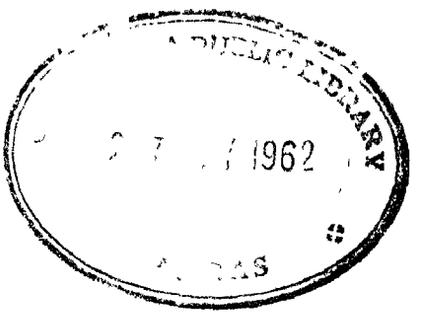
ANDHRA PRADESH GOVERNMENT
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES
No. 6

COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF ANDHRA PRADESH GOVERNMENT MUSEUM HYDERABAD

(Vol. I)

By

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FOREWORD

The present publication on the copper plate inscriptions of the Hyderabad Museum is the sixth publication of the Department of Archaeology. In the last two years, the Department has brought out six publications in the reorganised archaeological series, and an equal number in the reorganised Museum series of the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

The Archaeological Department and the Archaeological Museum of the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad had a very rich collection of copper plate epigraphs. In addition, several new copper plate grants were acquired by me in the last two years for the State Museum. This material was lying unexamined and unpublished and many visitors to the Museum expressed the hope, that the Department would edit and publish these plates, so that the people of Andhra Pradesh, may be enabled to know their contents and the history connected with them. It was as a result of this persistent public demand, that I took upon myself, the task of editing the copper plate inscriptions in the Hyderabad Museum, and the present publication is the first volume thereof. It is expected to bring out a second volume covering the rest of the other copper plates in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum in the next year. In addition to the present volume, a valuable monograph on a *Vishṇukundin* grant by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Government of India, Madras is under print, and will be out in a few weeks. Another separate publication on the Eastern *Chālukyan* grants by Dr. M. Venkataramayya, M.A., M.Litt., Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Government of India, Visakhapatnam is under preparation, and will be published soon.

The present volume contains fourteen copper plate grants. These include grants by the *Pallavas*, the Western *Chālukyas* of *Bādāmi* and *Kalyāṇi*, the *Kākatīyas*, the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍī* kings and the Eastern *Gāngās* of *Kalinga*. Of the fourteen grants, three grants of the Western *Chālukyas* of *Bādāmi* have already been published elsewhere. But they have been included in this volume in order to make the volume complete. The rest of the grants are being published for the first time.

The volume presents many interesting grants. The *Vēsanta* grant of *Simhavarma* of the *Pallavas*, the *Goravankapalli* plates of *Rājarudra*, the *Ālapādu* plates of *Yellaṇadēva* and the *Kaṭṭucheruvu* plates of *Harivarma* are very interesting records, and raise several problems of Andhra history. An attempt has been made in this book to deal with these.

The book is intended for the general reader. I have always believed, that archaeological and historical studies, should be presented in such a manner, as to make the general reader take a keen interest in them. Otherwise, the result would be a closed book known and circulated only among a small coterie of specialists in the field. Since the book is intended for the general reader, I have added a brief chapter on the political history of each of the dynasties of Andhra that are dealt

with in this volume, so that the actual grants could be better appreciated in the light of their historical setting. I have not added a separate translation at the end of the text as is usually done, but have incorporated in the body of the chapter itself, a brief description of the details mentioned in the grant. This has been done, since generally translations at the end of the text are rarely looked into.

I have to record with great pleasure my sense of deep gratitude to the many friends who have helped me in the preparation of this volume. Of them special mention must be made of Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma, Lecturer in Epigraphy and Numismatics, Andhra University and Sri K. Lakshmana Sastry, Special Officer for Sanskrit studies, Government of Andhra Pradesh. Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma has taken a keen and abiding interest in this work, and inspite of his old age, failing health, and his other pre-occupations in the University, he has been kind enough to go through the text in manuscript, and offer many useful and valuable suggestions. He has also kindly given a preface for the work. I am deeply grateful to him for this. Sri Lakshmana Sastry, Special Officer for Sanskrit studies, is a well-known scholar in Sanskrit, combining in himself the depth and profundity usually found in Sanskrit scholars brought up in the tradit.onal way, with the critic acumen of a modern scholar. He has been my good friend for a number of years, and it has personally been a pleasure and delight for me, to go through the Sanskrit texts of the grants with him. He has offered useful and valuable suggestions about many intricate and difficult points of Sanskrit grammer and poetry, and the book is the richer for it. I have very great pleasure in recording my sense of gratitude to him.

I am also deeply grateful to J. P. L. Gwynn Esq., I.C.S., Secretary to Government, Education Department for the consistent encouragement that he has given me in the discharge of my duties as Director of Archaeology and especially in the field of publications.

My thanks are also due to all the members of my staff who have helped me in the preparation of this book. I must make special mention of Sri P. Parabrahma Sastry and Kumari G. Lalita, M.A., who have helped me in preparing the manuscript and in correcting the proofs.

My thanks are also due to Sri G. Sivaramamurthy, B.A., my stenographer who has patiently taken down the entire work in shorthand and typed it neatly and efficiently.

I have dedicated this work in three Sanskrit verses, as a mark of my respect and devotion, to *Jagadguru Śrī Śankarāchārya* of *Śri Kānchi Kāmakōṭi Pīṭham*, who has been my Guru and God, and to whose grace I owe everything that I cherish and value deeply in this life. This dedication has been made purely in my personal and individual capacity.

My special thanks are due to the Ajanta Printers who have printed this book so neatly and efficiently in such a short time. Its managing partners Messrs N.C.S. Venkatachari and N.C.S. Parthasarathy are themselves scholars, and the keen interest they took in printing this volume has greatly lightened my work. The book has been given an excellent get up and this is due mainly to their efforts.

Hyderabad-Dn.
1-2-1962

N. Ramesan



PREFACE

Sri N. Ramesan, M.A., I.A.S., Director of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh, has requested me to write a few lines of introduction to this publication by him. Though this work, owing to its intrinsic merit, needs no such preface at all, still I could not but accede to his request, having such high regard for him, and for the excellent work that he has been doing as Director of the State Department of Archaeology. I deem it a pleasure and a privilege to do his bidding.

The different publications relating to Epigraphy, Numismatics etc., which Sri N. Ramesan has brought out within a very short period ever since he took charge of the Department, bear eloquent testimony to his dynamic energy and to his immense interest in Archaeology and especially in the field of Epigraphy and Numismatics. That he is a sound Sanskrit scholar and a lover of chaste Sanskrit poetry, is evident from his writings contained in this work and from his dedicatory verses in Sanskrit in *Sragdhara* metre. Epigraphy is his main hobby. He is a zealous hunter after copper-plate records. Had it not been for his interest in Epigraphy, such a good number of copper-plate grants, as has been published in this volume, would not have been available to scholars.

The fourteen copper-plate grants discussed in this volume, have been ably edited and published. Some of these have been lying in the Department from a long time, and some, acquired by it. It is a pity that the original plates of a few very important records are lost, and no information as to when and where they were found, is available. Fortunately for us, the loss of the original plates is however to a certain extent compensated by the photographs preserved in the Department which happen to be the only available source to know the existence of the originals.

The records published in this volume belong to the *Bādāmi Chālukya*, the *Kalyāṇi Chālukya*, the Eastern *Gānga*, the *Kākatīya*, the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍi*, and the *Pallava* dynasties. Sri N. Ramesan has also given a short account of the history of each dynasty to which the copper-plates belongs, as a back-ground for a better understanding of the plates by the readers. He has also discussed elaborately, every point in the grants worth noting, having in view, the general reader.

There are some important and interesting plates in this collection.

Of such important plates the *Māruṭuru* grant of *Satyāśraya Pṛithivī Vallabha Pulakēśin-II* is one. This grant gives us to understand that *Pulakēśin-II*, whose date of accession is calculated to be 609-10 AD., conquered *Pishṭhapura* as early as the 8th year of his rule, which is the date of the record. This record raises many an important problem and is an exceedingly interesting one.

Another interesting record in this collection is the *Kaṭṭucheruvu* grant of *Harivarma*, son of *Pṛithivīmūla*. So far only one grant of *Pṛithivīmūla* the Godavary plates (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol.XVI, pp. 114 ff), has come to light. This is his second record. Though the donor of this record is *Harivarma*, he obtains permission to make the grant from his father who was the reigning king.

This record newly brings to light the existence of a Buddhist settlement in the East Godavari district, which may be probably located at *Aduṛṛu* of the East Godavari District.

The third interesting record in this volume is *Rājarudra's Goṛavankapalli* grant. *Rājarudra*, one of the chiefs of the *Mahāsāmanta* family, was a vassal of *Kumāra Rudradēva*, the last king of the *Kākatīya* line. It is interesting to note that some of the *Kākatīya* vassals also issued copper-plate grants registering their gifts, a custom which is rarely found in the Andhra country during the medieval period.

There is yet another grant, the *Ālapādu* plates of *Yellaṇadēva*. This record poses a problem in *Kākatīya* history, which with the materials now available, is hard to solve. *Yellaṇadēva* was a contemporary of queen *Rudramadēvi* daughter of *Kākati Gaṇapatidēva*, and claims to have been the husband of a daughter of the queen. *Yellaṇadēva* or any of his predecessors mentioned in the grant, do not find mention in any of the inscriptions of the *Kākatīya* period.

The publication is a very useful addition to the Indian Epigraphical literature and serves as an important source book for the reconstruction, particularly of the history of the Deccan.

I heartily congratulate Sri N. Ramesan, M.A., I.A.S., for bringing out this excellent production, and for the valuable work that he has been doing in the field of Andhra History as the Director of Archaeology for the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Andhra University,
Waltair,
24th Nov., 1961.

M. Somasekhara Sarma,
Lecturer in Epigraphy & Numismatics.

DEDICATION BY THE AUTHOR

समर्पणम्

जीवन्मुक्तो जगत्यां निजनियमतपश्शक्तितः पूजनीयः
सद्धर्मस्योद्दिधीर्षुः कलियुगजनुषां भाग्यतो भासते यः ।
श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटीगुरुरपि च तदध्यास्यमानं हि पीठम्
धाम्नाऽन्योन्यं द्वयं तत् प्रथयति नितरां नैतदन्यत्र दृष्टम् ॥१॥

आचार्यस्यांघ्रिपद्मद्वय अतिविनयेनातिभक्त्याऽर्पितं माम्
अङ्गीकृत्यान्वगृह्णात् प्रशिथिलमनसं बोधयित्वा स सत्यम् ।
यस्माल्लोके दुरापां गुरुवरकरुणां प्राप्तवानस्मि धन्यः
तस्मात्तामेव दैवं बलमिति कलये दुर्विधीन्मे विजेतुम् ॥२॥

सद्ज्ञानानन्दभासे प्रविमलतपसे मद्गुरुस्वामिनेऽहम्
अल्पोऽल्पार्थामिहैनां निजकृतिमुपदां कर्तुमर्हः कथं स्याम् ।
यद्यप्येवं तदीयस्समजनिषि जनन्यात्मजन्यायतोऽयम्
क्षान्त्या स्वीकृत्य मद्दुष्कृतमथ सुकृतं रक्षतान्मामितीडे ॥३॥

N. Ramesan.

1.2.62.

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SECTION I

THE WESTERN *CHĀLUKYĀS* OF *BĀDĀMI*

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CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WESTERN *CHĀLUKYAN* DYNASTY OF *BĀDĀMI*

1. INTRODUCTORY

The Western *Chālukyan* dynasty, with its headquarters at *Bādāmi*, covered a period of nearly two centuries from the 6th to the 8th century A. D. With the advent of these kings we enter upon fairly well chronicled dates and chronologies. Before the Western *Chālukyans* of *Bādāmi* established themselves, the other mighty empire that ruled over the Deccan, and also extended its power far beyond its frontiers was the great *Śātavāhana* dynasty, which ruled for a period of nearly four centuries. With the downfall of the *Śatāvāhanās*, smaller dynasties sprang up here and there, like the *Ikshvākus* of the *Vijayapuri*, the *Kadaṁbās*, the early *Prākṛit Pallavās* of the Guntur region etc. It was not until the time of the Western *Chālukyan* kings, and especially till the time of *Pulakēśin-II* who was the most famous king of this line of kings, that political integration was once again established in the Deccan.

2. THE THREE BRANCHES OF THE *CHĀLUKYAN* LINE OF KINGS

Even for the history of the Western *Chālukyan* dynasty of *Bādāmi*, we have to rely mainly upon the kind of evidence that is available to us for writing the history of any other line of kings in India viz. inscriptions, copper plate grants and things like it. The Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi* ruled for a period of two centuries from circa 544 A.D. to circa 755 A.D. and had a list of nine kings. After the fall of the Western *Chlāukyās* of *Bādāmi*, the *Rāshṭrakūṭās* asserted their power, and were ruling from *Mālkhēd* or *Mānyakhēta* which was their capital, for a period of nearly two centuries. After them, the Western *Chālukyas* who were continuing to rule, as minor fudatories under the *Rāshṭrakūṭās*, reasserted their independence and also their sovereignty, and established a mighty kingdom with *Kalyāni* as their capital. This second line of Western *Chālukyās* is known as the Western *Chālukyas* of *Kalyāṇi*. During the reign of *Pulkēśin-II*, he established his brother *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana*, who was also otherwise known as *Vishamasiddhi* in the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh with headquarters at *Pishṭapuraka* or the modern *Piṭhāpūr* round about 624 A. D. *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* thus became the first ruler of what is known as the Eastern *Chālukyan* line of kings of Andhra Pradesh. This line held sway

uninterruptedly for a period of nearly four centuries, and there was also much contact between them and the *Chōlas* of the south both by ties of marriage and otherwise. Thus the *Chālukyan* dynasty that started at *Bādāmi* had three branches. The first was the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi*, the second was the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi* which rose to power nearly two centuries after the reign of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi* came to an end, and the third was the Eastern *Chālukyās* of *Vēṅgi*, who started their reign with *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana*, and who ruled for a period of four centuries uninterruptedly the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh.

The first king of the Western *Chālukyan* dynasty of *Bādāmi* is said to have established his power somewhere in the year 550 A. D. Our main source of information for the history of the Western *Chālukyās* is the inscriptions which are found engraved on stones as well as on copper plates. The inscriptions of the *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi* would be about thirty or forty while the inscriptions of the Eastern *Chālukyās* of *Vēṅgi* are many more. As regards the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi* there are a good number of lithic records as well as a few copper plates. There is also the great literary work *Vikramānkadēva Charita* by the great sanskrit poet *Bilhaṇa* which is a biography of *Vikramāditya-VI* of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi*.

3. THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD *CHĀLUKYA*

The word *Chālukya* seems to have been derived from the word *Chālkya* which was the original form of the dynastic name. *Khaṇḍa Chalīki Remmaṇaka* or *Remmaṇaka* son of *Khaṇḍa Chalīki* of one of the *Nāgārjunakonda* inscriptions[1] who is described there as *Mahāsenāpathi* and *Mahā Talavara* is the earliest reference to the word *Chalīki*. But it is difficult to identify him as belonging to the *Chālukya* clan, since the *Chālukyās* have described themselves as *Hārītiputrās*, where as *Khaṇḍa Chalīki Remmaṇaka* is stated to be a *Vāśishṭhīputra*. *Chālukyās* like the *Chūtas* and the *Kadaṁbās* were an indigenous tribe which rose to importance in the later *Śātavāhana* period, and who asserted their independence after the downfall of the *Śātavāhana* empire. In one of the inscriptions of *Pulakēśin-II* being edited in this volume, a village that was granted by *Pulakēśin-II* is said to be situated in the *Chālukya Vishaya*. It is therefore clear that the original word *Chālukya* was applied to a territorial division or a *Vishaya* of a kingdom. Like the *Pūgiyās*, the *Hiraṇyakās*, and the *Dhanakas* of the *Ikshvāku* period, the territorial division came to be known as *Chālukya*, after the *Chālukyan* clan. The provenence of that grant and also the other factors mentioned while editing it, clearly prove, that this *Chālukya Vishaya* must have been somewhere in the Ceded districts of Andhra Pradesh including perhaps parts of the Mahaboobnagar district. Hence the *Chālukyās* were therefore originally residents of this area.

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1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XX, 18, B, 4.

4. THE ORIGIN OF THE *CHĀLUKYAN* KINGS

At *Bādāmi* there is an inscription[1] dated 578 A.D. which is the earliest record which gives the family legend of the *Chālukyās*. It is said that the *Chālukyās* were worshippers of the feet of the sacred Lord *Swāmi* or *Swāmi Mahāsēna* or Lord *Kārtikēya*, and belonged to *Mānavyāsa Gōtra* and had themselves purified by the performance of several *Yagṇas* like the *Agnishṭōma*, the *Agnichayana*, the *Vājapēya*, the *Pouṇḍarīka*, the *Bahusuvarṇa* and the *Aśvamēdha* etc. This legend which is the earliest *Chālukyan* legend was later on embellished in course of time, and after a lapse of some years, a standard form of *Praśasti* was established for the *Chālukyās* which remained unchanged. The *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription of 672 A.D.[2] included a whole line from the *Raghuvamśa* of *Kālidāsa*. The Hyderabad grant of *Pulakēśin-II*[3] gives the information that the family of the *Chālukyās* was nourished by the *Saptamātṛikās*, or the seven Mothers, and that they acquired great merit and prosperity, by the protection of Lord *Kārtikēya* and that they obtained the *varāha Lāñchana* or the boar crest by the divine favour and grace of Lord *Narāyaṇa*. Perhaps the ancestors of the *Chālukyās* were feudatories of *Śātavāhanās* and *Ikshvākus* who were ruling the territory belonging to the northern Ceded districts and parts of Mahaboobnagar district called the *Chālukya Vishaya*, and later on, in course of time rose to great eminence.

A brief glimpse of the reign of each king is given below and it should be borne in mind, that the dates given are approximate.

5. *PULAKĒŚIN—I* (544 A D. — 566 A.D.)

The earliest king of the Western *Chālukyan* dynasty was *Pulakēśin–I*. Some of the inscriptions of *Pulakēśin–I* refer to his father *Raṇa Rāga* and to his grandfather *Jayasimha*. It was *Pulakēśin–I* who first established the kingdom of the Western *Chālukyās* and this was acknowledged by his sons *Kīrtivarma-I* and *Mangalēśa*. *Kīrtivarma* defeated the *Kadaṁbās* of *Banavāsi*, the *Mauryas* of the *Konkan*, and the *Nālas* of an unknown place. *Mangalēśa* added to this, by an expedition in the north till he was stopped by the rulers of *Valabhi* near *Gujarāt*. *Pulakēśin-I* had the *Birudās* of '*Satyāśraya*' and '*Raṇavikrama*'. The *Mahā Kuṭa* Pillar inscription[4] gives him the *Biruda* '*Sri Pṛithvī Vallabha*' but the famous *Aihōle* inscription[5] gives him the *Biruda* of '*Srī Vallabha*' only. From the *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription it is clear that the name of the queen consort was '*Durlabha Dēvi*' of the *Bāṭpurā* family.

6. *KĪRTIVARMA-I* (566 A. D. — 597 A. D.)

Pulakēśin-I was succeeded by his eldest son *Kīrtivarma-I* who came to the throne in

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1. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, p. 363.
2. Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, p. 18.
3. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, p. 72.
4. Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, p. 18.
5. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII. p. 237.

566-67 A.D. The 12th regnal year of this king fall in Saka 500 or 578 A.D. according to the *Bādāmi* cave inscriptions[1] and hence his date of accession can be fixed at 566 A.D. - 567 A.D. From the *Chiplun* grant of *Pulakēśin-II*[2] we learn that his queen was a sister of *Rajā 'Srī Vallabha Sēvānanda'* of the *Sēndraka* family, though her name is not known. The same record describes him as the first creator of *Vātāpi*, or the modern *Bādāmi*. The *Mahā Kūṭa* Pillar inscription[3] gives a large list of kingdoms conquered by him viz. *Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭura, Magadha, Mādraka Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, Mūshaka, Pāṅḍya, Dramilā, Chōḷa, Ālūpu, Vaijayanti* etc. The only record of his time is the inscription[3] in the verandah of the *Vishnu* cave at *Bādāmi* which says that his younger brother *Mangalēśa* on the occasion of the installation of the image of Lord *Vishnu* on the above date, granted gifts to Brahmins, and endowed the temple with a village called *Lanjīśwara* which is the modern *Nandikeśwara* close to *Bādāmi*.

7. *MANGALĒŚA* (597 A.D. — 610 A.D.)

Kīrtivarma-I was succeeded by his younger brother *Mangalēśa* in A.D. 597 or 98 A.D. as his son who became very famous later as *Pulakēśin-II* was a minor. It was during his reign that the conquest of *Kālachūris* and the *Rēvatī Dvīpa* happened. He had the titles *Raṇavikrānta, Pṛithvī Vallabha* and *Parama Bhāgavata*. He was a great builder and was responsible for the construction of the *Mahāvīshnu Gṛiha* at *Bādāmi* which is a masterpiece of workmanship. His reign closed with a certain amount of dynastic disorder since there was some struggle between him and *Pulakēśin-II* probably due to the fact that *Maṅgalēśa* tried to secure the throne for his own son and not to hand it over to the rightful claimant viz. *Pulakēśin-II*. What exactly happened is not easy to determine, since the *Aihōle* inscription[4] which is a famous historical inscription of the Western *Chālukyās* does not give a clear picture of the events. It merely says that *Mangalēśa's* elder brother's son viz. *Pulakēśin-II* who had the dignity of *Nahusha* seeing that his paternal uncle was envious of him, made up his mind to lead the life of a recluse but that by the application of the great gifts with which *Pulakēśin* was endowed, *Mangalēśa* had to abandon three things at one time viz. his efforts to secure the kingdom for his own son, the vast kingdom itself, and his own life. It is thus possible that *Mangalēśa* might have tried to secure the kingdom for his own son in preference to *Pulakēśin-II*, who would have been the rightful heir after *Kīrtivarma* and in whose minority he probably acted as a sovereign for some years and that *Pulakēśin-II* might have asserted his independence and won back his own kingdom from his uncle by fighting. Whatever it may be, the copper plate grants of *Pulakēśin-II* or of his immediate successors give no importance or rightful place

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, p. 363.
2. Epigraphia Indica Vol. III. p. 50.
3. Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, p. 18.
4. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII, p. 237.

to *Mangalēśa* in the chronology of the kings which they mention in their *Praśasti*. But *Mangalēśa's* reign appears in the proper place, in the later grants of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi*. In these grants, an attempt is made to pass over his behaviour towards *Pulakēśin-II*, probably because they did not want to rake up these unpleasant details.

8. *PULAKĒŚIN-II* (610 A.D. — 642 A.D.)

Mangalēśa was succeeded by his nephew *Pulakēśin-II*. His Hyderabad grant[1] gives us the information that Saka 534 expired was the third year after the coronation of the king. Hence he must have come to the throne by 610 A.D. - 611 A.D. He was a great warrior and extended his kingdom not merely in the Deccan, but even in the north. He paved the way for the establishment of another branch in the coastal districts of Andhra, which ruled for nearly four centuries under the name Eastern *Chālukyās* of *Vēṅgi*. Another branch came into existence in the reign of his son *Vikramāditya-I*. The conquests of *Pulakēśin-II* are given graphically in the *Aihōle* inscription[2] of *Ravikīrti*. *Pulakēśin* in this inscription is said to have defeated his enemies *Appāyika* and *Gōvinda* and even to have over run the *Kadaṁbās*, *Ālupās*, and the *Gāngās* and the other kings. During the time of *Pulakēśin-II* king *Harshavardhana* was ruling in the north, and he being an equally illustrious monarch, a clash between these two was inevitable. It would appear that in this clash king *Harshavardhana* was defeated and the *Narmada* frontier was successfully held by *Pulakēśin-II*. This is confirmed by a mention in the later *Praśastis* of the successors of king *Pulakēśin-II* where the following phrase occurs :

"समर संसक्त सकलोत्तरापथेश्वर श्री हर्षवर्धन
पराजयोपलब्ध परमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य"

The great Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang travelled extensively in the Deccan during the reign of *Pulakēśin-II* and his statements give a clue to the extensive dominions and the extent of the power of *Pulakēśin-II*.

Sometime after the early conquests of his reign, *Pulakēśin-II* installed his brother *Vishnu Vardhana* as *Yuvarāja* in the *Satāra* region and continued his reign of conquest. The stages of this march, are described by *Ravikīrti* in the famous *Aihole* inscription.[2] The rulers of *Kōsala*, *Kaliṅga*, *Pishṭapuraka*, *Vēṅgi* all fell. The *Vishṇukuṇḍins* of *Andhra Pradesh* and probably all other kings like these of *Kūnala* or colair lake, the kings of *Pishṭapuraka* also fell under the power of *Pulakēśin-II*. In order to consolidate his possessions in the eastern Deccan, *Pulakēśin-II* sent his brother *Viṣhṇu Vardhana* who was also known as *Vishamasiddhi* on account of his prowess in reducing several forts etc. to *Vēṅgi-dēśā* and gave him full ruling powers. Thus arose the Eastern *Chālukyan* kingdom of

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, p. 72.
2. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII p. 237

Vēṅgi under *Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana* and it has been held that this separate line started somewhere from 624 A.D.

Pulakēśin had to contend with another formidable power namely the *Pallavās* of the south. The *Pallavās* were famous kings, and the early *Pallavās* or what are known as the *Pallavās* of the *Prākrit*, grants ruled over the portions of Guntur and Nellore districts, south of river Krishna and were succeeded by the *Pallavās* of the Early Sanskrit charters and later by the great *Pallavās*. Perhaps during his march into the eastern Deccan, *Pulakēśin-II* must have uprooted the *Pallavās* in this area, and according to the *Aihōle* inscription,[1] he is said to have caused the splendour of the whole of *Pallavās* to be obscured and vanish behind the walls of *Kānchīpura*. *Mahēṅdravarma-I* who was a great author and a great king among the *Pallavās* was then the ruling king. He was known by several names like '*Vichitra Chitta*', '*Guṇabhara*' etc. He is the author of a famous work in Sanskrit called the '*Mattavilāsa Prahasini*' which gives a glimpse into the social conditions of that period. It is possible that *Mahēṅdravarma* might have been worsted in the initial battle, and might have had to withdraw within the fortress of *Kānchi*, but it is certain that *Pulakēśin-II* was not in a position to reduce that fortress as the *Kāsakūḍi* plates[2] state that *Mahēndravarma* gained a victory against his foe at *Pullalūra*. In any case *Pulakēśin-II* would appear to have withdrawn to his own capital. But the feud which started between *Chālukyās* and *Pallavās* became a deadly dynastic feud which continued for several generations. *Mahēṅdravarma's* son was the famous Pallava king called *Narasimhavarma*, otherwise known as *Mahā Malla* who was the builder of the renowned cave temples in *Māmallapura* or *Mahābalipura*. He was a strategist and a leader of high calibre and he led an expedition against *Pulakēśin-II* and destroyed *Vātāpi*, the capital of the Western *Chālukyās* and also occupied it for some time. Thus the career of this great king *Pulakēśin-II* ended in complete disaster. After him and till the time of his son and successor *Vikramāditya*, who came about 12 years later on, there is no information as to what really happened.

From the Pallava records[3] we find that Narasimha Varma-I is described as putting *Pulakēśin-II* to flight in battles at *Pariyāla*, *Maṇimangala*, *Surāmara* and other places and writing the word 'Victory' on his back as on a plate and as destroying the city of *Vātāpi*. This event must have happened after 634-35 A.D. which is the date of the *Aihōle* inscription[4], and before 655 A.D. which is the earliest assignable date for *Vikramāditya-I* son of *Pulakēśin-II*, perhaps round about 640 A.D. Thus for a period of 10 to 15 years there was an interregnum in the Western *Chālukyan* rule.

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1. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII p. 237.
2. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. II. p. 350.
3. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 152.
4. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII, p. 237.

9. *VIKRAMĀDITYA-I* (655 A.D. — 680 A.D.)

The supermacy of the Western *Chālukyās* was re-established by *Vikramāditya-I* one of the sons of *Pulakēśin-II*. He is described in his grants, with the *birudās* of *Satyāśraya*, *Srī Prithvī Vallabha*, *Mahārājādhi Rāja*, *Bhaṭṭāraka* and so on. He is said to have reconquered in many battles, with the help of his horse *Chitrakāṇṭa*, the fortune of his father which was interrupted by three kings, and to have re-established for his own fame and glory, the many *Brahmadhēyas* and *Dēvadhēyas* that had been given.[1] In the *Velnalli* grant of *Vikramāditya-I* published elsewhere in this volume, it is said that *Vikramāditya-I* was camping at *Uragapuri* in the *Chōlika Vishaya* on the southern banks of river *Kāvēri*. Since the date of the grant is given as the 20th regnal year of the king, it is clear, that he must have spent the early part of his reign in consolidating and re-establishing his power and slowly expanding it into the other powers of the country. The three kings who were supposed to have defeated the kingdom of his father and who were in turn defeated by *Vikramāditya* are identified by several scholars with the *Pallavās* themselves who were ruling over the three portions of the territory at *Kānchīpura*, Nellore and Guntur, and the Ceded districts.

There is some doubt amongst scholars whether the three kingdoms referred to above were those of the *Chōlas*, the *Pāndyās* and the *Pallavās*. This problem has been examined in great details by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma[2] and Dr. N. Venktramanayya[3] who have come to the conclusion that the three kingdoms were of the *Pallavās* themselves ruling over *Kānchīpura*, Nellore and Guntur and Ceded districts. It is not necessary to enter into the discussion on this here, since the problem has been discussed in one of the plates of *Vikramāditya* that is being edited in this volume.

Vikramāditya-I was himself a great warrior and some of his later grants as the *Vēlnalli* grant, published elsewhere, give four verses in which his conquest over the *Pallavās* is praised in glowing terms. He is supposed to have crushed the glory of *Narasimhavarma* and caused the valour *Mahēndravarma-II* to be dissolved, and subdued *Īśwara* by the mere look of his eyes. This is an obvious reference to *Narasimhavarma*, *Mahēndravarma-II* and *Paramēśwara*, the three Pallava kings. These verses also describe the defence of *Kānchi* and how *Vikramāditya-I* got over them. It is thus clear that *Vikramāditya-I*, had after consolidating his power, won a victory over *Narasimhavarma* and probably followed it up by a thrust into the south. To *Vikramāditya*, therefore, goes the credit of re-establishing the line of the Western *Chālukyās* and of expanding their territory.

10. *VINAYĀDITYA* (680 A.D. — 696 A.D.)

Vikramāditya was succeeded by his son *Vinayāditya* who came to the throne round

1. Journal Bombay, Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 226.
2. Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras Vol. X Part I.
3. The Madras Christian College Magazine 1929, p. 7.

about 680 A.D. He was loyally served by his feudatories like the *Ālupās*, *Sēndrakās* and others, and was also assisted in his administration by his son *Vijayāditya* who was called *Yuvarāja*. *Vinayāditya* had a queen by name *Vinayāvati*. He conquered the *Pallavās*, *Kālabhrās*, *Kēraḷas* and *Haihayās*. The *Vila*, *Māḷwa*, *Chōḷa*, *Pāṅdya* and others are said to have been reduced by *Vijayāditya* to a state of servitude in his grants.[1] One of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* records[2] also mentions that this king won a victory against a certain *Vajrāṭa* whose identity is not clear.

11. *VIJAYĀDITYA* (696 A.D. — 733 A D.)

Vinayāditya was succeeded by his son *Vijayāditya* who began his rule sometime in 696 A.D. *Vijayāditya's* reign is perhaps the longest of the Western *Chālukyās* and also the most prosperous and peaceful. Like his ancestors he had the assistance of his son *Vikramāditya-II* in the task of administration of his kingdom. It was *Vijayāditya* who built the famous *Śiva* temple at *Paṭṭadākal* which is still a lving marvel of *Chālukyan* type of temple architecture. It is now called *Sangamēśwarālaya*. *Vijayāditya* had another sister called *Kuṁkumadēvi*, who is mentioned in an inscription.

12. *VIKRAMĀDITYA-II* (733 A. D. — 744 A. D.)

Vikramāditya-II succeeded his father in 733 A. D. and it was during his reign that there was a threat of invasion by the Arabs who had established themselves in Sind. But the *Nausāri* grant of 739 A. D.[3] of *Avani Janāśraya Pulakēśin* of *Lāṭa* a son of *Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman*, gives us interesting details of the invasion of Arabs who were said to have already destroyed the *Saindhavā*, *Sourāshṭra* etc. and whose entrance into the Deccan was stopped by the king.

After this *Vikramāditya-II* had to fight with the Pallava kings who were the family enemies of the Western *Chālukyās*. *Vikramāditya-II* took the initiative in this and the disgrace of the Pallava occupation of *Vātāpi* was paid back by *Vikramāditya-II* by putting up an inscription of his own in the most beautiful Pallava temples in their capital city viz. *Kānchi*. *Vikramāditya-II* married the *Haihaya* and the *Kālābhra* princesses who were his queens. Of them, *Lōkamahādēvi* was the elder queen who built the great stone temple of *Lōkēśvara* now known as the *Virūpāksha* temple at *Paṭṭaḍākal*. The younger queen was called *Thrilōkya Mahādēvi* who also erected a temple there.

13. *KĪRTIVARMA-II* (744 A. D. — 755 A. D.)

After *Vikramāditya-II*, *Kīrtivarma-II* succeeded his father in 744 A. D. and he can be said to be the last effective ruler of the Western *Chālukyan* kings of *Bādāmi*, since trouble came from the *Rāshṭrakūṭās* who soon overthrew this dynasty. *Kīrtivarma-II* was defeated by *Danthidurga* who founded the main line of *Rāshṭrakūṭās* at *Mānyakhēṭa* or *Mālkhēd*.

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. VII, p. 303.
2. Indian Antiquary Vol. XI, p 114.
3. Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, Bombay Gazeeteer, Vol. II. p. 376.

With the rise of these *Rāshṭrakūṭās* at *Mānyakhēṭa* or *Mālkhēḍ*, the *Bādāmi* Western *Chālukyan* line came to an end, and for nearly two centuries no mention is made of them till we hear again after two centuries of the rise of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāni*. But during the interval of these two centuries, there was a number of subordinate chieftains in the southern parts of Deccan bearing the *Chālukyan* name, and from whom many inscriptions are obtained. Two important minor lines of these *Chālukyās* that filled the interregnum are the *Mudigoṇḍa Chālukyās* of Warangal district and *Vēmulavāda Chālukyās* of Karimnagar district who played an important role in the internecine wars between the *Rāshṭrakūṭās* and the Eastern *Chālukyās* of *Vēṅgi* who were not effected by the overthrow of the Western *Chālukyan* line.

13. THE GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE *BĀDĀMI* WESTERN *CHĀLUKYĀS*

The following genealogical table gives a clear idea of the rule of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi*.

Jayasimha

Raṇa Rāga

Satyāśraya Raṇavikrama Pulakēśin-I, 545 A.D. (Queen *Durlabhādēvi*)

Raṇaparākrama Kīrtivarma-I (566-67 to 597-98 A.D.)

Raṇā Vikrānta Mangalēśa (597-98 A.D. to 610 A.D.)

Satyāśraya Pulakēśin-II (610 A.D. to 642 A.D.)

Vishamasiddhi Kubja Viṣhnu Vardhana Founder of the Eastern *Chālukyan* line

Ādityavarma — *Chandrāditya* — *Satyāśraya Raṇa Rasika Vikramāditya-I* (655 A.D. — 680 A.D.) — *Dhanāśraya Jayasimhavarma*

Satyāśraya Rājāśraya Vinayāditya-I (680 A.D. — 696 A.D.)

Satyāśraya Samastabhuvanāśraya Vijayāditya (696 A.D. — 733 A.D) — *Kuṁkumamahādēvi*

Satyāśraya Vikramāditya-II (733 A.D. — 746 A.D.)

Satyāśraya Nṛipasimha Kīrtivarma-II (746 A.D. — 757 A.D.)

15. CONCLUSION

Thus a total of nine kings of the *Bādāmi* Western *Chālukyan* line, ruled roughly, from circa 545 A.D. to circa 757 A.D. i.e. for a period of two centuries. After the fall of the *Śātavāhanās*, this rule of Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi* is a famous and glorious period in Deccan history. It was this line that consolidated the territories and brought them under one rule. It was *Pulakēśin-II* who was a great warrior and who conquered the coastal districts of Andhra that established his brother *Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana* who founded the famous Eastern *Chālukyan* line. This eastern line ruled uninterruptedly for a period of four centuries, the coastal Andhra desa, and under these kings, Telugu literature, art, and architecture rose to their zenith. Though the reign of *Pulakēśin-II* ended in a disaster, still his son proved himself equal to the task of reestablishing the power and extended his dominions. The *Pallavās* and the Western *Chālukyās* were deadly family enemies, and both in the history of the *Chālukyās* as well as in that of the *Pallavās*, we find reference claiming victory in certain battles for their own kings. This feud lasted nearly 200 years and it is a curious fact of history that the Western *Chālukyās* as well as *Pallavās* of *Kānchīpura* lost their kingdom, round about the same period. After a rule for nearly three centuries by the *Rāshṭrakūṭās*, the *Chālukyās* rose again as a ruling race known as the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi*. Similarly the *Pallavās* were succeeded by the famous *Chōla* line of kings whose reign was established by *Vijayālaya*. It is a sad fact of history that the feud between the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi*, and the *Pallavās* was continued by their successors viz. the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi* and the *Chōlās* of the south. The line of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi* also came to an end after 200 years and was succeeded by the *Yādavās*, the *Hōyasālās*, and the *Kākatīyās*. This reign of two centuries is also a glorious period in Deccan history. The few copper plates that are being edited in this volume, throw a revealing light on the history of these two *Chālukyan* line of kings and confirm the many conclusions already drawn by historians and research scholars.

CHAPTER II

THE *MĀRUṬŪR* PLATES OF *SATYĀŚRAYA SRĪ PṚITHVĪ VALLABHA PULAKĒŚIN-II*

A set of copper plates bearing inscriptions in the script of the 7th century A.D. would appear to have been brought for examination to the erstwhile Hyderabad Department of Archaeology some time ago. Unfortunately the importance of this grant which is one of the earliest grants of the *Bādāmi* Western *Chālukyan* dynasty was not realised, and proper steps to preserve the copper plates or at least to take an accurate estampage of the same were not taken. The original plates are also not available in the office or in the Museum and it is not known what happened to them. However, thanks to the good sense of Sri V. Nagaraj, Photographer of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh, an excellent set of photos of the plates was retained. The photographs of the plates give an excellent impression and the plates could easily be read with the help of the photographs.

The inscription is written on five copper plates held together by a ring. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each 6″ in length and 2″ in breadth. The outerside of the first plate and the last side of the last plate have no writing but all other plates have writing on both sides.

Since the originals are not available for examination, it is not possible to say, whether the plates have raised rims or not. There is a hole about 0.4″ in diameter in the left side of the plates for the ring to pass through. The total weight of the plates is also not known. There are in all 40 lines of writing in inscription, each side of the plate having uniformly five lines of writing.

The characters belong to the 7th century archaic Telugu Kannada script, and resemble closely those of many other *Bādāmi* Western *Chālukyan* records that have been discovered. The language of the record is Sanskrit, but the composer has committed many mistakes in grammar and some times the *anvaya* has to be stretched in order to make out the meaning. The grant was issued in *Pravardhamāna Rājya Vijaya Srī Varshēshṭamē* i.e. in the eighth victorious year of the ruling reign. The grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the *amāvāsya* day of the *Jyēshṭha* month of the eighth year.

The details of the grant are given in lines 13 to 21. The grant was made immediately after the conquest by seizure of *Pishṭapuraka (Pishṭapurakādānagrahaṇānaṅtaryēṇa)*. After the seizure by capture of *Pishṭāpuraka* the king was living at *Kallūra* and while living there the grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the *amāvāsya* of the *Jyēshṭa* month. The purpose for which the grant was made is contained in lines 15 to 21 of the grant. The grant was made in order to fulfil the '*Saṁkalpa Siddhi*' or the vow to please the *guru (Swaguru Samudartham)* of the first queen *(Agra Mahādevi)* named *Kadaṁba Mahādēvi* of the king. The queen is described in the grant as possessing such good qualities like political wisdom, humbleness, charity and good conduct, as the famous woman like *Sāvitri, Suvarchala, Aruṅdhati, Swāhā* and *Śachi.* Thus one of the objects of the grant was to fulfil the *Saṁkalpa Siddhi* or the vow to please the *Swaguru* or the teacher or the father of the queen.

The other object of the grant is given in lines 18 to 21 of the plate which say that it was *also made (anyachcha)* in order to confer perpetual benefit *(Akshaya Phala)* on the *Ālūka Mahārāja* who had accepted on the king's behalf *(Madartham)* the overlordship of *Kallūra (Kallura Dēvathvam)* after having given up completely all enjoyment and protection for himself, and after having come there from *Maṅgalapura* without counting the difficulties or the *Duhkhās* of travel full of *Vishama* (ups and downs) *Vikṛishṭa* (protracted) *Advāna Pravāsa* (having to live without proper food etc.) and *Pratyavāya* (encountering dangers). Thus the grant was made for two purposes viz. to fulfil the vow to please the *Swaguru* of the queen *Kadaṁba Mahādēvi* and also to confer eternal benefit upon *Ālūka Mahārajā* who had come from *Maṅgalapura* and had accepted on behalf of the king the overlordship of *Kallūra,* without caring for his own affairs or for self protection, and with out caring for all the difficulties and dangers of a difficult travel like travelling in a rugged country in a protracted manner full of dangers and living without proper food. For these two purposes the grant was made by the king of the village *Māruṭūru* to the eleven brahmins mentioned in the grant.

The grant is a peculiar grant and gives details not usually found in other grants. The grant starts with the *Praśasti* of the king *Srī Pṛithvi Vallabha Mahārāja,* though it is not in the usual form found in the other copper plate grants. However, many phrases that are used to describe the king in this *Praśasti* bear close similarity to the *Praśasti* of king *Maṅgalēśa* in the *Mahākūṭa* pillar inscription[1].

The king is described as a veritable Sun or *Bhāskara* who was adorned by the *Guṇa Gabhasti Māla* or the rays made of good qualities in the *Nabhastala* or the sky of the *Chālukya kula.* The *Chālukyan* line of kings is described as meditating on the feet of Lord *Mahāsēna* as belonging to the *Mānavyāsa Gōtra* and as being the sons of *Harīti.* The king is

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

described as meditating upon the feet of his father and mother *Mātā Pitṛu Pādānudhyātaḥ.*

He is next described with the phrase *Ripu Jana Mṛiga Kula Bhaya Janana Vāhana Vara Charaṇa Chāra Amala Nayanaḥ.* A similar description occurs in the *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription of *Maṅgalēśa* where the phrase used is *Ripu Jana Mukha Kula Bhaya Jana Saṅdōha Bala Chāra Sēvarka Amala Nayanaḥ.* There is thus a slight difference between the phraseology between these two versions. The phrase as it stands in the present grant would appear to describe the blemishless eyes or the *Amala Nayana* of the king which cause fear *(Bhaya Janana)* to the enemies *(Ripu Jana)* who are contemptuously equated with animals or *Mṛiga Kula.* The two eyes of the king which thus strike terror into the enemies are the '*Vāhana*' or the cavalry and the '*Charaṇa Chāra*' or the infantry.

The king is next described with the phrase *Śauryōgra Daṁshṭra Pratāpa Vīrya Vēgōdyata Nṛipati Siṁha Siṁha Vikrāntaḥ*'. A similar phrase occurs in the *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription[1] as follows : '*Śauryōgra Hasta Prātāpa Vīrya Vegōdhṛita Nṛipati Simhaḥ*'. Here also there is a slight difference in the phraseology employed. The phrase as it stands means that the king is compared to a valorous lion, which had uplifted *(Udyata)* the other '*Nṛipati Siṁhās*' or kings who are like lions, by the valour, the strength and the speed of his terror-striking *Daṁshṭra* or the front tooth. The king is also said to have earned his kingdom with the valour of his own arms *(Sva Bāhu Bala Sāmarthyōpārjita Rājya Saṁpannaḥ).*

Then comes a long *Praśasti* and the king's body is said to be embellished with such good qualities like *Naya* (political wisdom), *Vinaya* (humility), *Vigṅāna* (knowledge), *Dāna* (gift), *Daya* (sympathy), *Dākshinya* (considerateness), *Mathi* (intellect), *Bala* (strength) *Utsāha* (enthusiasm), *Dhairya* (bravery), *Sthairya* (steadfastness), *Mādhurya* (sweetness), *Gāṁbhīrya* (grandeur), *Vīrya* (heroism), *Tyāga* (renunciation), *Brahmaṇyata* (leadership) and similar other qualities. This phrase also reminds one of a similar phrase in the *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription[1] where the king is described as '*Naya Vinaya Vigṅana Dāna Dayā Dākshinya Saṁpannaḥ*'.

Next the king is described in the phrase '*Kṛittilaka Bhūtaḥ*'. The *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription[1] contains the phrase '*ku Tilaka Bhūtaḥ*' which has been translated as an ornament among the whole earth, the *Kuḥ* meaning the earth. However, the phrase here is '*Kṛittilaka Bhūtaḥ*' and can appropriately be interpreted as '*Kṛitam Tilaka Bhūtaḥ*' or as an ornament among people who are adepts at their work. The phrase '*Kṛittilaka Bhūtaḥ*' is a more appropriate and apt phrase than '*Ku Tilaka Bhūtaḥ*'.

He is next said to remember the good deeds *(Sukṛitam Smartā)* and forget all bad deeds *(Dushkṛūtam Vismartā).* The five senses of his body are described as having been brought completely under control *[Nirupahata (Nitarām Upahata) Panchēndriya Śarīraḥ].*

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, p. 18.

His glory is next described. It is stated that his glory is so white, that it ridicules as it were, the white glory of the rays of the blemishless Moon *(Śaśa Lanchana)* of the *Śarat* month. *(Śaradamala Śaśa Lanchana Marīchi Saṁhati Dhavaḷacchāyōpahasita Yaśaḥ)*. This glory is said to have been obtained by the victory over his enemies, whose kingdoms were surrounded by the *Jalanidhi* or the oceans which are full of thousands of rows of waves being broken up by the wind *(Pavana Chalita Uttuṅga Bhanga Taraṅgāvaḷi Sahasrākīrṇa Jalanidhi Valayātikrānta Ripu Maṇḍalaḥ)*. Then follows half a verse which says that the king was ruling like *Vainya* or *Pṛithu Mahārāja* himself, and had wiped off by the rays of his own good qualities the *Tamas* or darkness. The *Praśasti* portion ends here and then the details of the grant follow.

The king in the eighth victorious year of his reign had made the grant immediately after the conquest by seizure of *Pishṭapuraka*. The phrase used is *Pishṭapurakadāna Grahaṇānantaryēna. Ādāna* means a seizure and *Grahaṇa* means a capture and *Anaṁtaryēṇa* means immediately after. This phrase therefore, clearly proves that the grant was given immediately after *Pishṭapuraka* was captured. The king was present at *Kallūra* at the time of the grant *(Kallūra Purāvasthitēna)*. The grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse at the *Amāvāsya* of the *Jyēshṭha* month. The purposes for which the grant was made are next given. The first is that the king wanted to do the *Saṁkalpa Siddhi Samṛuddhi* or the fulfilment of a vow in order to please the *Swaguru* or the preceptor or father *(Swaguru Saṃudardham)* of the first queen by name *Kadaṁba Mahādēvi (Kadaṁba Nāmādhēyā Agrama Mahādēvyāh)*. The queen is described as possessing qualities like good conduct *(Sauśīlya) Naya* (political wisdom), *Vinaya* (humility), *Dāna* (gifts), *Sadvṛitta* or good proclivities and *Ādara* (sympathy) etc. in a like measure to the famous matrons like *Sāvitri, Suvarchala, Aruṁdhati, Swāhā* and *Śachi*. Thus one of the objects of the grant was to fulfil the vow of the first queen who wanted to please her *Swaguru*. Another object of the grant is next described. In line 18 the word *Anyachcha* occurs which means 'in addition to'. The grant was, therefore, also made for the *Akshaya Phala* or the eternal benefit of *Ālūka Mahārāja (Ālūka Mahārājasya Akshaya Phalō Bhavatvayamiti)* who had obtained the overlordship of *Kallūra (Kallūra Dēvatvam Upagatāḥ)* on behalf of the king *(Madartham)*. This *Ālūka Mahārāja* is also described as having given up the enjoyment of his own affairs, as having disregarded all measures for the protection of himself *(Sva Vishayōpa Bhōga Rakshaṇa Vidhi Vidhānānyapahāya)* and as having come from *Maṅgalapura (Maṅgalapurādāgamiya)*, without counting or caring for the difficulties *(Duhkhānyagaṇayan)* like *Vishama* (ruggedness) *Vikṛishta* (protractedness) *Adhvāna Pravāsa* (living without proper food etc.) and *Prtayavāya* (dangers inherent in a difficult journey). This grant had thus a two-fold purpose viz. to fulfil the vow of the queen to please her preceptor or father and also to confer eternal benefit on the king's friend *Ālūka Mahārāja* who had come from *Maṅgalapura*

and accepted the overlordship of *Kallūra* on behalf of the king, in spite of the fact that he had to undergo a lot of hardships on the route and had to disregard his own protection and enjoyment of his own affairs.

The object of the grant is quite interesting. There is a little grammatical mistake in the grant, since the entire sentence would have as its subject, the *Rāja*, the object being the grant of the village *Māruṭūru*. The sentence runs as '*Sa Rājā Grāmaṁ Dattavān*'. If so, the *Tṛitīya Vibhakti* used to describe the king as '*Kallūra Purāvasthitēna*' and '*Samṛuddhim Upa Kurvatā*' etc. are not quite apt. It would have been grammatically more correct if these two phrases had also been put in the *Prathamāvibhakti* itself. However reading the grant as a whole, we have to insert a word like '*Svēna*' some where in order to make the *Anvaya* complete.

The names of the grantees, their *Gōtras* etc. are then given. The grant was made to the following eleven brahmins.

(1) *Jyēshṭakonḍa Bhīmaswāmy* of the *Vaśishṭha Gōtra* well versed in the four *Vēdās*.
(2) *Janaswāmy* of the *Bhāradvājasa Gōtra* who was well versed in the four *Vēdās*.
(3) *Panḍarangaswāmy* of the *Bhāradvājasa Gōtra* well versed in the four *Vedās*.
(4) *Diwākara Swāmy* of the *Gōtamasa Gōtra* who is described as '*Aśīti Tārkaka*'.
(5) *Bhōjaswāmy* of the *Agnivēśya Gōtra* who is also described as *Aśīti Tārkaka*.
(6) *Rēvaswāmy* of the *Kāśyapa Gōtra* who is described as an *Aśīti Tārkaka*.
(7) *Janaswāmy* of the *Bhāradvājasa Gōtra* who is described as a *Gṛihīta Sahasra*.
(8) *Ādityaswāmy* of the *Kauśikasa Gōtra* who is described as a *Sahasra Tārkaka*.
(9) *Vishnuswāmy* of the *Bhāradvājasa Gōtra* who is also described as a *Sahasra Tārkaka*.
(10) *Vāmaswāmy* of the *Vaśishṭha Gōtra*.
(11) *Gōpaswāmy* of the *Kāśyapasa Gōtra* who is described as a *Varṇathraya Nivṛitta*.

The words *Aśītitārkaka* and *Gṛihīta Sahasra* etc. used are very interesting. They probably refer to some proficiency in the *Tarka Śāstra*. *Aśītitārkaka* probably means one who is well versed in the eighty branches of *Tarka*. Similarly the word *Gṛihīta Sahasra* probably means that he is proficient in a thousand branches of learning. The words *Gṛihīta Sahasra* and *Aśītitārkaka* are found in other grants like the *Peda Maddāli* Plates of *Jayasiṁhavallabha-I*[1] of the Eastern *Chālukyan* line where the donee's father is described as *Gṛihīta Sahasrāya* and the donee is described as *Asītitārkaka*. Hence this method of describing persons is a well established custom. One grantee *Bhōjaswāmy* is described as belonging to the *Agnivēśya Gōtra*. This is a rare name for any *Gōtra* and is very interesting. The last grantee *Gōpaswāmy* is described as *Varṇathryaya Nivṛitta*. The word *Nivṛitta* means accomplishment and achievement. Hence the compound may

1. Indian Antiquary Volume XIII. p. 137.

mean one who has achieved good results in all the learning of the three *Varṇas*.

The grant ends with the usual imprecatory verses from the *Vyāsa Gīta* which are described in the grant as being laid down in the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra*.

Pishṭpuraka mentioned in the grant is the modern *Piṭhapuram* of East Godavari district which was the capital of *Vēngi*. *Kallūra* is probably to be identified with the modern *Kollūr* and *Mangalapura* with the modern Mangalagiri of Guntur district. The village '*Māruṭūru*' actually granted is a famous village of Narasaraopet taluk of Guntur district. The places fall within the *Kamma Rāshṭra*, corresponding to Guntur district.

The grant is a very important and interesting one from several points of view. The following problems arise in connection with this.

(1) Who is the exact king who is described as *Sātyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallaba Mahārāja* who made the grant?

(2) What is the exact date of the grant and is the eighth victorious year mentioned in the grant to be reckoned from the date of accession of *Pulakēśin-II*?

(3) What bearing have the details given in the present grant on the chronology of the Eastern *Chālukyan* line of kings?

(4) Is *Kadaṁba Mahādēvi* who is described in the grant as the queen of the donor viz. the king, a princess from the *Kadaṁba* line of kings?

(5) Who is the *Ālūka Mahārāja* referred to in the grant?

The first point to be determined in this grant is the identity of the king. The grant mentions merely the name '*Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārāja*'. The grant is obviously one of *Pulakēśin-II* of the Western *Chālukyan* kings of *Bādāmi*, since the *Biruda Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārāja* is the *Biruda* generally used for *Pulakēśin-II* only. The following is a list of the important grants mentioning *Pulakēśin-II* with a descrption of the titles by which he is described in them.

S. No.	Description of the grant	Description of the title.
1.	Goa plates of Saka 532.[1]	*Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārāja*
2.	Hyderabad Grant of Pulakesin-II of Saka 534 expired.[2]	*Srī Satyāśraya Prithvī Vallabha Mahārāja* with the other name *Paramēśvara*
3.	Aihole Inscription of Saka 556 by Pulakesin-II.[3]	The name *Pulakēśin* and the title *Satyāśraya*
4.	Timmapuram plates of Vishnuvardhana.[4]	*Satyāśraya Vallabha Mahārāja*
5.	Kopparam plates of Pulakesin-II.[5]	*Satyāśraya Srī Pulakēśi Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārājaḥ*
6.	Chipurupalli Grant.[6]	*Satyāśraya Srī Vallabha Mahārāja*

1. Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society Vol. X Page 348.
2. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI p. 72.
3. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII p. 237.
4. Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX p. 317.
5. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XVIII p. 257.
6. Indian Antiquary Vol. XX p. 16.

From the above it is clear that the appellation *Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārāja* clearly applies to *Pulakēśin-II* only.

There is, however, one important point to be considered in this connection. The other *Praśastis* of king *Pulakēśin-II* do not employ the phraseology employed here, like '*Śauryōgra Daṁshṭra Pratāpa Vegōdyata Nṛipati Siṁha*', '*Kṛittilaka Bhūtaḥ*' etc. etc. These phrases are found peculiarly in the *Praśasti* of the *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription[1] of *Mangalēśa* who immediately preceded *Pulakēśin-II*. A doubt may therefore arise whether the grant could not possibly be that of *Mangalēśa* and not of *Pulakēśin-II*. The only reason, if at all, that can be adduced for identifying the grantor with *Mangalēśa* is the similarity of the phraseology in the *Praśasti* of the present grant with that of *Mahākūṭa* pillar inscription.[1] However, the grant would appear to be of *Pulakēśin-II* only and not of *Mangalēṣa* for the following reasons.

(*a*) King *Mangalēśa* has never been described as *Satyāśraya Śri Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārāja* though he has been given other titles of '*Raṇa Vikrānta*', '*Uru Raṇavikrānta*', '*Pṛithvī Vallabha*', '*Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha*' etc. in his other known records.

(*b*) Though the phraseology employed in the present grant has a close resemblance to that of the *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription,[1] still it differs from it, in material points and also contains certain additional information. For example the *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription[1] contains only the words '*Naya Vinaya Vigṅāna Dāna Dayā Dākṣhinya*' etc. Here in these plates, the same idea is continued and several other qualities like *Mati*, *Bala*, *Utsāha*, *Dhairya*, *Sthairya*, *Mādhurya*, *Tyāga* are all added. The present grant also contains other phrases not found in the *Mahākūta* Pillar inscription[1] like '*Nirupahata Panchēndriya Śarīraḥ*' etc. Hence though there is some similarity with the *Mahākūta* pillar inscription[1], still the phraseology is more advanced and contains more epithets than those in the *Mahākūta* Pillar inscription.[1]

(*c*) The most important point against the identification of the grantor with *Mangalēśa* is the fact that the present grant definitely mentions that the grant was given immediately after the capture by seizure of *Pishṭapuraka (Pishṭapura kādāna Grahaṇānaṅtaryēṇa)*. King *Mangalēśa* has never been known to have come anywhere near *Vēngi*. We learn from other records, that the strong fort that was attacked by *Mangalēśa* was *Rēvati Dvīpa* which has been identified with *Rēḍi* a fortified promontory about 8 miles south of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, p. 18.

district of *Mahārāshṭra*[1]. The *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription[2] which describes him and his exploits in great detail gives reference to this and to his conquest of a king called Buddha. If *Mangalēśa* had conquered *Pishṭapuraka*, then it definitely would have been mentioned in his grants since it was an event of great importance. Since we definitely know that *Pishṭapuraka* was conquered by *Pulakēśin-II* only, the grantor cannot be identified with *Mangalēśa*.

(*d*) The present grant clearly mentions '*Ālūka Mahārāja*' with whom the grantor was in obvious terms of friendship since one of the objects of the grant was that it should confer eternal benefit upon him. The *Mahākūṭa* Pillar inscription[2] mentions that *Kīrtivarma* the brother of *Mangalēśa* conquered a number of kings among whom were *Ālūkas* also. The *Aihōle* inscription[3] of *Pulakēśin-II* definitely mentions that both the *Ālūpās* and the *Gāngās* were brought into a state of submission. Thus if we identify the *Ālūpās* and the *Ālūkās* as one and the same, it is more probable that the *Ālūpās* would have served faithfully and loyally *Pulakēśin-II* than *Mangalēśa* who is not known to have had any dealing with the *Ālūpās* at all.

In view of the above and in view mainly of the two important factors viz. that the title *Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārāja* is generally applied only to *Pulakēśin-II* and that we also definitely know that *Mangalēśa* never attempted the conquest of *Vēngi*, it is clear that the present grant is of *Pulakēśin-II* only.

Let us now examine the second question raised above viz. what is the exact date of the grant, and is the eighth victorious year mentioned in the grant to be reckoned from the date of accession of *Pulakēśin-II*. Since the grant mentions that it was issued in his eighth victorious year, we have to calculate first the starting point of the reign of *Pulakēśin-II* or the starting point of the line of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi* and then calculate the date of the present grant.

Fortunately for us the starting point of the reign of *Pulakēśin-II* can be fixed with a great deal of accuracy and precision. There is a copper plate grant issued from Hyderabad[4] which mentions that *Pulakēśin-II* himself, at the city of *Vātāpi*, which was the capital of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi* granted a village by name *Mākarappi* to a brahmin on the occasion of an eclipse of the Sun on the new Moon day of the month *Bhādrapada* in the third year of his *Rajyābhishēka* or installation which corresponded to the Saka year 534 expired. The exact words used in the Hyderabad Grant are as follows :

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1. Dr. Fleet, Dynasties of the Canarese districts, Page 347.
2. Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, p. 18.
3. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII, p. 237.
4. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI - p. 72

"आत्मनः प्रवर्धमान राज्याभिषेकसंवत्सरे तृतीये शक नृपतिसंवत्सरशतेषु चतुस्त्रिंशाधिकेषु पञ्चस्वतीतेषु भाद्रपदामावास्यायां सूर्य ग्रहण निमित्तम् ॥"

The above details give us a very accurate date viz. 534 Saka expired corresponding to the 3rd year of the coronation of king *Pulakēśin-II* when an eclipse of the Sun occurred in the month of *Bhādrapada.*

The year corresponding to Saka 534 expired and the date corresponding to *Bhādrapada* new Moon of that year were originally calculated as equivalent to 23rd July, 613 A. D. when an eclipse of the Sun occurred. This was actually the original date fixed by Dr. Fleet while editing those plates. But while studying certain other grants, Dr. Fleet himself came to the view, that so far as the reckoning of the years according to the Hindu calendar goes, the Saka year is always mentioned as an expired year, and that to obtain the current corresponding year equivalent, to current Saka year, the additive quantity should be 77–78 and not 78–79 as is usually supposed.[1] In this view Dr. Fleet had himself revised his earlier date of 23rd July, 613 A. D. and had fixed the year corresponding to 534 Saka as 2nd August, 612 A. D., when no doubt an eclipse of the Sun in the month of *Bhādrapada* occurred, but unfortunately it was not visible anywhere in India. Since this was the third year of the coronation of the king, Dr. Fleet had fixed the coronation of *Pulakēśin-II* on some day between *Bhādrapada* Sukla 1, of Saka 532 current, up to the *Pūrnimānta Bhādrapada Krishna* 15, the new Moon day of Sam. 533 current, corresponding to some date between 609 A. D.—610 A. D.[2]

The late Sri B.V. Krishnarao who had worked at the problem of chronology of the Eastern *Chālukyas* had criticised this view of Dr. Fleet[3] and had held that since eclipses not visible in India or even invisible in a particular locality, are not occasions for the ancient Hindu kings for any public or ceremonial acts, just as they are not at the present day, the contention of Dr. Fleet that the *Bhādrapada* eclipse should be fixed as the invisible eclipse of 612 A.D. cannot be accepted as correct, and that the original date of 23rd July, 613 A.D. when there was an eclipse of the Sun visible all over India should be accepted as the correct date. To reconcile his view with that of Dr. Fleet, the late Sri B.V. Krishnarao had given a suggestion that the scribe of the Hyderabad grant of *Pulakēśin-II* must have made an honest mistake in writing down the year as 534 Saka expired when it ought to have been written as 535 Saka expired.

There is, however, no convincing reason as to why we should presume that the scribe of the Hyderabad grant must have made a mistake, since the words given in the grant are very clear. It is also clear that the date corresponding to the third year of the

1. Indian Antiquary Volume XVII—Page 208.
2. Indian Antiquary Volume XX—Page 14.
3. Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society Volume IX, Part IV, Page 5.

coronation of *Pulakēśin-II* should only be 23rd July, 613 A.D. and not 612 A.D. as revised by Dr. Fleet, since as rightly pointed out by late Sri B. V. Krishnarao, Hindu ideas and customs have not changed, and invisible eclipses have never been accepted as occasions for ceremonies anywhere. Thus we have to reconcile 534 Saka year expired with 613 A.D.

The explanation seems to be obvious viz. that the grounds on which Dr. Fleet revised his earlier date of 613 A.D. to 612 A.D. viz. are not wholly correct. According to Dr. Fleet when any year is given in the Saka era, it must be taken to be the *expired* Saka year if an addition of 78-79 is to be made. In this view the express mention in the Hyderabad grant[1] viz. that the year is Saka 534 *expired* (the actual word used is *avatītēshu*) is redundant. There is no reason to assume that this specific description is redundant even as there is no reason to assume that the scribe had made a mistake.

The solution is simple. Saka year according to Hindu reckoning is always an expired year as rightly pointed out by Dr. Fleet. Thus saka 534 if expressed only as such, would certainly correspond only to 612 A.D. since a saka year is always an expired year. But here Saka 534 is not mentioned only as Saka 534, but expressly as 534 Saka *expired.* The obvious intention is that the Saka year 534 (which when described without any adjectives would by itself also mean an expired year) has also expired. In other words the word '*avatītēshu*' is not a redundancy but is intended to make it clear that the expired Saka year 534 (or the current Saka 535) had *expired* at the third year of the coronation of *Pulakēśin-II.* In this view, which conforms closely to the text without assuming either a mistake on the part of the scribe as has been done by late Sri B. V. Krishnarao, or a redundancy in describing the Saka year as '*avatītēshu*' or 'expired' as has been assumed by Dr. Fleet, the solution is clear viz. that the third year of *Pulakēśin's* coronation corresponds to the expired year of the expired 534 Saka year, or the expired year of the current 535 Saka year, which will take us to 613 A.D. Hence the date of the Hyderabad grant[1] can without doing violence to the language of the grant, or without violating any of the Hindu customs, may safely be fixed as the 23rd July, 613 A. D. Thus the coronation of *Pulakēśin-II* should have occurred three years earlier to this.

We have now to determine the date of the present *Māruṭūru* grant. The date is given in the grant as "*Pravardhamāna Rājya Śrī Varshēshṭame, Jyēshṭhamāsasya Amāvāsyām, Sūrya Grahaṇe*" or the date of the grant corresponds to a solar *Jyēshṭha* eclipse in the eighth victorious year of the king. Before going to the question of the actual date we have to see whether the *Jyēshṭha* month quoted above is an *Amānta* or a *Pūrṇimāntā* month.

There are two methods of reckoning the months as well as two methods of reckoning the years with the starting point of the months. The first is the reckoning of the year by solar months which is prevalent in Tamilnad, whereas in Andhra the reckoning is done

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI p. 72

by lunar months, or to describe it more correctly, by the luni-solar months, since unlike the muslim reckoning of the periods of time, these luni-solar months are regulated by the movements of the Sun, and are also tied to the divisions of the solar year. The lunar month has its name determined by the next following Solar *Sankrānti*, and if there are any two such months one is called the *Adhika Māsa* and if the converse is the case, it is called the *Kshaya Māsa*. The luni-solar method of reckoning the months has been in vogue in Andhra area from a very long time.

With regard to the reckoning of the starting point of the month also, there are two systems viz. the *Amānta* and the *Pūrṇimānta*. The *Amānta* system begins with the *Śukla* 1, after *Amāvāsya* i.e. with the bright fortnight and the *Pūrṇimānta* system starts with *Krishna* di-1 after *Pūrṇima* i.e. with the black fortnight. As such every second or dark fortnight of the *Amānta* month becomes the first fortnight of the *Pūrṇimānta* month. For example, *Pūrṇimānta Chaitra* would begin with *Krishna* di-1 of *Amānta Phālguṇa*, and *Pūrṇimānta Vaiśākha* with *Krishna* di-1 of *Amānta Chaitra* and so on. Thus it may be seen that the bright fortnight above is common to both the *Amānta* and the *Pūrṇimānta* systems.

Whatever may be the custom prevalent in Northern India or even in *Karnātaka*, so far as the Andhra area is concerned, the system that has been generally prevalent is only the *Amānta* system of reckoning the months. A clear proof of this is given by a grant of *Vishnu Vardhana-I* or *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* the younger brother of *Pulakēśin-II* in his *Chīpurupalli* grant.[1] This grant was made on the eighteenth regnal year of *Vishnu Vardhana* at the time of a lunar eclipse in the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. The grant gives the date in numeral figures at the end of the charter which Dr. Fleet has read as Sam. 18, Ma. 4, DI. 10 5 (=15). If *Śrāvaṇa* is taken to be a *Pūrṇimānta* month, then the date should be 30th and not 15th and the month should be 5 and not 4 as given in the charter. These discrepancies will immediately be resolved if the month is taken to be an *Amānta* month. In this view, the grant was made in the 18th regnal year on the 15th day after four months had elapsed in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* on the 15th day of the bright fortnight at the time of a lunar eclipse. Thus the *Chīpurupalli* plates[1] of *Vishnu Vardhana-I* as also the details given in the British Museum Plates of *Amma-II, Vijayāditya* make it absolutely clear that the *Amānta* and not the *Pūrṇimānta* system was generally in vogue in the Andhra area, though the *Pūrṇimānta* system was also rarely used as in the grants of *Chālukya Jayasimha-I.*[2]

As such the *Jyēshṭhamāsa* solar eclipse mentioned in the present *Māruṭūru* grant can only be an eclipse of the Sun in the *Amānta* month of *Jyēshṭha*. It is seen that from 607 to 632 A.D. which corresponds roughly to about 25 years after the date of accession of *Pulakēśin-II* that an *Amānta Jyēshṭha* solar eclipse occured only on 21st May 616 A.D.

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 16.
2. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXI, p. 129.

Hence this is the date of the grant and since the grant mentions the year as the 8th victorious year of *Pulakēśin-II* this year should be the eigth year of *Pulakēśin-II* and should tally with the date of his coronation mentioned in the Hyderabad grant.

We have now to reconcile this date viz. 21st May, 616 A.D. corresponding to the eighth year of *Pulakēśin-II* with the 23rd July, 613 A.D. mentioned above corresponding to the 3rd year of the coronation of *Pulakeśin-II.* Superficially it might appear that there is a difference of two years in between these two years. But the discrepancy will disappear if we consider the following fact. The date of cornation of the king need not necessarily correspond with the starting point of any year in any era. Counting a regnal year is different from counting the years that had expired from the date of coronation. In this view if 23rd July 613 had been the third expired year of the coronation of *Pulakēśin-II,* his accession might have happened somewhere in 609 A.D. and still 613 A.D. would be the third expired year of his coronation date. If 609 A.D. is the starting point of his reign and it is considered as the first year of his reign then 616 A.D. would be the eighth regnal year of *Pulakēś*in-II and would tally with the details given in the present grant. Hence we may safely conclude that Saturday the 21st May 616 A.D. corresponding to the eighth regnal year of *Pulakēśin-II,* is the date of the grant since that is the only year in the early part of the reign of *Pulakēśin-II* where an *Amānta Jyēshṭha* solar eclipse had occurred. Even according to the *Pūrṇimānta* system of reckoning there was no eclipse at all between 608 and 626 A.D. In fact May 21st 616 A.D. is the only year where a *Jyēshṭha* solar eclipse either according to the *Amānta* or *Pūrṇimānta* system had occurred and hence there is no doubt that this is the year of the *Māruṭuru* grant. In this connection we may note that 23rd July A.D. 613 corresponding to the third year of the coronation of *Pulakēśin* is determined according to the *Pūrṇimānta* system.This coronation occurred in *Vātāpi* which is in the *Karṇāṭaka* area with its leanings towards Western Deccan, whereas the present grant is very much in Andhra, having been given in *Guntūr* district. As stated above whatever might have been the method of reckoning in the north or in the Western *Karṇāṭaka* region, in Andhra, the system of reckoning the months has always generally been the *Amānta* system, and hence even though 613 A. D. the date of coronation is reckoned according to the *Pūrṇimānta* system, still the date of the present grant which was given in '*Kamma Rāshṭra*' of the Guntur district of Andhra, must definitely be computed only according to the *Amānta* system of reckoning, since the details etc. would have been recorded in the grant, according to the local customs prevalent at the parts, and not according to the customs prevalent at the distant headquarters of the king.

The second and very important question which the present grant poses is the bearing which the present grant has upon the chronology and the starting point of the Eastern *Chālukyan* line of kings. It may be remembered in this connection that *Pulakēśin-II* con-

quered *Vēṅgi* or the coastal districts of Andhra *Dēśa* and sent his brother *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* there as his viceroy and that *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* was the founder of the Eastern *Chālukyan* line, known as the Eastern *Chālukyan* dynasty which held sway for nearly four centuries over the costal districts of Andhra. The exact starting point of the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology has been the subject matter of great doubt and discussion among scholars. We have now to examine whether the further details given in this grant viz. that *Pulakēśin-II* was definitely present at *Vēngi* at the eighth year of his reign i.e. in 616 A.D. and in fact that the conquest of *Pishṭapuraka* occurred in that year, has a bearing upon that problem or not.

Four scholars have worked at the problem of the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology with different results. Dr. Fleet was the first to work on this in a systematic manner, and he came to the conclusion that the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology should be deemed to have started in 615 A. D. which should be deemed as the first year of the rule of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana*. Dr. Fleet had remarked thus :

> 'The historical event which gave the starting point was the installation of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana-I* not as the *Mahārāja* or the independent ruler of a separate kingdom, but as *Yuvarāja* associated in the government with his elder brother *Pulakēśin-II*.[1]

While Dr. Fleet worked at the problem he did not have the evidence of *Attili* copper plate grant of *Chālukya Bhīma-I*.[2] In this grant the coronation date of the king has been given as Saka 814 *Mēsha*, *Chaitra* Monday corresponding to 892 A.D. According to Dr. Fleet's chronology the initial date given by him to *Chālukya Bhīma* was 888 A.D. which will not tally with his date of coronation given in the grant. Moreover some other details given in some other Eastern *Chālukyan* grants like the *Chīpurupalli* grant[3] of *Vishnu Vardhana-I*, the *Rēyūru* grant[4] of *Vishnu Vardhana-II* etc. do not tally if the starting point is 615 A.D. as determined by Dr. Fleet.

Rejecting the above date of Dr. Fleet, Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma has in a very systematic and elaborate manner considered all the evidences that were available to him and has fixed the starting point at 633 A.D.[5] While arriving at this date he has been guided by two important considerations. As he himself says,

> 'Thus the framework of the scheme of the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology is securely screwed tight by—

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1. Indian Antiquary Volume XX-Page 5.
2. C. P. 14 of 1917-18.
3. Indian Antiquary Volume XX. p. 16.
4. Indian Antiquary Volume VII. p. 186.
5. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. IX, Part-I—Page 17.

(1) the Kopparam plates which supply us with the date 631 A.D. for the conquest of *Vēngi* and

(2) the Madras Museum plates of *Vishnu Vardhana-III* which give the chronogram '*Swādita*' answering to Saka 684, equivalent to 761 or 762 A.D.[1]

In other words Sri Mallampalli Somasekharasarma has procedeed solely on the premises that the Kopparam plates of *Pulakēśin-II* which give the year 631 A.D. must be taken to be the earliest date for the conquest of *Vēngi* by *Pulakēśin-II* and acting on that assumption, he has proceeded to build up the chronology and the genealogy of the Eastern *Chālukyan* kings. Even here the date given by him viz. 633 A. D. does not tally with the *Rēyūru* grant[2] of *Vishnu Vardhana-II* mentioned above. Also his scheme does not take us to 892 A.D. as the date of *Chālukya Bhīma-I* but overshoots the mark by four years which he has tried to explain by a theory of conjoint rule of *Vijayāditya-III* and *Chālukya Bhīma.*

The late Sri B. V. Krishnarao has attempted a study of the chronology of the Eastern *Chālukyan* kings.[3] He has arrived at the date 624 A.D. basing himself mainly upon the equation of the 18th year of the reign of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana-II* where a *Śrāvaṇa* solar eclipse occurred[4] as corresponding to 641 A.D. Having accepted this date, he has proceeded to discus the other evidences that were available, which more or less tally with this starting point except two important details viz.

1. *Maṭṭevāda* plates[5] of *Viṣhnu Vardhana-II* which gives a *Phālguṇa* solar eclipse on the new Moon tithi in the fifth year of the reign of *Vishnu Vardhana-II.* His date of 624 A.D. will tally ony if the *Phālguna* mentioned in the grant is to be calculated as *Pūrṇimānta Phālguṇa* and not as *Amānta Phāgluṇa* which is the usual custom prevalent in Andhra.
2. The date given by the chronogram '*Swādita*' to *Vishnu Vardhana-III* corresponding to Saka 684 or 762 A.D. does not tally with his initial date of 624 A.D.[6]

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who has written a book[7] on the history of the Eastern *Chālukyan* kingdom has accepted the date 624 A.D. though not for the reasons given by late Sri B.V. Krishnarao. He has been mainly influenced by the details given in an epigraph at *Tērāḷa* in the Palnad taluk of Guntur district dated in the fifth regnal year of a *Sarvalōkaśraya Vishnu Vardhana* corresponding to Sunday *Kārtika,* Suddha-5 of the cyclic year

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1. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. IX, Part-I—Page 31.
2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII - p. 186.
3. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. IX, Part IV - p. 1-32.
4. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX - p. 16.
5. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, - p. 191,
6. Madras Museum plates of Vishnuvardhana, Vol. III, C. P. No. 9 of 1916-17.
7. The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

Bahudhānya.[1]

The dates fixed by Dr. Fleet are obviously not correct and they are now well accepted as not correct. This however does not detract from the value of the work done by Dr. Fleet, since his was the first and most systematic attempt at fixing a regular chronology of the Eastern *Chālukyās.* Thus there are only two other dates that are now in the field viz. 633 A. D. of Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma and 624 A. D. of late Sri B.V. Krishnarao and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

As stated above Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma had fixed his chronology on the firm assumption that the Kopparam plates of *Pulakēśin-II*[2] corresponding to 631 A.D. is the earliest evidence to the invasion of *Vēngi.* However, the present *Māruṭūru* grant clearly proves that in 616 A.D. corresponding to the eigth regnal year of *Pulakēśin-II* the invasion and conquest of *Vēngi* had become an established fact. *Pishṭapuraka* which is the same as *Piṭhāpuram* is mentioned in the grant. *Mangaḷapura* is probably the same as *Mangaḷagiri* near Krishna river and is well known. *Kollūr* which is also mentioned in the grant is also a famous village in Guntur district and the village granted viz. *Māruṭūru* is a well known village of Narasaraopet taluk of Guntur district. Hence there can possibly be no doubt that in the eighth regnal year of the reign of *Pulakēśin-II* the conquest of *Vēngi* had become an established fact as per this grant. In view of this evidence, the premises on which Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma had worked viz. that the date furnished by the Kopparam plates[3] should be deemed to be the earliest date for the invasion of *Vēngi* have to be revised.

Before proceeding to discuss the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology further it will be useful to have clearly in mind, the controversy regarding the identification of the king and the regnal year in which the grant was issued of what is known as the Kopparam plates[2] of *Pulakēśin-II.* These plates were first published by Sri K.V. Lakshmanarao, and have subsequently been edited by Dr. Hultzsch in Epigraphia Indica Volume XVIII page 258-59. These plates mention the grant of a field of 800 *Nivartanās* of land in the village *Irbuli* of the *Kamma Rāshṭra,* south of the village *Kondaverpūr* and to the North of the village of *Virpāru. Kondaverupūr* has been identified with *Kondavīdu* and *Virpāru with* Vipparla both in Narasaraopet taluq of Guntur district. The villge *Mūgamūr* mentioned on the grant as the place of residence of the donee has been identified with the village *Mungamūru* of *Kandukūr* taluq of *Nellōre* district. The plate gives the usual Western *Chālukyan Praśasti* and introduces a great warrior *Pṛthvī Duvarājā* and the 13th line of the grant contains the date of the grant as year 21, the month *Kārtika, Mahānavami* and *Bṛihaspati Vāra* or a Thursday. The late Sri K. V. Lakshmanarao had identified the

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1. No. 80 of 1929-30.
2. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII - p 257.

Pṛithvī Duvarājā of these plates with the *Satyāśraya Dhṛuvarājēndravarma* of the Goa plates and has come to the conclusion that the 21st year mentioned in the Kopparam plates should be that of *Dhṛuvarāja* of the Goa plates. Since his 20th regnal year is known to be Saka 532 or 610 A.D. by his Goa plates,[1] the 21st year in the Kopparam plates has been calculated by him to be 611 A.D. corresponding to 21st October which fell on a Thursday.

The above identification of *Pṛithvī Dhṛuvarāja* with the *Satyāśraya Srī Dhṛuvarājēndravarma* of the Goa plates[1] is obviously far from correct since the *Satyāśraya Dhṛuvarājēndravarma* of the Goa plates is known by no other evidence, to have come anywhere near Andhra. Dr. Hultzsch while re-editing these plates has correctly identified the *Pṛithvī Duvarāja* with *Pṛithvī Yuvarāja* viz. *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* himself and has held that the term *Duvarāja* should be deemed to be a dravidian *Tadbhava* of *Yuvarāja* and hence has calculated the 21st year to be that of *Pulakēśin-II* himself, equivalent to A.D. 631. Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma while agreeing with Dr. Hultzsch has rightly pointed out[2] that the name *Satyāśraya Dhṛuvarājēndravarma* contains three parts viz. *Satyāśraya*, *Dhṛuvarāja* and *Indravarma* and hence *Indravarma* is the son of *Dhṛuvarāja* who is the son of *Satyāśraya*. Therefore the Goa plates[1] must be deemed to have been given by *Indravarma* and not by *Dhṛuvarāja*, and hence the identification of this *Dhṛuvarāja* with the *Duvarāja* of the Kopparam plates is untenable.

The late Sri B. V. Krishna Rao has accepted,[3] however, the identification of late Sri K. V. Lakshmana Rao, possibly because the other theory viz. that the *Dhṛuvarāja* of the Kopparam plates being the same as *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* giving a date 631 A.D., would go against his fixation of the initial date of the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology at 624 A.D.

It is now fairly well established that the Kopparam plates are the plates of *Pulakēśin-II* himself and that the theory of Dr. Hultzsch is quite correct. It is a peculiar irony that the Kopparam plates of *Pulakēśin-II* have proved a stumbling block to both the scholars Sri B. V. Krishna Rao and Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma in trying to fix the chronology of the Eastern *Chālukyās*. Sri Krishna Rao's identification of *Pṛithvī Duvarāja* of the Goa plates and taking the date as 611 A.D. is obviously untenable, while Sri Somasekhara Sarma's theory of 631 A.D. as the earliest date of invasion of *Vēngi* which has now been disproved by the present grant which gives the date 616 A.D. as the date by which *Vēngi* had been fully conquered by *Pulakeśin-II* is also not correct. In view of the evidence of the present grant, therefore, some rethinking has to be done on this problem.

In this connection, it would be useful to review, all the important grants that have been given by *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* and thereby try to formulate a theory which will satisfy

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1. Journal of Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. X, - p. 365.
2. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. IX, Part I, - p. 31.
3. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IX, Part IV, - p. 10.

all the information. The important plates of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* are the following :

(a) The *Satārā* Plates[1] which record that at a place called *Kurumarāthi* the younger brother of *Pulakēśin-II, Yuvarāja Vishnu Vardhana* granted to some brahmins the village of *Alanda Thirtha* on the south bank of *Bhīmarathi* in the *Srīnilaya Bhōga*. The grant was done on the full-moon day of *Kartika* month in the eighth year of *Pulakesin-II* which would correspond to 31st October, 616 A.D.

(b) The Kopparam Plates of *Vishnu Vardhana* already referred to which were granted on a *Kārtika Mahānami* corresponding to 21st regnal year of *Pulakēśin-II*[2]

(c) The *Chipurupalli* Grant of *Vishnu Vardhana* given on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the 18th year on the *Śrāvaṇa* month. It is in this grant that *Vishnu Vardhana* calls himself for the first time as a *Mahārāja*.[3]

(d) The *Timmāpuram* plates issued from *Pishṭapura Vāsaka*. In this grant *Vishnu Vardhana* is given the titles *Paramabhāgavatha, Paramabrahmaṇya* and *Mahāraja*.[4]

Coupled with the present grant the following four important points can be gleaned from all the grants.

(a) In 616 A.D. corresponding to the eighth year of *Pulakēśin-II, Vēngi* had been fully conquered as is seen from the present *Māruṭūru* grant of *Pulakēśin-II*.

(b) In the same year viz. 616 A.D. corresponding to the eighth year of *Pulakeśin-II, Vishnu Vardhana* was a *Yuvarāja* as is seen from his *Satāra* grant.

(c) In 631 A.D. corresponding to the 21st year of *Pulakēśin-II Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* was *Yuvarāja* of the Andhra area, as is seen from the Kopparam plates.

(d) By the time of the *Chīpurupalli* grant in his own year 18, *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* had assumed for himself the title of a *Mahāraja*. The date of this has been calculated to be 641 A.D. if 624 is taken to be the starting point of the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology.

From the above facts one point is clear viz., that somewhere between 616 A. D. and 631 A.D. i.e., between the *Māruṭūru* and the Kopparam plates of *Pulakēśin-II, Vishnu Vardhana* had been appointed as a *Yuvarāja* or Viceroy of the *Vēngi* area, and that by the time of the *Chīpurupalli* grant,[3] he had assumed full sovereignty since he has mentioned himself as a *Mahārāja*. Thus the conclusion is obvious, that a period of Viceroyalty for *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* in *Vēngi* area is an absolute necessity, according to the data given above, and hence we are forced to go back to the old theory of Dr. Fleet, viz., that the

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1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX - p. 303.
2. Epigraphia Indica, Volume XVIII. p. 267.
3. Indian Antiquary, Volume XX , p. 16.
4. Epigraphia Indica, Volume IX page 318.

cardinal point in reckoning the starting point of the Eastern *Chālukyan* dynasty should be the installation of *Vishnu Vardhana*, not as a *Mahārāja* or an independent ruler of a separate kingdom, but as *Yuvarāja* associated in the Government with his brother *Pulakēśin-II*. The date of this appointment of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* as *Yuvarāja* of *Vēngi* should be between the years 616 and 631 A.D., and since 624 A.D. arrived at on the basis of other evidence as the most satisfactory year for this falls within the above mentioned limits, we may conclude that in 624 A.D., *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* must have been appointed as Viceroy or *Yuvarāja* for the *Vēngi* area, and that by 641 A.D. which is the date of the *Chīpurupalli* grant[1] he had assumed full sovereignty and called himself as *Mahārāja*.

In this connection one important point which has upto now escaped the notice of all scholars deserves serious consideration. Hitherto, it has been tacitly assumed that there has been a formal division of the *Vēngi* kingdom from the western *Chālukyan* kingdom at an unknown date, and the problem has always been to find out what the starting point of this was. The question has never been asked as to why there was any necessity at all for the so called partition of *Vēngi* as a separate kingdom under the Western *Chālukyan* kings. It is not as if, *Pulakēśin-II* was not a mighty warrior who found it difficult to manage his kingdom including *Vēngi*. He was a great warrior who built up his kingdom from the scratch and gave victorious battle to *Harshavardhana* in the north, and held the vast empire in a close grip. It is therefore improbable to hold that such a king could not have administered *Vēngi* also as part of his kingdom and felt the need for a separate king. There is also no valid reason forthcoming as to why we should think of independent sovereignty having been conferred on his younger brother *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* by *Pulakēśin-II* in *Vēngi*. On the other hand, the present *Māruṭūr* plates and the Kopparam plates make it clear that *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* was living only as *Yuvarāja* or a Viceroy, subordinate to his brother *Pulakēśin-II* in the *Vēngi* area. No one has asked the question as to why at a particular year without any provocation whatsoever *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* who was discharging his duties as a *Yuvarāja* or Viceroy should have been invested with sovereign powers as a *Mahārāja*. Such an act is not common in Indian History. We have therefore to find out some other reason for the separation of the Eastern *Chālukyan* branch from the Western *Chālukyan* line. A revolution of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* can be ruled out of account since he seems to have been very loyal and also very affectionate towards his brother and calls himself as the '*Priya Anuja*' of his brother, in his grants. A careful perusal of the data given in the grants gives us an important clue to the solution of this problem.

It will be seen from the above dates, that up to 621 A.D. viz upto the date of the Kopparam plates *Vishnu Vardhana* was only a *Yuvarāja* and that for the first time he calls himself a *Mahārāja* only in 641 A.D. in his *Chīpurupalli* plates. No doubt in his *Timmāpuram*

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. XX, p. 16.

plates[1] also, he is called as *Mahārāja*, but the date of this grant is not mentioned in it. A close perusal of the details given in the *Chīpurupalli* plates would reveal that he does not mention the eighteenth year as the *Pravarthamāna Vijaya Rājya Saṁvatsarē* etc. which is a common appellation for the reckoning of years. On the other hand the year is no where mentioned in the grant itself, and is given at the very end in numerical letters only which were noticed for the first time by Dr. Fleet.[2] In fact Dr. Fleet first read it as 16, and later corrected it as 18. The grant also mentions *Satyāśraya Prithvī Vallabha* and gives the various exploits of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* by which he earned the title of *Vishamasiddhi* and only at the very end mentions that *Vishnu Vardhana Mahārāja* granted the village. It is very significant that the regnal year is not given in words as in *Pulakēśin's* other records, and the usual phrase *Pravarthamāna Vijaya Rājya Saṁvatsarē* is not mentioned in this grant at all. It is obvious therefore that though this grant of *Vishnu Vardhana* was issued in 641 A.D. with the appellation of *Mahārāja* he was himself not quite certain about his title, and has not mentioned his regnal year with the usual pharse *Pravardhamāna Vijaya Rājya* etc. The reason for this would become obvious if we bear in mind for a moment the course of history in the Western *Chālukyan* country.

It is now well known that the last ruling years of King *Pulakēśin-II* ended in a great disaster. In retaliation for the defeat inflicted on them by *Pulakēśin-II* in his earlier years and especially to wipe off the disgrace which King *Mahēndravarma* of the *Pallāva* line had to sustain at his hands the great *Pallava* King *Mamalla Narasimha-I* son of *Mahēndravarama* who is described in the *Pallava* records[3] as putting *Pulakēśin-II* to flight in battle at *Paryāla, Manimangala, Suramara* and other places, as writing the word 'Victory' on his back as on a plate, and as destroying the city of *Vātāpi*, invaded the Western *Chālukyan* dominions and attacked and burnt *Bādāmi*. *Pulakēśin-II* actually lost his life in this. This event has to be placed somewhere between 634 A.D. and 655 A.D., because 634 A.D. is the date of the *Aihōle* Inscription[4] which gives a glowing reference to *Pulakēśin-II* and 655 A.D. is the earliest assignable data for *Vikramāditya-I* who succeeded *Pulakēśin-II*. Between these two dates i. e. 634 A.D. and 655 A.D. the invasion of *Vātāpi* by *Māmalla Narasimha-I* of the *Pallavās* took place and *Vātāpi* was burnt and *Pulakēśin-II* was slain in the battle.

The Kaira grant of *Vijayarāja* or *Vijayavarmarāja*[5] which discloses the existence of a family of the *Chālukyās* in Gujarat gives us a clue to fix the date of the fall of *Pulakēśin-II*. This grant gives no indication as to the relationship between *Jayasiṁha* and the *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi* and Dr. Fleet working on this omission to indicate the relationship or to make

1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX p. 318.
2. India Antiquary Vol XX p. 16.
3. South Indian inscriptions Vol I, p. 152.
4. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII, p. 237.
5. Indian Antiquary-Volume VII, p. 241.

any reference at all to the paramount line has come to the conclusion that at the time when this charter was issued the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi* had already experienced disaster, and that the *Chālukyās* of Gujarat while not exactly prepared to assert independence were in doubt as to what supreme authority they should recognise.[1] Since the date of his grant is ascertainable as 9th April 643 A.D., Dr. Fleet has come to the conclusion that the sack of *Bādāmi* and the disaster and death of *Pulakēśin-II* must have occurred before 643 A.D. i.e. somewhere in 641 or 642 A.D. After this, there was an interregnum in the power of the Western *Chālukyās*.

If we now compare the date 641 A.D. the date of the death and disaster of *Pulakēśin-II* at the hands of *Narasimhavarma-I* of the *Pallavās* we find that it is exactly equivalent to the *Chīpurupalli* grant[2] of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* where he also haltingly made a reference to himself as *Mahārāja* in 641 A.D. The story now becomes very clear. What has happened to the Gujarat line of *Chālukyās* has obviously happened to the Andhra line of *Chālukyās* or the Eastern *Chālukyās* in 641 A.D. when *Pulakēśin-II* fell and *Vātāpi* was burnt. Just as the *Chālukyās* of Gujarat line claimed independence, the *Chālukyās* of the Andhra line or the Eastern *Chālukyās* of *Vēngi* also proclaimed their independence on the death of *Pulakēśin-II* and the eclipse of the power of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi*. Thus it was in 641 A.D. when *Pulakēśin-II* fell, that *Vishnu Vardhana* issued his *Chīpurupalli* charter, where he makes a very halting and modest reference to himself just as a *Mahārāja* and does not refer to the year as the "*Pravarthamāna Vijaya Rājya Samvatsarē*", since by that time his reign had not firmly been established. He only gives a reference to the 18th year of his rule over the coastal districts counting his rule as a Viceroy also.

There is thus no necessity to postulate a formal separation of the Eastern *Chālukyan* line from the Western *Chālukyan* line and the investiture with full sovereign powers on *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* while *Pulakēśin-II* was alive. Such an act would go against the supreme authority of *Pulakēśin-II*, and is also very rare in history. On the other hand the assumption of independence on the death and destruction of *Pulakēśin-II* by *Vishnu Vardhana* would be the most natural thing in the world, and in fact has happened to Gujarat line of *Chālukyas* also. Hence there is no necessity at all to postulate a formal division of the kingdom of the two lines. It is enough if we conclude that in 641 A.D. when *Pulakēśin-II* fell, *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* assumed the title of *Mahārāja* and started issuing charters *in his own* name and counted the years that he had spent as *Yuvarāja* under *Pulakēśin-II* as the years of his rule.

From the evidence given above we would therefore be safe in concluding that by 616 A.D. *Vēngi* had been conquered by *Pulakēśin-II* and that *Vishnu Vardhana* had not by

1. Dynasties of the Kanarese districts, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, - p. 360.
2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, - p. 16.

that date come as Viceroy to *Vēngi* since in the same year we know from his *Satārā* grant that he was working as Viceroy in that area. Before 631 A.D. which is the date of the Kopparam plates *Vishnu Vardhana* had been installed as Viceroy in *Vēngi*. His installation can therefore have occured between these two dates viz. 615 A.D. and 631 A.D. and since 624 A.D. which falls within this interval satisfies all the major ingredients of the other data given in the other Eastern *Chālukyan* grants we would not be far wrong in assuming that in 624 A.D. he was installed as *Yuvarāja* in *Vēngi*.

The above theory will not go against the evidence of the *Kopparam* plates which mention him as *Yuvarāja* and for which reason Sri B. V. Krishna Rao had to argue at great length to identify its donor with *Dhṛuvarāja* of Goa plates since *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* would be ruling still only as *Yuvarāja* till 641 A.D. when *Pulakēśin-II* fell and the Western *Chalukyan* kingdom was reduced to ashes and there was a great gap of 12 years in the *Chālukyan* rule till 655 A.D. when *Vikramāditya-I* son of *Pulakeśin-II* rose again. *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* assumed independence and full sovereignty just as the Gujarat line of *Chālukyās* round about 641 A.D. Though in 641 A.D. *Vishnu Vardhana* assumed the title of *Mahārāja* still he counted the total number of years that he had been ruling over *Vēngi* as his total years, and hence the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology can be said to start with 624 A.D. with *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* as *Yuvarāja* who assumed full titles as *Mahārāja* in 641 A.D. after the fall of *Pulakēśin-II*.

This supposition curiously is in exact conformity with the theory of Dr. Fleet who had independently come to the conclusion that the historical events which had started the Eastern *Chālukyan* dynasty should be the installation of *Vishnu Vardhana* as *Yuvarāja* and not as a *Mahārāja*.[1] The above theory also fully explains away all the difficulties that had been felt by the other scholars. It is also in conformity with normal and natural course of events, since when the central empire fell and there was chaos and confusion, it was only natural for the outlying provinces to assert their independence under their own rulers. Otherwise the theory of conferment of full powers as an independent sovereign on *Kubja Vishnu* by *Pulakēśin-II* would not be in accordance with normal practice.

624 A.D. as the starting point of the eastern *Chālukyan* chronology is the only date that will satisfy all the ingredients given in *Rēyuru* grant of *Vishnu Vardhana-II* who was the fourth King of the eastern *Chālukyan* genealogy making allowance for a rule of 7 days for the rule of *Indrabhaṭṭāraka*. The other dates suggested by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma viz 633 A.D.[2] will not satisfy the details of this important date. Since this grant is one of the very early grants nearest in the time to *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* it is necessary that any date arrived at by us should closely correspond o1 this and hence this supports 624

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. XX p. 5.
2. Journal of Oriental Research of Madras Vol. IX, Part 1. p. 17 ff.

A.D. as the starting point of Eastern *Chālukyan* line. There is one important factor which might go against the date 624 A.D. viz the date 762 A.D. given to *Vishnu Vardhana-III* by the chronogram "*Swādita*".[1] The Eastern *Chālukyan* grants give a total period of 18 years for *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana*, 33 years for *Jayasiṁha Vallabha-I*, seven days for *Indrabhaṭṭāraka*, 9 years for *Vishnu Vardhana-II*, 25 years for *Mangi Yuvarāja*, 13 years for *Jayasiṁha Vallabha-II*, six months for *Kokkili* and 37 years for *Vishnu Vardhana-III*. Assuming the starting point as 624 A.D. we would get 758 A.D. as the closing point of the reign of *Vishnu Vardhana-III*, whereas the "*Swādita*"[1] chronogram gives 762 A.D. as belonging to *Vishnu Vardhana-III*. There is thus a discrepancy of four years. It is not, however, very difficult to adjust the period of four years over a total of 140 years, especially if we do not assume that the coronation year of a king's reign is reckoned as the starting point of the next king. The "*Swādita*" chronogram in my opinion is not a great point that can go against the date 624 A.D. especially since 624 A.D. practically satisfies all other ingredients in all other grants. The *Mattewāda* grant of *Vishnuvardhana-II* will be satisfied only if we assume a *Pūrṇimānta Phālguna* month, and not an *Amānta* month, and from the grants of *Chālukya Jayasiṁha-I*, we see that the *Pūrṇimānta* system, was also in vogue, though rarely. We can therefore accept 624 A.D. as a firm date for the starting point of the Eastern *Chālukyan* Dynasty.

If this is accepted, as it has to be, then we have from the *Pamidimukkala* grant of *Vishnu Vardhana-II*[2] that land to the extent of twelve *Khaṇḍikās* was given on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full moon day of *Kārtīka* in an unspecified regnal year to a *Brahmin Kutthisarman*, a resident of *Orodu*. Since *Vishnu Vardhana* reigned for only 9 years and since there were only two eclipses of *Kārtīka* full moon in 673 A.D. and 682 A.D. during this period we can accept September, 673 A.D. as the date of this eclipse, since the other year would be beyond his reign. If this is done, then *Jayasiṁha-I* his immediate predecessor should have started his reign in the month of *Āśvayuja* of 563 Saka expired corresponding to September, 641 A.D. The date of *Chīpurupalli* grant of *Vishnu Vardhana-I* corresponds to 641 A.D., and in that year *Vishnu Vardhana's* successor viz. *Jayasimha* had also come to the throne. We are thus able to fix precisely the end of the reign of *Vishnu Vardhana-I* as somewhere between July and September 641 A.D.

One important and interesting point emerges out of this. Three events have happened in 641 A.D. The sack of *Vātāpi* and destruction of *Pulakēśin-II* occurred in 641 A.D. *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* assumed the title of *Mahārāja* and issued his *Chīpurupalli* grant[3] in his name corresponding to his 18th year in 641 A.D. *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana's* successor

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1. C. P. No 9 of 1916—17.
2. C. Ps. Nos. 15 and 16 of 1916-17 : See A. R. E. 1917, page 8, page 115-116.
3. Indian Antiquary Vol. XX, p. 16.

Jayasiṁha Vallabha-I has succeeded him and come to the throne in 641 A.D. From the above three facts we can conclude that somewhere in 641 A. D. when *Pulakēśin-II* was destroyed and *Vātāpi* fell, and a great confusion arose in the Western *Chālukyan* territory, *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* assumed full royal powers over *Vēngi*. It is quite probable that when a great disaster was upon his brother, *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* could not have kept quiet but would have rushed to the help of his brother and he too must have probably fell in the some onslaught against the *Pallavās* since his successor had come to the throne in 641 A. D. This is the only probable solution of the date 641 A. D. which sees the close of the reigns of *Pulakēśin-II*, as well as that of *Kubja Vishnu Vardhana* of the Eastern *Chālukyan* dynasty.

The present grant refers to the queen of *Pulakēśin-II* in the following words:

"सावित्री सुवर्चलारुन्धती स्वाहा शची सम सौशील्य नय विनयदान सद्वृत्तादरादिरनेक सद्गुणैरपह-तमनस्क कदम्ब नामधेयाग्रमहादेव्या ।"

From the above and from the phrase '*Kadamba Nāmadhēya Agra Mahādēvyā*' it is clear that the *Kadamba Mahādēvi* was the first queen of *Pulakēśin-II*. It is quite possible that he might have had other queens also but whether the *Kādama Mahādēvi* is a queen of *Kadamba* clan is a matter which cannot be settled now.

