CHAPTER III - SOURCES

Section I: Archaeological
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   A) Sanskrit
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The principal sources available for a study of Forts and Fortifications of early and medieval Andhra fall under three main categories viz. Archaeological, Literary and Traditional accounts.

SECTION I:
Archaeological:

Under this head come the study of extant monuments i.e. remains of forts and fortresses, such as walls, ramparts, bastions, towers, etc. which provide direct and first-hand information about the complex of forts in general, their characteristic features, shape, lay out and design, besides giving an idea about the methods of their construction. This class of evidence is amply available in Andhra Pradesh, in the form of hill forts, which stand intact till to day, giving glimpses of political and military glory they once enjoyed.

Next to the study of extant remains, comes the evidence supplied by archaeological excavations. The information furnished by archaeological excavations, as in the case of Indus valley sites like Harappa, Mohenzodaro, Kalibangan, and the early historic sites in the Gangetic basin of (Painted Grey) ware culture, in North India, like Kausambi, Ahichatra, Ujjain, and Rajagriha, enable us to trace the antiquity and beginnings of fortification in India, which exist in the form of structural evidences like rampart walls, towers, bastions, gateways etc.
and the materials used to construct them. Unfortunately, information of this class is quite meagre in the case of Andhra Pradesh, excepting at Dharanikota and Nagajunakonda, owing largely to the absence of archaeological excavations conducted at proto and early historic sites in Andhra Pradesh.

The next branch of information, that comes under archaeological sources is epigraphy or study of inscriptions; engraved mostly on copper plates and stone slabs. These inscriptions, while, generally providing information about political, social, religious and economic aspects of history, also contain incidental references, here and there in the prasastis of royal donors, either directly or indirectly to the several cities that were vanquished or reduced which were invariably fortified. Further the epithets or royal titles borne by several kings, recording their achievements of valour, also refer to forts and fortifications, captured or reduced along with their names and the vanquished. Thus, they help us in reconstructing the political accounts of the several forts, besides giving the names of the actual holders of the fort and the area commanded by it, on behalf of the imperial overlords, and also the various attacks made against it by the enemies, thus giving a glimpse into the role of the forts in the military history of the country, as well. In Andhra Pradesh, there are a good number of inscriptions that furnish evidence of this class. Some times, inscriptions are the only guide, through which reliable data
can be gathered about the history of the forts, in the absence of other archaeological evidences like excavated material or extant remains, as in the case of several Sthala durgas or Land Forts and Jala durgas or island Forts, in coastal Andhra, which have suffered destruction in course of time. For instance, any knowledge about the Forts of Vengi, Kudura, Pishtapura, can be gleaned only through the Prakrit and Sanskrit records of the contemporary dynasties like the Śālaṅkāyanas, Ānanda Gōtras, the Vishnukūhṇins etc. and the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The Aihol inscription of Pulakesin II, while referring to his eastern campaign, mentions the capture of the Forts of Pishtapura, modern Pithapuram in East Godavary district and a jala durgā Kupala or Kollēru near Ellūru in West Godavari district. The Addanki inscription of Pandaraṅga of the time of Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III Gunaga, refers to his capture of Bōya Kottama, or the strongholds of Bōyās and the capture of Kaṇḍukūrū which he made as beautiful as Bezawāda. An inscription at Hālegiri in Karnataka, belonging to the time of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, the Western Chālukyan king of Badami, refers to the two forts of Koppapa (Kopbal) and Gutti, (modern Gutti in Anantapur district) in Andhra Pradesh thus pushing back their antiquity to as early as 7th-8th C. A.D. Information about the forts like Bōdhāna, Vemulawāḍa, Kolanupāka, Koravī etc. is available in the various records of the Rashtrakutas, and their subordinates. Similarly the existence of several feudatory
capitals like Tumbalām, Adōni, Hanumakonda etc., is also known through the different records of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Coming to the medieval period, we find copious references, to forts and fortifications of the period, in the several records of the various dynasties, like the eastern Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, Kākatīyas, Reddis, Seunās, the Velamas, Bahamanis, Gajapatis, Vijayanagar and Qutub Shāhi. The Chēbrōlu inscription of Irivabedaṅga Satyāśraya, son of Tailapa II of Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa dated 928 records his title as Dūrṇa Traya malla while referring to his capture and burning of Dannāla and Enamadala, from his camp at Chēbrōlu. Another inscription of the same period, at Bapatla calls his Dandanayaka as "Durgachūrakāra". The political beginnings of the forts of Tumbalām and Adavāni in Sīndavādi 1000 vishaya and the headquarters of a sub-division comprising 500 villages respectively, is known through the records of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana. From the several records of Vikramaditya VI, engraved on the boulders within the fort area of Gutti, we learn of the various commanders of the Fort like Mallidēva, who held the title Dandanāyaka of Gutti. From another inscription at the same place, we hear of an office called Rājādhyaksha stationed at Gutti; probably king's agent. The Tripurāntakam inscription of the same ruler informs that Gōvinda dandanāyaka was the commandent of Kondapalle-300 while his uncle Anahtapāla dandanāyaka was governing Bēṅgi 12000 and Enamadala 6000.
During the Kakatiya period, we find that the Hanumakonda inscription of Rudra, dated A.D.1163-64 mentions an attack against Hanumakonda, by Pāramāra Jaggaḍēva, during the reign of Prola II. The same record also refers to the capture of Vardhamānapuram, in Mahaboobnagar district the capital of the Kandūri Chōla's by Rudra. Similarly, the Tripūrantaka inscription of Kayastha Aṁbadeva ascribes him the titles Giridurga malla, vanadurga dāvana, Jaladurga badabējvalana and sthala-durga Saṁchūrṇa. The Koṅdiparti inscription of the time of Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva, calls his general, Malyāla Chaunda as "Dvīli Ṽuṁṭakāra" which attests evidence to his capture of Divī island, in Krishna district. From the Raichur Fort inscription of the time of Pratāparudra, we learn that Gōna Vithala, the younger brother of Gona-Ganna, captured the forts of Tuṁbuḷam, Mānuva, Hāluva and Ādavāni, along with Rāchūru and constructed the stone Fort at Raichur.

