PART I

INTRODUCTION AND STUDY OF SOURCE MATERIAL

Chapter I Introduction
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INTRODUCTION

Visnukundins were one of the ruling families of Andhradesa who flourished in the post-Satavahana and pre-Chalukyan period. They hitherto received but a scanty attention from scholars and were considered as a minor dynasty that ruled over the coastal districts of the present day Andhra Pradesh. Based on inscriptional data available to them scholars argued over matters concerning the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty. But the discovery of some more copper plate inscriptions and coins of the dynasty at a number of places in the Deccan, in recent times indicates that they were a more important power than hitherto thought of.

Visnukundins were part contemporaries to the Imperial Guptas of North India. The period of Visnukundin rule shared some of the cultural efflorescence that characterised the times. Hence a comprehensive study of the Visnukundin history would be interesting and at the same time a need long over due.
An outstanding feature of Indian history was the interaction of centripetal and centrifugal forces and their alternative successes affecting the political and cultural patterns of the country, through ages. The geographical factors such as the territorial vastness of the country and its varied climatic conditions fostered physiographical diversity while the frequent infiltrations of foreign hordes added ethnic diversity to population. But the innate vitality in the Indian culture had been continuously at work, rationalising the diversities through ages, which process may be called "Indianisation." Perhaps, the natural boundaries of the country necessitating co-existence, must have prompted the people to take up, rather unconsciously, the mission of indianisation. It was also, perhaps, the activizing spirit behind the process of political unification and the urge manifested as early as 4th-3rd century B.C., in the concept of Cakravartiksetra, as enunciated by Kautilya. The Nanda, the Maurya and the Sātavāhana empires were ostensibly attempts at realisation of the ideal. Downfall of such empires was the work of centrifugal forces, aided by the infiltration of
foreign hordes such as the Sakas, the Abhíras, the Pahlavas etc., in the centuries shortly before and after Christ. But the forces of unity soon indianised these foreign stocks and at the same time helped resurrection of imperial forces as exemplified by the Gupta empire.

The period of the Guptas marked a re-definition of monarchical ideas and institutions. These were given divine attributes, which helped as potent instruments for realising the political and cultural unity of the country. Overlordship of the Indian sub-continent, was the cherished adjective of every important ruling dynasty of the times. They vied with each other in conquests and in expanding their dominions and every one of them had, at least one king, who had performed one or more horse-sacrifices.

The ancient Vedic religion and culture was transformed into purānic Theism under the impact of devotionalism, which formed the keynote of the vast body of Epic and puranic literature. Legal literature too underwent suitable modifications. New texts, such as the metrical smrtis of Nārada, Brhaspati, Kātyāyana etc., were composed to supplement the
earlier authorities such as Manu, Apastamba, Saudhāyana, Vasistha and others. Sanskrit language emerged as the lingua franca of the country, and came to be the vehicle of expression, of both the sacred and the secular. Ruling dynasties issued records in Sanskrit.

True to the spirit of the age, the Viśnukundin period in Early Āndhra history was the Classical age, in the same sense as the Gupta age was in North India. It was the period when different parts of Āndhra country were welded together as one political unit. The kings patronised Sanskrit language, and championed Hinduism, in its devotional as well as ritualistic aspects. They also patronised Buddhism, built some vihāras and endowed them with gifts of villages.

II. Early Studies: A Review:

The Viśnukundins evoked the attention of scholars like Kielhorn, Hultszch, K.V. Lakshmanarao, and others, who edited their copper plate inscriptions and attempted to reconstruct their genealogy and chronology. A more systematic study of the dynasty was first made by D.C. Sircar followed by K. Gopalachari.
B.V. Krishnarao, M.Ramarao, R.Subrahmanyam, O.Ramaehandraiya, and others. A.M.Shastri deserves special mention for systematising the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty.

But the scholars were all absorbed by the problems of reconstructing the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty. It was because of the difficulties posed by the insufficiency and imperfection of source material. Except one recently discovered copper plate inscription, the records of the dynasty, less than a dozen in number, are dated only in the regnal years of the donor-kings. Hence, the scholars had to depend on the doubtful evidence of palaeography, in arranging the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty giving rise to a number of conflicting schemes. Moreover, the controversial nature of the dynastic history prevented them from studying the cultural aspect of the period.

The discovery of the Tummalagudem (two sets) plates in 1965 gave a fresh impetus to the study of the Vignukundin history, and a promise of solutions
Several scholars took up the study, in the light of the new evidence furnished by the records. The small monographs by N. Venkataramanayya and S. Sankaranarayanan deserve mention in this context. Despite the valuable contributions by a number of scholars, a comprehensive study of Viṣṇukūṇḍins and their times has remained a long felt need.

III. Scope of the Present Work:

Studies in Viṣṇukūṇḍin history, solely depending on the few available inscriptions of the dynasty, would fail to give the political conspectus of the times. Hence, an attempt is made in the following pages to study the genealogy, chronology and the political fortunes of the Viṣṇukūṇḍins in the broad spectrum of the political framework of the Deccan and South India.

For the study of the society and culture of the times, it must be confessed at the outset, that no work directly reflecting on these, was produced in this part of the country, during the period under reference. The brief Viṣṇukūṇḍin inscriptions would
not illuminate the general cultural conditions of the people. But, Andhradesa could not have remained as a separate socio-cultural entity when the process of Indianisation under the aegis of neo-Hinduism was actively at work. Hence, the Epic-purānic and the legal literature of the period, may be profitably taken help of. It is believed that in the period under study the great epic, Mahābhārata and the purāṇas such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa, etc., have taken shape, while Pañcālantatra and works on polity, like the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka were composed. Political as well as the socio-economic concepts embodied in this literature were mostly derived from earlier works like Manusmṛti and Arthasastra. Thus, political and administrative principles and practices as well as the socio-economic and religio-philosophical doctrinaire can be studied with reference to these authority.

But implicit reliance on the sacred literature and taking their statements at face value, leads only to theoretical formulations. The study of the cultural set-up on the other hand should focus on practice than precept. Hence, the ordinances in the
law books and other sacred literature have to be critically evaluated, so as to understand the conditions which prompted the writers to make the ordinances. Specific references to aspects of society and culture wherever available in inscriptions are made use of here as supplemental data.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Romila Thapar, Ancient India (Penguin), P. 136, writes that the classicism of the Gupta period was confined to North India, the Deccan and South India having witnessed such a cultural evolution in the post-Gupta period. The view is right as far as the literature and fine arts are concerned, but the political and socio-economic orders of the Deccan and South India were not much different from North India of the Gupta epoch.

2. Nirmal Kumar Bose, Cult. Her. Ind., I, P. 6, writes that, "Though her insularity made India develop into a distinctive political and cultural unit, her vast dimensions, varied physical features and a variety of climate tended to effect different zones with different racial and linguistic peculiarities and different regional spirits, fostering fissiparous tendencies. R.K. Mookerji, Glimpses of Ancient India, pp. 99-100 and Hindu Civilisation, I, pp. 53 ff. opined the same."
3. *Arthasastra*, IX, 1, reading, Desāḥ prthvī tasyām samudrāntaram-udicinām yojana sahasra perimānam- itiryaḥ-Cakravartikāstra. See also, pt. II, Ch. III, Sect. IIA.


5. The Ikṣvāku king Māghariputra Śrī Gāmtamūla (Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*), The Pallava kings Śivaskandavarma (ibid., I, p. 1 ff.) and Kumāraviṣṇu (ibid., XV, p. 246 ff. Set I, l.1); The Vākotaka king Pravarasena I (Inscriptions of Pravarasena II and the Bāsiṃ plates of Vindhyasaktī II, CII, v), the Śalāṅkāyana king Vijayadevavarman, (Epi. Ind. XI, pp. 35 ff.) were among the kings of several important dynasties of the Deccan and South India, in addition to the Viṣṇukundin king Mādhavavarman II, to have performed a number of horse-sacrifices, among several other rituals. Slightly later than the kings mentioned above, the Cālukya king Pulakāśiṇī I is known to have performed a number of sacrifices including āśvamedha, (Bādāmi cave III inscription of his son Maṅgalesa, *Ind. Ant.* VI, pp. 363 ff, 11. 3-5.)

6. P.V. Kane, *HDS.*, V, pt. II, Introductory pages, had very reasonably assigned Nāradaśāṃti, to the period between 100 A.D. to 400 A.D., Bṛhaspati to 300-500 and Yājñavalkya to 100 B.C. to 300 A.D. He assigned Maṇu to 200 B.C. to 100 A.D., slightly earlier than Yājñavalkya, as well as the additions of Rājadharma chapters in Mahābhārata.

8. Ibid., XII, pp. 133-36 and XVII, pp. 334-339.


D.C. Sircar, has edited also one of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin copper plate grants, the Tūṇḍigrāma grant in Epi. Ind., XXXVI, i, pp. 7 ff.


12. EDA., pp. 401-566.

13. APGAS., No. 10, Viṣṇukūṇḍin Coins, and UME(LMR), pp. 105-122; besides many articles published in JIH, referred to in the course of the Thesis.

