondaya also was ousted from that region. Yuvarāja Tailapa also does not seem to have survived long after A.D. 1137, the date of his last known record found at Rachuru.

The third phase of the history of these Chōdas is confined to Bhīma Chōda and his enemy Kākatīya Rudrādeva. Our source of evidence in this regard is mainly the narration of the Ammakonda inscription of the latter wherein as many as twelve out of the sixty verses of the total record were devoted to the description of Bhīma’s mischievous deeds and Rudra’s attack on him. The events narrated in it in relation to Bhīma cannot be precisely dated. There is no reference to Bhīma in any of the victories achieved by Prōla II who is believed to have lived till A.D. 1156, the date of Rudra’s earliest known record, or at least up to A.D. 1149, his last known date from the Sanigaram epigraph. It is only Rudra who is said to have defeated Bhīma and put him to flight. So the conflict between the two chiefs, Kākatīya Rudra and Bhīma Chōda must have taken place after Prōla’s death sometime before A.D. 1156 and before A.D. 1163 the date of Rudra’s Ammakonda record.

Taking advantage of the political disturbances in the Chalukyan capital Kalyāna beginning from A.D. 1150 Bhīma became independent in the Kanduru region. Kākatīya Rudra who was also keen about gaining political superiority in Telingāṇa, particularly after the overthrow of Jagadēkamalla II by Tailapa III. The non-mention of any overlord in his Kistapuram inscription datable to A.D. 1157 is a clear indication that for all practical
purposes Bhima III did not owe allegiance to the kings of Kalyana. In fact the rivalry between the two arose mainly out of their jealousy. Both of them were keen to gain superiority over each other in Telangana particularly when the imperial authority in the region was about to decline.

The immediate reasons for Kākatīya Rudra to take steps to put down Bhima appear to be 1) that he was siding with Kumāra Tailapa who was rebelling against the ruling king 2) that he killed Gokarna the loyal subordinate of the king and 3) that he was trying to exploit the disturbed conditions in the Chālukya kingdom from 1150 onwards to himself become independent. Added to this Kākatīya Rudra himself entertained the ambition to gain political superiority in Telangana particularly after the overthrow of Tailapa III.

Rudra with the help of the Chegaku Chiefs Kāta and Māra marched at the head of an army over Bhima's capital Vardhamanapura and burnt it to ashes. Unable to resist Rudra's attack Bhima fled into the woods with all his kith and kin. His nephew Udayachōda seems to have sued for peace offering his daughter Padmā to Rudra and retained his position as subordinate of Rudra. A stone inscription in Endabetta, near Nagar Kurnool, in Kanduru-mānu records his grant of an agrābāra in Jagadekamalla's 11th regnal year, A.D. 1148. It is clear from this that Rudra did not defeat this Chōda chief before this date. His Rachur epigraph dated A.D. 1157 does not mention any over lord.

Surprisingly this date exactly tallies with that of Kistapuram epigraph of Bhima Chōda, which also does not mention any overlord.
Therefore it seems that Rudra's attack on these Chõda chiefs took place some time after A.D. 1157 and not earlier.

After passing through the semi-independent state which they enjoyed more than a decade Udayachōda the only remaining chief of this Chõda family honourably acknowledged the supremacy of Kākatīya Rudradēva who by now was an independent ruler. He seems to have lived up to A.D. 1176 the date of his last known record found in Nelakondapally in the present Khammam district. The region controlled by Udayachōda was really an extensive one comprising nearly six taluks of the present Nalgonda and Mahbubnagar districts which was bigger than that of his grandfather Bhīma II. The Mamillapally epigraph of his two sons Bhīma IV and Gōkarna is dated in A.D. 1178. As Kākatīya subordinates they virtually became politically insignificant. The members of the family continued for pretty a long period simply enjoying their fiefs. The last known record of these chiefs is that of the village Agāmotukūru in the Miryalaguda taluk of Nalgonda district, which records the installation of the god Vīra Malnāthadeva by Kandūri Ramanāthadēva Chōda Mahārāja after the name of his father Viramalnātha Chōda and the grant of some lands as vrittis to the same deity in the A.D. 1282. It is very interesting to note that even after surrendering themselves to the Kākatīyas they did not mention in their records the Kākatīyas as their overlords. Only the last Agamotukuru epigraph refers to the prosperous reign of Kākatīya Rudramadēvi. This does not however indicate their insubordination or disloyalty. Another noteworthy feature of this subordinate family is that more than one of the brothers or cousins appear to have been vested with full
powers of a ruler at the same time which makes the chronological arrangement of their regnal years very difficult. There seems also a custom among these chiefs to set up inscriptions recording gifts of lands and villages in the names of young princes with all their family titles without using the word Kumāra.