The Drakṣhārāma inscription of Anavota, the successor of Prōlaya, Vēma, ascribes him the title "Dvīli Aṅita" (conqueror of Divi) in A.D.1356. The Anaparti grant of Kumaragiri narrates a series of forts captured by his brother in law Kātaya Vēma during his Kalinga campaign, among which figure Molletidurgam and the forts of Kimmūru, Bendapūḍi, Vajrakottam, Rāmagiri and Vīrakottam.

Lastly, in the Vijayanagar period, we find that the Gutti inscription of Bukka I calls it as the "wheel to naval of sovereignty and "king among Hill Forts". The Śrīsailam record
of Krishna dēvarāya, gives a detailed account of his eastern campaign and mentions a series of forts captured, among which figure, Udayagiri, Addaṅki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nāgarjuna-konda, Taṇḍeṇa, Kēṭavaram etc. The Udayagiri record mentions that he arranged a device called mōnata, and the Chinna Ahobilam record refers to the erection of Nadachapparally, for escalading the forts of Udayagiri and Kondavidu. The Mōpuru inscription of the time of Achyutaraya informs of a levy called “dūrṣa dānapāya nivartana” collected probably for the maintenance of forts.

SECTION II:

Literature:

Under this head come the large number of works produced during different periods, which form the main basis for understanding the concept and system of forts in general, their role in the body politic as a politico-military institution, as described by various contemporary writers. Therefore it is necessary to study the works on polity or rajaniti, the works on architecture-Vāstu and Dhanurvēda or archery. To the first category belong the works like Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, the Niti Sāra of Kāmaṇdaka, the Manusāra, the Šukraṇiti and the Nītivākyamritam of Sōmadēva Sūri. These works generally deal with the institution of Forts as an essential requisite of the state. Similarly, purānas also deal with the subject matter of fortification and assign a place of importance to it by discussing their various kinds, and the equipment required for their maintenance.
The third branch of literary works is vastu or architecture embodied in works like Manasāra, Mayamata, Silpa Ratna and Visvakarma Vāstu; which deal with the general plan, lay out, and shape of forts, besides giving their architectural details. Now let us take up a detailed study of the material provided by the above class of works.