14. APGAS., No. 8, The Tūṇḍī plates of Vikramendravarmam II.

15. Itihās., I, i, pp. 1-9, and IV, 2, pp. 11-30 and UME(LMR).

16. JIH., XLIV, iii, pp. 683-91. See below, pt. II, Ch. 3.

17. The Tummalagudam (set II) charter gives the corresponding Saka year, to the regnal year of the donor-king, in which it was dated. See below, pt. I, Ch. 2, and pt. II, Ch. 3, sec.


19. UME(LNV) and APGAS., No. 40, in Telugu

20. The Viṣṇukūṇḍis and Their Times.
21. A Sanskrit work dealing with prosody, called *Janārēya Chando Viciti*, is attributed to the period and the patronage of the Viṣṇukundin king Mādhavavarman, surnamed Janārēya. But it is not acceptable, see below, pt. II, ch. 3, sect.

22. *Cult. Her. Ind.*, II, p. 57, that additions other than didactic to the epic, are dated to the period between A.D. 200-400 A.D. A.S. Altekar, *SGAI*, p. 10, opines similarly, but suggests that chapters on Rājdharmā in the epic were, perhaps, later than Manu. This opinion, again, points out the addition of those chapters some time later than A.D. 200.


24. A.S. Altekar, *SGAI*, p. 18, that much of the work was the metrical summary of Arthaśāstra.

2. **INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VISNUKUNDINS**

Visnukundin inscriptions, which constitute the primary source-material for the present study are ten in number, including the one fragmentary stone inscription from Velpūrū. They are:

1) The Chikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman,¹
2) The Rāmatīrtham plates of Indravarman,²
3) The Pōlamūrū plates of Mādhavavarmān,³
4) The two sets of Īpurū charters,⁴
5) The Khānāpur plates of Mādhavavarmān,⁵
6) The Velpūrū stone inscription of Mādhavavarmān,⁶
7) The Tūndī plates of Vikramendravarman,⁷
8) Two sets of the Tummalagūdam copper plates.⁸

The inscriptions, in general, are not detailed in their contents and some of them are so damaged that their readings are incomplete or imperfect.⁹ Even though, some later inscriptions of the dynasty are a little more elaborate, their statements are somewhat exaggerated, if not altogether unreliable.¹⁰ Again, they do not describe the political achievements of the kings, except mentioning their titles. They are improperly dated and at times, their statements
mutually contradict. Thus, the genealogical and chronological arrangement of the dynasty becomes a difficult task.

A. Palaeography of the Inscriptions:

The alphabet of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin records is generally called the southern variety of Brāhmi, or the Vēṅgi, or the Telugu-Kannada script of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The Viṣṇukūṇḍin inscriptions generally resemble the Pedavēgi plates of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II, the Gōdāvari plates of Prthvimūla, the Kettucheruvu grant of Harivarman and the early Pallava copper plate grants of the time of Yuvaṁahārāja Viṣṇugopa, his son Simhavarman, and grandson Vijaya Viṣṇugopavaram. Palaeographically, the Viṣṇukūṇḍin records stand midway between the Śālaṅkāyana and the Early Pallava records of the middle of the fifth century A.D. on the one hand and the Cālukya records of the seventh century A.D. on the other. However, all the Viṣṇukūṇḍin records are not uniform in their alphabet and may be grouped as:

1) The Ṛṣṭrī (set II) charter with a cursive alphabet, carelessly engraved, but supposed by
scholars as earlier than other Vīśnukundīn records;

2) The Ipūrū (set I) the Rāmatīrthaṁ, the Chikkulla and the Tūndī copper plates and the Vālpūrū stone inscription, incised more or less in rounded characters;

3) The two sets of the Tummalagūḍām charters in more rounded characters, than those of the second group and neatly engraved with even a little ornamentation; and

4) The Pōḷomūrū and the Khānāpūr plates, again with cursive and careless engraving and the alphabet showing later forms than of the Vīśnukundīn period.

The alphabet of the Rāmatīrthaṁ and the Tūndī plates in the second group shows a slight influence of the alphabet of the Vākāṭaka records. Characters of the two Tummalagūḍām charters closely resemble those of the Kattucheruvu grant, but closely engraved than the latter.

The Vīśnukundīn records exhibit a gradual orthographical development showing the following features. First is that the early fashion of
anuśvara, represented by anunāsika consonants, was followed in the two sets of the Ṣpūrū plates, as well as in such late records as the Chikkullā and Ramatirthām plates. But the pōlamūrū and the two sets of the Tummalagūḍām plates show anuśvara, presented as dots above the preceding consonants. The final m appears even in the late records of the family as well, but it is generally shown as anuśvara. Secondly, the consonants that follow the ṝpha are invariably doubled in all the charters of the dynasty, except in the pōlamūrū plates. The practice was rather inconsistently followed in that record. Finally, except the two Tummalagūḍām and the pōlamūrū charters, no other record of the dynasty has its plates numbered.

The Viṣṇukundin records are in Sanskrit prose, but for a few imprecatory or benedictory verses. The only exception to this generalisation is the pōlamūrū plates, in which the prose passage is interspersed by a verse in the description of the donor Madhavavarman. However, in the Vālpūru stone inscription, whose text is not completely available, it cannot be ascertained whether it contained any such verses. Some records such as
the Īpūrū (set I) and Chikkullā plates show the influence of Prakrit and Telugu vernacular. 30

Generally the records of the times, particularly the Viṣṇukūṇḍin records, are dated only in the regnal years of the donors and not in any established era, the only exception being the Tummalagūḍām (set II) charter. It is dated in Śaka era, gives as well the regnal year of the donor and is a welcome relief in respect of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin chronology. 31 Some of the records are dated in terms of seasons and fortnights, 32 as was adopted in the Prakrit records of the earlier period. Others are dated in the later method of mentioning month and fortnight. 33 The fragmentary copper plate grant of Mādhavavārman, discovered at Kānāpūr contains no year, but only the day and the month. The fact that some late records of the dynasty, like the Tūndī plates are dated in the older method, shows that the two methods were concurrently used as late the Viṣṇukūṇḍin period and the change from the former method to the latter was only gradual.

Except the Tummalagūḍām and Īpūrū (set II) charters, the Viṣṇukūṇḍin inscriptions begin with
invocation to Lord Šrīparvatasvāmin. It is followed by a brief pradasti of the family, wherein the donor and his predecessors are described. The particulars of the donees, donation and the date of the record follow the pradasti. Finally, the record comes to end with imprecatory or benedictory verses, or both.

B. Textual Analysis of the Inscriptions:

1. The Chikkullā Plates:

The earliest Viṣṇukundin charter discovered and published was the Chikkullā plates of Vikramandaravarman II. It was issued from the king's vāsaka at Lendulūra in his tenth regnal year. The conclusions of Kielhorn, the editor of the record were so admirable, that they continue to be followed by scholars even today. But most of them need a thorough revision in the light of the recent discoveries and researches.

The seal of the record bears in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a well-executed lion, facing the proper right. It stands with raised right forepaw and widely opened mouth. It was supposed to have been double tailed.
The record traces the descent of the donor as follows:

Mādhavavarman
| Vikramendravarman
| Indrabhāttarakavarman
| Vikramendravarman II
  (the donor)

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, the great-grandfather of the donor, was described as a meditator on the feet of Bhagavat-Sriparvatesvāmin, as the one among the Viṣṇukundins, who had washed off the worldly stains by the ablutions of eleven Śavamadhas; as the performer of thousand kratus; as one who obtained the supreme dominion over all beings by his performance of Sarvamadha sacrifice besides several other "elaborate, important and excellent" ones like Bahuṣuvarna, Vājapeya, Vūdhya, Śodasī, Rājasuva, Prādhirāja, Prājāpatya etc., in hundred thousand numbers, as having established himself in the status of Paramesṭhi by the performance of great sacrifices, and as one respected by the multitude of great kings all over the world, who bent their diamond studded crowns upon his feet.

Vikramendravarman I, the grandfather of the
donor was described as one who by his very birth embellished the two families, viz., the Visnukundin and the Vakāṭaka. The donor's father Maharāja Indrabhattarakavarman was described as one who obtained supremacy over all the world by proving the efficacy of his sharp sword; completely exterminated the agnate rivals (simply by frowning his eye-brows) and obtained victories in numerous pitched battles of four-tusked elephants. He amassed merit by establishing ghatikas in accordance with the prescribed regulations; and enjoyed the merit in return of his ever givings of lands, cows, brides, gold etc., and was a Paramamāhāśvāra.

The donor Vikramendravarman II who was the eldest son (of Indrabhattāraka) was embellished by all the qualities of royalty, even from his childhood. He was described as to have been called upon to bear the burdens of all the kingdom. He was also a Paramamāhāśvāra and held the title Maharāja.

The record was to register the gift of a village called Rāgonrśam in Matripāṭi-viśaya, south-east of the village of Rāvirśva, on the bank of the river Kṛṣṇabenna. The gift was made in favour of (the temple of) Lord Somagirisvaranatha.
The grant portion was followed by the imprecatory verses quoted from the sacred texts. A verse is specially significant among them, whose purport is that, those kings who forcibly take away (one's) kine, lands and wife, are to undergo such sin as would accrue by the murder of a Brāhmin.