In the *Aihōle* inscription[1] of *Pulakēśin-II*, it is stated that after dealing with his enemies *Appāyika* and *Gōvinda*, *Pulakēśin* turned his attention to the *Kadamba* capital *Vanavāsi*, which according to the poet *Ravikīrti* the composer of the *Aihōle* inscription 'rivalled the seat of the Gods in its wealth and was adorned by a girdle of stones sporting on the high waves of Varada river'. The fact that the *Kadambās* ceased to be a considerable power from this date, shows that *Pulakēśin*'s campaign against them was a complete success. It is just possible that with the complete subjugation of the *Kadamba* territory into his own, *Pulakēśin* might have entered into matrimonial alliances with them and married a *Kadamba* princess.

The present grant mentions an *Āluka Mahārāja* for whose eternal benefit or *Akshaya Phala* also, the grant was given. We have now to settle the identity of this *Āluka Mahārāja*. Fortunately for us two famous stone inscriptions supply us with some details on these viz., the *Mahākūta* pillar inscription[2] of *Mangalēśa* and the *Aihōle* inscription[1] of *Pulakēśin-II*. The *Mahākūta* pillar inscription gives the victories of *Kīrtivarma* which include the kings of *Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Vaṭṭura, Magadha, Madraka, Kēraḷa, Gānga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Chōla, Ālūka* and *Vaijayanti*. Some of these territories lay to the north and east and the exact location of the *Ālūka* kingdom is not upto now settled. The *Aihōle* inscription

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII, p. 237.
2. Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, p. 18.

of *Pulakēśin-II* mentions that though in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the *Gānga* and *Ālūpa* lords, being subdued by his dignity were intoxicated always by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him. '*Gangālūpendra Vyasanāni Saptahitva, Purōpārjita Saṁpadōpi Yasyānubhava Upanatassadāsanasanna Sēvāṃruta Pāna Saunḍah*', the idea being that though the two kings had renounced the vice of drinking along with the other six vices long ago, they became intoxicated once again by drinking the nectar of attending upon *Pulakēśin-II*. In other words, the *Gāngās* and *Ālūpās* had become nearest friends and associates of *Pulakēśin-II* and were always in attendance upon him. In the *Harihar* grant of *Vinayāditya* dated in 694 A.D. the *Ālūkās* are again spoken of in conjunction with the *Gāngās* and are called as *Āluvās* and as being the hereditary servants of the Western *Chālukyan* kings. Who the *Ālūpās* were is not precisely known, but since the present grant mentions the *Ālūka Mahārāja*, who had rendered great service to *Pulakēśin-II* we may not be far from the fact in assuming that the *Ālūpās* mentioned in the *Aihōle* inscription, are the same as the *Ālukās* of the *Mahākūṭa* pillar inscription. If so, since the present grant mentions that the *Ālūka Mahārāja* came from *Mangaḷapura* (which can be identified with *Mangaḷagiri* in the modern Guntur district) and took up the overlordship of *Kallūra* which is also in that district, the *Ālūkās* or the *Ālūpās* would appear to be a small ruling feudatory line of chieftains some where in the region of Guntur district.

The present grant is a very important one since it establishes that by 616 A.D. the conquest of *Vēngi* by *Pulakēśin-II* had become an established fact. This and the Kopparam plates[1] conclusively prove that in the first two decades of the seventh century itself, the Guntur-Nellore region had been fully conquered by *Pulakēśin-II*, and the *Pallava* king *Mahēndravarman*, must have been deprived of these territories during the early part of the reign of *Pulakēśin-II*. The phrase '*Pishṭhapurakādānagrahaṇānantaryēṇa*' goes to prove that the conquest of *Vēngi* did occur in 616 A.D. itself. The king is described as granting the village from *Kallūra* and the *Ālūka Mahārāja* for whose benefit also the grant was made is said to have come from *Mangaḷagiri* is modern Guntur District and *Kallūra* is a well known place in the Guntur District. The village that was granted, *Māruṭūru* is also very well known in Narasaraopet taluk of Guntur district. This is one of the most important grants for a study of the Western *Chālukyan* as well as the Eastern *Chālukyan* chronology and history and it is a great pity that the original of the grant should have been allowed to be lost without realising its importance.

1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

TEXT AND PLATES
OF
THE MĀRUṬŪRU GRANT OF PULAKĒŚIN-II

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१. स्वामिमहासेनपदानुध्यातानां मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां चक्य[1] कुल

२. विपुलनभस्थलाक्रान्तगुणगभस्तिमालालंकृतभास्कर सत्याश्रय श्री प्रिथिवी

३. स्वस्ति[2] वल्लभमहाराजः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः रिपुजनमृगकुल

४. भयजननवाहनवरचरणचारामलनयनः शौर्य्योग्रदम्ष्ट्रप्रता

५. पवीर्य्यवेगोद्यतनृपतिसिङ्ग[3]सिङ्ग[4]विक्रान्तः स्वबाहुबलसामर्थ्यो

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

६. पार्जितराज्यसम्पन्नः नयविनयविज्ञानदानदयादाक्षिण्य

७. मतिबलोत्साहधैर्य्यस्थैर्य्यमाधुर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्य[5]वीर्य्यत्याग (परम)[6] ब्रह्म

८. ण्यतादिरनेक[7] गुणगणालंकृतशरीरः कृत्तिलकभूतः[8] सुकृतानां

९. सर्त्ता दुष्कृतानां विसर्त्ता निरुपहतपञ्चेन्द्रियशरीरः पवनबल

१०. चलितोत्तुङ्गतरङ्ग[9]वलिसहस्राकीर्ण्णजलनिधिवलयातिक्रान्त

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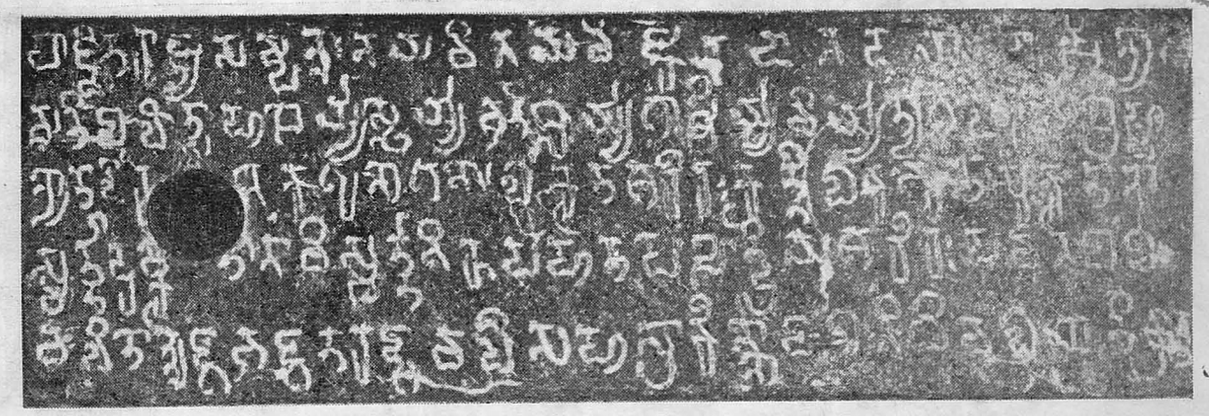
1. To be corrected as चलुक्य
2. The word स्वस्ति must have come at the beginning of the grant
3. Read as सिंह
4. Read as सिंह
5. The middle letter is not clearly written but the word undoubtedly is गाम्भीर्य्य
6. The word परम is indistinct
7. Correct Samasa would be ब्रह्मण्यताद्यनेक
8. Ornament among experts in doing deeds कृतां तिलक भूतः कृत्तिलक भूतः
9. Read as तरङ्गावलि

THE *MĀRUṬURU* PLATES OF *PULAKEŚIN-II*

First Plate, Second Side



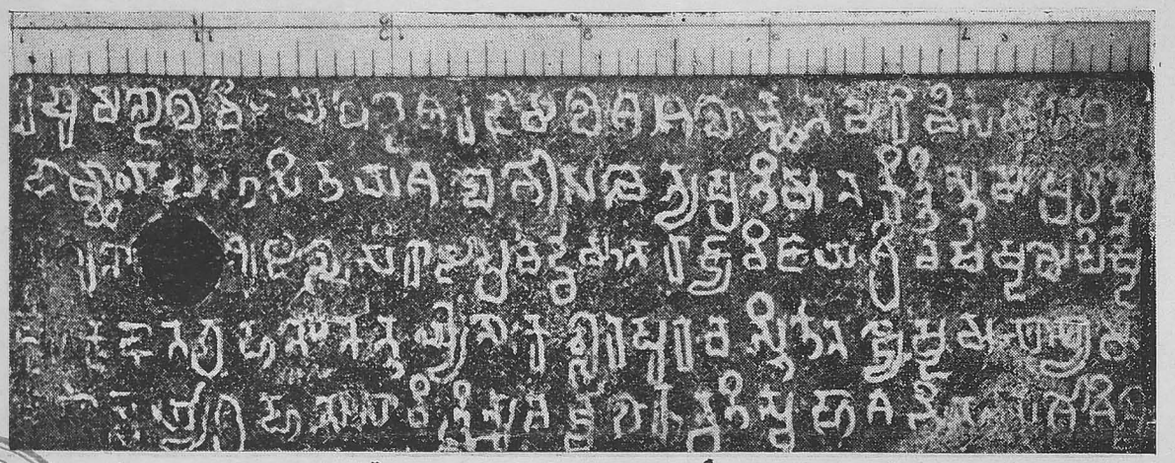
Second Plate, First Side



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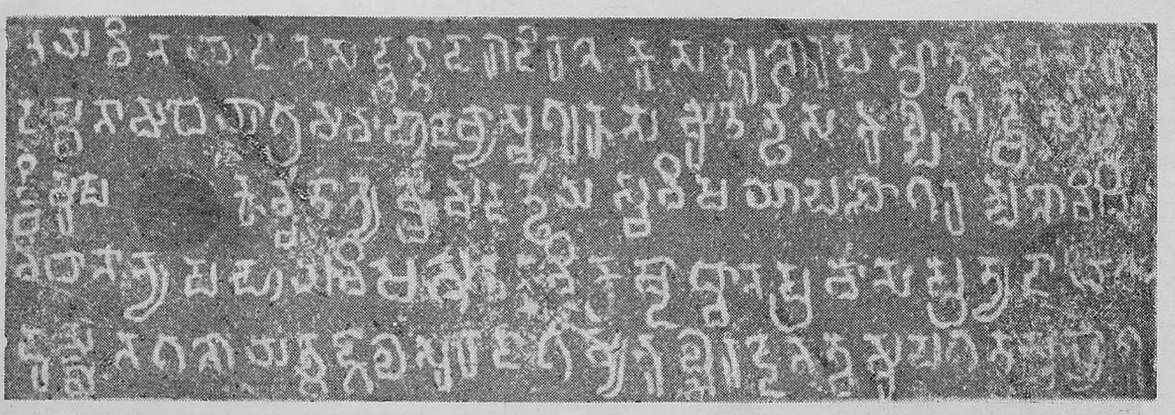
THE *MĀRUṬŪRU* PLATES OF *PULAKĒŚIN-II*

Second Plate : Second Side



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Third Plate : First Side



SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

११. रिपुमण्डलविजय लब्धशरदमलशशलांच्छन मरीचिसंहतिधव

१२. ळच्छायोपहसितयशः[10] बभौ स चैन्य[11] प्रतिमानकीर्त्तिस्तमःप्रमृष्टं

१३. स्व[12]गुणांशुजालैः[13] सराजा प्रवर्द्धमान राज्य विजय श्री वर्षेष्टमे पिष्ट

१४. पुरकादानग्रहणानन्तर्य्येणः[14] कल्लूर पुरवस्तितेन[15] ज्येष्टमासस्यामा

१५. वास्यां[16] सूर्य्यग्रहणे सावित्रीसुवर्च्चलारुन्धतीस्वाहाशचीसम[17]शौशील्य[18]

THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

१६. नयविनयदानसद्वृत्तादरादिरनेक[19]सद्गुणै रपहृतमनस्क क

१७. दम्बनामधेयाग्रममहादेव्या स्वगुरुसमुतर्थ[20] संकल्पसिद्धिसमृ

१८. द्धिमुपकुर्व्वतान्यच्च[21] मदर्त्य य[22] स्वविषयोपबोग[23]रक्षणविधि

१९. विधानान्यपहय[24] विषमविकृष्टाध्वानप्रवासप्रत्यदाय

२०. दुःखानगणय[25] न्मङ्गलसुरादागम्य[26] कल्लूरद्देतत्वमुपगतस्तस्यालु

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10. Should be यशाः
11. Correct as वैन्य
12. The letter स्व is very faint but is distinctly legible
13. This is half line of a verse
14. Read as पिष्टपुरकादानग्रहणानन्तर्येण
15. Read as पुरावस्थितेन
16. The letters वास्यां are faint. The correct reading is ज्येष्टमासस्यामावास्यायां
17. The word सम is indistinct
18. Read as सौशील्य
19. The correct samasa would be सद्वृत्तादराद्यनेक
20. Meaning is not clear. Probably it should be स्वगुरुसमुदर्थ
21. The anvaya would be संकल्पसिद्धिसमृद्धिं, उपकुर्वता, अन्यच्च
22. Read as मदर्थं यः
23. Read as भोग
24. Read as विधानान्यपहाय
25. The anvaya should be विषम, विकृष्ट, अध्वान प्रवास, प्रत्यवाय, दुःखानि अगणयन्। The word प्रत्यदाय should be read as प्रत्यवाय. Also correct samasa would be दुःखान्यगणयन्।
26. Read as मङ्गलपुरादागम्य

THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE

२१. क[27] महाराजस्याक्षय्यफलो भवत्वयमिति वासिष्टस[28]गोत्र चतुर्व्वे

२२. दविदाभ्यां ज्येष्ठकोण्डभीमस्वामिभ्यां चतुर्व्वेदविदि[29] भारद्वाजगोत्राय

२३. जनस्वामिने भारद्वाजगोत्र एव[30] चतुर्वेदविदि[31]

२४. पण्डरंगस्वामिने गौतमसगोत्रायाशीतितार्कक दिवाकरस्वा

२५. मिने अग्निवेश्यसगोत्रायाशीतितार्ककाय भोजस्वामिने

FOURTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE

२६. काश्यपसगोत्रायाशीतितार्ककाय रेवस्वामिने भारद्वाज

२७. सगोत्र गृहीतसाहस्राय जन्नस्वामिने, कौशिकस

२८. गोत्राय सहस्रा[32]तार्ककाय आदित्यस्वामिने भारद्वा

२९. जसगोत्र सहस्रतार्ककाय विष्णुस्वामिने वासिष्ठसगोत्राय

३०. [वाम]स्वामिने काश्यपसगोत्र वर्ण्णत्रयनिवृत्ताय गोप

27. The phrase as it stands makes no sense. It probably should be कल्लूर देवत्वं उपगतः तस्य आलुक महराजस्य

28. Read as वासिष्ठस

29. The letter द after चतुर्व्वे is written below the line with a plus mark to indicate its position. The mistake was probably noticed and corrected after the grant was finally inscribed. The correct reading should be चतुर्व्वेदविदे.

30. The व looks like च.

31. The correct word should be चतुर्व्वेदविदे.

32. Elongation superfluous

Plate I (c)

THE *MĀRUṬŪRU* PLATES OF *PULAKEŚIN-II*

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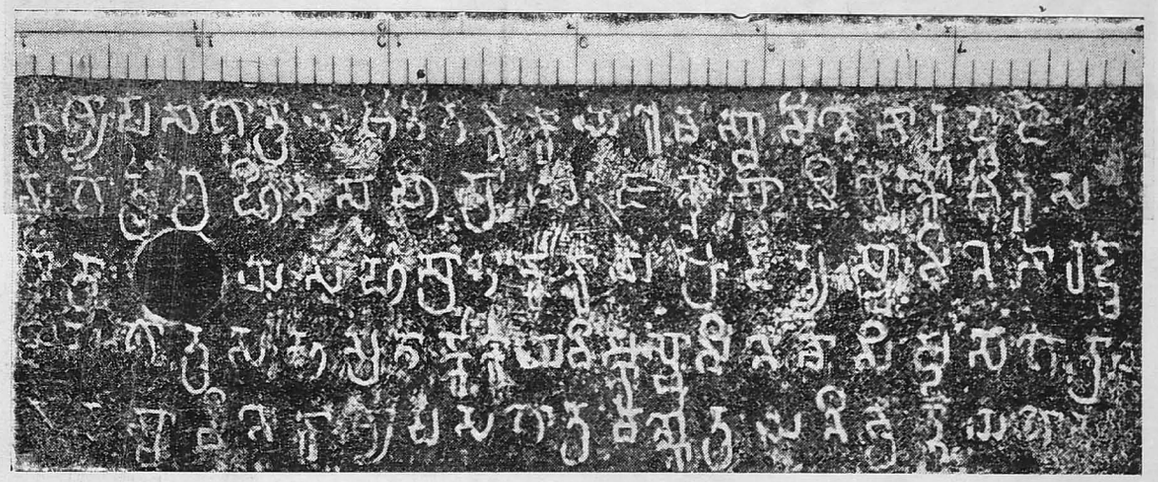
Third Plate : Second Side



22

24

Fourth Plate : First Side



26

28

30

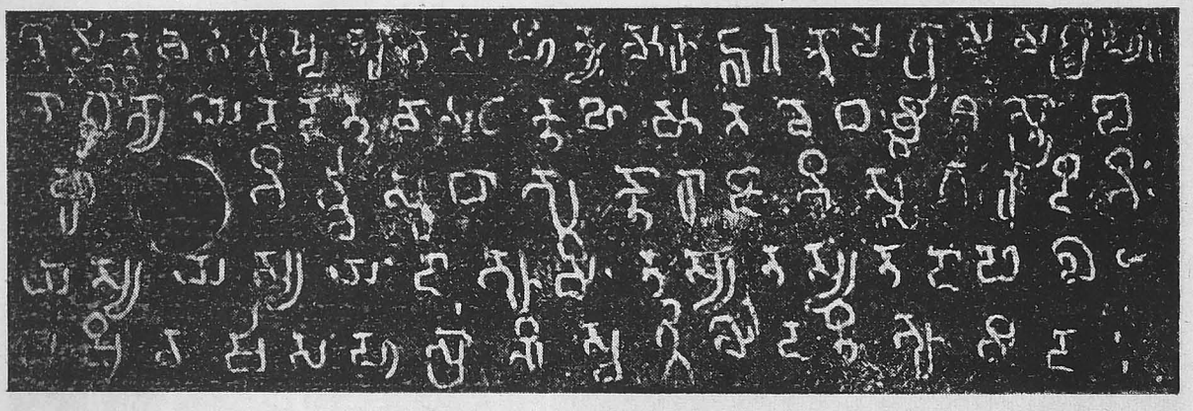
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THE *MĀRUṬŪRU* PLATES OF *PULAKEŚIN-II*

Fourth Plate, Second Side

32

34



Fifth Plate, First Side

36

38

40



FOURTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

३१. श्वामिने[33] च वन्निप्प ळ[34] व सहित्य मारुटूरन्नामग्राममग्रहार

३२. नतावट[35]भागन्यायेन दत्तवान् उक्तंहि मानवे धर्म्मशास्त्रे ब

३३. हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।]

३४. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [॥]

३५. षष्टिवर्षसहस्रांसि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।]

FIFTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

३६. आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ताच [ता] न्येव नर

३७. के वसेत् [॥] स्वं दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं

३८. दु·खमन्यत्र पालनं [।] दानं वा

३९. पालनं वे[36]ति दानाच्छ्रेयो नु

४०. पालन मिति । +[37]

33. Read as स्वामिने

34. The meaning of this word is not clear.

35. The word नतावट is written in between the two lines. Meaning not applicable to the present context.

36. व written like च

37. Faint traces of some other letters are seen here. It looks as if, a plate already written was used, after roughing out the entire writing.

CHAPTER III

THE *TUMMĒYANŪRU* GRANT OF *PULAKEŚIN-II*

These plates were brought to the Hyderabad Museum some time ago. Just as in the case of the *Māruṭūru* grant of *Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha* published earlier in this volume, the importance of this grant also does not appear to have been fully appreciated. Consequently no attempt was made to find out the spot from which these plates were discovered or to take steps to preserve them in the Museum or to take an estampage of it. These plates also would appear to have been destroyed with the earlier plates as part of the refuse of the Museum. Fortunately due to the good sense of Sri V. Nagaraj, Photographer of the Department of Archaeology, an excellent photo of the entire grant has been preserved and the grant is being edited with the help of those photos. Except for the fact that the copper plate grant was discovered somewhere in the border between Kurnool and Mahaboobnagar districts, no other details are available about the find spot etc. of the plates.

The inscription is written on three copper plates held together by a ring. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each 6.4″ in length and 1.8″ in breadth. The plates are not avilable to verify if the rims are raised. There is a hole about 0.4″ in diameter in the left side of the plates for a ring to pass through. The total weight of the plates, the ring and the seal are not available, as the plates are not available.

There are altogether 24 lines of writing in the inscription distributed as follows :—

First plate second side	7 lines
Second plate first side	6 lines
Second plate second side	6 lines
Third plate first side	5 lines
	24 lines

The inscription is engraved upon the inner side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate. The outer side of the first and the third plates is not inscribed. The characters belong to the Western *Chālukyan* script and resemble those of many other inscriptions of this line of kings. The language of the record is *Sanskrit* and it is written in prose. In point of orthography the record closely resembles

the other Western *Chālukyan* records that have been discovered up to now.

The grant was issued by *Pulakēśin-II* who is described in the grant as "*Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārājādhi Rājā Paramēśwara*", in the immediate presence of Lord *Sangamēśwara* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on a *Kārtika Paūrṇami* day. The year of the issue of the grant is not specifically mentioned in the record. The grant is of the village *Tummēyanūru* which is described in the grant, as being situated in the *Chālukya Vishaya*, and located in between *Santanūr* and *Pulikurōpe* villages on the southern bank of *Chintēru* near *Jukūr Tirtha*. The grant was made to *Mābugaṇaswāmy* of the *Ātrēyasa Gōtrā* and the *Āpāstaṁba Sūtra*, who was the son of *Mālarēvaswāmy* of the *Indupūr Ghaṭika*. The father of the grantee is described as well versed in the *Vēda*, *Vēdānga* and the *Itihāsa*, as performing the six duties or *Shaṭkarmās* well, and as being praised by all the people for his excellent character and the merit that he acquired thereby. The land which was granted is said to have been measured by a standard Royal measure or *Rājamāna* measuring 25 *Nivartanās*. It would therefore appear that the entire village *Tummēyanūr* was not granted but only a particular portion of it measured out by the *Rājamāna*. This is borne out by the fact that in describing the boundaries of the grant, the Western boundary is described as *Kapparēpa Pannāsa*. *Pannāsa* is a measure of land and it is thus clear that the grant is of a portion of land either in *Tummēyanūr* village or the block of land itself is being called *Tummēyanūr* in the grant and is described as being bounded by the other *Pannāsās* mentioned in the grant, and being measured out by a Royal standard scale each measuring 25 *Nirvartanās* or *Rājamāna*.

The grant is obviously that of *Pulakēśin-II* though the name *Pulakēśin* does not specifically appear in the grant. The grant starts with the usual Western *Chālukyan Praśasti* and mentions *Kīrtivarma*, to whom is said to have been born the king *Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahā Rājādhi Rāja*. In the Hyderabad Plates of *Pulakēśin-II*[1] he is described merely as *Srī Satyāśraya Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārāja* and not as *Mahā Rājādhi Rāja Paramēśwara*. In the Goa Plates[2] of Saka 532, he is described as *Srī Pṛithvī Vallbha Mahārāja*. In this grant another phrase is added as follows, to describe the king:

"*Para Nṛipati Parājayōpalabdha Paramēśwara Apara Nāmadhēyaḥ*" which means that he obtained another name *Paramēswara* by defeating a host of hostile kings. In the next grant[3] of a later king as for example that of *Ādityavarma*, the epithets *Mahā Rājādhi Rājah* and *Paramēśwara* are applied to the king as well as to his father. In other words the final settlement of the Western *Chālukyan Birudās* would appear to be mere *Mahārājaḥ* for

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1. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI p. 72.
2. Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X, - p. 365.
3. Journal of the Bombay branch, Royal Asiatic Society Vol, XVI—page 240.

Pulakēśin-I and *Mahārājā* and *Paramēśwara* for *Pulakēśin-II* and *Mahārājādhi Rāja Paramēśwara* and *Bhaṭṭaraka* for his successors, *Vikramāditya-I*, *Vinayāditya* etc.

From the description of the king as *Satyāśṛaya Śṛī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārājādhi Rājaparamēśwara* in the grant it is clear that this is a grant of *Pulakēśin-II* after he had attained the title *Paramēśwara*, the origin of which is mentioned in his Hyderabad grant.

The inscription does not specifically mention any year, as the year of the grant. However, it gives the information that the grant was made on a lunar eclipse during a full moon-day of a *Kārthika* month. *Pulakēśin-II* is said to have come to throne in 610 A. D.–611 A. D. and ruled for roughly forty years. During this period of time, there was *Kārtika Pūrṇami* Lunar eclipse in the years 618, 619, 635, 636 and 637 A. D. It is not possible to exactly locate the year of the grant from out of this in the absense of further information.

The present grant is very important since it gives us an interesting clue to the homeland of the *Chālukyās*. This grant introduces for the first time the phrase "*Chalkya Vishaya*", which refers to a territorial division of the land called *Chalkya*. The word *Chalkya* is the original form of the dynastic name and by the insertion of a euphonic vowel, this became *Chālukya* later on. From this name of the clan, the territory must have derived its name.

The following other details, that are available to us, regarding the origin of *Chālukyās* gleaned from the other *Chālukyan* records will be of interest in solving this problem.

(a) Most of the Western *Chālukyan* inscriptions have been recovered from the *Rāyalasīma* districts of Andhra Pradesh. For example three of the plates of *Vikramāditya-I* have been found in Kurnool district, and in addition a number of plates of the later kings, as for example the *Māyalūru* plates of *Vinayāditya* etc. have all been recovered from those districts only.

(b) Most of the villages mentioned in the Western *Chālukyan* grants are identifiable with those situated in the *Rāyalasīma* districts.

(c) Many terms like '*Vadlu*', '*Khanduka Vadlu*', '*Unchamanna*' etc. are all local terms which occur in the plates of *Vikramāditya-I* and others. The words '*Vadlu*' and '*Khanduka Vadlu*' are obviously telugu words.

(d) There are also some stone inscriptions[1] of *Vinayāditya* and *Vikramāditya* in Telugu language and these are some of the earliest Telugu inscriptions available to us.

(e) In addition, we must also remember, that there is a traditional account of the origin of the Eastern *Chālukyās* which is found in the *Nandampūdi* grant[2] of the Eastern *Chālukyan* king *Rāja Rāja*. In this grant, the legendary account of the origin of the *Chālukyās* is given in great detail. According to this, *Vijayāditya*, the

1, Ep. coll. No. 364—1920 Ep. coll. No. 359—1920

2. Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV. p. 300.

earliest ancestor of the *Chālukyan* family, is said to have been defeated and killed by *Trilōchanapallava*. *Vijayāditya's* wife who was carrying at that time, took refuge along with a purohit, at a place called *Mudivēmu*. There she was given shelter and brought up by one *Vishnubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji*. In course of time, she gave birth to a male child which was named as *Vishnuvardhana*. Having learnt the disaster of his father from his mother, *Vishnuvardhana* when he grew up, went to a hill called '*Chālukya giri*' and there did *Tapascharya* and invoked the aid of Goddess *Nandabhagavati Gowri*. He also invoked the aid of Lord *Kumāra*, *Nārāyaṇa* and the *Mātṛigaṇās*. Through this divine help, he obtained his royal insignia and then conquered the *Kadamba*, the *Gānga* and the other kings, and thus founded the *Chālukya* kingdom after doing penance in the *Chālukyagiri*. The *Mudivēmu* mentioned here has been identified with *Peddamudiyam* of *Jammalamadugu* taluq of *Cuddapah* district. The mountain *Chālukyagiri* where *Vishnuvardhana* did his penance should therefore be situated in the regional habitat of the *Chālukyās* viz. the *Chālkya Vishaya*, just as other hills as for example the '*Mūshikaparvata*' derive their name by being situated in the territory of *Mūshikās*.

(f) There is a reference in the *Nāgārjunakonda* inscriptions[1] to *Khanḍa Chalīki Remmanaka* i.e. *Remmanaka*, son of *Khanḍa Chalīki*, who was *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahātalavara* of the *Ikshavāku* ruler *Vīrapurashadatta*. This is the earliest *Chālukyan* chieftain known to history. But this chieftain is described as *Vāsishṭhi Putra*, whereas the *Chālukyās* were *Harītiputrās*.

The present grant by *Pulakēśin-II* introduces for the first time a reference to *Chālukya Vishaya* and from the find spot of the grant, and from the reference in the grant to *Sangamēśwara* which obviously refers to Lord *Sangamēśwara* situated at the confluence of the *Tungabhadra* and the *Krishna* rivers, near *Ālampūr* of *Mahabūbnagar* district, it is very clear that the *Chālukya Vishaya* should have formed part of the *Rāyalasīma* districts, inclusive of *Kurnool* and perhaps part of the *Mahabūbnagar* district also. The *Chalīkīs* or *Chālkyās* must have been originally the inhabitants of the *Rāyalasīma* districts, and probably were living in the neighbourhood of the *Srīśaila*, and their homeland must have come to be called as *Chālukya vishaya*, after them.

The *Indupūr Ghaṭika* mentioned in the grant obviously refers to a *Ghaṭika* that must have been in existence at *Indupūr*. This and the other villages etc. mentioned in the grant are not susceptible of verification with the modern villages. *Sangamēśwara* in whose presence the grant is made obviously refers to the Lord of the *Sangamēśwara* temple at the confluence of the rivers *Krishna* and *Tungabhadra* and within a few miles of the famous *Ālampūr Kshētra* of the modern *Mahabūbnagar* district.

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1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XX, 18, B, 4.

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलजगदभिवन्द्यमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां त्रिभुवन
२. मातृभिर्म्मातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानामश्वमेधावभृत[1] पवित्रीकृत व [पुषां]
३. कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षितपितृपैतामहपरम्पराणां [सकलजनसं]
४. स्तूयमाननारायणपादानुग्रहोपलब्धवराहलाञ्छनानां हारी
५. तिपुत्राणाञ्चालुक्यानामन्वयमलंकरिष्णुः स्वभुजबलविजितरिपु
६. समितिरवनतानेकनरपतिमकुटतट्घटितचरणाः[2] [मारुह ?]
७. कीर्त्तिवर्म्मानामनृपतिरभूत् तस्यावनिभृतामधिपस्य [कीर्त्ति]

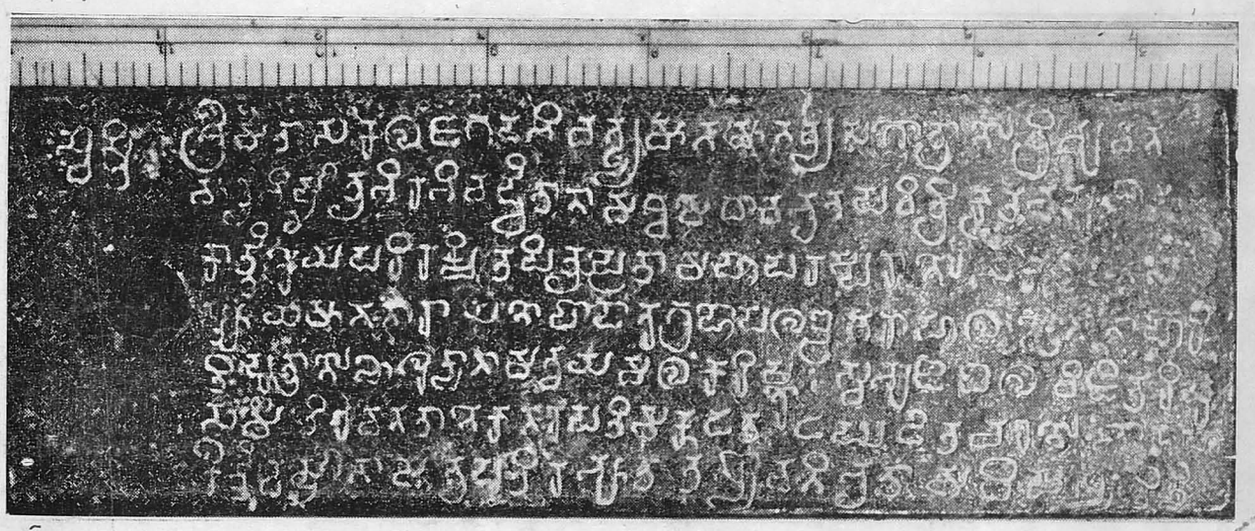
SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

८. वर्म्मणः पुत्रः रविरिव स्वतेजसाक्रान्तवसुमतीवलयः
९. गुह इव स्वशक्तिनिराकृताशेषरिपुजनः नारायण
१०. इव स्वभुजबलधृतवसुन्धराभरः सत्याश्रय श्री
११. पृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः सकल
१२. जनसंस्तूयमान स्वचारित्रोपचितपुण्यकर्म्मणे षट्क
१३. र्म्मनिरताय वेदवेदांगेतिहासविदे इन्दुपु[illegible] वुध

1. Read as अवभृथ
2. Read as चरणः

THE *TUMMEYANURU* PLATES OF *PULAKEŚIN-II*

First Plate : Second Side



Second Plate : First Side



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THE *TUMMEYANŪRU* PLATES OF *PULAKEŚIN-II*

Second Plate : Second Side



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Third Plate : First Side



SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१४. टिका सामान्यस्य मन्त्रमालरेवस्वामिनः पुत्राय मावुगण

१५. स्वामिने आत्रेय गोत्राय आपस्तंभ[3] सूत्राय चलुक्य विष

१६. ये सान्तनूरु पुळिकु ल्लि पु ग्रामयोर्म्मध्ये जुकु ळ्ळ ती

१७. र्त्थ समीपे चिंघे ळ्ळ दक्षिणतटे तुम्बेयल्लूरि आदि

१८. त्य उञ्छसपन्नासमोल्लळकन्नि उञ्छसहितमुदकपू

१९. र्व्वं कार्त्ति (क) पौर्ण्णमास्यां ग्रहणनिमित्तं भगवतः संग

THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

२०. मेश्वरपुरस्तात् प्रादात् (१) तस्योपन्नासस्यप्रमाण पञ्चविं

२१. शतिनिवर्त्तनमात्रा राजमानेन ....

२२. सु पूर्व्वस्यान्दिशि सीम अपरस्यान्दिशि कप्परे पा ळ्ळ

२३. पान्नस स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां गवां

२४. शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति किल्बिषम्

3. स्तंब

CHAPTER IV

THE *VĒḶNALLI* GRANT OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-I* OF THE WESTERN *CHĀLUKYAN* DYNASTY — 596 A.D.

This set of plates was also discovered by me among the discarded stuff of the Hyderabad Museum that was set apart for disposal. This was salvaged in time by me. The provenance of the grant and the place from which it was recovered are unfortunately lost to us and there is no record kept of it anywhere. An examination of the grant reveals that it is the same as the *Gadwāl* plates of *Vikramāditya-I* published in Epigraphia Indica Volume X, Page 100. How it came to be acquired by the Hyderabad museum is not known.

The inscription is incised on three plates each measuring 9″ in length and about $4\frac{1}{4}$″ in breadth. The plates are held together with a ring the ends of which are closed by a seal containing the well-known *Varāha* emblem of the *Chālukyās*. The edges of the plates are well raised. The plates, and the ring and seal weigh 1375 grms. and 390 grms. respectively. The first and the last plates are inscribed on the inner side only, while the middle plate is written on both the sides. There are altogether 38 lines in writing distributed as follows :

First plate second side	9 lines
Second plate first side	8 lines
Second plate second side	11 lines
Third plate first side	10 lines
Total	38 lines

An excellent photo of the plates and the seal is published along with this.

The characters belong to the old Telugu Kannada script, and closely resemble those of the other charters issued by the Western *Chālukyan* kings. The language of the record is wholly *Sanskrit*. In point of view of orthography the inscription closely resembles those of the other records of *Vikramāditya-I*. The usual features of orthography like the use of class nasals for *Anuswāra* and *Visarga Sandhi* are also seen in this grant.

The date of the grant is clearly mentioned as

षण्णावत्युत्तर पञ्चशतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु,
प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्य संवत्सर विंशतितमे ॥

i.e. 596 of Saka year, corresponding to the 20th victorious year of the reign of the king. 596 Saka corresponds to the year 674 A.D. and this tallies with the 20th year of the King *Vikramāditya* since he is said to have ascended the throne in 654-55 A.D. Hence the grant may be assigned to the year 674-75 A.D. The grant is said to have been made on the *Vaiśakha Poūrṇamāsya* day and hence the exact date would be 15th April, 675 A.D. which is the date of the grant.

The grant was made when the king had entered the "*Chōḷika Vishaya*" and was living in the "*Vijaya Skandhāvāra*" or the victorious army headquarters of *Uragapura* on the southern banks of the river *Kāvēri*. The phrase used is :

चोलिक विषयं प्रविश्य कावेरी दक्षिण तटावस्थित
उरगपुरं अधिवसवति विजयस्कन्धावारे ॥

The grant was made at the instance of *Ganga Mahādēvi* and was given to *Kundaśarma* son of *Swāmivanda Śarma* and the grand son of *Īswara Shadangavith* of the *Kapyasa Gōtra* which refers to *Kapi Gōtra*. The grant was made of land to an extent of 25 *Nivartanās* measured by a royal standard measure of the *Rājamāna*. It is stated that the grant was made with *Khanduka Vaḍla Sahita* or with a *Khanduka* full of *Vaḍlu*. The *Khanduka* obviously refers to a '*Puṭṭi*' and *Vaḍlu* is paddy grain and hence the grant is made along with a *Puṭṭi* of paddy grain to the brahmins. Along with the grant to the above mentioned person a further grant of land of an extent of 25 *Nivartanās* measured by the royal measure or the *Rājamāna* was also made to *Bāḍammaswāmy* son of *Tātammaswāmy* and grand son of *Mahēśwaraswāmy* belonging to *Vatsasa Gōtra*. In addition a further grant of land to an extent of 25 *Nivartanās* was also made to *Kānta Śarma*. The grant was written by the *Mahāsandhi Vigrahika* by name *Srī Jayasēna*. The grant further records in the last line an interesting fact that *Kundaswāmy* himself is the executor of this grant and no one else. After the usual imprecatory phrases at the end of the grant it is stated that the grant is made by king who is described as born in the *Chālukya Vaṁsa* and as destroyer of the *Pallavakula*.

The grant begins with the usual and well-known stanzas.....

जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोः वराहं क्षोभितार्णवम् etc.

As is usual with the beginning of the various charters of the *Chālukyās*, the king's great grand-father is described as *Pulakēśi Vallabha Mahārāja*. This obviously refers to *Pulakēśin-I*. He is described in the grant as being born in the *Chālukya Vaṁsa* whose line of kings belong

to the *Mānavyāsa Gōtra* which is being praised by all the worlds, who were the sons of *Harīti*, who were brought up by the *Sapta Lōka Mātṛikas*, whose family was being well protected by Lord *Kārtikēya* and who had obtained the *Varāhalāñchana* or the Boar symbol by the grace of the Lord *Vishnu*. King *Pulakēśin-I* is also said to possess a body that had been purified by the *Avabṛitha Snāna* at the end of an *Aśvamēdha*. After him a reference is made to *Satyāśraya Srī Kīrti Vallabha Mahārāja* who is the father of *Pulakēśin-II*. After him a reference is made to *Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha Mahārāja Paramēśwara* who is the father of the grantor and is described as having obtained the second name of *Paramēśwara* by defeating *Srī Harshavardhana* who was the Lord of the *Uttarāpatha*.

Then the present grantor viz. king *Vikramāditya-I* is referred to. He is said to have overthrown with the help of his horse called *Chitrakaṇṭha* and his sharp sword, which was irradiated by tasting the blood of the hostile kings in many famous battles, the confederacy of three kings who had interrupted the royalty of his father. His arm is said to be like the coils of the serpent which sustains the burden of the earth. Having brought the entire kingdom under the rule of one sovereign he reestablished by the fiat of his own mouth for furthering his fame and piety the grants which had been made to the Gods and the brahmins and which had been destroyed by the intervening three reigns. Having won the hostile kings in country after country, in war without any impedements, the goddess of fortune of his lineage assumed again the position of supreme Lordship. Up to now the *Praśasti* is the same as that which is found in the other plates of *Vikramāditya-I*.

After this follow four stanzas in this grant which are also found only in the Hyderabad plates of king *Vikramāditya-I*.

In the first of these stanzas it is stated that victory was achieved by *Srī Vallabha* who crushed the glory of *Narasimha*, destroyed the valour of *Mahēndra* and subdued *Ēaśwara* with his very eyes referring obviously to the three *Pallava* kings. In the second stanza it is stated that *Vikramāditya* who bore the title *Śrīvallabha* became joyous and even more so after forcibly wooing the lady of the Southern quarters and had taken possession of *Kānchi* which was her girdle. In the third verse it is stated that the king *Raṇa Rasika* bore the title *Rāja Malla* since he destroyed the *Mahāmalla* an obvious reference to *Narasimhavarma*, the Pallava king. The last verse describes the defence of *Kānchi*, which was girt by a moat which was deep and difficult and by rampart walls difficult to cross, and says that the city was captured by the conqueror of *Ēāśwarapōtarāja*.

There is one passage in the grant which has given rise to some controversy regarding its interpretation. The phrase is as follows :—

"स्वगुरोः श्रियमवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितां आत्मसाकृत्य कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेष राज्यभरस्तस्मिन्राज्यत्रये विनष्टानि देवस्वब्रह्मदेयानि धर्म्मयशोधर्म्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्थापितवान्।"

Literally translated, the above phrase means, that the king *Vikramāditya* made his own, the kingdom of his father which had been engulfed by three other kings, and in which he reestablished by the order of his mouth for the furtherence of Dharma and fame, the grants that had been given for the benefit of the Gods and the brahmins. Who exactly are the three kings mentioned above who partitioned among themselves the kingdom of *Pulakēśin-II* is a moot point to determine.

The broad facts of history of this period are well-known. The *Pallava* king *Narasiṁhavarma-I* (630-668 A.D.) defeated and killed *Pulakēśin-II* about 642 A.D. and *Bādāmi* city which was the capital of the Western *Chālukyās* was also burnt. *Vikramāditya-I* the son of *Pulakēśin-II* was able to reassert himself, and establish the kingdom again in 655 A.D. The struggle with the *Pallavās* however continued during the time of the *Pallava* king *Mahēndravarma-II* (668-670 A.D.) son of *Narasiṁhavarma* and his successor *Paramēśwara* (670-680 A.D.). What happened in the interregnum from 642 to 54 A.D. is not quite clear, though it is certain that the Western *Chālukyās* reestablished their supremacy, after defeating the *Pallavās*.

The *Avanīpati Tritaya* mentioned here, has been held to refer to the *Chōḷās*, the *Pāṇḍyās* and the *Kēraḷās* of the south by some scholars, and to the three *Pallava* kings, who ruled over parts of *Kānchi*, Ceded districts and Nellore and Guntur districts by some other scholars. If the reference to the *Avanīpati Tritaya* means *Chōḷās*, *Pāṇḍyās* and *Kēraḷās*, then including the *Pallavās*, there should have been four kings and not three kings who should have been defeated by *Vikramāditya*. In fact Dr. D. C. Sircar who has edited the *Amadālapāḍu* plates of *Vikramāditya-I*[1] was fully aware of this difficulty, and he has stated that it is difficult to determine which of the four southern kings viz. *Pāṇḍya*, *Chōḷā*, *Pallava* and *Kēraḷa* is to be omitted in this, and has further stated that the explanation of the omission of one of the four powers by *Vikramāditya-I* would appear to be, that the king had no occasion to enter into that particular territory.

If the reference is to the *Chōḷa*, *Pāṇḍya* and *Kēraḷa* empire, then, the mention of *Uragapura* in the *Chōḷika Vishaya* in this plate would be difficult to explain. From the details given in this plate it is seen that *Vikramāditya* was camping at *Uragapura* which was his *Vijayaskandhāvāra* or a military camping ground at *Uragapura*. Thus if the *Chōḷa* kingdom by the date of the grant viz. 674 A.D. had not fully been conquered by *Vikramāditya-I* it is obvious that the *Avanīpati Tritaya* could not include the *Chōḷas* by that date. Moreover the four verses regarding the conquest of the *Pallavās* explained above are mentioned also in the earlier Hyderabad grant of *Vikramāditya-I*.[2] It is thus clear that the reference to the *Avanīpati Tritaya* is only to the defeat of the *Pallavās*, and that event must

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXII, Chapter IV, - p. 182.
2. Indian Antiquary Vol. VI p. 75

have happened during the early part of the reign of *Vikramāditya*. His conquest of the *Chōḷa* kingdom, for which we get the date as 674 A.D. in this grant must have been during the later part of his reign, since *Vikramāditya's* reign itself came to close round about 678 A.D. In other words, since just five years before the close of his reign, *Vikramāditya* is found camping at the military camping place of *Uragapura* which is obviously a reference to *Uraiyūr* of the *Trichnopoly* district which was the capital of *Chōḷās*, the *Avanīpati Tritaya* by whose conquest he re-established his family prestige at the beginning of his reign cannot obviously refer to *Chōḷās*, and could not also refer to *Pāṇḍyās* and *Kēraḷās* since no conquest of their territory would be possible except by a march through the *Chōḷa* territory, unless he has marched by the West coast for which there is no evidence. Thus the '*Avanīpati Tritaya*' mentioned here, refers only to the three component parts of the kingdom of the *Pallavās* which comprised portions of *Kānchi*, Ceded districts, and Nellore and Guntur districts. This view is also in consonance with the geographical factors, since these three areas are contiguous to the Western *Chālukyan* dominions, and if *Vikramāditya* had reestablished his sovereignty by defeating the *Pallavās* and *Narasiṁha-varma-I*, he could possibly have done so, only by conquering the Ceded districts, Nellore and Guntur districts and then the area near *Kānchi*. It is only after this is done, can he move into the *Chōḷa* territory, which he must have done in the closing years of his reign. Since the reestablishment of the kingdom itself by *Vikramāditya-I* is after his reconquest of his father's kingdom, that had been partitioned by three kings, it is obvious that the three kings could only be the three *Pallava* kings who had been ruling over component parts of the kingdom.

It is also significant to note here that at this period of time the *Chōḷās* were not a mighty ruling family. It was only under the great *Vījayālaya* that the *Chōḷas* reasserted their independence. Duriug 7th Century A.D. the *Chōḷās* were insignificant rulers. It is therefore important to remember that the village *Vēḷnalli* granted is said to be situated in the *Chōḷika Vishaya*. The term '*Vishaya*' is well-known as a name of a territorial division of a country or a kingdom, and if the *Chōḷās* had been a ruling power who had been conquered by *Vikramāditya-I*, their territory would not have been referred to as *Chōḷika Vishaya* but as *Chōḷa Rājya*. We also know from other evidence that during the period under consideration the *Chōḷa* powers that were having supremacy in the south during the early centuries of the christian era, had a set back and were probably ruling as subordinates in the Ceded districts as the *Rēnādu Chōḷās* as they were called till the reestablishment of their kingdom by *Vijayālaya*. In view of all these it would appear that the '*Avanīpati Tritaya*' mentioned is a reference only to the three component kings of the *Pallavās*.

The grant is of the village *Vēḷnalli*. Prof. E. Hultzsch had read the name of the village as '*Cheduli*'. This is obviously incorrect. The word can clearly be read as *Vēḷnalli*.

The '*Ḷa*' in this word as well as in the word '*Chōḷika Vishaya*' are the same. *Vēḷnalli* is also a typical south Indian word. *Uragapuri* is obviously a reference to *Uraiyūr* of the *Chōḷa* kingdom. There is no justification in identifying it with *Nāgapatnam* as has been done by Dr. Hultzsch, treating it as a literal translation of the word *Nāgapatnam*. In fact *Nāgapatnam* is not situated on the southern banks of *Kāvēri*. *Uragapuri* or *Uraiyūr* is just on the southern banks of *Kāvēri* and '*Vēḷnalli*' the village under grant is therefore a village in *Trichinopoly* district.

The grant of the village mentioned was made at the request of *Gangamahādēvi*. She seems to be one of the queens of *Vikramāditya-II*.

We know from the *Hunnūr* plates issued by *Vikramāditya-I*, who was camping at *Malliyūr* that the grant mentioned there was made at the request of the *Gānga* prince, *Mādhava*, son-in-law, of an otherwise unknown elder brother of *Vikramāditya* called *Raṇa Rāgavarmā*. The expediton of *Vikramāditya* to the *Chōḷa* kingdom seems to have been not quite successful. It would appear that *Paramēśwaravarma*, the *Pallava* ruler escaped from *Kanchi*, gathered his forces from the rest of the kingdom and caused a diversion by sending a force into the Western *Chālukyan* country, and joined battle with *Vikramāditya* at the famous battle ground *Peruvaḷanallūr* in *Lālgudi* Taluq of *Trichinopoly* district. Int he *Kūram* grant, king *Paramēśwara* mentions that he forced *Vikramāditya* whose army consisted of several lakhs of men, to take to flight alone and covered only by a rag. Though this may be a piece of exaggeration, there seems to be no doubt that *Vikramāditya's* thrust into the South of India seems to have ended in a fiasco and he was forced to retreat into his own kingdom, leaving the *Pallavās* alone for the time being.

FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE

१. स्वस्ति जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोः वाराहं क्षोभितार्णवं दक्षिणोन्नत दंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं व
२. पुः श्रीमतां सकल भुवन संस्तूयमान मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृ
३. भिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानांकार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणां भगवन्ना
४. रायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छन[1] क्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलि
५. क्यानां कुलमल[2] करिष्णोरश्वमेघावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुल
६. केशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य प्रपौत्रः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपति
७. मण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्त्तेः श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्र
८. स्समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वर श्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्ध
९. परमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहा

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

१०. राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियतनयश्चित्रकण्ठाख्य प्रवरतुरंगमे
११. णैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकसमरमुखे रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलास्वादनरसना
१२. यमानज्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंशधारयावधृतधरणिभरभुजगभोगसद्दृ
१३. शनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुरात्मकवचावमम्मानेकप्रहारः स्वगुरोः श्रि
१४. यमवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितामात्मसात्कृत्य[3] क्रत्रे[4] काधिष्ठिताशेष रा
१५. ज्यभरस्तस्मित्राज्यत्रये विनष्टानि देवस्वब्रह्मदेयानि धर्म्मयशोभिवृ
१६. द्धये स्वमुखेन स्थापितवान् रणशिरसि रिपु नरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंश
१७. जां लक्ष्मीं प्राप्तः परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः अपिच मृदित

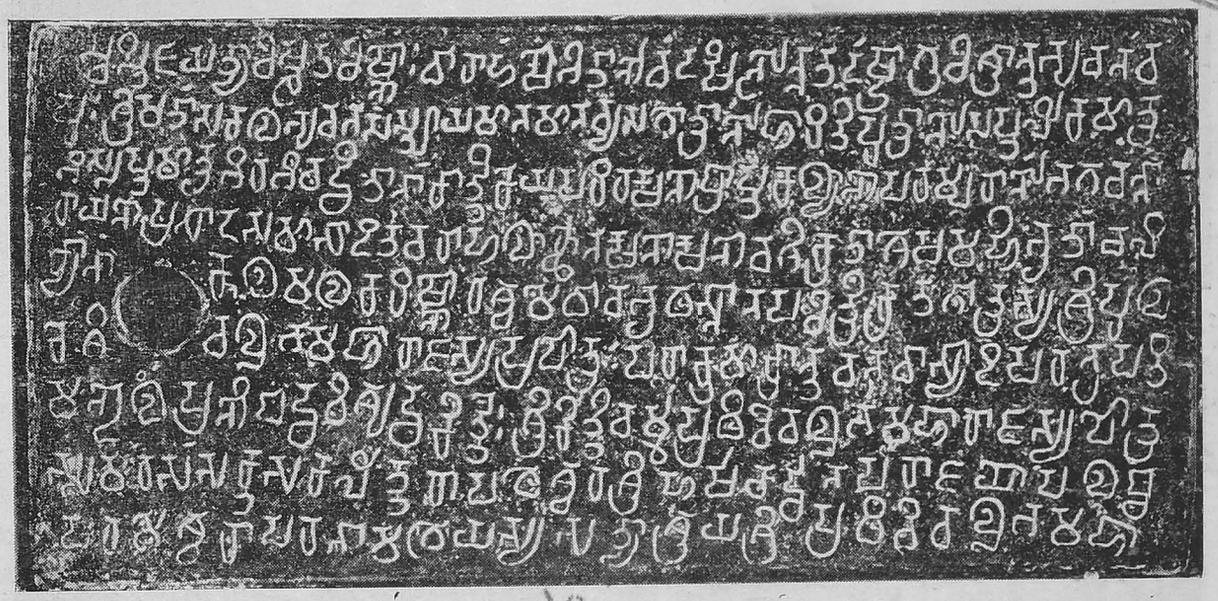
1. Read as ने
2. Read as लं
3. Read कृत्वा
4. कृतै is another reading.

Plate III (a)

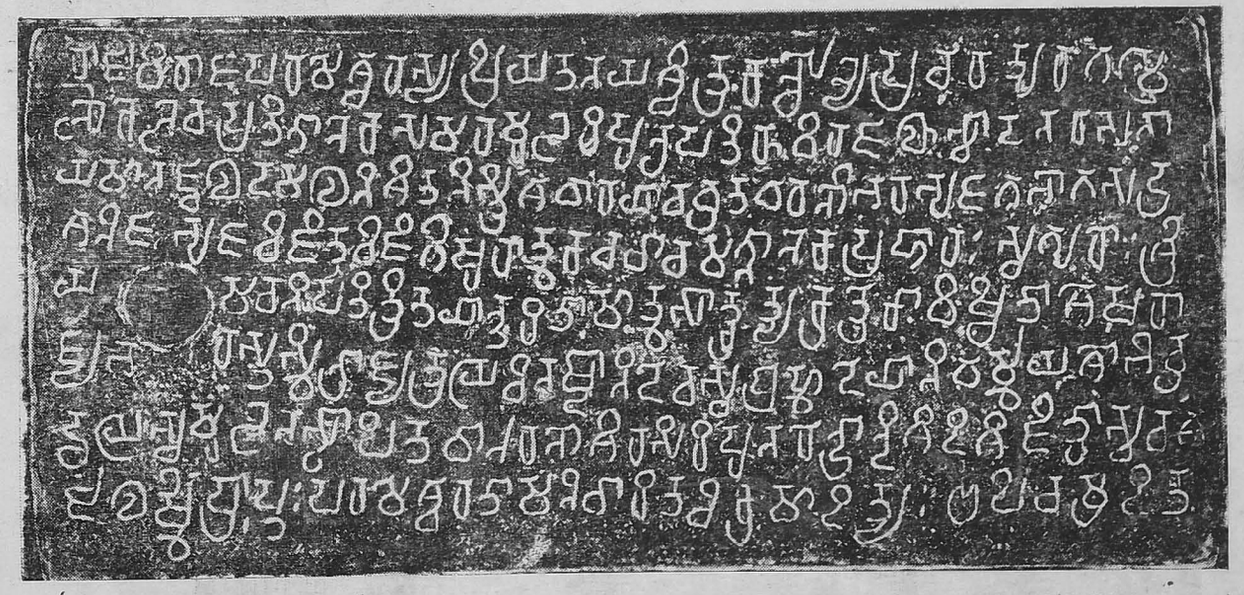
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THE *VEḷNALLI* PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-I*

First Plate: Second Side

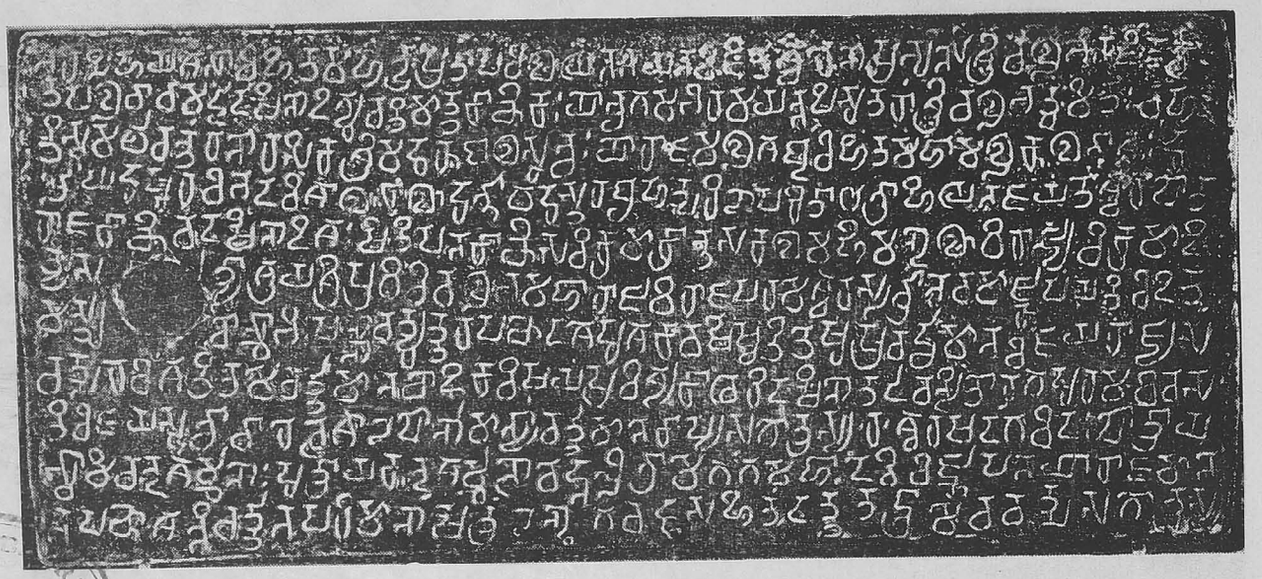


Second Plate: First Side

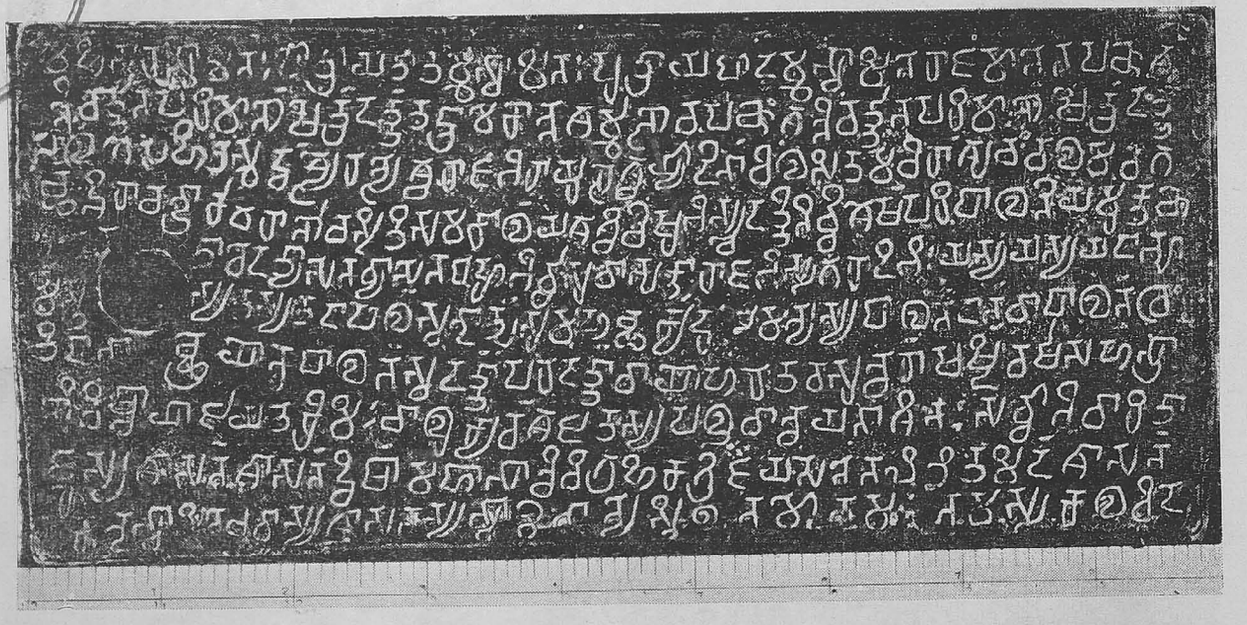


THE *VELNALLI* PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-I*

Second Plate : Second Side



Third Plate : First Side



COLLECTION
27 MAY 1962



(A general view of the plates bound by the ring and the seal)

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

१८. नरसिंह यशसा विहित महेन्द्रप्रताप विलयेन नयनविजितेश्वरेण प्रभुणा श्रीवल्लभेन जितं क्ष
१९. तपल्लवावमर्द्द दक्षिणदिग्युवतिमात्तकाञ्चीकः यो भृशमभिरमयन्नपि सुतरां श्रीवल्लभत्वमितः वह
२०. ति स्वमर्थवन्तं रणरसिक [:] श्रीमदुरुबलस्कन्धः यो राजमल्लशब्दं विहित महामल्लकुल-नाशः दु
२१. र्ल्लंघदुष्करविभेदविशालसाला दुर्ग्गाधदुस्तरबृहत्परिखापरीता अग्राहि येन जयतेश्वरपोत
२२. राजं काञ्चीव दक्षिणदिशः [5]षितिपेन काञ्ची स विक्रमाक्रान्तसकल महीमण्डलाधिराज्यो विक्रमादि
२३. त्यसत्याश्रय श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्सव्वानेवमाज्ञापयति विदित
२४. मस्तु वोस्माभिः षण्णवत्युत्तरपञ्चदशेषु[6] शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्य सं
२५. वत्सरे विंशतितमे वर्त्तमाने चोळिकविषयं प्रविश्य कावेरीदक्षिणतटावस्थितोरगपुरमधिवस
२६. ति विजयस्कन्धावारे वैशाख पौर्णमास्यां वर्त्तमाने काप्यस गोत्रस्य ईश्वरषडंगविदः पौत्राय
२७. स्वामि [7]वन्दशर्म्मणःपुत्राय कुन्दशर्म्मणे[8] वेळ्नल्लि ग्रामे गंगमहादेवी विज्ञापनया राजमानें
२८. न पञ्चाशन्निवर्त्तन परिमाणं क्षेत्रं ख[ण्डु]ग वड्ळसहितं दत्तं तद्ग्रामेच वत्ससगोत्रस्य

THIRD PLATE

२९. महीसुरस्वामिनः पौत्राय तातम्मस्वामिनः पुत्राय बादम्मस्वामिने राजमानेन पञ्चाश
३०. न्निवर्त्तनपरिमाणं क्षेत्रं दत्तं तद्ग्रामे कोन्नशर्म्मणे च पञ्चाशन्निवर्त्तनपरिमाणं क्षेत्रं दत्तं
३१. सलगेसहितं[9] सद्भृंश्यैरन्यैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्वर्य्यादीनां विलसितमचिरांशुचंचलमवग
३२. च्छद्भिराचन्द्रार्कधरार्णवस्थितिसमकालं यशश्चिचीषुभिस्स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च
३३. [भगव] ता वेदत्या[10]सेन व्यासेन बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भू
३४. मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं स्वंदातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं दानं वा पालनं वे
३५. ति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां षष्टिंवर्षसहस्रा
३६. णि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः चालुक्यवंशजातस्य पल्लवान्वयनाशिनः सर्व्वानिवारिता
३७. ज्ञस्य शासनं शासनं द्विषां महासन्धि विग्रहिकग्री[11] जयसेनेन लिखितमिदं शासनं
३८. कुन्दस्वामिने एवास्य शासनस्य स्वामिता[12] न्येस्ति नमोनमः नमस्सकलविदे

5. Read क्षितिपेन
6. Read पञ्चशतेषु
7. May be also read as चन्द
8. कन्हशर्म्मणे another reading
9. This seems to be subsequent addition.
10. Read वेदव्यासेन.
11. Read श्रीजयसेनेन
12. Read स्वामिता न्यस्ति

CHAPTER V

IPARUṀKAL GRANT OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-I* — 660 A.D.

This set of copper plates which is also known as the *Amudālapāḍu* plates of *Vikramāditya-I* was acquired for the Hyderabad Museum by purchase by my predecessor. The inscription has been published in the Telugu journal *Bhārati* of May, 1957 - Page 86 by Pandit Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma. It has also been published again in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXII - Part IV - Page 175 by Dr. D. C. Sircar. It is included in this volume, since it forms part of the copper plate possessions of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum.

The inscription is engraved upon four plates held together by a ring. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure 19 cm. in length and 8.4 cm. in breadth. The plates and seal weigh 1240 grms. and 195 grms. respectively. The plates are strung by a ring, which is secured by a seal containing the well-known *Varāha Lānchana* of the *Chālukyās*. There are altogether 48 lines of writing in the inscription and they are distributed as follows :

First plate second side	7 lines
Second plate first side	7 lines
Second plate second side	8 lines
Third plate first side	9 lines
Third plate second side	8 lines
Fourth plate first side	9 lines
Total	48

The characters belong to *Telugu Kannada* alphabet and closely resemble the other grants of *Vikramāditya-I*, of the Western *Chālukyan* dynasty. The grant is dated in the 5th regnal year of the king and was issued on a *Vaiśakha Paurṇima Tithi*. As the king is known from other sources, to have come to the throne in 654-55 A.D. the date of the present grant can therefore be fixed as 30th April, 660 A.D.

The grant mentions the usual *Praśasti* of the Western *Chālukyan* kings, and the phrases describing the exploits of the various kings are identical with those found in other plates.

The object of the grant was to give the village '*Iparumkal*', situated in the *Vaṁgūravādi Vishaya* by *Mahārājādhi Rāja Paramēśwara Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha* i.e. *Vikramāditya-I*, when he was camping at the village *Marrūra*. The grant was made in favour of one *Sudarśanāchārya* for payment of *Gurudakshina* on the occasion of the king's *Sivamaṇḍala Diksha* on the full moon day of the *Vaiśakha* month. The village *Marrūra* has been indentified by Pandit Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma with *Chinnamarrūr* and *Peddamarrūr* on the Krishna bank in the Kollapur taluk of Mahabubnagar district. The *Vishaya* is said to be *Vaṁgūravāḍi* and probably the village *Vaṁgūru* of Wanaparti taluq of Mahabubnagar district, has a reference to this. *Iparumkal* the actual name of the village that was granted has been identified by Pandit Ramakrishna Sastry with the village *Vippanagunḍla* about I2 miles from *Marrūra*.

The most important point of interest in the grant is the glimpse that it gives us about the rituals of the *Sivamaṇḍala Dīksha* that were prevalent in those days. The *Chālukyās* as is seen from their *Praśastis* were all devoted to the *Saptamāṭrikās* or the seven mothers, to Lord *Kumāra* and to Lord *Narāyaṇa*. The *Biruda* normally adopted by them, viz. *Srī Pṛithvī Vallabha*, obviously refers to *Srīdēvi* and *Bhūdēvi*. King *Mangalēśa* of the Western *Chālukyan* dynasty is described as *Paramabhāgavata* in one of the inscriptions of *Pulakēśin-II*, father of *Vikramāditya-I* the present grantor. As such the kings would appear to have been *Vaishnavites* up to the time of *Pulakēśin-II* and *Vikramāditya-I* would appear to be the first to be converted to *Śaivism*. This is a very interesting point of the origin and development of the *Śaivite* faith in this area.

Though it is generally thought that the foundation of *Vīraśaiva* or *Lingāyata* sect was laid firmly by Saint *Basavēśwara* in the 12th century A.D. still the system would appear to have come into vogue much earlier as many earlier saints are mentioned in *Basavapuarāṇa*. The ritual of the *Dīksha* is also described in these books. Thus the grant of the land as *Gurudakshina* to *Sudarśanāchārya* who was the guru of *Vikramāditya-I* for initiating him into *Śaiva Dīksha* shows that there might have been some resemblance to the imitation of the *Vīraśaivās*. *Vikramāditya-I* seems to have been the first ruler of the *Bādāmi* line of Western *Chālukyan* kings to patronise *Śaivism*.

FIRST PLATE SECOND SIDE

१. जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभिताण्णवं दक्षिणोन्नतदं
२. ष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः । श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमा
३. नमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्त
४. मातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्या
५. णपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित
६. वराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां
७. चलिक्यानां कुलमलङ्करिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृत स्नानप

SECOND PLATE FIRST SIDE

८. वित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्री पोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य
९. प्रपौत्रः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डल
१०. प्रणिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्त्ते (:) श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्म पृथिवीवल्लभम
११. हाराजस्य पौत्रस्समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्व
१२. रश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापर
१३. नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रय श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजा
१४. धिराजपरमेश्वरस्यप्रियतनः[1] प्रतीतानेकसम

SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

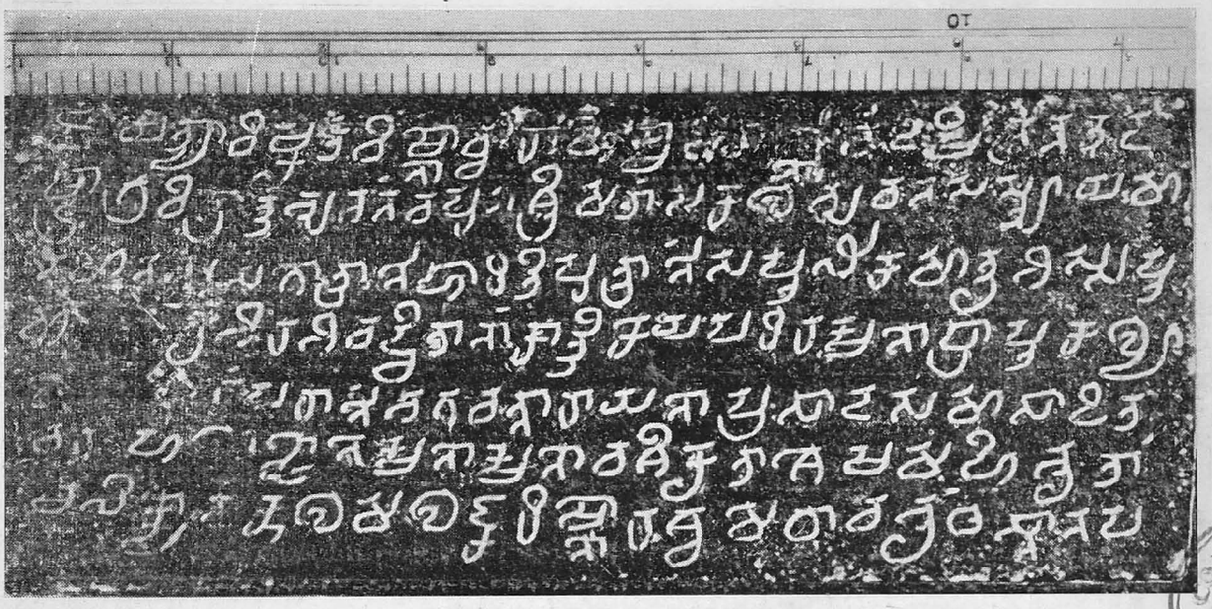
१५. रमुखेषु चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवर तुरंगमेणैकेनैव रिपुनृ
१६. पतिरुधिरजलास्वादनरसनायमानज्वलदमलनिशि
१७. तनिस्त्रिंशधारयावधूतधरणिभरभुजगभोगसदृश
१८. निजभुजविजितविजिगीषुरात्मकवचावमम्मानेक
१९. प्रहारस्स्वगुरोश्श्रियमवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितामा
२०. त्मसात्कृत्य कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेषराज्यभरः तस्मिन् रा
२१. ज्यत्रये विनष्टानि देवस्वब्रह्मदेयानि धर्म्मय
२२. शोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्थापितवान् (।) रणशिरसि

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1. Read as तनयः

IPARUMKAL PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-I*

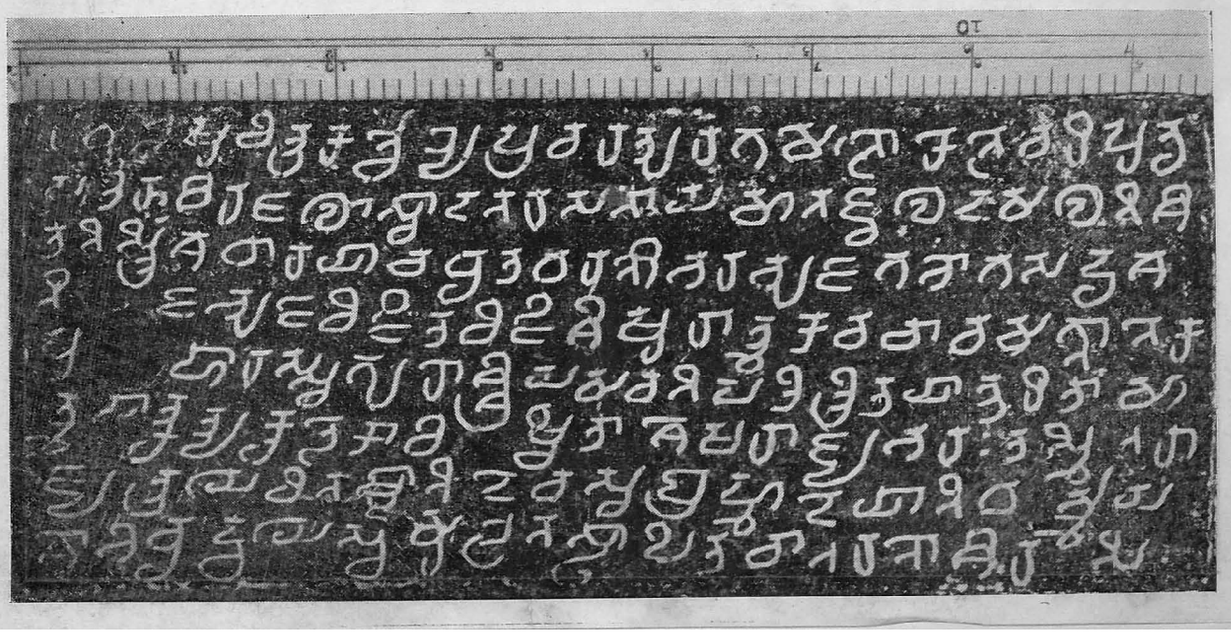
First Plate : Second Side



Second Plate : First Side



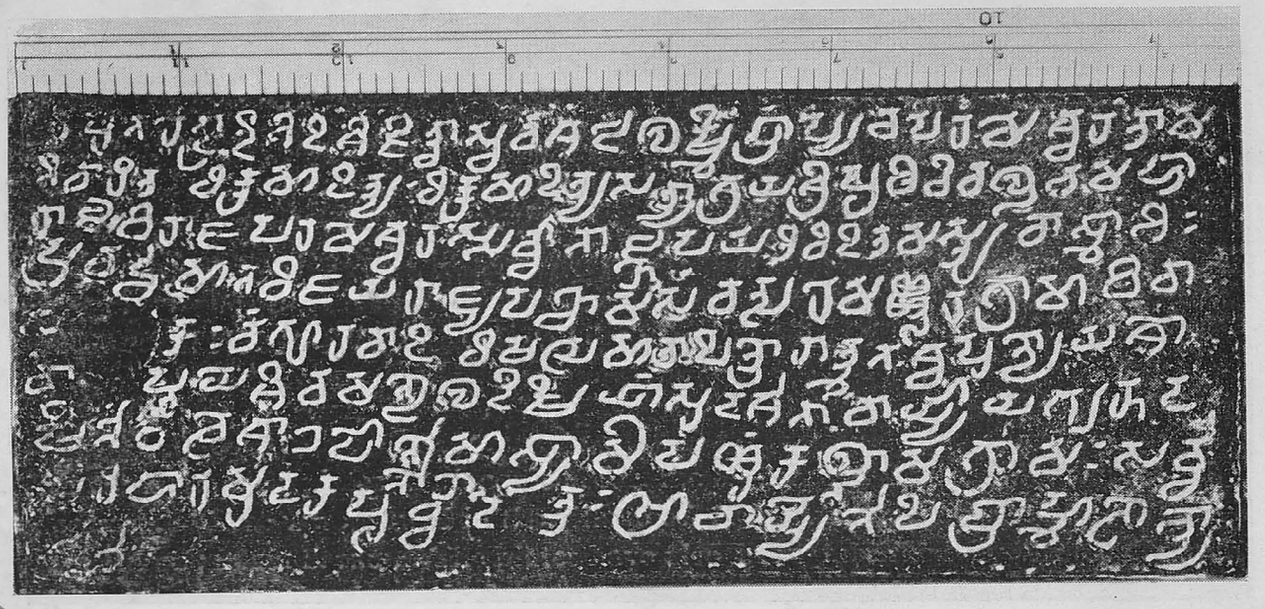
Second Plate : Second Side



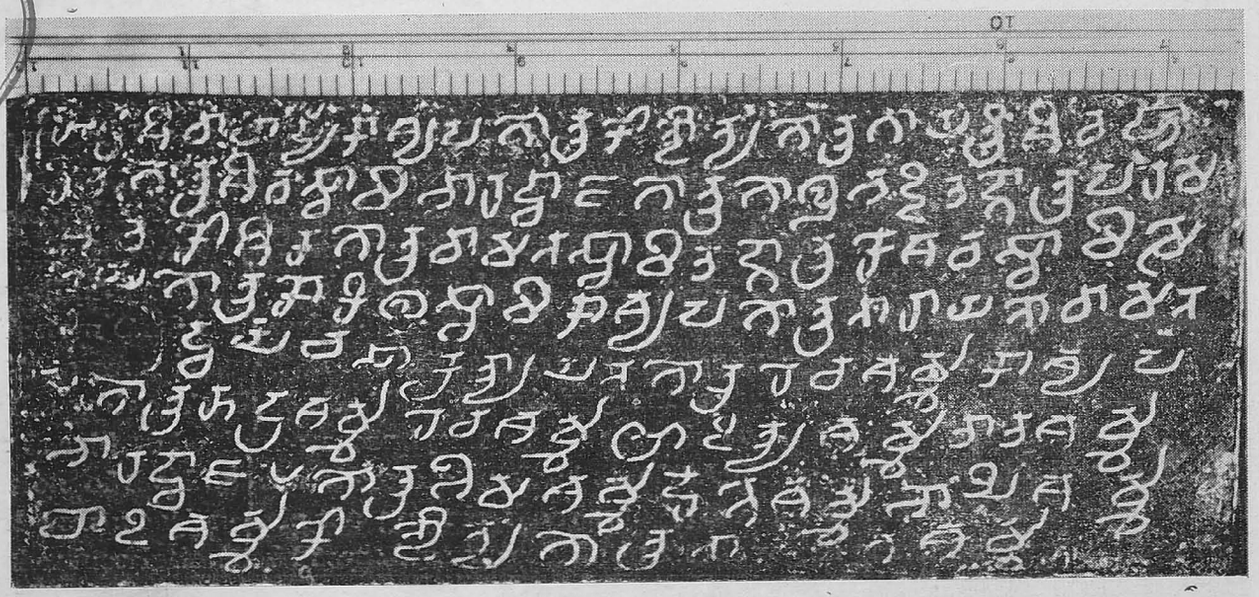
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IPARUMKAL PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-I*

Third Plate : First Side

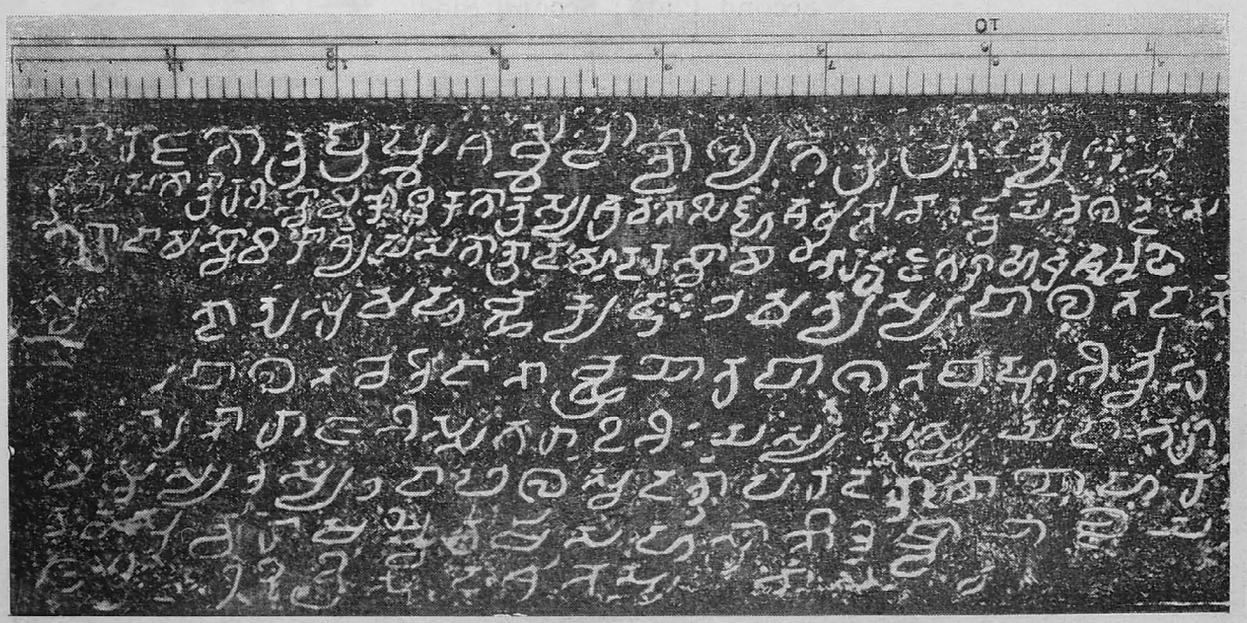


Third Plate : Second Side



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Fourth Plate : First Side



THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

२३. रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशिदिशि जित्वा स्वंशजां लक्ष्मीं प्राप्य च परमेश्वरताम .
२४. निवारितविक्रमादित्यः विक्रमादित्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहा
२५. राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्सर्व्वानाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वोस्माभिः
२६. प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यपञ्चमसंवत्सरे मङ्ग्र ग्रामाधिवा
२७. सकः[1] वंगूरवाटिविषये मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो
२८. वाप्तये शिवमण्डलदीक्षि (क्षा) यां सुदर्शनाचार्यायगुरुद
२९. क्षिणार्थं वैशाख पौर्णमास्या मिपल्लकल्नाम ग्रामः सर्व्व
३०. परिहारमुदकपूर्व्वो दत्तः आचार्य्येणापि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो
३१. दत्तः

THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE

३२. रुद्रशिवाचार्य्य काश्यपगोत्र कौण्डिन्यगोत्र गायत्रिशिवहा
३३. रीतगोत्र शिवस्वामि भारद्वाजगोत्र गोल्लभट्टि तद्गोत्र परम
३४. शिव कौशिकगोत्र वामनस्वामी तद्गोत्र केशवस्वामी मै
३५. त्रेयगोत्र कोकिलस्वामि काश्यपगोत्र नारायणवामन
३६. द्वयं च सांकृत्यायनगोत्र रेवशर्म्म काश्यप
३७. सगोत्र रुद्रशर्म्म रेवशर्म्म अदित्यशर्म्म तातशर्म्म
३८. भारद्वाजगोत्र भीमशर्म्म दुर्गशर्म्म भोयिशर्म्म
३९. बाटिशर्म्म कौण्डिन्यगोत्र नागशर्म्म

FOURTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE

४०. भार(द्वा)जगोत्र ब्रह्मशर्म्मथ्यो (शा)ण्डिल्यगोत्र आदित्यशर्म्म
४१. काश्यपगोत्र रविस्वामि कौशिकगोत्रस्य श्रवणसिङ्हशर्म्मणो भागद्वयं भलन्दनस
४२. गोत्रो दामस्वामि काश्यपसगोत्रो दामोदरस्वामि भारद्वाजमादुश....
४३. स्वंन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्यपालनं (।) दानं
४४. वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयो नु पालनं (॥) बहुभिर्व्वसु
४५. धा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।) यस्य यस्य यदा भू
४६. मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (॥) स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे
४७. त वसुन्धरां षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जाय
४८. ते क्रिमिरिति श्री सुदर्शनस्य भा [स्क] रे [:]

1. Read वासकै:

CHAPTER VI

THE *PAṆIYAL* GRANT OF *VINAYĀDITYA-I*

This set of copper plates was acquired for the Hyderabad Museum by purchase by my predecessor. These were found in the village of *Pallipādu*, and were recovered by Sri Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma. The plates have also been published by Sri Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma in the Journal of the History of Deccan and Culture Vol. III. No. 1. January, 1956. They are republished here as they form part of the copper plate grants of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum.

The inscription is engraved upon three copper plates held together by a ring. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure 22.8 cm. in length and 8.4 cm. in breadth. The plates and seal weigh 969 grams and 340 grams respectively. The plates are strung by a ring which is secured by a seal with the usual *Varāha Lānchana*, the Western *Chālukyan* symbol. There are altogther 31 lines of writing with 8 lines of writing on each side except the third plate first side which has only seven lines. The edges are all trim and thus the writing has been well preserved. The characters belong to the *Telugu Kannada* alphabet and resemble the Western *Chālukyan* script closely.

The grant is dated on the full moon day of the month of *Vaiśakha* in the second year after the expiry of Saka 604. The date of the grant is thus 27th April, 682 A.D. Since the grant is said to be in the second year of the accession of the king *Vinayāditya*, the date of accession of the king can therefore be fixed at 680 A.D. and at 681 A.D. if the second regnal year mentioned in the grant is the running year and not the expired year. From the other inscriptions of *Vinayāditya* we can find that his regnal years are counted from two different points,[1] one starting from some date between 2nd June and 5th July, 681 A.D. and the other between 18th October, 678 A.D. and 2nd July, 679 A.D. The explanation for this discrepancy is not easy. The date in the present grant, would appear to support the first version viz. the accession at some date between 2nd June and 4th July, 681 A.D. There are only two records of the same king called *Jējūri* record[2] which was given in the 9th regnal year, Saka 609, *Āshāḍha Śukla* 15 divasa and the *Tōgarchēḍu* record[3] which was

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, also A. R. E. (1936). ii, 11.
2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, - p. 300.
3. Journal of Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, - p. 231.

given in the 10th regnal year Saka 611, *Kārtīka Śukla Divas* 15, where dates do not tally with this date. With the exception of these two records, all the other remaining records of king *Vinayāditya* give the figure 681 or 682 A.D. as the date of his accession. We also know that his father *Vikramāditya* came to the throne in 655 A.D. and he ruled for 27 years and his reign must have come to a close in 681 A.D. Normally *Vinayāditya's* rule would thus have begun in 681-82 A.D.

Apart from this record there are 9 records of this king excluding the two *Dhārwār* records which are said to be spurious. Their details are given below:

Sl No.	Place	Regnal Year	Saka Year	Date of Grant	Corresponding English Date
(1)	*Lakshmēswar*[1]	7	608	*Māgha Śu.* 15	3rd Feb. 687 A.D.
(2)	*Jejūri*[2]	9	609	*Āshāḍha Śu.* 15	2nd July 687 A.D.
(3)	*Togarcheḍu*[3]	10	611	*Kārtīka Śu.* 15	3rd Nov. 689 A.D.
(4)	*Kurnool*[4]	11	613	*Māgha Śu.* 15	10th Jan. 692 A.D.
(5)	*Sorab*[5]	11	614	*Dakshiṇāyana*	22nd June 692 A.D.
(6)	*Mayalūr*[6]	11	614	no details	692 A.D.
(7)	*Dayyamdinne*[7]	12	614	*Āshāḍha Śu.* 15	22nd June 693 A.D.
(8)	*Harihar*[8]	14	616	*Kārtīka Śu.* 15	9th Oct. 694 A.D.
(9)	*Patoda*[9]	14	617	*Vaiśākha Śu* 15	4th May 695 A.D.

Excepting the *Tōgarchēdu* and the *Jejūri* records, the data mentioned in all the others gives only 681-82 A.D. as the date of *Vinayāditya*. The present grant is very important, since it is the earliest grant of *Vinayāditya* up to now discovered. Since this is the earliest record of his, during the second year of his accession, which yields the result 681 A.D. we may take it that 681 A.D. is the correct date of his accession to the throne.

The inscription of *Vinayāditya* give the impression of a very successful and prosperous king. The *Pallavās, Kālabhra, Kēraḷa, Haihaya, Vila, Mālwa, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya* and other kings are said to have been reduced by *Vinayāditya* to a state of servitude. He is stated in his records as having arrested at the command of his father the power of the three kings of

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII - p. 112.
2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII - p. 300.
3. Journal of Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, - p. 231.
4. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, - p. 88.
5. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX, - p. 146.
6. Journal of Oriental Research of Madras, Vol. X, Part 1. - p. 27.
7. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, p. 300 & Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX, p. 62.
8. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, - p. 300.
9. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. X, Part I, - p. 29., (foot note 9).

Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and *Chōḷa* and also of the *Pallavās* and so gratified his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into a state of peace and quiet. It is obvious from this as well as from the statement in the grants of his father *Vikramāditya-I* that after the conquest of the '*Avanīpati Tritaya*' or the *Pallavās* who were ruling in the three kingdoms of Ceded districts, Nellore and Guntur districts, and *Kānchi*, the campaign against the south was continued by *Vikramāditya-I* and later by his successor *Vinayāditya*, who seems to have reduced all the southern chiefs in battles. There is a reference in the *Rāyagaḍ*[1] plates of *Vijayāditya* son of *Vinayāditya*, in which it is stated that *Vinayāditya* made the kings of *Kāvera, Siṁhaḷa, Pāraśīka*, and other *dwīpās* to pay tribute to him, and in addition he is supposed to have obtained the *Pālidhwaja* or a particular arrangement of flags in rows, by defeating the supreme sovereigns of northern India. It is thus clear, that under *Vinayāditya* the power of the Western *Chālukyās* which had been eclipsed during the last years of *Pulakēśin-II* rose once again to its zenith.

This inscription was issued from the war camp at the city of *Bānaṁkallu*, and was intended to record the grant of the village *Panyāl* to one *Mādhavaswāmy*, well versed in the Vedas, who was the son of *Gōdariswāmy* and grand son of *Priyankaraswāmi* of the *Bhāradwājasa Gōtra*. The village *Panyāl* was at a distance of 2 Krosas from Dharmapura on the southern bank of Krishna. The village was granted free of taxes and penalties. *Bānaṁkallu* has been identified by Pandit Sarma with Panagallu about ten miles from Wanaparti in Mahaboobnagar district. Dharmapura is perhaps the same as Dharmavaram which is at a distance of two Krosas from *Pallipāḍu*. It is possible that the word *Paṇiyāl* may refer to the village *Pallipāḍu* from where the grant was discovered. Except for the name of the village and the other details of the grant, this grant follows closely the other records of this king. The importance of this grant is in the fact that this is the earliest grant of *Vinayāditya* issued in the second year of his reign and hence the date that is obtained from this grant of his accession to the throne can be accepted to be authoritative.

1. Epigraphia Indiça, Vol. X, - p. 14.

TEXT AND PLATES
OF
THE PAṆIYAL GRANT OF VINAYĀDITYA-I

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१. स्वस्ति जयत्वा(त्या)विष्कृतं विष्णोः वाराह (-) क्षोभितार्ण्णवं दक्षिणोन्नता (त) दंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्त-
भुवनं वपुः श्रीम

२. तां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारि(री)तीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृ

३. भिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासा

४. दितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलिक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णो

५. रश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य सूनुः परा

६. क्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्त्तिः कीर्त्तिवर्म्मपृथिवीवल्लभ

७. महाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्री (श्री) हर्षवर्द्धनपराजयो

८. पलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्सत्याश्रय श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधि

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

९. राजपरमेश्वरस्तत्प्रियसुतस्य परमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य मतिसहायसाहसमा

१०. त्रसमधिगतनिजवंशसमुचितचितराज्यविभवस्य विविधरसितसितसमरमुखगतरिपुनर

११. पतिविजयसमुपलब्धकीर्तिपताकावभासितदिगन्तरस्य हिमकरकरविमलकुलपरिभ

१२. वविलयहेतुपल्लवपतिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीतकाञ्चीपुरस्य प्रभावकुलिशदलि

१३. तचोळपांड्यकेरळधरणिधरतूयमानमानशृंगस्य अनन्यसमवनतकाञ्चीपति

१४. मणिमकुटकिरणसलिलाभिषिक्तचरणकमलस्य त्रिसमुद्रमध्यवर्त्तिभुवनमण्डला

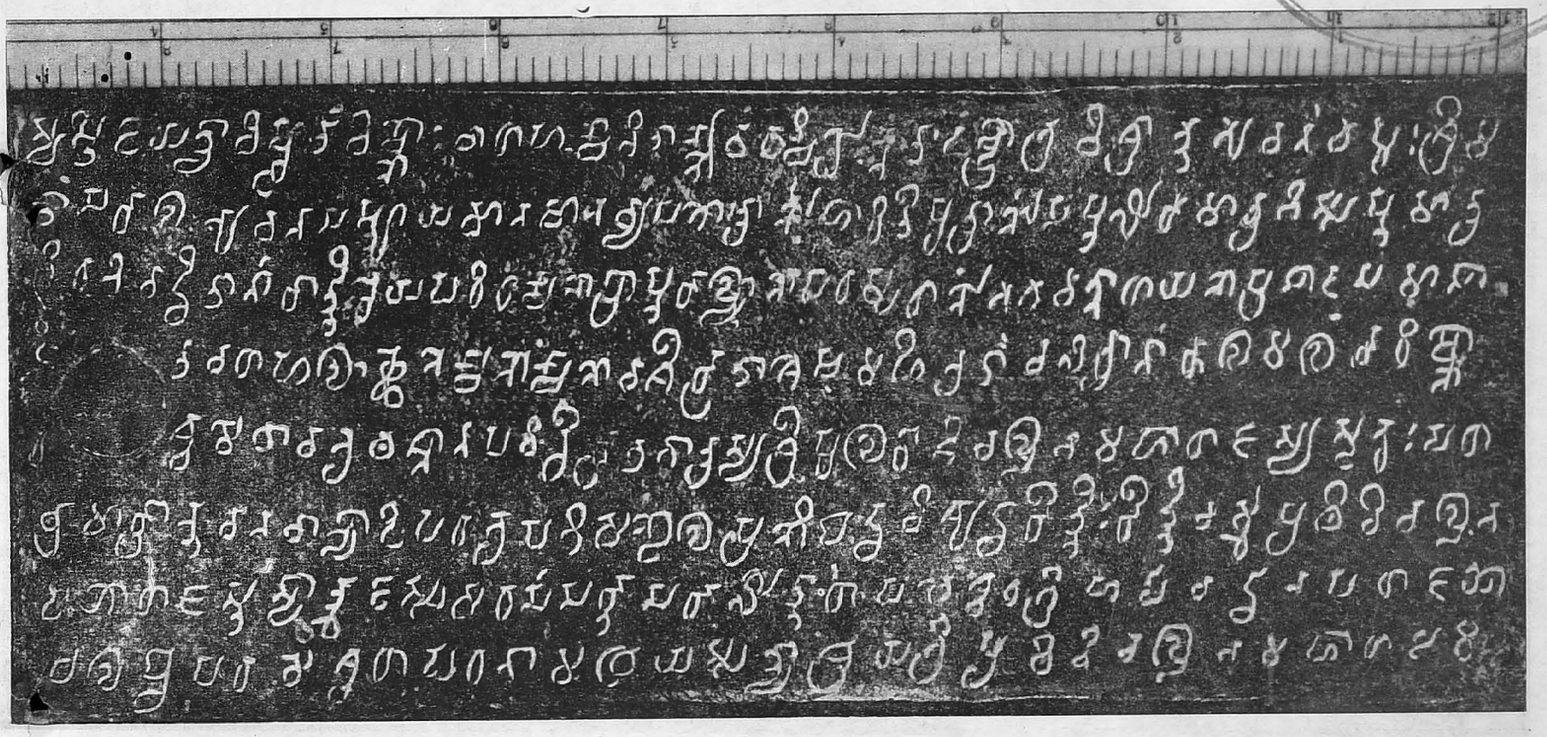
१५. धीश्वरस्य सूनुः पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखरस्येव सेनानीर्दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्ध

१६. तं त्रैराज्यपल्लवबलमवष्टभ्य समस्तविषयप्रशमनाद्विहितत

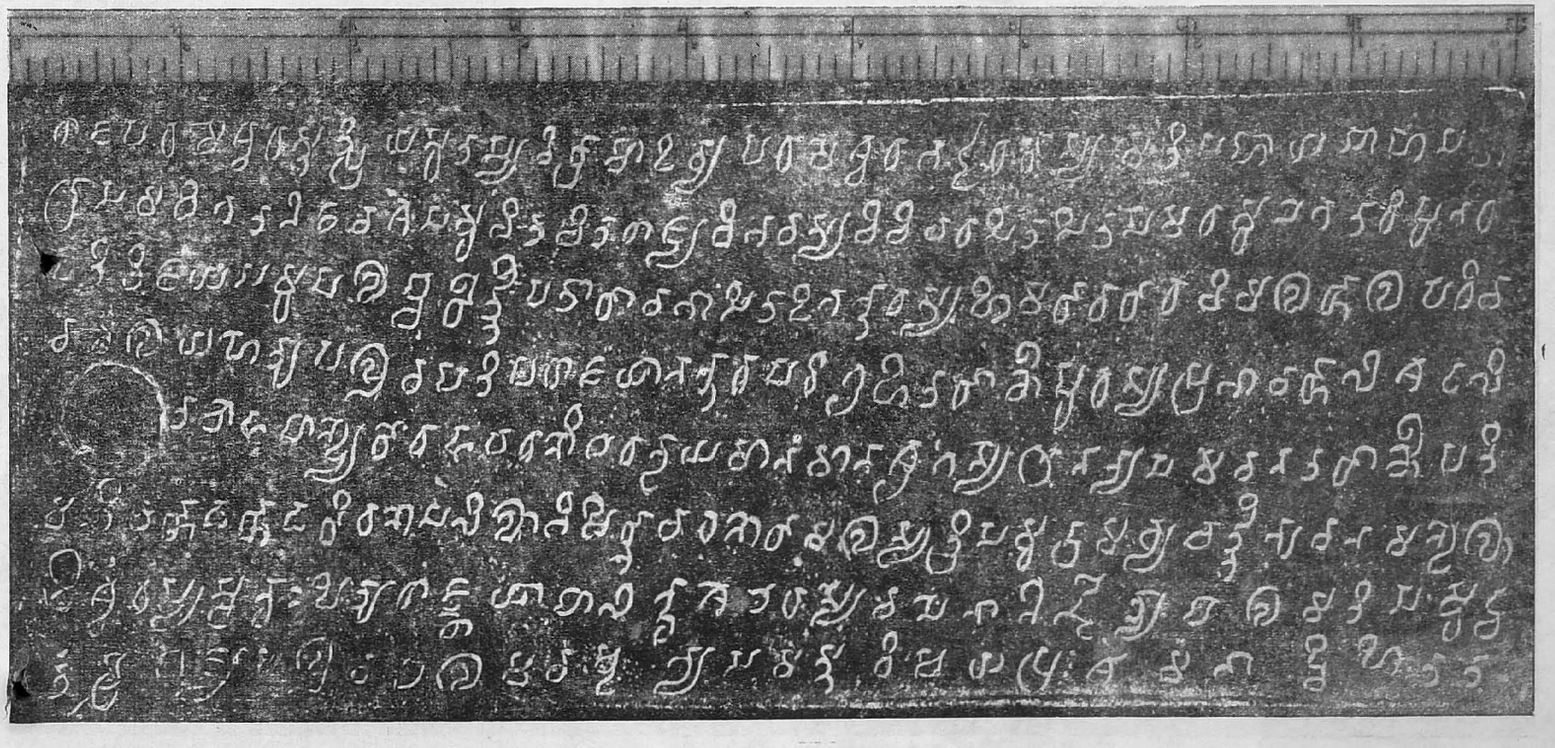
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THE *PANIYAL* PLATES OF *VINAYĀDITYA-I*

First Plate : Second Side



Second Plate : First Side



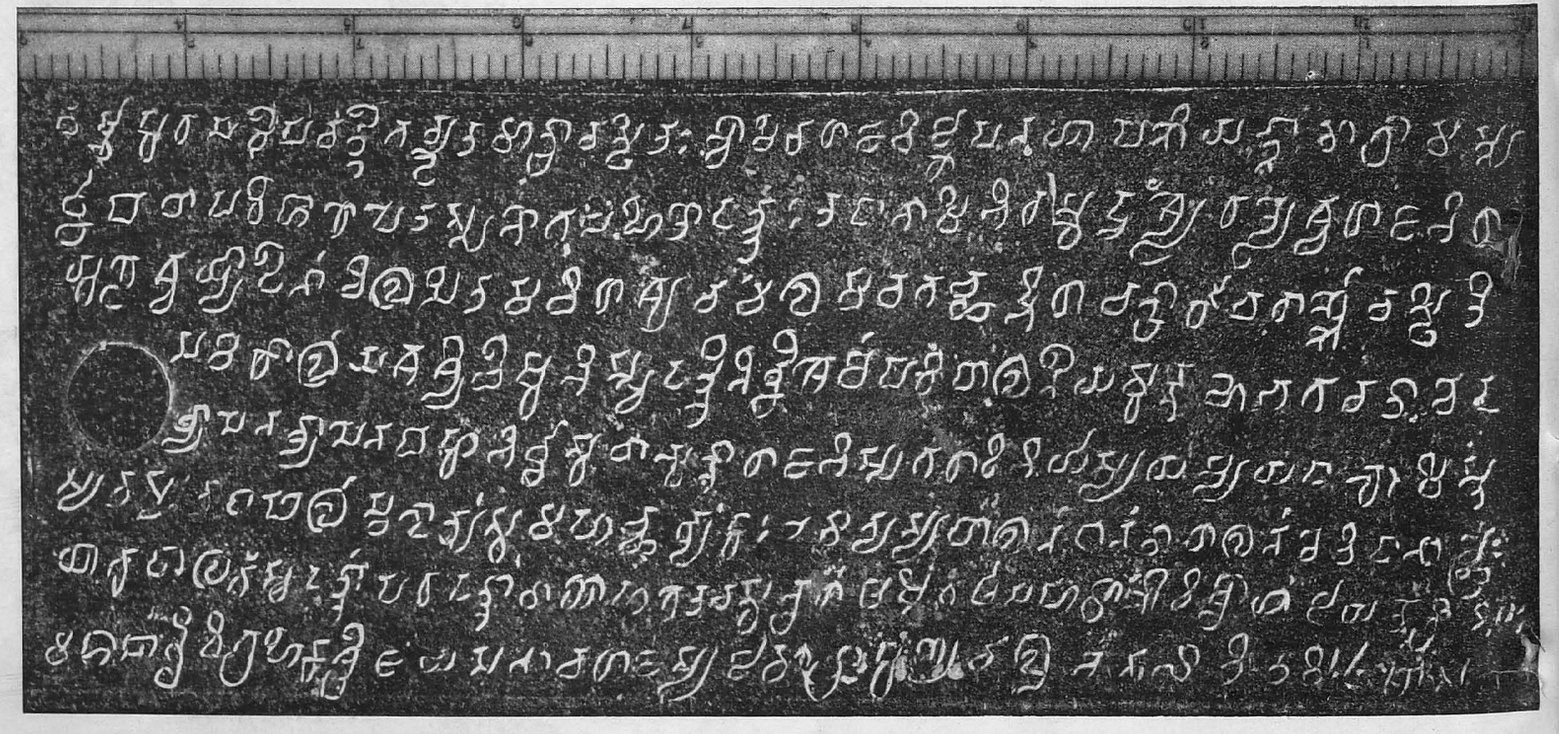
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THE *PAṆIYAL* PLATES OF *VINAYĀDITYA-I*

Second Plate: Second Side



Third Plate: First Side



SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१७. न्मनोनुरञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सलत्वाव(त्) युधिष्ठिर इव श्रीरामत्वाद्वासु
१८. देव इव नृपांकुशत्वात्परशुरामइव राजाश्रयत्वाद्धरत इव
१९. विनयादित्य सत्याश्रय श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर
२०. भट्टारकस्साव्वानेवमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तुवोस्माभिश्चतुरुत्तरषट्छतेषु
२१. शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यद्वितीयसंवत्सरे बानुंगल्नगरमधिवस
२२. [ति] विजयस्कन्धावारे वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां वर्त्तमानायां भारद्वाजसगोत्रस्य प्रियंकरस्वामिनः
२३. पौत्राय गोब्धे (?) रि स्वामिनः पुत्राय माधवस्वामिने वेदपारगाय कृष्णवेण्णा दक्षिणतटस्थ

THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

२४. धर्म्मपुरसमीपवर्त्तिगव्यूत(ति)मात्रावस्थितः स्वाषिवराजविज्ञापनया पणिय७ नामग्रामस्स
२५. र्व्वब(बा)धापरिहारोपेतस्सभोगसहितो दत्तः तदागामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्च राजभिरा
२६. युरैश्वर्यादीनां विलसितमचिरांशुचंचलमवगच्छद्भिरा चंन्द्रार्कधराण्र्णवस्थिति
२७. समकालं यशश्चिचीषु(र्षु)भिस्स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयमुत्कञ्च भगवता वेद
२८. व्यासेन व्यासेन बहुभिर्व्वसुधा युक्ता राजभि स्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त
२९. स्य तस्य तदा फलं स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं दानं वा पालनं वेतिदानाच्छे
३०. योनुपालनं स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धारां षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः
३१. महासान्धिविग्रहिक श्रीजयसनाथराजस्य जामात्रा पुण्यवल्लभेन लिखितमिदं शासनं

SECTION II

THE WESTERN CHĀLUKYĀS OF KALYĀṆI

CHAPTER VII

II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WESTERN *CHĀLUKYĀN* DYNASTY OF *KALYĀṆI*

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Bādāmi* Western *Chālukyan* rule over the Deccan came to an end round about 750 A. D., with the rise of the *Rāshṭrakūṭās* who ruled for nearly 200 years with their capital at *Mānyākhēṭa* or *Mālkhēd*. Though the power of the Western *Chālukyās* was thus overshadowed, they did not completely cease to exist, but were ruling as small feudatories here and there. After a period of nearly 200 years of rule by the *Rāshṭrakūtās*, the Western *Chālukyās* rose to prominence again, as the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi*, and ruled for a further period of 200 years.