I. *Arthaśāstra of Kautilya:*

It is the earliest extant work on polity dealing with state and Administration. It contains 15 adhikaranas, and 180 Prakaranas, and published for the first time by Sri R. Shamasasrty, in 1908 A.D. Generally it is ascribed to the master statesman, Chāṇakya the political philosopher and guide of Chaṇḍragupta Maurya, and hence dated to 4th C.B.C. Others like Sri R.G.Bhandarkar, Jolly, Winternitz, Hillebrandt, etc. believe it to be of much later date, atleast not earlier than 3-4th C. A.D. What ever it be, regarding the date of composition and authorship, there is no doubt about its being the earliest and the only work of its kind available in its entirety.

In this, Kautilya, devotes an entire chapter, entitled Durgavidhāna in chapter III Book II, discussing the various aspects of the fort like its site, lay out, design, kinds of forts etc. In another chapter called 'Durga nīvāsanā', he discusses the various buildings to be erected in the fort, the roads to be laid out and the various architectural parts of
the fort. In the chapter on 'Durga lambhāpavah' he enumerates the various methods of attack and capture of a fort, and the precautions to be taken while laying siege to a fort.

2. Mitisāra of Kāmaṇḍaka: According to its editor Sri T. Ganapati Sastrī, it is anterior to 6th C. A.D. and an epitome of the previous work i.e. Arthasastra. It abridges the former's 180 chapters in to a mere 36. Like its predecessor, it also devotes the 7th prakaraṇa of the 4th canto, for a discussion of the subject matter of forts.

3. Sukranitisāra: is said to have been composed by sage Sukrāchārya the guru of the asuras or demons. This also, like the Mitisāra, draws material from the same source i.e. Arthasastra and deals with the subject of polity in 5 chapters. It is believed to belong to 10th C. A.D. according to Sri P. K. Acharya. In chapter IV section VI it deals with forts and fortresses. It was at one time believed to belong to 10th C. A.D. But recent studies of Lallanji Gopal proved it to be as late as 19th C.

4. Mitivyākyāmritam of Sōmadeva Sūrī: belongs to 10th C. A.D. as the author was the court poet of Vēmulavāga Chālukyas. Deals with the system of Forts under the title Janapada Samuddēsah.

5. Mānasōllēsa or Abhilashitārtha Chīṭāmāni: An anthology on architecture, sculpture and painting, compiled by Sōmeśvara III Bhūlēkamalla, the Western Chālukya king of Kalyāna, who ruled between 1128-29 A.D. to 1138. It consists of 5 prakaraṇas with 20 chapters in each. In the 2nd prakaraṇa is treated the subject
of polity, under 7 heads each describing separately the 7 Limbs of the State. According to its editor, it is also more or less a copy of the Arthasastra.  

After the literature on polity, come the Purānas, which though, are encyclopaedic works dealing with multitudinous topics, also deal with forts and fortifications while treating the subject matter of king and his duties. Of the 18 Purānas, only 5 according to Pargiter (viz) the Matsya, Vāyu, Bhavishya, and Brahmāṇḍa, were first collected about or seen after the middle of 3rd C. A.D. According to Hazra, the date of the Purāṇas in general ranges between 3rd-8th C. A.D. while they are not later than 10th C. A.D. for, Alberuni mentions all of them.  

Sri H.H.Wilson, the pioneer in Purānic studies, is also of the opinion that they are not later than 10th C. A.D. and not earlier than 7th-8th C. A.D.  

Among them, only the Matsya, Vāyu, Mārkandēya, Agni and Vishnu Dharmottara provide us information.

6. Matsya: In chapter XXVII, it enumerates the various kinds of forts, and also gives a list of the essential equipment required for the maintenance of a fort and even prescribes the qualifications of the commandant or durgadhyakasha.

7. Mārkandēya: In chapter XLIX it mentions 4 kinds of forts.

8. Agni Purāṇa: In chapter entitled Durga Sampatti, 221 it describes the various kinds of forts, the medicinal plants or herbs required and the temples to be erected etc.
9. *Vishnu Dharmottara* is a work essentially on Fine Arts, i.e. iconography, dance, music and painting. Assigned to the period between the later half of 6th and 1st half of 7th C. A.D. It consists of 3 khandas with 269, 183 and 355 adhyāyas respectively. The second khanda deals with Rājanīti. The 26th chapter in it is entitled Durga Saṁpatti Varpanā, describing the various kinds of forts, their characteristic features, their lay out or plan, the disposition of the various structures, and the weapons to be possessed etc.