2. The Rāmatīrthaś plates of Indravarman:

Next in the series of the Viśnukuṇḍin inscriptions discovered and published was the Rāmatīrthaś plates of Indravarman. Hultzsch, who edited the record, commented that the alphabet of it resembled that of the Chikkullā plates. The seal of the record "shows the faint figure of an advancing lion or tiger (facing proper right), with its left forepaw raised, neck erect, mouth wide open and the tail raised above the back, so as to end in a loop." The record was issued from the vāsaka of the king at purāṇiśāṅgama, on the jyeṣṭha maṣa ṣukla pāceti pāñcamī of the 27th victorious year of the king's reign. The record reports about the
descent of the donor as:

Madhavavarman
\[\underline{\text{I}}\]
Vikramendra
\[\underline{\text{I}}\]
Indravarman
(the donor)

The record begins with the description of Maharaja Madhavavarman as the devotee of the Lord Sriparvatesavāmin, and the greatest of the family, which emerged from the king Viṣṇukundī. He was one, whose fame was well-known and whose feet were covered by the rays of the diamonds in the diadems of vassal kings of all the earth, who bowed before him. He washed himself off the impurity of the world, by bathing at the end of eleven horse-sacrifices and performed thousand krūtas.

His victorious son was Rāja Vikramendra, who was the worshipped of the feet of his father and mother and the ornament of both the families. His son was the glorious king (rāja), named Indravarman, the victor in hundred thousand four-tusked battles, and whose feet were covered by the rays of the diamonds in the head-gears of the kings (of the earth bounded by) four oceans. He was a Paramamāheśvara.
3. The Polamūru plates of Mādhavavarman:

The Polamūru plates of Mādhavavarman, discovered together with another set issued by the Eastern Cālukya king Jayasimhavallabha I, come next in the series. The seal and the ring of the plates are not available.

The record was dated to the phālguṇa pūrṇimāsya, the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the 48th year of the king's victorious reign. It was reportedly issued when the king was intending to cross the river Gōḍāvari, being desirous of conquering the east. Obviously he was in a military camp on the banks of a river, though it is not explicitly mentioned in the record.

The grant reports the following anecological sequence of kings:

Vikramahendra

| |
Covindavarman

| |
Mādhavavarman (the donor)

The grandfather of the donor, Vikramahendra was described as the meditator on the feet of Lord
Srīparvataśvāmin and one among the Viṣṇukūndins who was of unopposed commands. He subdued a host of vasaal kings by his own valour. He released himself from six enemies and realised the three goals of life, in accordance with the enjoined principles. He had the strength, valour, arms and prowess, possible only to the Lord of Heaven. 82

His son Govinda-varman was victorious in numerous pitched battles and his feet shone with the rays of diamonds in the diadems of kings and was famous as Vikramāśraya. 83

His dear son was Mādava-varman, surnamed Janāśraya. 85 He was matchless in the riches of strength, valour, fame, generosity and knowledge, the lord of the entire country of ten hundreds 86 and mastered over the divyasa. 87 He enjoyed molesting the noble damsels in the palaces of Trivenanagara. 88 He had the fast spreading fame arising out of numerous qualities such as benevolence, self-respect, kindness, dutifulness, steadfastness, intellect, forbearance, glow, valour and liberalism that were impossible for any other king. 89 He performed thousand kratus, was born from the golden womb (Hiranyagarbha) 90 and removed himself from the earthly stains by the sacred
baths at the end of eleven horse-sacrifices. He was the guard of all beings and refuge of scholars, the twice-born, the elders (gurus), the old (vṛddha) and the hermits. Following this prose passage, is a verse, which again extols the donor-king Mādhavavarmā, stating that he had the principles, knowledge and strength of Kādava, the brightness of the moon which shone further by his marrying the vast earth, obtained by means of his own valour. Thereafter the eulogy continues again in prose to state that he was the sun among the kings on earth and was a meditator in the feet of his father and mother.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that almost all the earlier scholars, ever since K.V. Lakshmanarao published it, took it as the basis for Visnukundin chronology and genealogy. But the palaeography and the contents of the record are so incompatible with those of the other records of the dynasty, that it created a number of problems, resulting in diverse schemes of genealogy and chronology of the dynasty, none however, satisfactory. A recent review of studies of this record afresh led to the conclusion that the plates, "as they have
come down to us are not the original and cannot be taken as trustworthy in reconstructing Visnukundin genealogy and chronology.

4. Two sets of Īpurū plates:

Next come the two sets of the Īpurū plates, the first issued by Mādhevariṣvarman, son of Govindavarman and the other by Mādhevariṣvarman, the son of Devavarmān.

Set I:

The Īpurū set I was issued from the military camp at Kūdāvāda, in the Guḍḍādi viśaya, on the 15th day of the 7th fortnight of the summer season, in the 37th year of the king's augmenting and victorious reign.

The seal of the record is apparently divided into two halves by a horizontal line, the lower half containing the legend, Śrī Mādevariṣvarman. The upper half contains some symbols or figures, much obliterated, but suggested to be the figure of seated Lekshmi, or the Svaiśṭika symbol in a lotus.

The record mentions only two kings, Govindavarman and his son Mādevariṣvarman, the latter being the donor.
of the record. Govinda Varman was described as a Maharaja possess ing unlimited strength and valour, extremely devoted to Dharma and obeyed by all the vassals. He was a liberal bestower of countless cows, gold, lands etc.

Madhavavarman, the donor, is described as a Maharaja, rich in powers of memory, intellect, strength, perseverance, courage, valour and knowledge. His commands were obeyed with veneration by all the kings on earth. He was the delight of the heart(s) of the damsel(s) in the palaces of Trivaranagara.

He performed thousand Agnisthomas, was born of Hiraṇyagarbha, got himself removed from earthly impurities, by baths after eleven Aycamedhas and had done religious deeds of everlasting merit.

Set II:

The second set of the Ipuru plates was issued from Amarapura on the seventh day of the seventh fortnight of the rainy season, in the 47th regnal year, obviously of the donor king Madhavavarman.

Some scholars supposed that the alphabet of the record was archaic, resembling the British Museum
plates of Čārudevi, it has been rightly disapproved and all the confusion in reconstructing the genealogy and chronology was avoided. The seal of the grant similar to that of the set I was divided into two parts, by a horizontal line, the lower portion contained a faintly visible legend, Sri Mādhavavarman. But the symbols on the upper part were badly obliterated beyond restoration.

The charter reports the following kings in succession:

Mādhavavarman

Devavarman

Mādhavavarman II (the donor)

Mādhavavarman, the grandfather of the donor, was described as the glorious Mahārāja, who had removed himself from the stains of the world, by taking ablutions at the end of eleven Dvāmedhas, who performed thousand Agnīthōmas, and whose feet were decorated by the diamond studded diadems of many (bowing) vassals.

The donor's father Devavarman was described as one who displayed matchless and well-known valour.
in exterminating Kṣatriya. The donor Mādhavavarman was
the lord of the Trikūṭa-Malaya, endowed with mental faculies, modesty and honesty, meditated on the feet of Lord Śrīparvataśvāmin and belonged to the Viṣṇukundin family.

5. The Khānāpūr plates of Mādhavavarman:

The next in the series is the fragmentary copper plate grant of Mādhavavarman discovered at Khānāpūr, in Satara district of Southern Maharashtra. The first plate of the set is lost together with ring and the seal, if it ever contained any. The second plate, inscribed on both faces, is broken at the top and bottom and thus a line at the top and another at the bottom, are almost completely lost on its two faces. The loss of the first plate makes it impossible to get the information regarding the dynasty and descent of the donor and the place of issue.

The record mentioned Mahāvaisākha pūrpimāṣya, but refers to no era of regnal year.

V.V. Mirashi writes that the palaeography of the record resembles that of the copper plate.
grants of the early Rāstrakūtas of Southern Mahārāstra, but shows some Andhra influence, possible because the scribe hailed from Andhradesa. The record was incised carelessly with uncouth alphabet.

The donor of the record, Mādhavavarman was described as a Sārvabhauma who had taken abhrthā baths at the end of numerous rites, especially eleven Paundarīkas and Bahusuvamās. He was Indra in prowess and the sun (among kings) he being the mahāstāya of the principles and duties of the four varnas and āśramas.

Other than N. Venkataramanayya, no Andhra writer on Viṣṇukundina ever referred to this inscription. Even he himself was not convinced of its importance or authenticity.

Miraśi, in the absence of any dynastic particulars of Mādhavavarman, the donor of the record, prefers to identify him with the Viṣṇukūṇḍin king of the same name, based on similarities in claims and qualities mentioned therein. D.C. Sircar has doubted the identification as also the genuineness of the record, but subsequently, approved the identification. He has rightly pointed out...
that the accreditation of Bahusuvrarna and Paundarika sacrifices in eleven numbers, which is found only in the Tundi Grant of Vikramandrasvarman II, shows that the record was forged by people who not only known that a "great king named Madhavavarmen celebrated numerous sacrifices and invaded the Satare region, but were also familiar with the epithet regarding his performance of eleven Paundarikas and eleven Bahusuvrarna." In addition to that, as pointed out by D.Sircar, the record contains several anachronistic concepts in describing Madhavavarmen, as do the Polmuru plates. 133 Thus, there can be no doubt in identifying the donor of the record with the Visnukundin king Madavavrmen, as suggested by Mirashi, in the light of the epigraphical and numismatic evidence that has recently come to light.