There are some traditional accounts giving the genealogical connection between the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi*, and the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi*. The last ruler of the *Bādāmi* line was *Kīrtivarma-II* and we have no contemporaneous evidence to show, whether he left any offspring or not. The traditional connection between the Western *Chālukyan* lines of *Bādāmi* and *Kalyāṇi* is given in the *Kauthem* grant[1] of 1009 A. D. which gives us a list of seven kings spread over a period nearly 240 years counting from the last date of *Vijayāditya* of the *Bādāmi* line to the reign of *Taila-II* who was the first important ruler of the *Kalyāṇi* line of the Western *Chālukyās*. The connection is as follows :

Vijayāditya of *Bādāmi* line

- *Vikramāditya-II*
  - *Kīrtivarma-II*
    Bādāmi line
- *Bhīma-I*
  (From here the *Kalyāṇi* line of the Western *Chālukyās* starts)
  - *Kīrtivarma-III*
    - *Taila-I*
      - *Vikramāditya-III*
        - *Bhīma-II*
          - *Ayyana*
            - *Vikramāditya-IV*
              - *Taila-II* (973-996 A.D.)

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. XVI, 15-24

About all the kings from *Bhīma-I* to *Bhīma-II*, we have no record at all, except the bare mention of their names. Even about *Ayyana* we have only some fragmentary references. Of *Vikramāditya-IV* also we have no clear mention. Thus the main line of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi* may be said to start with the reign of *Taila-II*

2. *TAILA-II* (973 A.D. – 996 A.D.)

His full name is *Āhavamalla Nūrmadi Taila-II*. We find references to him as a feudatory of *Kṛishṇa-III* of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* dynasty, in 957 and 965 A.D. They mention a *Tailapayya* as a subordinate in charge of a *Nādu*. From this subordinate station *Taila-II* would appear to have strengthened his position and consolidated his reign. The growing weakness of the central power of the *Rāshṭrakūṭās* kindled his ambition and when *Mālkhēḍ* or *Mānyakhēṭa* the capital of the *Rāshṭrakuṭās* was plundered by the *Paramārās of Mālwa, Taila* got his chance.

The collapse of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* power was complete and *Taila-II* asserted his position more or less as the heir to the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* kingdom. *Tāila-II* was married to a *Rāshṭrakūṭa* princess called *Jakkavve* by name, who was the daughter of a certain *Bhammaharāṭṭa*, and had two sons by her, the elder being called *Satyāśraya*, and the younger being called *Dāśavarma* or *Yaśōvarma*.

3. *SATYĀŚRAYA* (997 — 1008 A.D.)

Taila-II was succeeded by his eldest son *Satyāśraya* who had two *Birudās* or titles, called *Akalaṅkacharita* and *Irivabēdaṅga* which means a wonderful man among those who pierce in attack. There are about nine records of his period most of which mention him as the reigning king.

From certain *Chōḷa* records, we learn that *Satyāśraya* had to fight constantly with the *Chōḷa* king of the South. He had the feudatory the *Mahā Sāmaṅtha Sōbhana Rasa.* He had a daughter who was married to the *Nōlaṁba* chieftain *Iriva Nōlambādhi Rāja.* She is described in one inscription as the grand daughter of *Taila*, the daughter of *Satyāśraya*, and the younger sister of *Vikramāditya. Satyāśraya* thus consolidated the position and power of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi* and paved the way for their future glory.

4. *VIKRAMĀDITYA-V.* (1008 A.D. — 1015 A.D.).

The next name given in the genealogical table after *Satyāśraya* is *Dāśavarma* or *Yaśōvarma*. There are no records issued during his reign and infact his name is omitted in the later records. Hence, it would appear that he did not actually reign after *Satyāśraya*. Thus, *Satyāśraya* was succeeded in 1008 A.D. by his nephew *Vikramāditya-V* who had a very short reign of three or four years only. *Vikramāditya* had the *Biruda Tribhuvana Malla.* The *Kauthem Grant* from *Mirāj* during his reign gives Saka year 930 with the mention of lunar eclipse which falls in 1009 A.D. He too would appear to have had only a nominal reign.

5. *JAGADĒKA MALLA JAYASIṀHA-II* (1015 A.D. — 1042 A.D.)

After *Vikramāditya-V*, we have *Ayyana-II*, the younger brother of *Vikramāditya* and

then *Akkadēvi*, the elder sister of *Jayasiṁha-II*. Though a few records mention them, they do not appear to have been powerful monarchs and there are also doubts whether they were actually reigning monarchs or not.

The next powerful king who may be said to be the successor of *Vikramāditya-V* was his younger brother *Jayasiṁha-II*. He had the *Biruda* of *Jagadēka Malla*. His queen was *Suggaladēvi*. He had a daughter named *Hamma* who was married to the *Yādava* prince *Billama-III*. It would appear that *Jayasiṁha*, soon after he came to throne had to engage in war to recover the territory lost to the *Chōḷa* kings by the inroads made by them in *Satyāśraya*'s time. The *Chōḷas* of the South were busy in waging war against the *Pāṇḍyās*, the *Kēraḷās* and the Sinhalese and the death of *Vimalāditya* in *Vēngi* about 1020 A.D. gave *Jayasiṁha* an opportunity to interfere with the affairs of that kingdom so that one of his own nominees may be kept on the throne. *Jayasiṁha* would appear to have recovered the Raichur Doab, crossed the Tungabhadra and extended his rule even up to Bellary district. The capital of the kings was still at *Mānyākhēṭa* only, which was also the capital of *Rāshṭrakūṭās*, though an inscription of *Jayasiṁha* mentions other different places like *Balagāmve*, *Kollipākkai*, *Pottalakeri* etc.

6. *SŌMĒŚWARA-I* (1042 A.D. — 1068 A.D.)

Jayasiṁha was succeeded by his son *Sōmēśwara-I* who had the titles of *Trailōkya Malla* and *Āhava Malla*. He had two queens by name *Bāchala Dēvi* and *Chandādākabbe* or *Chaṅdrikā Dēvi* who had the title *Priyarāsi*. He had two more queens called *Mailāla Dēvi* and *Kētala Dēvi*. There are a good number of lithic records of his reign. It was during the reign of *Sōmēśwara-I* that the city of *Kalyāṇi* was built, to which the capital was shifted. *Bilhaṇa*, the great poet in his *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita* credits *Sōmēśwāra* with the construction of the capital city of *Kalyāṇi*. We have also evidence from inscriptions stating that *Kalyāṇi* was the capital of this line of *Chālukyan* kings from the reign of this king.

Sōmēśwara was assisted by a great Brahmin General by name *Nāgavarma* who was his principal officer. The importance of this General will be known by the fact that he held the following titles ;

Vindhyādhipamallaśiracchēdana
Sēvanadisapaṭṭa
Chakrakūṭa Kālakūṭa
Dharāvarshadarpōtpaṭana and
Mārasiṁha Madamardana

A Kannada verse from an inscription[1] from *Naṅdēd* states that *Sōmēśwara* took the lives of the enemy kings of *Magadha*, *Kaḷinga* and *Anga* and forced the kings of *Konkaṇa* to prostrate at his feet by the ferocity of his attack. He is also said to have conquered king

1. The Early History of the Decean, Yazdani, p. 330.

Mālavēśwara, Chōḷa and to have won over the kings of *Vēngi and Kaḷinga.*

Sōmēśwara's reign is important because it was during his rule that the foundation of the *Kākatīya* Empire was laid. It is stated from the Kazipet inscription[1] that in recognition of the meritorious service of *Prōla-I,* who was responsible for the growth of the kingdom, *Trilōkya Malla* bestowed *Anmakonḍa Vishaya* on him in perpetuity.

Sōmēśwara was engaged in a series of warfare with the *Chōḷas* of the South and it would appear that *Rājādhirāja,* the famous *Chōḷa* king fell in a battle with him in 1071 A.D. The *Chōḷa* records, however, mention several victories gained against the Western *Chālukyās* and whatever be the course of events between both these kings, it is clear that the feud between the Western *Chālukyās* and *Chōḷās* was kept up.

Under *Sōmēśwara-I,* the *Chālukyan* power greatly expanded. *Vēngi* was completely brought under his control, and both the *Paramārās* and the *Pratīhārās* who were a major power in the North were his feudatories. He kept up a vigorous struggle with the *Chōḷās* in the South. He would appear to have died somewhere round about 1068 A. D. and there is an inscription which shows that he sought a watery grave in the Tungabhadra river in March 1068 A. D. His *Parama Yōga* or final union took place at *Kuruvaṭṭi* on the Tungabhadra banks on the 29th March 1068 A. D.

7. *SŌMĒŚWARA-II* (1068 A. D. - 1076 A. D.)

Sōmēśwara-I was succeeded by *Sōmēśwara-II* who had the title of *Bhuvanaika Malla. Sōmēśwara-II* had to contend, with the intrigues of his brother and others for the throne. Except for his trusted lieutenant *Laxmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka* and a few others, in whom he could repose complete confidence he could trust none else. His brother was continuously making intrigues to wrest the throne from him and hence *Sōmēśwara-II* had to exert his very best to hold the empire together. His brother *Vikramāditya-VI* was already ruling over some territory assigned to him. His brother was carrying on the old feud with the *Chōḷās* and a decisive battle would appear to have been fought somewhere in the *Kōlār* district between *Vikramāditya's* forces and those of *Kulōttunga Chōḷa. Bilhaṇa,* the great poet, says that as a result of the warfre, in which the armies of *Sōmēśwara* and *Kulōttunga* simultaneously fought with those of *Vikramāditya,* the Dravida Lord fled the field and *Sōmadēva* entered the prison.

There is one inscription in the Hyderabad Museum which says that *Vikramāditya* took over the kingdom from *Sōmēśwara* by the force of his arms.[2]

"*Sōmēśwarād Bāhubalēna Rājyam Gṛihītavān Ārjita Kīrti Lakshmi*"

This inscription and the statement of *Bilhaṇa,* make it clear that *Vikramāditya-VI* led a civil war against his brother *Sōmēśwara-II* and made him captive. How long *Sōmēśwara* lived in the prison and what his ultimate end was, and how it came about, are not known.

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1. Hyderabad Arch. Series No. 13, p. 26. 2. The Early History of the Deccan, Yazdani, p. 355 - (foot note 4).

8. *VIKRAMĀDITYA-VI* (1076 A.D. - 1126 A.D.) :

Sōmēśwara-II was thus deposed and succeeded on the throne by his younger brother *Vikramāditya-VI* who had the *Biruda* of *Tribhuvanamalla*. *Vikramāditya* came to the throne somewhere in 1076 A.D., which is determined from an inscription[1] at *Wadagēri* of Andhra Pradesh, which records some gifts made at the *Paṭṭabandhana Mahōtsava* on *Phālguna Śukla Panchami* of the cyclic year *Nala*. *Vikramāditya* instituted a new era called *Chālukya Vikrama* era, which was regularly employed during his entire reign and for 40 or 50 years later. An inscription[2] from *Gaḍag* mentions that *Vikramāditya* set aside the *Saka varsha* and made his own name famous by instituting a *Vikrama varsha*.

The long reign of *Vikramāditya-VI* was fairly peaceful and there are innumerable epigraphical records of his reign, numbering more than 150. These epigraphs give us very interesting glimpse into the conditions of the lives of the people during this period. It would appear that *Vikramaditya-VI* had more than six queens by names : *Sāvaladēvi*, daughter of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśwara Jōgamarāsa*, *Lakshmadēvi*, *Jakkaladēvi*, daughter of *Tikka* of the *Kadaṁba* family, *Mallēyamādevi*, *Chāṇḍaladēvi*, and *Mālaladevi*, daughter of the *Sanabhōga Rāyana* etc.

Vikramāditya-VI had a brother *Jayasimha-III*, who was ruling as governor at *Tardvādi* even under *Sōmēśwara-I*. Under *Sōmēśwara-II*, he became the viceroy of *Nōlaṁba-Sindavāḍi* and since he sided with *Vikramāditya* in the civil war, his position became strengthened. *Jayasiṁha* was also raised to the status of *Yuvarāja* at *Banavāsi*. But at a later stage, *Jayasiṁha* would appear to have revolted against *Vikramāditya-VI* himself, following his own footsteps when he revolved against his brother *Sōmēśwara*. His revolt against *Vikramāditya* would appear to have not succeeded.

Vikramāditya extended his dominions widely and the provenance of his inscription at such places like *Sītābāldi* (Nagpur) down to *Kṛishṇa* district prove that he had full command over the entire dominion. *Vikramādityā-VI* was served by a number of generals who distinguished themselves in war.

9. *SŌMĒŚWARA-III* (1126 A.D. — 1138 A.D.)

Vikramāditya was succeeded by his son *Sōmēśwara-III* who was also known as *Bhūlōka-mālla*. He was also styled sometimes as *Sarvajña Chakravarthi*. Like his father, he too began an era of his own called *Bhūlōka Malla* era, though the *Chālukya Vikrama* era was also in vogue. His rule was on the whole peaceful, though he is once said to have gone to the South on a *Digvijaya*. *Kalyāṇi* continued to be the capital of the kingdom and many inscriptions state that the king was reigning there. *Sōmēśwara-III* is also the author of the work called *Abhilāshitārtha Chintāmaṇi* or *Manasōllāsa* which deals with the science of

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1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII p. 109.
2. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV - p. 350.

administration, justice, medicine, astrology etc.

10. *JAGADĒKA MALLA-II* (1138 A.D. — 1149 A.D.)

Sōmēśwara-III had two sons of whom the name of the elder one is unknown to us. His inscriptions always mention him only by the titles *Perma* and *Jagadēka Malla.* He is to be distinguished from *Jagadēka Malla-I* by the additional title of *Pratāpa Chakravarti* given to him. On the whole, his reign was peaceful and prosperous.

11. *TAILA-III* (1149 A.D. — 1162 A.D.)

Jagadēkamalla-II was succeeded by his brother *Taila-III* who is described as *Tailapa* and *Nūrmadi Taila.* He had also the *Biruda* of *Trilōkya Malla,* and was also called as *Chālukya Chakravarthi.* Very few of his records have come out. *Taila-III* was not an able ruler and several subordinates like the *Hoyasālās*, the *Kākatīyās* and the *Yādavās* who were administering various provinces of the kingdom were only waiting for an opportunity to assert their independence. Danger came from *Kālachūrya Bijjala* who was ably served by several generals. *Bijjala* would appear to have asserted his independence after sometime. Thus, during the period of *Taila-III,* the forces of disruption had already manifested themselves.

12. *SŌMĒŚWARA-IV* (1182 A.D. - 1200 A.D.)

Taila-III was succeeded by *Sōmēśwara-IV,* though *Sōmēśwara* did not immediately come to the throne after the death of his father. There was an interregnum after the reign of *Taila-III,* and the earliest record that we have of *Sōmēśwara-IV* is from 1183 A.D. He too had the *Biruda* of *Tribhuvanamalla* and also a title *Vīra Nārāyaṇa.* With *Sōmēśwara-IV* the Western *Chālukyan* line of *Kalyāṇi* came to an end. The Gadag inscription[1] of *Bhillama* enables us to know the story of the final disappearance of the Western *Chālukyan* empire of *Kalyāṇi.* The *Hoyasālās*, and the *Kākatīyās* who were already asserting their independence completed the process, and with *Sōmēśwara-IV,* this line of kings came to an end.

13. GENEALOGY

Thus for a period of nearly 200 years from the time of *Taila-II* in 973 A.D. to *Sōmēśwara-IV* in 1200 A.D. the Western *Chālukyans* of *Kalyāṇi* ruled the land. They were a powerful line of rulers, who claimed relationship with the Western *Chālukyās* of *Bādāmi.* With them the Western *Chālukyan* empire came to an end, and they were succeeded by *Yādavās, Kākatīyās* and *Hōysālās* under whom the Deccan rose to even greater prominence. The genealogy and chronology of these kings would be roughly as follows:

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1. Epirgaphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 217.

Āhavamalla Nūrmadi Taila-II (973 A.D. - 996 A.D.)

Akalanka Charita Irivē Bēḍanga Satyāśraya (997 - 1008 A.D.)

Dāśavarma or *Yaśōvarma* (No records of his rule are available)

Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya-V. (1008 A.D. - 1015 A.D.)

Ayyanna (No records of his rule are available)

Akkadēvi (No records of her rule are available)

Jagadēkamalla Jayasimha-II. (1015 A.D. - 1042 A.D.

Trilōkyamalla Āhavamalla Sōmēśwara-I. (1042 A.D. - 1068 A.D.)

Hamma or *Āvalladēvi*)

Bhuvanaika Malla Sōmēśwāra-II. (1068 A.D. - 1076 A.D.)

Tribhuvanamallā Pērmaḍi Vikramāditya-VI. (1076 A.D. to 1126 A.D.)

Bhūlōka Malla, Sōmēśwara-III (1126 A.D. to 1138 A.D.)

Pērmaḍi Jagadēka Malla-II. (1138 A.D. - 1155 A.D.)

Trailōkya Malla Nūrmadi Taila-III (1150 A.D. - 1163 A.D.)

Tribhuvanamalla Vīra Sōmēśwara-IV (1184 A.D. - 1200 A.D.)

CHAPTER VIII

KALLASĀMBI PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-VI*

A set of copper plate bearing inscriptions in the medieval Nagari script were brought to the Hyderabad Department of Archaeology several years ago. These plates were kept along with unwanted material, in one of the almyrahs of the office and while examining them, I came upon this set of copper plates along with some others, and the plates are now being carefully preserved in the Government Museum. Except for the fact that the plates were brought from Raichur district which formed part of Hyderabad state, no other details are available either in the records of the department or in the accession register of the museum.

The inscription is written on three copper plates held together by a ring. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each 32 cms. in length and 22.5 cms. in breadth. The outer sides of the first plate and the last plate have no writing and the middle plate is written on both the sides.

The plates have the rims well raised and hence the writing is preserved very well There is a hole in the left side of the plates, for a ring to pass through. The ring is fastened by the usual typical seal of the Western *Chālukyans* of *Kalyāṇi*. The seal is also made of copper and it measures 3″ in diameter. The ring had not been cut when these plates were rescued by me. In the centre of the ring is a deeply sunken surface with the figure of a boar or *Varāha* facing to the proper right. Above the boar in two rows are the Sun, a Chauri, a crescent moon, a Swastika and a drum. Behind the boar is a symbol which appears to be a lamp stand or a flag staff. Below the *Varāha Lānchana* is a legend in old Canarese characters "*Srimat Chālukya Bhūvallabha*". The total weight of the plates and the seal is 2570 grams and 1175 grams respectively.

There are in all 93 lines of writing distributed as follows :

First plate second side	23 lines
Second plate first side	24 lines
Second plate second side	24 lines
Third plate first side	22 lines
Total	93 lines

The inscription in the copper plate is written in the typical *Nāgari* script of the grants of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi*. The language is throughout Sanskrit, except for the names, and the grant is free from errors in writing or in syntax. As regards the orthography the peculiarities noted in the other similar plates occur in this also, as for example nasals being represented by the *Anuswāra*, '*Va*' and '*Ba*' being inter-changed etc.

The inscription records the grant of the village *Kallasāmbi* by the king in the 7th year of the *Chālukya Vikrama* era at the request of *Bhaṭṭadēva* who was *Daṅḍanāyaka* or a commander. The cyclic year is given as *Dundubhi Saṁvatsara* and the date of the grant is *Śrāvaṇa Suddha Chaturdasi*. The week day of the grant is Monday. The purpose of the grant was to make an endowment to the temple of *Srī Bhaṭṭēśwara* of the *Naṅdivāṭikagrāma* for the purpose of repairing, white washing, carrying on music and dance, burning incense, giving flowers, lamps, and *Nivēdana* for the Lord, feeding the students who were studying there, as well as for the benefit of the brahmins. The grant was made free of all taxes, in such a manner that the royal kings will not enjoy even an inch of land there. The boundaries of the village *Kallasāmbi* are also given. The grant ends with the usual imprecatory verses from the *Vyāsagīta*.

The date of the grant is said to be the 7th year of the *Chālukya Vikrama* era. The cyclic year *Nala* or *Anala* corresponding to Saka 999 i.e. 1076-77 A.D. is reckoned as the first year of the new era initiated by *Vikramāditya* at his accession. Reference to this is given in an inscription[1] at *Wadagēri* in Andhra Pradesh which records the *dānās* or the gifts made at the *Paṭṭabandhan Mahōtsava*. The year of this inscription has been accepted by various scholars to be the date of coronation. This date corresponds to 11th February, 1076 A.D. and this is generally accepted as the date of coronation of *Vikramāditya-VI*.

The details given about the present date of the grant are that it is in the 7th year of the *Chālukya Vikrama* era, the cyclic year being *Dundubhi*, the date of the grant being the *Śuddha* or *Śukla Chathurdaśi* of the *Śrāvana* month and the week day being *Sōmavāra*. Treating the year 1076 A.D. as the starting point of the *Vikrama* era, the 7th running regnal year would be 1082 A.D. In 1082 A.D. the *Śrāvaṇa* month, according to the luni-solar month system of reckoning the months, prevalent in Deccan, starts from 29th of June and ends with the 28th of July. Within this ambit, the *Śuklapaksha Chaturdasi* falls on the 11th February, and this also happens to be a Monday which tallies well with the details given in the grant. Therefore, the date of the grant is 11th July, 1082 A.D. Thus the details given in the grant are susceptible of astronomical verification and this gives us evidence regarding the correctness of the starting point of the *Vikrama* era started by *Vikramāditya-VI*.

The grant opens with the usual *Chālukyan* verse of prayer '*Jayatyāvishkṛitam Vishṇō*' etc. This is in the *Anushṭup* metre and in this the *Lord Vishṇu* who had taken the *Avatāra* as

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. XXII p. 109.

Varāha in order to uplift the world is praised. The world is supposed to rest on the Lord's right tusk. The grant opens with a prayer that such a Lord may be victorious. In the 2nd verse which is in the *Mālini* metre a prayer is given that the Lrod *Vishṇu* in the form of a *Varāha* who is described here as '*Srīpatī*' and *Krōdā rūpa* and whose fearful and white tusk bore the brunt of the earth may give us prosperity and blessings. In the 3rd verse which is in *Āryāgīti* metre, it is stated that king *Tribhuvanamalla Bhūpati* whose fame was without blemish attracted to himself the entire world surrounded by a girdle made of his own glory. The king is supposed to have attracted to himself the earth in the form of a bride or *Avanīvadhū* who is adorned with the '*Raśana*' or a waist girdle which is made by the oceans full of elephants and crocodiles.

The grant then goes on to describe in prose the *Praśasti* of the Western *Chāḷukyās*. The *Chālukyan* kings are described here as being praised in the entire worlds, as belonging to the '*Mānavysaa Gōtra*' as being the sons of *Hārītī* or '*Hārītī Putrās*', as having obtained by the grace of Lord *Kausiki*, the white umbrella, as being protected by '*Sapta Mātrikas*' or the seven divine mothers, as having obtained by the grace of Lord *Kārtikēya*, the different weapons like the *Mayūra Pincha* etc., as having obtained the entire kingly universe by the mere sight of the *Varāha Lānchana* which was obtained by the grace of Lord *Nārāyaṇa*. In this line, kings like *Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇu Vardhaua*, *Vijayādityā* etc. were born.

The grant next describes in the fourth verse which is in the *Mālini* metre that the *Chālukya vaṁśa* was famous as having swallowed the glory of the *Nalas*, as having won a victory over the kings of the *Kadamba* and the *Mauryās*, and as having routed the power of the *Rāshṭrakūṭās* as well as the *Kālachuris*. In the fifth verse, which is in *Vasantatilaka* metre, it is stated that in this line of kings, fifty-nine sovereigns ruled formerly in *Ayōdhya*, and later sixteen of them reigned in the south. Then the grant says that for an interval of time, the glory of the *Chāḷukya* line of kings was interrupted. In the sixth verse which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre it is stated that after this temporary obscuration of their fortune, the *Chālukyan* line was once again restored by king *Jayasiṁha Vallabha*. The king is described as a root for the creeper of fame, as a veritable '*Kamala*' or a lotus for the *Lakshmī Vilāsa* or the play of the Goddess *Lakshmi*, as a thunderbolt to the enemy kings, and as the representative of Lord *Vishṇu* himself, and generally fulfilling all the desires of his people.

In the seventh verse which is in the *Vasantatilaka* metre the glory of this king is described and it is stated that he bore the '*Vallabha Rājyalakshmi*' of the *Chālukya kula* after uprooting the king *Indra* who was the son of king *Kṛishṇa* of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* line and after defeating an army consisting of 800 elephants. The king is also said to have burnt down 500 enemy kings. In the eighth verse which is in the *Ārya* metre, the son of *Jayasiṁha* viz. *Raṇa Rāga* is described. He is said to be a veritable *Raṇa Rāga* by conquering fearful enemy horses, strong infantry, and crores of elephant hoards and also immersed in the

contemplation of the feet of Lord *Hara*. In the 9th verse which is in *Ārya* metre, *Raṇa Rāga*'s son *Pulakēśin* is described as having been born just like Lord *Kṛishṇa* who killed the demon *Kēsi*, as ruling *Vātāpipuri*, and as not being afflicted by the sins of *Kali*.

In the tenth verse which is in the *Mālinī* metre the glory of *Pulakēśin* is continued. It is stated that even now we are describing the greatness of *Pulakēśin* with each limb becoming full of '*Pulakānkita*' merely on thinking of his greatness. He had given as gifts for *Ṛitviks* in the *Aśvamēdha Yajña* two thousand horses, elephants and villages. In the eleventh verse which is in the *Mālinī* metre the son of *Pulakēśi* viz. *Kīrtivarma* is described as the destroyer of the *Nalās*, the *Mauryās* and the famous *Kadambās*. He is in fact described as a '*Kuṭhāra*' or an axe that cut at the very roots of the above line of kings. His fame is so great that all the mansions of the universe were filled with the white of his glory. In the 12th verse which is in the *Manndākrānta* metre his younger brother *Mangalēśa* is described as having conquered the *Rēvatī Dvīpa* by the *Nausētū Bandha* or the boats, whose fame had spread to all the worlds and as one who was a '*Hata Pati*' or a compulsory king for the *Kālachuris*.

In the thirteenth verse which is also in the *Mandākrānta* metre the description of *Mangalēśa* is continued, and he is stated as having reigned as a regent during the childhood of his elder brother's son, and as having restored the kingdom to *Satyāśraya* his elder brother's son when he became an adult since no king born in the *Chālukya kula* will ever swerve from the path of righteousness. In the fourteenth verse which is in the *Vasantatilaka* metre the description of *Satyāśraya* is continued. He is described as having conquered in all the cardinal directions, as having overran king *Harsha* i.e., *Harshavardhana* of *Kanauj* and as having given to all people who came to him with a request, more than what they asked for, on account of which the name *Satyāśraya* itself became an *Upalakshya* only. In the fifteenth verse which is in the *Dhrutavilambita* metre, it is stated that *Satyāśraya's* son was born. He is described as having rid all the directions of difficulties or '*Adamarikṛita Digvalāyā*'. He is also described as having his fame proclaimed by the *Ḍamarūs* everywhere and as always worshipping the Lord *Mṛida* or Lord *Śiva*.

In the sixteenth verse, which is in the *Trishṭup Upajāti*, his son *Ādityavarman* who was full of all the good qualities and who was a *Bhūvallabha* full of valour of his arms is described. He had also earned by his meritorious actions or *Puṇya Karmās*, a *Dharma* equivalent to that of Lord himself.

Verses seventeen to twentytwo which are in *Anushṭup* metre then give a list of all the kings who succeeded each other. The son of *Ādityavarman*, was *Vikramāditya* who had conquered the entire world by his valour. After him came *Yuddha Malla* who was equivalent to Lord *Yama* himself in *Yuddha* or battle. His own son was *Vijāyaditya* who had conquered four provinces and was equivalent to *Vijaya* or *Arjuna*. After him came

his son *Vikramāditya*, after him a brother of *Vikramāditya* whose name is not given, and after him the latter's son *Kīrtivarma*. From him was born *Taila* and after him *Vikramāditya*. His son was *Bhīmarāja* and after *Ayyanārya* who married the daughter of king *Krishṇa* probably of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* line.

In the 23rd verse which is in *Ārya* metre it is stated that to them was born *Vikramāditya* whose fame had spread in the world, who had conquered his enemies, who had made many conquests by his *Tēja* or glory even as Lord *Āditya* and who had only truth or '*Satya*' as his wealth. The twentyfourth verse which is also in the *Ārya* metre states that *Vikramāditya* married *Bontadēvi* who was the daughter of king *Lakshmaṇa* of the *Chēdi* line. In the twentyfifth verse which is in the *Mālini* metre *Taila* is said to have been born to them even as *Vāsudēva* was born from *Vasudēva* and *Dēvaki*, and as *Guha* from *Pārvati* and *Ardhēndumauli* or Lord *Śiva*.

Then in the twentysixth verse which is in the *Ārya* metre the description of *Taila* is continued. Such acts like breaking open the heads of the elephants of the enemies, breaking upon the ememy forts and gates are said to be the playful and boyish pranks of king *Taila*. In the twenty seventh verse which is in *Śārdūla Vikrīḍita* metre two kings by name *Karkara* and *Raṇastamba* belonging to the *Rāshṭrakūṭa Vamsa* who were like the four legs of *Kali*, who were wicked in their deeds or '*Krūrau*', and who were as it were, the very sprouting place of all the '*Gurujana Drōha*' were said to have been conquered in battle by this *Taila*. In the twenty eighth verse which is in *Vasantatilaka* metre it is stated that king *Taila* restored the fortunes of the *Chālukya* line of kings which had sunk low by the attacks of the *Rāshṭrakūṭās* and whose fortunes had sunk just as the world had been sunk by the *Asurās* before. Even as Lord *Varāha* lifted the world out of the seas in which it had sunk in his *Ādivarāharūpa*, this *Taila* lifted the fortunes of his family and bore the *Vallabha Rājyalakshmi* of the *Chālukyakula*.

In the twentyninth verse which is in *Ārya* metre a bride by name *Jakkava* was said to have been born to *Bammaha Raṭṭa* of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* line even as *Lakshmi* was born from the ocean. In the thirtieth verse which is in *Trishṭup Upajāti*, *Srī Vikramāditya* of the *Chālukyakula* who was a veritable *Sūrya* or *Bhānumāli* to the '*Ambara*' or the sky of the *Chālukya Vamśa* was said to have married the above mentioned *Jakkava* for the benefit of the world. The union is described as close and appropriate as between the moon and the moon-light or the *Chandramasu* and the *Chandrika*. In the 31st verse which is in *Anushṭup* metre, it is stated that from *Srī Vikramāditya* and *Jakkava* was born king *Satyāśraya* even as *Skanda* was born from goddess *Ambika* and Lord *Triambaka*.

In the 32nd verse which is in the *Trishtup Upajāti* the marriage of *Satyāśraya's* younger brother called *Daśavarma* with the queen by name *Bhāgyavati* is described and to them king *Srī Vikrama* who was a *Vikrama* or one who was very proficient in valour was said to be

born. In the 33rd verse which is in *Trishṭup Upēndravajra* it is stated that this king *Vikramaditya* reigned after the time of his father's elder brother, and he broke the '*Arikadamba*' or the group of his enemies by the valour of his arms. Then his younger brother came. In the thirtyfourth verse which is in the *Trishṭup Upajāti* metre his younger brother *Jagadēkamalla* is described as having came after him and by the all pervading glory of this king a doubt was created for the '*Amara sundaries*' or the angels whether the milky ocean or the '*Dugdhāmbudhi*' was not being increased, the idea being, that the glory of the king being white a doubt was created whether this glory pervading the entire universe was not the over-flowing milky ocean itself.

In the thirty-fifth verse which is in the *Trishṭup Upēndravajra* metre a description of this king called *Jayasimha Rāja* is given. He is described as a *Jayasimha Rāja* which is his name and which also is represented to mean a lion among the kings. He is described in the verse as '*Sadā Vanastha*' or always active in protection. The same phrase '*Sadā Vanastha*' as applied to a lion would mean or always hunting in a forest. He is also described as being quite efficient in breaking open the heads of the enemy elephants as would also a lion. His glory is also said to be shining in the world even as the glory of a king lion would be. In the thirty-sixth verse which is in the *Mālini* metre, a description of the king who had the *Biruda* '*Gaṇḍarul Gaṇḍa*' is given. It is stated that while he was ruling, the entire universe obtained the title *Rājanvati* or the chance of being ruled by a good king. The *Lakshmi* or the Goddess of royal wealth was living under his '*Ātapatra*' or his umbrella. His feet had also become '*Śabalita*' or lit up by the gems in the *Kirīta* of the enemy kings. In the 37th verse which is in *Ārya* metre a description of the same king who is also described as *Mallīkāmōda* is given and the phrase contains a double entendre. The phrase can be interpreted to mean that the smell of a '*Mallika*' or a jasmine is found in the region of the hair or the '*Kuntavishaya*' which is of black colour or '*Krishṇavarṇa*' and which had become smooth and shining by the '*Taila snēha* or the friendship of the oil. Conversely the verse could also be said to apply to the king who was also known as *Mallikāmōda*.

In the thirty-eighth verse which is in *Trishṭup upajāti* metre it is stated that to him *Āhāvamalla* was born who uprooted by the valour of his shining arms the enemy kings. In the thirtynineth verse which is in *Sragdhara* metre the kings of *Mālva, Chōḷa* and *Kanyākubja* are said to have felt the power of this king. The king of *Mālva* had to look after a shelter or a *manṭapa* for himself. The lord of the *Chōḷas* had to go after the shores of the sea which were full of the '*Tāḷa Vanās*' or the palmyrah trees. The king of the *Kanyākubja* had to go after the *Kandharas* or the caves of the *Himālayas* being afraid of the power of this king. All the enemy kings were thus deluded by fear or '*Vibhrāntha chittha*'. In the fortieth verse which is in *Vasantatilaka* metre a description of the same

king is continued and it is stated that the king is named as *Chālukyakula Pradīpa* or a veritable lamp for the *Chālukyakula.* The word *Pradīpa* is not merely a descriptive word but is full of meaning in as much as this *Pradīpa* or the king had destroyed the '*Andhakāra*' or the darkness of the *Dvisha* or the enemies after having taken into himself all the '*Guṇas*' of '*Taila*' or the *Taila* king. There is a pun on the word *Pradīpa* here, which is euphemestically referred to as a description of the king, but also literally can mean a lamp which expels darkness. The darkness is the darkness of the enemies and that which filled the *Pradīpa* is the *Tailaguṇa* which can be interpreted to mean the oil or the virtues of king *Taila* himself.

The forty-first verse which is in *Triṣṭup Upajāti* mentions that the *Chālukya Mahēśvara* or the *Mahēśvara* of the *Chālukyās* shines even as the power of Lord *Mahēśvara* who defeated *Mīnakētu* and who broke the great power of *Andhakāsura* shines. In the forty-second verse which is in the *Vasantatilaka* metre it is stated that from him was born king *Bhuvanaikamalla* who was a *tilaka* to the *Chālukya Vamśa.* The king is described as being sought by the poets and as sporting himself with the *Śṛingāra Vīra* and also as a veritable *Chandra* to to the *Nayanōtpala* or the lotus eyes of his beloveds. In the fortythird verse which is in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre the valour of the king is described. He is said to have sent forth in every region of the sky his fame to rival the stream of the autumnal clouds, as it were, in order to make all the regents of the quarters of space accept the evidence of his glory.

In the forty-fourth verse which is in the *Mandākrānta* metre the accession of his younger brother *Vikramāditya* to the throne is mentioned. The king is described as bearing on his feet the glory of the other kings and as having wiped away the *Anjana* or the collyrium from the eyes of the '*Smērākshi*' or the ladies of the enemy kings, which *anjana* was giving as it were, to their eyes the '*Dhwāntabhrānti,* or an illusion of the darkness. In the forty-fifth verse which is in *Praharshiṇi* metre, the king is said to have been known as *Tribhuvanamalla* and as having taken away the fame of '*Nāki Śakhi*', or the *Kalpaka Vṛiksha* and as bearing by the valour of his arms the '*Phanīśa*' or the '*Ādiśēsha*' who is bowed by the weight of the earth. In the forty-sixth verse which is in the *Mandākrānta* metre a description of this *Chālukya* king is given. A description is given of the king and his activities which will apply to him as well as the *Srīrāmachandra.* In the last and forty-seventh verse which is in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre a description of the glory of the king is continued further.

The above king *Vikramāditya-VI* who is next described in the grant as *Pṛithvī Vallabha, Mahārājādhi Rāja, Parama Mahēśvara, Parama Bhaṭṭāraka, Satyāśraya Kulatilaka, Chālukya Kulābharaṇa* and is styled as '*Śrīmat Tribhuvana Malladēva*' called a meeting of all the people and made the grant of the village in the 7th year of the *Chālukya Vikrama* era on *Śrāvaṇa Suddha Chaturdaśi,* Monday or *Sōmavāra* and made known the grant to the temple of *Srī Bhaṭṭēśvara* of the *Nandivāṭika grāma* for the purpose mentioned. The date of the

grant has been discussed by me above. The village *Nandivāṭika* may perhaps be identified with the *Nandigrāma* which is mentioned in *Mahākūṭa* pillar inscription of *Mangalēśa*[1] and which has been identified with modern *Nandikēśvar* near *Bādāmi* or *Bījapur*.

The grant gives the details of the following list of things.

Jayasimha
Raṇa Rāga
Pulakēśin
Kīrtivarma-I — *Satyāśraya* — *Nidamari* — *Ādityavarman* — *Vikramāditya-I* — *Yuddhamalla* — *Vijayāditya*
Vikramāditya-II
Mangalēśa
Name not known
Kīrtivarma-II
Taila-I
Vikramāditya-III
Bhīmarāja
Ayyanārya
Vikramaditya-IV
Taila-II
Vikramāditya-V (married *Jakkava*)
Satyāśraya
Dasavarma
Srī Vikrama
Jagadēkamalla, Jayasimharāja, Mallikāmōda
Āhavamalla
Chālukya Mahēśwara
Bhuvanaikamalla
Vikramāditya-VI, Tribhuvanamalla

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX, - p. 9.

On comparing the above genealogy with the details known from other records we may note here, that the statement in the grant that *Satyāśraya-I* who is *Pulakēśin-II* was followed by a son *Nidamari* who was followed by *Ādityavarma* is not corroborated by earlier records. *Vikramāditya* who is here stated to be the son of *Ādityavarma* was really the son of *Satyāśrāya-I* and *Ādityavarma* was one of his brothers. There is no *Nidamari* in this line at all. *Yuddhamalla's* name is given more correctly in the *Satāra* inscriptions as *Vinayāditya*. The disaster in the reign of *Kīrtivarma-II* is a reference to the conquest by the *Rāshṭrakūṭa Daṇḍivarma* at about 754 A.D. After that the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi* came to power at about 924 A.D. and hence the statement in the present grant covering a period of two centuries is not fully exhaustive. From other grants we find that king *Daśavarman* mentioned here has not reigned at all.

Verse thirty seven where a play on the word *Mallikāmōda* is given is noteworthy. The verse can mean that *Mallikāmōda* (which is another name of the king) is very illustrious in the land of *Kuntala* which is very famous for the river *Krīshṇavarṇa* and has a loyalty arising from affection for king *Taila*. The verse can also mean that a fragrance of jasmine pervades the braid of hair which has a famous black hue or *Krishṇa varṇa* and smoothness caused by oil. *Kuntala* is well known as the general name for the Western *Chālukyan* territory. *Krishṇavarṇa* is another name for the river *Krishṇa* on account of its confluence with the *Varṇa* three miles east of *Satāra*. Possibly the phrase *Vikhyāta Krishṇa-varṇa* has also a reference to the fertile black soil for which the land was famous.

The purpose for which the grant was given is very interesting, since it was given for the worship of the Lord in the temple at the *Nandivāṭika grāma*, and was intended for such items as repair, white washing, and minor repairs of walls that had fallen down, music and dance before the Lord, burning incense, giving flowers, lamps, and *Nivēdana* for the Lord, feeding the students who were studying there etc. The grant was made free of all taxes.

This is an interesting and important rocord of the Western *Chālukyan* king *Vikramā-ditya-VI* given in his seventh regnal year.

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TEXT AND PLATES
OF
THE KALLASĀMBI PLATES OF VIKRAMĀDITYA-VI

(NOTE : The number of the verses is given in brackets after each verse.)

FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE

१. [ओं] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्णवं। दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रांतभुवनं वपुः (1)
२. श्रियमुपहरताद्वः श्रीपतिः क्रोडरूपो विकटविशददंष्ट्राप्रांतविश्रांतभाजं। अवहददयदंष्ट्राकृष्ट
३. विस्पष्टकांडप्रतनुविसजटाग्रग्रंथिवद्यो धरित्रीं (2) करिमकरमकरिकांकितजलनिधिरशनां वशी
४. करोत्ववनिवधूं। त्रिभुवनमल्लभूपतिरकलंकयशोंबुराशि वलयितभुवनः (3) गद्यं। अस्ति समस्त
५. भुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धश्वेतातपत्रादिरा
६. ज्यचिह्नानां सप्तमातृकापरिरक्षितानां कार्तिकेयवरप्रसादलब्धमयूरपिच्छकुंतध्वजानां भगव
७. न्नारायणप्रसादासादितवरवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिराजमंडलानां समस्तभुवना
८. श्रयसर्वलोकाश्रयविष्णुवर्द्धनविजयादित्यादिविशेषनाम्नां राजरत्नानामुद्भवभूमिः। वृत्तं। क
९. वलितनललक्ष्मीदुर्जयौर्जित्यहारी विहतपृ(थु)कदम्बांडम्बरो मौर्यनिर्जित्। निजभुजबलभूम्नोत्पाट
१०. यन्राष्ट्रकूटान्त्रिखलितकलचुरिश्रीरस्ति चालुक्यवंशः (4) तज्जेषु राज्यमनुपाल्य गतेषु राजस्वेकान्नषष्टि
११. पुराध्ययोध्यं। तद्वंशजास्तदनु षोडशभूमिपालाः क्ष्मां दक्षिणापथजुषं बिभरां ब
१२. भूवुः (5) दुष्टावष्टब्धायां कतिपयपुरुषांतरितायां चालुक्यकुलसंपदि भूयश्चालुक्य
१३. वंश्य एव। कंदः कीर्त्तिलतांकुरस्य कमलं लक्ष्मीविलासास्पदं वज्रं वैरिमहीभृतां प्रतिनिधि
१४. र्देवस्य दैत्यद्रुहः। राजासीज्जयसिंहवल्लभ इति ख्यातश्चरित्रैर्निजैर्यो रेजे चिरमादिराजचरि
१५. तोत्कंठाः प्रजानां हरन् (6) यो राष्ट्रकूटकुलमिंद्र इति प्रसिद्धं कृष्णाह्वयस्यसुतमष्टशतेमसैन्यं। नि
१६. र्जित्य दग्धनृपपंचशतो बभार भूयश्चलुक्यकुलवल्लभराजलक्ष्मीं (7) चटुलरिपुतुरगपट्टत (भ)
टकरटिघ
१७. टाकोटिघट्टितरणरागः सुकृतहरचरणरागस्तनयोभूत्तस्य रणरागः (8) तत्तनयः पुलकेशी केशिनि
१८. षूदनसमोभवद्राजा। वातापिपुरीवरपतिरकलितखलकलिकलंककलः (9) वयमपि पुलकेशि
१९. क्ष्मापतिं वर्ण्णयंतः पुलककलितदेहाः पश्यताद्यापिसंतः। स हि तुरगगजेंद्रग्रामसारं सहस्रद्वयप
२०. रिमितमृत्विक्सात्चकाराश्वमेधे (10) तत्तनयः। नलनिलयविलोपी मौर्यनिर्याणहेतुः प्रथितपृथुक
२१. दम्बस्तम्बभेदीकुठारः। भुवनभवनभागापूरणारंभसारव्यवसितसितकीर्त्तिः कीर्त्तिवर्मा नृपोभूत् (11)
२२. तदनु तस्यानुजः। सर्वद्वीपाक्रमणमहसो यस्य नौसेतुबंधैरुल्लंघ्याब्धिं व्यधितपृतनारेवतीद्वीप
२३. लोपं। राज्यश्रीणां हठपतिरभूद्यश्चकालचुरीणां बभ्रे भूमिं सहससकलैर्मंगलैर्मंगलीशः (12) ज्येष्ठ

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

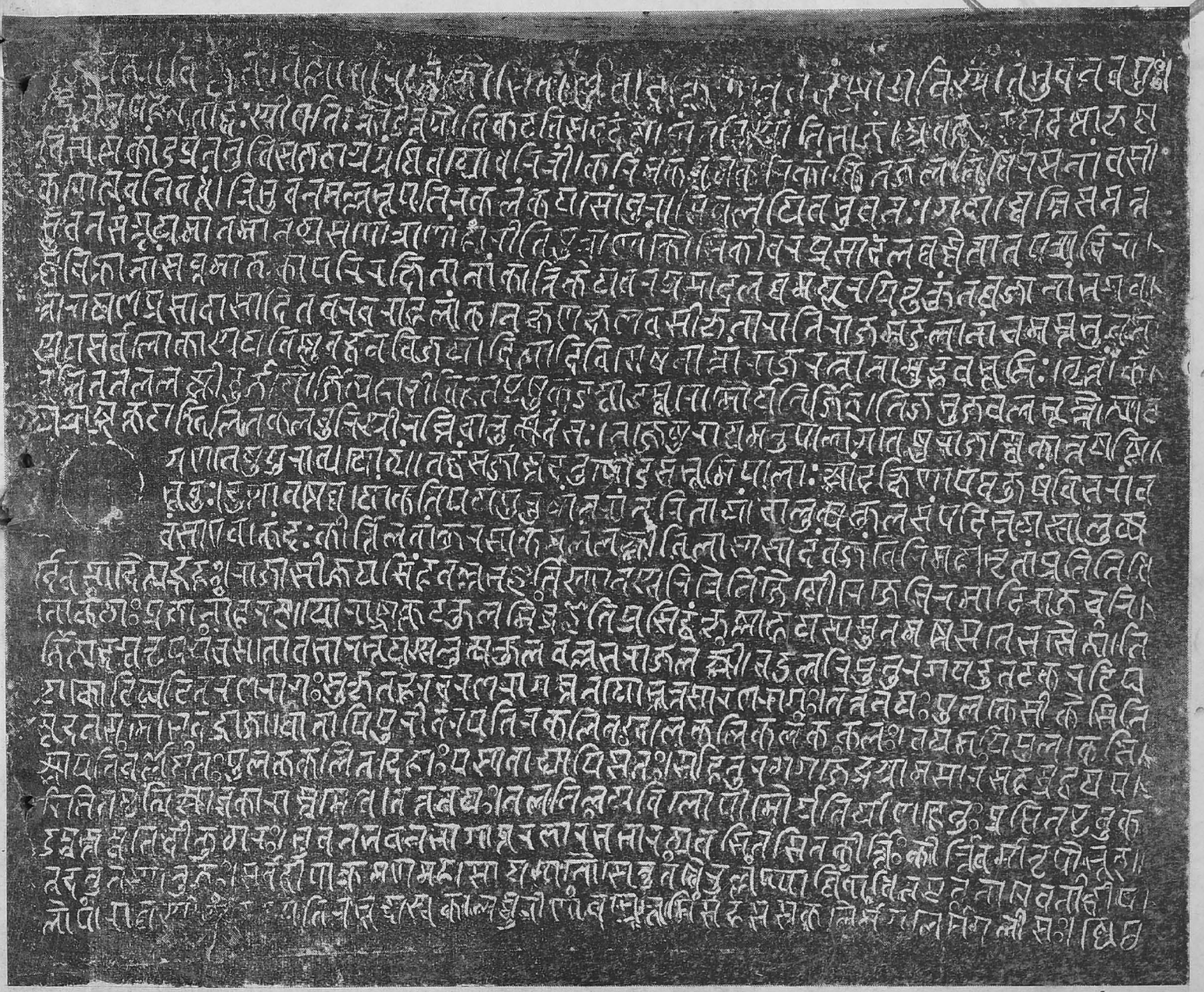
२४. भ्रातुः सतिसुतवरेप्यर्भकत्वादशक्तेर्यस्मिन्नात्मन्यकृत हि धुरं मंगलीशः पृथिव्याः। तस्मिन्प्रत्यार्पितपदथम
२५. हीं यूनि सत्याश्रये सौ चालुक्यानां क इव हि पथो धर्मतः प्रच्यवेत (13) जेतुर्दिशां विजित-
हर्षमहानृपस्य दा

Plate VI (a)

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THE *KALLASĀMBI* PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-VI*

First Plate : Second Side



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THE *KALLASĀMBI* PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-VI*

Second Plate : First Side



२६. तुर्मनोरथशताधिकमर्थयद्भ्यः। सत्यादिसर्वगुणरत्नागणाकरस्य सत्याश्रयत्वमुपलक्षणमेव यस्य (14) अ
२७. डमरीकृतदिग्वलयोर्दितद्विडमरीपरिगीतमहायशाः। मृडमरिष्टभिदं मनसोद्वहन्निडमरिक्षितिपो
२८. जनि तत्सुतः (15) सुतस्तदीयो गुणरत्नमाली भूवल्लभोभूद्भुजवीर्यशाली। आदित्यवर्माजितपुण्य-कर्मा ते
२९. जोभिरादित्यसमानधर्मा (16) तत्सुतो विक्रमादित्यो विक्रमाक्रांतभूतलः। ततोपि युद्धमल्लाख्यो युद्धे य
३०. मसमो नृपः (17) तज्जन्मा विजयादित्यो वीरानेकांगसंगरे। चतुर्णां मंडलानामप्यजयद्वि-जयोपमः (18) त
३१. द्भवो विक्रमादित्यः कीर्त्तिवर्मा तदग्रजः। येन चालुक्यराजश्रीरंतरायिण्यभूद् भुवि (19) विक्रमादित्यभूपालश्रा
३२. ता भीमपराक्रमः। तत्सूनुः कीर्त्तिवर्माभून्मृत्प्रासार्दितदुर्जनः (20) तैलभूपस्ततो जातो विक्रमादित्य भू
३३. पतिः। तत्सूनुरभवत्तस्मा भीमराजोरिभीकरः (21) अय्यणार्यस्ततो जज्ञे यद्वंशस्य श्रियं स्वकं। प्रापयन्नि
३४. व वंशं स्वं स वव्रे कृष्णनंदनां (22) अभवत्तयोस्तनूजो विभवविभासी विरोधिविध्वंसी। ते
३५. जोविजितादित्यः सत्यधनो विक्रमादित्यः (23) चेदीशवंशतिलकां लक्ष्मणराज
३६. स्य नंदनां नुतशीलां। बोंठादेवीं विधिवत्परिणिन्ये विक्रमादित्यः (24) सुतमिव
३७. वसुदेवादेवकी वासुदेवं गुहमिव गिरिजामिर्देवमर्द्धेंदुमौलेः। अजनयदथ
३८. बोंथादेव्यतस्तैलभूपं। विभवविजितशक्रं विक्रमादित्यनाम्नः (25) अरिकुंभिकुंभभेदनरिपुदुर्ग
३९. कवाटभंजनप्रभृतिः। सहजबलस्य हरेरिव बालक्रीडाभवद्यस्य (26) किंच। राष्ट्रकूटकुलराष्ट्रसंवर्द्धावु
४०. भौ। और्जित्याच्चरणाविवप्रचलितौ साक्षात्कलेः क्रामतः क्रूरौ बद्धशरीरकौ गुरुजनद्रोहप्ररो
४१. हाविव। कालात्खंडितराष्ट्रकूटककुलश्रीवल्लिजातांकुरौ। लूनौ येन सुखेन कर्कररणस्तंभौ रणप्रां
४२. गणे (27) इत्थं पुरा दितिसुतैरिव भूतधात्री यो राष्ट्रकुटकुटिलैर्गमितामथस्तात्। उद्धृत्य माधव इवा
४३. दिवराहरूपो बभ्रे चलुक्यकुलवल्लभराज्यलक्ष्मीं (28) भग्महरट्टादभवद् भूपालाद्राष्ट्रकूटकुलतिलका
४४. त्। लक्ष्मीरिव सलिलनिधेः श्रीजाकव्वाह्वया कन्या (29) चालुक्यवंशांबरभानुमाली श्रीतैलभूपाल उपा
४५. यतैनां। तयोश्च लोकाभ्युदयाय योगः स चन्द्रिकाचन्द्रमसोरिवासीत् (30) श्रीतैलभूमिपालात् श्रीजाक
४६. व्वा समजीजनत्। श्रीमत्सत्याश्रयं स्कंदमंबिका व्यंवि (ब) कादिव (31) तस्यानुजः श्रीदशवर्म-नामा तद्वल्लभा भाग्यव
४७. तीति देवी। तयोरभूद्विक्रमशीलशाली श्रीविक्रमादित्यनृपस्तनूजः (32) असौ निजज्येष्ठपितुः परोक्षं ब

SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

४८. भार वाराशिवृतां धरित्रीं। भुजेन केयूरलतामिवोच्चैर्विदारितारातिकदंबकेन (33) तदनु तस्या
४९. नुजः। यस्याखिलव्यापियशोवदातमकांडदुग्धांबुधिवृद्धिशंकां। करोति मुग्धामरसुंदरीणा
५० मभूत्सभूपो जगदेकमल्लः (34) सदावनस्थः पटुविक्रमाढ्यो मदांधगंधेभघटाविपाटी धरो
५१. र्जितप्रस्फुरितप्रभावो रराज योसौ जयसिंहराजः (35) अगमदखिलधात्री येन राजन्वतीत्वं
५२. निवसति नृपलक्ष्मीर्यस्य शुभ्रातपत्रे। स सकलनमितारिक्षोणिभृन्मौलिरत्नद्युतिशबलितपा
५३. दो गंडरोलांडभूपः (36) विख्यातकृष्णवर्णे तैलस्नेहोपलब्धसरलत्वे। कुंतलविषये नितरां विरा
५४. जते मल्लिकामोदः (37) ततः प्रतापज्वलनप्रभावनिर्मूलनिर्दग्धविरोधिवंशः। तस्यात्मजः पाल
५५. यिताधरायाः श्रीमानभूदाहवमल्लदेवः (38) आत्मावस्थानहेतोरभिलषति सदा मंडपं मालवे
५६. शोदोलत्तालीवनांतान्यनुसरति सरिन्नाथकूलानि चोलः। कन्याकुब्जाधिराजो भजति च त
५७. रसा कंदरास्ता हिमाद्रेरुद्दामायत्प्रतापप्रसरतरभवोद्भीति विभ्रांतचित्ताः (39) अम्लानतैलगु
५८. णसंग्रहणप्रवृद्धं तेजोविशेषदलितद्विषदंधकारः। अन्वर्धतां समनुसृत्य क
५९. विप्रधानैर्यः प्रोच्यते ननु चलुक्यकुलप्रदीपः (40) औद्धत्ययुक्तांधकजप्रभावनिर्मू
६०. लनोद्दामबलस्य यस्य। विराजते निर्जितमीनकेतोर्देवस्य चालुक्यमहेश्वरत्वं (41)
६१. तस्मादजायत जगज्जनितप्रमोदः शृंगारवीररसिकः कविलोककांतः। कांता
६२. विलोलनयनोत्पल चारुचंद्रश्चालुक्यवंशतिलको भुवनैकमल्लः (42) यः पत्रं स्फुटपुष्करा
६३. क्षरधरं पाणौ कृपाणच्छलादाजन्मप्रतिपन्नदास्यविजयश्रीदत्तमुच्चैर्दधत्। साक्ष्यं ग्राहयितुं
६४. दिशां परिवृढान्सर्वानिव प्राहिणोत्प्रत्यासन्निजकीर्तिमभ्रतटिनीस्पर्धानुबंधोद्यतां (43) तदनु
६५. तस्यानुजः। आसीत्तेजःकलितकमलोल्लासनप्रौढपादः स्पर्शादुच्चैः श्रियमवनिभृच्छेख
६६. राणां दधानः। ध्वांतभ्रांतिं दधदिव दृशोरंजनं वैरिवीरस्मेराक्षीणां मुहुरपहरन्विक्रमादित्यदेवः (44)
६७. भूभारं नमितफणीश्वरं भुजाभ्यां विभ्राणः पटहपलायितक्षितीशः। यश्चोच्चैरपहृतनाकिशाखिली
६८. लः प्रख्यातस्त्रिभुवनमल्ल इत्युदारः (45) यातोन्वेष्टुं जनकजनितां वल्लभोदारलक्ष्मीं भ्रात्रा-
सार्द्धं हरि ब
६९. लयुतः स्वां सुमित्रात्मजेन। तीरे सिंधोर्बहुमुखभयादेत्य वैभीषणश्रीधाम्ना नेमे द्रविडपतिना य
७०. श्च चालुक्यरामः (46) सर्वाशाविजयप्रयाणसमयज्ञाताखिलोर्वीपथप्रस्थानेवमहीमतीत्य विमला य
७१. त्कीर्तिरब्धिं गता। प्रेक्ष्यस्ते विजयश्रिया परवशो दूरीकरोत्येष मामित्याख्यातुमिवार्णवस्थिति

Plate VI (c)

THE *KALLASĀMBI* PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-VI*

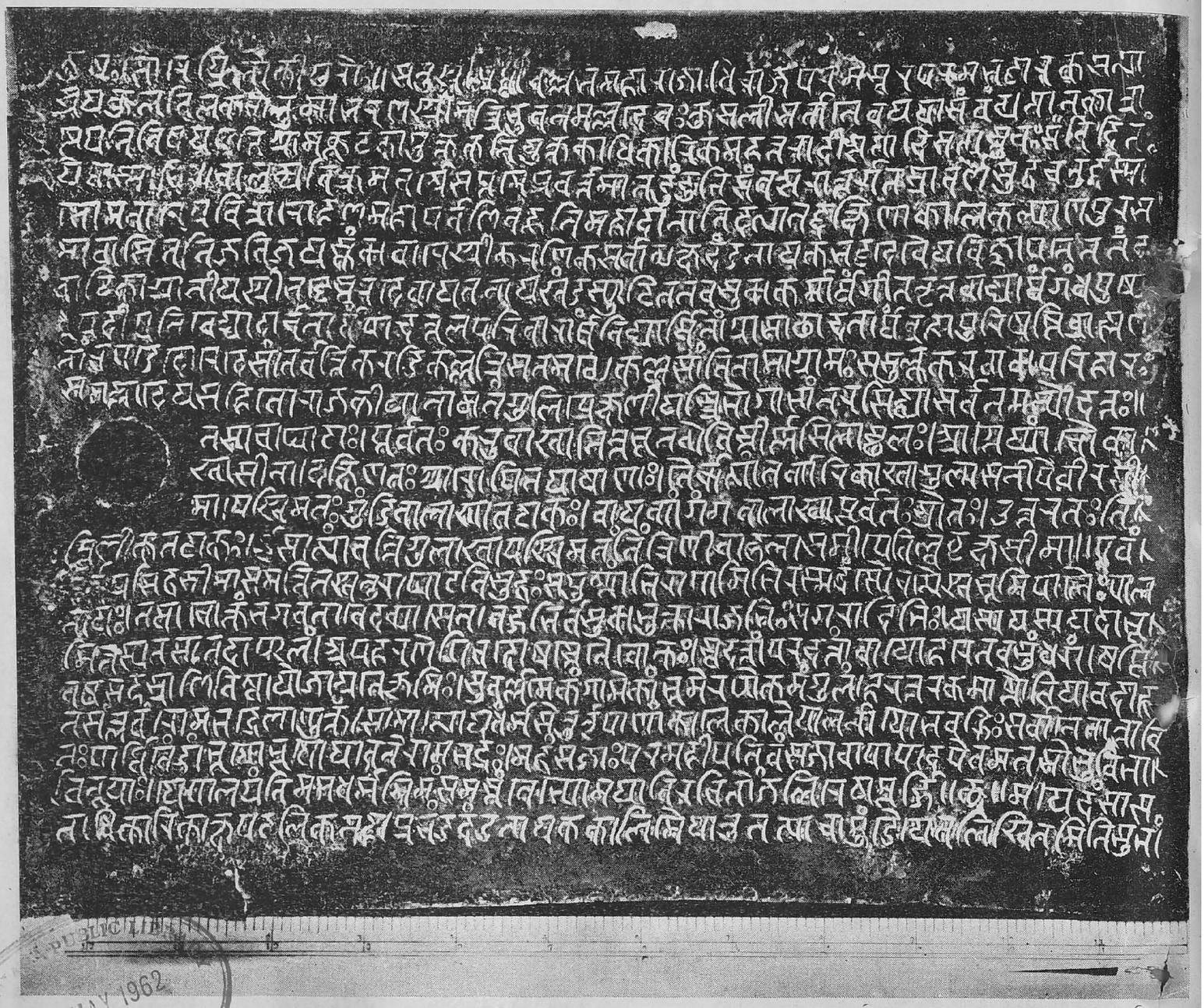
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Second Plate : Second Side

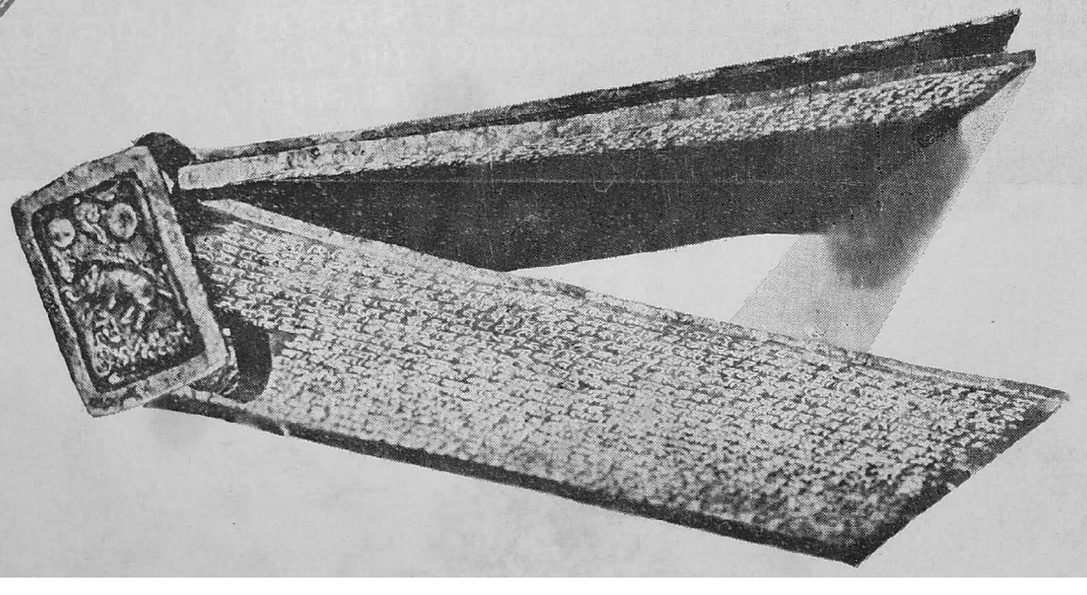


THE *KALLASĀMBI* PLATES OF *VIKRAMĀDITYA-VI*

Third Plate: First Side



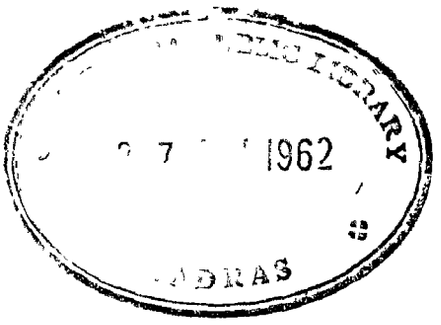
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A general view of the plate with ring and seal

THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

७२. जुषः शौरेस्त्रिलोकीगुरोः (47) सतु श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकसत्या
७३. श्रयकुलतिलकचालुक्याभरण (:) श्रीमत्त्रिभुवनमल्लदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथासंवंद्यमानकान्रा
७४. ष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटकायुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं
७५. यथास्माभिः ॥ चालुक्यविक्रमवर्षे सप्तमे प्रवर्त्तमानदुंदुभिसंवत्सरान्तर्गतश्रावणशुद्धचतुर्द्दश्यां
७६. सोमवारे पवित्रारोहणमहापर्वणि बहूनि महादानानि दत्वा तद्दक्षिणाकाले कल्याणपुरस
७७. मावासितनिजविजयस्कंधावारे श्रीकरणिकसर्वाध्यक्षदंडनायकभट्टदेवै [य] विज्ञापनेन नंद
७८. वाटिकाग्रामीयश्रीभट्टेश्वरदेवायतनाय खंडस्फुटितनवसुधाकर्मार्थं गीतनृत्तवाद्यार्थं गंधपुष्प
७९. धूपदीपनिवेद्याद्यर्चनार्थं पादतूलपरिवारार्थं विद्यार्थिनां ग्रासछादनार्थं ब्रह्मपुरिषष्टिब्राह्मणा
८०. नां च [पडेदोरे] देशांतर्वर्त्तिकरडिकलत्रिशतमध्ये कलसांबिनामग्रामः सशुल्ककरबाधापरिहारः
८१. समस्तादेयसहितो राजकीयानामनंगुलिप्रेक्षणीयस्त्रिभोगाभ्यंतरसिध्या सर्वनमस्यो दत्तः ॥
८२. तस्य चाघाटाः । पूर्वतः करुवाखानित्तभूत [लो] विस्तीर्णशिलास्थलः । आग्नेय्यां चौका
८३. रब्यासीना । दक्षिणतः आरोपितपाषाणाः । नैऋत्यां त(र्धा)रिकाख्यगुल्मसमीपे वीरसी
८४. मा । पश्चिमतः गुंडिवालख्या तटाकः । वायव्यां गंगवालाख्यपर्वतस्रोतः । उत्तरतः तिं
८५. त्रिणीकतटाकः । ईशान्यां वन्तिगुलाख्य पश्चिमतः तिंत्रिणी वाहल्यसमीपे बिल्ववृक्षसीमा ॥ एवं
८६. [सर्व] प्रसिद्धसीमासमन्वितश्चतुर[घो]टविशुद्धः स युष्माभिरागामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्चभूमिपालैः पाल
८७. नीयः । तथाचोक्तं भगवता वेदव्यासेन । बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भू
८८. मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ अपहरणेपिच दोषस्तेनैवोक्तः । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षष्टि
८९. वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृ(क्रि)मिः ॥ सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं । हरन्नरक-
मामोति यावदा [ ]
९०. तसंप्लवं । रामभद्रेणाप्युक्तं । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः (।)
सर्वानेतान्भावि
९१. नः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ मद्वंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो
भुवि भा
९२. विभूपाः । ये पालयंति मम धर्ममिमं समस्तं तेभ्यो मया विरचितोंजलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥छा॥ मयेदं शास
९३. नाधिकारिकाकूपटलिकमहाप्रचंडदंडनायककालिमैयानुमत्या चामुंडैयेन लिखितमिति शुभं ।



SECTION III

THE KĀKATĪYĀS

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CHAPTER IX

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE *KĀKATĪYĀS* OF WARANGAL

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The *Kākatīyās*, rose to power after the downfall of the *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi*, even though some of the early *Kākatīya* rulers served those kings as feudatories. *Bēta-II* of the *Kākatīya* line was a subordinate of *Vikramāditya-VI* of the *Kalyāṇi Chālukyan* king (1076 A.D. - 1126 A.D.). He is mentioned in an epigraph[1] at Kazipet in *Anumakoṇḍa* of Warangal district. From this record and other evidences, we are able to learn that *Bēta-I* was the first of this line and that he was succeeded by *Prōla-I*. During the time of *Prōla-I*, *Āhavamalla Sōmēśwara-I*, the Western *Chālukyan* king of *Kalyāṇi* granted him the *Anumakoṇḍa Vishaya* as a permanent fief to rule. Hence, historically speaking *Prōla-I* may be said to be the first chieftain of the *Kākatīya* line with an independent territory of his own. *Prōla-I* was succeeded by his brother *Bēta-II* round about 1075 A.D. *Bēta-II* was succeeded by *Durganṛipati* who was his son in circa 1117 A.D. During his period the forces of disintegration working in the kingdom of the Western *Chālukyās* of *Kalyāṇi* assumed large proportions and taking advantage of the generally prevailing state of confusion, *Prōla-II* threw off the imperial yoke and asserted his independence. Thus *Prōla-I* was the first chieftain to have a territory of his own, and *Prōla-II* was the first chieftain to openly throw off the allegience to the central power, and become an independent king on his own. He had an independent kingdom which was destined to grow under his successors into a mighty and glorious empire embracing the whole of the Telugu speaking people.

2. *KAKATI RUDRA DĒVA* (1150 A.D. — 1195 A.D.).

Prōla-II had five sons though only two viz. *Rudradēva* and *Mahādēva* are known to us. *Rudradēva* who succeeded *Prōla-II* took part in many of his father's battles. The achievements of *Kākati Rudradēva* are mentioned in his famous *Anumakoṇḍa* inscription which is a lengthy document of the greatest historical importance.[2] This epigraph mentions the name of *Bomma Rāja*, *Mēḍa Rāja* and *Malligi Dēva* as his opponents, whom he vanquished in war. This record also mentions four other names, viz. *Bhīma*, *Gōkarṇa*, *Chōḍōdaya* and *Tailapa*, whom also he is said to have defeated. He next turned his attention to the coastal

1. Hyd. Arch. Series No. 13, p. 26.
2. I.A. Vol. XI - p. 9.

regions of *Āndhra Deśa* which lay between his kingdom and the sea. There is good reason to believe that *Rudradēva* invaded *Vēngi*, though he appears to have been not entirely successful in completely bringing that territory under his control. *Vēngi* which was being ruled by the later *Chāluka Chōḷās* was undergoing a period of poltical turmoil. In 1172 A.D. the *Chālukya Chōḷa* emperor *Rāja Rāja* died. On his death the extensive territories under his control fell off from allegience to the central power and *Kulōttunga Rājēndra* the ruler of *Velanāḍu* taking advantage of this situation made himself master of this area. Hence *Kākati Rudradēva* had to fight *Kulōttunga Rājēndra* to wrest *Vēngi* from him. *Kulōttunga Rājēndra Chōda* was a powerful monarch but he unexpectedly died in 1181 A.D. and the power of the *Velnāṭi* chiefs suffered an eclipse. *Kāṭa* the son of *Sabba Sēnāni* and the *Bollama* of the *Malyāla* family who were supporters of the *Kākatīyās* had to contend against the *Kōṭa* chiefs of *Dharaṇikōṭa*, who were bound by matrimonial alliances with the *Velnāṭi* chiefs. In a terrible fight that took place at *Dharaṇikōṭa* or modern *Amarāvati* of Guntur District, the power of the *Velnāṭi* chiefs was finally broken. The *Konḍapadumatis* who were loyal to the *Velnāṭi* princes were also then subdued by *Kākati Rudradēva*.

It was *Kākati Rudradēva* who founded a new town called *Ōrugallu* near the ancient capital *Anumakoṇḍa* which was destined to become a great city under the later *Kākatīyaś*. This city is the same as Warangal of modern Andhra Pradesh. It is stated in the *Gaṇapēśwaram* Inscription of *Gaṇapati*[1] that "the towns which he (*Kākati Rudradēva*) razed to the ground were known only by the quarters which he founded in the city of *Ōrugallu* under their respective names and peopled with their respective inhabitants."

Kākati Rudradēva was loyally served by many ministers and commanders-in-chief like the members of the *Rēcharla*, *Malyāla* and *Cheraku* families. He was also a patron of learning and in an inscription at *Pillalamarri* of Nalgonda district, he is described as the resort and refuge of all learned men. King *Rudradēva* was thus the first great monarch of the *Kākatīya* line, who expanded his dominions to cover the area of the Telugu speaking people.

3. *MAHĀDĒVA* (1195 — A.D. 1198 A.D.)

King *Rudradēva* died in a war with the *Yādavās* of *Dēvagiri*. After his death his younger brother *Mahādēva* ascended the throne and ruled for a brief period of three years. In the book *Pratāpacharitam* he is represented as a great warrior who invaded the *Yādavās* and perished in an attack on their capital *Dēvagiri*. It is difficult to reconstruct what exactly happened, but from a perusal of the evidence of the *Yenamadala* inscription[2] and the other inscriptions of the *Yādava* kings it is clear that *Mahādēva* lost his life in a battle with them round about 1199 A.D. His short reign therefore ended in a disaster and the nascent kingdom of the *Kākatīyās* was thrown into political confusion.

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1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. III p. 90.
2. Epigraphia Indica Vol. III, p. 110.

4. *GAṆAPATIDĒVA* (1129 A.D. — 1261 A.D.)

From a perusal of the epigraphic records available it is seen that the successor of *Mahādēva* viz. *Gaṇapati* son of *Mahādēva* was imprisoned by the *Yādavās* during the same fight in which his father lost his life. The *Kākatīya* empire therefore faced internal disruption from several local chieftains who tried to assert their power. However, *Rēcharla Rudra* the commander-in-chief of the previous ruler saved the situation and it is stated in an inscription that "he cut of the head of a haughty feudatory and set it up for public view, stuck upon the top of a lofty flag-staff as a scare-crow to frighten the flocks of wild beasts that are hostile kings."[1] Thus *Rēcharla Rudra* kept intact the fabric of the empire and took upon himself the responsibility for its proper administration in the absence of his master in person. He is therefore sometimes described as "*Kākatīya Rājya Bhāra Dhaurēyā*" and also "*Kākati Rājya Samartha*".

Kākati Gaṇapati was released from his captivity sometime in 1199 A.D. and came back and took the reigns of administration in his own hands. Though his career started thus very unfavourably still his reign is one of the most brilliant of all the kings of the *Kākatīyās* and during his long rule of nearly 65 years, he brought under a single administration the entire land inhabited by the Telugu speaking people. The Andhra empire as such reached its zenith under *Gaṇapati* only.

Gaṇapati turned his attention first to *Pṛithvīśvara* who was a *Velnāṭi Chōla* king. He first attacked *Bezwada* which stood on the eastern frontiers of the *Kākatīya* kingdom and after capturing it, proceeded to *Divi* island which was being ruled by the *Ayya* chiefs who were loyal to *Pṛithvīśvara* and overran it. Then he turned against *Pṛithvīśvara* himself who was killed in a battle. With his death the power of the *Velnāṭi* kings came to an end and their kingdom passed firmly under the *Kākatīyās*. *Kākatīya* kingdom was thus extended to the whole of the Telugu speaking area.

Gaṇapati then turned his attention to the South and the *Chālukya Chōḷās* of *Nellōre* under *Nallasiddhi* who were ruling with both *Nellōre* or *Vikramasiṁhapuri* and *Kānchi* as their alternate capitals became the object of his attack. They were overrun and *Kākatīya* power was established over these areas also.

Gaṇapati then turned his attention to *Kaḷinga* and in a single campaign under the command of *Indulūri Sōmapradhāni* one of the Ministers of *Gaṇapati*, the coastal distircts to the east of Warangal and *Kaḷinga* were overrun. *Gaṇapati* was also involved in a war with the *Pāṇḍyas* of the South since the Telugu *Chōḷa* rulers of Nellore who were overrun by him had connections with the *Paṅḍyās* of the South.

Gaṇapati was thus a great monarch who consolidated his power and extended his dominions. In *Mōtupalli* which was an important port for import and export, he put an

1. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, iii, v, 22.

end to the exactions of the petty chieftains and granted special concessions to the merchants who came to trade there. It was during his reign that the capital was changed from *Anumakoṇḍa* to Warangal though the foundation of the city was laid by his uncle. The new fort of Warangal was provided with seventy five bastions each of which was guarded by a *nāyaka* in the service of the king.

Just like his uncle, *Gaṇapati* was also served by a host of loyal feudatories and chiefs. The *Rēcharlās* and the *Malayālās* continued to be loyal feudatories. Other chiefs like the *Ayya* chiefs of *Divi*, the Telugu *Chōḷas* of Nellore who were first conquered by *Gaṇapati* and later became his subordinates, the *Eruva* and *Pottapi* branches of the family, the *Chakranārayaṇa* princes of *Addanki* etc. were some of the new feudatories of *Kākati Gaṇapati.*

5. *RUDRAMADĒVI* (1259 A.D. — 1295 A.D.)

Gaṇapati who did not have a son nominated his daughter *Rudramadēvi* or *Rudrāmba* as his successor. She was in fact ruling conjointly with him ever since 1259-60 A.D. onwards. She assumed the name of *Rudradēva Mahārājāh.* There was some difference of opinion, up to now, among scholars as to whether *Rudramadēvi* was the daughter or the wife of *Gaṇapati*, but the position is now fairly well established that she was his daughter.

The nomination of *Rudrāmba* as the successor did not go uncontested and some of the nobles of the country took arms against her, including some members of the royal house who made a bid for the throne. But *Rudrāmba* was more than equal to the difficult task. She marched on the capital with great speed and put to death her half brothers who fell into her hands. Most of the feudatories and generals of the *Kākatīyās* remained loyal to the queen like the *Kāyastha* chiefs, *Jannigadēva* and his younger brother *Tripurāri*, *Āmbadēva*, the *Prāsāditya* chiefs of the *Rēcherla* family, and some of the *Reḍḍi* chiefs like *Gōna Gannayya Reḍḍi* etc.

After firmly establishing herself on the throne, she turned her attention to the political situation in the empire. The feudatories with whom her father *Gaṇapati* had waged war and to whom he had also lost some territories had to be tackled. There were also dangers in the West where the *Seūna* king *Mahādēva* who succeeded Krishna in 1260 A.D. invaded the *Kākatīya* kingdom. Very early in her reign *Rudramadēvi* also recovered her territory conquered by the *Pāṇḍyās*. *Gōna Viṭṭala* one of the feudatories of the *Kākatīyās* set forth from *Vardhamānapura* or the present *Vaḍḍamānu* of the Mahabubnagar district on the southern frontier of the *Kākatīya* kingdom to tackle the *Seūna* menace. *Rudramadēvi* was successful in many of her wars and was able to maintain the integrity of the empire. She did not allow the public administration to suffer on account of her sex, but kept the reigns of administration firmly in her own hands and discharged her duties efficiently and to the satisfaction of all.

Rudramadēvi was married to an Eastern *Chālukyan* prince *Vīrabhadra* of *Niḍadavōlu.*

She had no male child but had only two daughters *Mummaḍamma* and *Ruyyamma*. The former gave birth to a son called *Vīra Rudra* or *Pratāparudra*. *Rudrāṁba* by the command of her father adopted him as her heir and son.

6. *PRATĀPARUDRA* (1295 A.D. - 1323 A.D.)

Pratāparudra came to the throne at the beginning of 1295 A.D. though he had been associated with his grandmother for several years before her death in the governance of the kingdom. He was thirtyfive years old at the time of his accession and was served by a host of loyal feudatories and commanders-in-chief.

Pratāparudra reassembled his army and reorganized the administrative system as soon as he came to the throne. The *Kāyastha* chiefs especially *Aṁbadēva* who threw off the allegience to the *Kākatīyās* were compelled to retire from their strongholds and were finally over-thrown. *Pratāparudra* had to strengthen his defences in order to meet the Muslim incursion into the Deccan. The earliest of *Allāuddin's* expeditions in *Telingana* took place in 1303 A.D. and tradition has it, that *Allāuddın* came seven times in invasion and was successful only in the last attack. The last of these invasions took place in 1323 A.D. under the command of *Ulug Khān* who was later on known as Mohd. Bin Tuglak. He led an army to Warangal but the Muslim armies were defeated and had to disperse in great confusion since a rumour broke among their ranks about the *Sultān's* death. However, the confusion was set at rest, and not being discouraged by the defeat, the Muslim chieftains marched again into *Tēlingaṇa*. *Pratāparudra* did not expect this second attack so early, and his granaries were not full and all his warriors also had been disbanded and sent to the villages to look after agricultural operations. Naturally, therefore, Warangal fell and *Pratāparudra* was taken a prisoner. *Pratāpārudra* was sent to Delhi escorted by a contingent of the Muslim army under *Qadir Khān* and *Khwāja Hāji*. However, *Pratāparudra* did not live to taste the cup of defeat to its dregs, but on the banks of the sacred river *Sōmōdbhava* or the *Narmada*, he ended his own life as is evident from the *Vilasa* grant of *Musunūri Prōlayya Nāyaka* of 1339 A.D. It is also seen from a record of the *Reḍḍi* queen known as the *Kaluvachēru* grant of the *Reḍḍi* queen *Anitalli* of 1423 A.D.[1] that *Pratāparudra* went to the Gods of his own desire. "*Tasmin Pratāprudre Swasthānam Svēchchayaiva Yātavati.*" It would appear that *Pratāparudra* ended his life on the banks of *Narmada* in order to escape the odium of living in captivity at the Delhi fort.

With the fall of *Pratāparudra*, the *Kākatīya* empire fell and the country had to pass through the horrors of Muslim occupation. The atrocities committed by them are vividly described in the *Vilasa* grant of *Musunūru Prōlaya Nāyaka*. The wanton insult offered to the religion of the land and the violent dispossession of the *Agrahārās* given to the Brahmins and the destruction and desecration of various temples provoked keen discontent

1. Journal of the Telugu Academy Vol. II - p. 106.

among the people and within seven years of the fall of *Pratāparudra* and his capital Warangal, the country was under revolt under the leadership of *Musunūru Prōlaya Nāyaka*. This paved the way for the *Reḍḍi* kings of *Koṇḍavīḍu* to assert their independence and hold the *Āndhra Dēśa* intact against incursions of the Muslims.

7. CONCLUSION

Thus from 1150 A.D. to 1323 A.D. for a period of nearly 200 years, the *Kākatīyās* held sway over practically the entire area of the Telugu speaking people. They were the first persons to organise the administration of the country on proper and sound basis and introduce the *Nāyaka* system which rose to such prominence under the Vijayanagar kings. The *Kākatīyas* were keenly interested in irrigation as well as in the clearance of forests and settlement of people in various places. They followed strictly the rules laid down in the several Dharmasastras in their Government. Literature both Sanskrit and Telugu flourished under their patronage. The *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa* of *Mantri Bhāskara*, the *Nirvachanōttara Rāmāyaṇa* of *Tikkana*, the *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Dvipada* metre, the completion of *Āndhra Mahābhārata* of *Nannayabhaṭṭāraka*, the *Kumārasambhava* of *Nannechōdadēva*, the *Āndhra Bhāshā Bhūshaṇa* of *Kētana*, the *Nītisāra* of *Pratāparudra*, the *Śiva Tatva Sāra* of *Mallikhārjuna Panḍitārādhya*, the *Sarvēśvara Śatakam* of *Yadhāvākkula Annamaiah* and the *Vrishādhipa Śatakam* of *Panḍita Sōmanātha*, the *Basavōddhāraṇa* of *Pālkuriki Sōmanātha* etc. are some of the great classics of Telugu literature that were produced during the *Kākatīya* period. Among the religious faiths the many schools of Saivism like the *Kālamukās*, the *Kāpālikās* and the *Pāśupatās* flourished during the *Kākatīya* period.

The *Kākatīyās* were also great temple builders as is evidenced from the ruins of *Hanumakonḍa*, *Palampet*, *Pillalamarri* and other places. The *Kākatīyās* were also strict followers of the *Kalpa Sūtrās* and many of their inscriptions give references to such *Vratās* as the *Asūnya Sāyana Vrata*, *Mahālakshminārāyaṇa Vrata*, *Śukla* and *Kṛishna Dvādaśi Vrata*, *Ananta Arundhati Vrata* and *Jalāśayana Vrata* etc. which the kings performed. The *Kākatīyās* were thus great monarchs under whom *Āndhra Dēśa* rose to the heights of its fame and glory.

The following is the genealogical table of the *Kākatīya* kings.

Bēta-I

|

Prōla-I

(of the time of *Sōmēśwara-I* of the *Kalyaṇi* Western *Chālukyan* line of kings)

|

Bēta-II

(of the time of *Vikramāditya-VI* of the *Kalyāṇi* Western *Chālukyan* kings)

|

Dūrganṛipati
(circa 1090 A.D.)

Prōla-II
(circa 1117 A.D.)
(The last feudatory who asserted independence)

Rudradēva (1150-1195)
The first important and great ruler of the *Kākatīya* line

Mahādēva
(1195-1198)

Three unknown brothers

Gaṇapatidēva
(1199-1261 A.D.)

Rudramadēvi
(1261-1295 A.D.)

Pratāpārudra
(1295-1323 A.D.)

CHAPTER X.

THE *GORAVAṄKAPALLI* PLATES OF *RĀJARUDRA*, A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF KING *PRATĀPARUDRA* OF THE *KĀKATĪYA* LINE

These plates were discovered in an old well in Guntur district and were retrieved by Sri N. Bhagawandas, I.A.S., who was then the District Collector and Magistrate of Guntur. My attention was first drawn to them by my friend Sri P. Seshadri Sastri of Guntur, who had mistaken these for a grant of king *Pratāparudra* himself. Sri Seshadri Sastry also sent me a copy of the estampages that he had taken, but since they were not quite good having been overinked, I set about trying to trace the originals. Sri N. Bhagwandas, I. A. S. was kind enough to give the plates to the Government Museum of Hyderabad and they are now exhibited in the copper plate epigraphy section of Archaeological Museum at the Public Gardens at Hyderabad. The plates have since been deciphered and I am grateful to my friend Sri P. Seshadri Sastry for the valuable suggestions and the help that he gave me in editing these plates.

The plates are three in number and measure 22 cms. in length and 14 cms. in breadth. The rims of the plates are well raised and they are connected by a ring through a hole in the left side of the plates. The seal of the plates had been cut off before the plates were retrieved. The total weight of the plates is 4305 grams and the weight of the ring and seal is 585 grams.

The plates are inscribed on all the sides, including the first side of the first plate and the last side of the last plate, which are generally left blank. As a result of this some of the letters on the first page as well as on the last page have got eroded and apart from these, the writing is fairly well preserved. There are in all seventy lines of writing distributed as follows :

First plate first side	12 lines
First plate second side	11 lines
Second plate first side	12 lines
Second plate second side	12 lines
Third plate first side	12 lines
Third plate second side	11 lines
Total	70 lines

The language of the plate is Sanskrit except for the name of the village which is stated here as *Goravankapalli*. The characters belong to the medieval Telugu alphabet. As regards the orthography, the plate follows the usual peculiarities that are found in *Kākatīya* inscriptions. The language is as stated above Sanskrit, and the plate is entirely in verse except for six lines in the third plate second side, where the boundaries of the village are given.

The style used is exceptionally chaste, and is replete with *alankārās* the like of which is rarely to be met with. It is unfortunate that the name of the composer is not given, sicce a great poet of exceptional merit has thus remained anonymous. Some of the verses in the plate can be compared for the dignity of diction, the chastness and the aptness of the words employed, and for the pleasing effect of the melody, to some of the greatest compositions of great poets like *Bhavabhūti*, *Bhāravi* etc. The metre that is employed in the plate is mainly *Indravajra* and *Upēndravajra* commonly called the *Upajāti* group, though other metres like the *Vasantatilaka, Sragdhara* etc. are also used. The metre that is mainly employed viz. the *Upajāti* has been handled with great precision and scholarly diction by the poet. It is a pleasure to read the verses in the grant for the excellence of Sanskrit composition alone, apart from the historical data given in it. I have not come across any other copper plate grant which contains lyrical poetry of such excellence.

The whole grant consists of 27 verses, excluding the imprecatory verses at the end of the plates, and these verses are in the following metres.

1st Verse & 2nd Verse	*Praharshiṇi*
3rdVerse	*Upajāti* group
4th Verse	*Vasantatilaka*
5th Verse	*Upajāti* group
6th Verse	*Mālini*
7th Verse to 11th Verse	*Upajāti* group
12th Verse	*Indravajra*
13th Verse to 16th Verse	*Upajāti* group
17th Verse	*Indravajra*
18th Verse	*Upēndravajra*
19th Verse	*Upajāti* group
20th Verse	*Sragdhara*
21 Verse	*Upajāti* group
22nd Verse to 27th Verse	*Anushṭup*

The grant starts with a verse in praise of Lord *Nārāyaṇa*, in his aspect of *Varāhāvatāra* and this is followed by another verse in praise of Lord *Gaṇapat i*the first son of *Pārvati* and the fulfiller of the desires of all good persons. This is followed by a description of the Lord Moon

or *Chandra* who is described as a veritable *Sanjīvinī* not merely to the herbs but also to the *Dēvās*. After this, is described the birth of the line of the *Kākatīya* kings and they are said to be born from the shoulders of Lord *Brahma* implying that they were *Kshatriyās* by caste.

After describing the family of *Kākatīyās* the grant goes on to describe that King *Mahādēva* who resembled Lord *Siva* or *Mahādēva* himself was born in this illustrious line of kings. The king is described as burning by the mere sight of his eyes, red with anger, the cities of his enemies. In the next verse it is stated that from *Mahādēva* was born *Gaṇapati* who is described as having placed his feet upon the heads of all other kings. The rule of *Gaṇapati* is described in a separate verse where it is stated that when this great king or the *Rājasimha* ascended the glorious *Simhāsana*, his own orders also ascended the heads of all other subordinate kings. After *Gaṇapati* the birth of queen *Rudrāmba* is mentioned. It is stated that *Lakshmi* or *Srī* being desirous of eradicating the *dosha* of having been born as a child to the ocean which had been agitated by the churning by the *Mandhara* hill, took birth in the name of *Rudrāmba* from king *Gaṇapati* who was an *Akshobhya Sathva* or one who was never agitated by any one. In the next verse it is stated that her daughter's son *Pratāparudra* who is also described as '*Prathamāna Bhadra*' was ruling the universe surrounded by the four seas.

After thus describing the line of the kings, the grant described that the *Kākatīya* kings were served by a line of commanders-in-chief or *Sēnapātis* who were born in the *Chaturthakula* or the *Śūdra* caste and who were famous in all the directions by their gifts etc. Among the commanders-in-chief the first name mentioned is *Bolliah* who is described as the first among the great warriors and is said to have obtained glory and earthly possessions by his loyalty to his master and by his devotion to Lord *Śiva.*

Bolliah's son is next described in the grant as one *Dēviah* who is described as a *Vāhinīśa* or a commander-in-chief. Next to *Vāhinīśa Dēviah* his son *Vēlūrī Bollaprabhu* who is said to have established his prowess by means of great gifts to the brahmins, thereby obtaining a glory equal to that of the *Pārijāta* tree is mentioned. From *Vēlūri Bolliah* was born *Rājarudra* his son who was a *Kālarudra* or a veritable *Yama* to his enemies, who was a *Vīrabhadra* who shone by the glory of his prowess, and who gave nò peace to *Bhūri Bhadra* by the prowess of his arms. It is stated that when *Rājarudra's* glory was spreading, the enemy kings had no other go except to take shelter under the shade of his own *Kalpa Vṛiksha*. The greatness of *Rājarudra* is described in poetic terms in three verses.

The verse then describes that in the *Śaka* era, 1214 in the month of *Āśvina* on the *Ashṭami* day of the *Pūrvapaksha* which was a Wednesday, *Rājarudra* gave the village *Goravankapalli* with all its rights to a number of learned brahmins in the presence of Lord *Śiva* known as *Bhīmanātha*. The grantor was stationed on the banks of the sacred Thungabhadra river, at the time of the grant.

The grantees are then described as four persons. The first is said to be '*Vāsudēva Māṇḍalika*' who was born of the *Kouśika Gōtra* and who is said to have been given a half share or '*Artha Hāri*'. The second grantee is '*Yerra Rāmappa*' who was born of the *Upamānya Vaśishṭa Gōtra*. The third grantee was '*Pōlipeddi*' who was born in the *Bhārādwāja Gōtrā*. The fourth grantee was '*Bolimanchi*' who was born in the *Kouśika Gōtra*. The grant ends by saying that the king *Rājarudra* left them after commanding them to perform the *Gayā Śrāddha* for his father.

The boundaries of the village are then given as follows :

To the East of the village : A white stone
To the South-East of the village : A small rivulet
To the South of the village : A bent *Parvata* filled with small pieces of white stones
To the South-West of the village : A *Kīrtimāla* tree
To the West of the village : A tank called *Dēvataṭāka*
To the North-West of the village : Flowing water and stones
To the North of the village : A mountain of black and blue stones
To the North-East of the village : A *Mangaḷadēvi Taṭāka* or tank.

The grant then ends with two usual imprecatory verses from *Vyāsa Gīta*.

Two important point arise for consideration in this viz. the date of the present grant and the exact identity of *Rājarudra* who is here described as the grantor.

The date of the grant is given in verse 20 in the *Sragdhara* metre as follows.

शाकाब्दे वेदभूदेक्षितियुजि विजयाब्दाश्वयुङ्मासिपूर्वे पक्षेष्टम्यां बुधस्याहनि बुधविनुतो राजरुद्रस्स एषः ।

The phrase as it is reads '*Śakābdē Vēdabhū De Kshiti Yuji*' etc. The words *Kshiti* stands for the world and represent number one, and *Vēda* obviously stands for the four *Vēdās* and represent the number four. The word '*De*' does not make any sense and '*Bhrū*' though it may stand for two representing eyebrows is not normally used in that sense. The word '*Bhrū*' is obviously a mistake for the word '*Bhu*' and the word '*De*' is obviously a mistake for the word '*Dvi*' as will be explained later on. If these mistakes are rectified, the date of the grant would work out to 1214 Saka or 1292 A.D. If the word *Bhrū* is kept as it is, and if it is interpreted to mean as 'two' standing for the eyebrows which usuage is rather rare, the date then will work out to 1302 A.D. We have, however, the other information given in the grant that the cyclic year is *Vijaya* and that *Śuddha Āshāḍha Aṣhṭami* of that year was a Wednesday. The cyclic year would be '*Śubhakṛit*', if it is 1302 A.D. current, or *Śōbhana* if it is 1302 A.D. expired. If the year is 1292 A.D. current, then the cyclic year would be *Nandana*, and *Vijaya* if it is 1292 A.D. expired or 1293 A.D. current. As the cyclic year is specifically stated in the grant as *Vijaya* it is clear that the date of the grant is 1292 A.D. expired, or 1293 A.D. running, corresponding to the *Vijaya* cyclic year.