A consolidated genealogical scheme of these Chōda chiefs with their known dates may be shown as follows. Only the members known up to the Mamillapalli epigraph dated 1100 A.D. are shown with their regnal periods whereas the remaining members are simply mentioned as we do not know their dates clearly.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eruva Bhima I (lord of Panugallu)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tonda I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōda Bhima (II) (Obtained Kandurunādu (died in A.D. 1091) from Vikramāditya VI) m. Gaṅgādevī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonda II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallachōda (issued Bullal grant in A.D. 1098)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhima Chōda (III) (A.D. 1105-1159?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Śrīdevi Tondāya?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōkarna Chōda I (died in A.D. 1128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayana Chōda II (A.D. 1136-1176)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhima IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A.D. 1176)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōkarna II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōmanātha-Chōda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayāditya Choda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhimadevāchoda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viramalnāthachōda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmanāthadevachōda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
The region to the west of Anumakonda-vishaya was in those days under the direct control of the Chalukya kings. It was administered by the governors of the rank of Mahamandalesvara with their capital at Kollipaka or Kolanupaka. It was a province of 7000 villages or revenue units. Mahamandalesvara Jagaddева a prince of the Paramara royal family of Malwa was its governor from A.D. 1104 to 1108.

As revealed from his Kolanupaka inscriptions Jagaddева was the son of Udayaditya and grandson of Gondala, the pitriyva or paternal uncle of Bhōja. After Bhōja, his son Jayasimha succeeded to the throne of Malwa in about A.D. 1054. During his reign, the kingdom was invaded by Karna, a Chalukya king of Gujarat. Then Udayaditya with the help of Vikramaditya VI managed to capture the throne and ruled up to A.D. 1081 when his eldest son Lakshnadева succeeded to the throne. Having been much impressed by the good qualities of prince Jagaddева, the Chalukya king Vikramaditya brought him to his court and treated him with fatherly affection. He offered him the governorship of Kollipaka-7000 province as mahamandalesvara and he ruled it only for a short period of about six years from 1104 to 1110. A close examination of the following records of the period of his stay at Kollipaka reveals some interesting developments with regard to his relation to the king and how he was led to a conflict with the Kākatiya chiefs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kolanupaka</td>
<td>March 13, A.D. 1104</td>
<td>Jagadēva appears as Mahāmandalesvara of Kollipāka-7000.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Veaulavada</td>
<td>April 8, A.D. 1106</td>
<td>Jagadēva appears as Mahāmandalesvara.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vemulavada</td>
<td>April 10, A.D. 1106</td>
<td>Kumāra Sōmeśvara Mentioned as such.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sanigaram</td>
<td>Jan. 10, A.D. 1107</td>
<td>Kakatīya Beta III appears as superior to Jagadēva.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vemulavada</td>
<td>April 26, A.D. 1108</td>
<td>Jagadēva mentioned as simple Mahāmandalesvara and no mention of the king; nor dated in C.V.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pavasa</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Mēdarāja's record - no mention of the king.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kolanupaka</td>
<td>A.D. 1110 &amp; 1111 and 1112</td>
<td>Kumāra Sōmeśvara as Mahāmandalesvara of Kollipāka-7000.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jainad</td>
<td>Undated</td>
<td>Jagadēva mentioned as sovereign king.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dongaragaon</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Jagadēva mentioned as independent king.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Medapalli</td>
<td>A.D. 1112</td>
<td>Mēdaraja's son Jagadēva does not mention the king.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During his stay in the Chalukya court Jagaddeva is known from his Kolanupaka record dated A.D., 1106, (No. 2 in the above list) to have defeated the kings of Vēgi, Drāvida, Chakrakūta, Māhira and Ballāla. His victory over Ballāla is described at length in the record which also states that after the military success over the six thousand strong army of the Karnāṭakas he was enjoying the rajya-lakshmi in his capital Kollipakā. His earlier inscription at the same place dated in A.D. 1104 does not refer to these victories, which fact indicates that it was achieved a little before the date of the former record dated A.D. 1106, April 8. Since his undated Jainad epigraph also narrates the same victories it must be a subsequent record.