6. The Tundi Copper Plate Grant:

The Tundi copper plate grant of Vikramandrasvarman II is one of the recently discovered Visnukundin inscriptions. It is dated on the Pratipadi of Grisma season of the fourteenth, 136 the latest known regnal year of the king. The seal of the grant is very significant
as it contains the figure of a standing humped bull, facing proper left, quite unlike the seals of the other records of the dynasty.

The record provides the same genealogical succession as the Chikkullā plates of the same king,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mādhava}\text{varman} & \\
\text{Vikramendrabhattāra}\text{kavavman} & \\
\text{Indrabhattāra}\text{kavavman} & \\
\text{Vikramendrabhattāra}\text{kavavman II} & (\text{the donor})
\end{align*}
\]

Mahārāja Mādhava\text{varman was described as the devotee of Bhagavat-Śriparvatasvāmi and the one among the Viṣṇukūṇḍins, who rid himself of the impurities of the world, by āvabhrthā bathes after eleven horse-sacrifices and thousand kratus. He obtained supreme command over all the creatures by performing Sarvamedha sacrifice.} He performed eleven Bahuṣuvānas got all his desires fulfilled by celebrating eleven pāundraikes, and attained paramountcy after celebrating the Rājasūya in accordance with the enjoined procedure. In addition, he occupied the status of Paramegthi, after performing
many rites like purusamedha and was the god of gods, or the Supreme God.  

His dear son was Mahārāja Vikramendrabhaṭṭāraṇavaṃśa, whose birth embalished the two dynasties, viz., the Viśnukundin and the Vākaṭaka. His feet shone with (the heads of) many vaśas that bowed before him. His dear son was Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭāraṇa, the ornament of the Viśnukundin family. He destroyed, or forced to exile, the đāvādas simply by his exhale. He obtained the sovereign status which the family had been enjoying with the help along of his right hand and emerged victoriously in many pitched battles of four-tusked elephants. He was a fervent Saivite an ardent follower of Brahmaṇism and obtained merit by founding abhātikas, in accordance with the prescribed procedure. He was a dharma vijayī.

Vikramendrabhaṭṭāraṇa, the donor of the record, was the dear son of Indrabhaṭṭāraṇa, the diadem of the Viśnukundin line of kings. He was undauntedly powerful like Hara (śiva) and the abode (lit. resort) of the duty of protecting the whole Universe. He was of great qualities and
an Indra on earth (in prowess). \textsuperscript{158} 

The record registers the gift of the village Tundli to a Brahman called Svamisarman, son of Rudradarman, a master of \textit{Apsastambhasutra}. \textsuperscript{159} The grant was informed to the villagers, ostensibly by the king himself. \textsuperscript{160} A verse at the end enjoins that transgression of the gift would lead to such sins, as of murdering one's own mother or a cow, or a Brahman, or a maiden, or a sage. \textsuperscript{161} 

The statements in the Tundli and Chikkulla copper plate grants show a tendency to exaggerate and deify Madyavavarman. \textsuperscript{162} The accreditation of more number and variety of sacrifices to Madyavavarman than mentioned in his own records \textsuperscript{163} the statement that he achieved the status of Paramesthi and his elevation to the status of Devatidava, \textsuperscript{164} clearly illustrate the point. These exaggerations, especially, the inflated number of rituals performed by Madyavavarman, seem to have become more or less traditional and reflected in the forged grants like the palemuru and Khinapur plates at a later date.
7. The Tummalagūdem plates (Two sets):

The Tummalagūdem plates are so called because they were discovered at the village Tummalagūdem, in Ramannapet taluk of Nalgonda district. The first of them mentions two hitherto unknown rulers and the second supplies a solid base to reconstruct the chronology.

The alphabet of the two records is similar to that of the Chikkullā and the Tūndī plates as well as the Kattucharuvu grant of Harivarman. The characters are more rounded, but the engraving is less bold. One of them contains a seal, with indistinct symbol.

The first of the two sets issued by Govindāvarman, was dated on the Vaisākha pūrṇimāsya, in the thirty-seventh year of his victorious reign. The second set was issued by Vikramendrabhattāракāvarman, who is identical with Vikramendravaran, the donor of the Chikkullā and Tūndī copper plates, issued in the eleventh year of the king's victorious reign, corresponding to Saka year 488 expired. This is the earliest known inscription in Ṭhundradeśa, to have been dated in Saka era.
The first of the two charters is somewhat unusual, by its invocation to Lord Buddha, instead of Śriparvatasvāmi, as one who showed the path of Nirvāṇa, with compassion. The invocation is followed by a short eulogy of the Viṣṇukūḍīn house, that the kings secured (lit. ascended) the kingdom by virtue of the richness of qualities of strength, truthfulness, sacrifice, knowledge, justice, modesty and aptitude. They were renowned for pure and just rule. The record gives the genealogical succession of the donor as:

```
Indravarman
   ↑
Madhavavarman
   ↓
Govindavarman (the donor)
```

The first two kings in the list are introduced simply as Mahārājas, with no recount of their greatness. But the donor, Mahārāja Govindavarman, is described at length as the ornament of the unblemished, and vast house (of the Viṣṇukūḍīns). He obtained Śvārālīya by the strength of his arms, aptitude, greatness, influence and affection. He could occupy the territories of the vassals of others.
by his valour, courage, warlike qualities and sympathy. He was dearly attached to servants, kinsmen and people belonging to all varnas and adhivasas by his benevolence and munificence. He was the giver of thousands of donations like villages, lands, gold, elephants, horses, cows, bulls, cots, seats, vehicles, provisions for drinking water, measurefuls of eatables, garments, ornaments, brides, servants and servant-maids. He decorated the four corners of the earth by building numerous temples, vihāras, tanks, water-houses for drinking and gardens and also got repaired many such earlier works. He placed his laudably earned wealth for the enjoyment of the Bhikṣus, Brāhmaṇaṇa, as well as the diseased and destitutes. He had sacrificed the merit earned by his good deeds and was the resort to scholars, warriors, and men of high castes. He obtained supreme knowledge had an uncommon power of understanding, and digesting all knowledge and learnt all kinds of spiritual exercises.

The record registers the gift of two villages, viz. Embudala and Pekkapara, by the king to a Buddhist vihāra, built by his chief queen, Parama Mahādevi.
Set II:

The Tummalagudah (set II) charter throws a fund of new information pertaining to the genealogy and chronology of the Visnukundins, which has been discussed below at proper contexts. Further, it helps trace historical synchronisms with some of the contemporary ruling dynasties. 187

The set opens with a verse in praise of Utamāraya. He was said to be the son of Satyasraya, who as the rising sun, enlightened the whole earth. 188 It is followed by the eulogy of the Viṣṇukundin kings, who obtained power to rule the people by meditating on the feet of Bhagavat-Sriparvatasvāmin, 189 appropriated in themselves the vitality of Brahmaksatras 190 and opulent with the valiance and justice of Viṣṇu. 191 The record gives genealogical descent of the donor as follows:

Govindevarman

Madhavaverman

Vikramandrevarman I

Indrabhatṭārakaverman

Vikramandrabhatṭārakaverman II

(the donor)
Mahārāja Govindavarman has been described in this set almost in the same way as in the other, as one who obtained the gospel of the Buddha and scored unlimited supreme merit (brahmāpya) by establishing or constructing many vihāras, that excelled the palaces of Indra.

His son was Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, who performed Advamedha, Bahusuvrana, Paundarika and Vajapeya sacrifices in eleven numbers along with thousand kratus and other sacrifices like Sarvamedha, Rājesūya, Purusamedha and others as prescribed by the texts. He was the lord (lit. Husband) of the entire land that was surrounded by ocean on the east, south, and west; and bordered on the north by the waters of the river Revē.

His beloved son was Mahārāja Vikramedra, born of the Vākāṭaka Mahādevi, a great post and devout Buddhist. His son was Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who obtained (lit. excelled) overlordship of the entire cakravartiksetra, by his victories (in the battles) of caturdantas. He dispelled, rather destroyed, the darkness caused by the dense clouds of dayādas by his prowess that shone like sun.
His beloved son was Vikramendrabhattarakavarman, who was similar to him (i.e. to his father) with excellent warlike qualities and all other characteristics of a Rājārsi. He was made by the ministers to shoulder the burden of the kingdom right in his infancy. He was righteous and victorious according to Dharma and had shining feet with the diamonds in the diadems of numerous bowing vassals.

The record registers the gift of the village, Irunderō, to the Buddhist vihāra at Indrapurā, free from all tax-obligations for the enjoyment of the Buddhist monks. Before the gift is mentioned, a long eulogy was made of Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahādevī, who had built the vihāra. She was mentioned as an ornament of the family of Prthvimūlarāja. The eulogy is full of involved compounds, that it led to controversial interpretations.

Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahādevī, was famous (in the manner of) giving birth in the form of a son (lit. under the pretext of) to handsomeness, enlightened faculties, and valour, famous as Mādhavarāja, who exhibited his excellent greatness by way of forcibly seizing the kingship of other
dynasties and thus obtained the supreme lordship over all the earth for himself; 210

And (in the manner of) by her own birth, having beautified the family of Śrīprthvīmūlaśāja as Lakṣmī did the ocean, 211 which family had great personalities in the past among the unlimited (or numerous) vassal families, 212 and enveloped the whole earth with the rays from diamonds, viz., its undisturbed great qualities, 213 and whose relations enhanced the prestige of the Viṣṇukūṃḍins; 214

And (in the manner of) being the fortune-incarnation of Śrī Govindarāja, 215 who decorated the whole of the Daksināpatha by the liberal acts of building a variety of mind-catching wonderful vihāras in every province, 216 whose famous birth made him shine like the Kaustubhā in the garland of kings on either side of the Śrīparvata, 217 and who emulated Govinda (the Viṣṇu) in the qualities and appearance; 218

By her, namely, Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahādevī, who subdued her desires (lit. turned away from desires) 219 built the Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahāvihāra, solely desirous of decorating the town of Indrapūra. 220
The concluding part of the inscription has two verses which are historically very valuable. The first of them which gives the Saka date, says that the king Uttamādṛaya, evidently Vikramendrabhattārakavarmān II, made the grant. The occasion was his arrival at Indrapurā, while returning after defeating a Pallava, by name Simha. The second verse describes the greatness of Mūlarāja, who was the ājñāpti of the grant. He was said to have belonged to a famous family and to have uplifted the sunken fortunes of the family of his overlord.

The imprecatory verse enjoins sin, if the grant was transgressed either due to avarice, or error, or ignorance or corrupt practice. More or less the same verse is found in the Tūndī plates and the Kēṭṭucheruvu grant of Harivarman.

The importance of the Tummalaṅgūkām charters is still a matter of debate, since the new information has been pressed into service by most of the scholars to substantiate their own theories. As a result, there are many an interpretation, some even against the letter and spirit of the inscriptional texts and thus they "created more problems in the history, than they could solve." Some scholars are even
doubtful about their authenticity and genuineness.  

8) The Vālpūrū Stone Inscription:

The solitary stone inscription of the Viṣṇukundins, discovered at Vālpūrū in Sattenapalli taluk of the present day Guntur district, was issued by Mādhavavarman, the son of Govindavarman, in his 33rd regal year. It records the installation of an image of Viṣṇyaka by the king while he was in a military camp, at Vālpūrū. The inscription is badly damaged and the text is incomplete. However, its reference to the Pallavas indicates that the king Mādhavavarman arrived at Vālpūrū to offer a battle to them. The record reports that donor was a devotee of Śripārvatāsvāmin and a giver of thousands of cows.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

2. Ibid., XII, pp. 133-36.
3. ARSIE., 1914, p. 102; JDL., XI, pp. 31-62; Bherati (Tel.) VII, pp. 463-80 and VIII, pp. 302-14 and JAHRS. VI, pp. 17 ff.
5. Ibid., XXVII, pt. vii, pp. 312-18.
6. SII, X, No. 1; Epi. Ind., XXXVII, pt. iii, pp. 125-30.

7. APGAS., No. 8; Epi. Ind., XXXVI, pt. i, pp. 7-12.


10. While the two sets of Īpūrū and Rāmatīrthāṁ are not more than 16 lines on average, the Chikkullā and the Tūṇḍī plates of Vikramandaravarman are 32 and 35 lines respectively. The two Tummalagūḍēm charters are 32 and 45 lines each and the Pōḷamūrū plates run into 41 lines. If the eulogy of Paramabhaṭṭārīkā Mahādevī is excluded the Tummalagūḍēm (set II) charter comes to about, 34 lines, similar to his other records. Not only in the case of the Viṣṇukūṇḍins, but in general, a normal feature that can be observed is, that as later a record is, as longer in its text. See note below, 8. 7, about the overtones in the descriptions of the kings in the late Viṣṇukūṇḍin records.

11. Infra., pt. II, Ch. 3, and also see the author's articles in PAPHC., II, pp. 7 ff and Bhārati (Tel.) 1980, June to August.

12. JAHRS., I, pp. 92-105.


18. The generalisation is made, excepting the Polamūrū plates, *infra*, pt. II, Ch. 3, sect. IIA, for a discussion.

19. As the records were issued from different parts of Andhradesa, the regionalism is apparent in the alphabet. For example, the Ipūrū (set I) plates resemble the Sālaṅkāyana records. While the alphabet of the Ramatirtham plates are slightly angular, obviously due to some Kalinga influence, eg. *JAHRS.*, VIII, pts. 2 and 3 for some Eastern Ganga records resembling it.

20. Set I: Saṃmantasya, 1.2. and 5; maṇḍala, 1.4; nandanaḥ, 1.5; skandhāvāraḥ(†), 1.8; Maṇcyāṇa, 1.11; vasundhāraḥ(†), 1.17. Set II: saṃanta, 1.2; kṣatriy-āvasaṅkhaṇa, 1.6; saṃpanno, 1.8; Vasundhāra, 1.15, etc.

21. The Ramatirtham plates: 11. 1-2; maṇḍal-āvaṇata saṃanta; alaṅkāra, 1.4; saṅghaṭta, 1.5; etc. The Chikkullā plates, saṅgaṇa-maṇḍala, 11. 7-8; Triyambaka, 1.22, etc.

22. The Polamuru plates: saṅghaṭṭa, 1.5; guṇa saṃpaṭja-jiṇita, 1.10-11; puruṣaṇāya, 1.18; saṃpradāṭṭāṁ, 1.20. The Tummalagūḍeṇa (set I) plates saṃpadā, 1.2; saṃlaṅkāra, 11. 14-15; saṃsāra, 1.16; saṃbuddha, 1.18. The Tummalagūḍeṇa (set II) plates: veṇa-alaṅkāra, paraṇāparā, 1.44 etc.
23. The Rāmatirtham plates: 1.10, yad-dātavyam, etc. and the Tūndī plates, 1.1, Viṣṇukundinām.

24. The Tummalagūḍem (set I) charter, 1.3, yaśasām and rajñām.

25. Parvata, 1.2; varga as well as vargaja, 1.3; Govinda-varmaṇaṇ, in 11.6; dharma, 1.9; audaryya gāmbhiryya, 1.10; garbha, 1.12 etc.

26. Individual plates of the pōlamūrū grant of Mādhavavarman are numbered and this fact is one of the features of its later production than the time to which it should actually belong. See below, pt. II, Ch. 3 for a discussion on the genuineness of the record.


28. Text lines. 14-16.

29. In fact, the record seems to end with a verse, a prayer to Lord Viṇāyaka.

30. The dating method, as well as the abbreviations employed to denote the fortnight etc. were of prakritic and vernacular influence. vide infra, notes nos. 37, 100, 112 and 136.

31. Vide infra, the note on the Tummalagūḍem inscriptions and also pt. II, Ch. 3.
32. The Īpūrū (set I) plates, 1.14; the second set of the plates, 1.13; the Chikkullā plates, 11. 25-26; and the Tūndī plates, 1.35. *Infra*, notes nos. 37, 100, 112 and 136, *op.cit.*

33. The Rāmatīrthām plates, 1.16; The pōlamūrū plates, 1.26; The Tummalagūḍēm (set I) plates, 1.13; and the second set of the Tummalagūḍēm plates 1.32-33.

34. *Vide infra*, the seconds of the Īpūrū and Tummalagūḍēm charters mention the lord in the middle of the texts.

35. It was discovered about the year 1885, and came into the knowledge of the Department of Epigraphy, in the year, 1895.

36. Text line 1, reads: *Vijaya Lendulūra vāsakat.*

37. L1. 25-26. *Vijayarājya-sāṃvassarambūlī* 10 mass pākkham 8 qimha 5, has been translated by Kielhorn as the fifth day of the 8th fortnight of the summer season of the 10th year of the king's victorious reign, *Epi. Ind.,* IV, p. 194. The word *sāṃvassarambūlī* seems to be a mistake of *sāṃvatsarambūlū*, with the Telugu plural terminal.


39. *Infra*, Pt. IV, Ch.1 and 2, also Pt. IV, Ch. 4.

40. *Epi. Ind.,* IV, p. 150. In some cases, the tail of the lion appears to be double twisted in the form of loop. *Infra*, the note on the Rāmatīrthām plates.
41. Text line 7 mentions him as Maharaja.

42. L1. 1-2, Bhagavat-Sriparvatasvami pad-anudhyato.


44. Kratushaasarayajinah Sarvamedh-avapta sarvabhutasvarajyesyA

45. L1. 4-6, Bahuuvarna Paundarika Purusamedha Vajapeya

46. L1. 4-6. Kratuva-arasthat-adhista pratiAsthita

47. L1. 7-9. Sakala jegan-mandala vimala guru prthu

48. L1. 10. Vijnukundiyakata vamAdhavay-alankrtta

49. L. 16, mentions him as Maharaja.

50. L1. 11-12. Sphuran-nidita niAtripa prabhava


52. L1. 12-13. Aneka caturdanta samar samghatta divrada


pratilabdha punyajit-opabhogasya.
55. L. 16.
56. L1. 16-17. priya jyesthaputro garistabah saīśav-aīva sakala nrpagun-ālaṅkṛtasya.
58. L. 18. Paramamāheśvaro Mahārāja Śrīmān- Vikramendravarmanah...
60. L1. 31-32. Gāvo bhūmi tathā bhāryā akrāmya haramānaya Srāvayanti rājānām Brahmatvā ca lipyati.
61. The same verse we found in the Tummalagūḍem (set II) charter and the Kaṭṭucharuvu grant. See below.
63. Epi. Ind., opp. cit., p. 133.
64. L. 1. Svasti purāṇīsāngamavāsakāt.
65. L1. 15-16. Śrīmātā rājyakāla versān-Indra-varnāh sapta viṁśātikam Jyastha māsa śukla pākṣa saṁtamyām.
66. L.2 mentions him as Mahārāja.
68. L.3. Śrī Vignukundipārthiv-odit-odit-ānvaya tilaka sam-udbhūt(ah). One of the terms 'odita' is redundant.