There is a further corroboration for this. The date is given as *Pūrvapaksha Ashṭami* of *Āśvina* month, the week day being a Wednesday. The *Pūrvapaksha Ashṭami* of the *Āśvina* month according to the lunar reckoning that is in force in the *Āndhra Dēśa* corresponds to 9th September, 1293 A.D, and this happens to be a Wednesday and hence tallies exactly with the date of the week mentioned in the grant. Hence there can possibly be no doubt that the date of the grant is 9th September, 1293 A.D.

In addition we can also see that the word *Bhrū* will not quite fit in with the *Sragdhara* metre in which the verse is composed. The *Sragdhara* begins with '*MA*' *gaṇa* which consists of three *Gurus*. The second *Gaṇa* is a '*RA*' *gaṇa* which consists of a *Guru* in the beginning, a *Laghu* in the middle, and a *guru* in the end. The phrase *Śākabdē* is the *MA Gaṇa*, and the phrase *Vēdabhrū* should be the '*RA*' *Gaṇa* since the metre is *Sragdhara*. If we take it as '*Bhrū*' and not as '*Bhu*' the second *Gaṇa* will also become a '*MA*' *Gaṇa* only and not '*RA*' *gaṇa* which is not correct in the *Sragdhara* metre. Though a *laghu* preceded by a *Rēpha Saṁyukta* occassionally becomes a *Guru*, still this usage is very exceptional, and in the normal course in a *Sragahara* metre the word should only be read as '*Vēdabhū*' and not as *Vēdabhrū*.

In view of this and in view of the corroboration that in the cyclic year *Vijaya* the *Śuddha Āṣhāḍha Aṣhṭami* was a Wednesday, we can definitely state that the date of the grant is 9th September, I293 A.D. only.

It is known to us from other sources that king *Pratāparudra* of the *Kākatīya* line came to rule some where in 1295 A.D. only on the death of *Rudrama* his grandmother though he was associated with his grandmother queen *Rudrāmba* for several years in the administration of the kingdom even while he was quite young. Thus 1293 A.D. falls in the last few few years of the Queen *Rūdrāmba's* reign when *Pratāparudra* was also sharing with her the burden of the kingdom. The plate can therefore, be said to be the earliest of the grants of the time of *Pratāparudra* upto now discovered.

The grant gives the geneology of four commanders-in-chief starting from, *Bolliah* his son *Dēviah*, his son *Vēluri Bolla* and his son *Rājarudra*. The grant itself makes it clear that this line of kings were the *Sēnāpatis* of the *Kākatīyās* themselves. We have therefore to search for the commanders-in-chief or the feudatories of the *Kākatīyās* to locate this genealogy.

During the time of *Gaṇapati*, the father of *Rudramadēvi*, there was a powerful counter attack by the *Pāṇḍyās* of the South, since *Gaṇapati* overran the Telugu *Chōḷās* of *Vikramasimhapuri* of *Nellōre* and *Kānchi*, with whom the *Pāṇḍyās* were in alliance. The *Pāṇḍya* king was then the *Jatavarma Sundara Pāṇḍya* to whom the Telugu *Chōḷās* of Nellore were subordinates. The Telugu *chōḷa* king was one *Vīra Gaṇḍa Gōpāla* who was ruling the northern part and *Vijaya Gaṇḍa Gōpāla* who was ruling the southern part of the

Nellore Telugu Chōḷa kingdom. *Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla* submitted to the prowess of the *Pāṇḍyās* and while trying to conquer *Vīragaṇḍa Gōpāla* who was ruling the northern part of the *Telugu Chōḷa* kingdom, the *Pāṇḍyas* came into conflict with *Kākati Gaṇapati* with whom *Vīragaṇḍa Gopāla* otherwise known as *Manumasiddhi-II* was in alliance. The *Pāṇḍyās* sent a diversionary attack under the leadership of one *Kopperunjinga* who led the *Paṇḍyan* armies as far as *Drākshārāma* in East *Gōdāvari* district. While this diversion under *Kopperunjinga* was in progress, the main *Paṇḍyan* army marched along the coast and in a great battle at *Muttukūr* situated at a distance of 13 miles from the city of Nellore, a fierce engagement took place between the *Pāṇḍyās* and the *Kākatīya* armies in which *Vīragaṇḍa Gōpāla* was killed and his allies sustained a crushing defeat and retreated towards *Pērūru* of the Krishna river. As a result of this great victory, the *Telugu Chōḷa* kingdom was annexed to the *Pāndyan* empire and the *Kākatīya* hegemony south of the river Krishna was broken.

Since *Rudramadēvi* came to throne, she recovered a portion of the terrritory conquered by the *Pāṇḍyās* with the help of a line of *Kāyastha* feudatories. From the epigraph at *Nandalūr* in the *Rājampet* taluq of *Cuddapah* district which records a gift to the temple of *Sōmanāthaswāmy* by *Nāgārāja* the *Pradhāni* of *Gaṇḍapeṇḍēra Jannigādēva*, we learn that the *Pāṇḍyās* had been displaced by that time viz. 1266 A.D. by the *Kāyastha* chiefs.[1] From another record at *Aṭlūru*[2] of the *Siddavaṭam* taluq of the same district in 1288 A.D. we learn that the *Kāyastha* success was permanent. Thus the *Kāyastha* chiefs of the *Kākatīyās* had dislodged the *Pāṇḍyan* occupation of this area.

The *Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla* who was ruling the southern half of the *Telugu Chōḷa* kingdom of *Nellore* and who had entered into alliances with the *Pāṇḍyās* attacked the *Kāyastha* dominions probably as part of an organised attempt by the *Pāṇḍyās* to recover the territory taken over from them, by the *Kākatīya* queen, with the help of her *Kāyastha* feudatories. Apart from this individual effort *Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla* and other *Pāṇḍyan* feudatories joined in an expedition under the command of *Kulaśēkhara* who had come to power in 1268 A.D. This brought them into conflict with the famous *Kāyastha* chief *Ambadēva* who had succeeded his brother *Tripurāridēva-I* in 1272 A.D. The *Pāṇḍyās* would appear to have got the worst of this battle since one of the *Prasastis* mentioned in the *Tripurāntakam* epigraph[3] of *Ambadēva* of 1290 A.D. mentions as follows.

"*Ati Pāṇḍava Parākrama Pāṇḍya Rājanya Priya Prēshita Chanḍā Vētanḍa Vainatēya Janghāla Turanga Sārtha Virājamāna Samposhitā Souhārda*"

This *Ambadēva* right from the beginning of his career threw off the traditional allegience to the *Kākatīyās*. One of his *Birudās* was *Rāya Sahasra Malla* and he waged war with

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1. A.R. 610 of 1907
2. A.R. 1 of 1939-40.
3. A.R. 265 - 1905; S.I.I., X, 465, 599.

the other loyal *Kākatīya* feudatories, threw off allegience to queen *Rudrāmba* and established his own position. Queen *Rudrāmba* seems to have sent a powerful army against him, but the attempt seems to have been not successful, since *Ambadēva* claims success by claiming to have cut off in battle the heads of the 75 *Nāyakās* of her army.

It, therefore, became a pressing need, for the *Kākatīya* kings, to put down the power of *Ambadēva*, the recalcitrant *Kāyastha* chief and this work was reserved for *Pratāparudra*. Even while he was known as *Kumāra Rudradēva* he completed his preparations for war and made his plans. Being a strategist of a very high order, *Pratāparudra* was aware of the fact that an attack on *Ambadēva* would involve an attack upon his supporters and friends also, and therefore concerted his measures to suit this end. He launched as attack on *Ambadēva's* territory and at the same time sent a diversionary force to engage his allies in 1291 A.D. Queen *Rudramba* set out for *Tripurāntaka* and attacked *Ambadēva* accompanied by a large army under *Manuma Gannayya* son of *Kolani Sōmanamantri* and his cousin *Annayyadēva* son of *Indulūri Peda Gannaya Mantri*. According to the *Śivayōga Sāra* the *Kolani* and *Indulūri* chiefs inspired by *Rudramadēvi* completely defeated the forces of the enemy, and captured 72 forts during a single onslaught.

" *Āhavamuna Vāru Ripula*
Vyūhaṁbula Baḍalu Paṛachi Yokkaṭa Gonarē
Bāhattari Durgambulu
Sāhasulai Rudramāmba Śauryamu Katanan." [1]

The entire country was overrun and passed into the hands of the *Kākatīya* kings. An attack on *Cheraku Rājanarēndra* by the *Chālukyan* chief *Tāṭa Pinnamma* was probably connected with the *Rudramadēvi's* expendition against *Ambadēva*. *Rājanarēndra* was an ally of *Ambadēva*. It is interesting to note that the *Cheraku* chieftains who are mentioned in some other records always called themselves as owing allegiance to *Kumāra Rudradēva*. It is therefore possible that the *Cheraku Rājanarēndra* mentioned in this connection is the same as *Rājarudra* of the *Cheraku* family mentioned elsewhere, and that after their punishment at the hands of *Tātapinnama* they became feudatories of the *Kākatīyās*.

The present grantor *Rājarudra* is identical with the *Cheraku* chiefs who are mentioned in the epigraphs of the *Nandikotkūr* taluq of *Kurnūl* district from *Śaka* 1212 or 1290 A.D. onwards. The earliest record of this *Cheraku* family is found at *Malyāla* in the *Nandikotkūr* taluq of *Kurnūl* district[2] in 1212 A.D. or *Vikṛiti Samvatsara*. It refers to *Rudradēva* son of *Mahāsāmanta Cheraku Bollaya Reḍḍi* who is stated as a vassal of a king *Pratāparudradēva*. In another inscription[3] of *Lingāla* in the same taluq and dated in *Śaka* 1213, *Nandana* or

1. *Sivayōgasāram*, Part I, Introduction.
2. A. R. 321 of 1937-38.
3. Ibid., 55 of 1943-44.

1291 A.D. one *Rācharudradēva* son of *Mahāsāmanta Cheraku Vēluru Bollaiah Reḍḍy* is mentioned as a vassal of *Kākati Pratāparudra.*

It is thus clear that the present grantor *Rudradēva* who is described as the son of *'Vēluri Bolla Prabhu* is identical with *Rācharudradēva* son of *Mahāsāmanta Cheraku Vēluri Bolliah Reḍḍi* mentioned in the *Lingāla* inscription. The grantor is therefore a *Cheraku* feudatory of the *Kākatīyās* and is also perhaps identical with the *Cheraku Rājanarēndra* who was attacked by the *Chālukyan* chief *Tātapinnamma.* Thus the grant gives us the genealogy of *Rājarudra* son of *Vēluri Bolla* one of the *Cheraku* feudatories of king *Pratāparudra.*

There is an interesting point to be noted about the grantees. The grantees are three Brahmins viz. *Yerra Rāmappa* of the *Upamanya Vasishṭa Gōtra, Pōlipeddi* of the *Bhāradwājasa Gōtra,* and *Bolimanchi* of the *Kauśika Gōtra.* These three are mentioned in the grant as learned brahmins well versed in the *Vēdās.* A fourth person is mentioned viz. '*Vāsudēva Maṇḍalika*' who is said to be of the *Kauśika Gōtra,* and is described here as '*Gayā Kshētrādhināyaka*'. He is also described here as '*Artha Hāri*' or a receiver of half grant of the village. The Grantor *Rājarudra* is said to have released him along with the three brahmins after giving him an order for a *Gaya Śrāddha* to be performed for his father. It is therefore extremely probable that '*Vāsudēva Māṇḍalika*' was a *Paṇḍā* in the great *Gayākshētra* who was looking after the arrangements that had to be made for a *Śrāddha* there for the persons going from this part of the country, and that to defray the expenses for the *Śrāddha, Rājarudra,* the grantor gave him half share of the village and gave the other half among the other three brahmins mentioned. This seems to be the only possible explanation for the mention of the '*Vāsudēva Māṇḍalika*' who is described as a '*Gayākshētrādhināyaka*' as the receiver of half the village. If this is so, this gives us an extremely interesting insight into the conditions prevailing in Andhra during this age.

The village granted is stated to be *Goravankapalli* and *Rājarudra* is said to haven given this village in the presence of Lord *Śiva* known as *Bhīmanātha* on the banks of the river Thungabhadra. The village *Goravankapalli* cannot be indentified as no village of that name is found in that area now.

The grant is a very important one, since this is the earliest grant of the time of king *Pratāparudra* of the *Kākatīya* family, and also gives us a clear genealogy of the *Cheraku* feudatories of the *Kākatīya* kings. The grant also gives us an insight into the arrangements that were in vogue for performing *Gayā Śrāddha* in those days.

FIRST PLATE: FIRST SIDE

१. श्री लक्ष्मीशो जयति महावराहमूर्ति लक्ष्माय·····म[1]
२. हार्णवांबुपूराः । भूकांतोद्वहनरसादुदीय
३. मानस्वेदांभः पृषततितिश्रियं वितेनुः (1) पर्य्यासं
४. प्रथयतु वस्सतामभीष्टं पार्वत्याः प्रथमतनू
५. भवो द्विपेंद्रः । नूनं यः प्रणतशुभप्रदोह[2]भू
६. यः स्संपत्यै सततमुदीर्णदानवृष्टिः (2) संजीव
७. नं या सकलौषधीनां न केवलं किंतु सुधा
८. भुजां च । महेशितुर्मौलिविभूषणं सा मूर्तिः
९. सुधांशो र्मुदमातनोतु (3) आद्यस्य बाहुशिख
१०. रादुदियाय धातुः श्रीकाकतक्षितिभृतामयमन्वः
११. बायः । यत्रोदयंति पुरुषाः परुषा रणेषु
१२. मंदांश्रियो[3] विदधते स्म फलेषु निंदां (4) तस्मिन्म

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१३. हादेव महीमहेंद्रस्साक्षान्महादेव इवावतीर्णः ।
१४. साटोप कोपारुणवीक्षणेन क्षणेन यः शत्रूपुरांनिहं
१५. ता (5) अथ सकलमहीभृन्मस्तकन्यस्तपादः परिचित [वि] यदा
१६. शस्सद्यशश्चंद्रिकाभिः । अधिगतजनिरस्मात्स्थैर्य्यगांभीर्य
१७. सिंधोर्गुणपतिरिति राजा रंजयामास पृथ्वीं (6) सां
१८. म्राज्य सिंहासनमत्युदग्रं यस्मि(न्) समारोह
१९. तिराजसिंहे (।) आरोहति स्मास्य विदूरभाजां त
२०. दैव राज्ञामपि मौलिमाज्ञा (7) मंथाचलव्याकुलितं
२१. स्य सिंधो रपत्यतादोषमपाचिकीर्षुः । अक्षो
२२. भ्यसत्वादुदियाय तस्माद्रुद्रांबिकेति प्रथया स्वयं
२३. श्रीः (8) तस्यास्तनूजातनयो नयज्ञः प्रताप्ररुद्रः

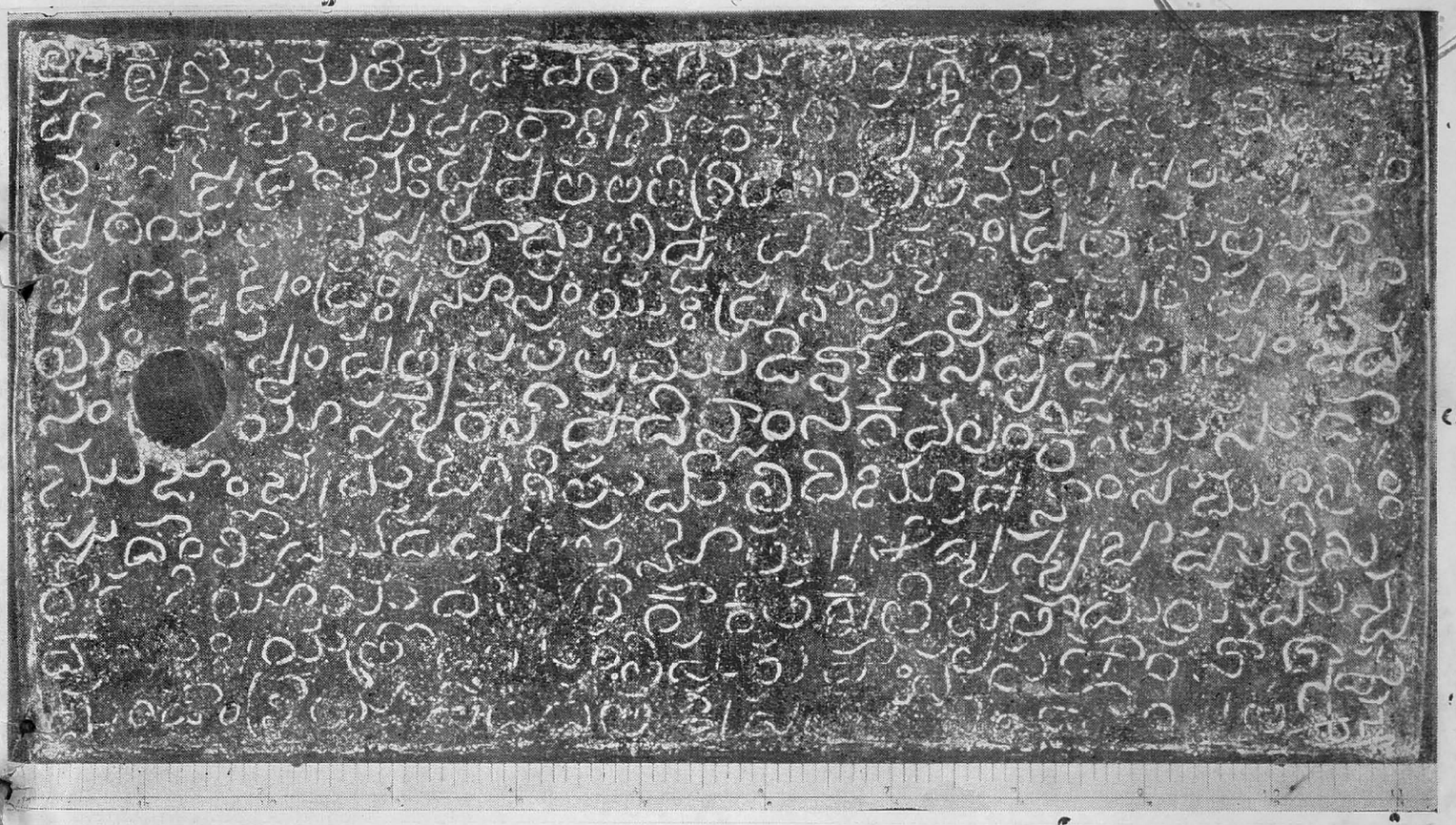
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1. Letters are not clear.
2. Read as शुभप्रदः हि or शुभप्रदो हि
3. Read as मन्दश्रियः

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THE *GORAVANKAPALLI* PLATES OF *RĀJARUDRA*

First Plate : First Side



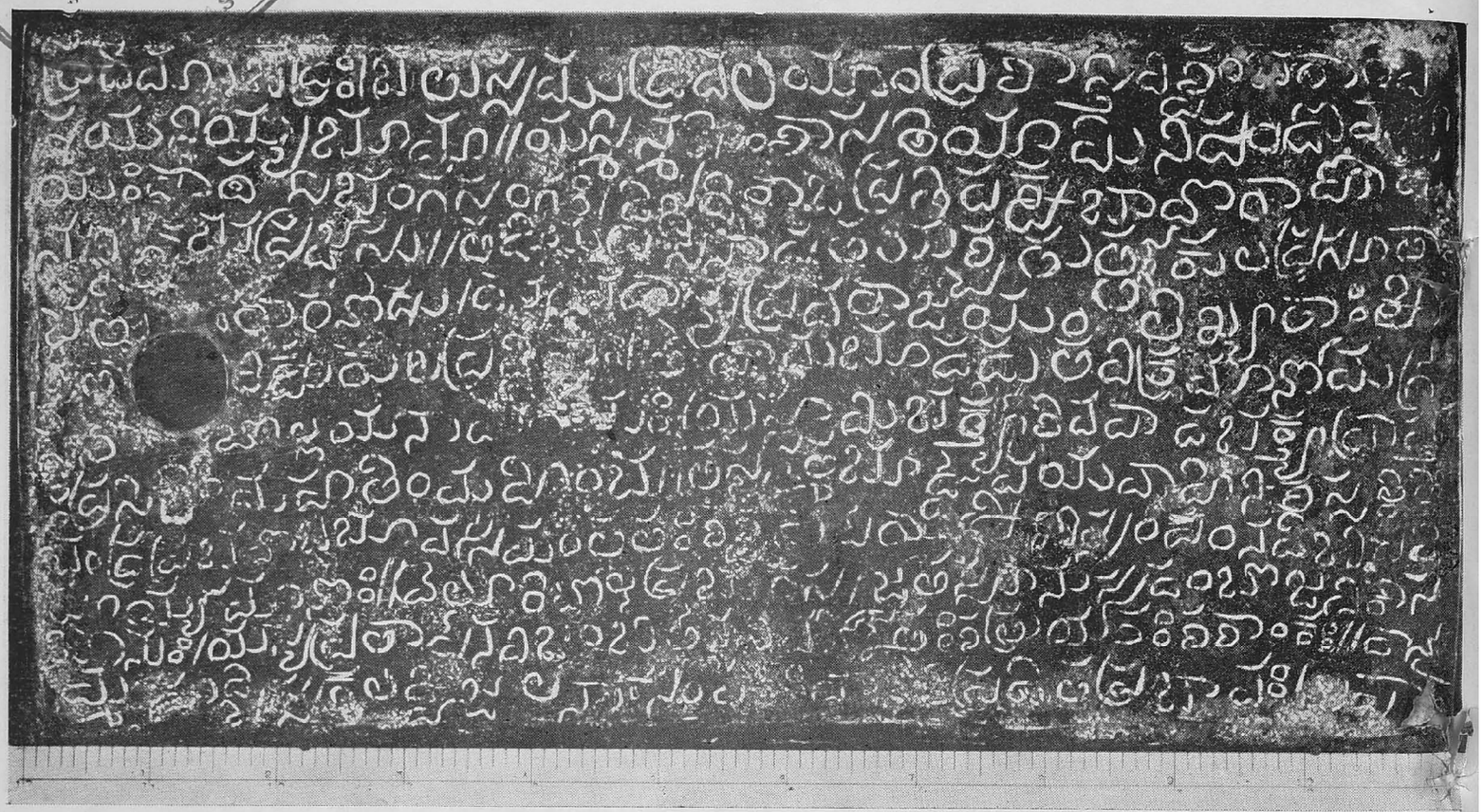
First Plate : Second Side



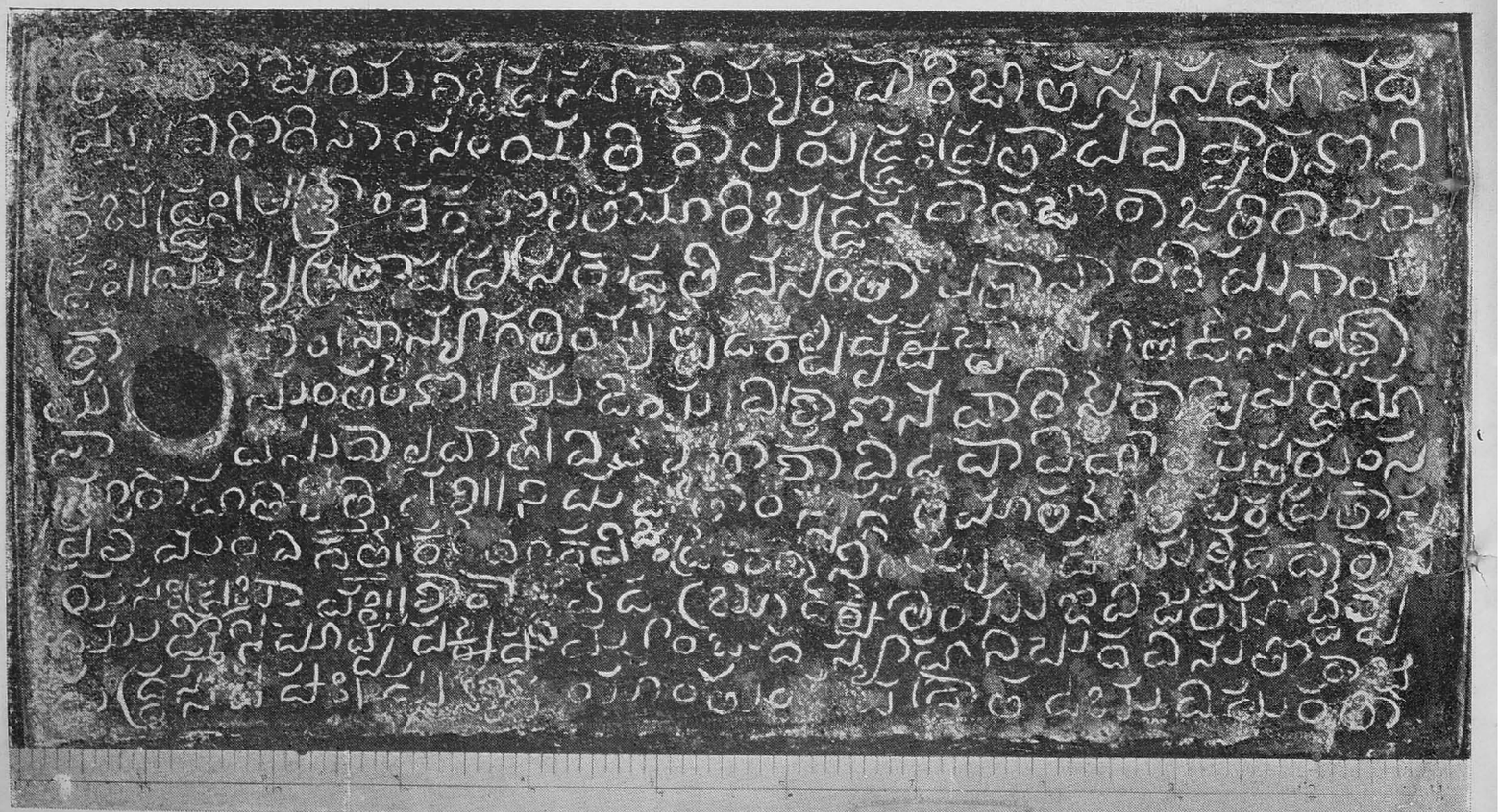
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THE *GORAVANKAPALLI* PLATES OF *RĀJARUDRA*

Second Plate: First Side



Second Plate: Second Side



SECOND PLATE.: FIRST SIDE

२४. प्र[4]थमान[5] भद्रः । चतुस्समुद्रावलयां प्रशास्ति विश्वंभरां वि
२५. स्मयनीयभूमा (9) यस्मिन्महीं शासति यामिनीषु दोषाह्व
२६. यः पाथसि भंगसंगः । द्विजाधिराजप्रतिपक्षबाधो राहो[पुः]
२७. [नर्वक्षच[6]न] प्रजासु (10) तदीय सेनापतयश्चतुर्त्थकुलप्रसूताः
२८. चतुरा रणेषु । धन्या वदान्यप्रवरा जयंति ख्याताः क्षि
२९. ता [दि]क्षु कुलप्रदीपाः (11) तेषामभूद[द्भु[7]]तविक्रमाणामग्रे
३०. सरो बोल्लय नामधेयः । य (:) स्वामिभक्त्या शिवपादभक्त्या प्राप्त
३१. : प्रसिद्धिं महतीं महीं च (12) तस्यात्मभूर्द्वेवयवाहिनीशस्सत्कीर्ति
३२. चंद्रप्रभवो बभूव । समंततः शश्वदुपे[युषीभिः] संपन्नदीभिः परि
३३. पूर्य्यमाणः (13) वेल्लूरिबोल्लप्रभुरस्य जातस्सूनुस्सदंभोजविकास
३४. भानुः । यस्य प्रतापेन विजृंभितेना [वधीरितः] शत्रुयशःशशांकः (14) दानै
३५. र्महद्विस्सकलद्विजानां संपन्निदानैः प्रथितप्रभावः । (अ)पा

SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

३६. रिजातोपि[8] यशः प्रसूनैर्य्यः पारिजातस्य समानध
३७. र्म्मा (15) विरोधिनां संयति कालरुद्रः प्रतापविष्फा(स्फा)रणवी
३८. रभद्रः । अश्श्रांतकल्लोलितभूरिभद्द्रस्तदात्मजो राजति राजरु
३९. द्रः (16) यस्य प्रतापप्रसरादतीव संतापितानां रिपुनाय
४०. कानां । नान्या गतिर्य्यत्पदकल्पवृक्षच्छायातटे:(तेः)संश्र
४१. यमंतरेण (17) यदीयविश्राणनवारिसेकाद्विवर्द्धमा
४२. ना वसुधालवाले । वि [वर्द्धिता]शाविटपा विहायस्तरु स
४३. मारोहति कीर्त्तिवल्ली (18) निमज्जतां स्वर्गतिमातनोति परप्रताप
४४. प्रशमं विधत्ते । कथं कवीन्द्रैः कथनीय एष यत्खड्गधारासु
४५. यसः (शः) प्रभावः (19) शाका[ब्दे] वेदभ्रू दे[9] क्षितियुजि[10]विजयाब्दाश्च
४६. युष्मासि पूर्व्वेपक्षेष्टम्यां बुधस्याहनि बुधविनुतो राज
४७. रुद्द्रस्स एषः । पुण्यायां तुं[ग] भद्रातटभुवि पुरतो

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4. The first letter is probably misspelt. But the word is clearly प्रथमान 5. न is not clear.
6. The meaning is not clear. It should probably read as राहुः पुनर्नैक्षत च प्रजासु 7. भ under द is not found.
8. Letters are indistinct. But it can be reconstructed as above.
9. The व beneath the letter द is not clear. It should be read as द्वि
10. The phrase should read as वेदभूद्विक्षितियुजि

THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

४८. भीमनाथस्य शंभोस्सम्यक्संपूजितस्य क्रमसहितलसद्वे
४९. दविद्भ्यो द्विजेभ्यः (20) ग्रामं प्रसिद्धं गोरवेंकपल्लि नामाग्रहारं
५०. समदत्त युक्तः। समस्तभोगैस्सहितं सतेज(:) स्वाम्यं परैरप्र
५१. तिलंघ्यतेजाः (21) वासुदेवमंडलिको गयाक्षेत्राधिनायकः। त
५२. त्रार्द्धहारिविदुषामाद्यः कौशिक गोत्रतः (22) उपमन्यवसिष्ठा
५३. ख्यगोत्रज(:) शृ(श्रु)तिपारगः। महिताचारसंपन्नो मैलारा
५४. प्प [य] कोविदः (23) भारद्वाजकुलोद्भूतो यजुर्व्वेदस्य पा
५५. रगः। पोलेपेद्दिरिति ख्यातनामा विप्रस्तथापरः (24) पदक्रमयु
५६. ते सांगे यजुषि प्रौढ़िमाश्रितः। बोल्लिमंचिस्तथाचान्यत्पा
५७. त्रं कौशिकगोत्रजः (26) शृ(श्रृ)तिस्मृतिमुखाशेषहृद्यविद्याविशारदाः।
५८. एते त्रयो द्वितीय्यार्द्धहारि [णो] हतकिल्बिषाः (26) समा
५९. दिश्य गयाश्राद्धकृतये स्वपितुस्तदा। तैः कृते दक्षिणात्वेन तेभ्य

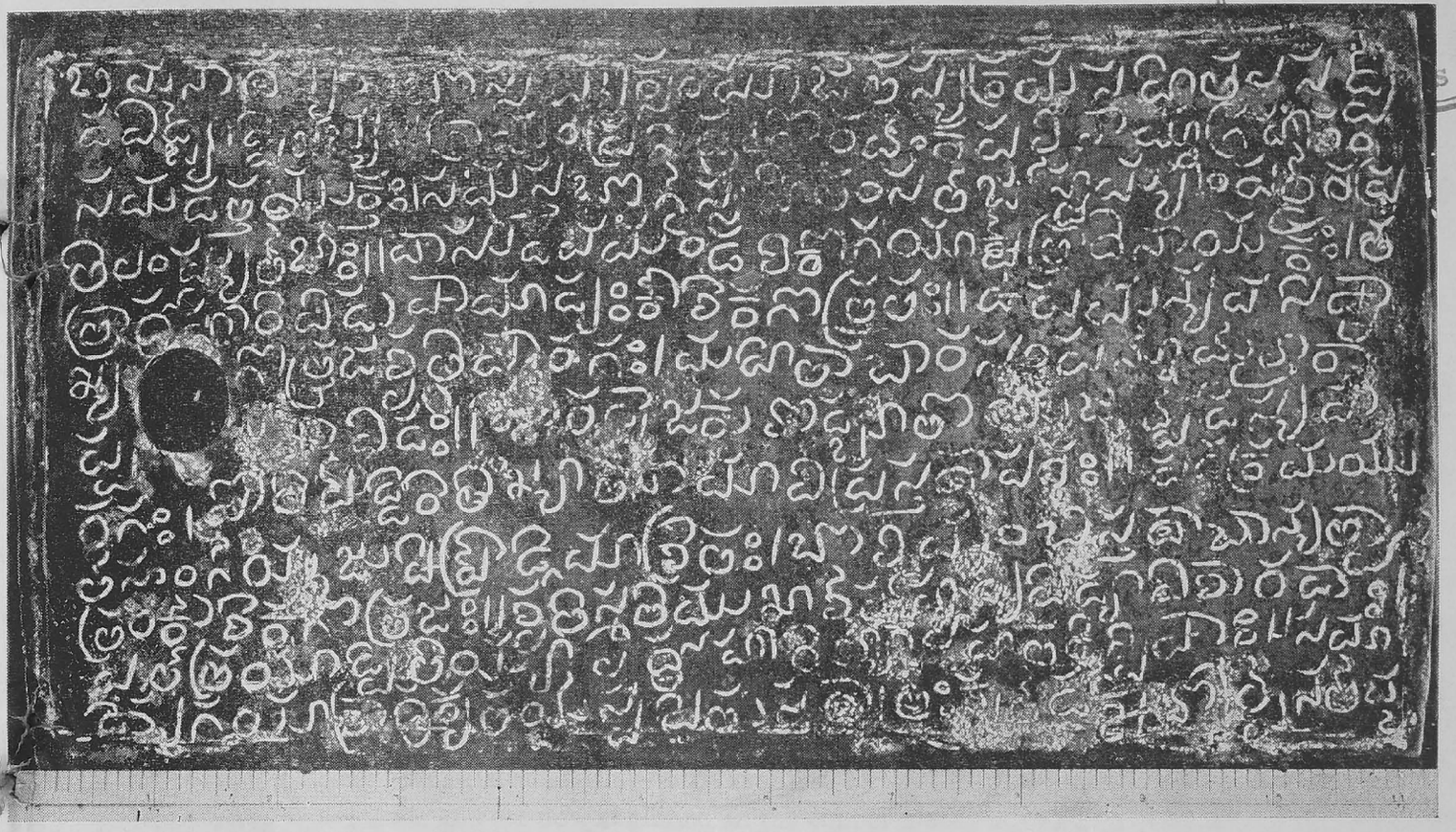
THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE

६०. स्तमतिसृष्टवान् (27) अथ सीमा निरूप्यन्ते। प्रच्यां दिशि श्वेतशिला।
६१. आज्ञ(ग्ने)य्य प्रांशुबिंबोपलक्षितात्पासरित्। दक्षिणस्यां दिशि श्वे
६२. तपाषाणशकलोपलक्षितः कुब्जपर्व्वतः। नैऋत्यां कृतमाल
६३. [ऊकः]? प्रदी(ती)च्यां देवतटाकः। वायव्यां दिशि अल्पघटमेयज
६४. लप्रस्रवोपलक्षितः पाषाणभोगः। उत्तरस्यां दिशि नीलशिलाम
६५. यशिलोच्चयः। ऐशान्यां मंडलदेवितटाकः। स्वदत्तां
६६. परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां। षष्टिर्व्वर्षस
६७. हस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः। (॥) सामान्योयं द(ध)र्म्म
६८. सेतु न्नृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः। सर्व्वानेता
६९. न्भाविनः पार्त्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते राम
७०. चैंद्रः॥

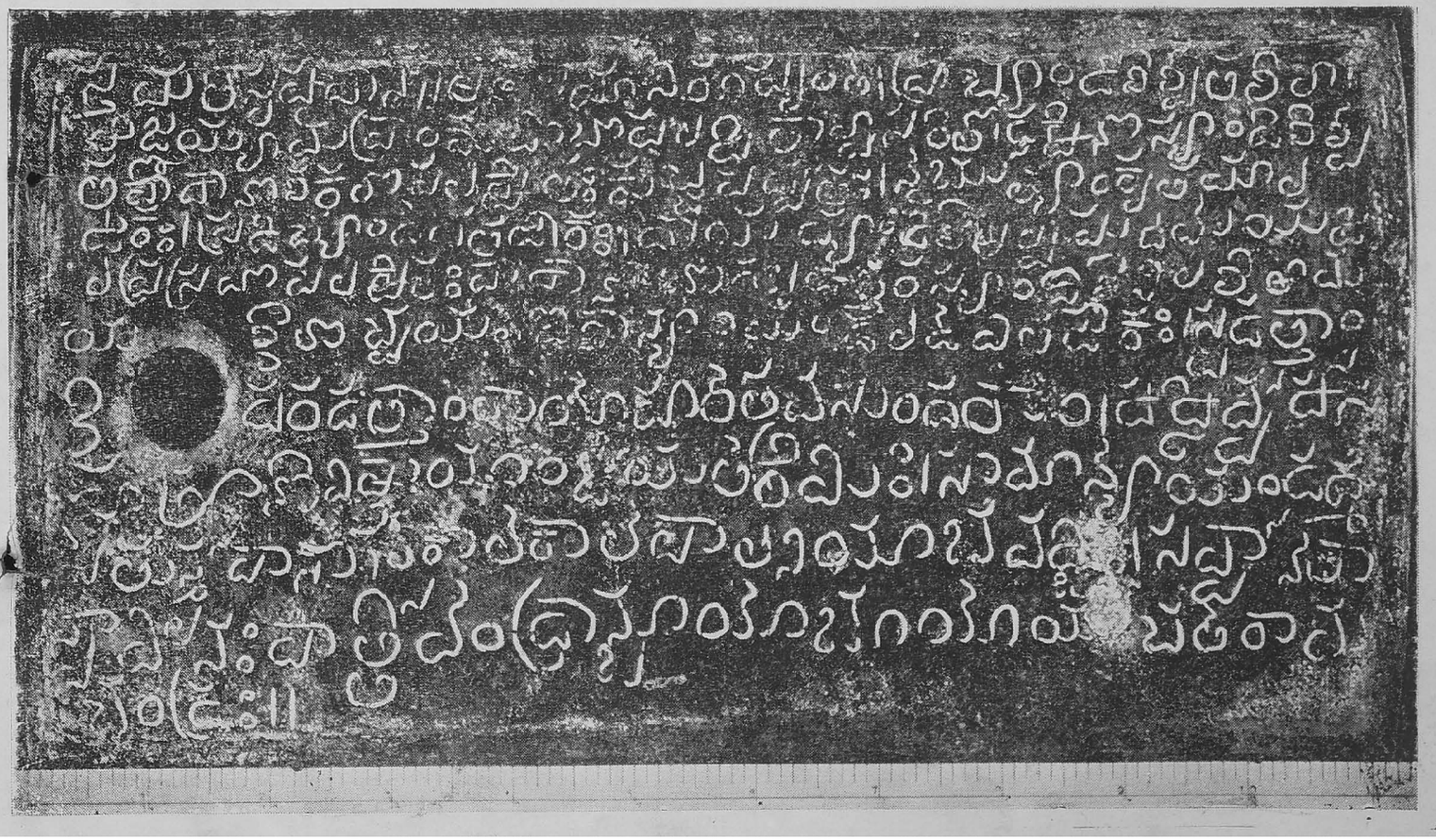
THE *GORAVANKAPALLI* PLATES OF *RĀJARUDRA*

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Third Plate : First Side



Third Plate : Second Side



CHAPTER XI

ĀLAPĀḌU GRANT OF *YELLAṆA DĒVA* OF THE TIME OF QUEEN *RUDRĀMBIKA* OF THE *KĀKATĪYA* DYNASTY

These plates were discovered in the Guntur district by Shri N. Bhagwandas, I.A.S., Collector and District Magistrate. My attention was first drawn to these plates by my friend Sri P. Seshadri Sarma of Guntur, who had mistaken these plates for a grant of Queen *Rudramāmbika* herself. Since I was not satisfied with the estampages that were sent to me by him, I set about tracing the originals, and thanks to the kindness of Sri N. Bhagwandas, I.A.S. these plates have now been acquired by the Government Archaeological Museum at Hyderabad, and are now exhibited in the copper plate epigraphy section of the Archaeological Museum at the Public Gardens, Hyderabad. I am deeply grateful to Sri N. Bhagwandas, I.A.S., as well as to my friend Sri P. Seshadri Sarma for the help that they gave me in securing the plates for the museum and for the other help in editing them.

The plates are five in number and measure 16 cms. in length, 10.5 cms. in breadth. The rims of the plates are fairly well raised, and they are all connected by a ring passing through a hole in the left side of the plates. The seal of the plates had been cut off before they were retrieved by me. The total weight of the plates and that of the ring and the seal is 1990 grams and 337 grams respectively.

The plates are inscribed on either side, except on the first side of the first plate. On the last side of the last plate, there are seven lines of writing, containing the usual imprecatory verses. The first side of the last and the fifth plate consists actually of only two lines of writing, giving a description of the grantees of the village. It would have been quite a simple matter to continue the writing in this side itself, and to insert the imprecatory verses also here, but for reasons unknown the first side of the last plate has not been utilised for this, and seven lines of writing have been inscribed on the last side. There are in all 82 lines of writing in the plates, distributed as follows :

First plate second side	12 lines
Second plate first side	10 lines
Second plate second side	10 lines
Third plate first side	10 lines
Third plate second side	9 lines
Fourth plate first side	12 lines
Fourth plate second side	10 lines
Fifth plate first side	2 lines
Fifth plate second side	7 lines
Total	82 lines

The language of the plate is Sanskrit right through. The characters are the medieval *Nāgari* type and closely resemble the script used in the *Kōṭagiri* copper plate grant of queen *Rudrāmbika*. The language is both in verse as well as in prose. There is nothing to be particularly mentioned about the orthography, except for the usual peculiarities noticed elsewhere. The verses used are generally in simple metre, and are mediocre in their poetic qualities.

The plate starts with a general prayer that Lord *Hari* may protect the entire Universe. Then a prayer is addressed to Lord *Śiva*. The plate then goes on to state that Lord *Vishṇu*, who is stated here as "*Kamalājāni*" may protect the entire universe, and Lord *Hari* is here described as overshadowing during a close embrace of his consort *Rādha*, by the shine of his own body, the '*Sthāsa*' or a kind of pellet made out of *Kastūri*, which was adorning the *Sthanabhāra* or the breast of *Rādha*. Next comes a verse dedicated to Lord *Vighnēśwara*, and his ears are described here as constantly moving, and being beset with bees, and hence appearing as if his ear was like a fan or a *Vyajana*, which has been adorned with black bells on its side. Next comes a verse dedicated to Lord *Śiva*, in whose locks of hair, the moon is said to be shining, even as several pearls in the *Surasindhu* or the *Ganga*, the idea being a poetic imagery of the description of the moon and the *Ganga*, which both adorn the locks of hair of the Lord.

With the above verse, the *Praśasti* in verse in the plate ends, and there are 14 lines of prose, in which the glory of the line of kings of *Yellaṇa* are described. They are described here as '*Parama Māheśvarās*', as equivalent to *Paraśurāma* in keeping up their vows, as equal to *Gāngēya* or *Bhīshma* in their *Śoucha*, as being a cage made out of *Vajra* for those who take refuge in them, as being very proficient in the art of giving more than what was asked of them, as a gift, by people, as putting to shame even the glory of the Lord Sun himself by means of their valour, as pervading all the *Āśāṅgaṇās* or the different cardinal

directions by their unblemished glory, which is as white as *Śarat Chandrika*, and which stands undiminished for many *Kalpās* or *Yugās*, as being experts in protecting the people of good behaviour, as delighting the minds of many eminent wise men, as being equivalent to the *Bhujanga* to the *Rājavēśya*, and as behaving like brothers to *Paranārī* or other women. The grant then goes on to say, that in this *Vāmśa*, the first *Vamśa Pravakta* or the founder of the dynasty, was one *Srī Kṛishṇa Kannara* who was the son of *Kṛishṇa Dēva*. His kingdom is said to be in the midst of *Varāha Dēśa* and the kings are said to be masters of the *Vardhamānapura*. This line of kings is also said to have obtained many glories by means of victory in war.

The grant next describes the kings who were born in the above royal family. It is stated that king *Ekavīra* was the first king of this line, by whose valour both the *Pakshās* or the bright and the dark fortnights became equal, the idea being that glory being comparable to white in colour, the distinction between the black and the white *Pakshās* of the month was eliminated during the reign of this king. After him, *Jairugi Dēva* was born, and his fame and valour are said to be playing in all the cardinal directions. From *Jairugi Dēva* and *Kuntala Dēvi*, *Yellaṇa Dēva* the present grantor, was said to have been born, whose qualities even other kings are said to be wanting.

It is then mentioned, that in this world, pearls or *Muktās* are pure, and better than them are the *Tārās* or the stars, and better than them too, are the drops of the waters of the *Gangā*, and much better than all these is the mind of king *Yellaṇa Dēva*. The grant then says that when *Yellaṇa Dēva* was ruling over the kingdom, and when the enemy kings had obtained the *Nirvāṇa*, there was not even the suggestion of the word of danger to the learned men of his Court. The grant continues that wherever the look filled with benevolence of *Yellaṇa Dēva* fell, there was immediately established *Kamalā Vilāsa* or the *Katāksha* of *Lakshmi* and other like auspicious things. In the next verse, in *Kramālankāra*, it is stated that the enemy kings as soon as they heared the sound of the *Jaya Yātra* of *Yellaṇa Dēva*, got up the mountains, entered the forests, and ran away from their own houses. The grant finally describes that king *Yellaṇa Dēva* was thus spoken of and praised in eulogistic verses by great poets and that he was an ocean of good qualities.

After this eulogistic description of *Yellaṇa Dēva* the grant describes in a few verses, the greatness of the *Kākatīya* dynasty. It says, that the family of the *Kākatīyās* is a family of prosperity, where Lord *Paramēśwara* bestows all good and auspicious things. In this auspicious family of the *Kākatīyās*, was born king *Mahādēva* by whom was destroyed the darkness of his enemy kings. In the next verse the birth of *Gaṇāpati* of the *Kākatīya* dynasty is described. Next, in a verse of the *Sarvatō Vibhakti* type, which makes use of all the *Vibhaktis*, like *Yaḥ*, *Yam*, *Yēna*, *Yasmin*, *Yasmāth*, *Yasya* etc., it is stated that *Gaṇapati* was born out of the *Kākatīya Kula* and was full of devotion to the Lord. He was

endowed with all *Soujanya*. By him, was thrown away from the world, all dangers, and to him was added all wealth. Of him all the enemies were afraid. To him every one was a subject or a *Parijana*. In him, all the higher qualities were to be found. Such was king *Gaṇapati*.

The next verse describes that king *Gaṇapati* was so kind towards his subordinates, that their hearts turned into a '*Krīḍa Gṛiha*' or a playing house for him. The grant then describes that after *Gaṇapati* was born *Rudramadēvi*, who was better in her gifts than even *Svardhēnu* or *Kāmadhēnu*. The next verse describes that when *Rudradēva*, which is obviously a reference to Queen *Rudrama*, was sharing the weight of the governance of the country with *Gaṇapati*, it was a great wonder, that not her head, but the heads of the enemy kings were bent down. If one bears a weight, his head should be bent, but whereas in the case of Queen *Rudrama* even though she was bearing the weight of the kingdom, the heads of the enemy kings were bent low.

Then *Yellaṇa Dēva* is said to have obtained this kingdom by the *Kṛipa* or generosity of *Rudramadēvi*, and that along with his *Nija Bhārya* or his own wife, who was the *Dwitīya Tanaya* or the second daughter of *Kākati Rudramadēvi*, he gave *Ālapāḍu* village for acquiring merit, to several brahmins who were fit to receive the gift, along with all the *Bhōgās* after dividing the village into unequal parts. The parts to which the village was divided is said to be "*Ayugmānthara Panchaśad Bhāgē*" etc. This means an odd part added to fifty, and the exact calculation of the total parts received by the Brahmins as described in the grant later on, shows that the village was exactly divided into 53 parts.

The grant then gives the exact date of the gift of the village and says that it was in *Śaka* year '*Rasa Nāga Kshōṇi Śītāṁśu*'. *Śītāṁśu* stands for the moon and represents 1, *Kshōṇi* stands for the earth and represents 1, *Nāga* stands for the elephant or the *Ashṭa Diggajās* and represents 8, *Rasa* stands for taste or *Śhaḍrasās* and represents No. 6. The year of the grant is thus *Śaka* 1186 or 1264 A.D. The cyclic year is stated to be *Raktākshi* and the time of the grant was the "*Ardhōdaya Puṇya Kāla*". The grant also describes the *Gōtrās*, the names and the shares of each of the grantees who were given shares in the village. The grant finally ends with the usual imprecatory verses.

The year of the grant is as stated above 1186 *Śaka* or 1264 A.D. 1264 A.D. corresponds to *Raktākshi* and therefore the details of the name of the cyclic year given tallies with this. We have now got to determine the actual date of the grant by means of the further details given in it viz., that the grant was given at the time of the *Ardhōdaya Puṇya Kāla*.

Ardhōdaya Puṇya Kāla occurs when the following ingredients are present: When, on an *amāvāsya* day, at the end of the *Pausha* month and the beginning of the *Māgha* month, of any particular year, the weekday happens to be Sunday, the *Nakshatra* is *Śravaṇa*,

and the *yōga* is *Vyatīpāta*, then that is defined to be a *Ardhōdaya Puṇya Kāla*. If any one of the above special features is wanting, it is called simply a *Māhōdaya Puṇya Kāla*. Incidentally it may be noted that it is astronomically impossible, for all the above ingredients of an *Ardhōdaya Puṇya Kāla* to happen in any year unless some month previous to *Māgha* is an *Adhikamāsa*. In this year *Raktākshi*, it is noted that actually in the *Āshāḍha* month, there was an *Adhika Āshāḍha* and a *Nija Āshāḍha* month also and hence this ingredient is satisfied.

In this case viz. 1264 A.D. the *Amāvāsya* in between the end of the *Pausha* month and the beginning of the *Māgha* month fell on the 18th January, 1265 A.D. on which date there was also a Solar eclipse. The *Nakshatra* on that day was *Śrāvaṇa* and the *Yōga* was also *Vyatīpāta*.

Since all the ingredients of an *Ardhōdaya Puṇyakāla* viz. the special *Tithi Amāvāsya* between *Pausha* and *Māgha*, the day being a Sunday, the *Nakshatra* being *Śrāvaṇa*, and the *Yōga* being *Vyatīpāta* are fully satisfied in this case, we may therefore conclude that 18th January, 1265 A.D. is the date of the grant.

The further and the more important question arises in this case viz., the identity of the donor viz., king *Yellaṇa Dēva*. Three names are given in the plate viz., *Ēkavīra*, his son *Jairugi* and his wife *Kuntala Dēvi* and his son *Yellaṇa Dēva*. The *Vaṁśa Pravakta* is said to be *Kṛishṇa Kannara* who was the son of *Kṛishṇa Dēva*. Upto now the names of these feudatories have not been met with anywhere, in any of the contemporary *Kākatīya* records. The *Varāha Dēśa* and the *Vardhamānapura* mentioned in the grant correspond to the *Vaḍḍamānu* of the modern Mahabubnagar district.

However, we know from other sources that during the time of the queen *Rudrāmbika* one *Gōna Viṭṭala* was ruling from *Vardhamānapura*. In fact this *Gōna Viṭṭala* invaded the *Seuna* territory on the western frontier of the *Kākatīya* kingdom and some of the important events which took place during that invasion describing the achievements of *Gōna Viṭṭala* are given in an inscription[1] in the Raichur Fort of 1294 A.D. where it is stated that *Viṭṭala* captured the forts of *Adavāni* and *Tumbulam* in the Bellary district together with *Manuva* and *Haluva* in the Raichur doab. *Viṭṭala* is said to have entered the city of Raichur and erected a strong fort to protect the country and its inhabitants from further incursions. It is thus obvious that *Viṭṭala* must have wrested the *Kṛishṇa-Tungabhadra* doab from the *Yādavās* of *Dēvagiri* and fortified Raichur by taking steps to prevent its re-conquest. Thus the *Gōna Viṭṭala* of *Vardhamānapuri* was a fairly powerful feudatory of queen *Rudrāmba*.

It must be remembered in this connection that the relationship of king *Gaṇapati* of the *Kākatīyās* with the *Seunas* was fairly cordial, but with the accession of queen *Rudramadēvi* to the throne this cordiality ceased and a serious danger came to the *Kākatīya* empire,

1. The Early History of the Deccan, Yazdani, Vol. II, - p. 637.

from the *Seuna* king *Mahādēva*, who succeeded his cousin *Krishṇa* in 1260 A.D. and who invaded the *Kākatīya* kingdom. His invasion ended in utter failure, for according to the *Pratāpacharita*, *Mahādēva* though he laid seige to the capital Warangal, was resisted valiantly by queen *Rudrāmba* for 15 days during which she destroyed three lakhs of *Suena* infantry and one lakh of cavalry. In this connection it must be remembered that there is an inscription[1] of *Sārangapāṇi Dēva* in the temple of *Chāya Sōmanātha* at *Pānugal* of Nalgonda district dated 1267 A.D. which registers a gift of land to the temple by *Sārangapāṇidēva* son of *Seuna* king *Singhaṇa* a subordinate of the *Kākatīya Manma Rudradēva* which is the same as *Rudramadēvi*. Evidently *Sārangapāṇidēva* who had seized the fort of *Pānugal* realised that it would be impossible for him to exercise independence without accepting the suzerainty of the *Kākatīya* queen. In a similar manner it is possible that other *Yādava* feudatories who might have been exercising control over the Raichur doab might also have accepted the overlordship of the *Kākatīyās*.

The mother of *Yellaṇadēva* the present grantor is stated to be *Kuntaladēvi* and this name would appear to have some connection with *Kuntaladēśa* which is the same as Raichur doab. Moreover the ancestral names given in the grant, viz., *Krishṇa Kannara, Jairugi* etc. definitely show some tinge of connection with the *Seunas* or the *Yādavās* of *Dēvagiri*. It is also possible that the ancestors of *Yellaṇadēva* might have been exercising control over the Raichur doab and ruling from *Vardhamānapura* or *Vaḍḍamānu* of the modern Mahabubnagar district, and that at a later stage the family of the *Gōna Viṭṭalās* might have succeeded them, though the original branch might have continued to exercise the jurisdiction over the Raichur doab only, but were calling themselves as *Vardhamānapurādhīśvara*. In all probability therefore the ancestors of *Yellaṇadēva* must have been feudatories under the *Seunas* or the *Yādavās* of *Dēvagiri*, who must have changed their allegience after the defeat of the *Seunas* by queen *Rudramadēvi* at the beginning of her career.

This view is further supported by a very important verse which occurs in the grant and which states as follows :

अस्याः रुद्रमदेव्याः कृपयादेशं समासाद्य निजभार्यायाः काकति रुद्रम देवि द्वितीयतनयायाः etc.

This shows that *Yēllaṇadeva* obtained his kingdom by the '*Kṛupa*' or the generosity of queen *Rudramadēvi*. This statement therefore lends colour to the above view that this family must have been given protection by Queen *Rudramadēvi* after defeating the *Yādavās* of *Dēvagiri*. Queen *Rudramadēvi* would appear to have given her second daughter in marriage to *Yēllaṇadēva* as the grant specifically mentions the words '*Nija Bhāryāyāh Kākati Rudramadēvī Dvitīya Tanayāyāh*''. It would thus appear that Queen *Rudramadēvi* gave her second daughter in marriage to *Yēllṇadēva* and thereby cemented her relations

1. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, A Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions—No. 34.

with her powerful feudatory so as to fortify her frontiers against further sudden attacks from the enemies.

We know from other sources that *Kākati Rudramadēvi* had two daughters viz., *Mummaḍamma* and *Ruyyamma*. The former according to *Pratāpa Rudrīya Yaśōbhūshaṇam* married a certain *Mahādēva* otherwise unknown. To them was born a son called *Pratāparudra* who was adopted by *Rudramadēvi* by the command of her father. The second daughter *Ruyyamma* was given in marriage to *Annaladēva* or *Annayya* son of *Gannayya* of the *Indulūri* family according to the traditions preserved in the *Śivayōga Sāra*. He was said to be a *Māhā Pradhāni* and *Sēnādhīpati* in the service of the Queen *Rudramma* and rendered valuable help to her not merely in the wars that were waged but also in the administration of the kingdom. Since the present grant specifically mentions *Yellaṇadēva* as the husband of the *Dvitīya Tanaya* of queen *Rudrāmba* it is difficult to reconcile the details of this grant, with the tradition in the *Śivayōga Sāra*.

The village *Ālapādu* mentioned in the grant is not susceptible of identification.

The names of the various Grantees, their *Gōtrās* and their *Bhāgās* etc. as given in the grant are given below :

S. No.	Name of the Grantee	Gotra	Part of the village given
1	2	3	4
1.	*Kāmēpalli Yerrapōtarāyah*	*Srīvastsa*	2
2.	*Mailārya*	,,	13
3.	*Mallayārya*, S/o *Mailārya* above	,,	$5\frac{1}{2}$
4.	*Ādityāryah*	,,	5
5.	*Yerrapōtārya*	,,	1
6.	*Nagadēvārya*	,,	1
7.	*Ādityārya*	,,	1
8.	*Dēvanārya*	,,	1
9.	*Udayagiri Vōḍayārya*	,,	1
10.	*Pādadēva Bhaṭṭa*	*Harīti*	3
11.	*Dēvanārya*	,,	1
12.	*Palli Ādityārya*	*Bhārdvājasa*	$1\frac{1}{2}$
13.	*Vanda Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya*	,,	$1\frac{1}{2}$
14.	*Sōmarāyārya*	,,	$\frac{1}{2}$
15.	*Mukundārya*	,,	1
16.	*Tammayārya*	*Gautama*	2
17.	*Ḍamōdarāyārya*	,,	1
18.	*Gōvindārya*	*Vadhula*	2

1	2	3	4
19.	*Kondapalli Dēvarēta Upādhyāya*	*Ātrēya*	1
20.	*Ādityārya*	*Parāśara*	1
21.	*Bhāskarārya*	*Gārgi*	$1\frac{1}{2}$
22.	*Kumārārya*	*Sounaka*	1
23.	*Purushōthamārya*	*Bhāradvājasa*	1
24.	*Pekanārya*	*Gautama*	1
25.	*Vaidyanāthadēva*	,,	$2\frac{1}{4}$
26.	*Sōmanātha Dēva*	,,	$\frac{1}{4}$
		Total	53 Parts

Thus this grant is every important since it introduces to us for the first time the second son-in-law of Queen *Rudramma.* This is also one of the earliest grants of the time of Queen *Rudrāmbika.*

2 7 MAY 1962
MADRAS

TEXT AND PLATES
OF
ĀLAPĀḌU GRANT OF YELLAṆA DEVA

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१. स्वस्थ[1] गुणावग्रथितासितमणि [× × × × ×] दुर्वी[2]सर्वा यद्दंष्ट्रायां
२. स क्रोडात्मा हरिर्जगत्पायात् (1) गौरी [× × ×][3] मौलौ भुजगा
३. धिपतेः फणावलयः । मंगलसदनं धत्ते रत्नाली घटित तरु
४. ण शेखरतां (2) वक्षसि लग्नं राधास्तनभरकस्तूरिकास्थासं ।
५. स्थगयन्निजतनुकांत्या कमलाजानिः सदा जगद्रक्षेत् (3)
६. कर्णाभ्यां तरलाभ्यां प्रणददलिभ्यां कपोलसं
७. गिभ्यां । असितमणिर्किंकिणीकव्यजनाभ्या
८. मिव विभाति गजवदनः (4) गौरीरमणस्यास्मिन्मूर्ध
९. नि चंद्रस्य जयति कला । शुक्तिरिव मौक्तिकानां सुर
१०. सिंधोः शीकराकीर्णा (5) अस्ति स्वस्ति परममाहेश्व
११. राणां प्रतिज्ञापरशुरामाणां शौर्यगांगेयानां शर
१२. णागतवज्रपंजराणां अर्धि[थि]सार्थप्रार्थिताधिक

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

१३. वितरणविद्याचणानां प्रहसितमार्त्तांडमंडलप्रता
१४. पोन्नतीनां शरच्चंद्रचंद्रिकाकल्पानेककल्पस्थि
१५. रानण्य[4]यशोविशदीकृतसमस्ताशांगणानां स
१६. दाचार परिपालन प्र[वर्धि]तांतःकरणवृत्तिसंतो
१७. षिताशेष मनीषिमानसानां राजवेश्या
१८. भुजंगानां परनारीसोदराणां वंशप्रव
१९. र्त्तक कृष्णदेवतनूज श्रीकृष्णकन्नारदेवानां वरा
२०. हदेशमध्यवर्त्ति वर्धमानपुरवराधीश्वराणां ब्रा
२१. ह्मणसु [× × × ×] युद्धविजयलब्धयमदंडस
२२. मास्य [× × × ×] [× ×] राजमानो राज्ञा

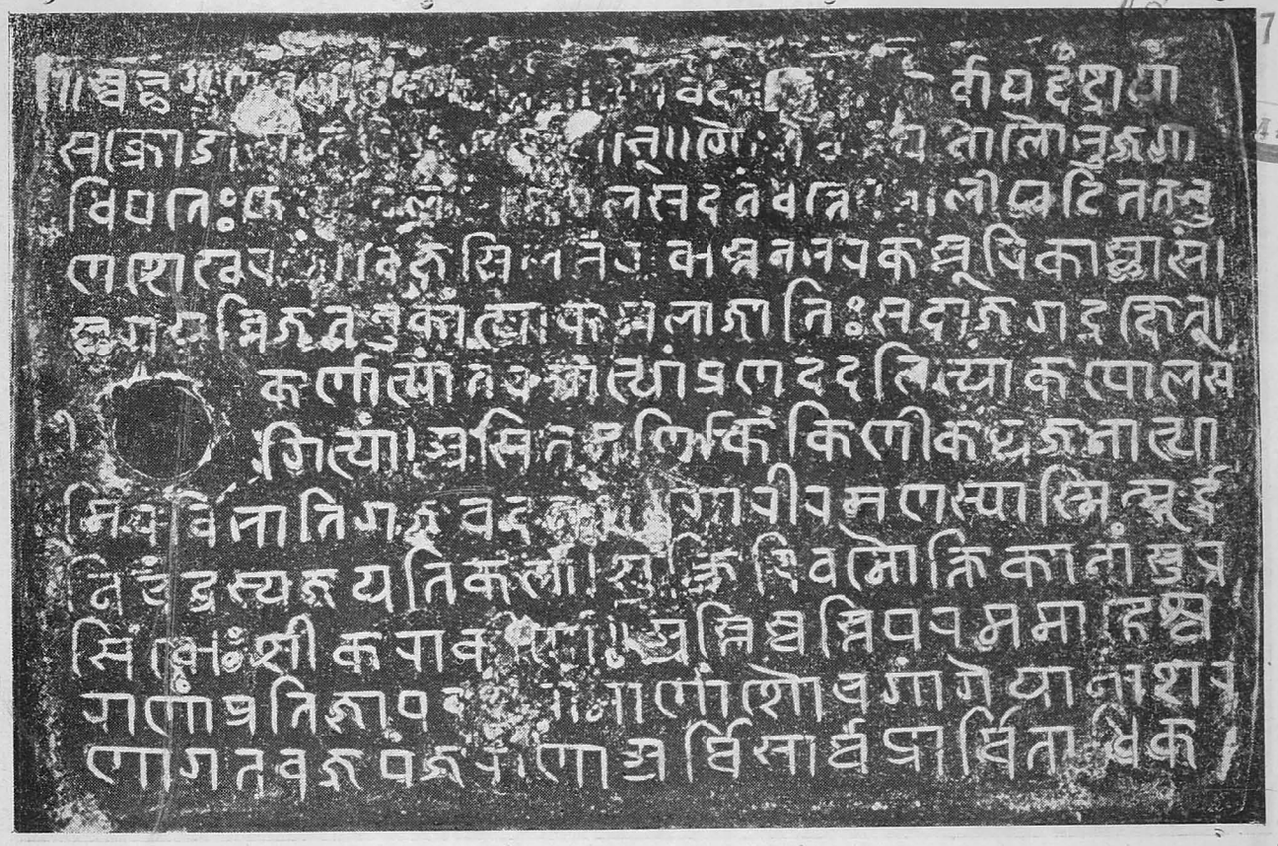
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1. Read as स्वच्छ
2. May be filled up as मणिराविन्ददुर्वी
3. May be filled up as गौरीवल्लभमौलौ
4. Read as अनल्प

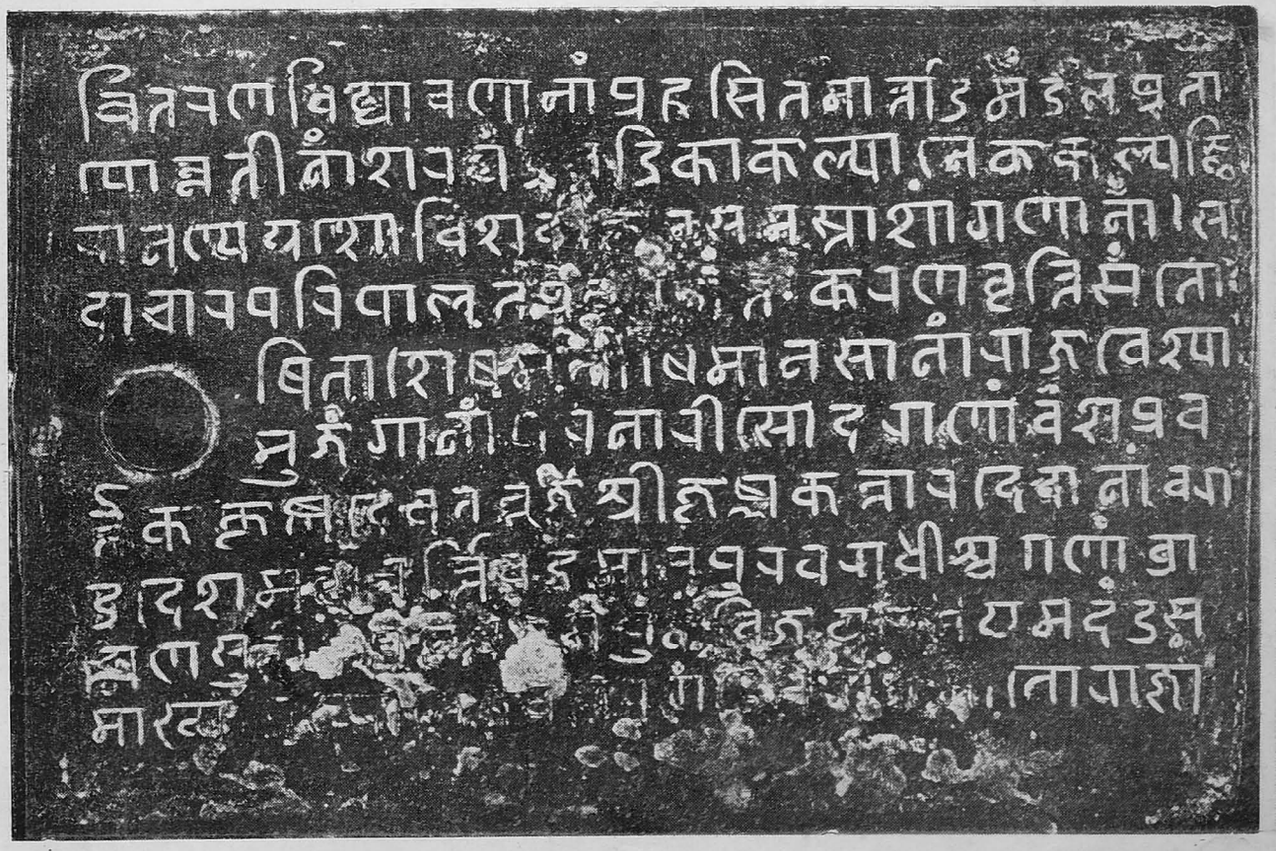
ĀLAPĀḌU PLATES OF *YELLAṆADEVA*

7 MAY 1962
MADRAS

First Plate : Second Side

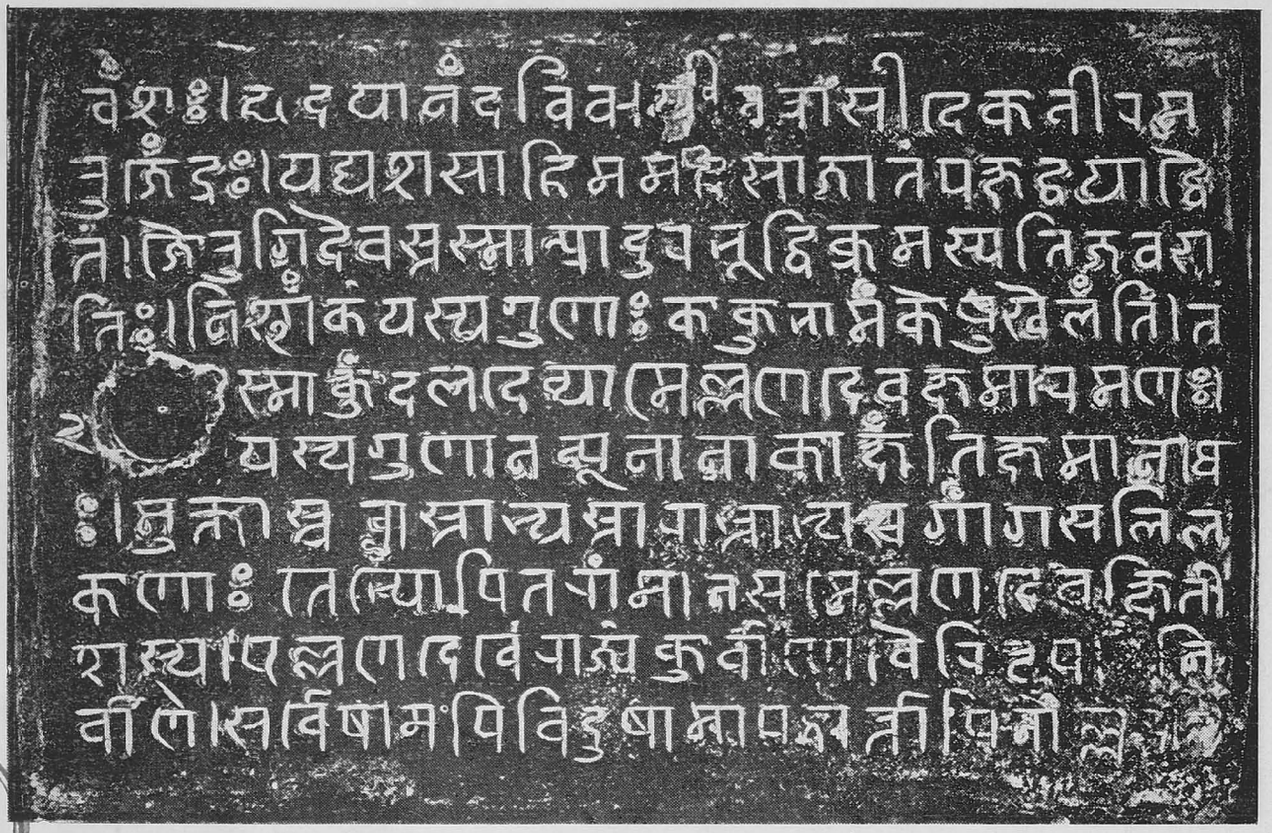


Second Plate : First Side

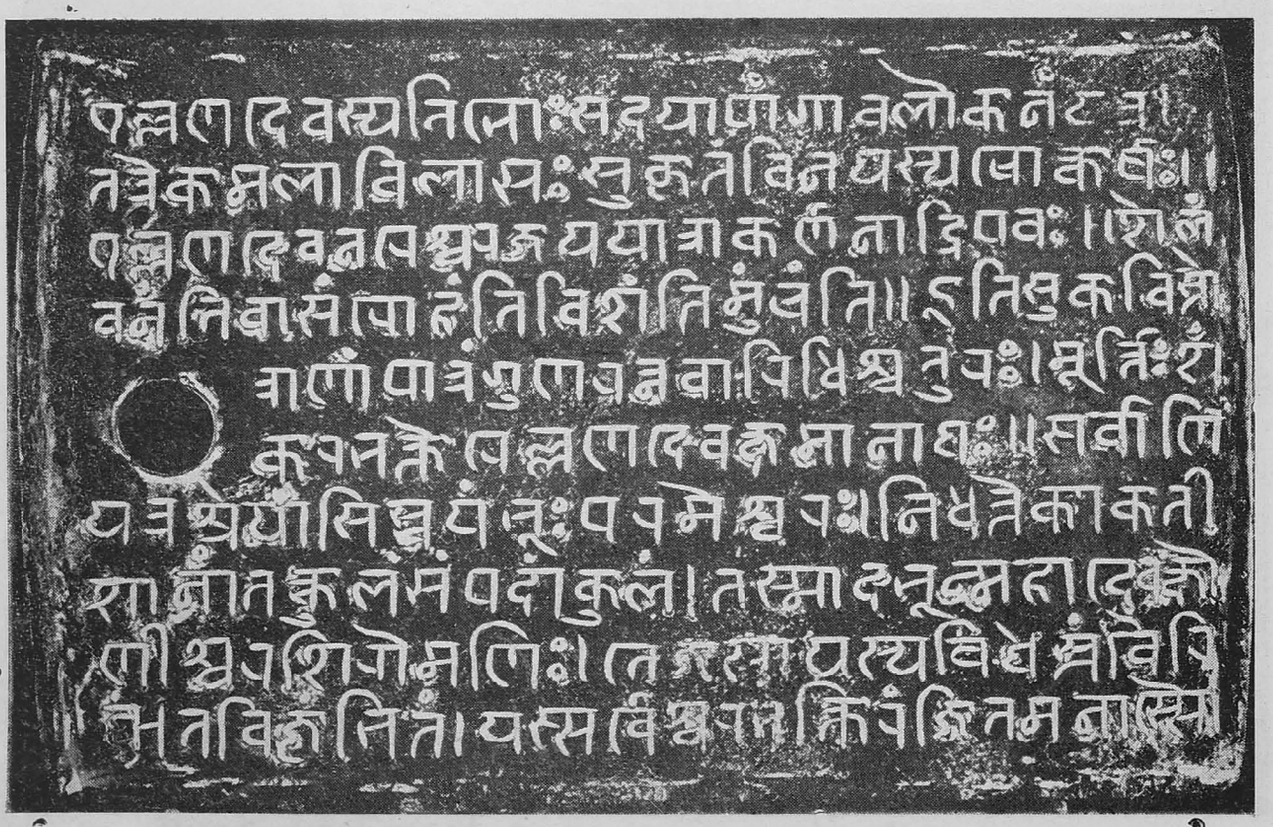


ĀLAPĀḌU PLATES OF *YELLAṆADEVA*

Second Plate : Second Side



Third Plate: First Side



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7 MAY 1962

SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

२३. वंशः । हृदयानंदविधायी तत्रासीदेकवीरम
२४. नुजेंद्रः । यद्यशसा हिममहसा जातं पक्षद्वयाद्वै
२५. तं (6) जैतुगिदेवस्तस्मात्प्रादुरभूद्विक्रमस्य निजवस
२६. तिः । निश्शंकं यस्य गुणाः ककुभामंकेषु खेलंति (7) त
२७. स्मात्कुंदलदेव्यामेल्लणदेवक्षमारमणः ।
२८. यस्य गुणानन्यूनाकांक्षंति क्षमानाथाः (I)
२९. : (8) मुक्ता (:) स्वच्छास्ताभ्यस्तारास्ताभ्यश्च गांगसलिल
३०. कणाः । तेभ्योपि तरां (रं) मानसमेल्लणदेवक्षिती
३१. शस्य (9) एल्लणदेवे राज्यं कुर्वाणे वैरिनृपति नि
३२. र्वाणे । सर्वेषामपि विदुषामापद्वार्त्तापि नोल्ल[भते] (10)

THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

३३. एल्लणदेवस्य नि(वि)भोः सदयापांगावलोकनं यत्र ।
३४. तत्र कमलाविलासः सुकृतं विनयस्यचोत्कर्षः (1I)
३५. एल्लणदेवनरेश्वरजययात्राकर्णनाद्विपवः । शैलं
३६. वनं निवासं रोहंति विशंति मुंचंति (12) इतिसुकवि स्तो
३७. त्राणां पात्रं गुणरत्नवारिधिश्चतुरः । मूर्त्तिः शं
३८. करभक्तेरेल्लणदेवक्षमानाथः (13) सर्वाणि
३९. यत्र श्रेयांसि स्वयंभूः परमेश्वरः । निधत्ते काकती
४०. शानां तत्कुलं संपदां कुलं (14) तस्मादभून्महादेवक्षो
४१. णीश्वरशिरोमणिः । तेजसा यस्य विध्वस्तं वैरि
४२. ध्वांतविजृंभितं (15) यस्सर्वेश्वरभक्तिरंजितमनास्सौ

THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE

४३. जन्यमुद्वीक्षते यं येन प्रतिमोचिता भुवि दि(वि) पद्मस्मै
४४. समस्ताः श्रियः । यस्माद्बिभ्यति शत्रवः परिजनो
४५. यस्याखिलाः क्षमाभृतो यस्मिन्सर्वगुणोन्नतिर्गण
४६. पतिर्देवः स तस्मादभूत् (16) पुत्रीयति निजदासान्
४७. तेषां हृदयेषु सर्वेषु । क्रीडारत्नगृहीय
४८. त्रि गणपतिदेवः क्षमाभृतां देवः (17) मंदा
४९. रस्यामंदव्रीडा वारांनिधिज्योत्स्ना । हुंकर्त्री स्वर्धेनो
५०. रुद्रमदेवी ततो जाता (18) गणपति नृपराज्यधुरां बिं
५१. भ्राणे रुद्रदेवनरनाथे । वैरि वसुधाधिपानामा
५२. श्चर्यं नम्रमूर्द्धत्वं (19) अस्या रुद्रमदेव्याः कृपया दे

FOURTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

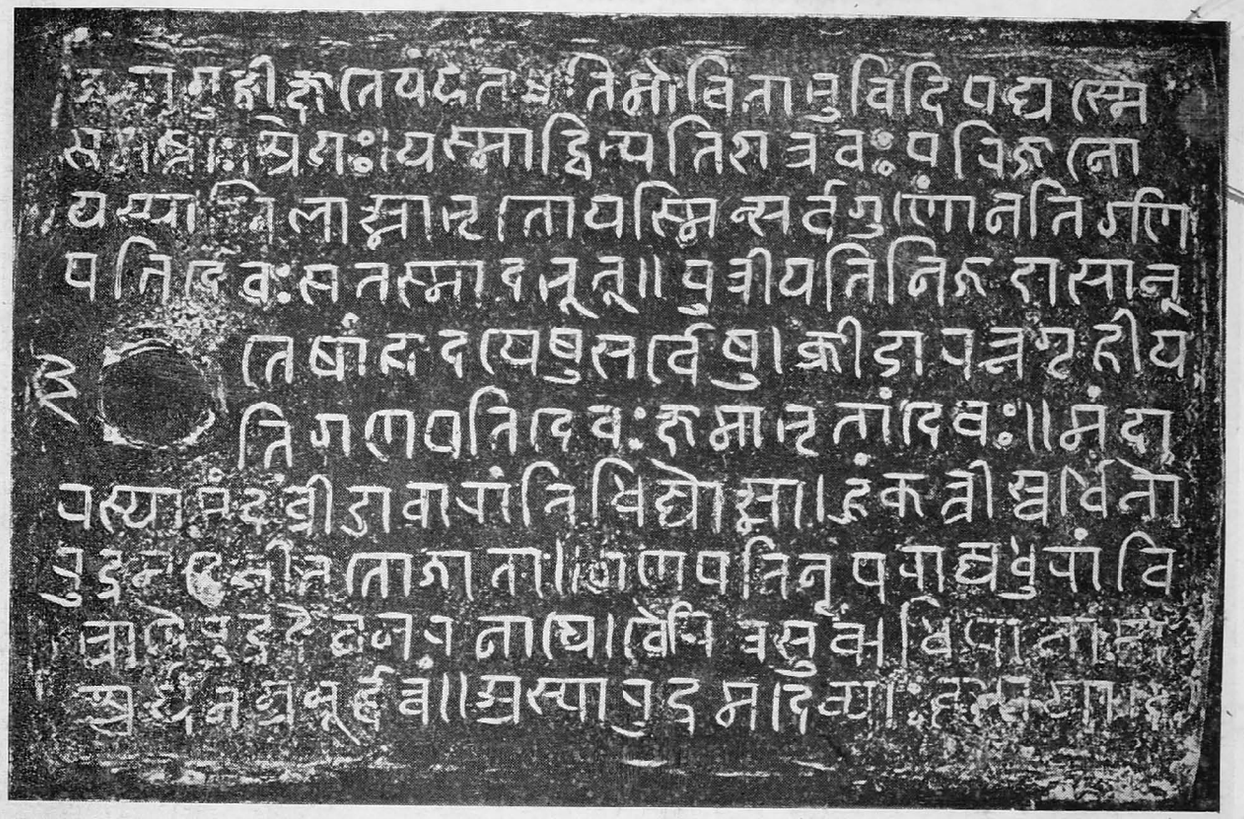
५३. शं समासाद्य । निजभार्यायाः काकतिरुद्रम [देवि द्विती][5]
५४. य तनयायाः (20) पुण्यार्थमयुग्मांतरपंचाशद्भाग कल्पन
५५. या सहितं सर्वैर्भोगैर्विप्रेभ्यः पात्रभूतेभ्यः (21) प्राय
५६. च्छदालपांडं एल्लणदेवक्षमानाथः । शाकब्दे रसना
५७. गक्षोणीशीतांशु परिगणिते (22) रक्ताख्याङ्क[क्ष्या ख्य] वर्षे का
५८. ले चार्द्धोदये पुण्ये । अत्र प्रतिग्रहीतृब्रह्मणा
५९. नां नामगोत्राणि लिख्यंते । कामेषल्लि एर्र
६०. पोतार्यो द्विभागी । मैलारार्यस्त्रयोदशभागी ।
६१. तत्पुत्रो मल्लयार्यः सार्धपंचभागी । आदित्यार्यः पंच
६२. भागी । एर्रपोतार्यो भागी । नागदेवार्यो भागी । आर्या
६३. त्यार्यो भागी । देवणार्यो भागी । उदयगिरि वोदया
६४. र्यो भागी । एते श्रीवत्साः । [पालदेवभट्टोपाध्यायस्त्रि]

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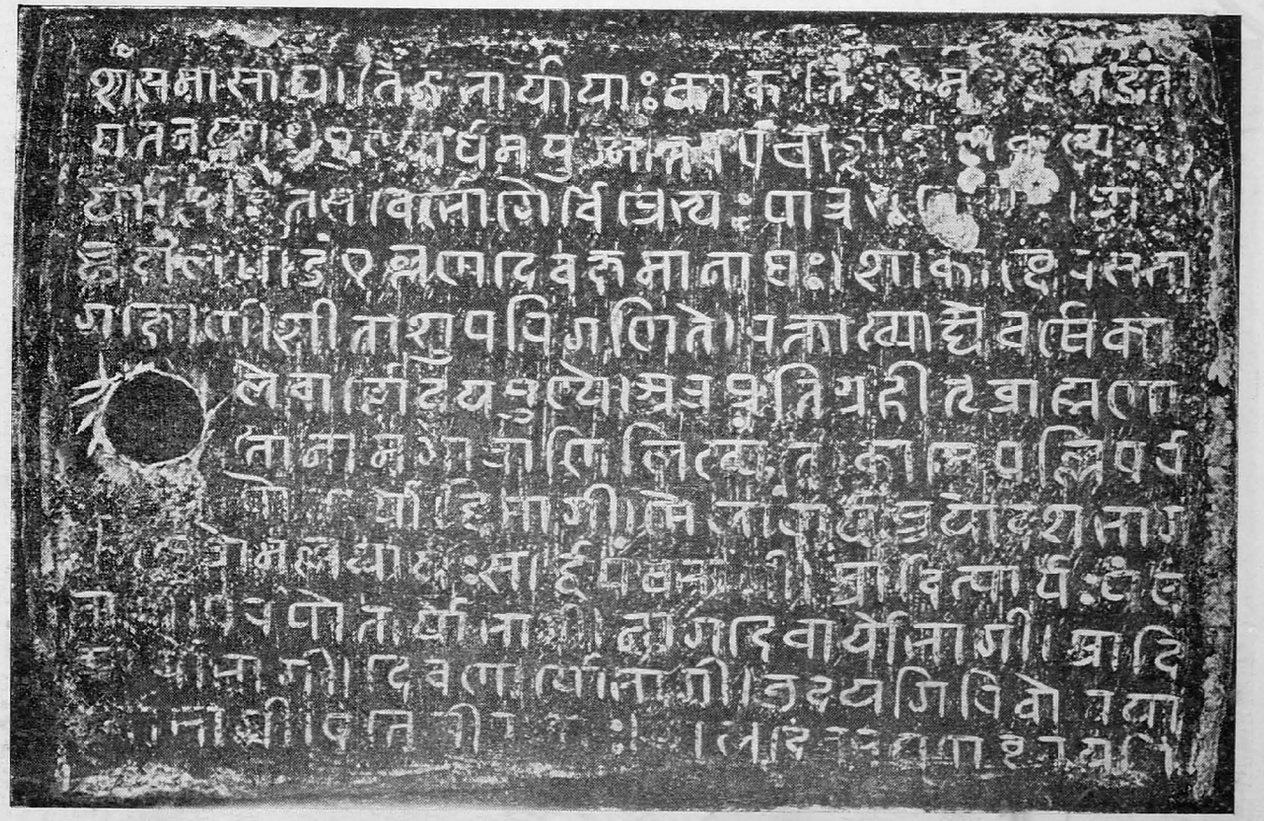
5. Writing is faint but from the original this can be read as रुद्रमदेवाद्वितीयतनयायाः

ĀLAPĀḌU PLATES OF *YELLAṆADĒVA*

Third Plate : Second Side

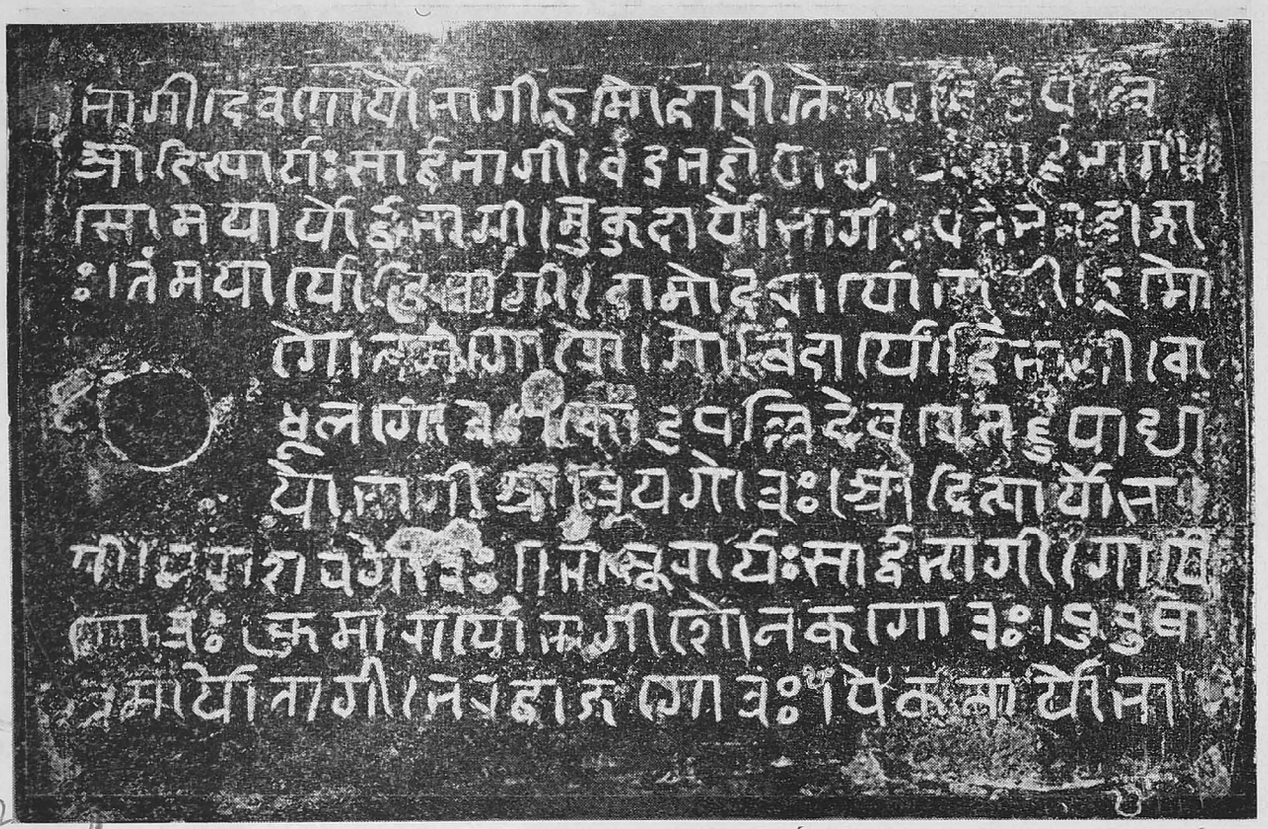


Fourth Plate : First Side

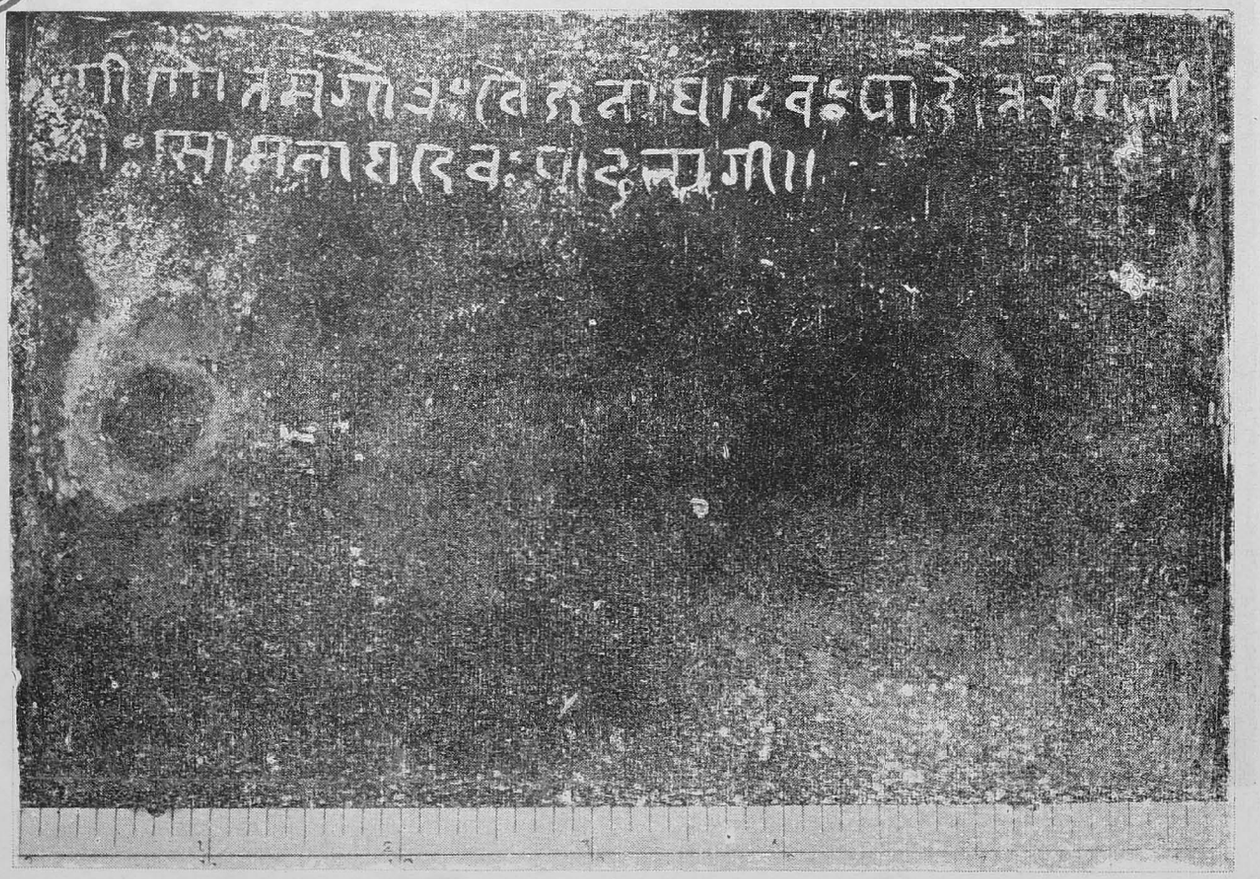


ĀLAPĀḌU PLATES OF *YELLAṆADEVA*

Fourth Plate : Second Side



Fifth Plate : First Side



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FOURTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

६५. भागी । देवणार्यो भागी इमौ हारीतौ । प[मिडि]पल्लि
६६. आदित्यार्यः सार्धभागी । वंदभट्टोपाध्यायः सार्धभागी ।
६७. सोमयार्योर्द्धभागी । मुकुन्दार्यो भागी । एते भरद्वाजा
६८. :। तंमयार्यो द्विभागी । दामोदरार्यो भागी । इमौ
६९. गौतमगोत्रौ । गोविंदार्यो द्विभागी । वा
७०. धूलगोत्रः । कोडपल्लिदेवरेभट्टुपाध्या
७१. यो भागी आत्रेयगोत्रः । आदित्यार्यो भा
७२. गी । पराशरगोत्रः ॥ भास्करार्यः सार्द्धभागी । गार्गि
७३. गोत्रः । कुमारार्यो भागी शौनकगोत्रः । पुरुषो
७४. त्तमार्यो भागी । भरद्वाजगोत्रः । पेकनार्यो भा

FIFTH PLATE: FIRST SID_

७५. गी गौतमगोत्रः वैजनाथादेवः पादोत्तरद्विभा
७६. गः सोमनाथदेवः पादभागी ॥

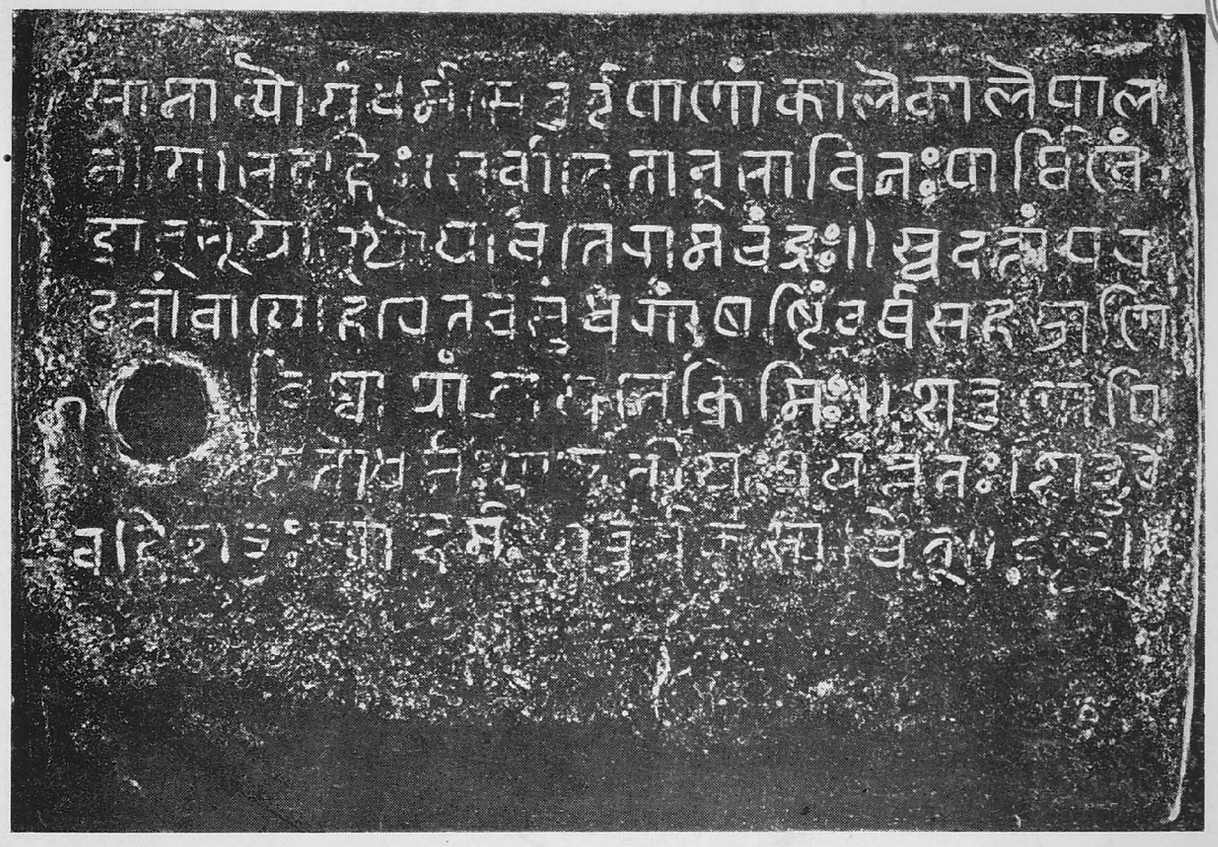
FIFTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

७७. सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाल
७८. नीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवें
७९. द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ स्वदत्तां पर
८०. दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
८१. विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ शत्रुणापि
८२. कृतो धर्मः पालनीयः प्रयत्नतः । शत्रुरे
८३. वहि शत्रुः स्याद्धर्मः शत्रुर्न कस्यचित् ॥

ĀLAPĀḌU PLATES OF *YELLAṆADĒVA*

Fifth Plate : Second Side

2 7 MAY 1962
MADRAS



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Seal of the Plates



A general view of the plates with the ring and the seal.

SECTION IV

THE EASTERN GĀNGĀS OF KALINGA

CHAPTER XII

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EASTERN *GĀNGA* KINGS OF *KALINGA*

1. INTRODUCTION

Kalinga is the ancient name for the territory comprising of the modern districts of *Viśākhapatnam* and *Śrīkākulam* of Andhra Pradesh and *Berhāmpūr* and *Ganjām* of Orissa state. This tract is famous in Indian history since it was at a battle field of *Kalinga* somewhere here, that *Aśōka* the great *Mauryan* emperor had his mental revolution after winning a victory in a sanguinary war and gave up war and blood-shed as a means of settling problems and took to the preaching and propagation of the law of *Dharma* propounded by Lord *Buddha* as the correct conduct of life and ethics. *Kalinga* consecrated by this great act of *Aśōka* has continued right through history to play a significant part in moulding Indian history. This tract was ruled by a line of kings who were called the Eastern *Gāngās* of *Kalinga*. This Eastern *Gāngā* line is divisible into three groups, the Early Eastern *Gāngās*, the Medieval Eastern *Gāngās*, and the Later Eastern *Gāngās*. The Eastern *Gāngās* ruled this tract in an uninterrupted line from the 5th century A.D. right up to the 15th century A.D. The Early Eastern *Gānga* kings referred their charters in an era called the *Gānga* era while the medieval and the Later Eastern *Gānga* kings referred their charters in the well-known *Śaka* era.