Now, we come to the Vemulavāda inscription of Kumāra Somesvara (No. 3 in the table) dated just two days after the last mentioned Jagaddēva’s Kolanupaka record dated April 8, A.D. 1106, wherein the prince is simply stated as Kumāra Somesvara and not as mahāmandalesvara which denotes his unofficial visit to the place where Jagaddēva was the official mahāmandalesvara. The next record is that of Sanigaram situated on the way to Vemulavada from Kollipāka. The record refers itself to the prosperous reign of Chalukya Trīhūnavamalladēva and mentions mahāmandalesvara Kākatīya Bētarasa the lord of Anmakundāpura. Then it states that Kondamayya the dandanāyaka of Mahāmandalesvara Jagaddēvarasa made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse that occurred on the 15th day of Māgha, Thursday in the year Vyaya, Śaka 1022, mistake for 1028 (corresponding to A.D. Jan. 10, A.D. 1107) a gift of some land to the god Bhīmēśvaradēva of
Sanigaram included in Sabbinadu. The position of Jagaddēva that is, in relation to that of Beta is not explicit. Perhaps he was holding Kollipāka region-7000 excluding Sanigaram, and its contiguous villages. Kollipāka-7000 was an important province in the Chālukya kingdom administered by the king’s representatives directly. It is also likely that even Vemulavada in Sabbi-1000 and Anumakonda-Vishaya owing to their proximity, were included in that 7000 province of Kollipaka, but the Anumakonda region was bestowed on Kakatiya Prāla I as fief during the time of Trailokyaamalla Sōmeśvara I. Even then they were having Sanigaram group of villages under their hold at evidenced from their inscriptions dated as early as A.D. 1051. But till A.D. 1107, the date of Beta III's record, we do not find their records there. It seems that owing to some reason or other it was attached to Kollipāka unit. But again while Jagaddēva was governing Kollipaka-7000, probably the entire Sabbi-1000 was bestowed on Beta II. The statement of the Padmākshi temple inscription of his son Prāla II, that with the statesmanship of his minister Vaija-dandādhipa Beta III could secure Sabbi-sāvira clearly indicates that Jagaddēva's authority in this region was transferred to Beta. The reason for Kumāra Sōmeśvara's visit to Vemulavāda in the preceding year must have had some connection with this change of territory. Jagaddēva, naturally must have felt unhappy with this. His immediate reaction was his difference with the king. There must have been something else which made the king prefer Beta to Jagaddēva in bestowing Sabbi-1000 on the former; otherwise the king could not be easily influenced by
Beta's minister Vaija. Jagadeva in return, with his disgruntled attitude towards the king went even to the extent setting up an epigraph in A.D. 1108 at Vemulavada without mentioning the Chalukya king as overlord. His Jainad and Dongaragaoon inscriptions also do not mention the king. Some gold coins bearing the legend Jagadeva have been noticed some year back in the Napatpur Museum, which indicate his independent rule. The king Vikramaditya might have even perceived Jagadeva's design of carving a principality of his own extending on either side of the Godavari river which for sometime formed the boundary between Chalukya and Paramara kingdoms. With this suspicion perhaps, the king at once appointed his son Kumara Somesvara as the Governor of Kollipaka and Jagadeva was forced to leave Telingana. This situation helped Beta III in getting back not only the Sanigaram area but even the whole of Sabbimadu.