69. L.2. Vikhyāta yadāh.

70. L1. 1-2. sākala mahīmāndal-āvanata sāmanta makuṭa manī kiran-āvalīgha caraṇa yugo.

71. L1. 3-4. (samudbhūt)-aikādaś-āvamadh-āvabhṛt-āvadhauta jagat-kalmasasya kratusahasra yājinah. The following epithet, in 1.4, snāna puny-odaka pavitri-kṛta sīrasaṁ seems to echo the same sense as the former.

72. L.5. Cf. 1.10 of the Chikkulā plates, does not attribute any regal title to the king. The Tūndī plates, infra., note no. 144 and the Tummalagūdēm (set II) below note no. 198, call him as Mahārāja. See also Pt. II., Ch. 3.


74. L.5. Vikramandr-ākhyā rājasv-āpic-āneka caturdanta samara samghaṭa vijayī priya sūnūh...

75. L. 5-6. Indravarm-ākhyā rāja catur-udadhi nrpati makuṭa manī mayūkha vicchurita pād-āmburūhah.

76. L.6.

77. Epi. Ind., XIX, pp. 254-58 and also JAHRS., IV, pp. 74 ff.

78. R. Subbarao, JAHRS., opp. cit., p. 17, believed that the seal might have contained the figure of the Lion.
79. L.26. phalquna paurpimasya soma rahu-se-grahanimitte; and in 1.41, the year noted as Vijayarāja samvatsara 48. Some scholars read the year as 40, D.C.Sircar, Successors, P. 106, V.V.Mirashi, Epi. Ind., XXII, P. 20.

80. L.1. 21-22. prāk-diṣṭ-jigīsayā prasthitah Gōḍāvariṃ-stītaran....

81. Vide infra. The Ćūru set I of the same king was issued from a military camp. For detailed discussion, pt. II, Ch. 3, as well as Pt. III, Ch. 2, below.

82. L.1. 4-5. Appratihatā śaśaṇasya svapratāp-opanāta sāmanta manujapati manḍalasya. Vibudhapaṭi sāḍḍhya gāraṇīrā vibhava bala parākramasya.

83. L.1. 4-6. Aneka samarasamghatta vijayinah, Paranarapati makutamanimayukta-āvadāta caraṇayu-galasya Vikramāśrayasya....

84. L. 14. It is significant to note that the title Maharāja is attributed in the record, only to the donor, Mādhava-varman. His father and grandfather were not thus described, even though they were accredited many other high-sounding epithets.

85. L. 17 mentions the title. See below, Pt. II, Ch. 3, for a discussion on the title.

86. L1. 6-8. Atulabala-parākrama yade dāna vinaya sampanno-Dāsa-gāta-sakala dharanītala narapatiḥ.


89. L1. 9-11. ananyanrtati sadharaana dana maana daya dherma dhrti meti keerti kanti sauryaudarya gambhiriya prabhrtv-aneka gunasampje-janita rayasamutthita Bhumandalavayapi vipulayeboh.


91. L1. 12-13. Ekadesa-savamadh-avabhrtha snana vigatajaga-danaskah...


93. L1. 14-16. It reads:

Niyam-agaṇa saṁsatvaṁ
Kaiśavaṁ kāntim-aindeviṁ
Udvahana-nuru bhāḥ bhāti
Vikramād-āpta bhūri bhūḥ.

The first line of the verse seems to contain some verbal errors and its meaning is not quite clear. R. Subbarao (JAHRS., opp. cit.) interprets that it means that the king was as wise as Śukra in statecraft, but it is not much satisfactory. Probably the word Niyam-agaṇa, was intended to be Niyam-agaṇa, standing for principles and knowledge denoting a similar sense as Viṣṇu-Vikrama naya sampadāṁ, in the Tummalagudem (set II) plates, 1.3.


95. L17. Mātapitr pād-ānudhyātasya.

97. See below, pt. II, Ch. 3, for a number of schemes of genealogy and chronology, based on the information of the Pōlamaṟū plates.


99. L. 8, *Vijayavandhāvāra(t)-Kudāvādavāsaka Guddādi Viśaya.*

100. L. 14. pravardhamāna vijayarājyaśamvatsara saptatriṃśa Ci pa 7 di 10 5. This method of dating in terms of seasons and fortnights and abbreviations employed, as Ci for Āniha and Pa for Pakka (Skt. Pakṣa) are obviously the continuing Prakrit traditions of the earlier times. See above note no. 30.


102. The symbol has been taken to be Nandināda, R. Subrahmanyan, *APGAS.*, 8, but it is likely to be Śrīvatas symbol with human head, seated in a lotus. See pt. IV, Ch. 4 B.

103. L. 2, mentions him as a Mahārāja.

104. L1. 1-2. aparimita bala parākramasya Paramadārmikasya Praṇata sakala sāmantasya-aneka po-hiranya bhūmi pradānasya...

105. L. 8, mentions him as Mahārāja.

107. L.4. Sakalamahimandala-manujapati-pratipūjita sāsanaḥ, also 11. 5-6. Sakalasāmanta-ātula-bala-vina-satva saṃpannah Sakalajagad-avani-pati pratipūjita sāsanaḥ...

108. L1. 4-5. Trivaranagara-bhavanagata yuvati-hrdayanandanaḥ.


110. L1. 7-8. Ekadasāsvamedhāvabhṛtha vidhūta jagat-kalamaśaḥ, susthirakarma...

111. Text line 1. For a discussion on the identification of the town, Vide infra, Pt. II, Ch. 3, section IIIA.

112. Text line 13. Saṃ (40) 7 Va Pa di 7. The figure indicating the regnal year is much obliterated and thus differently read by different scholars. Hultzsch, Epi. Ind., opp. cit., took it to be 47 and was followed by most of the scholars, but B.V. Krishnarao, EDA, p. 405, and note, supposed that it was 27. D.C. Sircar, Successors, pp. 106, and 102-3, suggests that it might be 17.

113. Hultzsch, Epi. Ind., VIII, pp. 143, also see below, pt. II, Ch. 3.

114. B.V. Krishnarao, EDA, p. 404.


116. As described by Hultzsch, Epi. Ind., XVII, p. 337.

117. L.3, mentions him as Mahārāja.

119. L1. 4-5, Kṣatriy-āvaskanda pravartit-āpratima vikhyāta paṇakramasya...

120. Text line 5.

121. L1. 6-7, Naya vinaya sattva sampanno-Bhagavad-Chṛṣṭipavatśvami pād-ānudhyāto viṣṇukūṇḍinām śrī Madhavavarman...

122. Text line 18.

123. Generally the regnal year of the donor is mentioned in almost all the Viṣṇukūṇḍin records, together with the date. But the Pālamūrū plates like the present one mentions the two in separate places, but this inscription, unlike the former does not give the regnal year of the king, even at the end.


125. Text line 3.


127. L1. 4-5. Bhāṣabhāskarasya aśvaryaṇa svayam-indrasya catur-varsā catur-śrāvya dharmakarma setor-Mahāraja śrī Madhavavarman...


131. D.C. Sircar has communicated to the present writer through his personal letter, dated, 12th April, 1975, that he is now convinced with the identification.

132. *Itihas*, VI, No. 1, p. 5.

133. For the discussion on the Pālamūrū plates, pt. II, Ch. 3.

134. The Tummalagudām (set II) charter, *Vide infra*.

135. Discovery of Viṣṇukundin coins at several places in Maharashtra points out the expansion of the Viṣṇukundin dominion over the area. *Vide infra*, Pt. I, Ch. 3.

136. L. 35. The date part of the record is not clear in the impressions and has been partly deciphered as Saṁva 10 4 pratipadi, in *APGAS.*, No. 8, p. 5 and *Ibid.* No. 40, p. 65. D.C. Sircar, *Epi. Ind.*, XXXVI, pt. i, p. 12, could restore the complete text as Saṁva 10 4, Gṛi (2) di Pratipadi.

137. R. Subrahmanya, *APGAS.*, No. 8, p. 2. However, D.C. Sircar has more boldly concluded that the symbol is a bull.

138. L. 8, mentions him as Mahārāja.


140. L1. 3-4. Āsvamedh-āvapta sarvabhūta svārājyasya.

142. L1. 5-6. Vadhāvidhy-anuṣṭhita rājasūy-opapādit-ādhirājyaśa.

143. L1. 6-8. tād-anu puruṣamedh-ādy-āsēṣa kratv-anuṣṭhāne Janita Paramesāṭhyasya Devatidevasya.

144. L. 12 mentions him as Mahārāja.


146. L1. 10-12. Pratāp-opanatha sakala sāmanta Mañjāri piṇjarita carapa kamalayugalasya. Perhaps, the sense intended to be conveyed here is that his feet shone with the rays of diamonds in the diadems of the bowing vassals, which statement often comes across in the Viṣṇukundin charters like, Rāmatīrthām plates, 11. 1-2, Vide Supra Note no. 70.