2. THE *KALINGA*

Kālinga is one of the oldest countries of India and references to it are found in the *Purāṇās*, the *Sūtrās* and also in the works of classical writers like Pliny, Ptolemy and Arrian. *Mahābhārata* mentions *Kalinga* along with the other tribes, and in the great war of *Kurukshētra* these *Kalingās* are said to have fought against the *Pāṇḍavās*. Pliny's 'Natural History' which contains a history of the Indian races mentions a tribe called 'Calingae' near the sea. From the classical accounts of Mccrindle and Plutrach we learn that in Alexander's time the *Kalinga Gāngās* and the *Prāchya Magadhās* were living in the valley of

river *Ganges*. The Jain works '*Pariśishṭaparvam*' and '*Mahā Bōdhi Vaṁśa*' confirm this account.

Coming to medieval times we get from the Sanskrit *Kāvyā* '*Ganga Vamśanucharita*' composed by an Oriya poet *Vāsu Dēva Ratha Sōmayāji* a genealogical and chronological account of the *Gānga* kings. The famous work '*Maḍala Pānji*' which is a chronicle kept in the *Pūri Jagannātha* temple and which was probably composed in *Oriya* by the end of the 16th century gives us also a glimpse of the genealogy and chronology of these kings. A famous contemporary Tamil poem called '*Kalingattupparaṇi*' by *Jayangonḍār* of the 12th century A.D. describes the invasion of the north *Kalinga* or the *Sapta Kalinga* by *Karuṇākara* who was a commander of *Kulōttunga Chōla*. This gives us a graphic and vivid account of the various adventures of *Karuṇākara* and incidentally gives us a glimpse into the social life and customs of the people inhabiting the *Kalinga*. The Sanskrit works like '*Vidyādhara Ekāvali*' and '*Narahari Yati Stōtra*' describe the religious and political conditions of *Kalinga* under later *Gānga* kings in the 13th century A.D.

The *Kalinga* is thus the only tract that has been ruled in India by an uninterrupted line of kings for nearly one thousand years from nearly 450 A.D. to 1450 A.D. There have been vicissitudes of prosperity as well as of adversity for this line of kings, but the dynasty continued as such, and the rule went on for nearly one thousand years uninterruptedly.

3. *KALINGANAGARA* THE CAPITAL OF THE EARLY EASTERN *GANGAS*

The capital of these kings was known as '*Kalinganagara*', and many of the grants of these kings were also issued from *Kalinganagara*, their capital. The kings called themselves as '*Trikalingādhipati*'. The exact location of this *Kalinganagara* has been the subject matter of some dispute among scholars. The *Bhīshma* and *Udyōga Parvās* in the *Mahābhārata* refer to two *Kalinga* tribes with capitals at '*Rājapuram*' and '*Dantapuram*'. The *Rājapuram* has been identified with *Jāipūr* in *Orissā*, and '*Dantapuram*' with the *Dantapura* in the present *Srīkākulam* district. In *Vālmīki's* '*Rāmāyaṇa*' '*Ayōdhyā Kāṇda*', a reference is made to a '*Kalinganagara*' lying on the banks of river '*Sōna*', to the west of '*Ayōdhya*' when *Daśaratha* was ruling over *Ayōdhya*. The *Buddhist* '*Jātaka* tales' and the Ceylone chronicles viz. '*Dīpa Vamśa*' and '*Mahā Vamśa*' mention that *Simhapura* in *Kalinga*, was named as '*Dantapura*' by the *Buddhists* because the tooth relic or the '*Danta*' of *Buddha* was consecrated there for worship. Dr. Fleet identified '*Kalinganagara*' with the modern '*Kalingapaṭṭanam*' at the sea port at the mouth of '*Vaṁśadhāra*' while Alexander Cunningham identified *Kaḷinganagara* with *Rajahmundry* on the banks of river *Gōdāvari*. For the first time the identification of '*Kalinganagara*' with '*Mukhalingam*' which is a famous '*Puṇya Kshētra*' in *Srīkākulam* district of modern Andhra Pradesh was made by Sri G.V. Ramamurty.[1] According to him no traces

1. Madras Journal of Lit. Society 1889-1894. p. 68.

of any antiquity are found at *Kalingapaṭṭanam* whereas in *Mukhalingam* and at '*Nagarikaṭakam*' which is two miles distant from '*Mukhalingam*' we get very many historical remains. There are temples in '*Mukhalingam*' dedicated to Lord *Śiva* in the name of '*Madhukēśvara*' and *Sōmēśvara*' and these temples contain various inscriptions to the God of the temple who is described in the inscriptions themselves as '*Kalingāvani Nagare Śrīman Madhukēśvaraya*'. This shows that '*Mukhalingam*' which contains these temples was known as '*Kalinganagara*'. An Eastern *Gānga* king called *Kāmārṇava* founded a town called '*Nagara*' where he built a temple to lord *Śiva* called '*Madhukēśvara*'. *Mukhalingam* is a corrupt form for '*Mōhalinga*' which is the Oriya form of the word '*Madhukaḷingam*'. This identification of '*Mukhalingam*' as '*Kalinganagara*' has been generally accepted by all scholars like Dr. Hulzsch[1], V. A. Smith[2] and R. D. Benerji[3] etc.

4. THE EASTERN *GANGA* OR THE *KALINGA* ERA

The early *Gānga* kings were in the habit of referring the regnal years mentioned in their charters not in the Saka era, but in their own eastern *Gānga* era called as *Gāngēya Vaṁśa Saṁvatsara*' or '*Pravarthamāna Vijaya Rājya Saṁvatsare*' etc. Although a number of copper plate grants of these early Eastern *Gānga* kings have been discovered, still the starting point of this *Gānga* era has been a moot point and has been attributed to widely different dates by different scholars.

The initial year of the *Gānga Era* has been fixed by various scholars as follows :

1.	Sri G. Ramadas	394 A.D. (I.A. XIII, 128)
2.	Dr. D. C. Sircar	496-97 A.D. (Select Inscriptions)
3.	Sri B. V. Krishna Rao	498 A.D. (Early Dynasties of *Andhradēśa*, 578-92)
4.	Prof. V. V. Mirashi	498 A.D. (E.I. XXVI, 333)
5.	Sri J. C. Ghosh	496 A.D. (I.A. LXI, 237)
6.	Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma	504-05 A.D. (I.C. IX, 148)
7.	Sri R. C. Muzumdar	550-57 A.D. (I.C. IV. 179)
8.	Sri G. S. Ojha	570 A.D.
9.	Dr. Fleet	590 A.D. (I.A. XVI, 131)
10.	Sri S. N. Rajaguru	626-27 A.D. (J.A.H.R.S. I, 29-50)

The date that is now generally accepted is 497-98 or 496-97.

The main difficulty in fixing the starting point of this era correctly is due to the fact that many of the astronomical data supplied in the various records of the kings like the Solar eclipses or the Lunar eclipses etc. do not tally with each other.

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1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX, p. 94.
2. Early History of India p. 498.
3. History of Orissa p. 42.

It is significant that while the *Chālukyās* of the Deccan and the *Kadambās* and the Western *Gāngās* of Mysore used the '*Śaka Varsha*' the Eastern *Gāngās* alone used their own '*Gāngēya Samvatsara*' probably to assert their independence. The Eastern *Gāngās* like the *Valabhis* in *Mālva*, the *Maukhārīs* in *Bīhār* and the *Chālukyās* in the Deccan probably became independent after the downfall of the *Gupta* empire, and when the *Gupta* influence declined and the Eastern *Gāngās* asserted their independence, they must have started an era of their own. This view which has been put forward by Prof. R. Subba Rao is quite consistant with the evidences before us, since the very early kings of this line did not refer to the *Gānga* era.

Though many of the grants give the '*Puṇya Kālās* like the '*Vishuva*' and '*Uttarāyaṇa*', '*Sankrāntis*,' the months, the '*Pakshas*' the '*Tithis*' and the '*Nakshatras*' and also the occurrence of Solar and Lunar eclipses, still the name of the year has not been given to establish an equation with the Saka era. However, it is possible to arrive at an approximate date from the evidence available to us. There is one important grant called the '*Jirjingi*'[1] grant of *Indravarma* of the 39th year of the *Gānga* era in which the king is described as a victor in several battles. It has been held that this king is referred to in *Pṛithvi Mūla's Gōdavari* plates as having defeated the *Vishṇukuṇḍin* king *Indrabhaṭṭaraka* who is known to have ruled from other sources from 500 A.D. to 530 A.D. This synchronism leads us to equate the 39th year of *Gānga* year to 530 A.D. or the *Gānga* era would begin round about 490 A.D. The second important clue to the fixation of the starting point of the *Gānga* era comes from a grant by king *Madhu Kāmārṇava* issued in *Gānga era* 526[2]. In this grant *Madhu Kāmārṇava* had made certain grants of villages to *Vaiśyās*. From the genealogy and chronology given in many of the grants of king *Vajrahasta* a Medieval Eastern *Gānga* king who gives his date in Saka era, we learn that *Madhu Kāmārṇava* ruled from 1019-1037 A.D. Hence equating the *Gānga* era year 526 with the A.D. year 1019-1037 A.D. we find that the *Gānga* era would begin round about 493 A.D., if the king had made the grant in the first year of his accession. The third important clue comes from the '*Simhapura*' copper plate grant of the *Kadamba* king *Dharmakhēḍi* of the *Gānga Kadamba* era 520.[3] The *Gānga Kadamba* era can rightly be identified with the *Gānga* era, as the *Kadambās* were the feudatories of the *Gāngās*, and working on the assumption that *Dharmakhēḍi* referred to here is the same as the *Dharmakhēḍi* referred to in the '*Mandāsā*' plates of *Anantavarma Dēva* of *Śaka* 913 we get that the *Gānga* year 520 would correspond to *Śaka* year 913 or the *Gānga* era would have started round about 471 A.D.

Thus the above evidence would go to show that the *Gānga* era started somewhere in the later half of the 5th century A.D. Working upon the astronomical data given in two

1. J. A. H. R. S: Vol. III Part-1 Page 49.
2. C. P. No. 3 in the Annual report of the South Indian Epigraphy for 1918-19.
3. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. III, p. 171.

plates of king *Indravarma* of this line published by me,[1] I had come to the conclusion that there were two years of the same king, namely 127 *Gānga* era where a *Mārgaśira* Lunar eclipse occured and 133 *Gānga* era, where a *Śrāvaṇa* solar eclipse occurred, and astronomically this occurrence of *Mārgaśira* Lunar eclipse and *Śrāvaṇa* solar eclipse within an interval of six years being a very rare occurrence I had calculated the dates and fixed 434 A.D. as the starting point of the *Gānga* era. This was based on the reading of the year of that grant as 133 *Gānga* era which has been doubted by some scholars. Prof. Mirashi has also done invaluable work in this field and though no evidence has upto now come forward to categorically assert any particular year as the starting point of the *Gānga* era the nearest approach would be to say that the later half of the 5th century A.D. is the starting point of the *Gānga* era.

5. THE EARLY EASTERN *GĀNGA* KINGS

The Early *Gānga* kings or as they are called the *Varma* line of kings ruled from the beginning of the *Gānga* era to 397 *Gānga* era or 890 A.D. when the Medieval Eastern *Gānga* kings starting from *Guṇa Mahārṇava's* son and *Vajrahasta-I*, whose dates are very well known to us since they gave their period in Saka era, came to the throne. For a correct history of this early line of Eastern *Gānga* kings, we have no other evidence except their own copper plates and other inscriptions. In all we get reference to 26 kings from the early kings to *Vajrahasta-I* though only seventeen of them were ruling kings. The rest are merely referred to in the copper plates. Their geneology and their years can be roughly worked out by means of their own copper plate grants and the other information contained therein. The geneology of the early *Gānga* kings would be roughly as follows: The approximate years of only the ruling kings are shown in the brackets. The rest are merely referred to in inscriptions.

1. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p. 22.

Mitavarma (522 A.D.)
|
Indravarma (533 A.D.)
|
Anantavarma
|
Dēvēndravarma (545 A.D.)
|
Satyavarma (545 A.D.)

Hastivarma (574 A.D.)

Indravarma II (585 A.D.)
|
Dānārṇava
|
Indravarma-III (648 A.D.)
|
Guṇārṇava
|
Dēvēndravarma-II (689 A.D.)

Jayavarma

Anantavarma-II (698 A.D.)

Nandavarma (715 A.D.)

Dēvēndravarma-III (748 A.D.)
|
Rājēndravarma

Anantavarma-III (798 A.D.)
|
Rājēndravarma-II (836 A.D.)
|
Vajri or *Vajrahasta*
|
Mārasimha
|
Bhūpēndravarma
|
Dēvēndravarma-V (890 A.D.)
|
Guṇa Mahārṇava (894 A.D.)
|
Vajrahasta-I (894 A.D. – 938 A.D.)
(the first historical king of the Medieval Eastern *Gānga* kings)

Dēvēndravarma-IV (804 A.D.)

The main source material for the history of the above kings are as stated above their copper plate grants which are quite numerous. These grants give us graphic descriptions about the contemporary kings, the social life of the people, the different territorial divisions or the '*Vishayās*' into which the country was divided, the names of the villages, the names of the boundaries of villages, the names of famous centres of learning, the names of various learned brahmins etc.

It was during the reign of *Indravarma-III* the son of *Dānārṇava* that the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited *Kalinga*. He is said to have reached the Udra country which was 7,000 *li* in circuit with its capital about 20 *li* circuit. Its people differed in speech and manners from those of mid India. Near the sea shore in the south-east of the country there was a town called *Charitrapura* about 20 *li* in circuit, which was a resting place for traders going out the sea. This town has been identified by several scholars with *Pūri*. The Chinese pilgrim though he does not give us any details about the Government of the country or the exact location of the Capital still states that "near the south wall of the capital there was an *Aśōkan Ṭōpe* beside which were a sitting place and exercise ground of the four past Buddhas."

There is a reference to *Kalinga* in the '*Daśakumāra Charitra*' of the poet '*Daṇḍi*' where he says that the king of *Kalinga* called *Kardana* was enjoying all the sports in a garden near the sea-shore with his royal house-hold, while he was taken prisoner by the Andhra king called *Jayasimha*, who took the king as prisoner to his capital *Āndhranagara*. The *Kalinga* king's general by name *Mahābhāga* disguised himself and approached the Andhra king and killed him and released both the *Kalinga* king and his daughter *Kanaka-lēkha* with whom the Andhra king had fallen in love.

6. THE MEDIEVAL *GĀNGA* KINGS

The genealogy and the chronogy of the Medieval *Gāngās* are easily ascertainable from the various copper plate grants of *Vajrahasta-III* and his grand son *Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga*, who have mentioned in their grants the order in which the kings succeeded each other, their relationship with one another and also the total number of years for which each king reigned. These kings have also mentioned their dates in the Saka era and in fact the date of coronation of *Vajrahasta-III* has been given with great accuracy and this has been discussed elsewhere in this volume as falling on 9th April, 1038 AD. The copper plate inscriptions of these medieval kings start the genealogy with the Eastern *Gānga* king *Guṇa Mahārṇava Mahāraja*'s son who belonged to the *Ātrēya Gotra* and who enjoyed universal sovereignty by the favour of the Lord *Gōkarṇaswamy* of *Mahēndragiri*. His son *Vajrahasta-I*, who ruled for forty four years is the first historical ruler of this Medieval *Gānga* line of kings. The genealogy and chronology of this line of kings as ascertained from their various grants would be as follows :

Guṇamahārṇava's son

Vajrahasta-I (894–938 A.D.)

Guṇḍama (938-941 A.D.) *Kāmārṇava* (941-976 A.D.) *Vijayāditya* (976-979 A.D.)

Anantavarma Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta-II (979-1014 A.D.)

Dēvēndravarma Kāmārṇava (1014 A.D.) | *Guṇḍama* (1015-1018 A.D.) | *Madhu Kāmārṇava* (1019-1037 A.D.)

Anantavarma Vajrahasta-III (1037-1070 A.D.)

Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rāja Dēva (1070-1077 A.D.)

Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga Dēva (1077-1150 A.D.)

This line of kings is very famous and apart from the many copper plate inscriptions we have a wealth of lithic records recorded on the walls of many temples like those of *Mukhalingam*, *Nārāyaṇapuram*, *Drākshārāmam* etc. which give us detailed accounts of the life of the people. The names of their generals, their subordinates, the type of offices which were held in their days are all known from these, From these records we come to know of many important officials of the time such as '*Pancha Vishaya Maṇḍalēśvara*' (Provincial Governor), '*Pancha Pātra*' (Military Commander) '*Amātya*' (Minister), '*Mahā Sāmanta*' (a great feudatory), '*Rājānaka*' (Secretary to the king), '*Purōhita*' (King's spiritual adviser), '*Sandhi Vigrahi*' (Minister for war and peace), '*Mahā Pratīhāra*' (Chamberlain), '*Akshaśāli*' (Inscriber of documents), '*Daṇḍa Pāśika*' (a police Superintendent), '*Yathākālādhyāsi*' (a regular attendant) etc. etc. This hierarchy of officials clearly proves how the administration was collecting tax on land, water, income, profession as well as levying tributes, customs duties, court fees etc. We learn of these things because while making grants of the villages, these are specifically mentioned as having been excepted by the king. The kings are all described as worshippers of Lord *Gōkarṇa* who is situated on the *Mahēndragiri*, and who is invariably described in these records as '*Sakala Bhuvanaika Sūtradhāri*' or a single director for the entire machinery of the world's existence. The existence of *Gōkarṇaswāmy* on *Mahēndragiri*, '*Vatēśvara*' and '*Vīrēśvara*' in *Pālūr* near *Chatrapūr* and '*Madhukēśvara*' and '*Bhīmēśvara*' in *Mukhalingam*, along with the fact that large endowments were made by these kings for the worship of Lord *Śiva* would go to prove, that these kings were great *Śaivites*, and that from the 6th century A.D. on wards *Śaivism* replaced Buddhism and Jainism in this part of the country.

From the inscriptions we learn that apart from sea-port towns like *Kaḷingapaṭṭaṇam*, *Viśākhapatnam*, and *Bhīmunipaṭnam* which were centres of growing trade, the country was

also divided into '*Nāḍūs*' or districts of which we get several names. Many of them have been identified with their modern counterparts as the following will show.

Gamgaikoṇḍa Chōḍavalanādu, Guddāvadināḍu, Jantarunāḍu, Saruḍanāḍu, Prōlanāḍu, Nunganāḍu, Pottapināḍu, Pākanāḍu, Chōḍanāḍu (*Chōḍavaram* Taluq), *Dimilivishayam* (*Elamanchili* Taluq), *Eradivishayam, Pāratalagām, Krōshṭuka* or *Varāhavartani* (*Parlākimidi* Taluq), *Kulavartani* (*Chicācōle* Taluq), *Vīrakoṭṭam* (*Pālakonḍa* Taluq), *Bobbili Vārādarāpu Vishayam, Jalamvuru* (*Urlām*), *Rūpavartani* (*Tekkali*), *Poṭnūru* (*Vijayanagaram*), *Vōṁkhārabhōga* and *Prakkināḍu* (*Chīpurupalli*).

7. THE LATER *GĀNGA* KINGS

With the reign of *Anantavarma Chōda Gangadēva*, there was a close intermixture and matrimonial alliances with the *Chōlās* of the South. His chief queen who shared with him the honour of the coronation ceremony was a *Chōla Mahādēvi*. He had another queen called *Kastūrikāmōdini* and it was the prince born out of this queen *Kastūrikāmōdini* that finally succeeded *Anantavarma Chōda Ganga* with the name *Kāmārṇava*. After this the centre of gravity of the *Gānga* line of kings moved more into the Orissa districts of their kingdom. The capital was also shifted from *Mukhalingam* to Orissa. From the various copper plate and stone inscriptions of these kings, as well as from the information from the several literary sources, the chronology and the genealogy of this line of kings can be established as follows:

Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga Dēva (1076–1150 A.D.)

- *Kāmārṇava-VII* (1147–1156 A.D.) (By queen *Kastūrikāmōdini*)
- *Rāghava* (1156–1170) (By queen *Indirādēvi*)
- *Rāja Rāja-II* (1170–1194) (By queen *Chandralēkha*)
- *Aniyanka Bhīma* (1194–1198) (By queen *Chandralēkha*)
  - *Rāja Rāja-III* (1198–1211 A.D.)
    - *Ananga Bhīma* (1211–1245 A.D.)
      - *Narasimhadēva-I* (1245–1264 A.D.)
        - *Bhānudēva-I* (1264–1279 A.D.)
          - *Narasimhadēva-II* (1279–1306 A.D.)
            - *Bhānudēva-II* (1306–1327 A.D.)
              - *Narasimhadēva-III* (1327–1353 A.D.)
                - *Bhānudēva-III* (1353–1378 A.D.)
                  - *Navasimhadēva-IV* (1378–1424 A.D.)
                    - *Bhānudēva-IV* (1424–1434 A.D.)

The reign of *Narasimhadēva-I* is very important since he built the great Sun temple of *Konārka* in the true Orissan style during his reign, just as *Anantavarma Chōda Ganga* built the great temple of *Jagannātha*, and *Ananga Bhīma's* daughter *Chandrādēvi* that of *Bhuvanēśvara*. The reigns of *Rāja Rāja-III*, *Anaṇga Bhīma* and *Narasimha-I* correspond roughly to the rule of the slave dynasty of the north (1205-1288 A.D.). Some of the Slave kings like *Qutubuddin*, and *Bālban* invaded *Bihar*, and *Bengal* but could not come to *Orissa* probably on account of the hilly nature of the terrain. A work of '*Alankāra*' called '*Ēkāvaḷi*' composed by *Vidyādhara* who lived in the court of *Narasimha-I*, gives several references to the fights with the muslims who are referred to as *Hammīra*, *Yavana* and *Śaka*. The king is called '*Yavanāvani Vallabha*' or the Lord of the *Yavana* kingdom and is said to have defeated the *Hammīra* of the *Amīrs* of Bengal by taking the offensive himself. *Narasimha-I* was a great administrator and an architect, and has a lasting place in the Eastern *Gānga* line of kings.

8. NARAHARI TĪRTHA

From the lithic records of the later *Kalinga* kings we learn that a great spiritual teacher called *Narahari Tīrtha* who was the disciple of *Ānandatīrtha*, who in turn was the disciple of *Purushōttama Mahātīrtha* lived in *Kalinga Dēśa* from 1186-1215 Saka. *Narahari Tīrtha* himself would appear to have had a disciple called *Jagannātha Tīrtha* who lived in 1373 A.D. in *Kalinga Dēśa* and who preached the *Madhva* faith there.

The '*Madhva Vijaya Kāvya*' of *Nārāyaṇa paṇḍita* and the *Narahariyati stōtra* give the following facts regarding the life of *Narahari Tīrthā*.

'*Narahariyati* before he professed the Madhva cult, was known as *Śyāmaśastry*. After being initiated by *Madhvāchārya Pūrṇapragña* which is another name for *Ānanda Tīrtha*, he was instructed by him to go the Gajapati Emperor of *Kalinga* and obtain from him the images of *Sīta* and *Rāma*. Hence he reached the *Kalinga* capital and acted as regent to the boy-king *Narasimha-II* for 12 years and after re-instating him on the throne obtained as his reward the images he desired and placed them in the hands of his *Guru*. It is said that *Ānanda Tīrtha* and after him, *Padmanābha Tīrtha* and after him, *Narahari Tīrtha* worshipped these images. *Narahari* toured throughout the country spreading the *Madhva* cult and finally died on the banks of the River Tungabhadra where a *Chakra Tīrtha Maṭham* or Monastery was built by him. He was succeeded by *Madhva Tīrtha*. His *Kalinga* regency evidently came to an end long before A.D. 1324 when he actually became the Head of the Monastery and his death took place nine years after it in 1333 A.D.

Several inscriptions relating to this great religious teacher are found in the *Simhāchalam* and *Śrīkūrmam* temples. Commending on the *Śrīkūrmam* inscription on *Narahari Tīrtha* the late Sri H. Krishna Sastry has stated as follows.[1]

1. Epigraphia India, Vol. VI, p. 260-268.

'*Purushōttama Mahā Tīrtha* compiled *Bhāshyam*. His disciple, *Ānanda Tīrtha* who had the titles of *Bhagavatpāda* (Holy Feet of *Vishnu*) and *Āchārya* (Teacher) compiled in accordance with the principles of *Dwaita* Philosophy a commentary on *Vyāsa Sūtrās* according to *Dwaitamata Siddhāntam*. His disciple, *Narahari Tīrtha* was the Governor of *Kalinga* and protected it against the invasion of the *Śabarās* or *Savarās*. In A.D. 1281, he got constructed a temple for *Yōgānanda Nṛisimha* opposite to *Śrīkūrmam* Temple.'

From the above facts it is clear that there has been a large-scale spread of *Madhva* faith in *Kalinga* in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. From an inscription in *Śrīkūrmam* we learn that one *Narasimha Mahā Muni* reached *Kalinga* in 1230 A.D. and converted the king and the people to *Madhva* faith. It is interesting to notice here that the kings who followed *Ananga Bhīma-III* came to be called after Vaishnavite Gods like *Nṛisimha* and *Bhānu* and in fact many temples of *Bhānu* or *Sūrya* came to be built during this period, like the famous Sun temple at *Arasavalli* near *Śrīkākulam*, and *Konārka* in *Orissa*. This change is known to have taken place on account of the advent of *Narasimha Yati* from 1230 A.D. One *Vāsudēva Bhārati* succeeded *Narasimha Yati* and after him *Narahari Tīrtha* entered *Kalinga* and gave various gifts to the temples at *Śrīkūrmam* and *Simhāchalam*. Several inscriptions from *Śrīkūrmam* and *Simhachalam* make it clear that one *Narasimha Bhārati Muni* and his disciple *Rāghava Bhārati* made several grants to the temples in the later part of the 14th century. Thus these great teachers would appear to have continued the good work of *Narahari Tīrtha* in *Kalinga* country and *Narahari Tīrtha* himself would appear to have continued and strengthened the work begun by *Narasimha Mahā Muni*. Thus for nearly a century or a century and half, these various teachers preached the *Madhva* cult and converted the princes and the people. Of these the most famous was of course *Narahari Tīrtha* who lived in the reigns of *Narasimha-I*, *Bhānu-I* and *Narasimhadēva-II*. What *Sri Rāmānuja* did to South India in the 11th century was done to *Kalinga* country in 13th and 14th centuries. The work of these *Madhvāchāryās* was continued by *Rāmānanda* and *Kabīr* in the North India in the 14th and 15th centuries and later on by *Chaitanya* in Bengal and Orissa in the 16th century.

9. *CONCLUSION*

The later line of the rulers of the Eatsern *Gānga* line of kings had to contend against the Muslim invasion, from the North. *Bhānudēva-II* had to contend against *Ghayāsuddīn. Ul-lugh-Khān* after having captured *Warangal* is said to have invaded *Jājnagar*. The great *Vijayanagar* kingdom that sprang up in the South, also led an expedition into *Kalinga* and is said to have defeated *Bhānudēva-III*. The forces of disruption were already evident and the successive blows dealt to the *Ganga* line, both by the inroads of the Muslims as well as by the invasions from the *Vijayanagar* led to the diminution and the final extinction of this line of kings. *Bhānudēva-IV* is the last known ruler of this line of kings who is mentioned

in the Oriya work *Maḍala Panji*, the Sanskrit work '*Gānga vaṁśānucharitam*' and the Muslim works '*Ain-I-Akbāri*' and '*Tabāqat-I-Nasīr*'. With him this line of kings ended. The '*Maḍala Panji*' and the '*Gāngavaṁśānu charitam*' give their own versions of the political revolution that took place at the end of the reign of *Bhānudēva-IV* which led to the extinction of this line of kings. The former work state that *Bhānudēva* was the last king of the *Gānga* dynasty, and that as he had no son or brother to succeed him to the throne he prayed to Lord *Jagannātha* to nominate a suitable successor. The Lord appeared before him in a dream and informed him that the king would meet on the following morning near the temple of '*Vimala*' his heir to the throne in the form of a young boy picking food from a pot-sherd, and that the king can recognise the heir by the fact that he would run away when the king approached the boy. The king accordingly went and discovered his heir who happened to be *Kapila*, a *Rājput* of the solar line. After serving as a cow boy of a *Brāhmin*, he later joined a gang of thieves and was later on leading the life of a beggar. *Bhānu-IV* adopted *Kapila* as his heir-apparent and on his death *Kapila* succeeded him and came to be known as *Kapilēndra* and *Kapilēśvara*.

The above legendary story is at variance with the other versions given in several inscriptions. Thus an inscription of *Pratāpa Gajapati* records that *Kapilēśvara* besieged the capital of *Karnāta* kingdom and took it by force. Under his orders *Kumāra Hamvīra* conquered the southern country and cleaned in the Southern ocean his sword which was made red with blood by killing his enemy, the Lord of *Utkaladēśa*. Similarly a *Kondavīdu* copper plate inscription of *Gaṇadēva* describes the power of *Kapilēndra* and states that his title was *Gauḍēśvara*, which shows that he was the Lord of *Gauḍa Dēśa* or a part of Bengal. It would thus appear that there was a kind of palace intrigue after the death of *Bhānu-IV* and that with him this line of the eastern *Gāngās* of *Kalinga* came to a close.

The Eastern *Gāngās* are about the only dynasty that have ruled over their tract for nearly one thousand years in an undivided line. Their history forms a compact part by itself, and they have contributed greatly to a fusion of the southern and the northern cultures, not merely in languages and literature, but also in architecture, etc.

CHAPTER XIII

DANTA PLATES OF *ANANTAVARMA VAJRAHASTA-III* AND *ANANTAVARMA CHOḌA GANGADEVA* OF THE EASTERN *GANGA* LINE OF KINGS

These plates were discovered on 26-6-60 in the village of *Danta* of *Tekkali* taluq of *Śrīkākuḷam* district by Sri Bora Ielappa while removing mud from the Inam land belonging to Chikkala Ramakrishna Rao. Fortunately, they were retrieved in time by the concerned Tahsildar and were brought to the office of the Collector, *Śrīkākuḷam*. My friend Sri V. Narayanarao, I. A. S., District Collector and Magistrate, *Śrīkākuḷam* brought them to my notice, and at my request, the plates were sent to me for examination and study. These plates have subsequently been acquired under the Treasure-Trove Act and are now exhibited in the copper plate epigraphy section of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum at the Public Gardens at Hyderabad.

The plates are seven in number and measure 20 cms. in length and 7.6 cms. in breadth. The plates are cut like the top portion of an ellipse and the top and bottom together present the appearance as if it is a cross-section of a double parabola. The rims of the plates are well raised, and they are connected by a ring through a hole in the left side of the plates. The ring is fastened by a seal which contains the usual *Lāṅchanās* of the Eeastern *Gangās* of *Kalinga*. The seal is like a flat circular disc. On the upper side of this is fixed an image of the bull *Nandi*, in a couchant posture, as if on the top of a pillar. On either side of the *Nandi* and cut on the surface of the seal is an elephant goad and a *Śankha* shell. There is also the Sun in front of the image of the *Nandi* and in front of his foreleg is the Moon. By the side of his left leg is a *Linga* and behind the *Linga* is a double umbrella and a *Śaṅkha* shell. Behind the *Nandi* is a double drum and on the left side of it is an umbrella. The total weight of the plates is 1785 grams and the weight of the ring and the seal alone come to 692 grams.

The plates are inscribed on all the sides excluding the first side of the first plate and the last side of the last plate. In addition the seventh plate is completely blank with no inscription at all. The writing is fairly well preserved. There are in all 80 lines of writing distributed equally into 8 lines on each side, except on the second side of the third plate and the first side of the sixth plate which have 9 and 7 lines of writing respectively.

The language of the plates is sanskrit except for the name of the village. The alphabet employed belongs to the old *Nāgari* type and the characters are exactly like those used in the other plates of this line of kings like the *Korṇi* plates of *Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangadēva*[1] or the *Nadagam* plates of king *Vajrahasta*[2]. As regards the orthography of the grant the usual peculiarities which are noticed in similar plates of this line of kings exist in this plate also. The language is Sanskrit and in the *Praśasti* some verses are also employed. There is only one imprecatory verse at the end in the *Anushṭup* metre.

The plate starts with the usual *Praśasti* of the Eastern *Gāngās* of *Kalinga*. In the first ten lines of writing the *Praśasti* is given and it ends with the statement that the son of *Guṇa Mahārṇava Mahārāja* was ruling the earth. He is said to have been born in the race of the *Gāngās*. This race is described as being famous in the entire universe for its sympathy cleanliness, valour, heroism etc. The kings are said to belong to the *Ātrēya Gōtra* and the dirt of the *Kali Kāla* is said to have been washed away by the good waters of good conduct of these kings. They are also said to have obtained the *Ēka Śankha* or the conch shell, the *Bhēri* or the drum, the *Pancha Mahā Śabdās* or the five *Mahā Śabdās*, the *Dhavaḷa Chatra* or the white umbrella, the *Hēma Chāmara* or the golden *Chāmara*, and an excellent Bull crest or *Vara Vṛishabha Lānchana*, through the grace of Lord *Gōkarṇa Swāmy* who has the Moon in his hair, who is established in the top of the *Mahēndrāchala* or the *Mahēndra* mountains, and who is, as it were, the only Director or the *Ēka Sūtradhāri* for the creation of the entire universe. The kings are further described as possessing arms or *Bhuja Daṇḍās* which are being embraced by the *Vijaya Lakshmi* in several fields of battle. The kings are stated to have captured the entire universe, even as Lord *Vishṇu*, and are described as *Trikalingādhipati* or ruling over the *Trikalinga* area. In such a family was the son of *Guṇā Mahārṇava* born.

The grant then goes on to describe in a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīdita* metre that after the son of *Guṇa Mahārṇava Mahārāja*, king *Vajrahasta* ruled the universe for 44 years and that he, by the valour of his own arms, united under a single banner, the earth which had been divided into five parts by the previous kings.

After *Vajrahasta*, the grant describes, that his son *Guṇḍama Rāja* ruled for three years and that *Guṇḍama*'s younger brother *Kāmārṇavadēva* then ruled for 35 years. After him his younger brother *Vijayāditya* is said to have ruled for three years. Then *Vajrahasta*, who was the son of *Kāmārṇava* and who was the very *Kalpa Bhūruhā* or the *Kālpaka* tree for the universe came to the throne. Next comes a description of this son of *Kāmārṇava* who is known as *Śrī Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta*.

In a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre it is stated that *Srī Aniyanka Bhīma Nṛipati* who was the most exalted king of the *Gānga* line ruled for 35 years being praised by all the

1. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I page 108.
2. Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV

other kings. He is said to have given as a present for applicants a thousand elephants whose fore-heads were being surrounded by bees which had flocked there on account of the desire created in them by the smell of the *Mada Jala* which was oozing out.

After this *Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta* the grant describes in a verse in the *Vaṁśastha* metre that his first son *Kāmārṇava Bhūpati* ruled for half a year. King *Kāmarṇava* is described as being equivalent to the son of *Sura Rāja* or *Indra* and to have pacified the enemy kings by his valour. After him in a verse in *Mālini* metre it is stated that *Kāmārṇava's* brother *Guṇḍama* who is compared in the verse as equivalent to *Chitta Janma* or *Manmatha* ruled the universe for a period of three years, After *Guṇḍama* the grant states in a verse in *Anushṭup* metre that his *Dvaimatura* or maternal half brother, *Madhu Kāmārṇava* ruled for a period of 19 years.

In averse in *Āryā* metre, it is then mentioned that from *Kāmārṇava* who was the first son of *Vajrahasta* was born a son by name *Śri Vajrahasta.* His mother is stated to be *Vinayamahādēvi* of the *Vaidumba* family. The present grant is by this *Vajrahasta*, who is the same as *Anantavarma Vajrahasta-III.*

From a description of the above *Praśasti* we get the following genealogy of kings.

Guṇamahārṇava's son

Vajrahasta-I, (44 years)

Guṇḍama, (3 years) — *Kāmārṇava* (35 years) — *Vijayāditya* (3 years)

Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta-II

Kāmārṇava, (half brother) — *Guṇḍama*, (8 years) — *Madhukāmārṇava*, (19 years)

Anantavarma Vajrahasta-III

The grant then gives the actual date of coronation of *Anantavarma Vajrahasta-III.* In a verse the details of the date of coronation are given as follows :

(a) *Śaka* year was *Viyat Ṛutu Nidhi* or 960, corresponding to 1038 A.D.
(b) The Sun was in *Vṛishabha.*
(c) The *Nakshatra* was *Rōhiṇi.*
(d) The *Lagna* was *Dhanush.*
(e) The *Paksha* was the *Sita Paksha* or the bright fortnight.
(f) The week day was *Sūryavāra* or Sunday and
(g) The *Tithi* was *Tṛitīya.*

On such a date the king *Vajrahasta* was coronated so that he may protect the entire universe.

The grant next describes in three verses the greatness of *Vajrahasta-III* and how the kingdom fared under him. In the first verse it is stated that when the king *Vajrahasta*, who was the *Mahita Pratāpa* was ruling the universe with equal attention to justice as well as the *Trivarga Mārga* or the *Dharma*, the *Artha* and the *Kāma*, the people were prosperous and happy and were living without any diseases, without any sins and without any dangers. In the next verse, the grant describes that when this king's or *Vajrahasta's* glory spread in all the cardinal directions, the glory being as white as the moon and the lightning etc. the drivers of the elephants of the cardinal directions had to apply again and again the *Sindhūra* paste to the foreheads of their elephants, the idea being that the fame of the king was so white that when it spread in all the cardinal directions the *Sindhūra* paste which is normally red in colour became invisible on the fore heads of the *Diggajas* or the elephants of the cardinal directions, and hence the drivers or *Āthoraṇās* were forced to apply again and again the *Sindhūra* paste. In the next verse it is stated that both *Sarasvati* and *Śrī* or *Lakshmi* were favouring the king during his rule.

The details of the grant are then mentioned in the plate. The king *Vajrahasta* mentioned above is described as *Parama Māheśvara, Parama Bhaṭṭāraka, Mahā Rājādhi Rāja* and *Trikalingādhipati*. This king *Śrī Anantavarma Vajrahasta* issued the grant from *Kalinganagara*. He called for an assembly of all the ministers, the well-known public men etc. and gave the grant.

The grant is of the village '*Dantaka*' in the '*Koluvartani Vishaya*' along with the hamlet '*Hari Vāttaka*'. The grant was made along with the *Grāsi*, and was given with all its four boundaries unaffected, and with all the land and water contained in it, and being exempted from all taxes so that it may stand as long as the moon the sun and the earth stood. The grant was made for the merit and the glory of the king and his father and mother. It was given in the year '*Kara Vasu Nidhi*' or 982 Saka or 1060 A.D. on *Suddha Dvādaśi* day on a *Sōmavāra* or Monday.

The grant was given by the king to one *Kāmārṇava* who had fought valiantly in many a battle field and thereby pleased the King. The phrase used is '*Adhika Āhava Mukha Kṛita Klēśasya*'. *Kāmārṇava* the grantee is stated to belong to *Ātrēya Gōtra*. His genealogy is as follows : In the *Gāmga Vaśma, Śrī Vajrahastadēva* and his wife *Vijjamarāṇi*, gave birth to *Chintanipu Kāmārṇava*. This *Chintanipu Kāmārṇava* was a resident of *Śatōttaravalli* village in the *Samva Vishaya*. His wife was '*Polipolipa*' and to them was born the grantee *Kāmārṇava*. The genealogy of the grantee would thus be as follows :

GĀNGAVAMŚA AND *ATRĒYA GŌTRA*

Śrī Vajrahasta Dēva (Married *Vijjamarāṇi*)

|

Chintanipu Kāmārṇava (Married *Polipolipa*)
(Resident of *Satottaravalli* village of *Samva Vishaya*)

|

Kāmārṇava the grantee.

The grant closes with the usual imprecatory verses.

The grant does not stop here, but proceeds further and records another grant of another village by name *Villavātta* along with this village of *Dantaka* by *Śrī Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangadēva*, the grand-son of *Vajrahasta-III*. It would thus appear that the grant of this village *Dantaka* which was made by *Vajrahasta-III* was probably continued and confirmed by his grandson *Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangadēva* along with another village or hamlet called '*Villavātta*'.

The grant states that after *Śrī Vajrahastadēva* referring obviously to *Vajrahasta-III* the grantor hitherto described, came *Śrī Rāja Rājadēva* to the throne. After *Rāja Rājadēva* came *Śrī Anantavarma Mahārāja Chōḍa Gangadēva*. This *Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga* called once again an assembly of the ministers and well-known public men and granted the village *Villavata* in the '*Koluvartani*' *Viṣhaya* with its four boundaries unaffected, with the water and the land in tact and being rid of all the taxes so that it may stand for such time as the Sun, the Moon and the Earth stood, for the glory of himself, his mother and father. This second grant was made in the Saka year '*Muni Gagana Viyat Chandra*' or *Saka* 1007 corresponding to 1085 A.D. in the *Vaiśākha Māsa* and a *Śukla Tṛitīya* day.

The grantees are said to be two persons, *Chintanipu Kāmārṇava* and *Kari Kāmārṇava* who had distinguished themselves in several battle fields and thereby pleased the king. The grantees *Chintanipu Kāmārṇava* and *Kari Kāmārṇava* are described as the sons of *Kāmārṇava* and his wife *Chandrama*, who is a resident of the *Śatōttaravalli* village of *Samva vishaya*. The genealogy of the grants is as per the second grant of *Anantavarma Chōda Gangadēva* as follows :

Chintanipu Kāmārṇava
(resident of *Satōttaravalli* village
of *Samva Vishaya*)
|
Kāmārṇava (Married *Chandrama*)
|
|
Chintainpu Kāmārṇava — *Kari Kāmārṇava*

It is thus clear that the two grantees of *Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangadēva* viz. *Chintanipu Kāmārṇava* and *Kari Kāmārṇava* are the two sons of *Kāmārṇava* the Grantee of *Vajrahasta-III* described earlier in the grant.

The grant then describes the *Simālingāni* or the boundaries of the *Dantaka Grāma* along with the *Harivātta* and the *Villavātta*. It is thus clear that this is a double grant the first grant being given by the *Vajrahasta-III* of the village of *Dantaka* and the second grant being of the village *Villavāta* along with the *Dantaka* by *Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangādēva* to the sons of his grandfather's grantee.

The question of the date of *Vajrahasta-III* arises in this connection. This problem

has been tackled by me elsewhere also. Many details are given to calculate correctly the date of coronation of *Vajrahasta-III* in a verse as follows :

वियद्ऋतु निधि संख्यां याति शाकाब्द संघे दिनकृति वृषभस्थे रोहिणीभे सुलग्ने धनुषि च सितपक्षे सूर्यवारे तृतीया युजि सकलधरित्रीं रक्षितुं योऽभिषिक्तः ।

The year is '*Viyad Ṛutu Nidhi*' or 960 *Śaka* or 1038 A.D. The astronomical data given are as follows :

(a) The Sun was in the zodiacal sign of *Vṛishabha.*
(b) The Moon was in the constellation of *Rōhiṇi.*
(c) The fortnight was a bright fortnight.
(d) The zodiacal sign of *Dhanus* was rising on that date.
(e) The date of the week was a Sunday.
(f) It was the third *Tithi.*

Hitherto the date has been calculated as 3rd May, 8.27 p.m. 1038 A.D. But 3rd May, 1030 A.D. does not correspond to a Sunday but happens to be a Wednesday and the *Nakshatra* also on that day was *Rēvati* and not *Rōhiṇi.*

With so much of accurate information given, it seemed inconceivable, that we should not be in a position to arrive at the date of coronation of *Vajrahasta-III* accurately. Since however, we are not able to arrive at a single date which will satisfy all the six ingredients given above it was obvious that one of them must be a mistake. On examining the details given closely it is found that the three ingredients viz.

(a) Sun being in zodiacal sign of *Vṛishabha*
(b) The Moon being in the constellation of *Rōhiṇi.*
(c) The *Tithi* being *Śukla Tṛitīya*

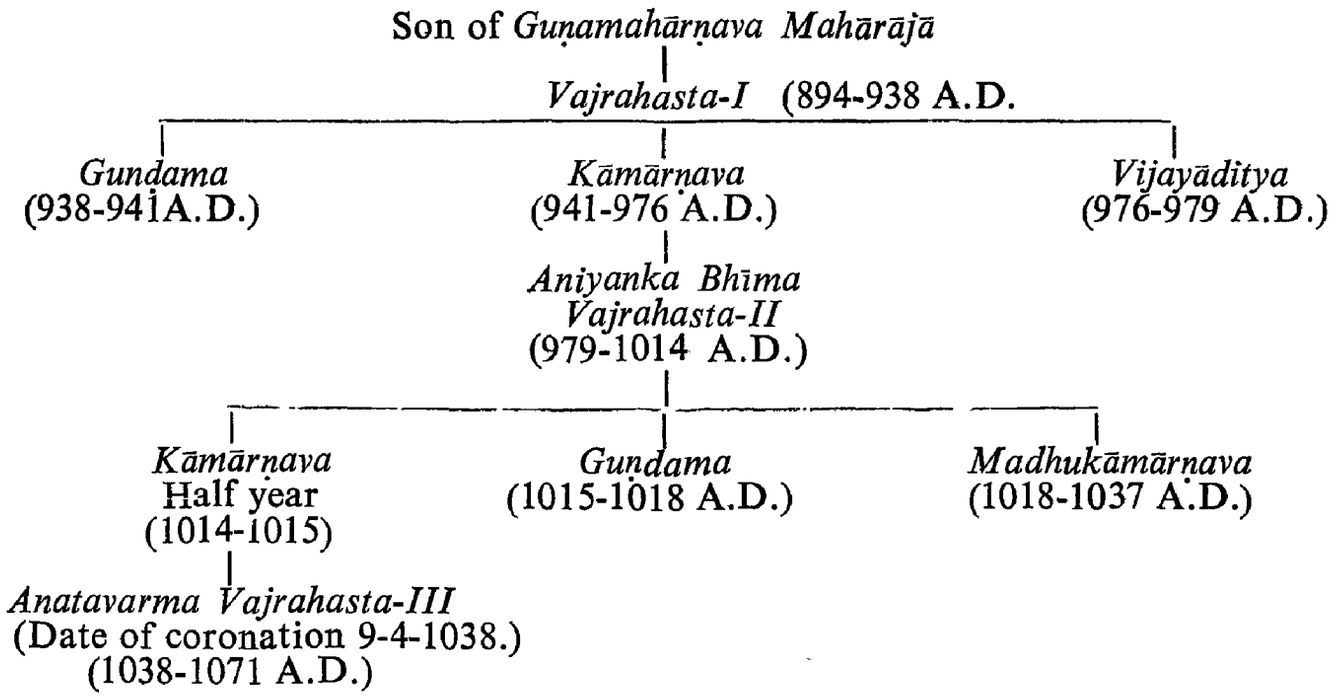
cannot occur simultaneously. The simultaneous occurrence of these three ingredients is an astronomical impossibility for the following reason.

When the Sun is at *Vṛishabha Rāśi,* it must have covered up *Mēsha Rāśi* and even assuming that the Sun was just entering the *Vṛiṣhabha Rāśi,* even then, the Sun must be at least 30° long from the *Mēsha Sankranti* as each *Rāśi* has 30°, and the Sun must have travelled a minimum of 30° to cover completely *Mēsha Raśi* to enter *Vṛisahbharāśi.* Hence the Sun must have travelled a minimum distance of 30°. The *Tithi* given is *Tṛitīya* of the bright fortnight and hence the moon must have been travelled away from the Sun atleast 24° at the rate of 12° for each Tithi. Since the Tithi is up to the ending moment of *Dvitīya* Tithi, the moon must have travelled at least 24°. Thus the distance of the Moon from *Mēṣha* must be at least 54° i.e. 30° plus 24°. *Rōhiṇi* is the fourth *Nakshatra* from *Aśvini* and even up to the end of *Rōhiṇi* the distance of the moon cannot be more than $53\frac{1}{3}$° at the rate of $13\frac{1}{3}$° for each *Nakshatra.* Since the Moon must have travelled as a minimum 54° from

Mēśha and since *Rōhiṇi* ends at $53\frac{1}{3}°$ it is obvious that the *Rōhiṇi Nakshatra* given in the grant must have ended and *Mrigāśira* should have started. Hence the *Rōhiṇi Nakshatra* given in the grant must be wrong, if the *Vṛishabharāśi* of the Sun is to be taken as correct, and conversely if we accept the *Rōhiṇi Nakshatra* as correct then the Sun's *Rāśi* would be *Mēsha* and not *Vṛiṣhabha*. Thus one of the two factors, the *Vṛishabha Rāśi* of the Sun and the *Rōhiṇi Nakshatra* of the Moon must be wrong if the Tithi is to be *Tṛitīya* as given in the grant.

The week day is given to be a Sunday and hence working on this date it is seen that 9th April, 1038 A.D. satisfies all the other ingredients. The week day on 9th April, 1038 A.D. was a Sunday. It was a *Tṛitīya Tithi* in the *Śukla Paksha* and the *Nakshatra* was *Rōhiṇi*. Only the *Rāśi* was *Mēsha* and not *Vṛishabha*. As already stated above, the simultaneous occurrence of *Vṛishabha Rāśi* and *Rōhiṇī Nakshatra* in a *Tṛitīya Tithi* being an astronomical impossibility and since 9th April, 1038 A.D. satisfies all the other ingredients we have to accept that date as the correct date of coronation of the *Vajrahasta-III* and come to the conclusion that the *Vṛishabha Rāśi* mentioned in the grant might be a mistake for *Mēsha Rāśi*.

There is another important evidence to support this conclusion. The date and the details of the coronation are given in a verse in the *Mālini* metre. The phrase used to describe the *Rāśi* is '*Dinakṛithi Vṛishabhasthē*'. If the *Vṛishabha* is a mistake for *Mēsha* then the above phrase will have to be changed without altering the metre. In this connection it may be noted that the generally accepted term for '*Mēsha Rāśi*' is '*Vishuvath*' and hence if the verse should be read as '*Dinakṛithi Vishuvasthē*' instead of '*Dinakṛithi Vṛishabhasthē*' as it exists, the entire problem will be solved and the metre will also be left unaffected. It would therefore appear that the original intention would have been to compose the verse as '*Dinakṛithi Vishuvasthē*' only, but later the mistake about '*Vṛishabhastē*' must have crept in and must have been copied in all the grants since the writer could not have been very well familiar with astronomical factors. We can therefore accept 9th April, 1038 A.D. as the date of coronation of king *Vajrahasta-III*. Working backwards from the date of *Vajrahasta-III*, we get the following genealogy and chronology of the kings.



The date of the grant is 982 Saka or 1060 A.D. and falls well within the reign of this king. The other two details about the date of the grant are that it was a *Śūkla Dvādaśi* and the week day was *Sōmavāra* or Monday. The grant therefore could have been given on 9th October corresponding to *Śukla Dvādaśi* of the *Mīna Māsa* of the Solar reckoning. The date of the grant should therefore be this. The grantee is said to be *Kāmārṇava* son of *Chintanipu Kāmārṇava* and '*Polipolipa*'. The *Chintanipu Kāmārṇava* is said to be a resident of *Śatōttaravalli village* of *Samva Vishaya.* It is clear from the names as well as the reason of the grant viz. that the king was pleased with the grantees who fought valiantly in several battles that the grant was given to a family of important officials or generals.

'*Samva Vishya*' mentioned here is known to us from the *Viśākhapatnam* copper plate grant of *Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangadēva*[1] edited by Dr. Fleet. There the name of the village was *Chākivāḍa* in the *Samva Vishaya.* The *Koluvartani Vishaya* in which the village *Dantaka* was situated is a fairly well known territorial division and corresponds to '*Śrīkākuḷam*' and *Tekkali* taluqs of *Śrīkākuḷam* district.

The village *Dantaka* which was granted along with the *Harivattika* earlier by *Vajrahasta-III* was later granted again by his grandson *Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangadēva* along with another village or hamlet by name *Villavāta* to the two sons of the grantee of *Vajrahasta-III* viz. *Chitanipu Kāmārṇava* and *Karikāmārṇava.* This second grant was made in the year '*Muni Gagana Viyat Chandra*' or 1007 *Saka* corresponding to 1085 A.D. in the *Vaiśākha Māsa* and *Śukla Tṛitīya.* 1085 A.D. clearly falls within the reign of the *Anantavarma Chōḍa*

1. Indian Antiquary Vol. XVIII p. 165.

Gangadēva who came to the throne round about 1077 A.D. The *Visakha Māsa Śukla Tritīya* falls on Monday 31st March 1085 A.D.

The village was said to have been given with a hamlet and being made *Grāsi* or *Grāsī Kṛithva*. In ancient days, when a village was given as *Agrahāra* to *Brāhmins*, it was the custom to grant a hamlet also to it, so that the ryots who cultivated that land might live in it. *Agrahārams* were given either as *Ēka Bhōga* or *Bahu Bhōga*, and in any case, no one except a *Brāhmin* could live in an *Agrahāram*. As *Brāhmins* were engaged in the *Vēdās*, they could not cultivate the land and had to employ ryots for it. These ryots lived in a hamlet and generally when an *Agrahāram* was given, it was given with a hamlet for the ryots who lived on that land to live in. This was called a '*Pūndi*' or '*Grāmatika*' [1]. The expression *Grāsī Krithva* mentioned in the grant refers to this.

The grant ends with a description of the '*Sīmalingāni*' or the boundaries of the *Danta* village, along with the *Harivātta* and *Villavātta*. The boundaries are as follows:

1. To the east is a *Rūpa Garttha* (A *Garttha* probably stands for the Telugu equivalent of Gunta and means probably a crevice or a hole.)

2. To the south-east or '*Āgnēyatah*' is an elevated stone described as '*Ārōpita Śila*' along with a *Rājaṇa Vṛiksha* in a *Trikūṭa*. *(Trikūṭa* probably means a place where three boundaries meet. Near this is a *Vanarājaka* with a *Vālmīka* or an ant-hill.

3. To the South is an '*Ārōpita Śila*' or an elevated stone with two '*Tintriṇīkās*' or Tamarind trees. Near this is another '*Ārōpita Śila*'.

4. To the South-west is a row of stones called '*Śilā Pankti*'. Near this is an elevated stone on the top of a *Vālmīka* along with a *Rājaṇa* tree. Near this in a *Trikūṭa* is an *Ārōpita Śila*' along with a '*Kapittha Vṛiksha*' or a 'Velaga tree' on the top of a *Vālmīka* or an ant-hill.

5. To the West is a row of of '*Tintriṇīkās*' or Tamarind trees. Near this is a *Vanarājika* and near this is a *Karaparvatika*. Near this is a *Hasti śila* and four *Ārōpita śilas* follow this, after which is the middle of a '*Vāpidwaya*' or two wells. *(Vapī dwayamadhyam.)*

6. To the North-west is a *Bhīmasitta* near a *Trikūṭa*, behind which is a bent *Tintriṇi* tree or a '*Kubja Tintrīṇika* in the middle of two *Vālmīkās*, a *Sōma Vṛiksha*, a top of a hill or *Parvata Śikhara*, a *Parvatha Māla* or a string of hills and a *Dhananjaya Śila*.

7. To the North is an *Asurapāli*, behind which is an *Ārōpita Śila*.

8. To the North-east is a *Garttha* or a *Gunta* in a *Trikūṭa* near which is an *Ārōpita Śila*.

The grant ends with the same imprecatory verse as was given at the end of the grant by *Vajrahasta-III*.

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1. Andhra Patrika, Ugadi Sanchika, 1926, మన ప్రాచీన విద్యానంస్థలు by Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma.

The grant goes on to state that the copper plate grant was written by one *Dāmōdara* who was the son of *Māvuraya* who is described as *Mahā Kāyastha* and *Sandhi Vigrahi*. This *Dāmōdara* son of *Māvuraya* is well-known to us from the other grants of these kings and is the same as is found in the *Korṇi* copper plate of *Anantavarma Chōḍa Gāngadēva*. The actual writing was said to be executed by *Vaddi* son of *Valimōzu* who is described as *Mahā Akshaśāli*, or the inscriber of documents. This *Valimōzu* is also known to us from the other grants of these kings. The term *Mahā Kāyastha* means an accountant and the term *Mahā Akshaśāli* means an inscriber of documents. It would appear that since the present grant was inscribed by *Vaddi* son of *Valimōzu* and since *Valimōzu* was known as the *Akshaśāli* for the same line of kings form the other grants these officers were hereditary in their character and held office from father to son.

This grant is an important one since it records the double grant both by *Vajrahasta-III* and by his grandson *Anantavarma Chōḍa Gāngadēva*. The grantee is nòt a *Brāhmin* as is usual in these grants, but a chieftain probably related to the royal family, and with whom the king was well pleased for the various deeds of valour done by him in a number of battle fields. The first grantee's sons themselves are the second grantees and it would appear that the grantee's family was a loyal one serving the kings from generation to generation. Though the names of the grantees like *Vajrahasta*, *Kāmārṇava* etc. would appear to have some kind of connection with the royal names, still it is more probable to conclude that they were either a family of warriors or important officials of the kings who probably bore the names of the royal family. It is also possible that they might have been related to the royal family in a collateral line beginning from *Madhu Kāmārṇava* who actually ruled the kingdom.

2 7 MAY 1962

TEXT AND PLATES
OF
EASTERN GĀNGĀS OF KALINGA

FIRST PLATE

१. ओं [॥] स्वस्ति श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यस
२. त्यशौचशौर्य्यधैर्य्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाणामात्रेयगोत्राणां वि
३. मलविचाराचारपुण्यसलिलप्रक्षालितकलिकालकल्मषमषीणां म
४. हामहेन्द्राचलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य चराचरगुरोः सकलभुव
५. ननिर्म्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य शशांकचूडामणेर्भगवतो गोकर्णस्वा
६. मिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशंखभेरीपंचमहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहे
७. मचामरवरवृषभलांछनसमुज्वलसमस्तसाम्राज्यमहिम्नामनेक
८. समरसंघट्टसमुपलब्धविजयलक्ष्मीसमालिंगितोत्तुंगभुजदंण्डम

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

९. ण्डितानां त्रिकलिङ्गमहीभुजां गंगानामन्वयमलंकरिष्णोर्विष्णो
१०. रिव विक्रमाक्रान्तधरामण्डलस्य गुणमहार्णव महाराजस्य पुत्रः ।
११. पूर्वं भूपतिभिर्विभज्य वसुधा पञ्चभिः पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपरा
१२. क्रमो भुजबलात्तामेक एव स्वयं एकीकृत्य विजित्य सत्र[1] निवह(ा)न् श्री
१३. वज्रहस्तश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमत्युदारचरितः सर्वामरक्षी
१४. समाः[2] (1) तस्य तनयो गुण्डगराजा वर्षत्रयमपालयत् महीं । तदनु
१५. जः कामार्ण्णदेवः पञ्चत्रिंशतमब्दकान् । तस्यानुजो विनयादित्यस्समा
१६. स्तिस्रः । ततः कामार्णवाज्जातो जगतीकल्पभूरुहः यो राजद्राजित

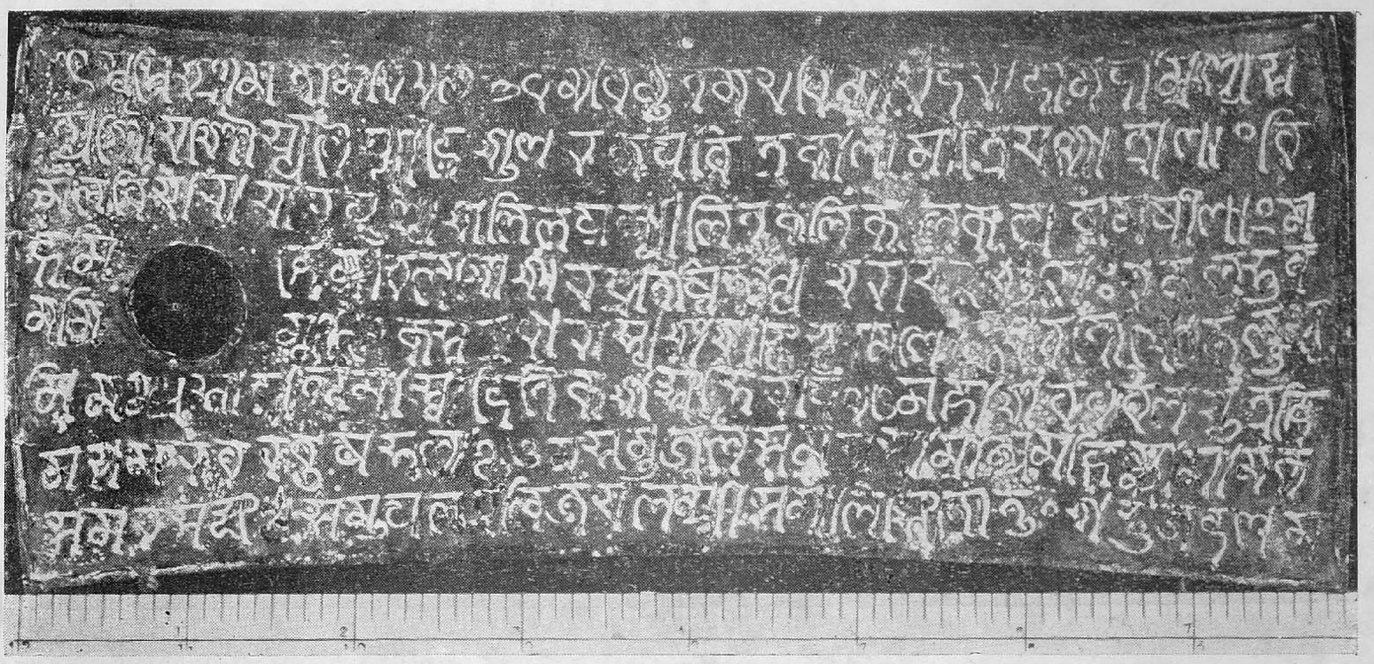
1. Read as शत्रु
2. Read as त्समाः

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Plate IX (a)

DANTA PLATES OF *VAJRAHASTA-III* AND *ANANTAVARMA CHŌḌA GANGADĒVA*

First Plate : Second Side



Second Plate : First Side



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DANTA PLATES OF *VAJRAHASTA-III* AND *ANANTAVARMA CHŌḌA GANGADĒVA*

Second Plate : Second Side



Third Plate : First Side



SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१७. च्छायो वज्रहस्तोवनीपतिः (2) प्र[श्च्योद][3] न्मदगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्यालो

१८. ढगण्डान्गजानर्थिभ्यः समदात्सहस्रमतुलो यस्त्यागिनामग्र

१९. णी [:] सः श्रीमाननियंकभीमनृपति [:] गंगान्वयोत्तंसकः प

२०. श्चत्रिंशतमब्दकान्समभुनक्प्रिथ्वीं स्तुतः पार्थिवैः (3)

२१. तदग्रसूनुः सुरराजसूनुना समस्समस्तां स[4]मिता

२२. रिमण्डलः स्म पाति का(मा)र्णवभूपतिर्भुवं समृद्धिमानर्धस

२३. मां समुज्वलः (4) तदनुतदनुजन्मा[5](चित्तजन्मो)पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गु

२४. ण्डमाख्यो महीशः सकलमिदमरक्षत्त्रीणि वर्षाणि धात्रीवलय

THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

२५. मलधुतेजा निर्जितारा[तिच]क्रः (5) ततो द्वैमातुरस्तस्य मधुकामार्णवो

२६. नृपः । अवति स्मावनीमेतामब्दानेकान्नविंशतिः (6) अथ वज्रहस्त

२७. नृपतेरग्रसुतादखिलगुणिजनाग्र(ग)ण्य (:) कामार्णवात्कवीन्द्रप्रगीय

२८. मानावदातशुभकीर्तिः (7) श्रिय इव वैदुम्बान्वयपयःप

२९. योनिधिसमुद्भवायाश्च यः समजनि विनयमहादेव्याः श्री

३०. वज्रहस्त इति तनयः (8) वियद्दतुनिधिसंख्यां याति शाकाब्दसंघे

३१. दिनकृति वृषभस्ते[6] रोहिणीभे सुलग्ने धनुषि च सितपक्षे सूर्यवारे

३२. तृतीयायुजि सकलधरित्रीं रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः (9) न्यायेन यत्र

---

3. Read as प्रश्च्योत
4. Read शमिता
5. Inserted at the botton of the beginning of the line. Probably mistake was realised after the entire grant was inscribed.
6. Read वृषभस्थे

THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE

३३. सममाचरितुं ति[7]वर्ग मार्गेण रक्षति महीं महितप्रतापे निर्व्याधयश्च नि
३४. रघाश्च निरापदश्च शश्वत्प्रजा भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमत्यः (10) व्याप्ते गंगकुलोत्त
३५. मस्य यशसा दिक्चक्रवाले शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन यस्य भुवन(ः) प्रह्लादसम्पा
३६. दिना सैन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपंकपटलैःकुम्भस्थलीपट्टकेष्वालिम्पन्ति
३७. पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणावारणान् (11) अनुरागेण
३८. गुणिनो यस्य वक्षोमुखाब्जयोः आशी[8]ने श्रीसरस्त्यावनु
३९. कूले विराजतः (12) कलिङ्गनगरात्परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारक
४०. महाराजाधिराजत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति श्रीमदनन्तवर्मा वज्रहस्तदेवः कु
४१. शलीसमस्तामात्यप्रमुख जनपदान्समाहूय समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु

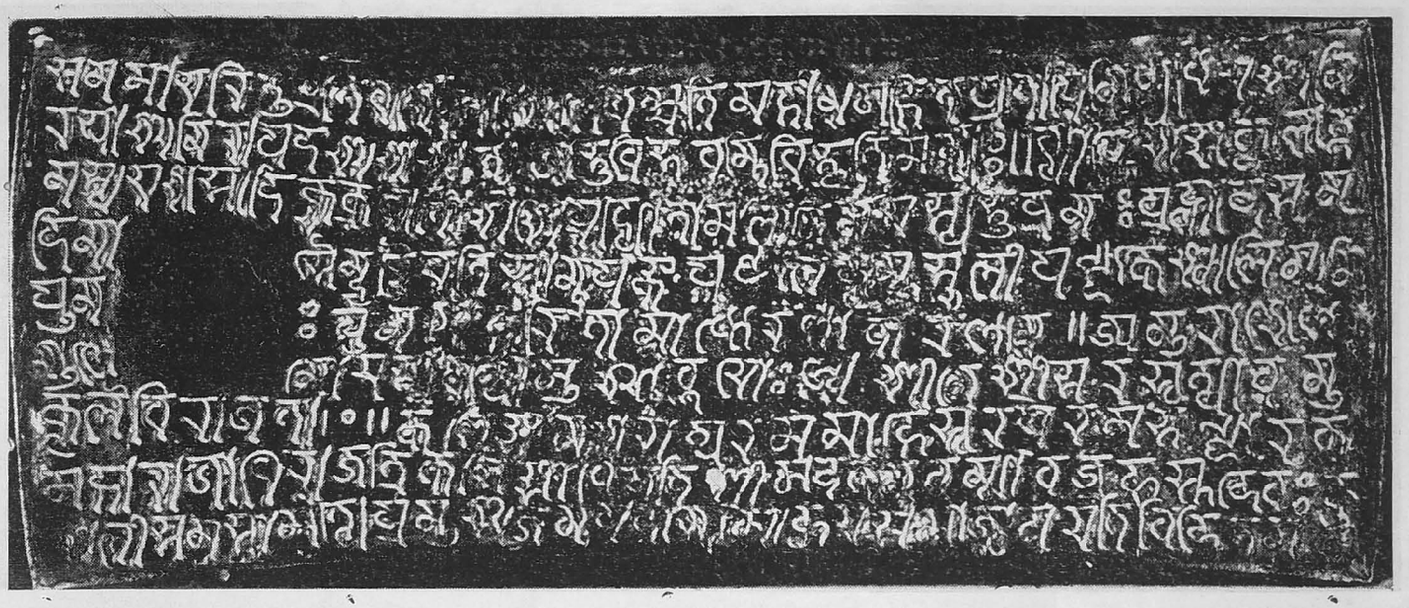
FOURTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE

४२. भवतां । कोलुवर्तनिविषये दन्तकाख्यः ग्रामः हरिवाट्टकेनस्सहग्राम
४३. ग्रासीकृत्य चतुस्सीमावच्छिन्नस्सजल स्थलसर्वपीडाविवर्जितमाचन्द्रा
४४. र्क्ककक्षितिसमकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
४५. करवसुनिधिगणिते शाकाब्दे शुक्लद्वादस्यां (श्यां) सोमवारे । आ
४६. त्रेयगोत्रस्य गंगवंशोद्भव श्रीवज्रहस्तदेवस्य भार्या विज्जमरा
४७. णी तस्य पुत्रः [चिन्तनिपु] कामार्णव संवाविषय शतोत्तरवल्लिग्राम
४८. निवासी । तस्य भार्या पोलिपपाख्या तयोः पुत्राय कामार्णवा
४९. याधिकाहवमुखकृतक्लेशाय संतुष्टैरस्माभिः प्रसाद्य ता

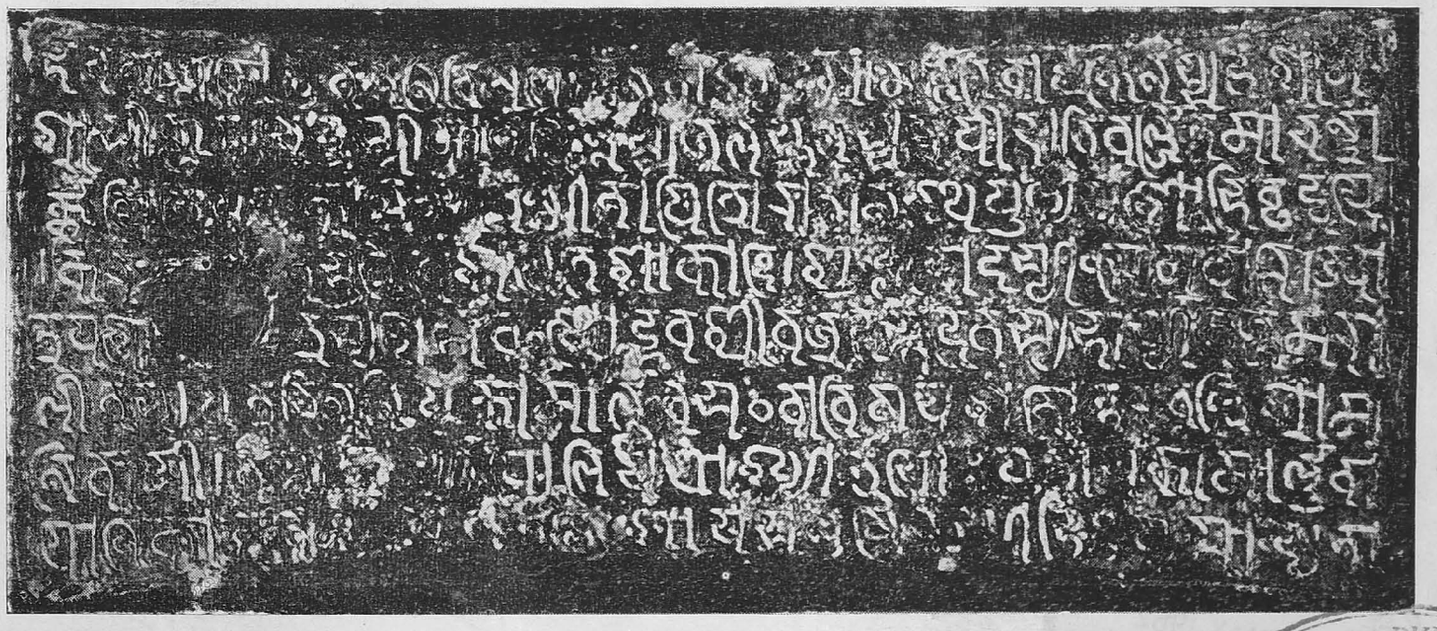
7. Read त्रिवर्ग
8. Read आसाने

DANTA PLATES OF *VAJRAHASTA-III* AND *ANANTAVARMA CHŌḌA GANGADEVA*

Third Plate : Second Side



Fourth Plate : First Side



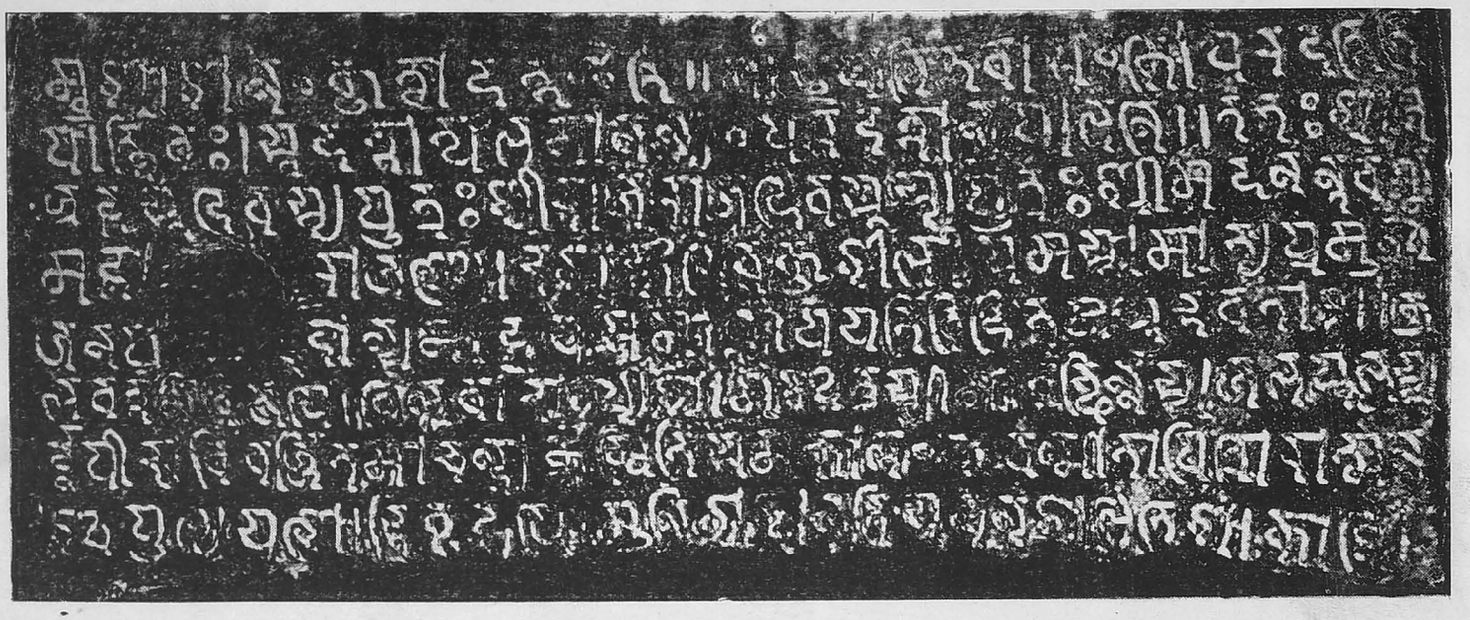
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One view of the seal

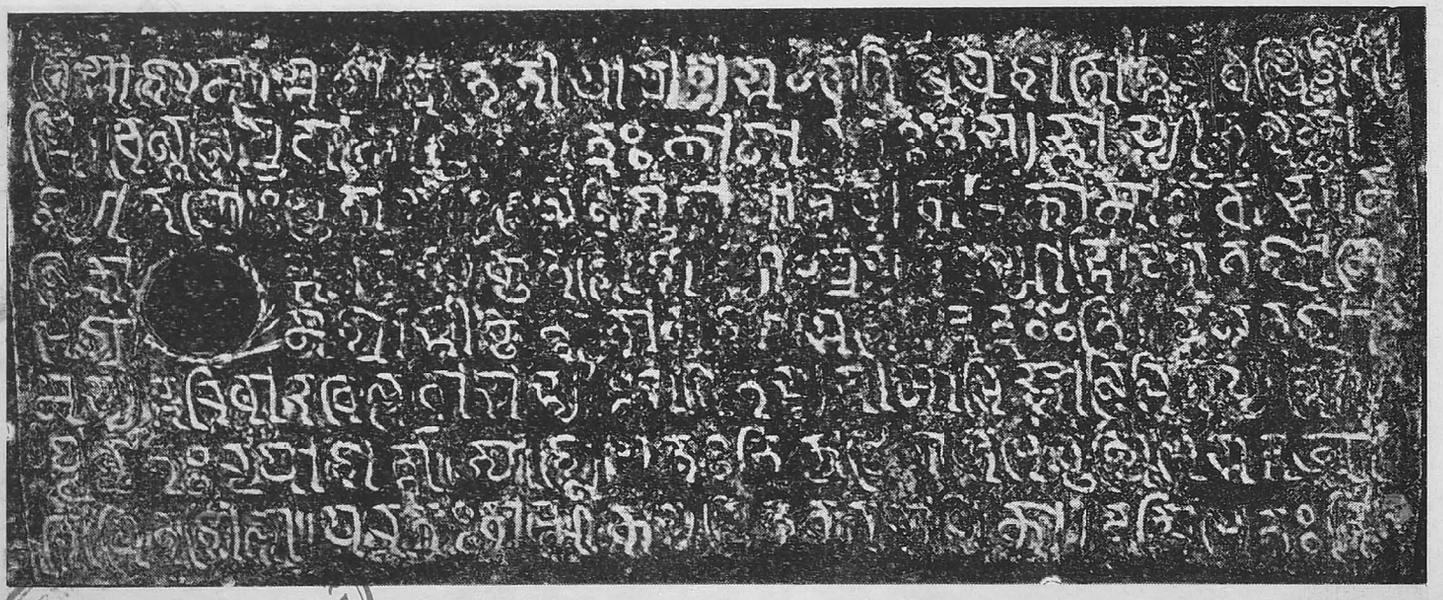


DANTA PLATES OF *VAJRAHASTA-III* AND *ANANTAVARMA CHŌḌA GANGADĒVA*

Fourth Plate : Second Side



Fifth Plate : First Side



CONNE... 27 MAY 1962



A front view of the seal

FOURTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

५०. म्रशासनं कृत्वा दत्त इति ॥ माभूत्फलितवासंको[9] परदत्तेति
५१. पार्थिवः । स्वदत्तात्फलमानन्यं[10] परदत्तानुपालने ॥ ततः श्रीव
५२. ज्रहस्तदेवस्य पुत्रः श्रीराजराजदेवस्तस्यपुत्रः श्रीमदनन्तवर्म
५३. महाराजश्चोडगंगदेवः कुशली समस्तामात्यप्रमुख
५४. जनपदान्समाहूय समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ कु
५५. लवर्त्तनि विषये विल्लवाडाख्यग्रामचतुस्सीमावच्छिन्नस्सजलस्थलस्स
५६. र्व्वपीडाविवर्ज्जितमाचन्द्रक्षितिसमकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मन
५७. श्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये मुनिगगनवियच्चन्द्रगणिते शाकाब्दे

FIFTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE

५८. वैशाखमासे शुक्लतृतीयायाः । संवाविषय शतोत्तरवल्लिनिवा
५९. सि चिन्तनिपु[कामार्णव] पुत्रः कामार्णवः तस्य भार्याचन्द्रमा
६०. ख्या तयोः पुत्राभ्यां चिन्तनिपुकामार्णव करिकामार्णवाभ्या म.
६१. नेकाहवमुखकृतक्लेशाभ्यां प्रसन्नैरस्माभिर्दन्तकग्रामे
६२. ण ग्रामग्रासीकृत्वा ताम्रशासनेन दत्त इति दन्तक ग्रा
६३. मस्य हरिवाट विल्लवाटाभ्यां सहितस्य सीमालिङ्गानि लिख्यन्ते
६४. पूर्वतः रूपागर्ता । आग्नेयतः त्रिकूटे राजणवृक्षेण सह आ
६५. रोपित शिला । परतः वाल्मीकसहितवनराजिका । दक्षिणतः तिं

9. Read as मा भूत्फलितसाशंको
10. Read as स्वदत्तात्फलमानन्त्यं

FIFTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

६६. त्रिणीकयुगलेन सह आरोपितशिला । परतः आरोपितशिला
६७. नैरुत्यां शिलापंक्तिः परतः वल्मीकोपरि राजणवृक्षेण सह
६८. आरोपितशिला । परतः त्रिकूटे वल्मीकोपरि कपिस्त (त्थ) वृक्षेण स
६९. ह आरोपित शिला । पश्चिमतः तित्रिणीक पंक्तिः । परतः
७०. वनराजिका । परतः करपर्व्वतिकाः । ततः हस्तिशिला ततः
७१. आरोपितशिला । तत आरोपितशिलाः । तत आरोपित शिला
७२. तत आरोपित शिलाः । ततः वापीद्वयमध्यं । वायव्यां दिशि
७३. त्रिकूटे भीमसित्तः । ततः कुब्जतिन्त्रिणीकः । ततः वाल्मीकद्वय

SIXTH PLATE

७४. मध्ये तिन्त्रिणीकः । ततः च्छवुडसोमवृक्षः । ततः पर्व्वतशिखरं ।
७५. ततः पर्व्वतमाला । ततः धनंजयशिला । उत्तरतः असुरपालिः ।
७६. परतः आरोपितशिला ॥ ईशान्यां दिशि त्रिकूटे गर्त्ता समी
७७. पे आरोपितशिला ॥ मा भूत्पलितवाशंको[11] परदत्तेति पा
७८. त्तिवः स्वदत्तात्पलमानन्त्यं[12] परदत्तानुपालने । महाका
७९. यस्थ सन्धिविग्रहि मावृरय सूनुना दामोदरेण लिखि
८०. तं । महाक्षसलि वलिमोजुसुत वह्निोत्कीर्णं ॥

11. Read as मा भूत्फलितसाशंको
12. Read as स्वदत्तात्फलमानन्त्यं

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Plate IX (c)

DANTA PLATES OF *VAJRAHASTA-III* AND *ANANTAVARMA CHŌḌA GANGADĒVA*

Fifth Plate : Second Side



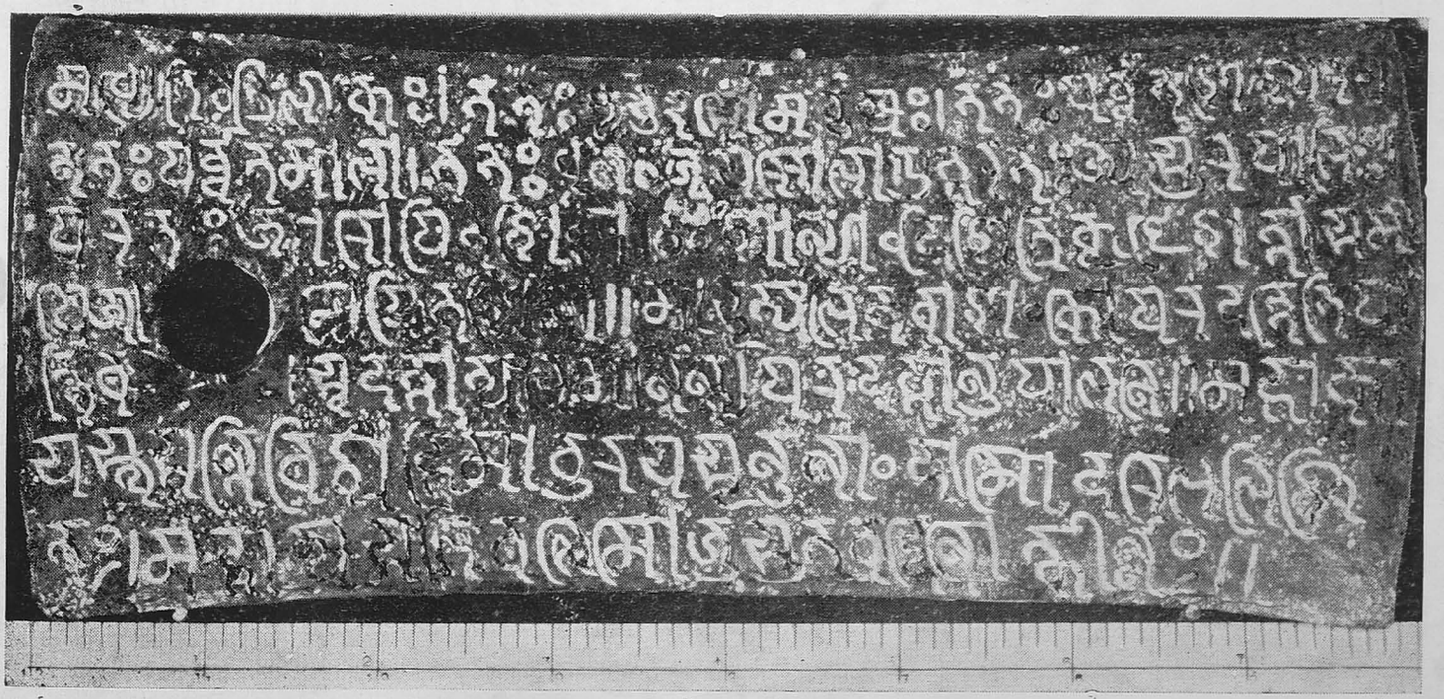
66

68

70

72

Sixth Plate : First Side



74

76

78

80

CHAPTER XIV

THE *MĀṬURA* GRANT OF KING *DĒVENDRAVARMA RĀJARĀJA DĒVA* OF THE EASTERN *GĀNGĀS* OF *KALINGA*

These plates were discovered in *Niddām* village of *Chīpurupalli* taluq of *Śrīkākuḷam* district by a ryot while ploughing his fields. These were retrieved in time and have now been acquired for the Hyderabad Museum. They are now displayed in the Copper plate epigraphy section of the Government Archaeological Museum at the Public Garden Hyderabad.

The plates are five in number, and contain writing on all the plates except the first side of the first plate and the last side of the last plate. On the inner side of the last plate there are only three lines of writing. The plates are 22.4 cms. in length and 9 cms. in breadth. The plates and seal and ring weigh 1550 gms. and 870 gms. respectively. There are in all 56 lines of writing distributed as follows :

First plate second side	7 lines
Second plate first side	8 lines
Second plate second side	8 lines
Third plate first side	7 lines
Third plate second side	8 lines
Fourth plate first side	7 lines
Fourth plate second side	8 lines
Fifth plate first side	3 lines
Total	56 lines

These plates were issued by king *Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rāja Dēva* of the medieval line of the Eastern *Gāngās* of *Kalinga*. The script is the medieval *Nāgari* script which is peculiar to the three Eastern *Gānga* kings viz. *Vajrahasta-III, Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rājadēva* and *Ananatvarma Chōḍa Gāngadēva*. The language used is Sanskrit throughout.

The '*Prasasti*', as is usual with the '*Prasasti*' of this line of kings, is identical in all details. Up to the last line of the 3rd plate, the *Prasasti* agrees word by word with the *Prasasti* of king *Vajrahasta-III* whose *Danta* plates are published elsewhere in this volume.

After describing the date of coronation of king *Vajrahasta-III* which has been dealt with by me in the *Danta* plates, the present plate goes on to devote two verses in praise of *Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rāja Dēva*. These two verses come after a verse where the total number of years of *Vajrahasta-III* are given and are also identical word by word with the *Prasasti* of this king published elsewhere by me.[1] This verse describes that king *Vajrahasta-III*, the father of king *Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rāja Dēva* ruled for a total period of 33 years. This tallies with the information given in the other grants of this king. The grant then goes on to say that to this king *Vajrahasta-III* and to queen *Anangamahādēvi* was born a son even as *Kārtikēya* was born to Lord *Hara* and *Gowri*. In the next verse the king is described in *Kramālankāra* as giving peace or '*Śānti*' to all respectable persons or '*Mānis*', unbounded happiness or '*Mōda*', to virtuous persons or '*Gaṇis*', and terror or '*Bhaya*' to evil minded persons or '*Durātmās*'.

In the next verse the date of coronation of king *Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rājadēva* is given. The king is said to have been crowned in *Saka* year '*Nayana abjagarbha nidhi*', '*Jyēshṭha Ashṭami*' day, during '*Simhalagna*' '*Uttara Phalguni Nakshatra*' and on a Thursday in the bright fortnight. The year '*Nayana abjagarbha nidhi*' stands for 992 *Saka* or 1070 A.D. The other details given are the bright fortnight or *Śukla Paksha, Ashṭami tithi, Jyēshṭha Uttara Phalguni Nakshatra* and the week day being a Thursday. 20th of May, 1070 A.D. corresponds completely with all the above details. The day of the week was a Thursday and *Purva Phalguni Nakshatra* ending moment on that date was 11.20 and hence the *Uttara Phalguni* had come on that day. On this day at the *Simhalagna* the king was crowned and hence the date of coronation of king *Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rāja Dēva* can accurately be given as 20th May, 1070 A.D.

The grant goes on to describe that this king issued the present grant from *Kalinga-nagara*. The king is described with the usual *Birudās* as '*Parama Māhēśvara*', '*Parama Bhaṭṭāraka*', '*Mahārājādhirāja*' and '*Trikalingādhipati*'. He is said to have convened a meeting of all the ministers, the prominent local men etc. and made known to them the purpose of the grant. The grant was of a village '*Māṭura*' in the '*Samva*' *Vishaya*, and the grant was given with all the boundaries unaffected, with all the rights of the water and land, and with all taxes being completely exempted, so that it may stand permanently, till such time as the Sun, the Moon and the Earth stood in the world. The grant was made for the merit and glory of the king's mother, father and himself. The grant was made in the *Saka*

1. Galavalli copper plate grant of Devendravarma Raja Raja. Page 171 of Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. XX.

year '*Śara Nidhi Nanda*' in the *Dhanurmāsa* and on *Śukla Trayōdaśi* day. The '*Śara Nidhi Nanda*' corresponds to 995 *Śaka* which will be equivalent to 1073 A.D. The other details given in the grant correspond to 16th December, 1073 A.D. Since from other sources it is known to us that king *Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rāja Dēva* ruled for a period of 7 years from 1070-1077 A.D. the present grant falls in the middle of his reign.

The interesting part of the grant lies in the name of the grantee. The name of the grantee is described in the fifth plate first side as '*Vipra Samudbhava Ayitama Nāyaka Tasya Patnī Vēśya Vuddhama, Taśya Putra Nārāyaṇa Nāmnām*'. In other words this grant is not made to a *Brāhmin* as is usual in such grants, but made to one *Ayitama Nāyaka* who probably might have been one of the commanders of the king. He is said to be a '*Vipra Samudbhava*' or born to a *Brahmin*. His wife is described as *Vēśya Vuddhama*. The '*Samva*' *Vishaya* mentioned here, is known to us from the other grants of *Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga Dēva*, and in fact, the '*Samva*' *Vishaya* has been mentioned also in the *Danta* plates of *Vajrahasta-III* edited elsewhere. This corresponds roughly to the modern *Chīpurupalli* taluk of the *Śrīkākulam* district. The plates were discovered in a village called *Niddām* in *Chīpurupalli* taluk, while the copper plate grant makes mention of a village '*Māṭura*'. The village *Māṭura* is not identifiable.