Being deprived of his position, Jagadeva retaliated against the Kakatiyas making alliance with the Polavasa chief Medaraja. It is worth noting that these chiefs also disregarded the king by not making any reference to the overlord in their records of this period, for example, the Polavasa and Medapalli epigraphs datable to A.D. 1108 and 1112 respectively do not mention the king. Thus it seems quite possible that Jagadeva, conspiring with these chiefs made a severe attack on Anumakonda, the capital of his immediate enemies the Kakatiyas. But he was utterly defeated by the Kakatiya forces led by Beta's son Pröla II which event has been eulogized in the Anumakonda record of Rudradeva. We are not certain whether Beta III was alive at this time or not.
REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. IA. XXXII, pp. 281 ff.
2. EA. II, pp. 39 ff.
5. IAP. Wg., p. 81, lines 13-14
6. Ibid. No. 50 p. 145, lines 83-86
7. SII. X, 262
8. Dr.N.Venkataramanayya, The Chalukyas of Vemulavada, pp. 35-36
   "Eastern Chalukyas of Vemulavada, p. 147
9. Appendix. III lines 13-18
   "Atandeani Bōtta-Bāta-vasudhādhīpu=ākoni
   vanivairīṇa uddhuratamuna jampi= yā koravi-dāsamanandu
   pratisthā saśi . . "
10. IAP. Wg. p. 145
   "yat-sēna-dhvaja-dandāgra-patākābhiḥ=pratarjitaḥ
   drutai Nagati-bhūpālaḥ-palaśanaparī-bhayat||"
11. J.K.Ramayya Pantulu; Śasanapadva manjari Part I, No. 69, v. 4;
    and Bhārati (Telugu), XV, 1, pp. 147 ff.
12. SII. IV, 961
13. IAP. Wg. No. 36
14. Ibid Nos. 43 and 44
15. EA. I pp. 111 ff.
16. IAP. Kn., No. 75
17. Ibid, Wg., No. 21
18. ET. IX, pp. 256 ff.
19. IAP., Wg., No. 26
20. Ibid. Kn., No. 23
21. SII. IV, 1071
22. Vikramāṅkadeva-charitra IV-30
   "Akrānta-ripu-chakrēpa Chakrakōṭa-pataṇ param!"
23. IAP. Wg., Nos. 43 and 44
24. JAHRS. XXXVI-1, Appendix-4
25. RA. IV, pp. 55 ff
26. APAS. 3., No. Ng. 48
27. Ibid., No. Ng. 46
28. Corpus III, p. 114
29. Ibid. II, pp. 105 ff
30. Unpublished
31. APAS. 3, No. Ng. 51
32. JAHRS, XXXVI-1, Appendix 3-1
33. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Peñuru Inscriptions, No. 3
34. JAHRS, op. cit. Ap. 2
35. IA.XI, pp. 9 ff;
   and JAHRS, op. cit. pp. 16 and 17
36. SII, IV, 1107
37. IAP. Kn. No. 24
38. JAHRS op. cit., Ap. 6-A
39. Unpublished
40. B.V. Sastry, Śāsanasamputi, p. 151
41. Ibid. Ap. 6-A
42. Corpus, III, p. 31
43. Ibid. p. 62
44. B.N. Sastry; Op. cit., p.175
45. APAS.3, p.60 lines 24-25
46. Ibid. pp.57-61
47. P.V.P. Sastry, Select Epigraphs of Andhra Pradesh, No.8
48. APAS.3, Kn.6
49. IAP. Kn., No.19 and Bharati (Telugu) Nov.1971, pp.11-13
50. APAS. 3, Kn.5
51. IAP. Kn. No.75
52. P.V.P. Sastry, op.cit., Nos. 9, 10 and 11
53. EI., XXII, pp.54 ff
54. Ibid, XXVI, pp.177 ff
55. IAP. Wg., No. 21
56. EI. IX, p.257-8
57. Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference, Oct.1946 Part III, p.57
58. EI. III, p.304