147. L. 20 mentions him as Mahārāja.


149. L1. 14-15. Samāḥrataṃtātra trasta kāṇḍādībhuba vidirpa pranast-āsēṣa dāvadesya. R. Subrahmanyan, APGAS., No. 8, p. 3, writes that some of the dāyāda rivals were driven into the laps of their mothers, probably being infants and accordingly amends the word mātṛa, in the text into mātṛ. Neither the interpretation nor the alteration are warranted in the context, and the inscriptive statement is clear.
150. L1. 15-17. Svadaksin-aika bahushaârayy-occairnita
sva-vamâkram-agat-adhirajeasya.

151. L1. 17. anake caturdanta samara sañghatta vijayinah.

152. L1. 18. Paramamâhedvaresya Paramabrahmanyasya.

153. L1. 18-19. Yathâvidhi vinir-yâpita ghatik-avâpta
punya sañcayasya.

154. L. 20. Dharmavijayi. For a discussion on the
epithet, infra, pt. IV, Ch. 1.


158. L1. 23-24. Mahîmahendrah mahaniyaguno. See also,
pt. IV, Ch. 1, below.

159. L1. 26-28. Ækî vâstavyàya Kaundinya sa-gotraya-
âpastamba sûtra pârâgaya Rudradarmana puträya
svâmîdarmane...

160. L1. 24-25. Vikramendrabhattâرةakavermâ anam-
âjñâpayati and 1. 30, saying that âjñâptam
svamukham-eva.

161. L1. 30-32. Imâni ca pâtakâni vilopayatâh
Nîghнатam mât-pr-go-vipra bâlayosît-tapaâvinah
Yà gatis-sâ bhaved-vrttiM Haratad-sásaan-âhkitaM


163. Supra, the list of sacrifices mentioned in the îpûrû
(set I) plates of Mâdhavâvarman, may be compared the
lists given in the Chikkuâla and Tûnî plates, see
also, pt. II, Ch. 3.
164. Supra, note no. 46. For a discussion on the import of the titles, pt. IV, Ch. 1.

165. B.N. Sastri, who first brought the inscriptions to light, (Bharati, 1965, June and July) and following him, M. Ramaraao, JIH., XLIII, opp. cit., referred to them as, "Indrapalanagara Copper plates" but, N. Venkataramanayya, A.G. Govt. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1966, p. 84, referred to them as "The Tummalagudem Copper Plates". The same has been followed by S. Sankaranarayanan, VishnuKundis, and also in these pages.

166. APCAS., No. 6, pp. 241 ff. D.C. Sircar (Itihas, VI, No. 1, pp. 1 ff.) opines that the alphabet of the two Tummalagudem records is somewhat later than the Chikkulla plates and the Tundli plates. But the present writer is of the view that the alphabet of the set II of the Tummalagudem plates is quite normal of the time, but the other set was perhaps, a copy of the original, prepared in the time of Vikramandaravaran II. See below pt. II, Ch. 3.

167. L1. 13. Ātmanah pravardhamāna vijayarājya saṁvatsarasapaṭa-trimśatke Vaiśākha-pūrṇimāyāṁ...

168. Text lines 30-32. Pravardhamāna vijayarājya saṁvatsaraikādāsa Kārtika-māsa Kṛnapakṣa-āstamyāṁ...

169. L1. 43-44. S-āst-āsiti catus-sata śakepate saṁvatsarādāgatae...

170. Supra note no. 34. The verse reads:

jitaṁ-bhagavatā tane saṁbuddhaṇa kṛpātmanā
Nirvāṇa prāptaye yena sadyomāraṇa pradarśitah
171. L1. 1-2. Sarvasatya-tyāg-ābhijana naya vinay-
ōbśhādi guṇagane sampāda-śvayam-adhigata 
rājyānām...

172. L1. 2-3. Śevyak-prajā pālanāt-prathit-āvadāt ērthu
yaśasaṁ rājñāṁ Viśnūkundinām...

173. L1. 12, mentions him as a Mahārāja.


175. L1. 4-5. Śvanaya bhuja bal-ōbśāhe prabhāv-ānurāg-
ēvapta svarājyeṇa...

176. L. 5-6. Gaurya dhairya pratāp-ānubhāvad-anya sāṃnt-
ākrānta rājyāntarana.

177. L. 6. Pāna mān-ādibhir-anurakta vara-ārāma svajana 
parijanena...

178. L1. 6-8. Grāma kṣetra hiranya turaga go balīverda 
śayan-āsana yāne pāna bhōjana bhājana bhavana 
vasan-ābharaṇa kanyā dāśi dāsa sahāsrāṇām dātra...

179. L1. 8-9. Aneka Dev-āyatana vihāra sabhā prapā 
tatāk-
odanā-ārāma pratisamākāra pūrvakaranen-ālāṁkṛta 
sakala dig-antarana...

180. L1. 9-10. Ghiṣu dvīj-ānātha yācaka vyādhita dīna 
kṛpāṇa jan-opabhulīyamēna nyūy-ādhigata vibhava 
dhana samudayeṇa...

181. L1. 10-11. Sakṛt-sarvasva tyāgina...


183. L1. 11. Sakala śāstr-ārthe śravane parijanād-īha 
paratrac-ānanya cakṣugā...
184. L. 12. Sakala sattva dhātu tranāy-otpāditā
Mahābodhicittana...

185. L1. 23-24. Dwāt-embudāla-Papukapara nāmadheya- 
grāmau udakapurvakam-atisrsto...

186. L1. 21-22. Svasyā agramaḥisyā Parama Mahādevyā 
vihārasya...

187. It reports the Viṣṇukūḍin alliance with the 
prthvīṁūla dynasty and their warfare with the 
Pallavas. See below.

188. L1. 1. The verse reads as:

Dīptyā dik-mandalam vyāptem yasya bāl-ārka tejasah 
Satyārāya suto grīmān-sa jayat-Uttamārāyarah

189. L. 2. Bhagevac-Chriparvatasvāmi pād-ānudhyān-āvāpta 
Prajāparipālan-ādhikāraṇāṁ.

190. L. 2-3. Brahmakṣatra tejābhartām. Infra, Pt. IV, 
Ch. 2, for a discussion on the term Brahmakṣatra.


912. L1. 5-6, mentions him as Mahārāja.

193. L1.3-4. Sād-abhijne prātihiṁrya darāyan-ānugraḥa 
janita sugata dāsan-ābhīprasādasya.

194. L1. 4-6. Viśudhahavanapsitispardhī sōbhā samudaya-
ānaka mahāvihāra pratiṣṭhapan-ādhiṣṭ-ananta 
Brahmapunya sambhārabhārasya...

195. L. 9, mentions him as Mahārāja.

196. L1. 6-8. Ekādaś-āvamadha Bahusuvāna Paunḍarīka
Vājapeya kratusaharsa Sarvamedha Rājasūya Puruṣamadhādy-āharanāt-samyag-anuṣṭhita śruti vihit-āsega
dugkara kāmya karm-ānuṣṭhānasya...

197. L1. 8-9. Prag-daksip-āpar-ābhinidhi Revāsarit-
salila valaya vibhūsaṇāya Bhuvo-bhartuh. Cf. the
statement deśadāta sakala dhāranitala narapatih,
in the Pālamūr plates, 11. 7-8, supra note no. 86,
and the claim to have been the Sārvabhauma in the
Khanāpūr plates, 1. 3, supra, note no. 125. See
below, Pt. II, Ch. 3.

198. L. 10 mentions him as Mahārāja.

199. L1. 9-10. Vākṣṭaka Mahādevi sutasya Mahākaṇva
Parama-Saugatasya.

200. L1. 10-11. Aneka cāturdaṇṭa viṣṇy-ādhipat-āsēga
Cakravartikṣetr-ādhipatyasya. Obviously, the
scribe dropped the word samara after the word
cāturdaṇṭa, by mistake. See above notes nos. 52,
74 and 151, for the form of the epithet attributed
to the king, in other records of the family.

201. L1. 11-13. Sphurat-khādgakara-sahasrāvali-parigata
svabhūja dinakara-prabhāva vidhavast-āsega dāyāda
mandala ghana timira pataśasya.

gupa sāṃpad-yoga sāmarthyst... see below.

203. L1. 13-15. (contd. from the above passage)...prakṛti
mandalena saśiva-sāiv-āropita rājyabhārab.

204. L. 15. Paramadērmiko Dharmavijayi.
205. L1. 15-16. praṇateānake sāmante makuṭa maṇiwayukh-
odbhāṣita vara caṇana yugaleh śrīman-
Vikramendra varmano...