Next to the Purānic literature come the Dharmāśāstras, among which, *Manusmriti* deserves mention. It is the earliest legal code in India. It is generally regarded to belong to a date between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. In chapter VII and IX it deals with the king and his duties, and deals with the forts as an essential requisite for a king.

After the literature on polity and Puranas, we shall now proceed to examine the other class of literature (viz) architecture or vāstu. To this class belong the Mānasāra, Mayamata, the Viśvakarma Vāstu, the ŚilpaRatna etc., which deal with the general shapes, lay out and design of forts.

10. Mānasāra: Literally speaking it is the Science of Measurements. It is said to have been compiled by Sage Manasara. It contains 70 adhyāyas or chapters and the 7th deals with the ground plan of the villages, towns, and cities. According to the editor "it is the oldest, complete, and probably the extant scientific record". He dates it between Matsya Purāṇa (450 A.D.) and Brihat Saṁhitā.
(550 A.D.). Sri Anantalwar in his Indian architecture calls it a "Whole treatise".58

11. Mayamata\(^{59}\) Ranks next to Mānasāra. It is attributed to sage Gannamāchārya. In respect of chapters, sequence and contents, both are identical. It describes 5 types of Forts in chapter IX and their sizes.

12. Visvakarma Vāstu\(^{60}\) In chapter X it deals with the construction of Forts and their various kinds, which, according to it are 12 in number.

13. Silpa Ratna: It is a 16th C. work.

Telugu literature:

Having examined the various classes of works that deal with the subject of fortification, available in Sanskrit language, we shall now take up for study the different works in contemporary Telugu literature. The value of these works lies not only in their contemporaneity but also they supply information about the nature of forts that flourished during the period, the methods of attack and defence, and the various weapons used. To this class belong the works like Sakala Nīti Sammatamu, of Madiki Śiṅgana, Kṛṣṭābhārāmaṇ of Vallabharāya, Būkmaṅgada charitra of Praudha Kavi Mallana, the Pratapacharitra of Ekāmaranātha, the Siddhāśvara charitra of Kāśe Sarvappa, the Bhāskara Rāmāyana of Rāyana Bhāskara, the Harivāmaṇ of Eṟṟa Pṛegraḍa, the Uttara Harivāmaṇ of Nāchana Sōma, Amuktamālyada of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and the Rāyavāchakam etc.
1. **Sakalanīti Sammatamu** is an anthology on polity it was composed by Madiki Singana, who flourished in 14th C. at Ramagiri in Karimnagar district. It was first edited by M. Ramakrishna-kavi. It cites verses from earlier works like Muddrāmātyamu Mīti Sāra, Pañchatantra, Purusharathasañamu of Pratāpa Rudra, Mītibhuṣaṇa of Baddena, Kāmaṇḍaka Mīti Tārāvali, Kūmāra Saṁbhaṣaṇa and Pañama puranam, some of which are not available in original today. Singana dedicated his work to Kandaya, his patron, who was a minister of Muppa or Muppidi nāyaka who ruled Sabbinādu with Rāmagiri as capital. It devotes a complete chapter, entitled "Durgā Saṁrakšaṇamu" dealing with their nature classification and measures for protection.

2. **Krīdābhīrāma** is a translation of Premābhīrāma of Rāvipāti Tripuraṇātaka written in Sanskrit. There are two schools of thought about the author of its translation. Sri V. Prabhakara Sastri, ascribes it to Śrīnātha, whereas Sri M. Ramakrishna Kavi believes it to have been translated by Vinukonda Vallabharāya. It contains a vivid description of Ekaśilānagara or Warangal.

3. **Rukmēṇḍaga Charitra** is written by Praudha Kavi Mallana. It contains a descriptive account of the fort, its various parts and the measures to be taken for its protection.