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१. ओं[1] स्वस्तिश्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनयविनया[2]दयादन[3]दाक्षिण्यस[4]
२. सत्यशौचशौर्य्यधैर्य्यादिगृणरत्नपवित्रकाणामात्रेयगोत्राणां वि
३. मलविचाराचारपुण्यसलिलप्रक्षालितकलिकालकल्मषमषीणां
४. महामम[5]हेन्द्राचलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः स
५. कलभुवननिर्म्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचूडामणे
६. र्भगवतो गोकर्ण्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्ख
७. भेरीपञ्चमहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमचामरवरवृषभलांच्छन
८. समुज्ज्वलसमस्तसाम्राज्यमहिम्नामनेकसमरसङ्घट्टस

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

९. मुपलब्धविजयलक्ष्म्या समालिङ्गितोतुङ्ग[6] भुजदण्ड मण्डितानां त्रिकलि
१०. ङ्गमहीभुजां गङ्गानामन्वयमलङ्करिष्णोर्व्विष्णोरिव विक्रमाक्रान्तध
११. रामण्डलस्य गुणमहार्ण्णवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः । पूर्व्वं पतिभिर्व्विभ
१२. ज्य वसुधा या पंचभिः पंचधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो भुजबला
१३. त्तामेक एव स्वयं [।] एकीक्रित्य[7] विजित्य शत्रुनि[8] हान् श्रीवज्र
१४. हस्तश्चतुश्चत्वरिंशतमत्युदारचरितस्सर्व्वामरक्षीत्समाः (1)
१५. तस्य तनयो गुण्डराजा वर्षत्रयमपालयत् तदनुजः का
१६. मार्ण्णवदेवः पंचविंशतमब्दकान् । तस्यानुजो विनया

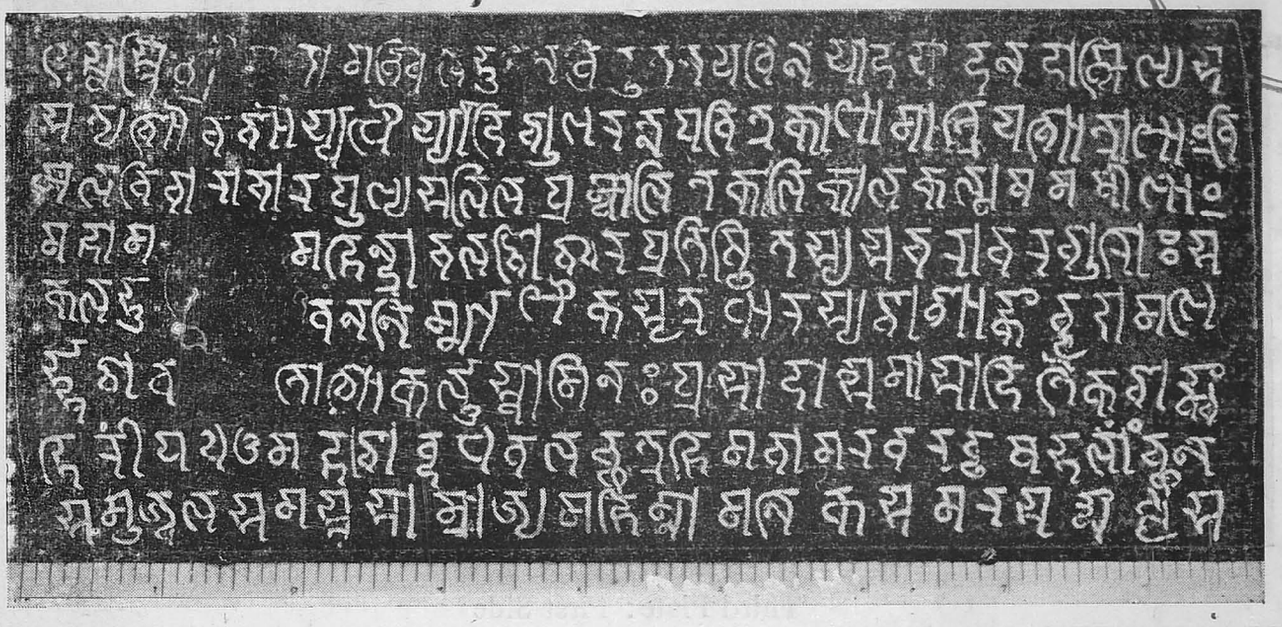
1. Shown by a symbol.
2. Read as विनय
3. Read as दान
4. This स is superfluous.
5. One म is superfluous.
6. Read as तोत्तुङ्ग
7. Read as एकीकृत्य
8. Read as निवहान्

Plate X (a)

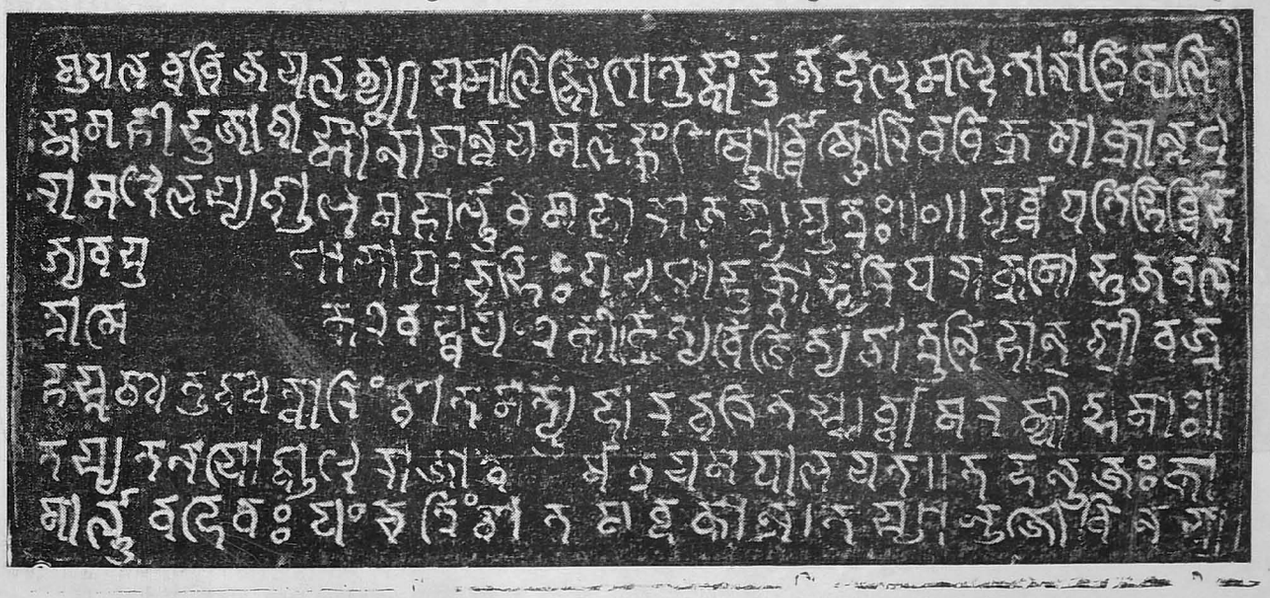
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THE *MĀṬURA* PLATES OF *DEVENDRAVARMA RĀJARĀJADEVA*

First Plate : Second Side



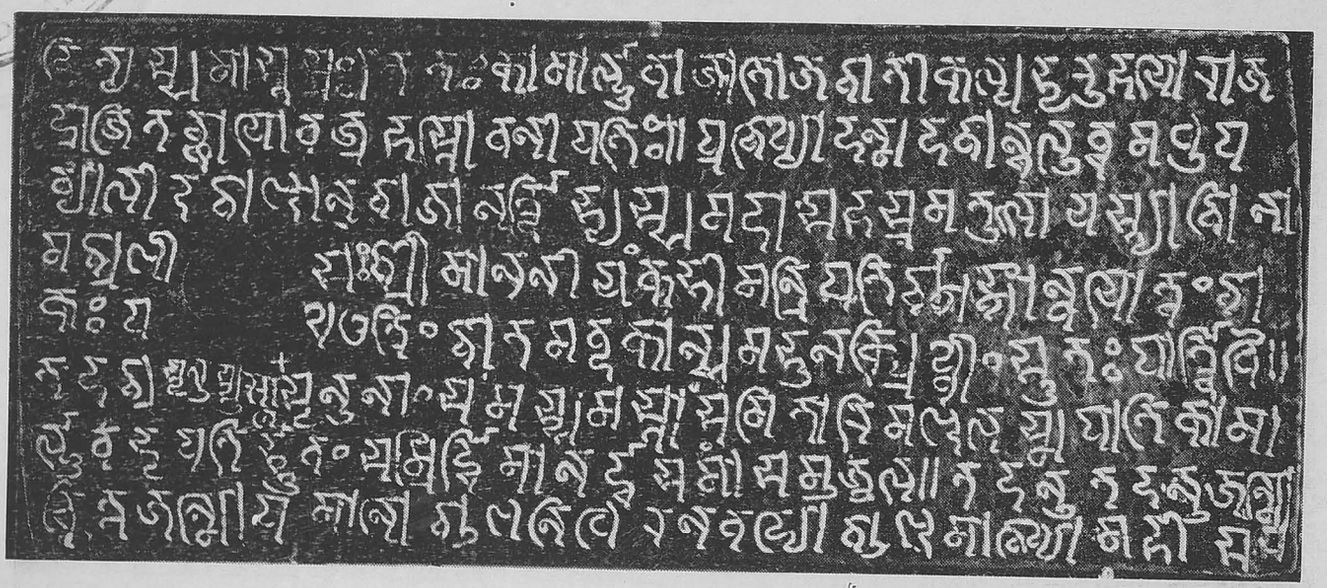
Second Plate : First Side



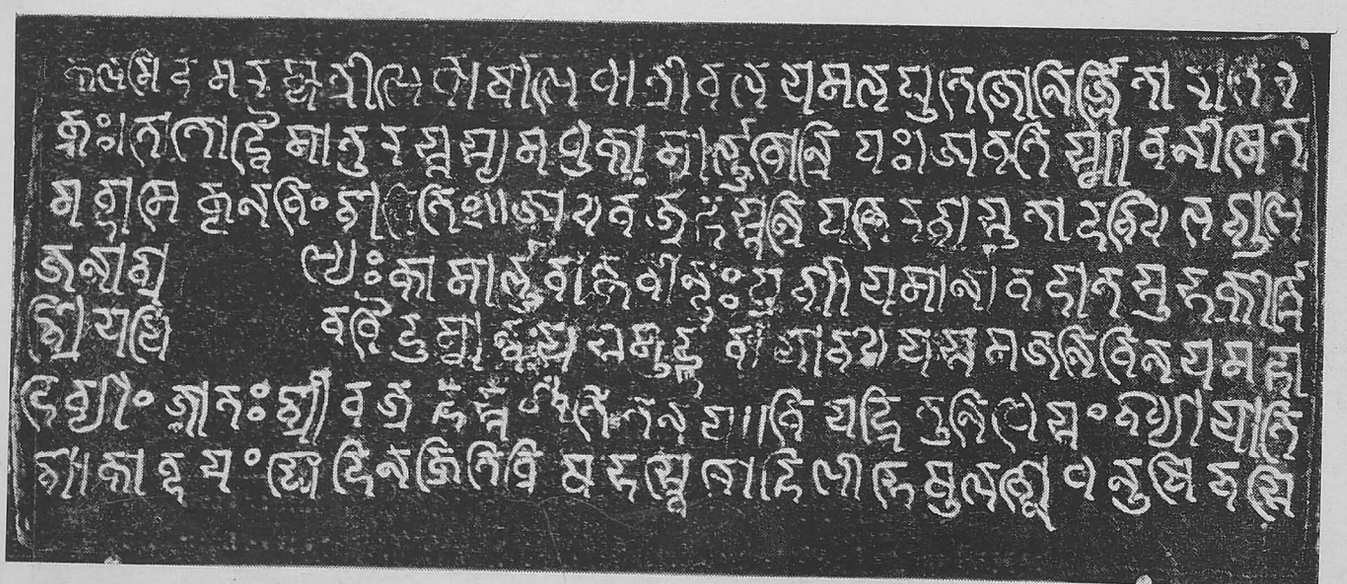
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THE *MĀṬURA* PLATES OF *DĒVENDRAVARMA RĀJARĀJADĒVA*

Second Plate: Second Side



Third Plate: First Side



SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१७. दित्यस्समास्तस्त्र:[9] । ततः कामार्ण्णवाजातो[10] जगतीकल्पभूरुह[11][।]यो राज
१८. द्राजितच्छायो वज्रहस्तोवनीपतिः (2) प्रश्च्योद[12]न्मदगन्धलुब्धमधुप
१९. व्यालीड[13]गण्डान् गजानर्थिभ्यस्समदात्सहस्रमतुलो यस्त्यागिना
२०. मग्रणीः [।] सः श्रीमाननीयंक[14] भीमन्त्रिपति[15] र्गाङ्गान्वयोत्वंश
२१. कः पञ्चत्रिंशतमब्दकान्समभुनक्प्रि[16]थ्वीं स्तुतः पार्थिवै[17] (3)
३२. तदग्रसूनुस्सुरराजसूनुना[18] समस्समस्तां स[19]मितारिमण्डल[20] स्म[21]पाति कामा
२३. र्ण्णवभूपतिर्भ्भुवं सम्रिर्द्धि[22]मानर्द्धसमां समुज्वल[23] (4) तदनु तदनुजन्मो[24]
२४. त्तिजन्मोपमानोगुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुण्डमाख्यो महीस[25] [।] स

THIRD PLATE: FIRST ISDE

२५. कल मिदमरक्षत्त्रीणि वार्षाणि[26] धात्रीवलयमलघुतेजो[27] निर्ज्जितारातिच
२६. क्रः (5) ततोद्वैमातुरस्तस्य मधुकामार्ण्णवो न्रिपः[28] । अवतिस्मावनीमेता
२७. मब्दामेकून[29] विशतिं (6) अथ वज्रहस्तन्रिपतेरग्रसुतादखिलगुणि
२८. जनाग्र[30]ण्यः कामार्ण्णवात्कवीन्द्रः[31] प्रगीयमानावदात सुभकीर्त्ति(:) (7)
२९. श्रिययिव वैदुम्मान्वयसमुद्भावायाश्च यः[32] समजनि विनयमहा
३०. देव्यां जातः श्रीवज्रहस्त इति तनयः (8) वियद्वितुनिधि संख्या याति
३१. शाकाब्दसंङ्ख्ये दिनक्रिति त्रिषभस्थे रोहिणीभेषु[33] लग्ने धनुषि च सि

---

9. Read as समास्तिस्त्र:
10. Read as वाजातो
11. Read as रुह: ।
12. Read as प्रश्च्योत
13. Read as व्यालीढ
14. श्रीमाननियंक
15. Read as नृपति
16. Read as क्पृथ्वीं
17. Read as पार्थिवै:
18. Anusvara is superfluous
19. शमित is correct.
20. Insert visarga and read as मण्डल:
21. स्म पाति is past tense as पाति स्म
22. Read as समृद्धिं
23. Read as समुज्ज्वल:
24. तदनुजन्मा is correct
25. Read as महीश:
26. वर्षाणि is correct
27. Read as तेजा
28. Read as नृप:
29. कोनविंशति
30. Read as जनाग्रगण्य:
31. Visaraga is superfluous
32. Visarga is not clear.
33. Read as सुलग्ने

THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE

३२. तपक्षे सूर्य्यवारे त्रितीयायुजि सकलधरित्रीं रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः (9) न्या
३३. येन यत्र सममाचरितुं त्रिवर्गे ण निरक्षति महि[33]म्मामाग्गोंहितप्रतापे [।] नि
३४. र्व्याधयश्च निरघाश्च निरापदश्च शश्वत्प्रजा भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमत्यः (10)
३५. व्याप्ते गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य यशसा दिक्चक्रवाळे शशिप्रद्योता
३६. मलिनेन यस्य भुवनः प्रह्लादसम्पादिना सैन्दूरति सा
३७. न्त्र[34] पंक पटलै[35] कुम्भस्थलीपट्टकेखालिम्पन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरि
३८. तामधोरणावा[36]णान् (11) अनुरागेण गुणिनो यस्य वक्षोमुखा
३९. ब्जयो[37] आसीने श्रीसरस्त्यावनुकूले विराजि(ज)त (:) (12) आगच्छ

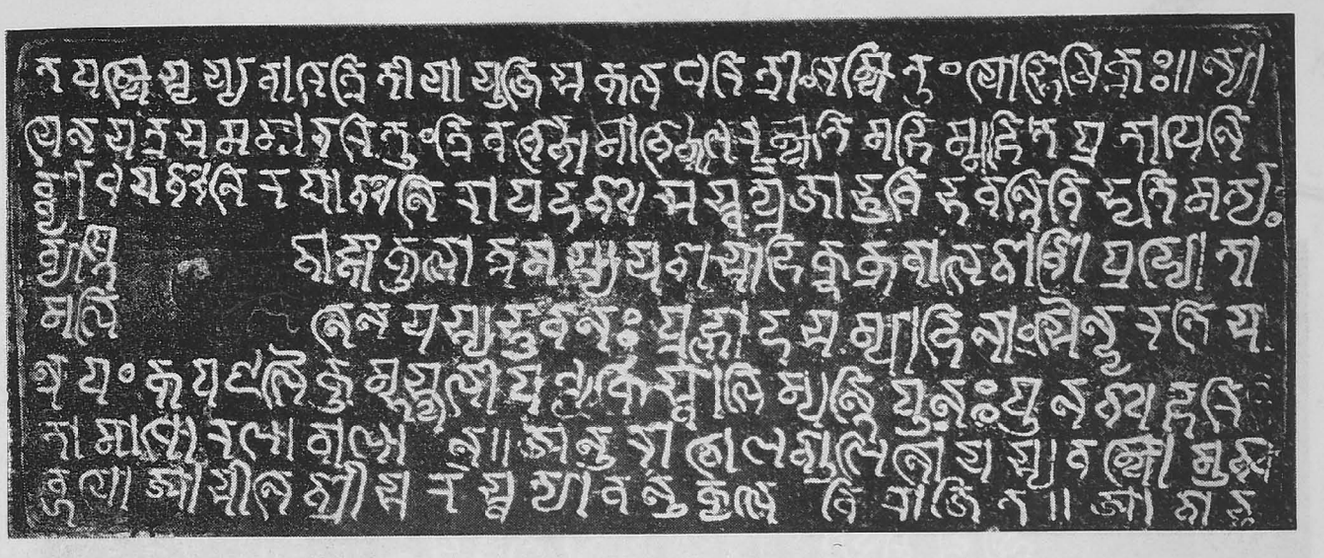
FOURTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE

४०. न्नुरुविक्रमेण सहसा सस्त्राभियाता[38] दिवोयेना व्याहतवि[39] त्तिमहिमा
४१. हेलानिरस्तोशनिः तेनाकारिनिकाम्यकाम्यतनुना राज्यं महीमण्डले त्रिंश
४२. द्वत्सर मभ्रसुभ्रयशसा वर्षत्रयेणाधिकः (13) ततोनङ्ग महादेव्यां
४३. वज्रहस्तवनीपते०[40][।] गौर्य्यामिव हरस्याभूत्कार्त्तिकेययिवात्म
४४. ज[41] (14) लक्ष्मीवधूवदनपंकजमाकरन्दसन्दोहचारुपरिचुम्ब
४५. नचंचरिक[42] यो मानिनां गुणिनां च दुरात्मनां च सान्ति च मोदमतुलं
४६. च भयं च दत्ते (15) शाका°दे नयनाब्जगर्भनिधिगे जेष्ठेष्टमी सिंहके ल

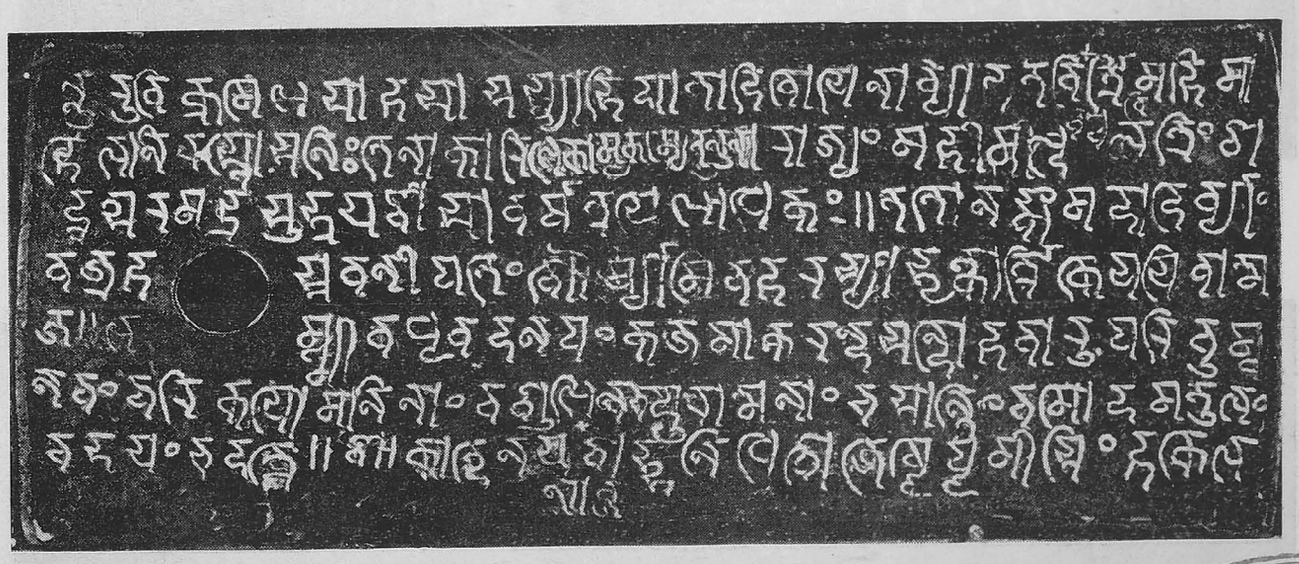
33. Read as मही
34. Read as सान्द्र
35. Insert Visarga after लै
36. वारणान् should be the correct word.
37. Correct Sandhi should be: वक्षोमुखाब्जयोरासीने।
38. Read as सहसाशस्त्राभियाता
39. Read as विश्ववृत्ति
40. Read as वज्रहस्तावनीपतेः
41. Insert Visarga after ज
42. Read as चंचरीकः।

THE *MĀṬURA* PLATES OF *DEVENDRAVARMA RĀJARĀJADĒVA*

Third Plate : Second Side



Fourth Plate : First Side



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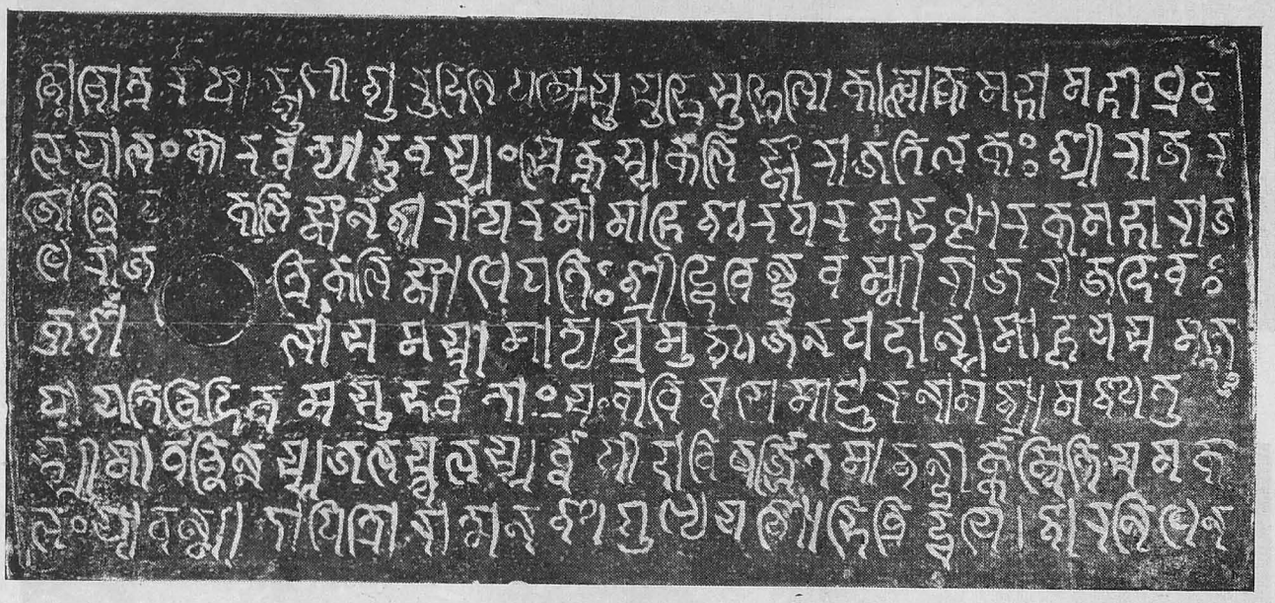


The seal with the mounted Nandi

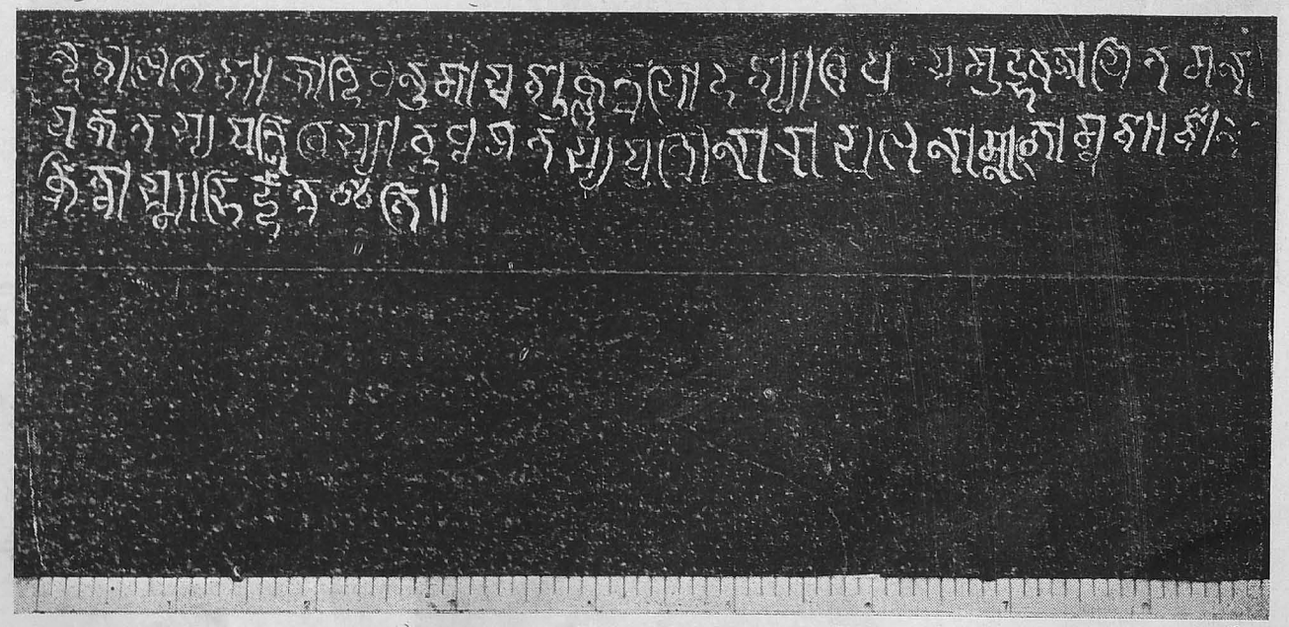
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THE *MĀṬURA* PLATES OF *DĒVENDRAVARMA RĀJARĀJADĒVA*

Fourth Plate : Second Side



Fifth Plate : First Side



FOURTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

४७. ग्ने चोत्तरफल्गुणी गुरुदिने पक्षे सुसुभ्रे सुभे लोकालोकमहामहीध्रव
४८. लयालंकारवत्या भुवस्संसिक्तस्स कलिङ्गराजतिलकः श्रीराजरा
४९. जो त्रिप: (16) कलिङ्गनगरात्परमा[43]माहेश्वर परमभट्टारक महाराज[44]
५०. धिराजत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिः श्री[45]द्देवेन्द्रवर्म्मा राजराजदेवः
५१. कुशली समस्तामात्यप्रमुखजनपदान्समाहूय सम[46]ज्ञा
५२. पयति विदितमस्तु भवतां संवाविषये माटुर नामग्रामश्चतु
५३. स्सीमावच्छिन्नस्सजलस्थलस्सर्व्वपीडाविवर्ज्जितमाचन्द्रार्क्ककक्षितिसमका
५४. लं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चयशोभिवृद्धये । शरनिधि न

FIFTH PLATE

५५. न्दगणिते शाकाब्दे धनुर्मासशुक्लत्रयोदश्यां विप्रसमुद्भव अयितमना
५६. यकतस्यपत्निवेस्यावुध्यम तस्य पुत्रो नारायणनाम्नां ताम्रशासनं
५७. क्रित्वास्माभिर्द्दत्त इति ।

43. Elongation of first म is superfluous.
44. Read as महाराजा
45. Insert म after श्री
46. Read as समाज्ञा

SECTION V

THE REḌḌI KINGS OF KOṆḌAVĪḌU

CHAPTER XV

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE *REḌḌI* KINGS OF *KOṆḌAVĪḌU*

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

After the fall of *Warangal* in 1323 A.D. the *Kākatīya* empire whose last king was *Pratāparudra* came to an end. The entire *Āndhra Dēśa* passed under the Tughlak emperors whose local representatives were the Muslim amirs and the *Māliks*. The country was groaning under these Muslim invaders and many undue taxes were levied upon the people and collected with an iron hand. Temples were desecrated, the villages were looted and burnt, and what was once a land flowing with milk and honey was laid bare and waste by the Muslim officers of the Tughlak emperors. Determined efforts were made to destroy and root out the Hindu religion of the people. A vivid and graphic account of the conditions under which the people were suffering is given in the *Vilasa* copper plate grant of *Musunūri Prōlaya Nāyaka.*[1] The oppression of the Muslims was so heavy that a determined effort had to be made in order to overthrow the foreign yoke and to restore the Hindu religion and the *Sanātana Dharma* to their ancient glory.

Within a few years after the fall of *Warangal* and the capture of *Pratāparudra,* a confederacy of the *Hindu* chieftains under the leadership of *Prōlaya Nāyaka* was established with the sole intention of relieving the land from the muslim oppression. The few renowned and ancient generals of the *Kākatīyās* who survived the catastrophe like *Kolani Pratāparudradēva* and *Annamārya* joined the movement. The movement had *Rēkapalli* in the *Bhadrāchalam* taluk of East Godavari district for its headquarters and from there the movement for the restoration of Hinduism spread. The *Nāyakās* of the Western Andhra country or *Rāyalasīma* who were under the subjection of *Mālik Naby* also rose in a rebellion under the leadership of *Chālukya Kshatriya* king *Somadēvarāya* of the *Āravīti* family. They put the Muslim governor to flight and many forts like Kurnool, Kalavakolanu, Racur, Etagiri etc. were all liberated.

After the death of *Prōlaya Nāyaka* the leadership for this liberation movement fell on his cousin *Kāpaya Nāyaka.* This *Kāpaya Nāyaka* has been mentioned by many chroniclers under different names as *Kāpa Nid* by Isamy, *Kanya Naik* by *Barani, Kaba Naiand* by *Aziz-Ulla-Tabataba, Kāba Naik* and *Krishna Nāik* by Ferishta and others. *Kāpaya Nāyaka* won a great victory against the Muslims in 1336 A.D. and when the muslim centurions of the

1. A forgotten chapter of Andhra History by M. Somasekhara Sarma.

Deccan rose in a rebellion against the imperial throne, *Kāpaya Nāyaka* assisted *Jafar Khān* one of the leaders to put an end to the authority of the Delhi Sultans in the Deccan. *Jafar Khān* who was successful with the help of *Kāpaya Nāyaka* assumed the title of *Ala-ud-din Hasan Gangu Bahman* and became the first *Bahman* ruler with the capital at Gulbarga.

However, *Kāpaya Nāyaka's* trust was misplaced and there were constant fights between the *Bahmani* kings as well as the leaders of the rebel movement. In addition the *Rēcharla* chiefs of *Rāchakoṇḍa* and *Dēvarakoṇḍa* who were *Padma Velamās* by caste, and who were commanders-in-chief under the *Kākatīyās* from the time of *Gaṇapatidēva* asserted their own independence, and were not willing to submit to the leadership of *Kāpaya Nāyaka*. At the same time the *Vijayanagar* empire which was founded to stem the tide of the same Muslim aggression in the south, also consolidated and strengthened its position. Other chieftains like the *Koppula* chiefs, the *Kōrukoṇḍa* chiefs, the *Kōna* chiefs etc. also asserted their independence. Thus the liberation movement that was set on foot by *Prōlaya Nāyaka* petered out by the time of his cousin *Kāpaya Nāyaka*.

Kāpaya Nāyaka finally lost his life in a battle with *Anavōta Nāyaka* of the *Rēcharla* line. The hostile armies met at *Bhīmavaram* of Warangal district in 1367 A.D. in which *Kāpaya Nāyaka* was defeated and slain. The *Musunūri* rule over *Telingāna* thus came to an abrupt end as none of the descendents of *Kāpaya Nāyaka* are known to history.

Out of this medley of chieftains who were striving for power, the *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings rose to power and ruled for a period of nearly 100 years.

2. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE *REDDY* KINGS OF *KOṆḌAVĪDU*

The chronology of the *Reḍḍy* kings of *Koṇḍavīḍu* has not satisfactorily been settled. It is generally accepted that there were six kings viz. *Prōlaya Vēma*, *Anavōta*, *Anavēma*, *Kumāragiri*, *Pedakōmaṭi Vēma* and *Rāchavēma*. It is also generally accepted that these kings ruled for a total period of nearly 100 years. The *Kaifīyats* and the *Daṇḍakavile* of *Koṇḍavīḍu* give the respective reigning periods of the different kings. There is also a *Cāṭu* verse current in Andhra country which also gives the reigning periods of these kings. Both the *Kaifīyats* and the *Cāṭu* verse assign a total period of 12, 30, 15, 14, 20 and 4 years of rule for each of the six kings mentioned above.

The starting point of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* rule is mentioned in the Mackenzie manuscripts as 1320 A.D. Since, however, it is known that *Pratāparudra* of the *Kākatīya* rule was reigning till 1323 A.D., the above date cannot be accepted as quite correct. The earliest record of *Prōlaya Vēma* the first *Koṇḍavīḍu* king is his *Mallāvaram* inscription dated 1247, *Saka* or 1325 A.D.[1] There are several inscriptions of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings like the *Vēlpūru* inscription of *Prōlaya Vēma*,[2] the *Kollūru* grant of *Anavōta* etc.[3] From a study of these inscriptions, Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma who has written a monumental work on

1. N.D. II., 0.73, pp. 1022 ff. 2. Ep. Coll. No. 599 of 1925. 3. Loc. Rec., Vol. LVII pp. 210 ff.

the history of the *Reddi* kings[1] has extracted the following known dates and periods of rule of these kings.

S. No.	Name of the King	Earliest date	Latest date	Total period of rule deduced from the inscription	Total period of rule assigned by Catu verse
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	*Prōlaya Vēma*	1325 A.D.	1353 A.D.	28	12
2.	*Anavōta*	1353	1364	11	30
3.	*Ana Vēma*	1364	1382	18	15
4.	*Kumāragiri*	1386	1402	16	14
5.	*Pedakōmaṭi Vēma*	1402	1419	17	20
6.	*Rācha Vēma*	unknown	unknown	unknown	4

From the above it will be seen, that though the genealogy of the *Reddi* kings as known to us from the inscriptions and as known to us from the *Kaifiyats* and *cāṭu* verse is correct and though the total period of their rule viz. roughly 100 years is correct, still there is a good deal of difference of opinion between the total period of years of reign of each of the kings. On an analysis of all the available evidence Sri Somasekhara Sarma has fixed the genealogy and the chronology of the *Reddi* kings of *Koṇḍavīḍu* as follows and this may be accepted as fairly accurate.

1. *Prōlaya Vēma* 1325 A.D. to 1353 A.D.
2. *Anavōta* 1353 A.D. to 1364 A.D.
3. *Ana Vēma* 1364 A.D. to 1386 A.D.
4. *Kumāragiri* 1386 A.D. to 1402 A.D.
5. *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* 1402 A.D. to 1420 A.D.
6. *Rācha Vēma* 1420 A.D. to 1424 A.D.

3. *PRŌLAYA VĒMA* (1325 A.D. to 1353 A.D.)

Prōlaya Vēma was the first historical ruler of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* dynasty. The circumstances under which the *Koṇḍovīḍu* kingdom came into existence are not fully known to us, but it is clear that the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reddis* came to power as one of the chieftains who wanted to throw off the Muslim yoke on the fall of the *Kākatīya* empire. *Prōlaya Vēmāreddi* who was the first historical ruler is described in the *Puvvāḍa* grant edited elsewhere in this volume as well as in his *Mallavaram* records as '*Mlēcchābdhi Kumbhōdbhava*', i.e. a veritable *Kumbhōdbhava* or sage *Agastya* to the ocean of the *Mlēcchās* or the Muslims. *Prōlaya Vēma* placed all his resources at the disposal of *Prōlaya Nāyaka* of the *Musunūru* family for the liberation of the country. In his *Mallavaram* inscription the three great rivers viz. *Brahmakuṇḍi* or the *Kuṇḍiprabha* corresponding to the modern *Guṇḍlakamma*, the *Krishṇa* and the

1. History of the Reddi kings by Sri Somasekhara Sarma (Andhra University Series No. 38).

Gautami are mentioned. These therefore give an idea of the sphere of activities of *Prōlaya Vēmā Reḍḍi*. There is a reference in the Mackenzie manuscripts of *Prōlaya Vēma* defeating hosts of *Turushka Mallās* like *Alāvadin* and others. This is probably *Ala-ud-din* the first *Bahmani Sultan* of *Gulbarga* who must have set foot into the *Reḍḍi* kingdom and must have been defeated by *Prōlaya Vēma*. The *Reḍḍis* of *Koṇḍavīḍu* generally considered themselves as masters of the region extending from *Srīśailam* to the east coast. They continued to administer this region from *Addanki* in the present *Ongōle* taluk of Guntur district as their capital and later on shifted their capital to *Koṇḍavīḍu*.

The *Puvvāḍa* grant edited elsewhere in this volume and also other records of these kings, mention one '*Vēma*' as the *Vamśakarta* to whom was born *Prōla*. *Prōla* was married to one *Annamāmba*. To *Prōla* and *Annamāmba* were born five sons called *Mācha*, *Vēma*, *Anna*, *Doḍḍa* and *Malla*. Of these five sons, the second son *Vēma* is the *Prōlaya Vēma* who is the first historical ruler of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* line of kings. Why *Vēma* who is the second brother was chosen instead of *Mācha* who is the first born is not known though *Mācha Reḍḍy* seems to have loyally obeyed and assisted his brother. As soon as *Kāpaya Nāyaka* the cousin of *Prōlaya Nāyaka* of *Musunūru* family died, *Vēma* would appear to have asserted his independence and organised the defences of his forts on a sound basis. The *Kaluvachēru* grant of *Anitalli* dated *Śaka* 1325 or 1423 A.D.[1] says that *Vēma* who was originally one of the 75 subordinate chiefs of *Kāpaya Nāyaka* began to rule as an independent soverign after the death of *Kāpaya Nāyaka*.

The northern limits of *Vēma's* kingdom do not appear to have extended beyond the Krishna river, and right from the start there was a bitter feud between these kings and the *Rēcharla* chiefs of *Rāchakoṇḍa*. *Vēma* was a pious king and he restored many *Agrahāras* that had been unjustly taken away during the Muslim occupation of the country. He granted also fresh *Agrahāras* to many *Brāhmins* and earned such titles as

"*Nissīma Bhūdāna Paraśurāma*" and

"*Aparimita Bhūdāna Paraśurāma*" etc.

The great poet *Yerrā Pragaḍa* who wrote the *Harivamśa* was the court poet of this king. In his *Harivamśa* he gives a graphic description of the *Koṇḍavīḍū* kings. It is stated in this work, that king *Vēma* was an expert archer, and a pious and a god-fearing king who gathered round himself many Sanskrit and Telugu poets. He bestowed *Agrahāras* on *Brāhmins* and made arrangements for the performance of sacrifices. He built temples, constructed tanks and dedicated them to God. He constructed feeding houses and sheds for the supply of drinking waters and planted trees on the sides of foot paths. *Yerrā Pragaḍa* was rarely given to exaggeration and we may therefore accept his picture of the king as a pious and religious Hindu who was motivated by the higher aims of restoring the

1. A.S.P.P., vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

Sanātana Dharma to its great glory after its eclipse at the hands of the Muslim invaders from the North.

4. *ANAVŌTA* (1354 A.D. to 1364 A.D.)

Vēma had three sons *Anamācha*, *Anavōta*, *Anavēma* and a daughter *Doḍḍamma*. He had another daughter whose name is not known. *Anamācha* appears to have died a premature death and hence during his own life time *Vēma* made *Anavōta* the remaining eldest son as *Yuvarāja*. There is a tradition preserved in the Mackenzie manuscripts that *Vēma* being disabled for the administration of the country on account of some asthmatic complaint placed the governance of the country in the hands of his son.

Anavōta continued the policy of aggrandisement of his father, and being aided by his friend and ally *Chōḍa Bhakti Rāja* he started a campaign of conquest of the coastal districts and first overran a '*Dvīpa*' which gave him the title '*Dvīpa Jēta*'. He would appear to have entered into warfare with *Mummaḍi Nāyaka* of the *Manchikoṇḍa* family, the *Kōna* chiefs etc. A record of his successor gives details of this successful eastern campaign. Though the campaign was successful from a military point of view, still he did not appear to have added these territories permanently to the *Koṇḍavīḍu* kingdom. However, during his reign, the inroads of the *Bahmani* kings of Gulbarga, the *Rēcharla* chiefs, and the *Vijayanagar* kings, were still there and *Anavōta* was able to meet this challenge and maintain his kingdom intact.

The *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvaḷi* refers to a war between *Anavōta* and the *Rēcharla* chiefs which appear to have begun in *Śaka* 1283 or 1361 A.D. The battle would appear to have gone against the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis* though the victories of the *Rēcharla* chiefs did not end by their adding any portion from the coastal territory of the *Reḍḍi* kingdom. *Anavōta* was constantly at war and had to meet the latest thrust from the *Vijayanagar* empire, who had entrenched themselves at *Udayagīri* of Nellore taluq and made it one of their chief bastions from which to sally out and carry on their campaigns. *Anavōta* lost heavily in the fight with the *Vijayanagar* kings, and the limits of his kingdom in the West and in the South receded considerably. *Anavōta's* last years were therefore crowned with defeat and disaster.

5. *ANAVĒMA* (1364 A.D. to 1386 A.D.)

Anavōta had a son by name *Kumāragiri* but *Kumāragiri* was quite young and hence *Anavōta's* brother *Anavēma* came to the throne. When *Anavēma* came to the throne most of the territories acquired by his two predecessors *Vēma* and *Anavōta* were lost mainly to the *Vijayanagar* kings. This was a critical time in the history of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings but *Anavēma* was a great warrior and administrator, who was quite equal to the task.

Anavēma like his predecessor undertook an Eastern campaign which was more than a success. The *Śrīśailam* record contains many epithets like

"*Rājamahēndra Niravadyanagarādi bahuvidha sthala durga varga vidaḷana balarāmā*"

or a hero like *Balarāma* who tore asunder the many kinds of *Sthaladurgas* like *Rāja*

mahēndravara, Niravadya etc. This shows that *Anavēma's* campaign was quite successful. It is possible to reconstruct the route taken by *Anavēma* with the help of the records left by him. After capturing *Niravadyapuri*, or modern *Niḍadavōle*, he would appear to have crossed the *Vāśishṭha* and the *Gautami* and invested *Rājahmahēndranagara*. After conquering it, he attacked *Piṭhāpuram* and also the kingdom of the eastern *Chālukyan* kings of *Yelamanchili* and proceeded as far as *Simhāchalam* where we find one of his records.

After his return from this victorious campaign *Anavēma* turned his attention to the West. *Anavēma* would appear to have won a decisive victory over the *Rēcharla* chiefs and to have annexed to his kingdom a portion of their dominion lying to the North of river Krishna as seen from his inscription at *Wazīrābād, Vāḍapalli* taluq *Nalgonḍa* district.[1] *Anavēma* was also successful in recovering the country from the *Vijayanagar* kings during his campaigns as seen from his *Śrīśailam* records of *Saka* 1299 or 1377 A.D. Thus *Anavēma* recovered all the original possessions, that were lost during the reign of his predecessor and also extended his authority to *Simhāchalam* in costal Andhra and to *Śrīśailam* in *Rāyalasīma*.

6. *KUMĀRAGIRI* (1386 A.D. to 1404 A.D.)

Kumāragiri the son of *Anavōta* succeeded his uncle *Anavēma* round about 1386 A.D. When he came to the throne there was some internecine trouble for the succession to the throne. *Kumāragiri* made his brother-in-law, *Kāṭaya Vēma* his chief adviser in all matters. *Kāṭaya Vēma* had married *Anavōta's* daughter or *Kumāragiri's* sister, and hence *Kāṭaya Vēma's* family assumed a lot of imprtance in the affairs of the *Koṇḍovīdu* kings.

Kumāragiri also as usual with his predecessors had to fight battles with the *Vijayanagar* kings and also with the *Rēcharla* chieftains who were the hereditary enemies of the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis*. *Harihara-II*, the *Vijayanagar* ruler marched as far as *Tripurāntakam* and captured that strong fort. After that they advanced as far as *Vinukonḍa*. *Kumāragiri*, therefore, sent *Kāṭaya Vēma* with a large army against *Harihara*. *Kāṭaya Vēma* was successful and defeated the *Vijayanagar* armies. The *Vijayanagar* army had already been defeated once by the *Rēcharla* and the *Bahmnai* rulers and therefore realising the political necessity of keeping friendly relations with the *Reḍḍi* kings, they came to terms with *Kumāragiri*. Accordingly a treaty was drawn up between *Kumāragiri* and *Harihara-II* and *Harihara-II* cemented this relationship by giving his daughter *Hariharāmba* in marriage to *Kāṭaya Vēma* himself.

Round about 1390 A.D. king *Kumāragiri* had firmly established himself on the throne. He also would appear to have started on an eastern campaign though no lithic records to this effect are available. Evidences to these are available only in the commentary on the dramas of *Kāḷidāsa* written by *Kāṭaya Vēma* who was a great Sanskrit scholar. From the introductory verses to *Ābijñāna Śākuṇtala* of the commentary of *Kāṭaya Vēma* it is known

1. A. R. H. S., 1934-35, Appendix.

that the following places were conquered viz. *Mollēṭi Durga, Kimmūru Durga, Beṇḍapūḍi, Vajrakūṭam, Rāmagiri* and *Vīrakūtam.* Apart from this introduction a *Cāṭu* verse in *Telugu* given in *Cāṭupadya Maṇimanjari,* states that *Kātaya Vēma* reduced a number of forts also. The newly conquered territory upto *Simhāchalam* was constituted into a province called *Pūrva Rājya* or eastern kingdom with *Rājahmandry* as its capital. It would thus appear that *Kumāragiri* not only firmly established himself on his throne, but also extended his kingdom further.

Kāṭaya Vēma was a great administrator and since *Kumāragiri* wisely entrusted him with the details of the administration, the king had a lot of time which he wisely and usefully spent in cultural activities.

7. *PEDA KŌMAṬI VĒMA* (1402 A.D. to 1420 A.D.)

Kumāragiri had a son called *Anavōta-II.* He, however, died a premature death round about 1390 A.D. even while acting as a viceroy at *Rājahmundry* and thus *Kumāragiri* was left without a descendent to the throne. *Kumāragiri* confirmed therefore *Kāṭaya Vēma* his brother-in-law whom he loved very dearly as the heir to the eastern kingdom. This, however, proved unwise in practice since with the departure of *Kāṭaya Vēma* to *Rājamahēndravaram* there were intrigues in the capital. In addition, there was a terrible famine in 1336 A.D. which lasted for 12 years and it laid the country waste. Taking advantage of this the *Vijayanagar* kings were penetrating into the south. There were also internal dissensions against *Kumārgiri.* In these circumstances, a grandson of *Mācha Reḍḍi* the elder brother of *Prōlaya Vēma Reddi* succeeded *Kumāragiri* round about 1402 A.D. with the name *Peda Kāmaṭi Vēma* after wresting it from *Kumāragiri.* He would appear to have seized the fort of *Koṇḍavīdu* by force with the help of some of the nobles. *Kāṭaya Vēma* who tried to save the soverign *Kumāragiri* was defeated in battle. *Kumārgiri* fled to *Rājahmundry* accompanied by his brother-in-law *Kāṭaya Vēma* and spent his last days there.

By the time *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* established himself firmly, the *Vijayanagar* empire was in the throes of a civil war, and taking advantage of it, the *Reḍḍi* army defeated the *Vijayanagar* armies and recovered their lost possessions. *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* reconquered the coastal portions also which were lost during the reign of the previous king. *Kāṭaya Vēma* was still giving trouble from *Rājahmandry* and though there is no direct evidence of fight between *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* and *Kāṭaya Vēma* there are details given in Telugu literature about this.

Sometime after this, the civil war in the *Vijayanagar* kingdom ended and *Dēvarāya-I* was firmly established on the throne. *Kāṭaya Vēma* and *Dēvarāya* came to an understanding and true to his promise *Dēvarāya* marched into *Koṇḍaviḍu* territory. *Dēvarāya's* inscription at Inkollu of Bapatla Taluq of Guntur district dated 1412 A.D. indicates the date of *Vijayanagar* aggression.[1] Though he temporarily succeeded, still *Vijayanagar* rule

1. Ep. Coll. No. 798 of 1922.

was not firmly established here, and *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* was able to expel the *Vijayanagar* forces from his kingdom and bring it again under his control.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was not merely a great administrator, but also a great scholar. He is the author of many works in Sanskrit in different branches of learning like *Śravya Prabandhas* and *Dṛsya Prabandhas*, treatises on *Sangīta* and *Sāhitya*, and also commentaries on Sanskrit works. Many *caṭu* verses which are still extant in Andhra extol his greatness. One of these praises the munificence of *Pēda Kōmaṭi Vēma* but ironically remarks that just as there is a snake near every *Kalpa* tree, so also there was a *Turagā Rāma* probably referring to one of his Ministers, near *Peda Kōmati Vēma*, thereby implying that no one could approach him.[1]

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's reign is also very important in Andhra history as in his great court reigned *Srīnātha* who was the greatest poet of the day. *Śrīnātha* gave full expression to the power and charm of Telugu lyrical expression and reached the highest pinnacles of poetry in vivid and graphic verses bringing out the melody and musical sense of Telugu language and verse in their best light. Whatever he wrote was full of vigour and life. He used to great effect very ordinary terms and expressions and made full use of colloquial phrases sometimes not sanctioned by strict grammarians, and made limpid poetry out of them. Whatever he wrote was poetry and his works overflow with floods of liquid radiance and beauty, not excelled either before or after. He experimented with new literary fashions successfully, and attained perfection in many of them. For example the *Sīsa* metre was chistled by him to such exquisite beauty that it is not capable of further perfection. His style was lofty, chaste, and masterly, and his poetry has a majestic rythm and melody. *Śrīnātha* held the position of '*Vidyādhikāri*' in the court of *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma*. It was *Śrīnātha* who composed all the gift deeds issued by his patron king, the earliest of which is the *Pōnupalli* grant[2] and the latest the *Rudravaram* grant.[3] After the downfall of the kingdom, *Śrīnātha* went to *Rājamahēndravaram* and became the court poet of king *Vīrabhadra Reḍḍi* who ruled till *Śaka* 1360 or 1438 A.D. He was thus the poet laureate of the *Reḍḍi* kings for over 38 years.

8. *RĀCHA VĒMĀ REḌḌI* (1420 A.D. to 1424 A.D.)

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was succeeded by his son *Rācha Vēma*. *Rācha Vēma's* mother was *Sūramāmba*. There is no record of *Rācha Vēma's* reign available but the *Daṇḍakavile* and *Kaifīyats* state that he ruled only for four years, and treated his people cruelly and oppressively.

During the time of *Rācha Vēmā Reḍḍi*, there was a thrust from the *Gajapatis* of *Kalinga* and also from the *Vijayanagar* side. As *Rācha Vēmā Reḍḍi* was an oppressive

1. *Cāṭupadyamaṇimanjari by V. Prabhakara Śāstri*, Vol. I, p. 34.
2. Loc. Rec., Vol. 43. pp. 267 ff. and Vol. 48, pp. 26 ff.
3. C. P. No. 7 of 1919-20.

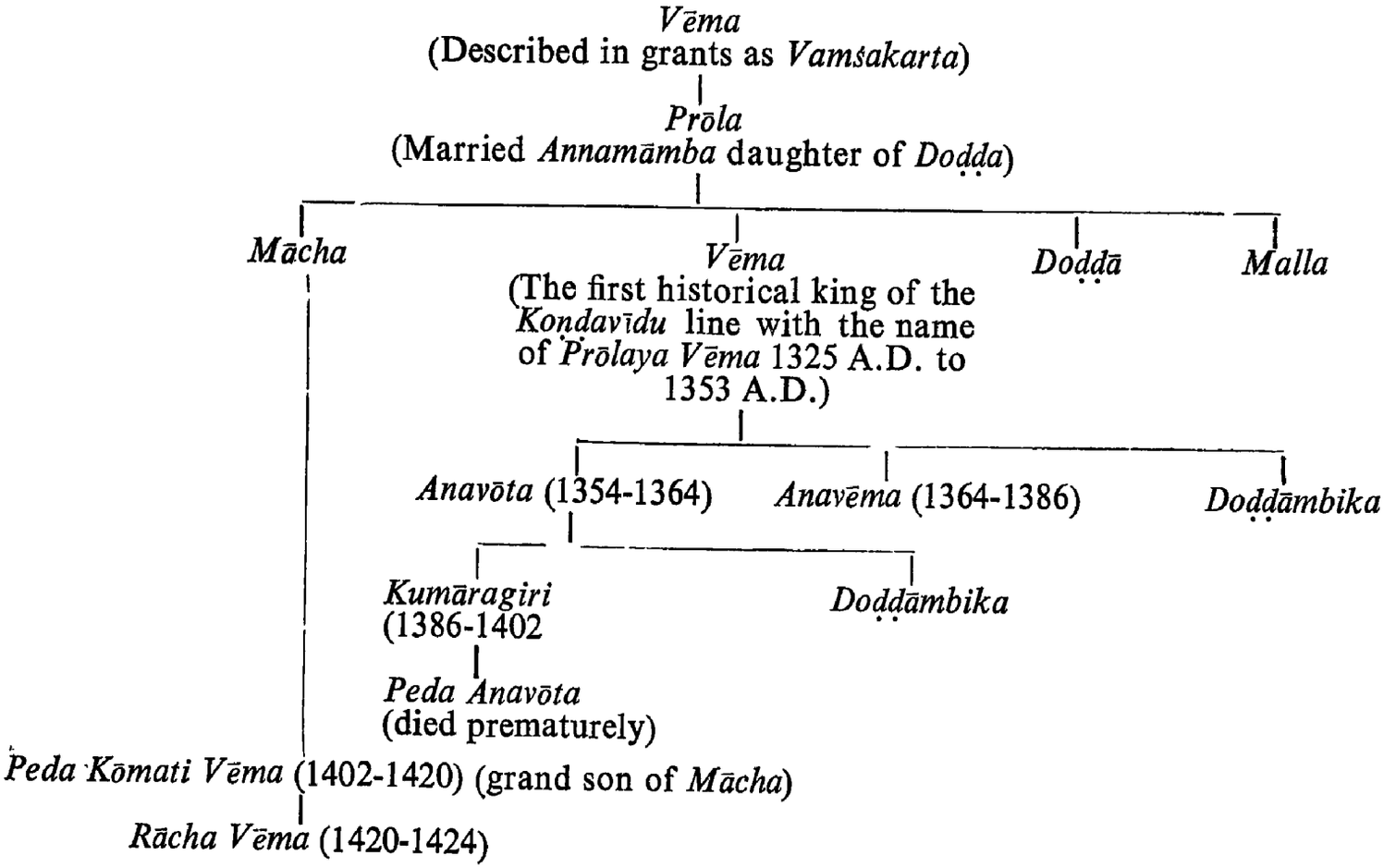
tyrant, there was little support from his people against these invasions and he would appear to have been overthrown by them. The kingdom of *Koṇḍavīḍu* founded by *Prōlaya Vēma* thus came to an inglorious end.

9. CONCLUSION

The *Reḍḍi* kingdom was established in the heart of *Andhra Dēśa* in order to resist the Southern thrust of the Muslim forces. It was fully successful in building up its position and in acting as a buffer between the South and the Deccan. The *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings restored many of the *Agrahārās* that had been granted to *Brahmins* and granted many new ones. They ruled the country strictly according to the principles laid down in the '*Dharmaśāstrās*'. Under them literature, art, industries etc. flourished and there was general peace and happiness among the people. This period also witnessed a renaissance of Sanskrit as well as Telugu literature. *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* was a great poet of this dynasty. *Kāṭaya Vēma*, brother-in-law of *Kumāragiri* was himself a great poet, and his commentary on the dramas of *Kālidāsa* is known as *Kumāragiri Rājīyam*.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma is the author of '*Sāhitya Chintāmaṇi*' written on the model of *Mammaṭa's* '*Kāvya Prakāśa*'. He is also credited with having written a treatise on Music called *Sangīta Chintāmaṇi*. This period also witnessed the production of great masterpieces in Telugu language also. Renowned poets and scholars like *Yerrā Pragaḍa*, the author of *Araṇya Parva* of *Mahā Bhārata*, *Lakshmī Nṛīsimhāvatāra*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Harivamśa*, *Srīgiri Jakkanna* the author of *Vikramārka Charita*, *Anniah* the author of *Shōḍaśakumara Charitra*, *Ananta* the author of *Bhōjarājīyam*, *Chandōdarpaṇam*, *Raśābharaṇam*, *Peddana* the author for *Kavyālankāra Chūḍāmaṇi*, *Śivalenka Kommanna* the author of *Vīra Māhēśvaram*, *Śiva Līlā Vilāsam*, *Tripurāntaka* the author of *Chandratārāvali*, *Ambikā Śatakam* etc. *Vallabhāmātya* the author of *Krīḍābhirāmaṁ*, *Singana* the author of *Padma Purāṇa* *Sakalanītisammata* etc, and *Srīnatha* the great Telugu poet and author of works like *Śṛingāra Naishadha*, *Śālivāhana Saptaśati*, *Maruttarāṭcharitra*, *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇa*, *Kāśī Khanḍa* etc. lived during the reign of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings.

Right from the start the *Koṇḍaviḍu* kings had to contend not merely against the inroads by the *Vijayanagar* empire, but also against the *Rēcharla* chiefs of *Dēvarakoṇḍa* and *Rāchakoṇḍa* with whom they were perpetually at war. The kingdom of *Koṇḍavīḍu* which was founded by *Prōlaya Vēma* reached its zenith in the reign of the great *Anavēma* and *Kumāragiri*. The internecine wars at the time of *Peda Kōmati Vēma* gave it a downward thrust and with his unworthy son the empire came to an end. A glorious period of 100 years was all the life of the *Koṇḍavīdu Reḍḍi* dynasty. The following table shows at a glance the genealogy and chronology of the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis*.


Vēma
(Described in grants as Vamśakarta)
Prōla
(Married Annamāmba daughter of Doḍḍa)
Mācha
Vēma
(The first historical king of the Koṇḍavīdu line with the name of Prōlaya Vēma 1325 A.D. to 1353 A.D.)
Doḍḍā
Malla
Anavōta (1354-1364)
Anavēma (1364-1386)
Doḍḍāmbika
Kumāragiri
(1386-1402
Doḍḍāmbika
Peda Anavōta
(died prematurely)
Peda Kōmati Vēma (1402-1420) (grand son of Mācha)
Rācha Vēma (1420-1424)

CHAPTER XVI

PUVVĀḌA GRANT OF *PRŌLAYA VĒMA* OF *KOṆḌAVĪḌU* DYNASTY OF *REḌḌI* KINGS

These plates were discovered in an old well in Tenali taluk of Guntur district and were retrieved by Sri N. Bhagwandas, I.A.S., who was then District Collector and Magistrate of Guntur. While examining his private collection, I came upon these plates and realised their importance. Sri N. Bhagwandas was kind enough to give these plates to the Government Museum at Hyderabad, and they are now on display in the copper plate epigraphy section of the Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Museum in the Public Gardens.

The inscription is engraved upon five copper plates. The plates are engraved on both sides except the top portion of the first plate which is left blank. The letters are bold and legible. The plates are held together by a ring which is sealed with a *Nandi* which has the usual *Lānchana* of *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings. The plates measure 26.8 cms. in length, and 10.8 cms. in breadth. The rims of the plates are not raised except in the case of the first and the last plates, and hence the writing is slightly damaged in many of the plates, though the calligraphy is so good and the language which is used is so chaste, that it has been possible for me to satisfactorily reconstruct the entire writing except the names of some of the *Brāhmin* donees at the end. The total weight of the plates and the ring is 2925 grams and 632 grams rerpectively.

The plates are engraved on both sides except the first side of the first plate. There are in all 82 lines of writing, distributed equally on each plate, with nine lines of writing on each, except on the 2nd side of the fourth plate which contains 10 lines.

The seal of the ring is also inscribed and a photo of the inscribed seal is also published along with the plates. The inscription on the seal reads as *Śrī Pallava Trinētra* which is the usual sign manual of the *Koṇḍavīḍū* kings.

The language of the plate is Sanskrit, except for the details of the boundaries of the village. The characters belong to the medieval Telugu type. The style used is exceptionally chaste and is replete with *Alankārās.*

The plate opens whith a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍīta* metre in which Lord *Nārāyaṇa* in the aspect of *Varāha* is described and a benediction given that that Lord may protect all of

us. In the next verse which is also in *Śārdūlāvikrīḍita* metre it is stated that the *Śūdra* caste or the *Chaturtha Varṇa* which is the source of all *Gāṁbhīrya* and *Dhairya* was born from the feet of Lord *Nārāyaṇa* even as the sacred *Gangā* was born. In the next verse which is in the *Mandākrānta* metre it is stated that in this *Chaturthakula* was born *Vēma* who is described here as the '*Vaṁśakarta*' or the originator of the *Vaṁśa*. It is stated that when this king was ruling, the garland of pearls adorning the necks of the enemy queens disappeared, implying thereby that he was such a powerful warrior that he slew all the enemy kings. In the next verse, in the *Vasantatilaka* metre it is described that from *Vēma* the *Vaṁśakarta* was born for the upliftment of the Brahmin community the King *Kōmati Prōla* who is described here as a veritable *Garuḍa* to the snakes of the enemy kings. In the next verse which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre a fine description of his wife *Annamāmba* is given. This *Annamāmba* was as good a wife to *Prōla* as the daughter of the mountains i.e. *Pārvati* was to *Śaṁbhu* i.e. Lord *Śiva*, Goddess *Bhārati* or *Saraswati* to *Pankajabhava* or Lord *Brahma*, Goddess *Lakshmi* or *Sāgarasambhavā* to Lord *Vishṇu*, *Jāhnavi* or *Gangā* to the Lord of the rivers i.e. the sea, *Suvarchala* to Lord *Sūrya* and as *Rōhiṇi* to the Lord Moon. In the next verse which is also in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre it is stated that this virtuous lady *Annamāmba* gave birth through *Kōmaṭi Prōla* to five sons *Mācha*, *Vēma*, *Doḍḍa*, *Anna* and *Malla*. In the next verse which is in *Indravajra* metre these five brothers are compared to the five *Pāṇḍavās* who had taken birth for the upliftment of the world and who were shining in their truthfulness, strength, valour, beauty and intelligence. It is also interesting to note in this connection that the five qualities mentioned above are attributable to the five *Pāṇḍavās* in that order viz. Truthfulness to *Dharmarāja*, strength to *Bhīma*, valour to *Arjuna*, beauty to *Nakula* and intelligence to *Sahadēva*. In the next verse which is in the *Malini* metre it is stated that out of these five brothers, *Vēma Bhūpāla* who is the second of the five brothers came to the throne, just as Lord *Kṛishṇa* who is described here as *Kamsa-mardi* or the killer of *Kamsa* came to the throne. *Vēma* is also described as the refuge and resort of all Pundits. This *Vēma* is the grantor of the present copper plate.

In the next verse which is in the *Indravajra* metre this *Vēma Bhūpāla* is said to have obtained double merit by first restoring the old *Agrahārās* that had been granted earlier and by granting fresh *Agrahārās* later for the benefit of the world. In the next verse which is in the *Indravajra* metre it is stated that this king gave enough of land grants and was content with the '*Bhukta Śēsha*' or the 'left-over' enjoyments. In the next verse which is also in the *Indravajra* metre this king *Vēmabhūpāla* is said to have constructed a flight of steps leading down to the *Pātāḷagangā* river near *Śrīśailam* described here as *Śrīgiri* and that he made arrangements for the descent of the pilgrims into the river being himself anxious for ascending to *Kailāsa*. In the next verse which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre the valour of *Vēmabhūpāla* is described further. He is compared to the terrific flow of water

uprooting all the enemy kings who are standing on the sides and as a full moon to the friendly kings, who are compared to the moon lotuses and which blossom forth as soon as the full moon rises. The king is also compared to a gust of wind to the cotton of '*Manne*' kings, who were very haughty. He is described as a veritable '*Kumbhōdbhava*' or *Agastya* to the '*Mlēcchābdhi*' or the ocean of the *Mlēcchās* or the Muslims. In the next verse which is in the *Sragdhara* the *Manḍalāgra* or the sword of *Vēmabhūpāla* is described in a verse full of vigour and beauty. The sword is compared to Lord *Śiva* doing the *Tāṇḍava*. The nerves and the intestines of the enemy kings that had been killed in the battle and which got attached to the sword are described as the '*Ghana Jaṭa*' or the flowing locks of hair of *Śiva*. The pearls in the foreheads of the elephants that had been smashed by the sword and turned into white powder and which had attached themselves like a paste to the sword are compared to the *Bhūti* or *Vibhūti* of Lord *Śiva*. The sword is also making an '*Aṭṭahāsa*' in the battle field just as Lord *Śiva* does the '*Aṭṭahāsa*' when the lord is doing the cosmic dance and the noise of the sword is described as '*Jhaṇa Jhaṇa*' and *Krinkrita*. Just as Lord *Śiva* is surrounded by his *Pramatha Gaṇās*, the sword is also described as being surrounded by the '*Bhūta Bētāḷās*' or the ghosts of the persons that were killed in the battle field. Thus the sword is described as doing the *Prachaṇḍa Tāṇḍava* like Lord *Śiva*. In the next verse the genealogy of king *Vēma* is described. In this verse which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre it is stated that ancient kings like *Sāgara* etc. have done enough of gifts of land but the poets would prefer to make special mention only of one donor viz. *Vēma Bhūpati*. In the flowing waters of the gifts made by this king, *Vairōchana* or *Bali* the son of *Virōchana*, is said to have bathed, the idea being that the '*Dānasalila*' or the water given during the '*Dāna*' by the king is so great that it is enough to drench even *Bali*. In the next verse which is in *Anushṭup* metre the kingdom of *Vēma* is said to have had the *Sapta Santānās* and the *Kīrti* or glory of the king being jealous of this, got herself established in the fourteen worlds also. In the next verse which is also in the *Anushṭup* metre the king is described as having the sign manual '*Pallava Trinētra*' and is described as a bee worshipping at the lotus feet of *Śrī Ghōderāya Ganga*. In the next verse which is in the *Indravajra* metre *Vēma* is described as ruling the *Mahitāndhra Dēśa* or the glorious *Āndhra Dēśa* to the east of *Śrīśaila* and which adjoins the *Gundlakamma* river. His capital is said to be *Addanki* and the king is said to be ruling his kingdom paying equal attention to *Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma*.

In the next verse which is in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre the date of the grant and the name of the village that was granted are given. The *Saka* year was 1268 corresponding to 1346 A.D. The cyclic year was *Vyaya* and the date of the grant was *Āshaḍha Daśami*. On this day the king *Vēmabhūpālapati* gave before the Lord of *Śrīśaila* for the eradication of all sins, the village known as *Puvvāḍa* to several learned *Brahmins* who were well versed in *Vēdās*, after dividing the village into sixty four parts and made the gift with the eight different

types of enjoyments. In the next verse which is in the *Anushṭup* metre it is stated that from that time the village *Puvvāḍa* came to be known as *Vēmapuri* and the village is also said to be situated in between the two forts of *Addanki* and *Vinukoṇḍa.*

In the next few lines the names of all the *Brahmins* who were the grantees, and the shares which they were given is described in full. At the end of the plate are the usual imprecatory verses which are found in all the copper plate grants of this type.

The grant gives us the name of *Prōla's* father *Vēma,* who is described here as '*Vamśa-karta*' and after whom the present grantor is named. In the copper plate the king *Prōlaya Vēmā's* father is described as *Kōmaṭi Prōla* who married *Annamāmba. Yerrā Pragaḍa* in his *Harivamśa* does not mention *Doḍḍa* who is mentioned here as one of the five sons perhaps because *Doḍḍa* might have died by the time the *Harivamśa* came to be written.

The *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings belong to the *Reḍḍi* family and it is not known as to how and why they are mentioned as *Kōmatis* though they are not members of *Vaiśya* or the third caste. There is, however, a current story in *Āndhrā Dēśa* preserved in the *Koṇḍavīṭi Daṇḍakavile* and the *Kaifīyats.* According to these, it is stated that the *Reḍḍis* became suddenly rich during the time of one *Donti Allāḍa Rēḍḍi.* A merchant *Vēmana* or *Kōmati Vēmana* spent a number of years with *Rasasiddhās* and acquired a piece of philosopher's stone or *Sparśavēdi* which had the property of converting iron to gold. Though the merchant *Vēmana* took pains to protect this, *Allāḍā* came to know of this and put into execution an ingenious plan to rob *Vēmana* of this. While *Vēmana* was once out *Allāḍa Reḍḍi* took possession of this philospher's stone, and set fire to the house, and later pleaded that the stone also was burnt. The *kōmaṭi* died of a broken heart and on his death bed he enjoined that his name should be perpetuated in the family of the *Reḍḍis* and that the wealth obtained through the stone should be spent on charity.

Whatever might be the truth of the story, the fact remains that many of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings had the titles *Vēma* and *Kōmaṭi* which are very rare among the *Reḍḍi* families. There is one *Manchāla* copper plate grant of *Prōlaya Vēma* which credits him with having known the science of Alchemy.[1]

"*Swarṇakāra Prasiddhim Labdhavān.*"

From *Śrīnātha's Haravilāsa* we learn that a *Kōmaṭi* named *Avachi Dēvayya* son of *Pāvani* a great merchant of *Simhavikramapaṭṭaṇa* was the chief source of supply to *Vēma. Avachi Dēvāyya's* son *Tippa* to whom *Śrīnātha's* book was dedicated was also a great merchant and was purveyor to *Kumāragiri.* It would thus appear that *Avachi Dēva* supported *Vēma* as his son *Avachi Tippa* supported *Kumāragiri.*

The king *Vēmabhūpāla* is also described in the grant as '*Śrī Ghōḍerāya Gangākhya Guru Pādābja Shaṭpadaḥ*' or a bee at the lotus feet of his *Guru* known as *Ghōḍerāya Ganga. Yerrā Pragaḍa* in his work *Harivamśa* addressed king *Vēma* as one who established the

1. Mack. Mss. Nos. 15-16-17 and 15-3-64.

kingdom by the mercy of his *Guru Ghōḍerāya Ganga.*

"Śrī Parvatēśa Bhakti
Khyāpita Guṇa Ghōḍerāya Ganga Guru Krupā
Sthāpita Sāmrājya Samu
Ddīpita Vēmakshitīndra Dīpta Dinēndṛā."

Hr. Vm., II. IV. V. 1.

(This verse which is stated to be found in some of the manuscripts is given as *Pāṭhāntara* in the *Vāvilla* edition)

The members of the *Ghōḍerāyaganga* family exercised much influence over the *Reḍḍi* kings in view of their status as *Rājagurus* or preceptors of the kings. The identity of *Ghōḍerāya Ganga* mentioned in the plate has not been fully established. In the Madras Museum plate of *Vēma* also edited by the late Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu (Epigraphia Indica Vo. VIII page 15) the same reference to the king *Vēma* as *Srī Ghōḍēraya Gangākhya Gurupādābja Ṣhaṭpadah* occurs.

There was one *Ghōderaya Ganga* or *Gangidēva* who was a Minister of *Ambadēva* who was a great powerful *Kshatriya* feudatory of *Rudrāmbika* of the *Kākatīya* line. *Ambadēva* ruled upto 1304 A.D. and his inscriptions are found at *Tripurāntakam* and other places. His minister was *Ghōḍerāya Gangayya Dēva* who was an able and upright administrator and who made several gifts to *Saivite* temples, and also set up feeding houses to *Māhēśvarās* or *Saivite* devotees. This *Gangadēva* may be the same as the *Guru* of king *Vēma* referred to above. If this identity which has been proposed by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma[1] is accepted, then it may be presumed that it was he who took the forefathers of *Vēma* into the service of *Ambadēva.* If so perhaps a clue to the origin of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* dynasty may be found in this.

The seal of the copper plate contains as stated above the sign manual '*Srī Pallava Trinētra*'. In several other plates the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis* have assumed the titles of *Pallavāditya* and *Pallava Trinētra.* The question, whether the *Reḍḍīs* were *Pallavās* or connected with them arises for consideration.

The early *Pallava* dynasties that ruled over *Nellōre* and other places disappeared centuries before the rise of *Koṇḍavīḍu* power, and in between, several chieftains who traced their descent from *Mukkanṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi* or *Trilōchanapallava* ruled the land as feudatories of the *Chōlās.* It is not possible to say therefore that these *Reḍḍis* were originally *Pallavas* since the evidence does not warrant such a conclusion. These *Reḍḍi* nobles might have contracted matrimonial alliances with the *Pallava* chieftains of *Nellōre* of the 12th and 13th centuries. Because of this or because their country was *Paṇṭa Rāshṭra* which was a division of the ancient *Toṇḍamaṇḍala* which for centuries has been the homeland of the *Pallavas* the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis* might have assumed the title of '*Pallava Trinētra*'. Apart from this no

1. History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms, page 66.

other explanation is possible at this stage.

The date of the grant is given as '*Śākābdē Dvirartu Bhānu*' etc. As it stands, the word *Bhānu* represents the *Dvādaśa Arkās* and stands for 12, *Ṛitu* stands for 6, and *Dvi* for 2 and the *Śaka* year would then be 1262. However the cyclic year is given as *Vyaya*, and if it is 1262 *Śaka* the cyclic year is *Vikrama* and not *Vyaya*. As the cyclic year is given in unmistakable terms as *Vyaya*, this corresponds to *Saka* 1268 only. *Saka* 1268 is seen to be correctly given in letters in the grant and hence there is an obvious mistake in describing the year in words. Moreover the metre of the verse in which this phrase occurs, being *Śārdūlavikrīdita* the phrase '*Sākābdē Dvirartu Bhānu*' will not satisfy the requirements of the verse. In *Śārḍūlavikrīḍita* the first *Gaṇa* is '*Ma*' *Gaṇa*, the second *Gaṇa* is '*Sa*' *Gaṇa*. The '*Ma*' *Gaṇa* consists of three *Gurus* and the word *Sākābdē* is the '*Ma*' *Gaṇa*. The next *Gaṇa* is '*Sa*' *Gaṇa* consisting a *Laghu* in the beginning, a *Laghu* in the middle and a *Guru* at the end. The first *Laghu* is *Dvi*. If the second letter '*Ra*' is followed by *Rtu* which is a *Samyuktākshara* then it becomes a *Guru* and not a *Laghu*. Hence it is necessary that there should be a *Laghu* after the *Laghu Dvi*. Moreover it is also seen that there is one *Laghu* letter which is altogether missing in the verse. In view of these reasons and in view of the fact that the year is 1268 *Saka* which is clearly visible in letters, and which also corresponds to the cyclic year *Vyaya* given in the grant, it is found that the description in the plate '*Dvirartu*' is wrong. One might attempt at supplying the missing letter as '*Da*' and then read the verse as '*Śākābdē Dviradartu Bhānu*'. If this missing letter is supplied the word '*Dvirada*' which means an elephant would stand for the 8, standing for *Ashṭa Diggajās*. In that case the year would be 1268 *Śaka* and all the difficulties would be resolved. Hence the description of the year given in the words is an obvious mistake and the pharse has to be read as '*Śākābdē Dviradartu Bhānu Gaṇa Yuktē*' etc. The month is given as *Āshaḍha* and the date is given as *Daśami*. This would correspond to July 17, or July 31, of 1346 A.D., as the *Paksha* is *Bahula* or *Śukla*.

The village that has been granted is described as *Puvvāḍa* and it is stated to be situated between the two forts of *Addanki* and *Vinukoṇḍa*. The village after the grant by *Vēmabhūpāla* is said to be renamed by him as *Vēmapuri*. The village is still known by the name of *Puvvaḍa* of Guntur district and is situated exactly between the modern *Addanki* and *Vinukoṇḍa* of that district.

It is stated in the grant itself that the king divided this village into 64 parts. The number sixty four is written both in words and in letters. It is called '*Nigamaṛtu Bhāga Sahita*' the *Ṛitu* standing for 6 and the *Nigama* or the Vedas standing for 4. The village therefore was divided into sixty four parts.

The grantees were learned brahmins belonging to different *Gōtrās*. Each one was not given an equal share. Some persons were given half share, some three-fourths share, some one, and some one-eigth etc. The following table gives completely the names of the brahmins,

their Gotras and also the parts of the village which were granted to their share.

It is seen from an actual calculation of the parts given to the brahmins, that there were in all 61 brahmins to whom the grants were made. Some were given half a share described in the grant as '*Artha Bhāgi*', some were given shares described in the grant as '*Dvi Bhāgi*', some were given $1\frac{1}{4}$ share described in the grant as '*Sapāda Bhāgi*', some were given three-fourth share described in the grant as '*Pādōna Bhāgi*' etc. Several fractions like '*Shōḍaśāmśa Sahita Artha Bhāgi*' or $\frac{1}{16}+\frac{1}{2}=\frac{9}{16}$ '*Shōḍaśāmśa dwaya Sahita Pāda Bhāgi*' or $\frac{2}{16}+\frac{1}{4}=\frac{3}{8}$ '*Shōḍaśāmśa Shaṭka Sahita Ēka Bhāgi*' or $\frac{6}{16}+1=1\frac{6}{16}$ etc. have been mentioned. From the list given below, the total comes to exactly 63 parts and not 64 parts as mentioned in the grant. However, the portion granted to one *Annayārya* No. 46 in the list below is not clear in the grant except the last letter '*gi*'. If we assume that he was treated as a *Sapāda Bhāgi*' then the total would come to $64\frac{1}{4}$ and if we assume that he was treated as a '*Padōna Bhāgi*' the total will come to $63\frac{3}{4}$ and in either case it is $\frac{1}{4}$ part extra or $\frac{1}{4}$ part less than the total of the 64 parts mentioned in the grant. If, however, the part mentioned against *Śrī Annayārya* had been erased in the original grant itself, he should be deemed to have been given one part only, since it is explicitly stated in the grant that persons against whom a specific number is not mentioned, should be deemed to have received only one part. In such a case, the total of the parts would work out exactly to 64 parts as mentioned in the grant. It is not possible to state any thing more definitely than this since unfortunately the original copper plate is eroded much against the name of *Annayārya*. From an analysis of the names it is seen that 10 persons belonging to *Kāśyapa Gōtra*, 4 persons to *Bhāradwāja Gōtra*, 10 persons to *Kaundinya Gōtra*, 5 persons to *Gōtama Gōtra*, 6 persons to *Śrivatsa Gōtra*, 3 persons to *Śāndilya Gōtra*, 11 persons to *Harita Gotra*, two persons to *Chikita Gotra* and one each to *Kauśika*, *Kaṇwa*, *Vishṇu-Vriddha*, *Kutsa*, *Kapi*, *Agastya*, *Vasishṭa*, *Vadhula Gotrās* and two brahmins viz. *Koṭṭhari Samgyakah* and *Doṇayaryah* whose *Gōtrās* are not known were given lands.

LIST OF THE *BRAHMINS*

S. No.	Name	Gotra	Share
1.	*Āchārya Peddayārya*	*Kāśyapa*	1
2.	*Nārāyaṇārya*	,,	1
3.	*Narahari....pāpayārya*	,,	1
4.	*Vengalanāthāryah*	,,	1
5.	*Māchirājāryah*	,,	1
6.	*Gangayāryah*	,,	1
7.	*Pōlayāryah*	,,	1

S. No.	Name	Gotra	Share
8.	*Varadayārya*	*Bhāradwāja*	2
9.	*Narasimhabaṭṭa*	,,	2
10.	*Mādhavārya*	,,	1
11.	*Ādityāryah*	*Kaundinya*	1
12.	*Mallayāryah*	,,	1
13.	*Thallayāryah*	,,	1
14.	*Gannayāryah*	,,	½
15.	*Appayāryah*	,,	½
16.	*Singayya Bhaṭṭa*	*Kauśika*	1
17.	*Gōparājārya*	*Kaṇwa*	1
18.	*Jahkappayāryah*	*Vishṇuvṛiddha*	1
19.	*Sūrayāryah*	*Kutsa*	1
20.	*Mārayārya*	*Kapi*	1
21.	*Sūrayārya*	*Gōtama*	2
22.	*Kamanappayārya*	,,	2
23.	*Peddayāryah*	,,	1
24.	*Narahari Bhaṭṭa*	,,	1
25.	*Nārāyaṇappayāryah*	*Śrīvatsa*	1
26.	*Mārayāryah*	,,	1
27.	*Sōmarājāryah*	,,	1
28.	*Nārāyaṇāryah*	,,	1
29.	*Mārayāryah*	*Śandilya*	1
30.	*Nāgayāryah*	,,	1
31.	*Mallayāryah*	,,	½
32.	*Thammayya Bhaṭṭa*	*Hārīta*	1
33.	*Annayāryah*	,,	1
34.	*Peddayāryah*	,,	1
35.	*Pondūri Peddaya*	,,	2
36.	*Kēśavapeddayāryah*	,,	2
37.	*Thammalūri Peddaya*	,,	2
38.	*Lakkanāryah*	,,	1
39.	*Singaya Bhaṭṭa*	,,	1
40.	*Dēvayāryah*	,,	1
41.	*Varadayāryah*	,,	½
42.	*Pinnayāryah*	*Agastya*	1¼
43.	*Manchi Rāiāryah*	*Vaśishṭa*	¾

S. No.	Name	Gotra	Share
44.	*Chittayāryah*	*Gōtama*	$\frac{1}{2}$
45.	*Nandirājāryah*	*Bhāradwāja*	$2\frac{1}{2}$
46.	*Annayāryah*	*Śrīvatsa*	
47.	*Nallaparājārya*	,,	$\frac{3}{4}$
48.	*Dāmanakūchinārya*	*Hārīta*	$\frac{1}{2}$
49.	*Allayāryah*	*Vadūla*	$\frac{1}{2}$
50.	*Gangayārya*	*Chikita*	1
51.	*Anantārya*	,,	1
52.	*Dāchayārya*	*Kāśyapa*	$\frac{1}{2}$
53.	*Nallagangarya*	,,	$\frac{9}{16}$
54.	*Mallayāryah*	,,	$\frac{6}{16}$
55.	*Amarayāryah*	*Kaundinya*	$\frac{10}{16}$
56.	*Gannayārya*	,,	$\frac{9}{16}$
57.	*Gōparājāryah*	,,	$\frac{6}{16}$
58.	*Mallayāryah*	,,	$\frac{14}{16}$
59.	*Singayāryah*	,,	1
60.	*Koṭṭhāri Samgyakah*	,,	$1\frac{1}{16}$
61.	*Dōṇayāryah*	,,	1
		Total	63

The boundaries of the village are given as follows :

To the East	River *Gundlakamma*
To the South East	A *vāgu* called *Lonthuvāgu*
To the South	A bush called *Kalucha Podalu*
To the South West	A pit called *Chaṭrāla Kunṭa*
To the West	A bush called *Kathuva Podalu*, a *dōmalu gattū* to its West, and a *Rāvi Meraka*
To the North West	A tank or *Cheruvu*
To the North	*Puli vāgu*
To the North East	River *Gundlakamma*

FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE

१. श्रीमत्कोमलनिल[1]नीरजरुचिर्लीलवराहश्चिरं नातिप्रौढमृणालकदळ
२. लसद्दंष्ट्रांकुरः पातु वः । यस्मिन्नुद्वहति क्रमेण विगळत्पाथोधिली[लां]शु
३. का रागादार्द्रतनूरिव क्षणमभूदामोदिनी मेदिनी (1) आसीत्कौस्तुभरत्नमंडि
४. ततनोर्देवस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः पादात्पद्मनिभत्विषो भगवती गंगेव पुण्योदया । आ
५. कल्पस्थिरजीवना त्रिजगतीसंतारणोद्योगिनी पर्यायेण चतुर्थवर्णवितति
६. र्गांभीर्यधैर्यप्रसूः (2) तद्वर्णाब्धावखिलजनतानेत्रसंपूर्णचंद्रो जातः
७. कीर्तिप्रभवसदनं वेमयो वंशकर्त्ता । यस्योदग्रे स्फुरति सततं भास्वतीव प्र
८. तापे नासीत्कंठेष्वरिमृगदृशां हारतारावळिश्रीः (3) तेनाजनि द्विजनिकायहिता
९. वतार श्रेयान्गुणैस्तनुभृतां मरुतामिवेंद्रः । वीराग्रणीर्जगति को

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

१०. मटिप्रोलनामा प्रत्यर्थिभूपतिभुजंगविहंगराजः (4) शंभोरद्रिसुतेव पं
११. कजभुवो देवी यथा भारती विष्णोस्सागरसंभवेव सरितांपत्युर्यथा जा
१२. ह्नवी । सूर्यस्येव सुवर्चला शशभृतः पुण्या यथारोहिणी मान्या कोमटिप्रो
१३. लयस्य सदृशी भार्यान्नमांबाभवत् (5) उत्साहात्त्रिदिवौकसां सुरतरून् क्षी
१४. रोर्मिरेखा यथा पुत्रान् कोमटिप्रोलयाद् गुणवती सासूत पं
१५. च क्रमात् । अग्रे माचनृपालमुन्नतमथ श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिं पश्चाद्दोड्डय
१६. भूपमन्नयनृपं श्रीमल्लयक्ष्मापतिं (6) सत्येन सत्वेन पराक्रमेण रू
१७. पेण बुध्या च विराजतस्तान् । त्राणाय भूयोपि भुवोवतीर्णान्नूनं जनो
१८. मन्यत पांडुपुत्रान् (7) अथ सकलबुधानामाश्रयः पालनाय क्षि

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

१९. तितलमवतीर्णः कंसमर्दीव देवः । कलिसमयविद्दप्यद्दस्युभूपान्नि
२०. रस्यन्वहति सकलपृथ्वीं वेमभूपालचंद्रः (8) संप्राप्तकामो द्विगुणं
२१. फलं यः पूर्व्वाग्रहाराननुपाल्य पूर्व्वं । पश्चादने[कान् स्व]यमत्युदा
२२. रान् ग्रामान् ददौ शाश्वतलोकसिध्यै । (9) नैतावता तृप्तमनास्स भू[पो] निस्सीम
२३. मुर्व्वीमखिलद्विजेभ्यः । दत्वा यथेच्छं [क्षिति]कल्पवृक्षस्तद्भुक्त
२४. शेषं स्वयमन्वभुंक्त (10) पातालगंगामधिकृत्य नृणा[मा]श्रीगिरेर्यस्त्वधि
२५. रोहणाय । सोपानपंक्तिं व्यतनोन्महात्मा कैलासशैलं स्वयमारु
२६. रुक्षुः (11) दृप्तानंतरराजभूरुहमहास्रोतोवहो निर्झरो मैत्रीसं
२७. गतराजकैरववनीसंपूर्णचंद्रोदयः । माद्यन्मन्नेनृपालतूलप

1. Read as नील

THE *PUVVĀḌA* PLATES OF *PRŌLAYA VEMA*

CONNEMARA PUBLIC
27 MAY 196
MADRAS

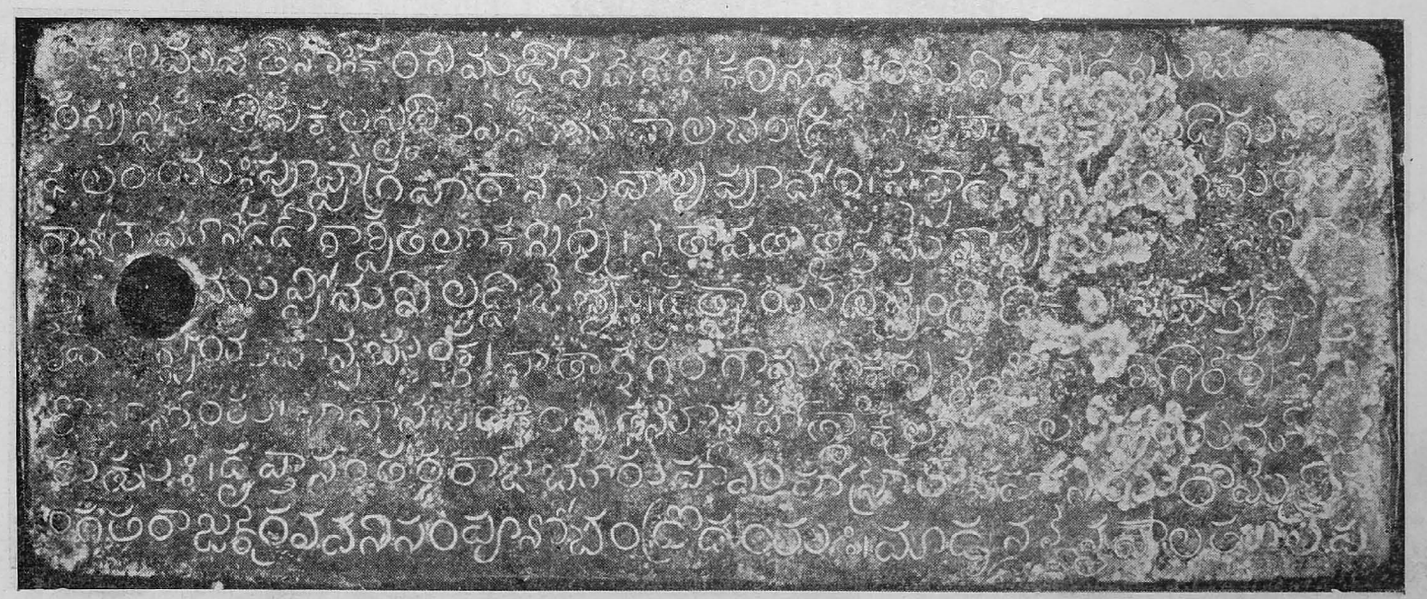
First Plate : Second Side



Second Plate : First Side

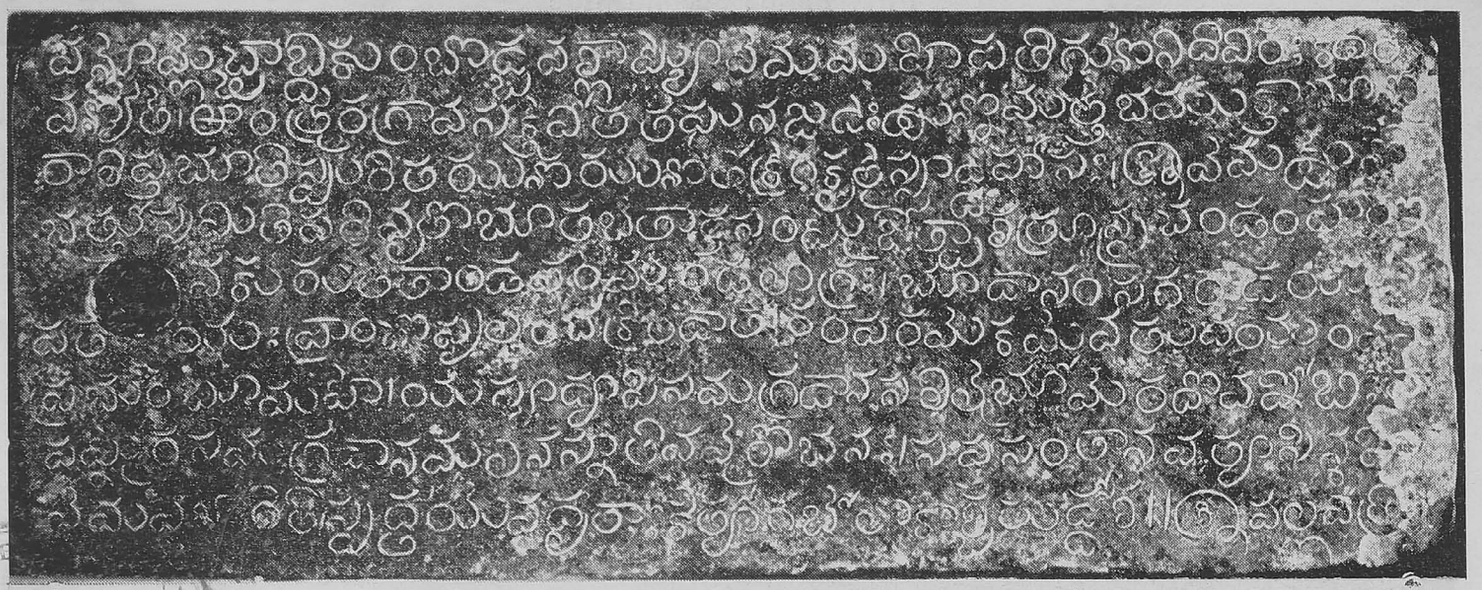


Second Plate : Second Side

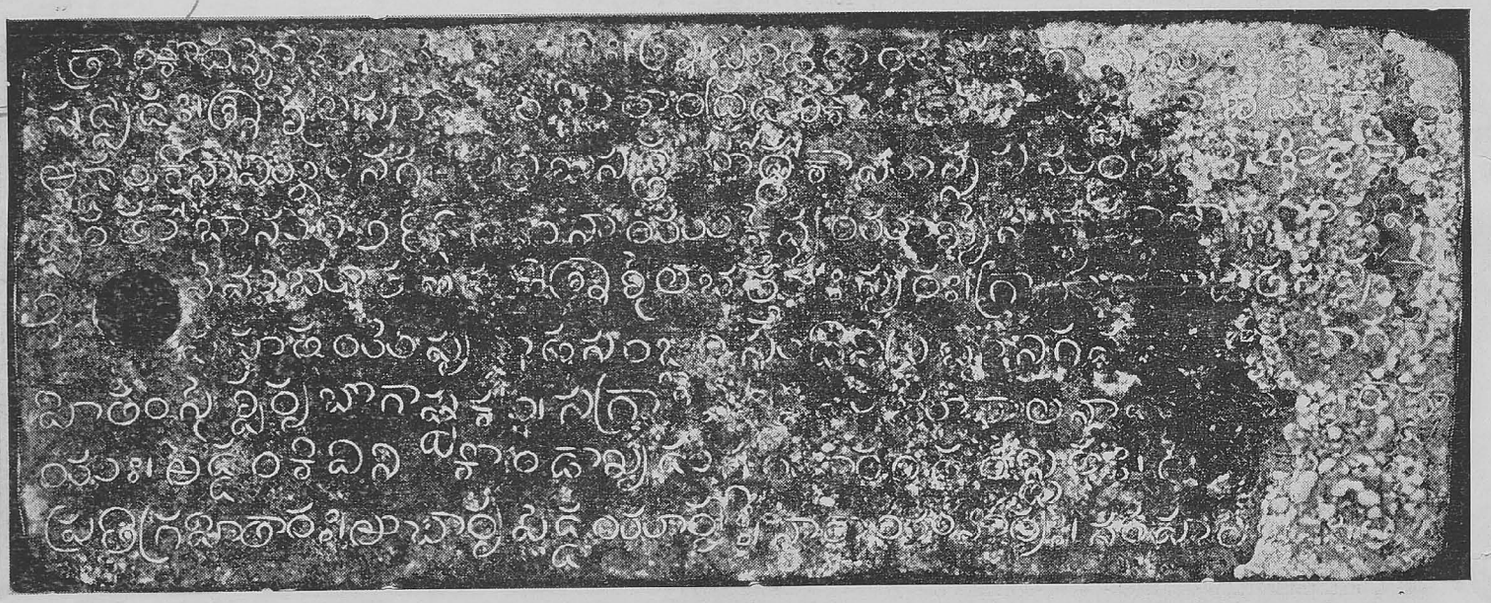


THE *PUVVĀḌA* PLATES OF *PRŌLAYA VĒMA*

Third Plate : First Side

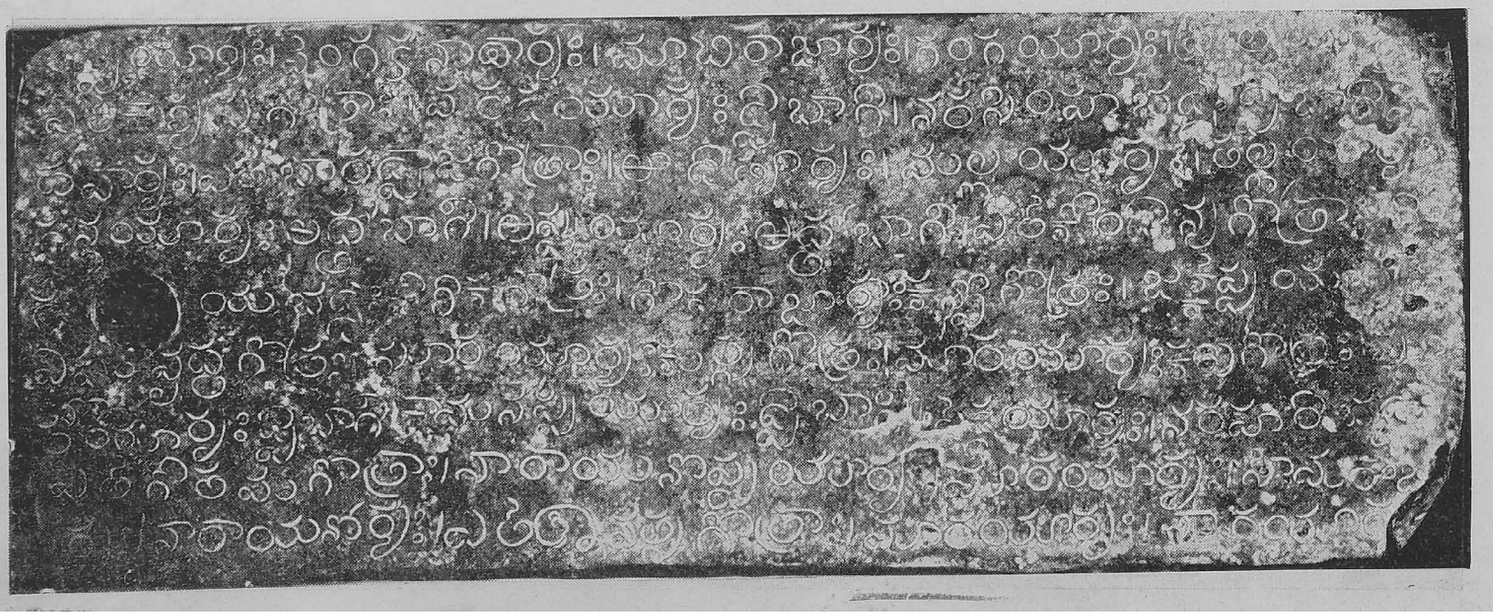


Third Plate : Second Side



2 7 MAY 1962

Fourth Plate : First Side



THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

२८. वनो म्लेच्छाब्धिकुम्भोद्भव (:) श्लाघ्यो वेममहीपतिर्गुणनिधिर्वीरः कथं
२९. वर्ण्यते (12) आंत्रैरग्रावसक्तैर्विततघनजटः क्षुण्णमत्तेभमुक्ताचूर्णै
३०. रालिप्तभूति स्फुरितझणझणत्कींकृतैस्साट्टहासः । श्रीवेमक्षोणि
३१. भर्त्तुस्समितिपरिवृतो भूतबेताळसंघैर्जित्वा शत्रून्प्रचंडं हर इ
३२. व कुरुते तांडवं मण्डलाग्रः (13) भूदानं सगरादयो नृ
३३. पतयः प्रांचोप्यलंचक्रिरे दातारं परमेकमेव तु वयं वेम
३४. प्रभुं ब्रूमहे । यस्याद्यापि समग्रदानसलिलैर्भूमेरधोवर्ष्मिभिः पा
३५. पघ्नै रसमग्रदानमलिन (:) स्नातीव वैरोचनः (14) सप्तसंतानवत्यासीन्मही
३६. वेमविभोरिति । स्पर्धयेव धृताः कीर्त्या गर्भे लोकाश्चतुर्दश (15) श्रीपल्लवत्रिने

THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE

३७. त्रांको धन्यो वेममहीपतिः । श्रीघोडेरायगंगारव्यगुरुपादाब्ज
३८. षट्पदः (16) श्रीशैलपू[र्वे] महितांध्रदेशे [कुंडीनसीमन्यति] शोभमानां ।
३९. अद्दंकिनाम्नीं नगरीं प्रशासद्धर्म्मार्द्धकामान्स समं सिषेवे (17) -०- शाकाब्दे
४०. द्विर[द]तुभानु ०२६०७ गणनायुक्ते व्ययाख्ये सुकृत्याषाढे [००] [स हि]
४१. वेमभूतलपति(:) श्रीशैलभर्त्तुःपुरः । ग्रामं प्रादित सर्व्वपा
४२. पहतयें पुव्वाडसंज्ञं सुधीर्विप्रेभ्यो निगमर्तु [६४] भाग स
४३. हितं सैश्वर्यभोगाष्टकं (18) स ग्रामो वेमभूपालनाम्ना वेमपुराह्व
४४. यः। अद्दंकिविनिकोण्डारव्य दुर्ग्गयोरंतरे स्थितः (19) अस्य ग्रामस्य
४५. प्रतिग्रहीतारः । आचार्य पेद्दयार्यः । नारायणार्यः । नरहरि × × ×

FOURTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

४६. प्पयार्यः। वेंगळनाथार्यः। माचिराजार्यः। गंगयार्यः। प्रोलयार्यः ।
४७. एते काश्यपगोत्राः। वरदयार्यः द्विभागी । नरसिंहभट्टः द्विभागी । मा
४८. धवार्यः। एते भारद्वाजगोत्राः। आदित्यार्यः। मल्लयार्यः। तल्लयार्यः ।
४९. गन्नयार्यः अर्द्धभागी। अप्पयार्यः अर्द्धभागी। एते। कौंडिन्यगोत्राः [। शिं]
५०. गयभट्टः कौशिकगोत्रः । गोपराजार्यः कण्वगोत्रः । जक्कप्पयार्यः
५१. विष्णुवृद्धगोत्रः । सूरयार्यः कुत्सगोत्रः । माय्यार्यः कपिगोत्रः । सू
५२. रयार्यः द्विभागी । कामनप्पयार्यः द्विभागी । पेद्दयार्यः । नरहरिभट्टः ।
५३. एते गौतमगोत्राः । नारायणप्पयार्यः। मारयार्यः । सोमराजा
५४. र्यः । नारायणार्यः । एते श्रीवत्सगोत्राः । मारयार्यः । नागयार्यः [।

FOURTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

మల్లయార్యః । అర్ధభాగీ । ఏతే శాండిల్యగోత్రాః । తమ్మయభట్టః । అన్నయార్యః [।]
పెద్దయార్యః । పోండూరిపెద్దయార్యః ద్విభాగీ । కేశవపెద్దయార్యః ద్విభాగీ । తమ్మ
లూరిపెద్దయార్యః । ద్విభాగీ । లక్కన్నార్యః । శింగయభట్టః । దేవయార్యః । వరద్దయార్యః ।
అర్ధభాగీ । ఏతే హరిత గోత్రాః ꕥ పిన్నయార్యః సపాద భాగీ । అగస్త్యగోత్రః । మం
చిరాజార్యః పాదోనభాగీ । వసిష్ఠగోత్రః । చిట్టయార్యః అర్ద్ధ(ర్ధ) భాగీ । గౌతమగో
త్రః । నందిరాజార్యః సార్ద్ధ(ర్ధ)ద్విభాగీ । భారద్వాజగోత్రః । అన్నయార్యః । × × ×
గీ । నల్లపరాజార్యః పాదోనభాగీ: (।) ఏతౌ శ్రీవత్సగోత్రౌ । దామనకూచినార్యః అర్ద్ధ (ర్ధ)
భాగీ । హరితగోత్రః । అల్లయార్యః అర్ద్ధ(ర్ధ) భాగీ వధూలగోత్రః । గంగయార్యః [।] అనం
తార్యః ఏతౌ చిక్కితగోత్రౌ । దాచయార్యః అర్ధభాగీ । నల్లగంగనార్యః షోడశాంశస
హితార్ధభాగీ । మల్లయార్యః షోడశాంశద్వయసహిత పాదభాగీ । ఏతే

FIFTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

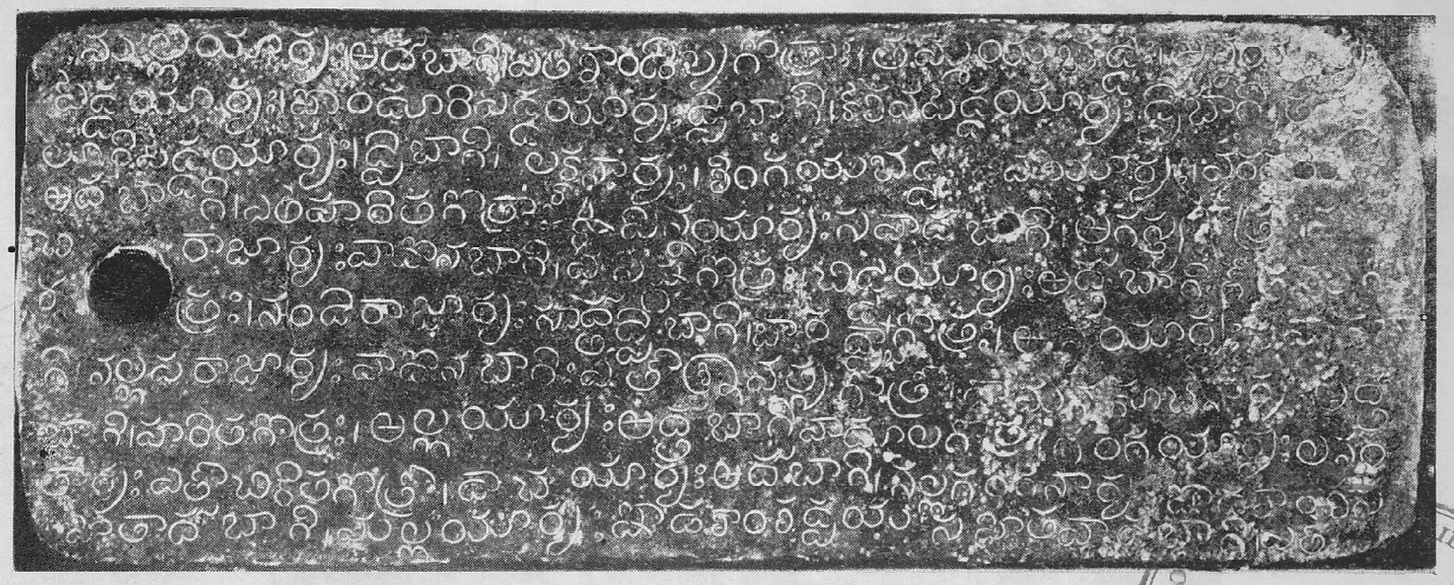
కాశ్యపగోత్రాః । అమరయార్యః షోడశాంశద్వయసహితార్ద్ధ(ర్ధ) భాగీ । గన్నయార్యః
షోడశాంశసహితార్ద్ధ(ర్ధ) భాగీ । గోపరాజార్యః షోడశాంశద్వయసహిత పాదభాగీ ।
మల్లయార్యః । షోడశాంశద్వయోనభాగీ । శింగయార్యః । ఏతే కౌండిన్యగోత్రాః । [కో]
త్థారి సంజ్ఞకః షోడశాంశషట్‌కసహితైకభాగీ । దోనయార్యః । అత్ర భాగవిశేషోక్తి
హీనా ఏకైకభాగినః । ꕥ అస్య గ్రామస్య సీమచిహ్నాని । తూఉపునకు [గుండ్ల]
కమ్మ ఆగ్నేయానకు లొంతు వాంగు । దక్షిణానకు కలుచపొదలు [నైరృతానకు]
చట్రాలకుంట । పడుమటికి కత్తువపొదలున్ను అట్టే ఉత్తరమ్ముఖమై రాంగ [ ]
బొమల గట్టున్ను రావి మోరక్లున్ను । వాయవ్యానకు । చెఱువు ఉత్తరపు [డపి]
ఉత్తరానకు పులివాంగు । ఈశాన్యానకు గుండ కమ్మె సీమ ꕥ

FIFTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

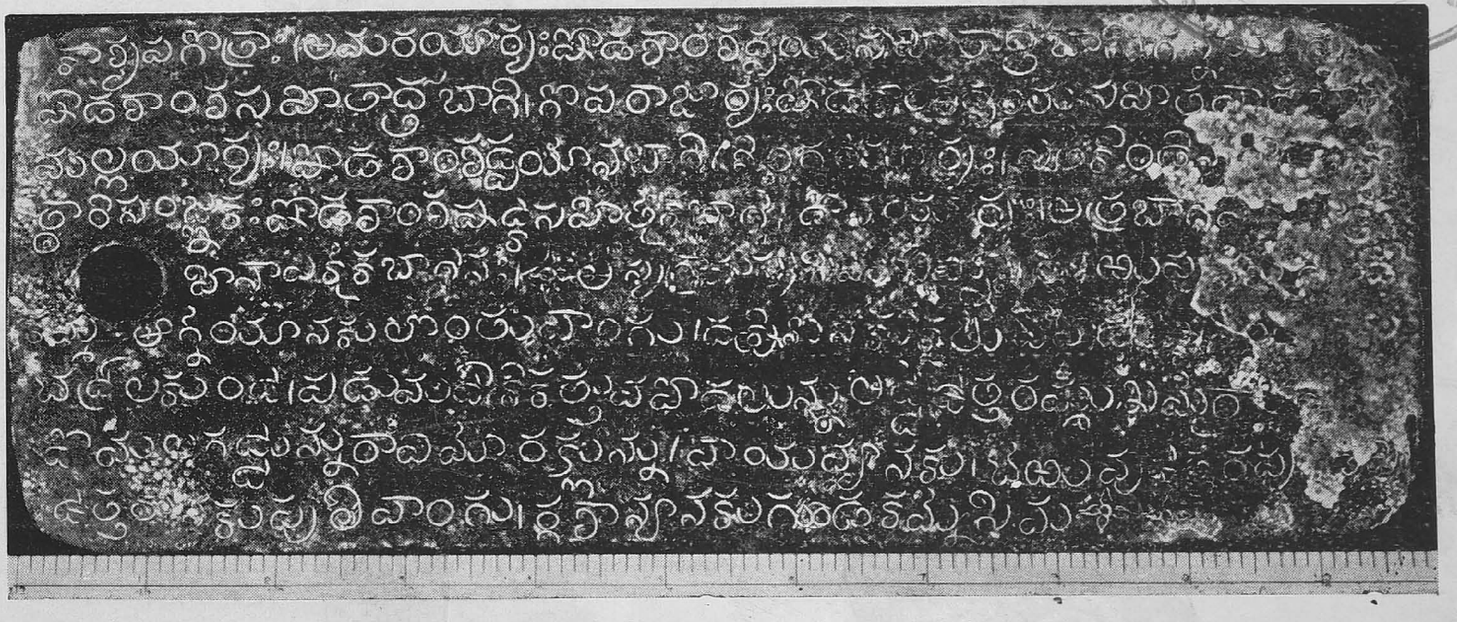
ꕥ యావంతి లాంగలముఖేన రజాంసిభూమేర్భాసాన్నిధేర్దుహితురంగ
జరోమకాణి । తావంతిశంకరపురే సయుగాని తిష్ఠేద్భూమిప్రదానమి
హ యః కురుతే మనుష్యః ॥ స్వదత్తాద్విగుణం పుణ్యం పరదత్తానుపాలనం
పరదత్తాపహారేణ స్వదత్తన్నిష్ఫలం భవేత్ ॥ స్వదత్తాం పరదత్తాం వా యోహ
రేత వసుంధరాం ॥ షష్టిం వర్షసహస్రాణి విష్ఠాయాం జాయతే క్రి
మిః ॥ శత్రుణాపి కృతో ధర్మః పాలనీయః ప్రయత్నతః । శత్రురేవ
హి శత్రు (:) స్యాధర్మః శత్రునకస్యచిత్ ॥ సామాన్యోయం ధర్మసేతు నృపాణా
-కాలేకాలే పాలనీయో భవద్భిః । ఇత్థం సర్వాన్భావినః పార్థివేంద్రాన్భూయో
భూయో యాచతే రామచంద్రః ॥ ꕥ

THE *PUVVĀḌA* PLATES OF *PRŌLAYA VĒMA*

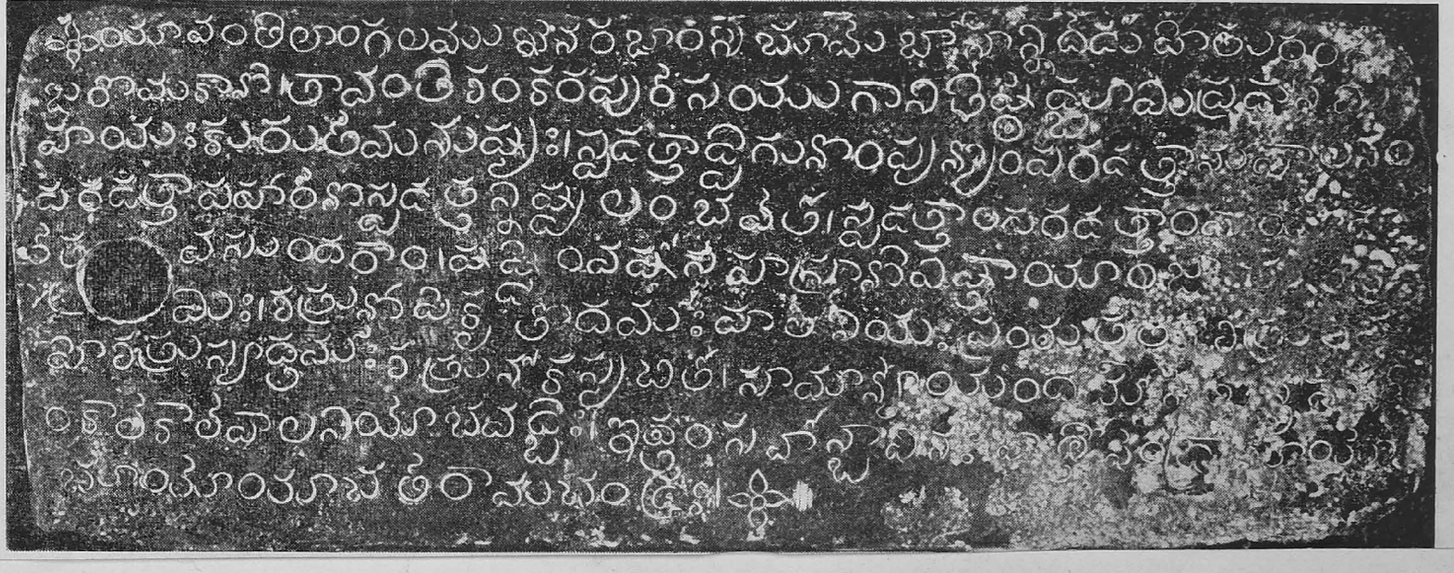
Fourth Plate : Second Side



Fifth Plate : First Side



Fifth Plate : Second Side

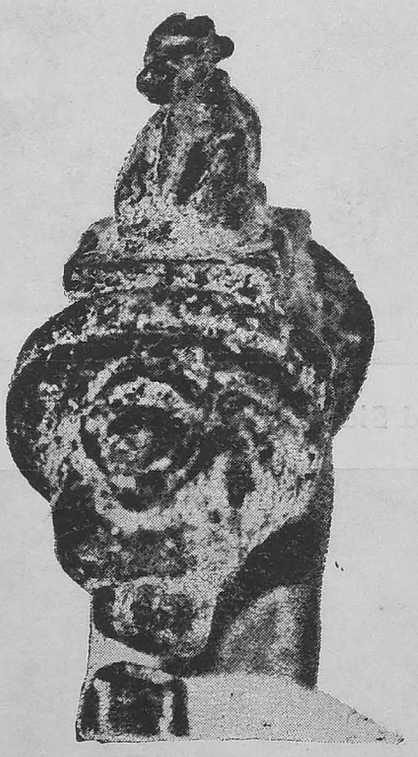


THE *PUVVĀḌA* PLATES OF *PRŌLAYA VEMA*

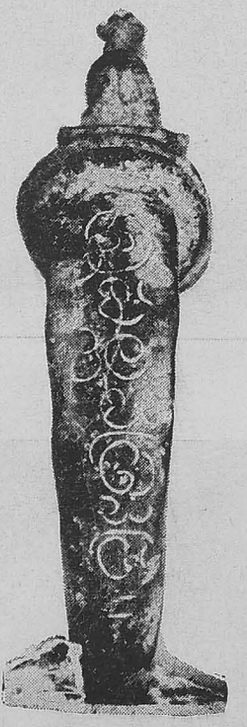


A general view of the plates with the ring and seal.

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The seal



The ring with the legend
"*Śrī Pallava Trinētra*".

CHAPTER XVII

THE *PEDAPALAKALŪRU* PLATES OF *ANAVĒMAREDDI* OF THE *KOṆḌAVĪḌU* LINE OF KINGS

These plates were discovered by me at *Pedapalakalūru* village which is about 8 miles from Guntur town in 1954 when I was serving as District Collector and District Magistrate of Guntur. These were kept in my personal custody, and as soon as Andhra Pradesh State was formed, I transferred them along with other antiquities that had been collected by me, for being displayed in a small museum at the Raj Bhavan at Hyderabad. They were there at the Raj Bhavan for some years and were again sent to me in my capacity as Director of Archaeology, for displaying these at the Government Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad. These are now on display in the copper plate epigraphy section of the Archaeological Museum at the Public Gardens of Hyderabad. My deep and grateful thanks are due to the Governor of Andhra Pradesh for having so kindly given the plates to the Government Archaeological Museum.

The plates are four in number and measure 28.4 cms. in length and 15.5 cms. in breadth. The rims of the plates are well raised and they are connected by a rim through a hole on the top of the plates. The ring is sealed with a *Nandi* which is the *Lānchana* of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* kings. The total weight of the plates and the ring is 5055 grms. & 1875 grms. respectively.

The plates are engraved on all the sides including the first side of the first plate, and the last side of the last plate, though these are generally left blank in other plates. There are in all 212 lines of writing distributed as follows:

First plate first side	31 lines
First plate second side	29 lines
Second plate first side	31 lines
Second plate second side	30 lines
Third plate first side	27 lines
Third plate second side	27 lines
Fourth plate first side	22 lines
Fourth plate second side	15 lines
Total	212 lines

The plates are inscribed from top to bottom breadthwise. The language used is Sanskrit, except for the description of the boundaries of the village which was granted. It is a peculiarity of this grant that nearly half the writing has been taken up by a description of the boundaries itself. Out of a total 212 lines, 108 lines are taken up with the description of the boundaries of the village *Pedapalakalūru*, which is the object of the present grant. The boundaries are given in Telugu which is described in the plate as the *Dēśabhāsha*. The characters belong to medieval Telugu script, and are easily decipherable. The calligraphy is quite good, and the plates are in an excellent state of preservation. As regards orthography, only the usual peculiarities which are found in Telugu charters of this type are noted, and there is nothing particular about it.

The language used in the *Praśasti*, as well as for giving the geneaology of the grantees is Sanskrit. The style used in the verses of the *Praśasti* is very stilted and is highly artificial. Many artificial attempts at producing interesting sound effects, by putting together rare words have been made. The over all effect of reading these verses is not one of elevation, and a sense of beauty, but rather one of cleverness at grammar and at diction. The imagery is not also quite happy, and the style taken as a whole, clearly indicates the state of degeneration, into which classical poetry had sunk at that time. This aspect is brought out all the more vividly in this grant, when we compare the style here, with the chasteness, grandeur and the ornateness of the style used in the *Puvvāḍa* grant of *Koṇḍavīḍu Vēma Reḍḍi* andthe *Goravankapalli* plates of *Rāja Rudra* which are published elsewhere in this volume. The metre employed is generaly *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Upajāti*, containing the *Upēndravajra* and *Indravajra* metres.

The whole grant consists of 26 verses, excluding the imprecatory verses at the end, and these verses are in the following metres.

1st verse	..	*Śīkhariṇī*
2nd verse	..	*Mandākrāntaa*
3rd verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
4th verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
5th verse	..	*Śikhariṇi*
6th verse	..	*Upajāti*
7th verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
8th verse	..	*Upajāti*
9th verse	..	*Upajāti*
10th verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
11th verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
12th verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
13th verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
14th verse	..	*Upajāti*

15th verse	..	*Upajāti*
16th verse	..	*Upajāti*
17th verse	..	*Upēndravajra*
18th verse	..	*Anushṭup*
19th verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
20th verse	..	*Vasantatilaka*
21st verse	..	*Upajāti*
22nd verse	..	*Upajāti*
23rd verse	..	*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
24th verse	..	*Pushpitāgra*
25th verse	..	*Indravajra*
26th verse	..	*Anushṭup*

The grant starts with a verse in the *Śikhariṇi* metre in which Lord *Nārāyaṇa* in his aspect of *Varāhamūrty* is praised. It is stated that the '*Yajña Varāha*' or the '*Kratu Varāha*' aspect of Lord *Hari* who carried the earth in his tusks which were as white as the moon and whose sweat was dripping out from the ends of his hair, on account of embracing Goddess *Lakshmi*, may protect the entire world.

After this comes a praise of Lord *Śiva* in the next verse, which is in the *Mandākrānta* metre. Here Lord *Śiva* is described as '*Sārva Bhouma*' and as trying to pacify the anger of the '*Śaila Kanya*' or *Pārvati*, on account of the fact, that *Ganga* who is here imagined as a second lady, was flowing over the hair of the Lord. The Lord is also described as being worshipped by *Brahma* and *Upēndra* or *Vishṇu*. He is stated to be ruling in the hearts of every one as a '*Sarva Bhūtāntarastha*' and also as being eternally present at the creation, protection and the destruction of the entire universe. A prayer is given that this Lord *Śiva* may give auspicious and good things to all of us.

After this follows the third verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, where the Goddess Mother is described as Goddess Mother *Śivā*. She is described as shining in the middle of the *Bindu* or the '*Praṇavākāra*' and as riding in the chariot of the '*Śrī Chakra*'. She is also described as a bee to the lotus of the '*Pancha Praṇavās*' and as one who destroys all the sins. Her feet are described as being worshipped by even the *Dēvās* and a benediction is given that such a Goddess who is the very heart of all the *mantrās*, may give us good.

After this invocation to the Goddess Mother, the fourth verse, which is also in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, describes Lord *Gaṇapati* or *Vighnēśwara*. The feet of the Lord are described as shining with the splendour of all the *Dēvās*, who bow before him and the splendour of the rubies etc. falling on the feet of the Lord are compared to the bees that are playing about in the lotus feet. The Lord is also described as having brought about peace amongst the warring gangs of wild elephants, and the verse gives a benediction that this *Gajānana* may remove all the obstacles from our path.

After this comes the fifth verse in *Śikhariṇi* metre, in which a prayer is addressed to Goddess *Lakshmi* who is described here as the consort of *Vishṇu* or *Swabhūvallabha*. She is also described as '*Sudhāmbunidhi Kanyaka*' or one who is born from the seas, and her hair compared to the waves of clouds in the rainy season.

After this prayer to the Goddess *Lakshmi* comes the sixth verse which is in *Upajāti* metre, in which *Sūrya* and *Chandra* who are called here as '*Pushpavantau*' are praised. They are compared to the wheels of the chariot of the Lord *Śiva* or Lord *Purāri*.

Next comes verse seven in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, in which the birth of the *Śudra* caste, or the '*Chaturthavarṇa*' from the feet of the Lord *Vishṇu* is described. Lord *Vishṇu* is described here, as one from the dust of whose feet, the curse of the '*Muni Sati*' was removed, referring obviously the *Ahalyā Śāpa Vimōchana* in the '*Ramāvatāra*' of the Lord. The feet of the Lord are also described as the birth place of all the rivers which removes the sins of all the three worlds, and also as the object of meditation by which saints and sages receive divine peace. The verse goes on to describe that from such feet of the Lord was born the *Chaturthakula* or the *Śūdra* caste, on obvious reference to the popular belief, that *Brāhmaṇakula* was born from the face of the Lord, the *Kshatria* from the arms, the *Vaisya* from '*Ūrus*' or laps and the *Śūdrās* from the feet.

In the next, 8th verse which is in the *Upajāti* group a futher description of the *Chaturtha Varṇa* or the *Śūdra* caste is given. It is stated in this verse that Lord *Brahma* made this caste as the very acme or perfection or the '*Sārabhūtha*' of all other castes and that this caste or the '*Chaturtha Varṇa*' is famous in the world on account of its valour and its spiritedness.

In the next, ninth verse which is in the *Upajāti* metre, it is stated that from this *Chaturthavarṇa* i.e., the *Śūdra* caste, in the *Panṭa Reḍḍi Anvaya*, or the *Panṭa Reḍḍi* community, was born king *Prōla*. This king *Prōla* is described as very proficient in the difficult task of climbing the *Śrīparvata* which is an obvious reference to '*Śrīśaila*' hill. He is also described as having excelled even the *Kalpa Vṛikshās* by his many gifts.

In the 10th verse which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, *Annāmbika* who is described here as a '*Guṇavati*' or as a lady who is endowed with all good qualities, and who was the daughter of King *Doḍḍa*, is said to have got married to this '*Prōla Nṛipa*' of the *Panṭa Reḍḍi* clan just as the Goddess Mother got married to *Viśvēśvara*. The verse describes that this *Annāmbika* and King *Prōla*, gave birth to five children, viz., *Mācha*, *Vēma*, *Doḍḍa*, *Anna*, and *Malla*. These five children are described as the five *Kalpakās* or the '*Kalpaka Panchaka*' in the world.

In the 11th verse which is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre it is stated that out of these five sons, *Śrī Vēma* was the best and that even the golden hills began to float in the waters, which he poured while giving gifts, the idea being that the gifts given by this king

were so numerous, that even the golden mountain began to float. The verse goes on to state that while this king *Vēma* was ruling, the *Brahmins* were looking after the interests of the *Dēvās* by the '*Havis*' that were being given, during the many sacrifices or the '*Yajñās*', the idea being, that during the reign of this king, the *Brahmins* were all encouraged in doing many sacrifices, and as a result of these sacrifices, the *Dēvās* were also satisfied.

In the 12th verse which is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, the description of the generosity of king *Vēma* is continued. It is stated that this king gave villages on both the banks of the Tungabhadra, Krishna and Godavari to the many *Brahmins* as *Agrahārās*, and thereby the *Brahmins* were encouraged in their own sacrificial activities.

In the 13th verse which is also in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, the description of the generosity of the king *Vēma* is carried further. It is stated in this verse, that the other kings of the world, who are not quite clever, established pillars of victory made of perishable stuff, for proclaiming their own valour and glory but this king *Vēma* established two flights of steps in the '*Śrīgiri*' and '*Ahōbilagiri*', and these two serve as permanent pillars of victory, to proclaim his greatness for ever.

In the 14th verse, which is in the *Upajāti* metre, the description of the generosity of the king *Vēma* is continued still further. It is stated that this king *Vēma* re-established in the land by his many gifts of *Agrahārās* to the *Brahmins*, the *Dharma* which had become lame and one footed on account of the many sins in the '*Kalikāla*'.

In the 15th verse, which is in the *Upajāti* metre, it is stated that this king *Vēma* gave birth to two princes called *Pōta* and *Anavēma*, and these two princes were born together as *Rāma* and *Lakshmaṇa*, but unlike *Rāma* and *Lakshmaṇa*, they were born of the same mother.

In the 16th verse, which is in the *Upajāti* metre, the two princes, viz., *Pōta* and *Anavēma* are described. It is stated that they were equal to *Indra* who is called *Purandara* and to *Vishṇu* who is called as *Upēndra*, which is the name for the '*Vāmanāvdtara*' of the Lord. It is also stated here, that these two princes, had the greatness of giving, whereas the other two viz. *Indra* and *Vāmana*, had only the power of accepting gifts.

In the 17th verse, which is in the *Upēndravajra* metre, the description of the generosity of *Vēma* is continued further, and he is described as having performed innumerable gifts of land or '*Asankhya Bhūdāna*', and thereby acquired glory and fame equal to that of *Purandara* or *Indra*.

In the 18th verse which is in the *Anushṭup* metre, it is stated, that generally in the world, if one has an inclination to give gifts, one does not have enough knowledge, and if one has enough knowledge, he does not have any inclination to make gifts, whereas in the case of king *Vēma*, both these qualities were present together.

In the 19th verse which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, a description is given of the rule of the king *Anavēma*. It is stated that the king had the title of *Vīraśrī Jaganobba*

Gaṇḍa'. He is also described as being sung in verse and in prose, which are beautiful, and as bearing a flag which is fearful like that of *Vīrabhadra*.

In the 20th verse which is in *Vasantatilaka* metre, the description of the valour of *Anavēma* is continued. It is stated here, that as soon as the enemy kings heard the fearful sound made by the '*Jaitra Bhēri*' of this king, they left off all their hopes for living in this world, along with the water that came flowing out of the eyes of their beloved, the idea being that merely on hearing the fearful sound of the *Bhēri* of *Anavēma*, all the enemy kings, gave up their hopes of further life, and because of that, their beloved started shedding tears.

In the 21st verse, which is in the *Upajāti* metre, a further description of *Anavēma* is given and he is described as a '*Rudramūrti*' for his ememy kings, and as having established firmly his fame by his boundless gifts and as encouraging the *Brahmins* in their sacrificial acts.

In the 22nd verse which is in the *Upajāti* metre, a further description of *Anavēma* is given and he is stated as equal in his glory to the Moon. The phrase used here is '*Rāja Samāna Tēja*' and the *Rāja* obviously refers to the Moon. The king is described further as devoted to the worship of the *Dēvās* and the *Brāhmanās*.

In the 23rd verse which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, the actual date of the grant is mentioned. It is stated that in the *Śaka* year represented by *Indu* or Moon which represents number one, *Pura* or the *Tripura* which represents number three, and *Abhra* and *Kha* which both indicate the sky which prepresents zero, i.e., in *Śaka* 1300, corresponding to the cyclic year '*Kālayukti*', in the '*Mārgaśira Parva*' and on a Saturday or a *Mandavāsara*, this king *Vēma* granted the village '*Pedapalakalūrunagari*', so that it may stand permanently till the moons and the stars, to the great *Paṇḍit Ahōbala Sudhī*, on the occasion of a *chandragrahaṇa*.

In the 24th verse which is in the *Pushpitāgra* metre, the description of the grantee is given. It is stated that the king granted it to *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* thinking in his mind, that this *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* resides at *Pedapalakalūrunagari* even as *Nṛisimhamūrthi* lives in *Ahōbala*.

In the 25th verse which is in the *Indravajra* metre the exact location of *Pedapalakalūr* is given. It is stated to be in the *Śaivabhāge* or *Iśānya* or the north-east direction of *Śrīkundinipaṭṭana* and to the *Āsura dik* or *Naiṛūti* or south-west direction of *Śrī Mangalādri* and as being situated to the south of the river Krishna. The 26th and last verse in *Anushṭup* metre says that the names, and *Gōtras* of the grantees are then mentioned.

With the above description the verse portion ends and the grant gives the *Gōtra* and the names of all the grantees to whom the village was given. After this is given fully the description of the boundaries of the village in 108 lines.

The grant is obviously one of *Anavēma Reḍḍi* who is the third king among the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis* and who ruled from 1364 A.D. to 1386 A.D. The date of the grant is given as

Śaka 1300 or 1378 A.D. corresponding to cyclic year *Kālayukti*, the date of the grant being Saturday, on a *Chandragrahaṇa* on the *Pourṇami* day of the *Mārgaśira* month. The month of the grant is described as '*Saha Mārga*' and *Saha Mārga* is another synonym for *Mārga* or *Mārgaśira* month. The word '*Parvaṇi*' thus obviously stands for *Pourṇima*, and the plate clearly describes that the date was '*Mandavāsara*' or a Saturday and the occasion was a *Chandragrahaṇa*, or an eclipse of the moon. It is seen that 1378 A.D. corresponds exactly to *Kālayukti* which is stated to be its cyclic year. The *Mārgaśira Pourṇima* of this year according to the lunar reckoning of the months which is prevalent in the Andhra area, falls on 4th December 1378 A.D. It is also seen that 4th December 1378 A.D. was a saturday, and that there was a lunar eclipse on that day. Hence 4th December, 1378 A.D. corresponding to the *Mārgaśira Pourṇami*, on which a lunar eclipse occured and which corresponds to Saturday is the date of the grant. The details given in the grant so correctly tally, that there is no doubt about the date of the grant.

The date of the grant is 1378 A.D. which falls well within the limits of *Anavēma's* reign who ruled for 1364 A.D. to 1386 A.D. as can be seen from the chronology of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* king given elsewhere in this volume.

In the grant, *Prōla* is mentioned and *Annamāmba* his queen is also mentioned. *Vēma* who is described as the '*Vamśakarta*' in other plates, is not mentioned in this. After *Prōla* and *Annamāmba* five sons viz., *Mācha*, *Vēma*, *Doḍḍa*, *Anna* and *Malla* are mentioned, which tally with the five names mentioned elsewhere. Out of these, *Vēma* is eulogised in several verses in this grant, and the *Puvvāda* grant of this king *Vēma* has been published elsewhere in this volume. This king *Vēma* is said in this grant to have given birth to two princes *Pōta* and *Anavēma*. Obviously this *Pōta* refers to *Anavōta* the second king of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* line of kings and to *Anavēma* the giver of the present grant. From other sources we know that a daughter by name *Doḍḍāmbika* was also born to *Vēma*, but she is not mentioned anywhere in this grant. The grant is therefore obviously that of *Anavēma*, who is the third king counting from *Vēma*, who can be said to be the first historical ruler of the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis*.

In this grant the origin of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* line of kings has been given and it is stated that *Prōla* who is probably the first king of the *Koṇḍavīḍu* line sprang out of the *Chathurthakula* or the *Śūdra* caste, from thc ocean of the family of *Panṭa Reḍḍis* even as a moon raised from the sea. The exact words used in the grant are '*Śrī Panṭareḍḍānvaya Vārdhi Chandra Stasmādabhut Prōlavasundharādhipaḥ*'. It is thus clear that the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis* belong to the *Panṭa Reḍḍi* clan. The late K. V. Lakshmanarao was of the opinion, that just as many territorial divisions like *Valanāḍu*, *Vēgināḍu*, *Āruvēlu* etc. have given rise to divisions or *Śākhās* among the *Brahmins* like *Velanāṭi*, *Vēgināṭi*, *Āruvēla* sects, it is probable that even among the fourth caste, or the *Chathurtha Varṇa*, the communities might have derived their

names from their affinity to the territorial divisions. This is not unlikely since there are *Pākanāṭi Brahmins*, as well as *Pākanāṭi Kāpus*, both deriving their name from the territory in which they were living. In the same way, it may therefore be inferred that *Panṭa Reḍḍis* or the *Panṭa Kāpus* must have derived their name, from some territory which must have been named as *Panṭanāḍu*. We have now to fix what is the most probable region for this *Panṭanāḍu*. At *Kānchīpuram* there is an inscription of *Tammusiddhi* son of *Errasiddhī*[1] where a district named *Panṭa Rāshṭra* is mentioned, whose headquarters was given as *Muṭṭiyampākkam* and in which a gift was made to Lord *Hastiśaila*. If *Muṭṭiyampākkam* is to be identified with the present village of *Muttumbāka* of the *Gūdūr* taluk of *Nellōre* district, as has been suggested by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma,[2] then the area round about Gudur should have been the ancient *Panṭa Rāshṭra*. Thus the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis* should have originally lived round about Gudur of the Nellore District, and must have gradually spread to the west and to the east.

In the present grant *Anavēma Reḍḍi* has been praised as having the *Biruda Jaganobba Gaṇḍa*. The phrase used is '*Vīraśrī Jaganobba Goṇḍa Birudānchat*'. This title along with the other like '*Appayya-Gopayya-Diśāpaṭṭa-*, are found in the other *Koṇḍavīḍu* records also. The origin for these *Birudās* is to be found in the customs and manners prevalent in the medieval ages, in which the victor in a battle assumed to himself the title of the vanquished, to indicate the latter's complete subjugation. The defeated king could not resume the title unless he retrieved his position by defeating the victor again in battle. We learn from the inscription of the *Hōyasālas* of *Dwārasamudra* that *Appayya* and *Gopayya* were two able *Daṇḍanāyakās* or generals of the *Hōyasāla* king *Vīra Nṛisimha-II* (1220-1235 A.D.). These two generals *Appayya* and *Goppayya* were sent by the king *Vīra Nṛisimha Dēva-II*, to chastise the *Kadava* chieftain *Kopperunjinga* who had imprisoned the *Chōla* emperor *Rāja Rāja-III* (1216-1257 A.D.) The *Telugu Chōḍa* known as *Choḍa Tikka* waged war against *Vīra Nṛisimha-II*, as well as against his son *Sōmēśwara*, known as *Karṇāṭa Sōmēśa*. For example *Tikkana Sōmayāji* the *Telugu* poet in his work '*Nirvachanōttara Rāmāyaṇa*' states that *Chōḍa Tikka* subdued the *Karṇāṭa Sōmēśwara*. The ancestors of *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis* who were in the service of *Chōḍa Tikka* must have taken an active part in the war against *Vīra Nṛisimha*, and it must have been at this period, that the *Reḍḍi* chieftains shoud have defeated *Appayya* and *Goppayya* and assumed their titles. The *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis* thus got the titles of *Daṇḍinagōva Jaganobba Ganḍa* or *Jaganobbagaṇḍa*, and *Ayyayya-Gopayya-Diśāpaṭṭa*' as a heritage from their forefathers, who had defeated *Vīra Sōmēśvara* or *Karnāṭa Sōmēśa*.

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1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. VII, p. 152.
2. History of the Reddi Kings of Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, p. 58.

The village that was granted in this grant is *Pedapalakalūru*, and the location of the village has been given in the grant as lying to the north-east or *Īsānya* of *Śrīkuṇḍinī Paṭṭaṇa* which is another name for *Koṇḍavīḍu*, and to the south-west or the *Āsura dik* or *Nairuti* of *Mangalādri*, which is the same as *Mangalagiri*, and as being situated on the southern banks of the river Krishna. The modern village *Pedapalakalūru* exactly tallies with the description given above and obviously therefore that village is the subject matter of the grant. This is clear from the description of the location of the village in the grant, apart from the fact that the copper plate itself was discovered in that village.

In the grant it is stated that the village was given to *Ahōbala Paṇḍita*. From the eulogistic description of *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* given in the grant, it is clear that he must have been a great *Paṇḍita* and a well learned and pious man.

The king gave the village as an *Agrahāra* grant, to *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* thinking in his mind, that the *Pāṇḍita* is like the very incarnation of Lord *Nṛisimha* himself of *Pedapalakalūru*. It is also stated that the village was entrusted to *Ahōbala Paṇḍita*, and that *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* belongs to the *Haritasa Gōtra* and that he was the great grand son of *Mahādēva Sōmayāji*, grandson of *Visvanātha Dīkshita* and son of *Vyāsa Bhaṭṭāraka*. The grant further goes to give the descriptions of the 8 other grantees to whom the 8 parts into which the village was divided was given. At the end of the description of each grantee, it is stated that along with it, *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* the main grantee was given one part. In other words, the names of 8 *Brahmins* are given as having received one share, and along with them *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* is said in the grant to have received one share with each one of the *Brahmins*. Thus the village would appear to have been divided into sixteen parts, of which one part each was given 8 different *Brahmins*, and one part along with each of the *Brahmins*, i.e. 8 parts in all were given to *Ahōbala Paṇḍita*. *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* being the largest grantee, would appear to have been given the management of the *Agrahāra* village. The names of the 8 different *Brahmins* with their genealogy apart from that of *Ahōbala Paṇḍita* whose genealogy is given above, are stated in the grant to be as follows :

S. No.	Name of the grantee	Gotra	Name of the Grantee's father	Name of the Grantee's Grand-father
1.	*Tirumala Dīkshita*	*Goutamasa*	*Mṛutyunjayāvadhani*	*Bhavānī Śankarārya*
2.	*Venkata Bhaṭṭāraka*	*Kounḍinyasa*	*Rāmēśvara Yajva*	*Koṇḍāvadhāni*
3.	*Padmanābha Dīkshita*	*Moudgalyasa*	*Sadāśiva Dīkshita*	*Mādhavabhaṭṭa*
4.	*Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa*	*Bhāradvājasa*	*Viśvēśvara Dīkshita*	*Gangādharabhaṭṭāraka*
5.	*Rāmāvadhāni*	*Parāśara*	*Raghunātha Dīkshita*	*Timma Yajva*
6.	*Venkatāvadhāni*	*Kāśyapasa*	*Sadāśiva Dīkshita*	*Rāmakrishna Dīkshita*
7.	*Mallāvadhāni*	*Ātrēyasa*	*Lakshmīnārāyaṇa*	*Chandraśēkhara Dīkshita*
8.	*Lakshmīnārāyaṇa*	*Bhāradvājasa*	*Nṛisimha Dīkshita*	*Sarvabhaṭṭa*

The boundaries of the village are given in *Telugu* or the *Dēśabhāsha* and the boundaries have been given for nearly half the length of the plate in very great detail. The boundaries are as follows :

DESCRIPTION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF THE VILLAGE

1. To the North East is a *Tōka* tree.
2. From there if one proceeds North and takes a turn to the South there will be a big *Jammi* tree.
3. If one proceeds further there will be a *Kambam*.
4. If one proceeds further there will be *Sāreḍḍi Kunṭa*.
5. In the Northern end of the *Sāreḍḍi Kunṭa* there will be a *Muyūlla Kambam* (probably meaning a trijunction stone).
6. If one goes South from there, there will be '*Velisela Gumpu*'.
7. If one proceeds further through a *Kambam*, there will be *Rēlalagumpu*.
8. If one proceeds further there will be an *Āre* tree.
9. If one proceeds further there will be *Vāviḷḷa Kunta*.
10. There will be a *Kāmbam* at the Northern end of the *Vāviḷḷa Kunṭa*.
11. If one goes further South there will be '*Jammula Dibba*'.
12. If one proceeds further there will be '*Pedavelagalu*'.
13. Beyond *Pedavelagalu* there will be a *Rāḷḷagunṭa*.
14. To the South of the above *Rāḷḷagunṭa*, there will be *Mūpurapu Kambam*.
15. If one goes further South viz., *Velisela Dibba*, and a *Kambam*, there will be *Veluturukadumu*.
16. Then there will be *Pedda Goṭṭi*.
17. If one proceeds further, there will be *Vallabhaya Kunṭa*.
18. On the east of the *Vallabhaya Kunṭa* there will be a '*Muyūlla Kambam*'.
19. From there, if one proceeds on the South bank, facing the West, there will be a *Kambam*.
20. If one goes further, there will be '*Pāṭireḍḍi Kunta*' and a *Jammi* in it.
21. If one goes towards South-West from there, there will be *Nēlagunṭi*.
22. There will be a *Kambam* to the North-West of the *Nēlagunṭi*.
23. If one goes South from there, there will be a *Vadlvāni Kunṭa*.
24. From there, if one goes South, beyond *Guntūr Teravu*, there will be *Velisēla Dibba*.
25. To the South of the *Velisēla Dibba*, there will be a *Kambam*.
26. If one proceeds further south, there will be *Mudi Jammi* or an old *Jammi* tree.
27. From there, if one goes East and takes a turn to the South-East, there will be

Mūla Kambam.

28. From there one has to go to *Dakshinasīma.*
29. From there if one goes towards West, there will be *Rēmila Gumpu.*
30. If one goes to the South of the *Rēmila Gumpu,* there will be the *Kuruma Ramaṇaya Chēnu* or field.
31. By the field will be *Voḍikēnu Kambam.*
32. If from there one goes West crossing the *Nallapāṭiteravu* there will be *Kambam.*
33. If from there, one goes crossing *Bayyavarapu Teravu* there will be a big ant-hill to the West.
34. If from there one goes West, there will be three stones.
35. If one crosses them, there will be a *Rāḷḷa Paḍaya.*
36. There will be a corner to its West.
37. If from there one goes West there will be a *Śivamāpu.*
38. If one goes north from here there will be an ant-hill.
39. To the West of the ant-hill, there will be a *Paḍigetala Kambam.*
40. To the North-West of the North hill, there will be a *Kambam.*
41. From there if one goes east, there will be *Puliguṇṭa.*
42. To the South of *Pūliguṇṭa* is a *Kambam.*
43. If one proceeds further, there is *Pandirigunṭa.*
44. If one goes to North-East, there will be *Muḷḷa Mūramu.*
45. If one proceeds further, there will be a *Kambam.*
46. From there, if one goes North, crossing *Koṇḍavīṭi Teravu* there will be a *Kambam* to the North.
47. If one proceeds further, there will be a *Kambam.*
48. If one proceeds further North, there will be a *Kambam* in *Gāralagumpu.*
49. If one goes West along the southern edge of the above *Dibba,* there will be *Paḍamara Dibba.*
50 There will be a *Kambam* to the South-East of the *Paḍamaradibba.*
51. If from that *Triune* Junction one goes North, there will be *Peda Cheruvu.*
52. If from there one goes beyond *gārla Dibba,* there will be found *Mallavarapu guṭṭa.*
53. There will be a *Kambam* to the East of the above *Guṭṭa.*
54. If one goes to the North from there, there will be *Mallavaram.*
55. There will be a *Kambam* to the South-East of *Mallavaram.*
56. If one goes North, there will be a *Kambam* to the North-East of *Mallavaram.*
57. If one goes North from there, there will be *Nāgulaputṭa.*
58. If one goes further there will be a *Jammi* and a *Kambam* at its beginning to the

North of *Chākivāgu.*

59. If one goes further, there will be a *Kambam* where the stream flows into *Pandi Chākivāgu* to the East.
60. If one goes further, there will be a *Kambam.*
61. If one goes from there, there will be *Nēla Jammulu.*
62. If one goes further, there will be *Gōpigundla.*
63. If one goes to the South-West from there, there will be a *triune* junction.
64. If from there one goes to North-West, there will be a *Kambam* in the *Dāmarlapalle Teravu.*
65. If one goes further East, there will be a *triune* junction.
66. If from there one goes South, there will be a *Kambam* in *Chālagundla.*
67. If one goes further, there will be *Mūlagundla.*
68. If one goes to the East side, and goes further East there will be a *Kambam.*
69. If one goes further crossing *Chākivāgu,* flowing to the South-East, there will be a *Kambam* to the East.
70. From there if one proceeds South-East, there will be *Jammula Dibba* and a *Kambam* in it.
71. If from there one goes up to the *Paḍitarapu Trōva,* and proceeds North in that route there will be a *Kambam.*
72. From there if one goes East, there will be a *Kambam.*
73. If from there one goes to the North there will be *Tōḷḷamaḍugu.*
74. There will be a *Kambam* to the East of the *Tōḷḷamaḍugu.*
75. If from there one goes to the East, there will be a *Kambam.*
76. If one goes to the North from there, there will be *Paḍitarapu Chandālavātika.*
77. If from there one goes to the South-East, there will be a *Kambam* in the *Gujjarigandla teravu.*
78. If from there one goes to the East there will be the *Peda Jammi.*
79. If from there one goes North there will be *Nallapuṭṭa.*
80. If from there one goes North there will be *Tēlla* (White) *Puṭṭa.*
81. If one proceeds further there will be *Vari guṇṭa.*
82. From there, there will be a *Kambam* to the South-West of *Varigunṭa.*
83. If from there one goes to North-East there will be a *Kambam* to the West of *Gārlamaḍugu.*
84. From there if one goes to the West, and takes a turn to the North-East, there will be a *Kambam.*
85. If one goes further North-East, there will be *Vankamaḍugu.*
86. If from there one goes West, there will be a *Kambam* in the *Rēgula gumpu.*
87. From there if one goes to the East, there will be *Timmacheruvu.*

88. If from there one gets down into the stream to the East via a *Kambam* to the North-East of the *Vanamaḍugu*, there will be a *Kambam*.
89. If from there one goes to the North, there will be a *Kambam*.
90. If from there one proceeds to North, there will be a *Kambam*.
91. If one proceeds further North, there will be a *Kambam*.
92. If one goes further North, crossing a route there will be *Gummalakunṭa*.
93. If one proceeds along the bund of the *Gummalakunṭa*, to the North through the *Muyūaḷḷakambam* on the Eastern edge and proceeds to the East, there will be *Velisela dibba*.
94. If one proceeds further, there will be a *Kambam*.
95. If one proceds further East,, there will be a *Kambam*.
96. If from there one goes to the East, there will be a *Kambam* in the *Mangaḷagiri Teravu*.
97. If one goes in that route, to the North-East, there will be *Gōpināthapuram*.
98. There will be a *Kambam* on the North-West of the *Gōpināthapuram*.
99. If from there one goes facing the East, there will be a *Kambam* to the North-East of the *Gōpināthapuram*.
100. If from there one goes East, there will be *Toka Cheṭṭu* from which one started.

A plan of the village has been drawn on the basis of the information given above and it is reproduced below. The numbers in the plan are identical with the numbers given above describing each boundary.

The boundaries given above are very interesting since they give us a complete idea of the village bounderies that were existing during the time of *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis*. · From a perusal of the map, it would appear that the limits or the boundaries of the village were all fixed by means of stones whose location was fixed by their proximity to trees or *Kunṭas* or small ponds etc. It has been suggested by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma that one of the customs prevalent in medieval times was to allow a devotee carrying a flame dedicated to the God on his head in a pot to roam about blind-folded with his eyes being bound by a cloth. Wherever his peregrinations took him they were demarcated as the boundaries of the village. The fact that the boundaries of the present record are so irregular in shape, would appear to lend full support to the above theory.

Anavēma the present grantor was a famous and able ruler. He gave a number of *Agrahārās* to *brahmins* as is evidenced by his *Ippugallu, Dṛjjavaram, Naḍupūru, Vānapalli, Kollūru, Manyamapuram* and *Pedacherakūru* grants. He set up feeding houses for the poor etc. in many holy places. He was a great *Śaivite* worshipper, and many *Cāṭu* verses that still exist speak to his generosity and liberality. The great Telugu poet *Vennelakanṭi Sūrana* the author of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* extols this king *Anavēma* as one who gave his support to

the *Brahmins*, his *Birudās* to the nobles of the *Panṭa* clan, and his political wisdom to his people.

క॥ తన బ్రదుకు భూమిసురులకుఁ
దన బిరుదులు పంటవంశ ధరణీశులకున్
దన నయము భూమి ప్రజలకు
ననవేమన యిచ్చె కీ_ర్తి నధికుం డగుచున్.

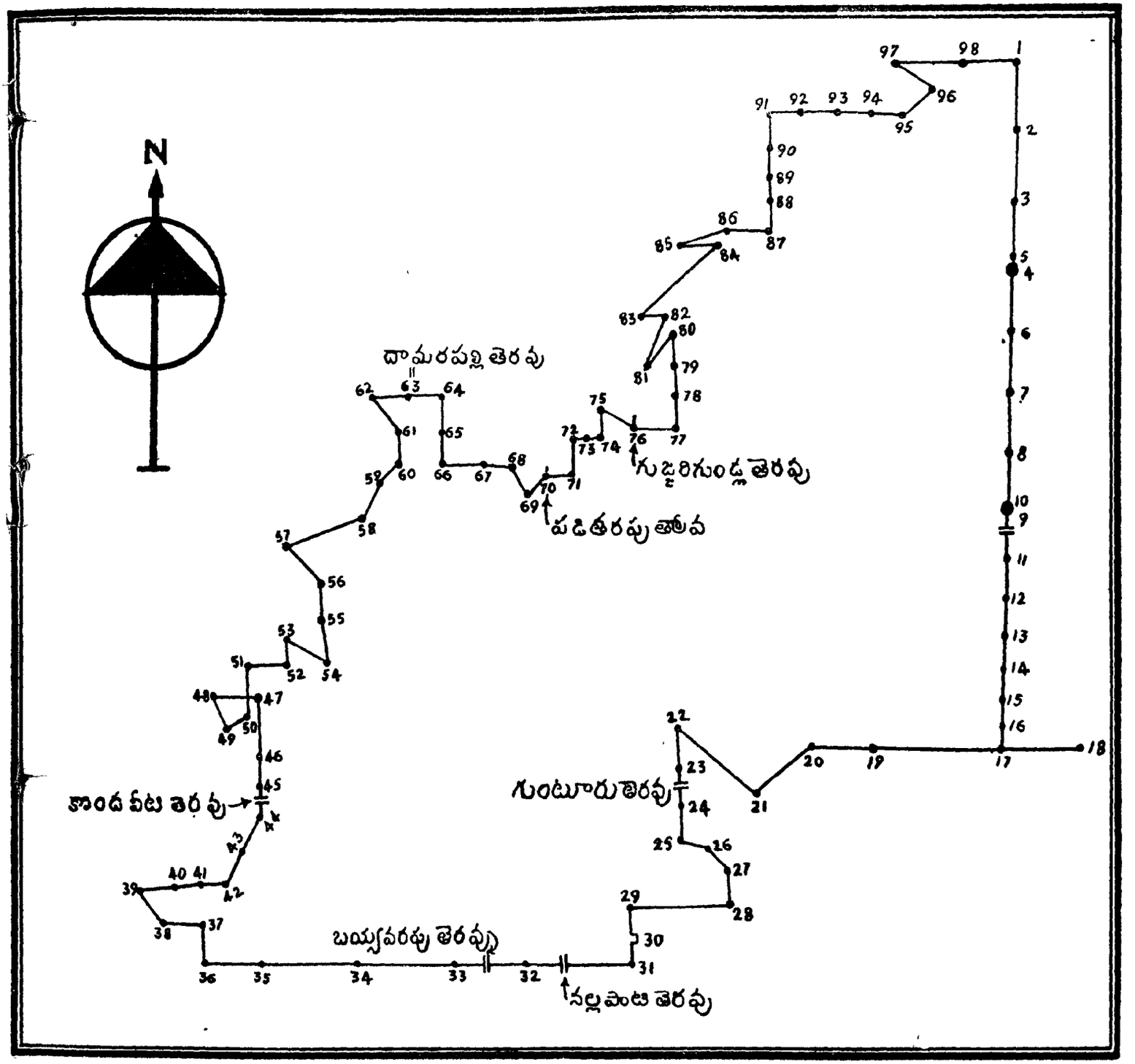
(*Vishṇu Purāṇa* Introduction)

The present grant is another evidence of the generosity of this king and is also very important in as much as it gives us complete and detailed information about the boundary demarcation of the village that was granted at the time of the *Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍis*.

2 7 MAY 1962
MADRAS

Text Figure I

A PLAN OF THE *PEDAPALAKALŪRU* VILLAGE DRAWN AS PER THE DETAILS GIVEN IN THE GRANT





TEXT AND PLATES
OF
THE PEDAPALAKALŪRU PLATES OF ANAVĒMAREḌḌI OF THE KOṆḌAVĪḌU LINE OF KINGS

FIRST PLATE: FIRST SIDE

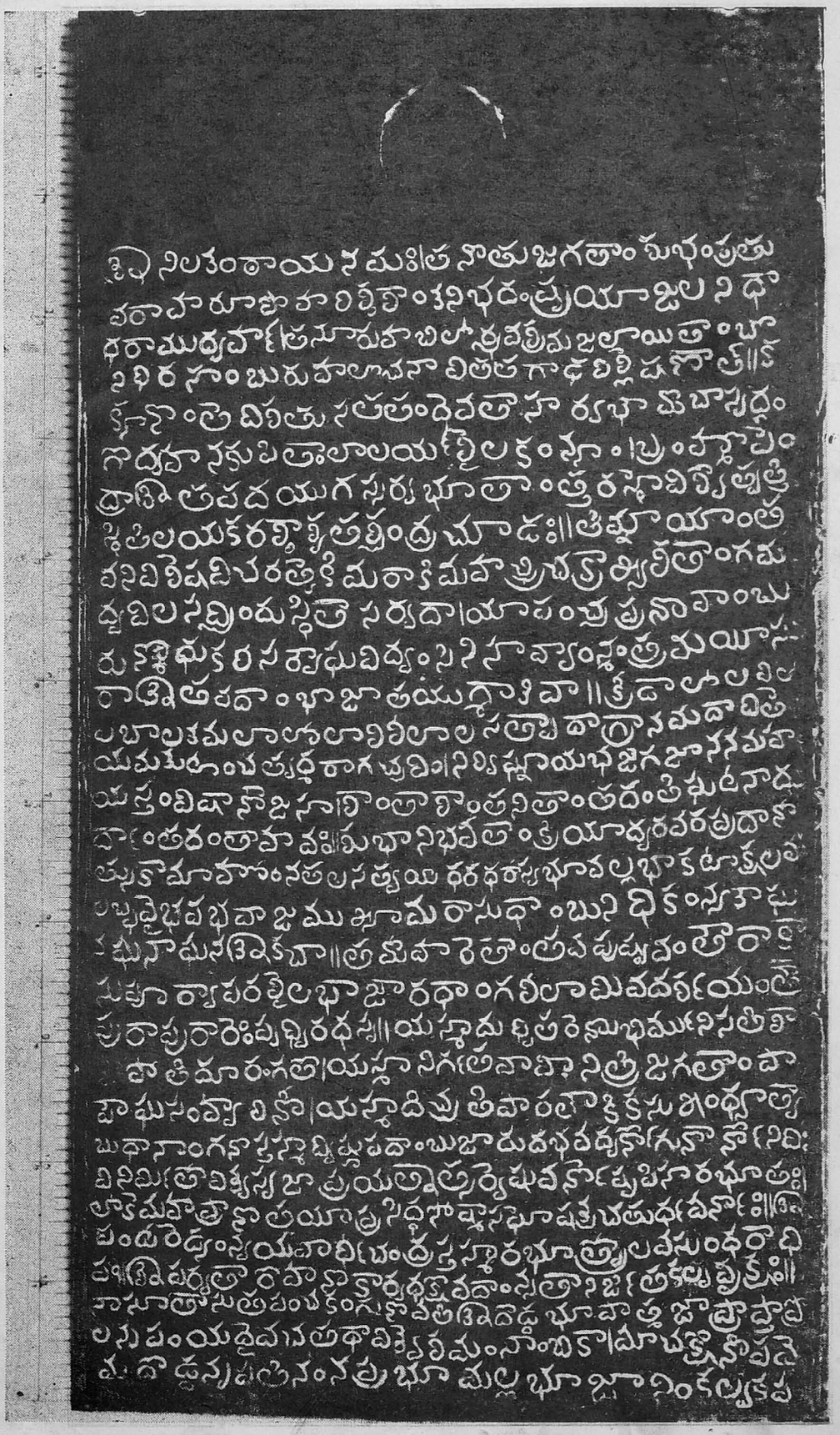
१. श्री नीलकंठाय नमः । तनोतु जगतां शुभं क्रतु
२. वराहरूपो हरिश्शशांकनिभदंष्ट्रया जलनिधौ
३. धरामुद्वहन् । तनूरुहबिलोद्भवश्रमजलायितांभो
४. निधि रसांबुरुहलोचनाविततगाढ विश्लेषणात् (1) क
५. ल्याणं ते दिशतु सततं देवतासार्वभौमो भास्वद्गं
६. गोद्वहनकुपितां लालयन् शैलकन्यां । ब्रह्मोर्पे
७. द्राश्रितपदयुगस्सर्वभूतांतरस्थो विश्वोत्पत्ति
८. स्थितिलयकरश्शाश्वतश्चंद्रचूडः (2) आम्नायांत
९. वनीविशेषविचरत्केलीमराली महच्छ्रीचक्राख्यशतांगम
१०. ध्यविलसद्बिंदुस्थिता सर्वदा । या पंच्चप्रणवांबु
११. रुण्मधुकरी सर्वौघविध्वंसिनी साव्यांन्मंत्रमयी सु
१२. राश्रितपदांभोजातयुग्मा शिवा (3) क्रीडालोलविलो
१३. लबालकमलालोलालिलीलालसत्पादाग्रानमदादिते
१४. यमकुटांचत्पद्मरागच्छविं । निर्विघ्नाय भजे गजाननमहं
१५. यस्तंविषाणौजसा । शांताशांतनितांतदंतिघटनादु
१६. र्दांतदंताहवः (4) शुभानि भवतांक्रियाद्वरवरप्रदानो
१७. त्सुका मांहोंनत[1]लसत्पयोधरधरास्य[2]भूवल्लभाकटाक्षलव
१८. लब्धवैभवभवाजमुख्यामरा सुधांबुनिधिकन्यकाघ
१९. नघनाघन श्रीकचा (5) तमो हरेतां तव पुष्पवंतौ राका
२०. सुपूर्वापरशैलभाजौ[।]रथांगलीलामिवदर्शयंतौ
२१. पुरा पुरारेः पृथ्वी[3]रथस्य (6) यस्मादुधृ[4]तरेणुभिर्मुनिसतीशा
२२. पोतिदूरंगतो यस्मानि(न्नि)र्गतवाहिनी त्रिजगतां पा
२३. पौघ संह्वा(हा)रिणी । यस्मादिच्छति पारलौकिकसुखं ध्यात्वा
२४. बुधानां गणस्तस्माद्विष्णुपदांबुजादुदभवद्वर्णोगुणार्णो निधिः (7)
२५. विनिर्मिता विश्वसृजा प्रयत्नात्सर्वेषु वर्णेष्वपि सारभूतः ।
२६. लोके महाप्राणतया प्रसिद्ध(:)सोष्मा सघोषश्च चतुर्थवर्णः (8) श्री
२७. पंटरेड्यंन्वय वार्धिचंद्रस्तस्मार(द)भूत्प्रोलवसुंधराधि

1. Read as महोन्नत 2. Read as स्वभूवल्लभा 3. Read as पृथिवी
4. The correct word is दुद्धृ

THE *PEDAPALAKALURU* PLATES OF *ANAVEMAREDḌI*

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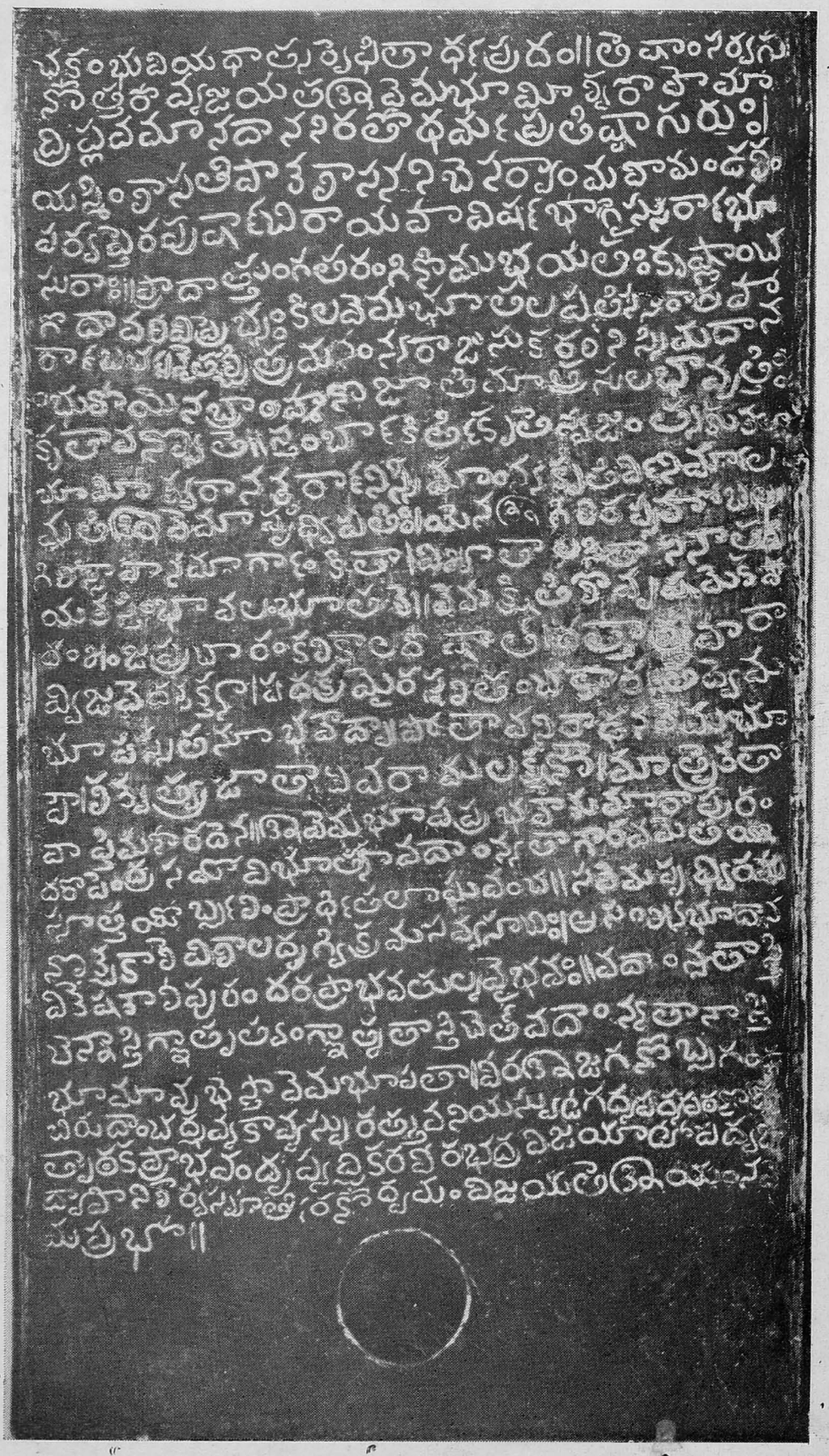
First Plate: First Side



THE *PEDAPALAKALURU* PLATES OF *ANAVEMAREDḌI*

First Plate : Second Side

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२८. पः । श्रीपर्वतारोहणकार्यदक्षो वदान्यतानिर्जितकल्पवृक्षः ॥
२९. (9) सासूता सुतपंचकं गुणवती श्रीदोड्डभूपात्मजा प्राप्ता प्रो
३०. लनृपं यदै(थै)व च तथा विश्वेशमंनांबिका । माचक्षोणिपवे
३१. मदोड्डनृपतीनंनप्रभुं मल्लभूजानिं कल्पक पं

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

३२. चकं भुवि यथात्स(स)र्वेफि(प्सि)तार्थिप्रदं (10) तेषां सर्वगु
३३. णोत्तरो व्यजयत श्रीवेमभूमीश्वरो हेमा
३४. द्रिप्लवमानदाननिरतो धर्मप्रतिष्टा(ष्ठा)गुरुः ।
३५. यस्मिं शासति पाकशासननिभे सर्वां[5] महीमंडळं
३६. पर्य(ा)सै(े)रपुषान् (षन्) चिराय हविष(ा)न् (÷) भागैस्सुरान्भू
३७. सुराः (11) प्रादात्तुंगतरंगिणीमुभयतः कृष्णां च
३८. गोदावरी (÷) विप्रेभ्यः किल वेमभूतलपतिस्साराग्रहा
३९. रान् बभन् (भजन्) । नैतश्चि (च्चि)त्रमनन्यराजसुकरंनिस्सीमदान
४०. ÷ भुवो येन ब्राह्मणजातिमात्रसुलभा वृत्तिः
४१. कृता वर्ण्यते (12) स्तंभान् कीर्तिकृते सृजंत्यकुशला
४२. भूमीश्वरा नश्वरान् निस्सीमांन्यकृतिर्विनिर्मा (र्म) ल
४३. मति (:) श्रीवेमा (म) पृथ्वीपतिः । येन श्रीगिरिरप्यहोबल
४४. गिरिस्सोपानमार्गांकितौ विख्यातालसितौ सनातन
४५. यशस्तंभावलं भूतले (13) वेमक्षितीशो वृषमेकपा
४६. दं खंजप्रचारं कलिकालदोषात् । दत्ताग्रह (ा) रा (र)
४७. द्विजवेदशक्त्या पदक्रमैरस्खलितं चकार (14) तद्वेम
४८. भूपस्य तनूभवौद्वौ । पोतावनीराडनवेमभू
४९. पौ । श (स) कृत्प्रजाताविव रामलक्ष्मणौ । मात्रेकता
५०. वाप्तिमनोरथेन (15) श्रीवेमभूपप्रभवौ कुमारा (रौ) पुरं
५१. दरोपेंद्र समो(े) विभूत्या । वदान्यतागौरवमेतयो (:)
५२. स्यात्तयोर्बलिप्रार्थितलाघवं च (16) स वेमपृथ्वीरम
५३. णश्चकाशे विशालदृग्विक्रमसव्यसाचिः । असंख्यभूदान

5. सर्वं is correct

५४. विशेषशाली पुरंदरप्राभवतुल्यवैभवः । (17) वदान्यतास्ति
५५. चेन्नास्ति ग्मा(ज्ञा)तृत्वम् ग्मा(ज्ञा)तृतास्ति चेत् (।) वदान्यता नास्त ।
५६. भूमावुभे स्तो वेमभूपतौ (18) वीरश्रीजगनोब्वगंड
५७. बिरुदांचद्भव्यकाव्यस्फुरत्स्तवनीयस्फुटगद्यपद्यपठनोद्य
५८. त्पाठकप्राभवं दृष्यद्धीकरवीरचन्द्रविजयाटोपध्वजो
५९. द्वाहिनीशौर्यस्फूर्तिरणोद्यमं (:) विजयते श्रीयंनवे
६०. मप्रभोः (19)

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

६१. वीरांनवेमधरणीपतिजैत्रभेरि भांकारभैखरवश्रवण
६२. क्षणे हि । प्रत्यर्थिनो मुमुचिरे निजजीविताशां स्वप्रेयसीनयन
६३. जाशृ(श्रु)जलेनसार्धं (20) वैरिक्षमापालकरुद्रमूर्ती निस्मीम
६४. भूदाननिरूढकीर्तिः । श्रीयंनवेमाधिपचक्रवर्ती विरा
६५. जि(ज)ते विप्रजनानुवर्ती (21) समस्तकळ्याणगुणाभिरामः
६६. प्रतापवान्राजसमानतेजाः । देवद्विजाराधनभक्ति
६७. युक्तस्सवेमभूपो जयति प्रकामं (22) शाके खाभ्रपुरें
६८. दुवत्सरमितेब्दे काळयुक्तौ सहा मार्गे पर्वणि मंद
६९. वासरयुते वेमक्षमाधीश्वरः । अष्टैश्वर्ययुतामहो
७०. बलसुधीवर्याय चंद्रग्रहे संप्रादात्पेदपल्कलू
७१. रुनगरीमाचन्द्रतारार्कगं (23) पेदपलकलुरीपुरा
७२. चलेद्रे (लेंद्रे) त्वधिवसतिस्म महान् नृसिंहमूर्तिः । इति म
७३. नसि विचार्य चाग्रहारं प्रददहोबलपंडिताय
७४. भूपः (24) श्रीकुंडिनीपट्टण शैवभागे श्रीमंगळांद्यासु
७५. रदिक्प्रदेशे । कृष्णानदी दक्षिणदिग्विभागे श्रीपल्कलूर्वित्यवनिप्र
७६. सिधं (द्धं) (25) श्रीवेमभूपतिकृते पल्कलूर्वग्रहारके वृत्तिम
७७. द्वोत्रनामानि लिखितानि यथाक्रमं (26) एवं हरितस
७८. गोत्रेण महादेवसोमयाजिनप्त्रा विश्वनाथदीक्षितपौ
७९. त्रेण व्यासभट्टारकपुत्रेण अहोबलपंडितेन इम
८०. मग्रहारमाक्रांतं ॥ अयमग्रहारस्याष्टभागक

Plate XII (c)

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Second Plate : First Side

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८१. र्ता । गौतमसगोत्रः भवानीशंकरार्यपौत्रः मृत्युंज
८२. यावधानिपुत्रः तिरुमलदीक्षित एक भागः । तदनु हरि
८३. तसगोत्राहोबलपंडितांष्टभागेष्वेकभागः । कौंडि
८४. न्यसगोत्रः कोंडावधानिपौत्रः रामेश्वरयज्वपुत्रः
८५. वेंकटभट्टारक एकभागः । तदनु प्रतिग्रहीत्रहोब
८६. लपंडित एकभागः । मौद्गल्यसगोत्रः माधवभट्टपौ
८७. त्रः सदाशिवदीक्षितपुत्रः पद्मनाभदीक्षित एक भागः । तदनु
८८. प्रतिग्रहीत्रहोबलपंडित एक भागः । भारद्वाजसगो
८९. त्रः गंगाधरभट्टारकपौत्रः विश्वेश्वरदीक्षितपुत्रः लक्ष्मण
९०. भट्ट एकभागः । तदनु प्रतिग्रहीत्रहोबलपंडित एक
९१. भागः । पराशरसगोत्रः तिंमयज्वपौत्रः रघुनाथदीक्षित

SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

९२. पुत्रः रामावधानी एक भागः । तदनु प्रतिग्रहीत्र
९३. होबलपंडित एक भागः । काश्यपसगोत्रः राम
९४. कृष्णदीक्षितपौत्रः सदाशिवदीक्षितपुत्रः वेंकटा
९५. वधानी एक भागः । तदनु प्रतिग्रहीत्रहीबलपं
९६. डित एकभागः । आत्रेयसगोत्रः चंद्रशेखरदीक्षित
९७. पौत्रः लक्ष्मीनारायणार्यपुत्रः मल्लावधानी एक
९८. भागः । तदनु प्रतिग्रहीत्रहोबलपंडित एक भा
९९. गः । भारद्वाजसगोत्रः सर्वाभट्टपौत्रः नृसिंहदी
१००. क्षितपुत्रः लक्ष्मीनारायण एकभागः । तदनु अष्टभो
१०१. गसहितसर्वाग्रहारप्रतिग्रहकतृ (र्तृ) हरितसगोत्रा
१०२. होबलपंडित एकभागः । एवं साष्टभोगसहितां
१०३. न्यगोत्रजा अष्टभागवृत्तयः । अस्याग्रहारस्य सीमा
१०४. चिंह्यानि लिख्यंते देशभाषायां । ఈశాన్యానకు తోక చ
105. ట్టూ అందుండి తూర్పుసీమయి దక్షిణం పోగాను పెద్ద జం
106. మి మీదుగా వోయిన కంబం మీదుగా పోయిన సరెడ్డికుంట
107. వుత్తరపు కొండమున ముయ్యాళ్ల కంబం మోచెనూ । అందుండి

108. దక్షిణం వోగా వెలిశెలగుంపు మీదుగా వోయిన కం
109. బం అందుండి శెలలగుంపు మీదుగా ఆరిచెట్టు మీదు
110. గా పోయి వావిళ్లకుంట వుత్తరపు కొంమ్మున కంబం అందుం
111. డి దక్షిణం పడి తరపు తెరవు చాడి ఆ కట్ట పట్టుకుని
112. మరింని దక్షిణం వోగాను జంములదిబ్బ మీదుగా
113. ను పెద్దవెలగల మీదుగా రాళ్లగుంట దక్షిణాన మూపు
114. రపు కంబం మోచెనూ । అందుండి దక్షిణం వోగాను వె
115. లిశెలదిబ్బ మీదుగా పోయిన కంబం అందుండి ధక్షి
116. ణం వోగాను వెలుతురుకదుమున పెద్దగొల్లె మీ
117. దు వోయిన వల్లథయగుంట తూర్పున ముయ్యాళ్ల కం
118. బ్బం మోచెనూ । అందుండి అగుంట దక్షిణం వట్టుకుని పడ
119. (మ)ర మొగమయి పొయిన కంబం మీదుగా పాటిరెడ్డికుంట
120. లొపల పెద్దజంమి మీదుగా పొయిన కంబం అందుం
121. డి నిరురుతి మొగమై నెలగుంటి వాయువ్యాన కంబం

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122. అందుండి దక్షిణం వోగానూ వడ్లవానికుంట కట్టను వు
123. ంన కంబం । అందుండి దక్షిణ మొగమయి గుంటూరి తెరవు
124. చాటి వెలిశెలదిబ్బ దక్షిణాన కంబ్బం గడచి మరింని దక్షి
125, ణ మొగమయి ముదిజంమి తూర్పు వట్టుకుని ఆగ్నేయం
126. తిర్గిపొగానూ మూల కంబం మొచెనూ । దక్షిణసీమ
127. కూ అందుండి పడమర మొగమయి రెమిళగుంపు ద
128. క్షిణాన వెళ్లి కురుమ రమ[ణ]య చెనివార వొడికె
129. ను కంబం । అందుండి వొడికెను పడమర మోగమ
130. యి నల్లపాటి తెరవు చాటి పడమర కంబం గడచి
131. పొగా బయ్యవరపు తెరవు పశ్చిమాన పెద్దపుట్ట అం
132. ద్దుండి పడమర మూడు శిలలు గడచి త్యాళ్ల పడ
133. య పశి । (శ్చి) మానకు మూలయి మొచ(చే)నూ అందుండి
134. పడమర సీ[వ]మా వుత్తరం వోయి పుట్టు పడమ
135. ర పడిగెతల కంబం ఆవుత్తర కొండకు వాయు

THE *PEDAPALAKALŪRU* PLATES OF *ANAVEMAREDḌI*

Third Plate: First Side

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136. వ్యాన మలుపుతు కంబం అందుండి తూర్పు మొగమ
137. యి పొయి పులిగుంట దక్షిణాన కంబం [బ్బం] మీదు
138. గా పొయి పందిరిగుంట ఈశాన్యపు నెలవున ము
139. ల్ల మూరం। మ్మును మోచి అందుండి ఈశాన్య మొ
140. గమయి పొయిన కంబం అందుండి వుత్తరమొ
141. గమయి కొండవీటి తెరవు దాటి ఆ వుత్తరా
142. ననె కంబం అందుండి వుత్త(ర)ం పొగా కంబం గడ
143. చి మరిని వుత్తరం వోయిన గారల గుంపున
144. కంబం అందుండి పడమర మొగమయి ది
145. బ్బ దక్షిణం వట్టుకునిపొయిన పడమర ది
146. బ్బ ఆగ్ఘ(గ్నే)యాన మూలకు కంబం మోచెనూ
147. ఆ ముయ్యాళ్ల కంబం ను(ం)చి వు(త్త)(ర) మొగమయి పొయి
148. పెద్దచెరువు దాటి ఆ వుత్తరాన గార్లదిబ్బను యె(క్కి) మల్ల

THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE

149. వరపుగట్టు తూర్పున కంబం మీదుగా వుత్త
150. రం పొయిన ఆ మల్లవరపు ఆగ్నె(గ్నే)యాన కంబ్బం
151. ఆ వుత్తరాన ఆ మల్లవరం ఈశాన్యాన కంబ్బం ఆ(అ)
152. ందుండి వుత్తరం పోగో నాగులపుట్ట మీదుగా
153. పొయి చాకివాగు వుత్తరాన జంమి మొదట కం
154. బ్బం మీదుగా పొగా ప(వ)క్రగతిని తూర్పున పం
155. డి చాకివాగున కలియవచ్చె కాలువలొని కం
156. బం మీదుగా పొయిన కంబం అందుండి వు
157. త్తరం పొగా నెలజంముల మీదుగా పొయి గొటి
158. గుండ్ల వాయువ్యాన ముయ్యాళ్ల కంబం మోచె
159. నూ అందుండి తూర్పుమొగమయి పోయిన
160. దామరపల్లె తెరువున కంబం మీదుగా మరి
161. ంని తూర్పు పోయిన ముయ్యాళ్ల కంబం మోచె
162. నూ అందుండి దక్షిణం పోగా చాలుగుండ్లలొని
163. కంబం మీదుగా మూలగుండ్లనూ తూర్పు

164. చట్టున మోచి తూర్పు మొగమయి పొగా కంబం
165. మీదుగా పొయి వుత్తరం పొయ్యె చాకివా
166. గు దాటి ఆ తూర్పుభాగాన కంబ(ం) అందుండి ఆ
167. గ్గే(గ్నే)య మొగమయిపొగా జంముల దిబ్బను కం
168. బ్బం మీదుగా తూర్పు పొగా పడితరపుత్రా(త్రో)వ
169. దనుకావెళ్లి ఆ త్రొవను వుత్తరం పోయిన కంబం
170. అందుండి తూర్పు మొగమయి పోయిన కంబం మొ
171. చి అందుండి వుత్తరం పోయిన తొళ్లమడుగు తూ
172. ర్పున కంబం అందుండి తూర్పు మొగమయి పొగా
173. కంబ్బం అంద్దుండి వుత్తరం పొగా పడితరపుచం
174. డాల వాటికె ఆగ్గ(గ్నే)యాన గుజ్జరిగండ్ల తెరవున
175. కంబం మొచి తూర్పు మొగమయి పోయిన పెద్దజం

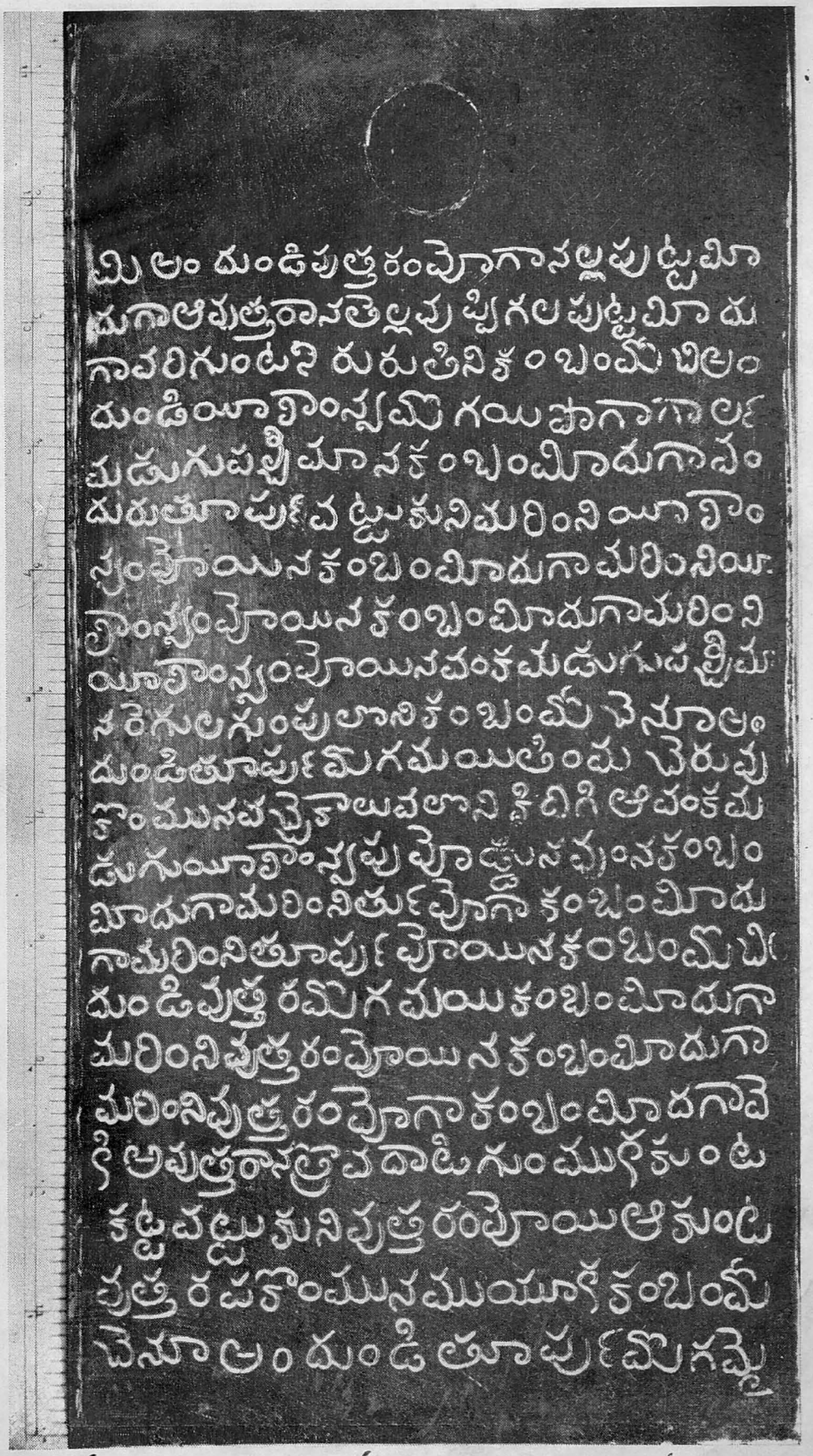
FOURTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE

176. మి అందుండి వుత్తరం వోగా నల్లపుట్ట మీ
177. దుగా ఆ వుత్తరాన తెల్లవుప్పిగల పుట్ట మీదు
178. గా వరిగుంట నిరురుతిని కంబం మోచి అం
179. దుండి యీశాన్య మొగ్గ(మ)యి పొగా గొర్ల
180. మడుగు పశ్చిమాన కంబం మీదుగా వం
181. దురు తూర్పు వట్టుకుని మరింని యీశాం
182. న్యం వోయిన కంబం మీదుగా మరింని యీ
183. శాన్యం వోయిన కంబం మీదుగా మరింని
184. యీశాన్యం వోయిన వంకమడుగు పశ్చిమా
185. న రెగుల గుంపులోని కంబం మోచెనూ అం
186. దుండి తూర్పు మొగమయి తింమచెరువు
187. కొంమున వచ్చె కాలువలొనికి దిగి ఆ వంకమ
188. డుగు యీశాన్యపు వోడ్డున వున కంబం
189. మీదుగా మరింని ర్తు(తూర్పు)వోగా కంబం మీదు
190. గా మరింని తూర్పు వోయిన కంబ్బం మొచి అ(ం)
191. దుండి వుత్తర మొగమయి కంబం మీదుగా

THE *PEDAPALAKALŪRU* PLATES OF *ANAVEMAREDḌI*

Fourth Plate: First Side

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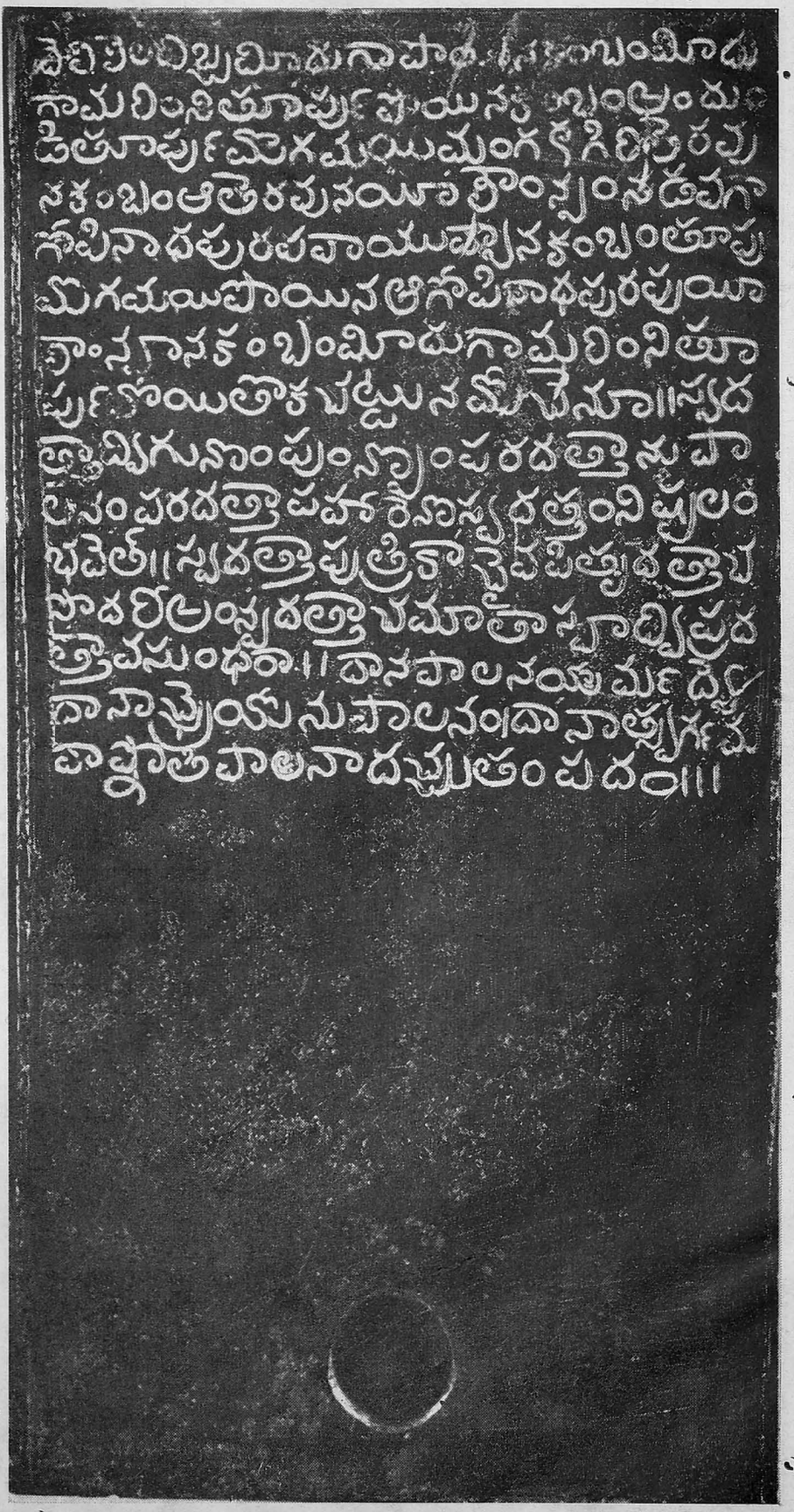


మి అం దుండిపుత్త రంవ్రోగానల్లపుట్టి మా
డుగాలిపుత్తరానతెల్లచు ప్పిగలపుట్టి మీ దు
గావరిగుంటని రుతినికంబంమీ బిలం
దుండీయూళాంన్నమి గయు ప్రాగాగాలం
మడుగుపశ్చిమానకంబంమీదుగావం
దురుతూపుర్వట్టుకునిమరిందియూళాం
న్నంవ్రోయినకంబంమీదుగామరిందియూ
ళాంన్నంవ్రోయినకంబంమీదుగామరింది
యూళాంన్నంవ్రోయినవంకమడుగుపశ్చిమ
నరెగులగుంపులానికంబంమీ చెనూలం
దుండితూపుర్మొగమయుటంమ చెరువు
కొంమునచచ్చెకాలువలాని కిదిగి లిచంకమ
డుగుయూళాంన్నపు వ్రోయ్దునచ్చునకంబం
మీదుగామరిందితుర్వ్రోగా కంబంమీదు
గామరిందితూపుర్వ్రోయినకంబంమీ బీ
దుండివుత్త రమొగమయికంబంమీదుగా
మరిందివుత్తరంవ్రోయి నకంబంమీదుగా
మరిందివుత్తరంవ్రోగాకంబ్మంమీదగావె
గీ అవుత్తరానత్రావదాటిగుంముగ్గకుంటు
కట్టవట్టుకునివుత్తరంవ్రోయిలిగుంటు
వుత్తరపకొంమునమయూగోకంబంమీ
చెనూలం దుండితూపుర్మొగమ్మె

176 178 180 182 184 186 188 190 192 194 196

THE *PEDAPALAKALŪRU* PLATES OF *ANAVEMAREDḌI*

Fourth Plate: Second Side



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192. మరింని వు త్తరం వోయిన కంబం మీదుగా
193. మరింని వు త్తరం వోగా కంబం మీదగా వె
194. ళి (ళ్లి) అ(ఆ)వు త్తరాన త్రోవ చూటి గుంముళకుంట
195. కట్ట వట్టుకుని వు త్తరం వోయి ఆ కుంట
196. వు త్తరప కొంమున ముయూళ కంబం మో
197. చెనూ అందుండి తూర్పు మొగమై

FOURTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

198. వెలి శెలదిబ్బ మీదుగా పొయిన కంబం మీదు
199. గా మరింని తూర్పు పొయిన కంబం అందుం
200. డి తూర్పు మొగమయి మంగళగిరి తెరవు
201. న కంబం ఆ తెరవున యీశాన్యం నడవగా
202. గోపినాధ పురప వాయువ్యాన కంబం తూర్పు
203. మొగమయి పొయిన ఆ గోపినాధపురపు యీ
204. శాన్యాన కంబం మీదుగా మరింని తూ
205. ర్పు వోయి తొకచట్టున మోచెనూ ॥ స్వద
206. త్తా ద్విగుణం పుణ్యం పరదత్తానుపా
207. లనం పరదత్తాప హారేణ స్వద త్తం నిష్పలం
208. భవెత్ ॥ స్వదత్తా పుత్రికాచైవ పితృదత్తాచ
209. సొదరీ అన్వ్య(య) దత్తాచ మాతాస్వా(స్యా) ద్విప్రద
210. త్తా వసుంధరా ॥ దాన పాలనయోర్మధ్యే(ధ్యే)
211. దానాచ్ఛ్రే(చ్ఛ్రే)యోను పాలనం । దానాత్స్వర్గ మ
212. వాప్నా(ప్నో)తి పాలనా దచ్చు(చ్యు)తం పదం ॥

SECTION VI

THE *PALLAVAS*

CHAPTER XVIII

THE *VESANTA* GRANT OF *PALLAVA SIMHAVARMA*

This set of copper plates was discovered in the village of Jalalpuram of Sattenapalli taluk of Guntur district by Sri Puvvada Tirupatiah while digging for foundations for his compound wall. Information was brought to me about its discovery and immediately at my request the Joint Collector, Guntur, Sri N. Narayanaswamy, I.A.S., and Sri Gulam Jilani, the Revenue Divisional Officer, Guntur moved very promptly and quickly in the matter and retrieved the copper plate grant in time before it could disappear. The plates have been brought to the Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Museum at Hyderabad and are now on display in the epigraphy section of the Museum.

There are five copper plates in this grant held together by a ring. The copper plates weigh 968 grams. The ring and the seal weigh 280 grams. The outer sides of the first and the last plates bear no letters. The edges of the plates are all smooth and not raised. The plates measure 17 cms. × 7 cms. The plates are of uniform thickness. The ring is held together by a seal. The diameter of the ring is 7 cms. and its thickness is 0.7 cms. The ends of the ring are secured on the base of a circular seal. The seal measures 3.5 cms. in diameter. The seal is very much worn out and though some traces of very faint marks of a legend or a symbol appear, still nothing is clearly visible. The seal was cut by me in order to take estampages.

The plates have a total of thirty-three lines of writing spread over as follows :

First plate second side	5 lines
Second plate first side	5 lines
Second plate second side	5 lines
Third plate first side	5 lines
Third plate second side	4 lines
Fourth plate first side	3 lines
Fourth plate second side	3 lines
Fifth plate first side	3 lines
Total	33 lines

The plates are also numbered on the first plate second side with numeral 1, on the second plate second side with numeral 2, on the third plate second side with numeral 3 and on the fourth plate second side with numeral 4. The fifth plate has no marks.

The writing in the plates is identical with those of the *Uruvapalli* plates[1] of *Yuvamāharāja Vishṇugōpavarman*. Numerals are marked on these plates as in the *Oṅgōḍu*-I[2], the *Uruvapalli*[1], the *Mangadūru*[3] and *Pikīra*[4] grants. The characters may be classed as box-headed and the box-head may be classed as the false box-head. As is well-known the true box is formed "by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and having a block of stone or copper in the centre of them". The false box on the other hand is more simple. The engraver has only to remove a sufficiently large square surface at the head of each letter. The present grant is clearly a case of false box-head writing. The style of writing in these plates is more ornate and clear, and the flourishes on the strokes are clearer and more bold than in similar other grants. The engraver exhibits a tendency to incise the letters with ornamental flourish rather than in curls as in the *Uruvapalli* plates.[1] Though the writing closely resembles that of the other Sanskrit charters of the *Pallavas* of the Nellore-Guntur region still the calligraphy in this particular grant is excellent and the letters are engraved far more boldly and clearly. The flourish in writing seen in all the letters is to be particularly noticed.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the three imprecatory verses at the end, it is entirely in prose. The grant was written by *Rahasyādhikṛita, Kūlippōtta* at the oral command of the king (*Swamukhājñāpitēna Rahasyādhikṛitēna Kūlippottēna Likhitēyam Tāmrapaṭṭikēti*).

The grant gives a genealogy of three kings only, unlike four kings as in the other similar charters. Moreover the language of the *Praśasti* employed here is slightly different from the *Praśasti* employed in the other grants like the *Uruvapalli* grant[1] etc. though it is clear from a reading of the grant that it definitely belongs to the Sanskrit charters of the *Pallavas* of the Nellore-Guntur area. The paleography, and the find spot also support this view.

The grant starts with the usual adoration "*Jitam Bhagavatō*". 'Let there be victory to the Lord', and states that it was issued from *Śrī Vijaya Kāñchīpura*. Then the *Praśasti* proper begins. The grantor is described as the *Pautra* or the grandson of *Śrī Vijaya Vīravarma* who is described as a great *Brahmaṇya* (*Parama Brahmaṇya*), who keeps within the bounds of the injunctions laid down in the *Śastrās* (*Vidhi Vihita Sarva Maryādasya*), whose glory is equal to that of Lord *Indra*, who is the Lord of the *Dēvās*, and who as it

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 50.
2. Ep. Ind. Vol. XV, p. 249.
3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 154.
4. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 159,

were, has descended to the earth (*Kshititala Avatīrṇa Tridaśāpati Tulya Prabhāvasya*), who had brought under control by his valour the entire circle of kings (*Pratāpāpanata Sarva Rāja Maṇḍalasya*) and whose strength and achievement were progressing well (*Abhyucchita Śakti Siddhi Sampannasya*). Such was *Mahārāja Śrī Vijaya Vīravarma* who were the grandfather of the grantor.

Then follows a description of the father of the donor. The father was *Śrī Vijaya-skandhavarma* who is described as one whose good-will and anger are like nectar and poison respectively (*Amṛita Visha Sama Prasāda Kōpasya*), whose every action is motivated only by a desire for the progress of the world (*Lōkōpachaya Pravṛitta Sarva Ārambhasya*), who delights the eye and the heart of every one just as the *Vasanta Māsa* does (*Vasanta Māsa Iva Sarva Jana Nayana Hṛidayānandasya*), whose arm is strong like the high trunk of an elephant (*Kari Karōdāra Pīna Bhujasya*), who rules with his hands the *Purās* and the *Janapadās* in such a manner that the people are highly delighted (*Swabhuja Paripālana Atimudita Paura Janapadasya*), who has established by conquering the entire Southern peninsula, his fame and glory on the banks of the three oceans (*Sakala Dakshināpatha Vijaya Yaśassamsthāpita Tri Samudra Kulasya*), and who is said to be a veritable wonder among the kings (*Rajā-dbhūtasya*). Such was *Śrī Vijayaskandhavarman* who was the father of the grantor.

The grant then goes on to describe the grantor viz. *Mahārāja Śrī Vijayasimhavarman*. The grantor is described as one to whom all auspicious things were added by his good conduct and devotion to the Lord (*Bhagavadbakti Sadbhāva Sambhāvita Sarva Kālyāṇaḥ*) and as one to whom the objects of pleasure of the five senses follow closely the will of his mind (*Manō Vaśānuga Panchēndriya Vishayaḥ*). The king is described as keenly desirous of seeing and serving the elders (*Vṛiddha Darśana Upāsanaratiḥ*), as endoweed with the fame and good qualities of the ancient *Rājarshis* (*Pūrva Rājarshi Prabhāvaguṇa Samupagataḥ*), as brave in addition to the qualities of *Śama*, *Dama* and *Niyama* (*Śama, Dama Niyama Dhṛita Dhṛiti*), as having established himself firmly like an unshakable mountain (*Kśhitidharavara Sadṛiśāvasthita Sthitiḥ*), as having good feelings towards his people and regarding them without any distinction as his own children (*Prajāsu Putra Nirantara Pravṛitta Sauhṛidaḥ*), as ever ready to uplift the *Dharma* which had got ruined by the sins of the *Kaliyuga* (*Kaliyuga Doshāvasanna Dharma Uddhāraṇa Nitya Sannaddhaḥ*), as one from whom disease, anger, greed, lust and fear had gone away (*Vīta Rōga Rōsha Lōbha Mōha Bhayaḥ*) and as one who was ever intent upon restoring the royal family which had got ruined (*Avasanna Rāja Vamśōddhāraṇa Savyāpāraḥ*).

The grant then describes that the king was a veritable tree of refuge to all learned men (*Vāsavṛiksho Vidvajjanasya*), an *Āśraya* or refuge for *Dharma* (*Āśrayō dharmasya*), and an abode for *Lakshmi* (*Āvāso Lakshmyāḥ*). He is then stated to be the be all and end all for all the world (*Sarvasvam Jīva Lōkasya*). Then come a few descriptive phrases which are

quite common in these *Pallava* records. The king is described as *Bhagavatpadānudhyātaḥ*, i.e., worshipping the feet of the Lord, *Bappabhaṭṭāraka Pada Bhaktaḥ* i.e., a devotee at the feet of the *Bappabhaṭṭāraka* or the 'Great Father, a *Parama Bhāgavata*, and as belonging to the *Bhāradvāja Gōtra* (*Bhāradvājaḥ*). The king is then said to be the *Mahārāja* of the *Pallavas*, who were *Śrīvallabhās* (*Śri Vallabhānām Pallavānām Mahārājaḥ*) and the *Pallavas* are described as having taken several baths in the *Avabhṛitha* ceremony of the various *Aśvamēdha Yajñās* performed by them (*Anēka Aśvamēdha Avabhṛitha Snātānām*). Such was the king *Śri Vijayasimhavarma* who made the grant.

The king ordered the villagers of *Vēsantagrāma* in *Nādattapāḍu* as follows: The village after being made into a *Brahmadēya* was given as a gift to *Jyēshṭha Śarma*, a follower of the *Āpastamba Sūtra*, belonging to the *Gautamasa Gōtra*. The gift was made along with the eighteen different *Parihāras* (immunities) and excluding the plough for the land already given for the enjoyment of the God (*Dēvabhōga Halavarjyam*). The grant was made for the progress of the king's *Āyuḥ*, *Dharma* and *Vijaya*. The king also made an injunction that in that kingdom all the *Mahāmātrās*, *Adhyakshās*, *Rājapurushās* and *Sancharantas* should not only themselves ensure, but also cause to be ensured, that the orders of the king regarding the immunities were obeyed. Any sinner who disregarded the royal command, was ordered to be given physical punishment.

The grant specially mentions that it was issued in the nineteenth year of the victorious regnal era of the king (*Asmin Vijaya Rājya Samvatsara Ekōnavimśatyām*), in the *Māgha Māsa Śukla Daśami* day. The royal command as it was being issued orally by the king, was written down by his order in copper plates by an officer designated as *Rahasyādhikṛita* whose name was *Kūlippōtta*. The grant then ends with the three usual imprecatory verses.

The present grant is a very important and significant one and throws a good deal of light on the *Pallava* genealogy and chronology. As is well known there are three main groups of the early *Pallavas* as follows:

(a) The *Pallavas* of the *Prākṛit* charters.
(b) The *Pallavas* of the Sanskrit charters of the Guntur and Nellore area; and
(c) The *Pallavas* of the *Simhavishṇu* line.

We have a number of copper plate inscriptions of these kings which furnish several names. From these, certain schemes of *Pallava* genealogy and chronology have been worked out, and certain dates have also been assigned to them by various scholars, but there is any amount of difference of opinion among them and no two lists tally. It is also not settled whether the *Pallavas* of the *Prākṛit* charters and the *Pallavas* of Sanskrit charters belong to the same line or not, and also whether the *Pallavās* of the Guntur-Nellore area are the same as the predecessors of the *Pallavas* of the *Simhavishṇu* line ruling from *Kānchi*.

The present grant supplies a very important and significant clue, which helps

us to resolve a few points that have led to keen disagreement among scholars. The present grant is obviously one of the Sanskrit charter of the *Pallavas* of the Nellore-Guntur area as can be seen from the close similarity of the *Prasasti* mentioned in the grant with that of similar other grants like the *Uruvapalli*[1] and the *Pikīra*[2] grants. Also the find spot which happens to be in the Guntur district bears out the same view. The grant gives us a genealogy of three kings viz. *Vīravarma*, *Skandavarma* and *Simhavarma* in that order and states that it was issued from *Śrī Vijaya Kānchīpura.*

Hitherto scholars were divided among themselves whether the *Pallavas* of the Sanskrit charters from the Nellore Guntur area had ruled from *Kānchi* or not, and whether they were the direct ancestors of the *Simhavishṇu* line or not, since none of the plates discovered hitherto except the *Chandalūr*[3] plates, (which is of a later date) mentioned *Kānchīpura* as the capital of the kings. This fact had led certain scholars to formulate a theory of a collateral *Pallava* branch, ruling some where in the Nellore-Guntur area. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar[4] and Dr. K. R. Subrahmanyam[5] subscribed to this view. The present grant settles this point beyond doubt. It clearly states at the very beginning itself that the grant was issued from *Śri Vijaya Kānchīpura.* Thus the doubt whether the *Pallavas* of the Sanskrit charters of the Nellore-Guntur area ruled from *Kānchīpura* or not, can be settled once and for all, and it can be asserted beyond doubt, that they did rule from *Kānchīpura.* To that extent the present grant has resolved a major point of dispute. When the above view is accepted, we have to take stock afresh of all the evidence available from the other grants and work out a genealogy of the early *Pallavas* on the basis of a single line ruling right through.

As regards the earliest known *Pallava* kings of the *Prākṛit* charters, we have only three copper plate grants viz. the *Mayidavōlu* plates of *Śivaskandhavarman*[6], the *Hirahadagalli* plates of *Śivaskandhavarman*[7] and the British Museum plates of Queen *Chārudēvi.*[8] The *Mayidavōlu* grant[6] was issued by the *Yuva Mahārāja Śivaskandhavarma* of the *Bhāradwāja Gōtra* of the *Pallava* family, and records the gift of a village *Viripara* to the *Brahmins* in the *Āndhrapatha.* The record is dated in the fifth *tithi* of the sixth fortnight of summer in the tenth year of the reign of *Śivaskandhavarma's* predecessor. The *Hirahadagalli*[7] grant records that *Śivaskandhavarma* of *Kānchi* belonging to the *Bhāradwāja Gōtra* confirmed and enlarged in the eighth year of his reign, a grant made formerely by the great king *Bappa* (his

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 50.
2. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 159.
3. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 233.
4. Successors of *Śātavāhanās,* p. 175.
5. Buddhist Remains in Andhra & Andhra History, p. 104.
6. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 84.
7. Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 5.
8. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 143.

father) to certain *Brahmins* residing at *Āpitti*. The third or the British Museum plates of queen *Chārudēvi*[1] is dated in an illegible year of *Vijayaskandhavarma* and records an order by the queen regent on behalf of the heir apparent *Vijaya Buddha Varman*. The queen *Chārudēvi* is said to be the mother of *Buddhayānkura*. Thus the *Mayidavōlu* grant introduces *Yuva Mahārājāh Śivaskandhavarman*, the *Hirahadagalli* plates king *Śivaskandhavarma*, and the British Museum plates *Vijayaskandhavarma*, whose son and grandson were *Buddhavarma* and *Buddhayānkura*. It is clear that *Śivaskandhavarma* of the *Mayidavōlu* and *Hirahadagalli* plates is one and the same. It is also fairly certain that he is the same as the *Vijayaskandhavarma* mentioned in the British Museum plates as the name *Skandhavarma* is comman to both, and *Śiva* and *Vijaya* appear like honorary prefixes. It has to be borne in mind that *Buddhavarma* and *Buddhayānkura* mentioned in the British Museum plates need not have ascended the throne, as there is no evidence in the plates to support this view. A genealogy has been drawn up by late Sri B. V. Krishnarao[2] making allowance for a rule by *Buddhavarma* and *Buddhayānkura*. In the absence of any specific mention in these plates, such a presumption need not be drawn. Omitting these, therefore, we can infer that a certain *Skandhavarma* known as *Śivaskandhavarma* or *Vijayaskandhavarma* was the earliest king of the *Prākṛit* charters of the *Pallavas*.