4. **Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇamu** is written by Hulakki Bhāskara, towards the end of 14th C. It contains a description of the Fort of Läńka, incidentally giving a picture of the contemporary
Forts, and the methods of attack etc.

5. **Harivaṣamaṇa** Written by Ėrrā Preggādu, the last among the triad of Telugu literature. He flourished in the count of Anavēma of Koṇḍāvīdu. It describes the forts of Mathura, and Dwaraka, and the attack by Jarā Sandha against them.

6. **Uttara Harivaṣamaṇa** Written by Nāchana Sōma a contemporary of Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar, according to the Tudimuladinn inscription in Kurnool district. It contains a good example of an ideal fort, describing in detail the measures to be taken for protecting it against attack and siege.

7. **Amuktamālava** Written by Sri Krishnadēvarāya, it describes his various military exploits and the forts he captured.

8. **Pratāpaçaritra** is a 16th C. work of Ekāmranātha in prose. It contains an account of the reign of the last Kakatiya king Pratāparudra and describes the forts of Hanumakonda and Warangal, and gives a list of various officers, and commanders, that were in charge of the defence of the capital, their pay etc.

9. **Pratāpaçaritra** is a 17th C. chronicle in prose containing the various accounts of Krishnadēvarāya's campaigns. Composed by the Sthānapati of Viśvanāthanāyaka, the governor of Madhura. It furnishes an account of Krishnadēvarāya's political ideas and the measures he took to administer the kingdom.

10. ** Siddhēsvara Charitra** of Kaśe Sarvappa is a copy of Pratāpa charitra written in verse.
Muslim Sources:

Next to the information supplied by Sanskrit and Telugu works, come the writings of Muslim historians. The value of these writings is that they provide information about contemporary events and wars, and the attacks made against several forts.

1. **Amīr Khusru**'s Tārikh-i-Alai, or Khazāh ul Futuh was a contemporary of Allauddin Khalji. He gives a descriptive account of his master's campaigns in the Deccan, and his attacks against Warangal. It enables us to know the details of the attack against Warangal and the manner in which it offered resistance.

2. **Futuh-as-Salātin of Isāmu**: He was a contemporary of Md. Bīn Tughlaq. He gives an eye-witness account of the events leading to the independence of Deccan from Tughlaq Yoke.

3. **Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi by Zia-ud-Dīn Bārni**: He flourished during the time of Mīr Bīn Tughlaq and his son Firūz Tughlaq. He draws his material mostly from Amīr Khusru. His account is useful to understand the details about the siege of Warangal by Mīr Bīn Tughlaq.

4. **Fūrhan-i-Māsir by Ali Bīn-Asīr Ullāh Tābā Tabāi**: It is essentially an account of the history of Nizām Shāhi Dynasty of Ahmadnagar. Written in 1591 A.D. it contains, events pertaining to Bahmani kingdom since its inception, and other contemporaneous events.

5. **Tārikh-i-Ferishtā**: Written by Mīr Khasim Hindu Shāh Ferishtā in 1611 A.D. it contains mainly an account of the Adil Shāhis of Bījāpur. However, it gives a detailed account, about other political and military events of the entire Deccan.
Although his account is said to be full of controversies, yet it is the only source, through which one can get some information, in the absence of material available from other sources. Sometimes, he displays conspicuous ignorance and lack of knowledge about contemporary names of places and persons, about which he writes, thus making it a work of doubtful credibility. His text was edited by Briggs and published in 2 Volumes in 1831-32.

Foreign Traveller's Account:

Under this head come the accounts of Greek travellers like Megasthenes, Pliny, Arrian, Strabo etc. who visited India in the ancient period in the pre and post Christian era. Similarly the writings of Fāhien and Hieun Tsāng, the Chinese travellers, are of invaluable help to understand the contemporary political events. In the medieval period, these sources consist mostly in the travelogues of Marco Polo,77 Abdur Razāk78 the Persian ambassador to Vijayanagar, and the Portuguese travellers Domingo Paes79 and Muniz80, who left vivid accounts of the city of Vijayanagar and the various military events of the time of Krishnadevarāya in 16th Century.