In addition to the above three *Prākṛit* grant, we have the information supplied by a stone inscription viz. the *Manchikallu* inscription of *Pallava Simhavarma*. This inscription was originally noticed by Sri P. Seshadri Sastry of Guntur who had published it tentatively in 1944 A.D. in the "Journal of Andhra History and Culture" then being issued from Guntur under the editorship of Dr. M. Rama Rao. I had the good fortune of removing this inscription from *Manchikallu* village to my official residence when I was the District Collector and District Magistrate at Guntur in 1953-55, since I realised the importance of this stone epigraph, as being even earlier than the *Prākṛit* inscriptions of *Mayidavōlu*, *Hirahadagalli* and the British Museum plates. However, I was transferred out of Guntur before I could do anything further in the matter. I have since removed this to the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, where it is on exhibit in the epigraphy section. Dr. D. C. Sirkar, Government Epigraphist has published the above inscription at page 87 of Epigraphia Indica Volume XXXII Part II, very ably and critically. This *Manchikallu* inscription gives us a king *Simhavarma* who is obviously a predecessor of *Śivaskandhavarma* of the *Mayidavōlu* plates. Dr. D. C. Sirkar says about it:[3]

"Considering the proximity between the date of the inscription under study i. e., about the close of the 3rd century A.D. and of the *Mayidavōlu* and *Hirahadagalli* plates of

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, - p. 143.
2. A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhra Desa, - p. 250.
3. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXII, Part II, p. 89.

Śivaskandhavarma i.e. about the first part of the 4th century A.D. as suggested by the language, it is possible to conjecture that *Simhavarma* was the father and immediate predecessor of *Śivaskandhavarma*. The close resemblence between the paleography and language of the present grant and those of the *Ikshvāku* records would further suggest that it was *Ikshvākus* who were supplanted from the Krishna-Guntur area by the *Pallavas*..... ..... It may be noted that many of the *Pallava* kings who claim to have been *Kaliyuga Dōshāvasanna Dharmōddharaṇa Nitya Sannaddhaḥ* had reference to the fact that they were determined to revitalise the brahminical faith which has been encroached upon by heretical doctrines like Buddhism during the age of the later *Śātavāhanās* and the *Ikshvākus*."

From the above it is clear that *Simhavarman* of the *Manchikallu* epigraph is anterior to *Śivaskandhavarman* of the *Prākṛit* grants. Thus we arrive at a pedigree of two kings viz. *Simhavarma* and *Śivaskandhavarma* from the early *Prākṛit* grants of the *Pallavas*.

As regards the approximate date of *Śīvaskandhavarman* of the *Prākṛit* grants, we are fortunately in a position to assert, that he could not have been earlier than the beginning of the first quarter, and later than the second quarter of the 4th century A.D. for the following reasons. The *Ikshvākus* succeeded the *Śātavāhanās* in the Krishna Guntur area. *Vāśiṣṭhiputra Pulamāvi* son of *Gautamī Putra Śātākarāṇi*, is known to have ruled in the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. and it would appear that the Andhra country was under the *Śātavāhanā* yoke at least up to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. Thus the sovereignty of the *Ikshvākus* over the *Āndhra Dēsa* would appear to have begun from about the end of the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. *Pallava Simhavarma* of the *Manchikallu* inscriptions who came later can therefore be tentatively placed only at the last decade of 3rd century A.D. or the first decade of the 4th century A.D. since the *Pallavas* came to power only after the *Ikshvākus*, and the *Ikshvākus* were ruling this tract till the end of the 3rd century A.D. Working from a different angle altogether, from an examination of the linguistic differences between the grants of *Śivaskandhavarma* and the records of the *Ikshvāku* kings, like the *Pallava* grants expressing compound consonants in two letters instead of single letters etc. Dr. D. C. Sircar has come to the same conclusion viz. that *Śivaskandhavarma* could not have ruled earliar than the beginning of the 4th century A.D.[1]

On the other hand, we have the evidence of a king *Vishṇugōpa* of *Kāñchīpura* (*Kāñchēyaka Vishṇugōpa*) who resisted *Samudragupta's* march to the south, as is seen from the Allahabad pillar inscription[2] of *Samudragupta*. *Samudragupta* is generally believed to have reigned from *Circa* 330-375 A.D., and we can thus roughly date the expedition of *Samudragupta* to the south as 350 A.D. Hence the *Kāñchēyaka Vishṇugōpa* or the *Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchi* referred to in the Allhabad inscription must have been a *Pallava* king who should

1. Successors of *Śātavāhanās*, p. 166.
2. Fleet, Cor. Insc., Ind., Vol. III, p. 1-17.

have suceeded *Skandhavarma* of the *Prākṛit* charters. Thus these two factors viz. the end of the *Ikshvāku* rule being not earlier than the end of the 3rd century A.D. and the reign of *Vishṇugōpa* of *Kānchi* falling roughly in 350 A.D. corresponding to *Samudragupta's* invasion of the South, give us two firm dates within which the date of *Simhavarma* of the *Manchikallu* inscription and the date of *Śivaskandhavarma* of the *Mayidavōlu* and *Hirahadagalli* inscription should be fitted. We can therefore tentatively fix the last decade of the 3rd century or 290 A.D. as the date of *Simhavarman* of the *Manchikallu* inscription and the first decade of the 4th century A.D. or 310 A.D. as the date of *Śivaskandhavarma* of the *Mayidavōlu* and *Hirahadagalli* inscriptions. This is about the *Pallavas* of the *Prākṛit* charters.

As regards the *Pallavas* of the early Sanskrit charters, they are known to us mainly from their own copper plate grants discovered mainly in the Nellore-Guntur area. There are seven grants of these kings viz. the grant of *Oṅgoḍu-I, Uruvapalli, Oṅgoḍu-II, Pikīra, Mangadūr, Viḷaveṭṭi* and *Chūra.* In addition we have the *Udayēndiram* and *Chendalūru* plates which are later in time. We have in addition a fragmentary record from *Darsi.* It is from the details given in these that we have to build up a geneology and chronology of the *Pallavas* of the Sanskrit charters.

For facility of reference, I have given in a separate chart or the end of the chapter all the details regarding the above grants.

The *Ongōḍu-I* grant was by *Vijayaskandhavarma* on the 13th day of the 3rd fortnight of winter in the 33rd victorious year and gives the following list of kings.

Kumāravishṇu
|
Skandhavarma-I
|
Vīravarma
|
Vijayaskandhavarma-II

The *Uruvapalli* grant of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* was issued in the 11th year of a king *Simhavarma* and mentiones the following kings.

Skandhavarma-I
|
Vīravarma
|
Skandhavarma-II
|
Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa

Three more grants viz. *Ongōḍu-II,* the *Pikīra* and *Mangadūr* grants carry the above for one generation more, and introduce *Simhavarma,* the son of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* grant.

Thus the genealogy given by *Ongōḍu-I, Uruvapalli, Ongōḍu-II, Pikīra* and *Mangadūr* grants may be combined as below.

Kumāravishṇu
|
Skandhavarma-I
|
Vīravarma
|
Skandhavarma-II
|
Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa
|
Simhavarma

There now remains the king *Simhavarma* in whose reign *Yuva Mahārāja Vishṇugōpa* issued the *Uruvapalli* grant. Dr. Fleet who edited this suggested that *Simhavarma* in whose reign the grant was issued might have been an elder brother of *Yuva Mahārāja Vishṇugōpa.* But Dr. Hultzsch while editing the *Pikīra* grant of *Simhavarman* instead of accepting the above suggestion of Dr. Fleet that *Simhavarma* of the *Uruvapalli* grant was an unknown elder brother of *Vishṇugōpa,* suggested that he was perhaps *Vishṇugopa's* son. He wrote as follows[1] :

'The term *Yuvamahārāja or Yuvarāja* which is prefixed to *Vishṇugōpa* not only in this *Uruvapalli* grant, but in the two grants of his son *Simhavarman,* suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father *Skandhavarman-II* to his son *Simhavarman.* The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is assumed that *Vishṇugōpa* declined to take up the reigns of government, or was prevented from doing so, by some other reason unknown, he may well have been alive during the reign of his son *Simhavarman* to whose eleventh year I would assign - *Lāghavāt* as an Indian philosopher will say - the grant.'

However several other scholars like Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma[2] and others were inclined to agree with the view of Debreuil and Dr. Fleet by taking *Simhavarma* as the elder brother of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugopa* for various reasons. The present *Vēsanta* grant of *Simhavarma* settles this problem beyond any doubt. This grant is given by king *Simhavarma* son of *Skandhavarma* and grandson of *Vīravarma.* Nowhere else in the genealogy of the *Pallavas* do we have a pedigree of *Vīravarma, Skandhavarma* and *Simhavarma* in that order, unless we take *Simhavarma* as the elder ruling brother of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarma* of the *Uruvapalli* grant. In view of this fact viz. that the chronology of three kings as is mentioned in the *Vēsanta* grant, is not found anywhere else except by positing *Simhavarman* as the elder brother of *Yuvamāhārāja Vishṇugōpa* we can have no possible doubts that the

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII p. 160-161.
2. Journal of the Madras University, Vol XII, No. 1. p. 135

conjecture of Dr. Fleet is quite correct. It is a great tribute to the abilities of Dr. Fleet that his conjectures which were based upon more probabilities have now been proved by incontrovertible evidence to be absolutely correct. The present grant is therefore the first and the only known grant of king *Simhavarma* the brother of *Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* grant. The genealogy drawn up already can now be expanded as follows:

Kumāravishṇu
|
Skandhavarma-I
|
Vīravarma
|
Skandhavarma-II
|
Simhavarma-I — *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa*
|
Simavarma-II

The *Chura* grant[1] was given by a *Vishṇugōpavarma* who was the son of *Simhavarma*, grandson of *Mahārājāh Vishṇugōpavarma* and the great grandson of *Skandhavarma*. This information closely tallies with the genealogy worked above, if we identify *Skandhavarma-II* in the above pedigree, with the great grandfather of the *Chura* grant, *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* of the pedigree with the grandfather of the *Chura* grant, *Simhavarma-II* of the pedigree with the father of the *Chura* grant, and insert *Vishṇugōpa-II* as the son of *Simhavarma-II* of the above pedigree. Combining thus the information of the *Chura* grant with the information of all other grants we can formulate the following genealogy.

Kumāravishṇu
|
Skandhavarma-I
|
Vīravarma
|
Skandhavarma-II
|
Simhavarma-I — *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa-I*
|
Simhavarma-II
|
Vishṇugōpa-II

The above can now be accepted as authentic and correct, since it satisfies all the information given in all the known records of the *Pallava* kings. The doubt whether *Simhavarma* of the *Uruvapalli* grant was a reigning monarch or not, has now been settled.

1. Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1914, Part II, p. 82.

by the present *Vēsanta* grant beyond doubt, as the grant itself was issued by king *Simhavarma* in his 19th year.

We have now to consider the information given by the *Chendalūr*[1] and the *Udayēndiram*[2] plates. Hitherto scholars like Dr. K. R. Subrahmanyam, Dr. Fleet, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Dr. R. Gopalan and others who have been working on this problem have tried to adjust the kings known from the *Chendalūr* and the *Udayēndiram* grants to the early kings of the Sanskrit charters leading to a lot of difficulties and controversies. For the first time Dr. D. C. Sircar correctly tagged on the kings of the *Chendalūr* and the *Udayēndiram* grants to the later kings just before the *Simhavishṇu* line[3] and did not attempt to adjust them among the earlier kings of the Sanskrit charters from Nellore-Guntur area. The reason for this was based on paleographical evidence, according to which the writing of these plates in much later. In fact the *Udayēndiram* plates which were edited by Dr. Kielhorn were declared by him as spurious, as the writing was decidedly later in time, though other scholars are inclined to accept it as a genuine grant given at a later time. The paleography of the *Chendalūr* plate also shows that it is much later in origin.

The *Chendalūr* grant gives a list of four kings as follows :

Skandhavarma
|
Kumāravishṇu-I
|
Buddhavarma
|
Kumāravishṇū-II

The *Udayēndiram* grant gives us a genealogy of four kings as follows :

Skandhavarma-I
|
Simhavarma
|
Skandhavarma-II
|
Nandivarma

Though the names *Skandhavarma* and *Simhavarma* appear in *Udayēndiram* grant, still they cannot be identified with the early kings of the Sanskrit charters, since the *Udayēndiram* plates were issued by a king *Nandivarma* who is definitely know from the *Vāyalur*[4] and *Vēlūrpāḷayam*[5] inscriptions to be connected with the *Simhavishṇu* line of the later *Pallavas*. This shows that they cannot be connected with the early kings of the Sanskrit charters.

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 233.
3. Ep. Ind. Vol. III. p. 142.
3. Successors of *Śatavāhanās* p. 182.
4. Ep. Indica Vol XVIII. p. 145.
5. S. I. I., Vol II, p. 507.

In this connection we have to bear in mind two very important synchronisms, that are available to us for fixing the dates of these kings. One is the information given by the *Penukoṇḍa* grant of *Ganga* king *Mādhava*[1], which has been assigned on paleographical grounds to 475 A.D. The *Penukoṇḍa* grant was issued by the *Ganga* king *Madhava* and the grant states, that he was installed on the throne by the *Pallava* king *Skandhavarma*, and that the *Ganga* king's father *Ayyavarma* was also installed on the throne by the *Pallava* king *Simhavarma*. Since the date of this grant is attributed to 475 A.D. we have to look for two *Pallava* kings *Simhavarma* and *Skandavarma* somewhere in the close of the 5th century A.D. It is significant to note that *Simhavarma* followed by *Skandhavarma* occurs in that order, only in the *Udayēndiram* grant. In no other grant of either the *Prākṛit*, the early Sanskrit or the later grants of the *Pallavas*, does a *Skandhavarma* succeed a *Simhavarma*. Hence there is absolutely no doubt that the *Simhavarma* and the *Skandhavarma* of the *Udayēndiram* grant, are the same as the kings mentioned in the *Penukoṇḍa* grant, which has been assigned on paleographical grounds to 475 A.D.

The other synchronism known to us is from the Jain work *Lōkavibhāga*. According to this work, its date of completion was the 22nd year of a *Pallava* king *Simhavarma* in *Śaka* 380 or 458 A.D. The 22nd year of the *Pallava* king *Simhavarma* thus corresponds to 458 A.D. according to this synchronism, and hence this *Simhavarma* should have come to the throne about 436 A.D. As the *Udayēndiram* grant mentions a *Simhavarma* followed by a *Skandhavarma* (as in the *Penukoṇḍa* plates assignable to 475 A.D.), it is clear that the *Simhavarma* mentioned here, must be the same whose starting point can be fixed as 436 A.D. by the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism.

Moreover the accession of *Mahēndravarma-I*, the famous later *Pallava* king should have taken place about the end of the 6th century A.D., owing to his being a contemporary of the Western *Chālukyan* king *Pulakēśin-II*, whose date of accession is known to us as 609 A.D. from the Hyderabad grant.[2] *Mahēndravarma-I* was preceded by his father *Simhavishṇu* and by his grandfather *Simhavarma*. The *Vāyalūr* record[3] gives a list of three kings, between *Nandivarma* and *Simhavarma* grandfather of *Mahēndravarma-I*. Since the name *Nandivarma* occurs nowhere else, and since the *Udayēndiram* grant is paleographically assignable to a later period, we can equate *Nandivarma* of this grant with the *Nandivarma*, the 44th king mentioned in the *Vāyalūr* record. If this is done there would be five kings between *Nandivarma* of *Udayēndiram* grant and *Mahēndravarma-I*. Since the date of *Simhavarma* the second king of the *Udayēndiram* grant has been fixed as 436 A.D. as above and since *Mahēndravarma* should have come to the throne round about 600 A.D. there

1. Ep. Indica, Vol XIV. p. 331
2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 72.
3. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII. p. 145.

would be eight kings between 436 A. D. and 600 A.D. by putting together the information in the *Udayēndiram* grant, and the *Vāyalūr* inscription. This is not unreasonable and is quite probable. Hence the kings of the *Udayēndiram* grant must have ruled immediately before the later *Pallavas*, and if so the kings of the *Chendalūr* grant should be fixed only in between the kings of the Sanskrit charters, and the kings of the *Udayēndiram* grant.

Working more or less on the above lines, but completely excluding the kings of the Sanskrit charters of the Nellore-Guntur as belonging probably to a different line Dr. D.C. Sircar has suggested the following genealogy.[1]

1. Father of *Sivaskandavarma* about the end of the 3rd century A.D.
2. *Sivaskandhavarma* of the *Mayidavōlu* and *Hirahadagalli* grant.
3. *Skandhavarma* of the British Museum plates.
4. *Vishṇugōpa* of 350 A.D. who fought with *Samudragupta*.
5. *Skandhavarma*
   Kumāravishṇu
   Buddhavarma
   Kumaravishṇu-II

   From the *Chendalūr* grant

   Skandhavarma
   Simhavarma
   Skandhavarma
   Nandivarma

   From the *Udayēndiram* plates

   Simhavarma
   Simhavishṇu
   Mahēndravarma who came to the throne about 600 A.D.

   The later *Pallavas*

Dr. D. C. Sircar had expressed a doubt whether *Simhavarma*, grandfather of *Mahēndravarma-I* really ruled at *Kānchi* at all. However this doubt can now be completely set at rest by the discovery of the *Pallankovil Jain* copper plate grant of this same king *Simhavarma* which has been edited and published by Sri T. N. Subrahmanyam.[2]

The above genealogy was worked out by Dr. D. C. Sircar for the reason that it

1. Successors of the *Śātavāhanas* (p. 181-182)
2. Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1958-59, pp. 41-83.

was doubtful if the *Pallavas* of the Sanskrit charters of the Nellore-Guntur area ruled from *Kānchi* or not, as their grants do not mention *Kānchi*. Dr. D. C. Sircar says :[1]

"Some Sanskrit records of the Early *Pallavas* have been found in the Nellore and Guntur Districts, which at one time formed the Northern part of the kingdom of *Kānchi*. The *Pallava* genealogy constructed from these records cannot be quite easily and satisfactorily assimilated into the traditional list of early *Pallava* kings found in later records. The *Pallava* kings mentioned in these northern inscriptions, moreover, can scarcely be identified without difficulty with the *Pallava* princes mentioned in the inscriptions of the rulers of *Kānchi*. Whether they ruled over *Kānchi* proper is also not definitely known."

Dr. K. R. Subrahmanyam who had also worked at the problem of the *Pallava* genealogy also held the same view, viz. that the Nellore-Guntur *Pallavas* were perhaps not connected with *Kānchi* at all. He says as follows[1] :

"As only the *Chendalūr* plates among the *Pallava* inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries mention *Kānchi*, and connects the *Pallavas* with the city, we have to infer that the other *Pallavas* who date their copper plates from places in Nellore and Guntur districts were not connected with *Kānchi* at all. If they had been related to *Kānchi*, they would have clearly said so, as the early *Pallava* and the *Chendalūr* grants say. Again, the order of succession and chronology of the plates dated from Nellore and Guntur districts are without any gap and the kings of the *Chendalūr* and *Udayēndiram* grants cannot be fitted into the list. In whatever order we may arrange the kings of these *Pallava* grants, we have to confront two lines of contemporary kings after the time of *Vishṇugōpa* (340 A.D.). A certain *Ugravarman* of *Palakka* (*Palakkada?*) mentioned as a contemporary of *Samudragupta* sounds like a *Pallava* name. And a pillar inscription at *Amarāvati* in early *Pallava* script contains a *Pallava* dynasty. These would lead us to infer there was another branch of the *Pallavas* in the Telugu districts as different from the *Pallavas* of *Kānchi*. Howsoever we may arrange the genealogy, a separate line of kings from *Vīravarman* down to *Vishṇugōpa* of the *Chura* plates not connected in any way so far known with *Kānchi*, has to be postulated and they were cousins of the main line. To assign the kings of the two branches places in succession to the same kingdom of *Kānchi* will lead to chronological impossibilities. The northern branch succeeded to *Kānchi* when *Simhavarman* son of *Skandavarman* and, later, *Simhavishṇu* ascended the throne in the south."

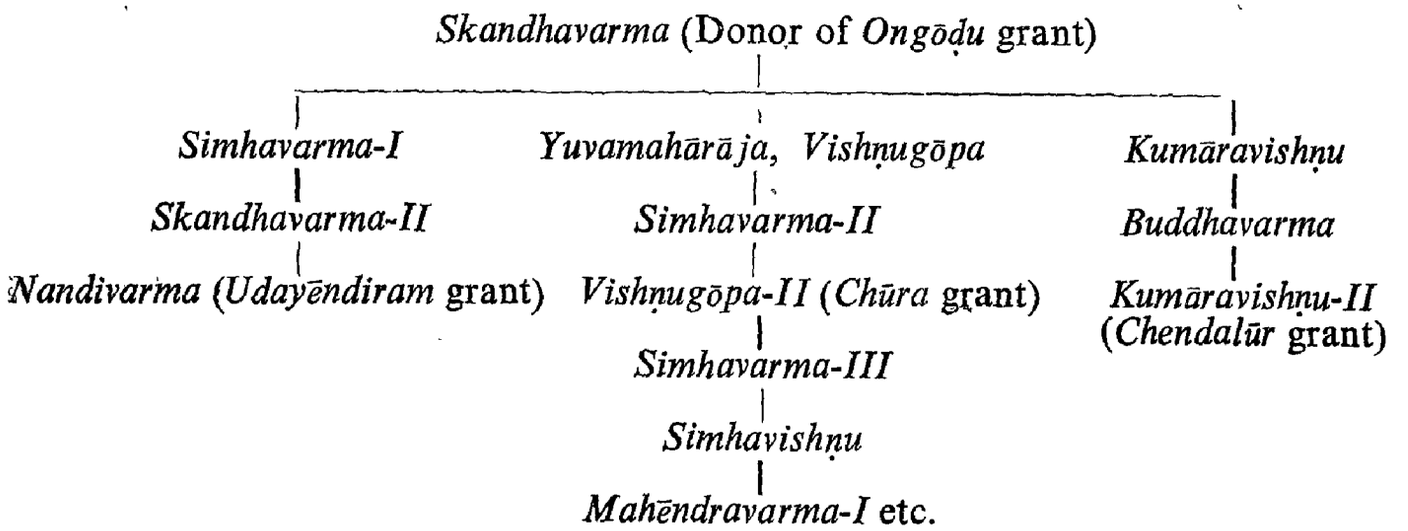
Hitherto this theory of the *Pallavas* of the Nellore and the Guntur branches belonging to a collateral branch, or their losing hold in the Telugu area because of *Samudragupta*'s invasion, or the possibility of a *Chōla* interregnum etc., have all held the field because none of the Sanskrit charters of the Nellore Guntur *Pallavas* hitherto

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1. Successors of *Satavāhanās* p.169.
2. Buddhist remains in Andhra & Andhra History, p. 103.

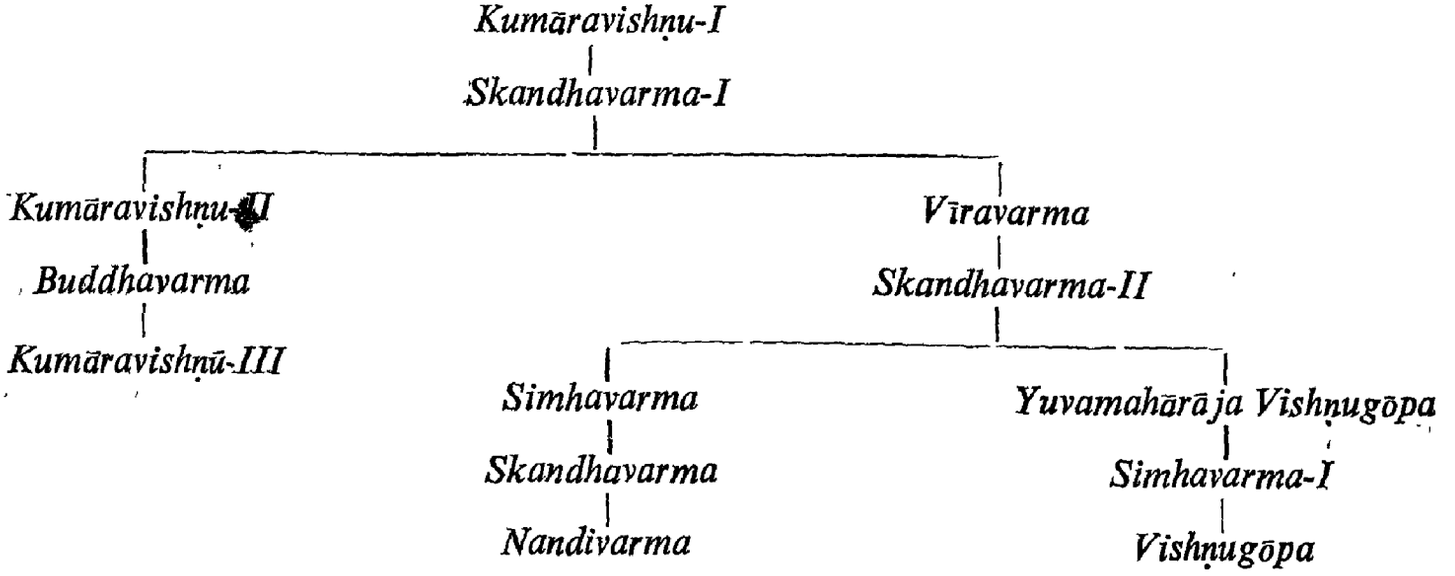
discovered mentioned *Kāñchīpura,* and hence led to a lot of doubts amongst the scholars. The present *Vēsanta* grant of *Simhavarma* settles this problem once and for all. It clearly and categorically states that the grant was issued from *Śrī Vijaya Kāñchīpura.* There can therefore be no doubt at all that the *Pallavas* of the Nellore-Guntur did rule from *Kāñchi.* We have therefore got to synchronise the genealogy of the Nellore-Guntur *Pallavas* with genealogy of the later *Pallavas* of the *Simhavishṇu* line since both the lines are identical. In fact it is wrong to think or describe them as belonging to different lines at all.

This problem of synchronising the genealogy of the Sanskrit charters with the genealogy of the *Simhavishṇu* line has been engaging the attention of several scholars. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Dr. R. Gopalan adopted the following arrangement.[1]



The defect in the above scheme is obvious viz. that three sets of contemporary kings cannot be adjusted especially when there are no two branches but only one branch of the *Pallava* dynasty.

Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma has adopted the following genealogy.[2]



1. History of the Pallavas of South India, p. 59. 2. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XII, p. 135.

Dr. K.R. Subrahmanyam working independently has also arrived at the same genealogy as above.[1]

The above arrangement also suffers from one serious difficulty viz. that *Kumāra-vishṇu-III* and *Simhavarma* the son of *Skandavarma-II* could not be contemporaries ruling at the same time. Moreover the collateral branch to the left of the table with *Kumāra-vishṇu-III* at the end, represents the list given in the *Chendalūr* grant, but the kings of the *Chendalūr* grant are much later than *Simhavarma* and *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* as the grant is on paleographical grounds to be assigned to a later date. Moreover the above scheme also assumes two collateral lines as was done by Dr. K.R. Subrahmanyam, which assumption has now to be completely discarded, by the clear mention of *Vijaya Kānchīpura* in the present *Vēsanta* grant. Thus the efforts at synchronising the genealogy of the *Pallavas* of the Sanskrit charters and the later *Pallavas* of the *Simhavishṇu* line has all along been coloured by an assumption of either a collateral branch or by an interregnum in *Pallava* power. Since both the assumptions are now proved by the present grant to be incorrect, we have now to evolve a pattern that will satisfy all the details of all the grants.

For arriving at a fresh solution of the problem we have to remember the following facts regarding the dates, since any genealogy that is suggested should broadly tally with the dates given below:

(a) *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* must have lived somewhere round about 350 A.D., since he is said to have opposed *Samudragupta's* invasion of the south, and *Samudragupta's* dates are known to us to be between 330 A.D. and 375 A.D., and hence his invasion of the south could be fixed at about 350 A.D.

(b) *Simhavarma,* father of *Skandhavarma* of the *Udayēdiram* grant should have ascended the throne at 436 A.D. as is clear from the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism and from the evidence of *Penukoṇḍa* grant of the *Ganga* king *Mādhava.*

(c) *Simhavarma* father of *Simhavishṇu* and grand father of *Mahēndravarma-I* must have come to the throne round about 550 A.D. making an allowance of 50 years for two kings, as the date of *Mahēndravarma-I* may be taken to be about 600 A.D. as he was contemporaneous with the great king of the Western *Chālukyan* line of *Bādāmi* viz. *Pulakēśin-II* whose date of nccession has been accurately fixed a 609-610 A.D.

I offer the following genealogy or the *Pallavas* as being the most satisfactory in the light of all the evidence that is available.

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1. Buddhist remains in Andhra and Andhra History, P. 101.

Simhavarma-I
(Of the *Manchikallu* stone epigraph about ~~290~~ A.D.)

Kumāravishṇu
(Of the *Ongōḍu-I* grant)

Skandhavarma-I
(Of the *Prākṛit* grants and *Ongōḍu-I* grant about a 310 A.D.)

Vīravarma
(Probably same as *Vīrakorchavarma* of the *Darśi* fragmentary record)

Skandhavarma-II

Simhavarma-I
(Mentioned in *Uruvapalli* grant and donor of the present *Vēsanta* grant)

Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa
(Who opposed *Samudragupta* about 350 A.D.)

Simhavarma-III

Vishṇugōpa-II

Skandhavarma-III

Simhavarma-IV
(436 A.D. from the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism)

Skandhavarma-IV
(475 A.D. from the *Penukoṇḍa* plate and *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism. Also the first king of the *Chendalūr* grant)

From the *Udayēndiram* grant

Nandivarma
(Last king of the *Udyēndiram* grant)

From the *Chendalūr* plates

Kumāravishṇu-I

Buddhavarman

Kumāravishṇu-II

Simhavarma-VII
(550 A.D. from the *Pallankovil Jain* record)

Simhavishṇu

Mahēndravarma-I
(600 A.D.) etc.

In the above genealogy, *Kumāravishṇu* of the *Ongōḍu-I* grant is shown seperately in between *Simhavarma-I* and *Skandhavarma-I*. Moreover there is a reference to *Vīrakorchavarma* in the *Darśi* fragmentary record[1] and he has been equated in the above scheme

1. Epigrapia Indica, Vol. I, p. 397.

with *Vīravarma* the third king of the *Ongōḍū–I* grant as per the suggestions of Mr. H. Krishna Sastry. The kings of the *Vāyalūr* and *Vēlūrpālayam* records are not taken into account as these records give only a long list of jumbled names composed at a later date and cannot be taken as a guide for a continuous chronology. They can be used only to indicate the broad lines of succession and cannot be accepted as a correct guide for the list of kings. However some of the names of the *Vēlūrupālyam* record tally with those of the *Chendalūr* plates also. The above also closely follows the genealogy suggested by late Sri B. V. Krishna Rao[1] except for some changes.

The genealogy given above differs from that suggested by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his "Successors of the *Śātavāhanas*". Dr. D. C. Sircar was of the view that the four kings mentioned in the *Chendalūr* plates should come before the four kings mentioned in the *Udayēndiram* plates and had formulated his scheme accordingly. His main reason was that as *Simhavarma* and *Skandhavarma*, the second and third kings of the *Udayēndiram* grant had to be equated with the *Simhavarma* and the *Skandhavarma* of the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism, therefore, the list of the *Udayēndiram* grant should be placed after the list of the *Chendalūr* grant working backward from the known dates of 600 A. D. from *Mahēndravarma–I*, if the combined list was to be chronologically reasonably acceptable.

It would however not be correct to arrive at a genealogy by merely working backwards from the known date of 600 A. D. of *Mahēndravarma–I*. We have also to work forwards from *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* of the earlier genealogy of 350 A. D. and try to fix the genealogy in such a manner that the dates of the kings of the *Udayēndiram* grant will agree not only with the dates of *Mahēndravarma–I*. 600 A. D. but also with the dates of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇūgōpa* of 350 A. D. If this is done, it is my view that the second *Skandhavarma* of the *Udayendiram* grant should be equated with the *Skandhavarma* of the *Chendalūr* grant and the genealogy arranged as given above as will be evident from the dates assigned to various kings below.

I suggest that the genealogy suggested by me is the most satisfactory one and give below the possible dates for the kings with my reasons.

In the first place, it is not correct to treat the *Pallavas* of the *Prākṛit* and early Sanskrit charters as different. *Śivaskandhavarma* of the *Prākṛit* charters has been assigned to *Circa* 310 A.D. and *Kānchēyaka Vishṇugōpa* of the Allahabad Pillar inscription has been assigned to *Circa* 350 A.D. It is beyond all human probabilities that these two were not connected at all as the difference between them is only 40 years. Hence the *Pallavas* of the Sanskrit charters should be held to have succeeded the *Pallavas* of the *Prākṛit* grants forming a single line. It will be clear from the following also that the *Pallavas* of the *Prākṛit* and Sankrit charters did belong to the same line only.

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1. A History of the Early Dynasties of Āndhradeśa, p. 250.

(a) The mention of the *Bhāradwāja Gōtra*, the performance of the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice and the general similarity of the grants, lend colour to the view that they form only one continuous line.

(b) *Skandhavarma* of the *Prākṛit* grants is to be assigned to 310 A.D. If so, unless we postulate another unknown *Vīshṇugōpa* of 350 A.D. who opposed *Samudragupta* for which there is no evidence, we cannot synchronise the genealogy given in the Sanskrit charters with the information in Allahabad Pillar inscription. On the other hand equating *Skandhavarman* of the Sanskrit charters with the *Skandhavarman* of the *Prākṛit* grants would neatly and nicely fix *Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* plates as the *Vishṇugōpa* who opposed *Samudragupta.*

(c) There is a far more important reason than the above. The *Ongōḍu-I* plate mentions the date as the 33rd regnal year of the *Skandhavarma* on the 13th *Tithi* of the 3rd fortnight of *Hēmanta.* Dr. D. C. Sircar has stated that this is an old form of dating used in almost all *Prākṛit* inscription, and that "Sanskrit grants showing considerable *Prākrit* influence appear to be not much later than the beginning of the 5th century A.D. They may roughly be placed between the middle of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th Century A.D.[1] If we assume that *Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* plates is the *Vishṇugōpa* who opposed *Samudragupta* in 350 A.D., then the *Skandhavarma-II* of the *Ongōḍu-I* plate would be just before him, and his date would be round about 330-350 A.D., which exactly tallies with the date given to the grant by Dr. D. C. Sircar, basing himself on the method of dating in *Ritus*, which is a very ancient method. Moreover the *Prākṛit* grants of these *Pallavas* also show Sanskrit influence, and infact one or two Sanskrit verses also occur in them. In view of these paleographic evidences, it is clear that the *Prākṛit* and Sanskrit grants show signs of close contact, and since the date of the *Ongōḍu* grant can be fixed as the middle of the 4th century A.D. it is safe to assume that *Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* plate is the *Vishṇugōpa* who opposed *Samudragupta.*

If the above is accepted, the dates for the first kings will be as shown in the genealogy suggested above. All the known grants discovered upto now like the *Pikīra* grant, the *Mangadūr* grant, the *Ongōḍu-II* grant and the *Uruvapalli* grant mention *Vishṇugōpa* only as a *Yuvamahārāja.* It was only in the *Chūra* plates that he is referred to as *Mahārāja.* The present *Vēsanta* grant establishes clearly beyond doubt that *Simhavarma* in whose 11th regnal year the *Uruvapalli* grant was given, was a ruling monarch from *Kānchi*, the present grant having been issued in his own 19th regnal year. From all this, it is clear that *Vishṇugōpa* was a *Yuvamahārāja* who was in charge of the Telugu area as a viceroy or a regent on behalf of the king, while *Simhavarma* ruled actually from *Kānchīpura.* It is significant to note that Allahabad Pillar inscription nearly mentiones '*Kānchēyaka Vishṇugōpa*' i.e., *Vishṇugōpa* of *Kānchi* and does

1. Successors of Śātavāhanas, p. 203.

not clearly mention that he was ruling as a king. Moreover *Samudragupta* did not come into conflict with *Kānchēyaka Vishṇugōpa* alone, but had a conflict with the confederacy of all the kings that reigned near the two rivers *Gōdāvari* and *Krishna* like the *Nīlarāja* of *Āvamukta, Hastivarma* of *Vēngi, Ugrasēna* of *Palakka, Kubēra* of *Dēvarāshṭra, Dhananjaya* of *Kausthalapura* etc. It is thus clear that the *Kānchēyaka Vishṇugōpa* need not necessarily be the ruler of *Kānchi*. *Yuvamahārāja Viṣhṇugōpa* was administering the Telugu area as *Yuvamahārāja* on behalf of king *Simhavarma*. and in such capacity, he might have joined the confederacy of the other forces to oppose *Samudragupta*'s march. Hence it is, that he is mentioned as *Kānchēyaka Vishṇagōpa*, i.e., *Vishṇugōpa* of *Kānchi*, and not necessarily as the ruler of *Kānchi*.

From the above it is clear that that the *Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* plates, is the *Vishṇugōpa* who opposed *Samudragupta*, and that the *Skandhavarma* mentioned in the *Prākṛit* grants is to be identified with the *Skandhavarma* mentioned as the ancestor in the other Sanskrit charters. We would therefore be safe in fixing 310 A. D. as the date of *Skandhavarma* mentioned in the *Prākṛit* and the early Sanskrit charters and 350 A. D. as the date of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* grant who opposed *Samudragupta* in his march. Hitherto various scholars had equated *Simhavarma* brother of *Vishṇugōpavarma–I* of the *Uruvapalli* grant, (and the donor of the present grant) as the *Simhavarma* of the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism and had therefore suggested a collateral line from this *Simhavarma* as *Skandhavarma* and *Nandivarma* corresponding to the *Udayēndiram* grants. However this cannot be correct on the assumption that the *Pallavas* of *Prākṛit* and early Sanskrit charters are the same, as there are only two kings between *Skandhavarma–I* of the *Prākṛit* grant and *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarma*. As *Skandhavarma–I* of the *Prākṛit* grant is assigned to 310 A. D., it is far more reasonable and plausible to identify the *Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* plates as the opponent of *Samudragupta* and assign him to 350 A.D., since the reign of the two intervening kings will normally and naturally cover a period of 40 years between 310 A. D. and 350 A. D.

If the above dates are accepted, then we have now to consider the *Lōkavibhāgā* synchronism and try to identify the kings mentioned in it with the king known from the grants. It has already been stated that the Jain work *Lōkavibhāga* gives the date of its completion as the 22nd year of *Simhavarma* Lord of the *Pallavas*, in *Śaka* 380 or 458 A.D. Hence this *Simhavarma* should have started his reign in 436 A.D. Similarly the *Penukoṇḍa* grant mentions that the *Ganga* king *Mādhava* was installed on the throne by the *Pallava* king *Skandhavarma* and the father of the *Gānga* king *Mādhava* viz., *Ayyavarma* was also installed by another *Pallava* king *Simhavarma*. The *Penukoṇḍa* plates have been assigned to 475 A.D. on paleographical grounds. We have therefore to look for a *Skandhavarma* who succeeded

Simhavarma of the *Pallava* line round about 475 A.D. Since a *Skandhavarma* succeeding a *Simhavarma* occurs only in the *Udayēndiram* plates and no where else, it is, therefore, clear that *Simhavarma* and *Skandhavarma* of the *Penukoṇḍa* grant are the *Simhavarma* and *Skandhavarma* mentioned in the *Udayēndiram* grant. If we also identify *Simhavarma* of the *Udayēndiram* grant with the *Simhavarma* of the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism, the dates given in the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism as well as the dates of the *Penukoṇḍa* plates tally with each other very nicely and neatly. The *Simhavarma* of 436 A.D. according to *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism must have ruled at least upto 458 A.D. i.e. upto his 22nd year. Hence the date of his successor *Skandhavarma* can easily be 475 A.D. corresponding to the date of the *Penukoṇḍa* plates. Thus the date of the second king *Simhavarma* of the *Udayēndiram* grant can be fixed on the basis of the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism as well as on the basis of the dates of the *Penukoṇḍa* grant at 436 A.D.

If we fix the date of *Vishṇugōpa* of the *Uruvapalli* plate at 350 A.D. we have to fix *Simhavarma-III* and *Vishṇugōpavarma-II* of the *Chūra* grant as also *Skandhavarma-III* of the *Udayēndiram* grant in between *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* and *Simhavarma-IV* of 436 A.D. The difference in dates between 350 A.D. to 436 A.D., i.e., 86 years would easily fit in with the rule of three kings. Hence on the basis of the dates fixed for *Vishṇugōpa* and the date fixed for *Simhavarma* of the *Udayēndiram* grant both the genealogy and the chronology will tally nicely only if we fix the pedigree as follows:

Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa (350 A.D.)
|
Simhavarma-III
(*Chūra* grant)
|
Vishṇugōpavarma-II
(*Chūra* grant)
|
Skandhavarma-III
(*Udayēndiram* grant)
|
Simhavarma-IV (436 A.D.)
(*Udayēndiram* grant) (*Lōkavibhāga* synchronism)
|
Skandhavarma-IV (475 A.D.)
(*Udayēndiram* and *Penukoṇḍa* grant)
|
Nandivarma
(*Udayēndiram* grant)

From the foregoing, it will be seen that the kings of the *Udayēndiram* grant should be placed immediately after *Vishṇugōpavarma-II* of the *Chūra* grant and before the four kings of the *Chendalūr* grant if we are to tally the dates known to us.

We have now only to fit in the four kings of the *Chendalūr* grant in the above scheme. These four kings are :

Skandhavarma
|
Kumāravishṇu
|
Buddhavarma
|
Kumārāvishṇu-II

These can be fitted in as shown in the genealogy at p. 227, by identifying the *Skandhavarma* mentioned here with *Skandhavarma-IV* of the *Udayēndiram* grant. The paleography of the *Chendalūr* grant is distinctly later. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited these plates was of the view[1] that the alphabet of the *Chendalūr* grant is more archaic than that of the *Kūram* and *Kāsakudi* grants, but that one point which stamps it as more modern than the *Pikīra Mangadūr* and *Uruvapalli* grants, is the fact that r, k, and subscribed u, consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length while in the earlier plates the left line is considerably shorter. The *Chendalūr* plates may be assigned to the early part of the 6th century A.D. on paleographical grounds and if so the scheme suggested at p. 227 will satisfy all the details.

We have now to connect the above with the later kings viz., *Simhavarma, Simhavishṇu* and *Mahēndravarma-I. Mahēndravarma*'s date is fixed roughly at 600 A.D. since he was a contemporary of the *Bādāmi* Western *Chālukyan* king *Pulakēśin-II* of 609 A.D. His grandfather *Simhavarman* is known to have issued a grant viz., the *Pallankōvil* Jain copper plate grant of *Simhavarma*[2] and his date is roughly fixed at 550 A.D. The connection with line is shown at the geneology suggested at p. 227 which satisfies all the details of all the grants and may be accepted as fairly accurate.

We have now to consider whether it is possible to fix precisely the date of this grant viz., the date of *Simhavarma–II*. In the *Ongōḍu–II* plates there is a mention of an eclipse of the sun, being the occasion of the grant. However the date is given in that grant as the fifth lunar day of the bright half of *Viśākha* which is at variance with the detail of an eclipse, as a solar eclipse can occur only on a new moon day. Sri Krishna Sastry who edited these plates tried to reconcile these two particulars[3] by supposing that the grant was acually made on the new moon day of *Chaitra*, the possible day to the nearest solar eclipse while the copper plates were engraved 5 days later, i. e., on the fifth day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*. From the genealogy given above, it will be seen that *Simhavarma* of *Ongōḍu–II* plates would be *Simhavarma–III* the son of *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* of 350 A.D. There was an eclipse of the sun of the new moon *Tithi* of *Chāitra* in 368 A. D., and there

1. Ep. Indica. Vol. VIII, p. 334.
2. Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India 1958-59, p. 41-83.
3. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XV, p. 252.

was no other eclipse of the sun for a decade either before or after that date. Hence since the date of the *Ongōḍu-II* grant is the fifth regnal year of the king the accession of *Simhavarma-III* should be placed at 363 A.D. The present grant is in the 19th year of *Simhavarma-II* and the *Uruvapalli* grant is in the 11th year of the same king. It is therefore obvious that the king must have reigned for at least 20 years, and if *Simhavarma-III* had come to the throne at 363 A.D., *Simhavarma-II* must have come to the throne at least on 343 A.D. assuming only a period of 20 years rule for him, and assuming that the *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* never came to the throne at all. Thus the present *Vēsanta* grant would fall somewhere in the middle of the fourth century A.D. and round about 360 A.D. if we assume only a period of 20 years rule to *Simhavarma-II*. Beyond this it is not possible to fix the exact date of the present grant.

The grant also mentions that all the *Mahāmātras*, the *Adhyakshas*, the *Rājapurushas* and the *Sancharantas* should see that the exemptions given in it were not merely enforced, but were also caused to be enforced by others. (*Sarva Mahāmātra Adhyaksha Rājapurushāḥ Sancharantaḥ Cha Ēnam Grāmam Sarva Parihāraiḥ Pāriharantu Parihārayantu Cha*). The word *Adhyaksha* means a superintendent or an officer, and the word *Sancharanta* occurs in the other inscriptions like the *Hirahadagalli* plates, etc. The *Sancharanta* is the same as the *Sanchāra* of *Kautilya's Artha Śāstra*. The mention of *Sancharanta* clearly proves the custom of appointment of spies within the domains of the king who reported to him about the conduct of his officials and subjects. The word *Rājapurusha* mentioned in the grant would appear to refer to the *Purushas* of the royal line. The epithet *Mahāmātra* was used in *Aśōkan* times to represent regional officers, but the epithet "*Mahāmātrāyōdha*", which was applied to *Hasti-kōśa Vīrakōśa* of the *Polamūru* grant of *Mādhavavarma-I* of the *Vishṇukuṇḍin* dynasty, shows that they were the *Mahāmātras* of the military departments. The word *Mahāmātra* according to '*Mēdinī*' means *Hastipākādhipa* i.e., the head of elephant drivers or riders. Hence the *Mahāmātras*, the *Adhyakshas*, the *Rājapurushas* and the *Sancharantas* mentioned here are different types of government officers, employed by the king, and on whom the royal command was laid that the exemptions granted must be protected by them.

The grant mentions that the village *Vēsanta* was made into a *Brahmadēya* and was given along with water and along with the 18 different *Parihāras* (*Sa Pānīyapātam Brahmadēyam Kṛitva Aṣhṭādaśa Jāti Parihārōpētaḥ Dēvabhōgahalavarjjam Asmābhirsamprattaḥ*).

The word *Brahmadēya* occurs in the *Māyidavōlu* grant of *Yuva Mahārāja Śivaskandhavarma* also. According to *Kautilya's Artha Śāstra*, those who performed the sacrifices (*ṛitvik*), spiritual masters (*Ācharyas*), religious priests (*purōhitas*), and those well versed and learned in tne *Vēdas* (*śrōtrīyas*), should be granted *Brahmadēya* lands yielding sufficient produce (*abhirūpa dāyaka*) and exempted from taxes and fines (*a-daṇḍa-hara*).[1] *Brahmadēya*

1. *Kautilya's Arthaśastra* (Shama Sastry's Second Edition, p. 47).

is also mentioned when *Kautilya* says[1] that the *danḍa* or rod of 8 cubits in length was used measuring *Brahmadēya* and *Ātitya* lands. In the *Mayidavōlu* grant it is mentioned that to the village of *Virupūr* that was gifted in that grant, were given all the amenities enjoyed by the *Brahmadēyas*. The word *Brahmadēya* therefore means not only a *dēya* or gift to *Brahmins*, but also possibly signifies a donation which implied certain immunities and was used in a technical sense like the other terms *Brahmātra* etc.

The grant was said to have been given with water *sapānīyapātam*. As regards this custom the following verse from *Agni Purāṇa*[2] would be of interest.

द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयात् ददानीति तथा वदेत्
तोयं दद्यात् ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः

From the above it is seen that a grant that is made has to be confirmed with a libation of water.

It is also mentioned that the eighteen different kinds of *Parihāras* or exemptions were also granted and it was enjoyed on government officers that the *Parihāras* should not only be observed but were made to be observed by others also. A *Parihāra* means a special grant or privilege or exemption from tax. *Kautilya* defines *Parihāra* as follows[3] :

जाते विशेषेषु परेषु चैव, ग्रामेषु देशेषु च तेषु तेषु
अनुग्रहो यो नृपतेर्निदेशात्, तज्ज्ञःपरीहार इति व्यवस्येत्

Similarly in another place *Kautilya* mentions.[4]

अनुग्रहपरिहारौ चैभ्यः कोशवृद्धिकरौ दद्यात्

Manusmṛiti also mentions *Parihāra* as follows[5] :

प्रदद्यात् परिहारांश्च

Dr. Senart has given a learned discussion on the subjects of *Parihāras* in Epigraphia Indica Volume VI, pages 65-66. The *Māyidavōlu* grant of *Śivaskandhavarma* mentions five *Parihāras* and the *Hirahadagalli* plates mention all the 18 *Parihāras*. Some of the immunities granted include exemptions from the royal right of digging soil in the village ground, exemption from the police and the magistrates of the district, exemption from supplying bullocks for the carts used by royal officers while on tour, exemption from troops entering the village even during battle and causing disturbances, exemption from the obligation of supplying boiled rice, water pots, cots and other supplies to the officers who visit the place, exemption from the obligation of supplying sweet and sour milk, grass, wood, vegetables

1. *Kautilya's Arthaśastra*, II, 20.
2. *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 209, 49-50.
3. *Kautilya's Arthaśastra* A. 2. 10. 28.
4. *Kautilya's Arthaśastra* 2. 1. 19.
5. M.S. 7. 201.

CHART SHOWING DETAILS OF THE SANSKRIT CHARTERS OF THE *PALLAVAS* OF THE NELLORE-GUNTUR AREA

Name of the grant	*Ongōḍu-I*	*Uruvapalli*	*Ongōḍu-II*	*Pikīra*	*Mangadūr*	*Viḷaveṭṭi*	*Chura*	*Udayēndiram*	*Chendalūr*
Where published	Epigraphia Indica Vol. XV, p. 249	Indian Antiquary Vol. V, p. 50	Epigraphia Indica Vol. XV, p. 252	Epigraphia Indica Vol. VIII, p. 159	Indian Antiquary Vol. V, p. 154	Journal of the Madras University Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 135 and Epi. Indica Vol. XXIV, p. 303	Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXIV, p. 137–43	Epigraphia Indica Vol. III, p. 142	Epigraphia Indica Vol. VIII. p. 233
The list of kings mentioned in the grant in the order of succession	*Kumāravishṇu* | *Skandhavarma* | *Vīravarma* | *Vijayaskandhavarma*	*Śrīskandhavarma* | *Śrīvīravarma* | *Skandhavarma* | *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa*	*Vīravarma* | *Skandhavarma* | *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* | *Simhavarma*	*Vīravarma* | *Skandhavarma* | *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* | *Simhavarma*	*V ırma* | *S havarma* | *Y ahārāja* *V gōpa* | *S arma*	*Vīravarma* | *Skandhavarma* | *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* | *Simhavarma*	*Skandhavarma* | *Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa* | *Simhavarma* | *Vijayavishṇugōpa-varma*	*Skandhavarma* | *Simhavarma* | *Skandhavarma* | *Nandivarma*	*Skandhavarma* | *Kumāravishṇu* | *Buddhavarma* | *Kumāravishṇu*
Place of issue of grant	Royal camp of the victorious *Tāmbrāpasthāna*	*Palakkada*	*Vijayaskandhāvāra*	*Mēnmātūra*	*D ura*	*Vijaya Paddukara Adishṭāna*	*Vijayapālōtkaṭa*	*Vijayakānchīpura*	*Kānchīpura*
Details of the grant	The village was given as a *Sātvika* gift to *Gōlaśarma* of the *Kāśyapa Gōtra*	200 *Nivartanas* of land in the village *Uruvapalli* of *Mundarāshṭra* to the temple of God *Vishṇuhāra* established by *Sēnāpati Vishṇuvarma* at the village of *Kundukura*	Gift of village *Ongōḍu* in *Kammarāshṭra* to a certain *Dēvaśarman*, a resident of *Kēndūr*, belonging to the *Kāśyapagōtra*	Grant of a village named *Pikīra* in the *Muṇḍarāshṭra*	f village *ūr*, in the *shṭra* to *Brahmins*	Grant of village *Vilaveṭṭi* in *Muṇḍarāshṭra*, to *Vishṇu Śarma* of the *Gautamagōtra*	Grant of land, to *Chasmiśarman* of the *Kāśyapa Gōtra* and a resident of *Kundūr*	Gift of village of *Kānchivāyil* and four pieces of forest land in the district of *Aḍayāra* to a brahmin of *Kānchivāyil* by name *Kuḷaśarma*	Gift to a brahmin in the village of *Chendalūra* in *Kavichakārabhōga* a sub-division of the district of *Karmānkarāshṭra*
Details of the date of the grant	33rd victorious year of the king, 13th day of the 3rd fortnight of winter	11th year of the king *Simhavarma*	Fourth year of the king on *Vaiśakha Śuklapaksha Panchami*. The actual gift was made on an eclipse on the previous newmoon day	5th year of the reign of *Simhavarma*	of the *Simha-*	Fifth *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* in the tenth year of the king's reign	Not dated	1st year of the king, 5th lunar day of *Vaiśākha*	2nd year of the reign of the king

and so forth by the villagers to the royal officers and their servants on tour. Thus it would appear that the custom in ancient days in village life was to supply the needs of all visiting royal officers by contribution from the villagers themselves. A relic of this custom prevailed till very recently when the village officers of our state were under obligation to supply provisions etc. to touring revenue officers. Since the grant was made for the purpose of increasing the prosperity of the king etc. the grant was made exempting the village from the different kinds of obligations which would otherwise have fallen upon them.

The grant also mentions that it was given as '*Dēva bhōga hala varjya*', which has been translated by Dr. Hultzsch as 'with the exception of cultivated lands enjoyed by temples' (Epigraphia Indica VIII p. 165). Dr. Fleet translated it as 'with the exception of plough of the possession of the god' and remarked 'the meaning would seem to be that the grant did not carry with it the right to some cultivated land in the same village which had already been given to the village-god'. (Ind. Amt. Vol. V. p. 157 and note)

The present grant is a very important one, as it is the first known grant of *Simhavarma*, brother of *Vishṇugōpavarma*, and as it clearly mentions *Śrī Vijaya Kānchīpura*, thus providing vital evidence to prove that the *Pallavas* of the Sanskrit charters of the Nellore-Guntur area did rule from *Kānchi*.

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१. जितम्भगवतो श्रीविजयकाञ्चीपुरात् परमब्रह्मण्यस्य विधिविहितसर्व्वम
२. र्यादस्य क्षितितलावतीर्णत्रिदशपतितुल्यप्रभावस्य प्रतापोपनत
३. सर्व्वराजमण्डलस्य अभ्युच्चितशक्तिसिद्धिसम्पन्नस्य महाराज
४. स्य श्रीविजयवीरवर्म्मणः पौत्रः अमृतविषसमप्रसाद कोपस्य
५. लोकोपचयप्रवृत्तसर्व्वारम्भस्य वसन्तमास इव सर्व्वजननयन

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

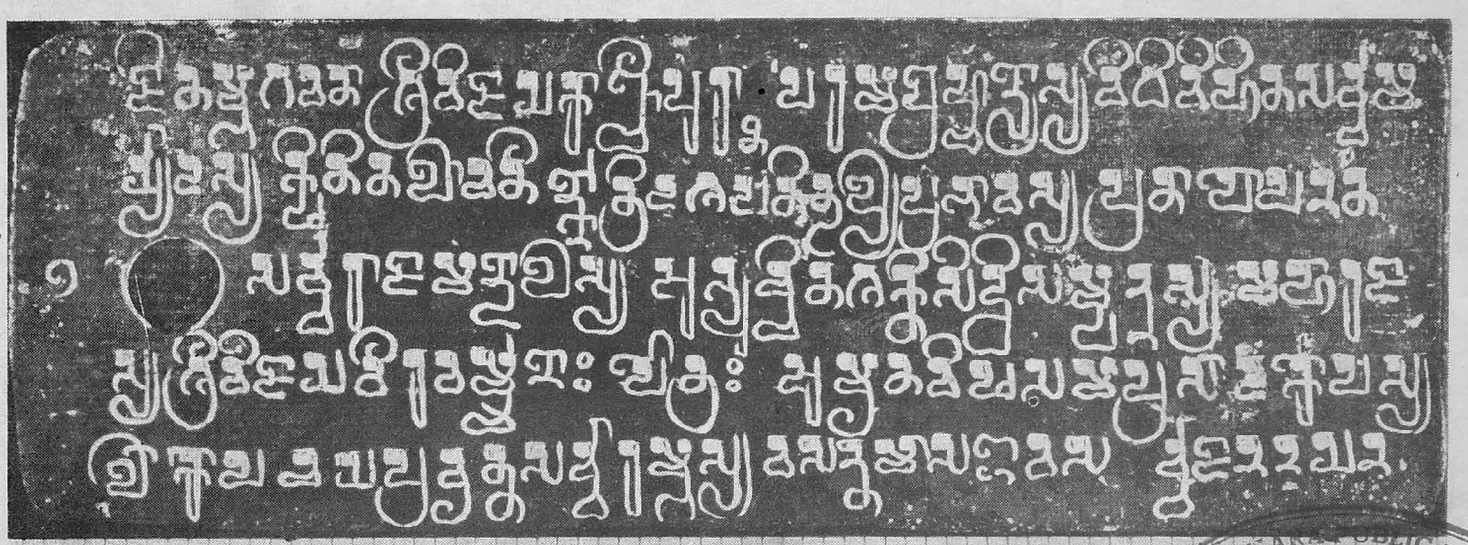
६. हृदयानन्दस्य करिकरोदारपीनभुजस्य स्वभुजपरिपालनातिमुदित
७. पौरजानपदस्य सकलदक्षिणापथविजययशस्समास्थापितत्रिसमु
८. द्रकूलस्य राजाद्भुतस्य श्रीविजयस्कन्दवर्म्मणः पुत्रः भगव
९. द्भक्तिसद्भावसम्भावितसर्व्वकल्याणः मनोवशानुगपञ्चेन्द्रिय विषयः
१०. वृद्धदर्शनोपासनरतिः पूर्व्वराजर्षिप्रभावगुणसमुपगतः

SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

११. शमदमनियमधृतधृतिः क्षितिधरवरसदृशावस्थितस्थितिः प्रजासु पु
१२. त्रनिरन्तरप्रवृत्तसौहृदः कलियुगदोषावसन्नधर्म्मोद्धरणनित्यस
१३. न्नद्धः वीतरागरोषलोभमोहभयः अवसन्नराजवं
१४. शोद्धरणसव्यापारः वासवृक्षो विद्वज्जनस्य आश्रयो धर्मस्य आवा
१५. सो लक्ष्म्याः सर्व्वसञ्जीवलोकस्य भगवत्पादानुध्यातो बप्पभट्टार

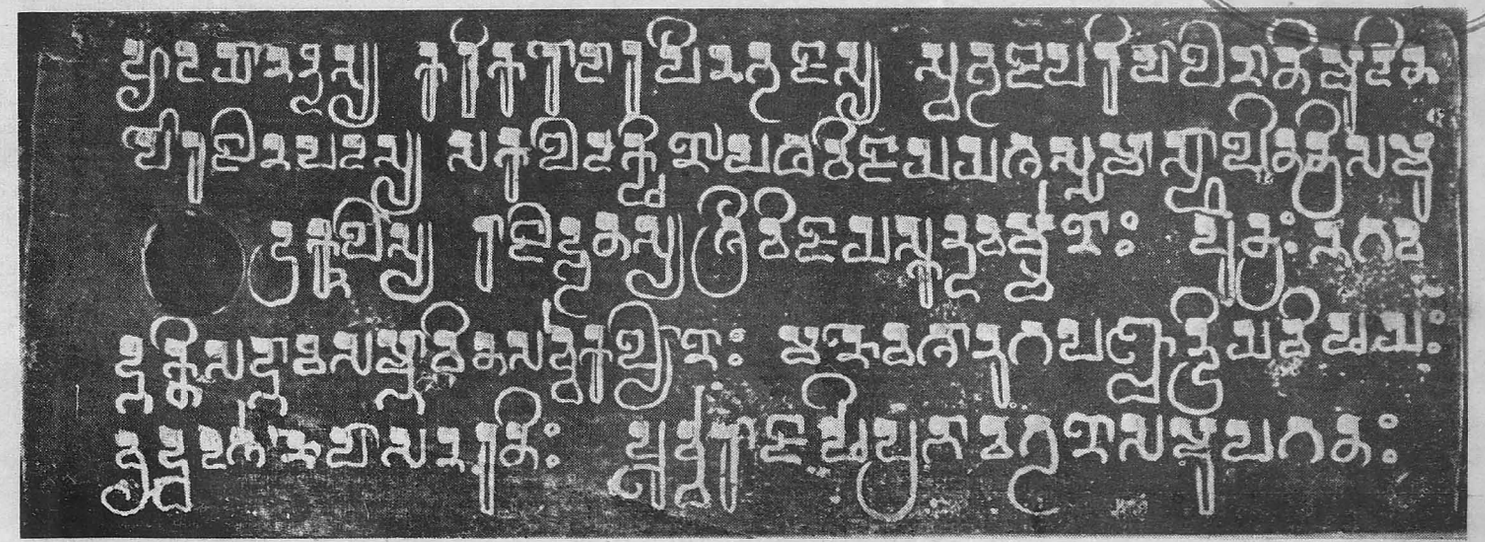
THE *VESANTA* PLATES OF *SIMHAVARMA*

First Plate : Second Side

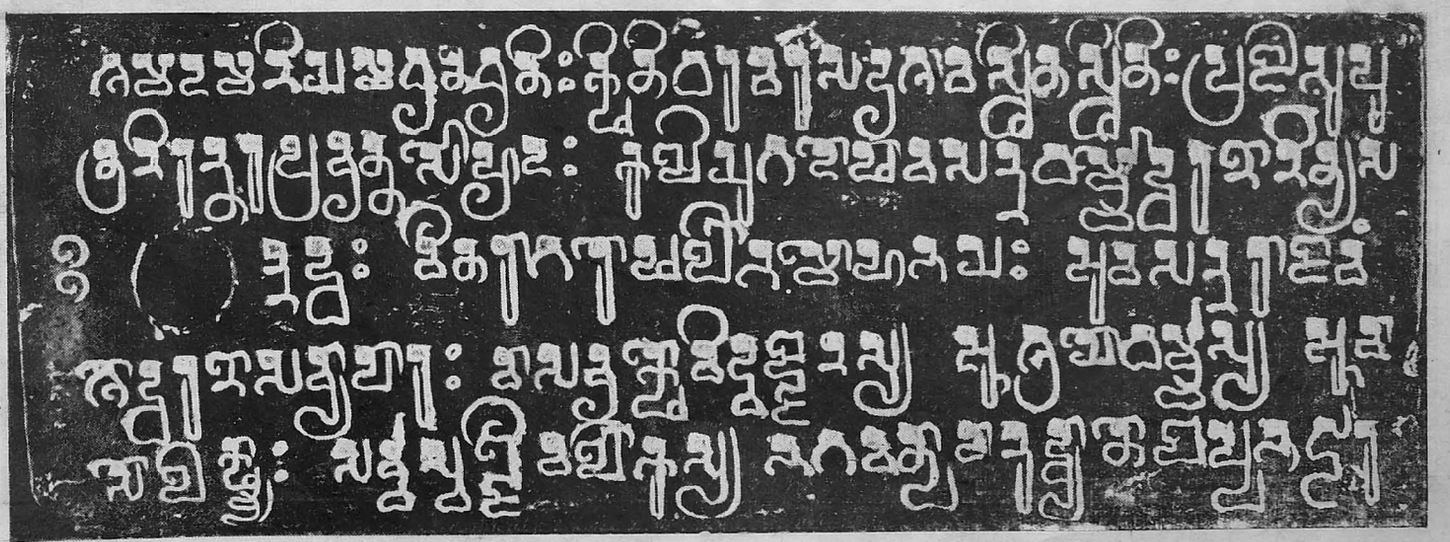


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Second Plate : First Side

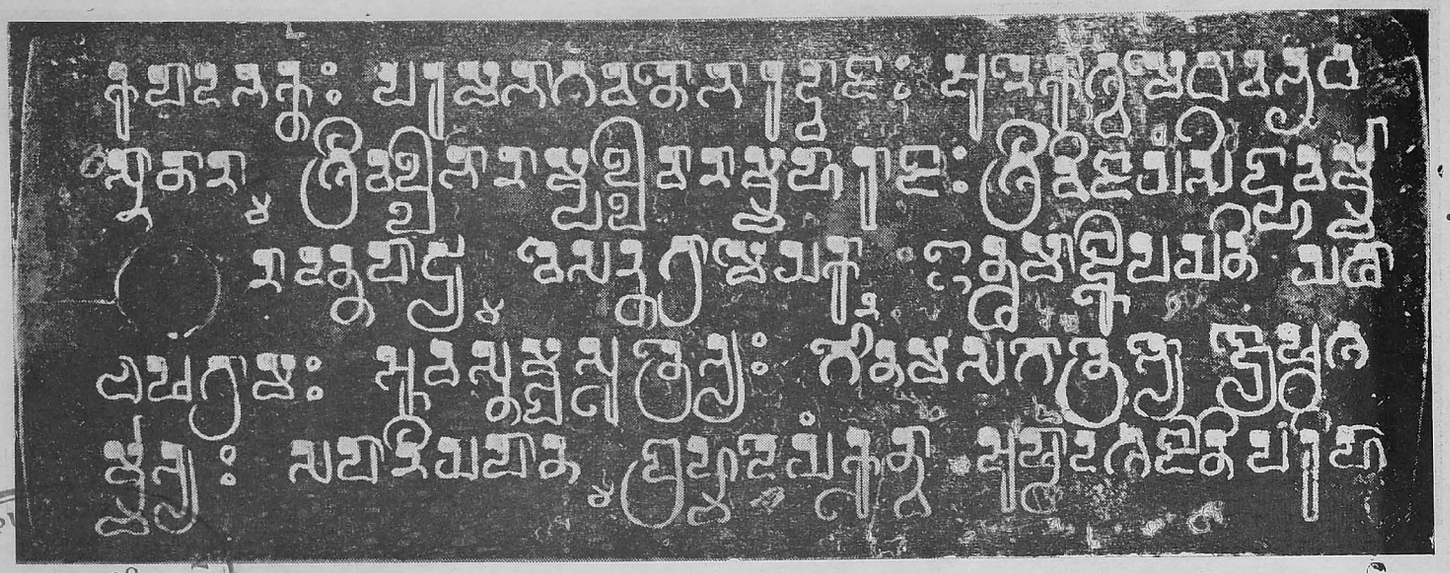


Second Plate : Second Side



THE *VESANTA* PLATES OF *SIMHAVARMA*

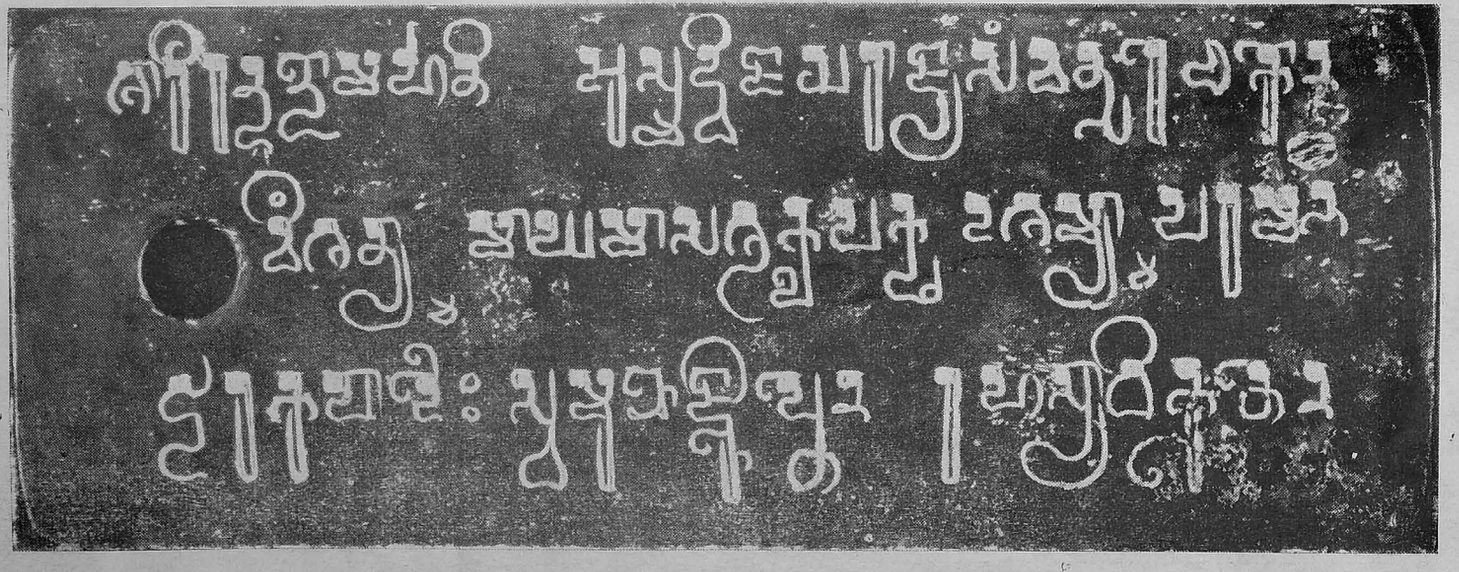
Third Plate : First Side



Third Plate : Second Side



Fourth Plate : First Side



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THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

१६. कपादभक्तः परमभागवतो भारद्वाजः अनेकाश्वमेधावभृथ
१७. स्नातानां श्रीवल्लभानाम्पल्लवानाम्महाराजः श्रीविजयसिंहवर्म्मा
१८. नादत्तपाट्याम् वेसन्तग्रामेयकान् इत्थमाज्ञापयति यथा
१९. एष ग्रामः आव[1]स्तंबसूत्रेभ्यः गौतमसगोत्रेभ्यो ज्येष्ठश
२०. र्म्मभ्यः सपानीयपातं ब्रह्मदेयं कृत्वा अष्टादशजातिपरिहा

THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE

२१. रोपेतः अस्मदायुर्द्धर्म्मविजयाभिवृद्ध्यर्थं देवभोगहल
२२. वर्ज्जमस्माभिस्सम्प्रदत्तः तदस्मिन्राज्ये सर्व्वमहामात्राध्यक्षराज
२३. पुरुषाः सञ्चरन्तश्चैनं ग्रामं सर्व्वपरिहारैः परिह
२४. रन्तु परिहारयन्तु च यो वास्मदाज्ञामतिलंघयेत्स पापः

FOURTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE

२५. शारीरन्दण्डमर्हति अस्मद्विजयराज्यसंवत्सरे एकोन
२६. विंशत्यां माघमासशुक्लपक्षदशम्यां परमभ
२७. ट्टारकपादैः स्वमुखाज्ञप्तेन रहस्याधिकृतेन

1. Read आपस्तम्ब

FOURTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

२८. कूलिप्पोत्तेन लिखितेयन्ताम्रपट्टिकेति अत्र श्लोका

२९. भवन्ति बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता

३०. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तदा फलम् 

FIFTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

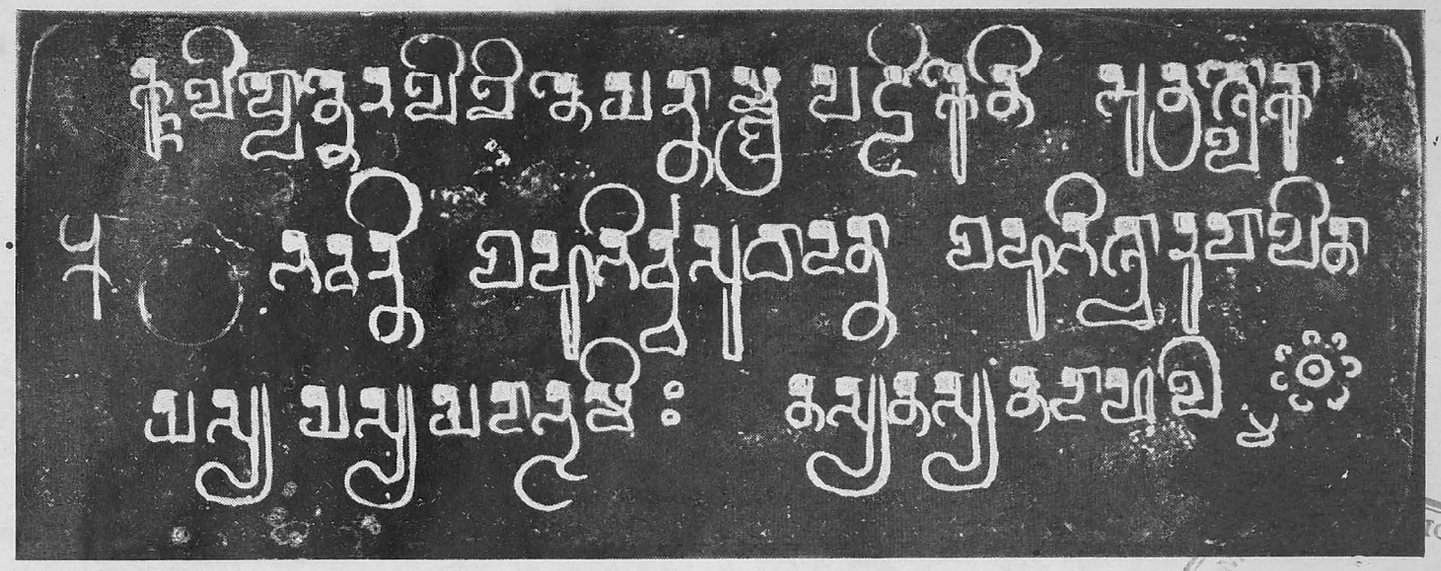
३१. स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां गवां शतसह

३२. स्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतं ॥ ब्रह्मस्वन्तु विषं घोरं

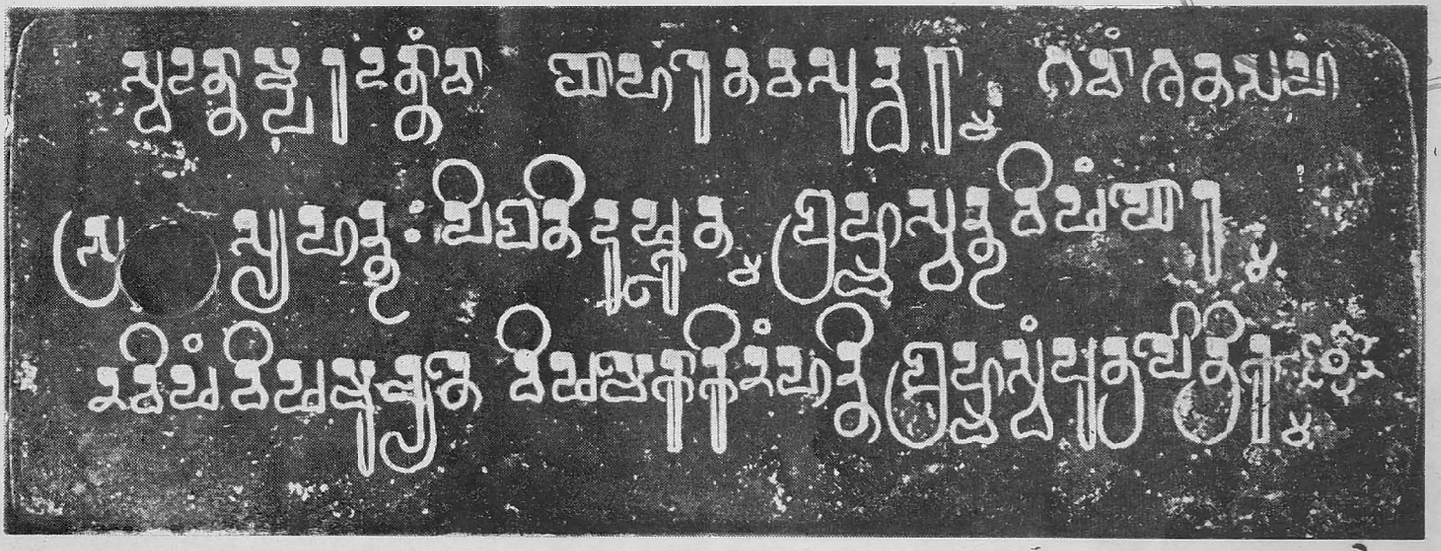
३३. न विषं विषमुच्यते विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रकम् ॥

THE *VESANTA* PLATES OF *SIMHAVARMA*

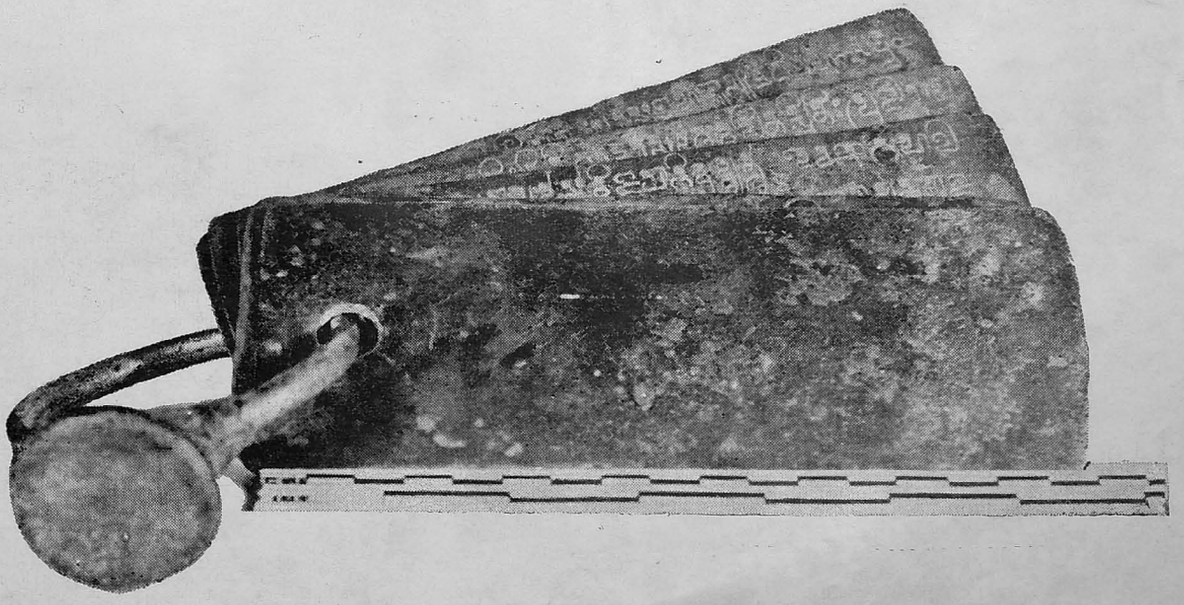
Fourth Plate : Second Side



Fifth Plate : First Side



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A general view of the plates with the seal & ring

SECTION VII

A GRANT OF KING *HARIVARMA* SON OF *PṚITHVĪ SRĪMŪLA* OF THE *GODĀVARI* PLATES

CHAPTER XIX

THE *KAṬṬUCHERUVU* GRANT OF KING *HARIVARMA* SON OF *PṚITHVĪ ŚRĪ MŪLA* OF THE *GŌDĀVARI* PLATES

While going through some of the old discarded stuff of the Government of Andhra Pradesh Museum, which were intended for disposal, I came upon this set of copper plates. Fortunately the disposal had not been carried out unlike the set of two other copper plates of the *Chālukyan* dynasty, edited elsewhere, and the plates have now been preserved carefully in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum of Hyderabad. Except for the fact that the grant was obtained from the Godavari district, no other detail is mentioned anywhere in the record of the Museum.

The set comprises of five plates held together by a circular ring with a seal. The rims of the plates are not raised. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only. The second, third and fourth plates are engraved on both the sides. The fifth plate is engraved on the inner side and there is also an inscription of two lines on the outer side of the fifth plate. Each plate measures 18 cms. in length and 4.5 cms. in breadth. The plates are strung together by a ring sealed with a seal. The seal contains on the sunken surface some figures which are indistinct. The ring and the seal weigh 515 grams and 159 grams respectively.

The epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The language employed is Sanskrit throughout. The whole grant contains of 35 lines of writing including the two lines on the outer face of the last plate distributed as follows :

First plate second side	4 lines
Second plate first side	4 lines
Second plate second side	4 lines
Third plate first side	5 lines
Third plate second side	4 lines
Fourth plate first side	4 lines
Fourth plate second side	4 lines
Fifth plate first side	4 lines
Fifth plate second side	2 lines
Total	35 lines

The characters of the plates are the typical 7th century script current in the Andhra country. The calligraphy is excellent and from the point of view of orthography there is nothing particular to be specially mentioned here.

The grant opens with a prayer and an invocation to the Lord. Then the king *Mūlarāja* is mentioned who is said to have conquered a number of enemies in battles. After this *Pṛithvī Śrī Mūlarāia* is mentioned as issuing the grant from the *Vijaya Guṇapāśapura* or the victorious town of the *Guṇapāśapura*. *Pṛithvīmūla* here is described as the son of *Śrī Prabhākara*. *Śrī Prabhākara* is described as having obtained merit by the worship of th e *Dēvās*, *Dwijās* and the *Guru*, and his glory is said to have adorned all the cardinal directions. His son *Pṛithvī Śrī Mūlarāja* is described as fully protecting the *Varṇāśrama Dharma*, by his wisdom and discrimination, obtaind by following all the injunctions laid down in the *Śṛuti* and the *Smṛiti*. He is further described as being weighed down by the wealth, which was being used only for conferring some benefits upon others, as being victorious in a number of battles, and as having spent his life usefully by constantly giving as *Dāna* cows, land, gold, *kanya* etc. to the needy. He is also described as *Parama Māhēśwara*, *Parama Brahmaṇya* and *Dharma Vijaya*, *Śrīmān Pṛithvī Śrī Mūlarājaḥ*.

This king issues the grant from *Tārupāka Vishaya* to his son *Harivarma Rāja* for the furtherence of his glory and fame, which had been obtained and strengthened in a number of battle fields. He grants the village *Kaṭṭucheruvu* to his son *Harivarma Rāja*. This village is situated admist three villages namely *Konṛaḷagganṛuu*, *Paryapaṛu* and *Truppaṛu*.

This *Harivarma* the grantee once again with the consent of his father, makes a further grant of the same village free of all taxes for the furtherence of the four *Pratyayas* of the pilgrims of the "*Āryavara Bhikshu Sangha*" who come and go from all the directions, and who live in the *Mahāvihāra* which was built by the king himself on the top of a hill in the *Guṇapāśapura*. He gives the grant to a Superintendent of renovations (नवकर्मव्यापाराधिकृत) who lives in the *Mahāvihāra* itself. The grant ends with the usual imprecatory phrases that the grant of the land should be well protected by all persons who follow the injunctions laid down in the *Śṛuti* and the *Smṛiti*. The usual *Vyāsa Gīta Ślōkas* are also added at the end.

The grant is a very important one inasmuch as it introduces for the first time, a king *Harivarma* the son of *Rājāh Pṛithvī Mūla*. Upto now, we know only one other grant of this line of kings, viz. the *Gōdāvari* copper plate grant of *Rāja Pṛithvī Mūla* edited by Dr. Fleet.[1]

This *Gōdāvari* plate gives a reference only to *Mahārājaḥ Prabhākara* as the father of *Rājā Pṛithvī Mūla*. In the present grant, we have two other names viz. *Śrī Mūla Rāja* who was supposed to be the ancestor of this line of kings and *Harivarma* the son of *Pṛithvī Mūlarāja*. The *Praśasti* of the grant closely resembles the *Praśasti* of the *Gōdāvari* plates of the *Rāja Pṛithvī Mūla*, and hence the genealogy and the line of kings is clearly the same as in the

1. Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, - p. 114.

earlier grant.

The present grant refers to *Tārupāka Vishaya.* The *Gōdāvari* plate also refers to the same *Tārupāka Vishaya.* This obviously refers to *Tāṭipāka* of *Rājōle* taluk of East Godavari district. The *Guṇapāśapura* mentioned here is not susceptible of clear identification. The *Gōdāvari* plate of *Rāja Pṛithvī Mūla* mentions that that grant was issued from *Kāṇḍēri* village. This village also has not up to now been satisfactorily identified. From the present grant, however, it would appear that *Guṇapāśapura* was the capital of this line of kings. In describing the king *Mūla Rājaḥ* the following phrase is used.

बहुसमरजयोपात्तोन्नत श्रीरजेयस्यैकवरगुणपाशबद्धनिश्शेषलोकः

The phrase above viz. "*Varagūṇapāśa Baddha Niśśēshalōkaḥ*" would appear to be an oblique reference to the *Guṇapāśapura* which is the capital though the phrase is to be interpreted as meaning that the king was bound by the rope of excellent qualities. Since the word *Varaguṇapāśa* is especially chosen to describe this trait of the king, it is extremely probable that it contains an oblique reference to the capital of the king. Hence perhaps *Guṇapāśapura* was the capital of these kings. It is not possible to identify *Gūṇapāśapura* with any existing village in East *Gōdāvari* district. It would, however, appear that this word is a Sanskrit translation of the name of a Telugu village. The word '*Pāśa*' can be translated as '*Tādu*' or rope, and '*Pura*' as '*Uru*' or town, and hence '*Pāśāpura*' can be translated as '*Tāḍūru*'. It is interesting to note that there is a village called *Āḍūru* in the East *Gōdāvari* District, on the top of which there are some Buddhistic remains even now. This *Āḍūru* falls in the geographical limits of the grant and it is extremely probable therefore that this village *Āḍūru* is the *Guṇapāśapura* of this line of kings and the existing Buddhistic remains may perhaps be the remains of the *Mahāvihāra* established by king *Harivarma.*[1] Further exploration at *Āḍūru* may perhaps give further connections. The other villages mentioned like *Kaṭṭucheruvu, Kaṇṛalagganṛu* are not susceptible of verification now.

In the *Gōdāvari* plates of *Pṛithvīmūla,* the grant was made as an *agrahāra* grant by *Rājā Pṛithvī Mūla* at the request of the *Adhirājāḥ Indra* to 43 families of *Brāhmins* who studied *Adharvavēda* and who were descendents of *Upādhyāyas* and who belonged to a variety of *Gōtras.* The object of the grant was evidently to establish a regular colony of the *Adharvaṇikas* in the State. In the present grant, it is also mentioned in the phrases describing *Rājā Pṛithvī Mūla,* that he is a protector of the *Varṇāśrama Dharma,* a *Parama Māhēśwara,* a *Parama Brahmaṇya* etc. In other words *Rājā Pṛithvī Mūla* is a devout Hindu, whereas his son *Harivarma* would appear to have embraced *Buddhism,* inasmuch as he had himself established a *Mahāvihāra,* and also regranted a village given to him by his own father, for the purposes of the four '*Pratyayas*' of the *Buddhist Bhikshus* that come there.

1. I am grateful to Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, Lecturer in Epigraphy, Andhra University, Waltair for this suggestion.

We have therefore clear evidence from this grant that *Harivarma* embraced *Buddhism*, whereas his father *Pṛithvī Mūla* was an ardent Hindu.

Neither the *Saka* year nor the regnal year of the king is given nor is any other detail given to even roughly date the grant. However, the previous grant viz. the *Gōdāvari* copper plate grant of *Rājā Pṛithvī Mūla* was issued in the 25th year of some reign on the 3rd day of the *Amānṭa Vaiśākha*. The *Adhirājāḥ Indra* at whose request this grant was made is described as having fought with several other chiefs to overthrow *Indra Bhaṭṭāraka*. This *Indra Bhaṭṭāraka* has a reference to the *Vishṇukundin* king of that name, and hence the grant is roughly datable to the 6th century. This grant being issued by the son of *Pṛithvī Mūla*, may also belong to the same century. Beyond this it is not possible even to guess at the date of the record.

The two lines on the outer cover of the last plate are very interesting. As they stand they read as follows :

[ ] दिश्य ताम्ब्रपण्णीयात् शासनं हरिवर्म्मणा राज्ञा कृतमिहस्थेयादिदमाचन्द्रतारकम्

The above is in *Anushṭup* metre and means that the grant made by the *Rājā Harivarma* may remain in the world permanently. The first line of the *Anushṭup* metre is not complete and has one letter missing. If we add a letter '*Sam*' before '*Diśya*' and read the whole epigraph as....

संदिश्य ताम्ब्रपण्णीयात् शासनं हरिवर्म्मणा etc.

the *Anushṭup* becomes complete and the word "*Samdiśya*" can also be said to mean as having given an order. This kind of writing on the outer cover is rather peculiar and deserves notice.

The grant is a very important one inasmuch as it gives us a further king beyond *Rājāḥ Prithvimūla* of the *Gōdāvari* plates and also gives us a clue for the spread of Buddhism in the *Tātipāka* area or Rajole Taluk of East *Gōdāvari* district round about 6th century A.D.

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TEXT AND PLATES
OF
THE KAṬṬUCHERUVU GRANT OF KING HARIVARMA SON OF PṚITHVI ŚRIMŪLA OF THE GŌDĀVARI PLATES

FIRST PLATE: SECOND SIDE

१. जयति मुनिरुद्यग्रख्यातचद्रांशुजाल प्रचयरुचिरकी
२. र्त्तिश्रीरजेयस्य यस्य [।] जगदिदमभिषिक्तन्दक्षिणांम्भोभिरु
३. च्चैः क्षुभितसलिलनाथस्यर्द्धिभिर्म्मारसैन्यैः (1) तदनु जयति भू
४. म्ना मूलराजस्समन्ताद्विततरुचिरभास्वल्लोकविख्यातकीर्तिः । बहु

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

५. समरजयोपात्तोन्नतश्रीरजेय[स्व]कवरगुणपाशाबद्ध
६. निश्शेष लोकः (2) स्वस्ति [॥] विजयगुणपाशपुरात् देवद्विज
७. गुरुचरणसमाराधनाधिगतनिरतिशयपुण्यनिचय
८. स्य सकलदिङ्मण्डलालंकारभूतयशसः श्रीप्रभाकरविख्यात

SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE

९. महाराजस्य सूनुर्म्मातापितृपादानुद्ध्यातः श्रुतिस्मृतिविहित
१०. पदार्त्थावबोधजनितप्रज्ञाविवेकनिरवगीतानुपालि
११. ताशेषवर्ण्णाश्रमधर्म्मः परानुग्रहमात्रप्रयोजन
१२. प्रतिपन्नैश्वर्य्यगुरुभारः अनेकचातुर्द्दन्तसमरसंघट्टवि

THIRD PLATE: FIRST SIDE

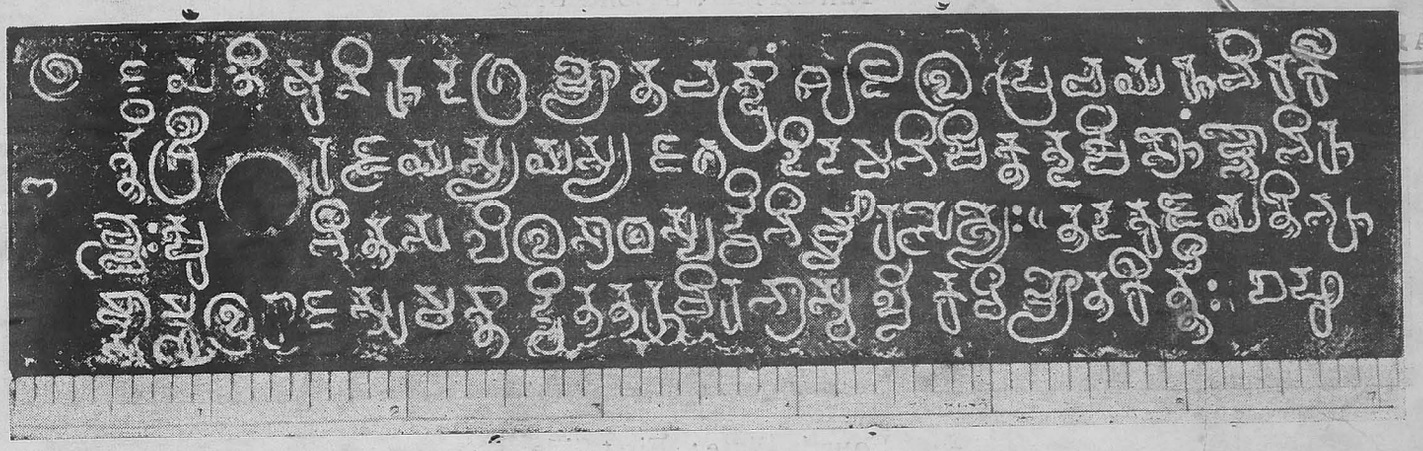
१३. जयी सततगोभूमिहिरण्यकन्याप्रदानादिभिस्सफलीकृतजीवितोप
१४. भोगः परममाहेश्वरः परमब्रह्मण्यः धर्म्मविजयी श्रीमान् प्रिथिवी[1]श्री
१५. मूलराजः ताळुपाकविषये राष्ट्रकूटग्रामवृद्धप्रमुखविषय
१६. निवासिनः सर्व्वानित्थमाज्ञापयति (॥) यथा (॥) विदितमस्तु भवतामसकृदनेक
१७. निशित [निस्त्रंश[2]] सहस्रसंकुलातिभीमसंग्रामभूमिप्रकाशितात्मविक्रमातिश

1. Read पृथिवी
2. Correct word should be निर्स्त्रिंश

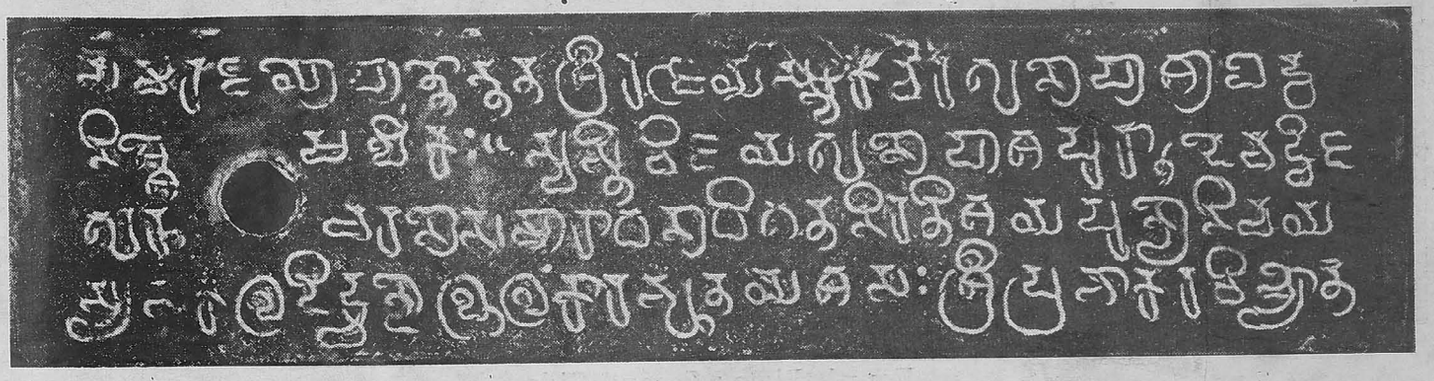
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THE *KAṬṬACHERUVU* PLATES OF *HARIVARMA*

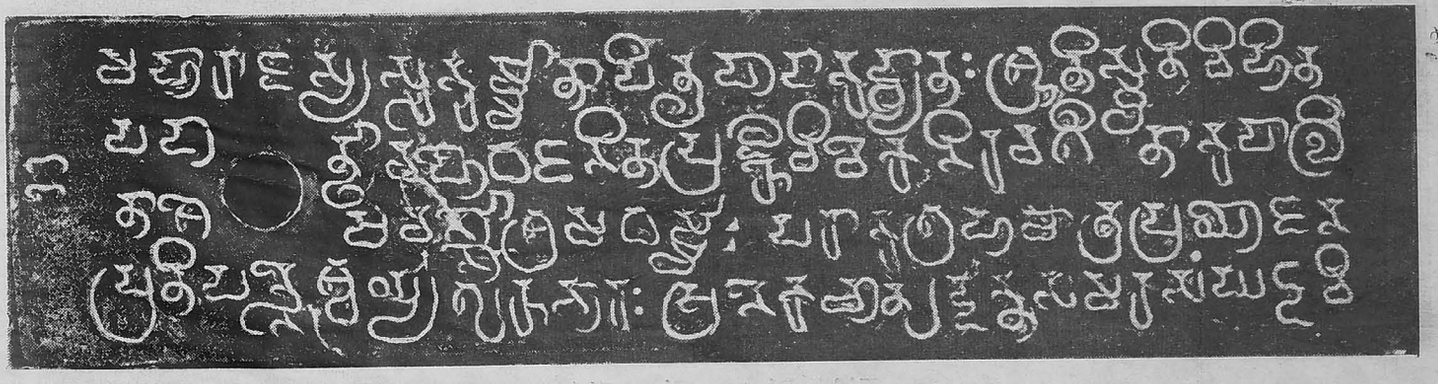
First Plate: Second Side



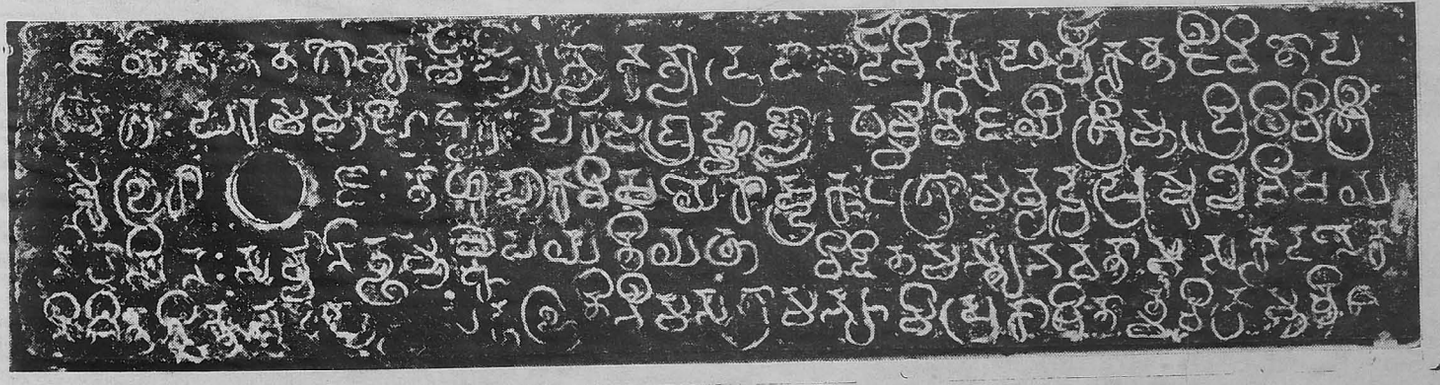
Second Plate: First Side



Second Plate: Second Side



Third Plate: First Side



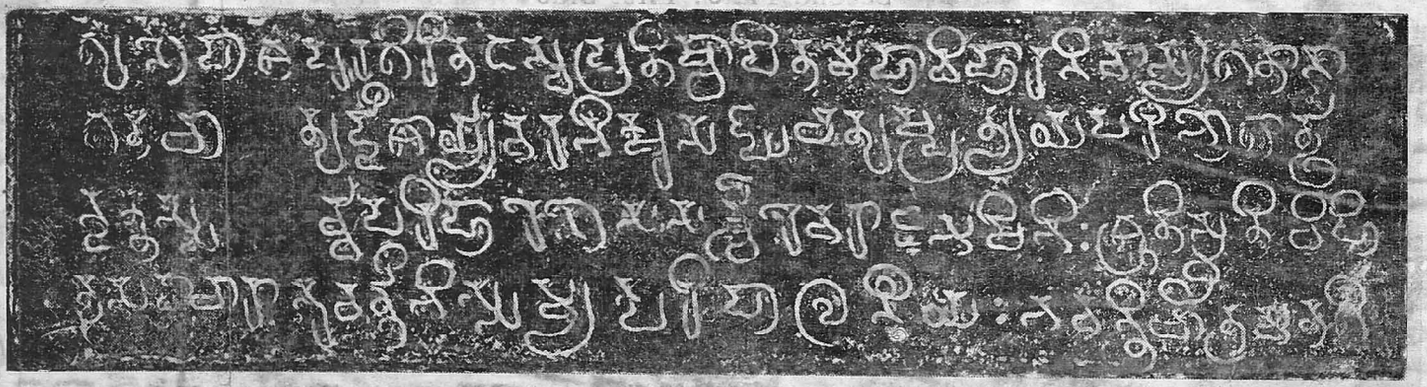
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THE *KAṬṬACHERUVU* PLATES OF *HARIVARMA*

Third Plate : Second Side



Fourth Plate : First Side



Fourth Plate : Second Side



Fifth Plate : First Side