Similarly the writings of French traveller Jean Baptiste Tavenier81, who visited Deccan and Madras Presidency in the 17th century is also useful, for he visited Gandikota, at the time of its capture by Mirjumla in 1649-50 A.D. and wrote a vivid account of the fort.
Traditional Accounts:

Embodied in village Kaifiyats or records (dandakavile) Local Records which contain the various events pertaining to the village. They were first collected and preserved by Col. Mackenzie in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, and later re-edited as Local Records by C.P.Brown. They number in all about 1568, in different Languages, as Telugu, Tamil, Sanskrit, Canarese, Persian, Arabic, Malayalam, Oriya etc. These are recently edited by Sri T.V.Mahalingam with a brief summary of each and published by Madras University in 1976 in two volumes. The value of these records, is that they have a bearing on history, ethnology, literature, and tradition, chiefly pertaining to the region south of Krishna. Although the veracity of these accounts is doubtful, yet they provide missing links where inscriptions and other reliable sources fail us.

Thus an attempt is made to utilise and assess all the information contained in these sources in the following study of the various aspects of forts in early and medieval Andhra.
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3. IAR 1960-61, pp.31-32
5. Wheeler, R.E.M. "Early India and Pakistan" p.128
6. IAR 1957-58 p.34
7. *ASI AR* 1905-06 pp.88-89
8. IAR 1962-63 p.1
10. Identical with modern Peda Vegi, situated near Ellore in West Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh
11. Identical with Kodoura of Ptolemy modern Koduru near Masulipatam in Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh
12. Corresponds to modern Pithapuram in East Godavari district. It formed part of southern Kalinga in ancient times.
13. Fleet, *Corpus Ins. Ind.* III, pp. 6 ff
14. *EI*, VI pp.4-5
17. Identical with ancient Potali, Potana, Paudanya and Bahudhanya of Jataka stories and medieval inscriptions, situated in modern Nizamabad district, Andhra Pradesh.
18. A place of the same name referred to as Lemulavāda in inscriptions. It was the capital of the Vemulavāda Chālukyas, feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh.
20. Identical with modern Koovavil, in Mulug taluk of Warangal district, Andhra Pradesh and headquarters of the Mudugonda Chalukyas another feudatory family of the Eastern Chalukyas.

21. Modern Pedda Tumbalam, in Adoni taluk of Kurnool district. It was the headquarters of Singhavadi 1000 vishaya a territorial division of the western Chalukyas of Kalyana, which included present Adoni taluk of Kurnool district and Gutti taluk of Anantapur district.

22. A place of the same name and the headquarters of a taluk in present Kurnool district. Referred to as Adavani in inscriptions, it was the headquarters of a group of 500 villages.


24. SII, VI No. 102

25. SII, VI, No.197 ARE 234 of 1397


27. SII, VIII No.364, ARE 24A of 1903

28. SII, VIII, No.368 ARE 88 of 1903

29. SII, IX, Pt. I No.213 ARE 255 of 1905 XI, IX 261

30. IAP Vg. No.36, APARE 320 of 1965

31. SII, X LA XI 96 ff

32. IAP Vg. No.48

33. IAP Vg. No.3

34. APAS No.3, pp.101-102

35. SII, IV No.1387

36. Sarma M.S. "History of the Reddi kingdoms" p.130

37. Situated in the Yeleswaram division of East Godavary district Andhra Pradesh.
38. Lies in Peddapuram taluk of the East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh.

39. Lies in Tuni taluk of East Godavari district

40. Identified with Vajraghada in Vizag district. See Sarma, M.S. op.cit. p.131

41. Situated in the upper division of Jeypore estate, Vizag district.

42. Identified with Viraghattam of Vizag district. Here lies an old mud fort. See Sarma M.S. op.cit.

43. SII, I, p.167

44. SII, XVI, No.52 ARE 18 of 1915

45. NDI, III U.40

46. SII, XVI No.53 ARE 64 of 1915

47. Ibid No.91 ARE 499 of 1906

48. Shama sastry R. "Artha Sāstra of Kautilya" preface p.VI

49. The Age of Imperial Unity p.285, F.n. 2

50. Sarcar B.S. "Sukraniti"

51. Shama sastry R. "Abhilashitarthachintāmani" Mysore 1926

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67. Ibid,
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79. Ibid
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