206. L1. 32-33. Sarvadana-Sahita sarvaśādha-parihāreṇa
Irundēro-nāma-grāmo dattah.

207. L1. 18-30.

208. L. 20. Sutaç-chalena. The term has been wrongly
interpreted by M. Ramaraō, (JIH. XLIII, p. 746 and
XLVI, p. 218; and UMEI(MR), p. 120 and also
Bhāratī (Tel.) Nov. 1978, pp. 54 ff.); A.M.
Shastrī, (JIH, XLIV, pt. iii, p. 684) and
V.V.Mirashi, Literary and Historical Studies in
Indology, V, p. 133.

209. L1. 19-20. Mādhavarāja-abhidhānaḥ. He was none other
then Mādhavavarman II. See below, pt. II, Ch. 3.

210. L1. 18-21. (Yathāprathīta prabhāv-ānya rāja-vaṁśa
s-ātmābhūta prthuśiṣṭi pāda orasaẏ-āharaṇa vyakta
nīr-ātisāva mahimānaḥ; Manohar-ākārabaddhaṁ; naya
parākram-ādi qupa sandohaṁ (abhiprajātāya).

211. L1. 23-24. Śrīprthvīmūla rāja-vaṁśam-utpati
parigrāheṇa Śrī-ava sāgaram-alāṅkṛtavatyā...

Ramaraō (opp. cit.) wrongly related this epithet
to Mādhavarāja and concluded that he belonged to
a sāmanta family, vide pt. II, Ch. 3 for a
detailed discussion on his views.

213. L1. 22-23. Avikalaguna-maniśirāṇa-nikara vicchurita
vipula dig-antarāṇam, Śrīprthvīmūla-rāja-vaṁśam.

214. L1. 21. Viṃpukundī-kula-bahumat-āika sambandhit-
ābhikhyāta-māhātmyaṁ...
215. L1. 28. Govindarajasya murtimati-śriyāḥ... M. Ramarao (opp. cit.) held that the relation between Govindaraja and Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahādevī is not clear, inspite of this explicit statement.

216. L1. 24-26. Prativigayam-ati bahu prakāre manoram-odāra karm-ādhhute stūpa vihāra cūlāmanipihir-alamkṛte sakala Daksināpathasya... cf. the description of Govindavarman in the genealogical part of the record. Supra, note no. 194, Infra, Pt. II, Ch. 3.

217. L1. 26-27. śṛipārvateya pūrv-śārpa kṣitipati paraśparā-hāra medhā nirupama virājiteyā kaustubhā-vasāna yaśojanmanab....

218. L1. 27-28. Gunaṛūpa-saṃpadbhir-anugata Govindasya śri Govindarajasya...

219. L1. 28. Pratyavīgayikṛte manoratheyā....

220. L1. 29-30 Paramabhaṭṭārikā-Mahādevyā-śrimad-Indrab- puram-uccair-alaṅkarta-kāma-eva pratīsthāpita śrīmatī Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahādevyā....

221. L1. 41-42. The verse in first two lines refers to the victory over the Pallava named 'Simha' as: Kṛtvā Pallababhaṅga pelavabalaṁ Simh-ābhayaṁ Pallavaṁ śrī Pratyāvṛtta yad-āgataḥ prathamaṁya ṣakra-ābhidhanam purāṁ. In the remaining two lines the date of the record, as well as the events mentioned above are mentioned, as: Prādāc- chāsanam-Uttamaṛaya-iti-khyātas-tad-adam-nraṁ s-āṭāśiti catus-&eta śkapatas-saṅvatsarāṇāṁ gataṁ.
222. The verse reads as follows: 
Yen-oddhrta bhartkulasya Lakasimir-adhab-patanti naye-vikramabhyaam 
Aijapan-akhyaatukula-presuah grhumalarajah sa 
n impeumukhyah

223. L1. 35-36. Yadc-ätra lobha pramäd-äjñana ksvdra 
pariväre-vasäd-Dharma vilopaya pravartata tataey 
emani smrti-vihihtani patakani bhavanti.

224. L1. 36-38. It reads as: 
Nighnatam bhartr go vipra 
bälayosid-vipascitab yä gatis-sa bhaved-vrittam 
haratas-däsaneshäktim

225. The Tundi plates, 11. 31-32; and APGAS., No. 6, Ch. 
XIIX, Text lines 31-32.

226. Infra, pt. II, Ch. 3.

227. B.S.L.Hanumantharao, Presidential address to the 
Ancient History and Archaeology section, A.P. 

228. D.C.Sircar, Itihas, VI, No. 1. p. 14 ff. and infra, 
pt. II, Ch. 3.

229. The name of Govindavarman in L.2, is almost broken 
away in the record, which reads: 
Govi ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... sünornMädhava 
varmaño ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 
However, the name can be restored on the basis of 
the Ípürû (set I) and the Tummalagüdañ (set II) 
charters, as the two records supply the name of 
the father of Mädhavavarman, as Govindavarman.

230. L.3. Trayas-trimät-samvatsare... ... ... ...
231. L. 7. Dantimukhasvāminah pratimām-āniyya...

232. L. 4. Saha skandhāvāra gato....


234. L. 1.

235. L. 5. Gosahasra pradāvina... It is interesting to note that the epithet is seemingly applied to Mādhavavarman.
3. **VISHNUKUNDIN COINS**

The Vishnukundin coinage is a recent addition to Indian numismatic studies. Some coin types are only recently recognised as issues of the dynasty and there are others whose ascription to Vishnukundins is a matter of controversy.

I. Coin-types and their Provenance:

The Vishnukundin coinage may be classified into six types on the basis of the obverse and reverse symbols. However, they form into two types, the lion-type and the bull-type, based on the obverse symbols. The lion on the former type appears exactly similar to that found on the seals of the copper plate grants of the dynasty. It faces left, with mouth wide-open, in most cases the tail being curled up and left forepaw raised. A symbol looking like double य is marked on many coins either before or above the head of the lion. The bull on the other type of coins is depicted either standing or couchant and some coins of this type reportedly have legends, reading वि का रा मा, or क्रा मा and sometimes only the letter वि inscribed horizontally.
These coins are round in shape measuring 1.27 cms. to 1.9 cms. and weighing 1.68 gms. to 2.5 gms. They are of copper, or of alloyed with silver or zinc. Some of the coins have an iron core plated with copper or copper-alloy. The wide disparity in weights is, perhaps, because of the iron-core in some cases. The coins are, in general, much worn and heavily encrusted. It is reported that in some cases the cleaning and removal of the crust left too little on surface to show symbols and legends.

Before going into the conflicting views expressed on their attribution to the Visnukundins, it would be useful to list out the find-spots of the coins. Provenance is one of the guiding factors in the context of attributing a coin to a particular dynasty.

These coins are discovered in most parts of the Deccan, corresponding to the present states of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. Small hoards and stray coins of these types are obtained in Andhra Pradesh, at Sankaram and Ramatirtham in Visakhapatnam district; Kondapur in Medak district; 

Yelagiri
in Nalgonda district, Kesaragutta near Hyderabad; Amaravati and Gurazala in Guntur district, Adurru in East Godavari district, Tungur in Nalgonda district and Telkunta in Karimnagar district. The Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry and Andhra Sahitya Parishad at Kakinada have such coins in their collections from different parts of coastal Andhra Pradesh. They were also discovered at a number of places in Maharashtra during the excavations at Paunar, Brahmapuri, Prakasa, and Nasasa and in the vicinity of Nagpur and Nasik.

II. The problem of Attribution:

A. The Lion-type Coins:

Coins with lion-symbol were first described by Sir Charles Elliot as the Pallava coinage, with no particulars of their provenance. Vīśṇukūṇḍina were yet to be known, when he published his work. Most of the scholars accepted the attribution, some rather doubtfully. On the publication of some Vīśṇukūṇḍina copper plate grants, with seals bearing the lion-symbol, similar to that on the coins G.J. Dubreuil suggested that they might reasonably
be ascribed to that dynasty. K.R.Subrahmanyam\textsuperscript{22} and B.V. Krishnarao\textsuperscript{23} followed him, along with M.Ramarao,\textsuperscript{24} V.V.Mirashi,\textsuperscript{25} and A.M.Shastri.\textsuperscript{26}

Some coins with lion-symbols, exactly similar to those of the Viṣṇukundins, in metal, model and fabric, but with the legend Viṣamasiddhi,\textsuperscript{27} have been recovered from some districts of Andhra Pradesh. It was the title of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, who founded the independent Cālukya kingdom at Vēṅgi. M.Ramarao opined\textsuperscript{28} that the Eastern Cālukyas must have issued the coinage, with Viṣamasiddhi legend, as token of their victory over the Viṣṇukundins.

\textbf{B. Bull-type Coins:}

R.Subrahmanyam,\textsuperscript{29} Md. Abdul Waheed Khan,\textsuperscript{30} and P.R.K.Prasad\textsuperscript{31} have brought to light some coins with the bull-symbol, but identical in fabric to those of the lion-type coins. They suggest that these were issues of the Viṣṇukundins, under the assumption that the dynasty was Śaivite and the Bull of Vṛṣabha, was a Śaivite symbol.\textsuperscript{32} In support of the view, R.Subrahmanyam describes the symbol on the seal of the Śau (set I) plates as Nandipāda, flanked by two lamp stands.\textsuperscript{33} He has gone to the extent of
even suggesting that the symbol on the Eastern Gaiukyan coinage might actually be bull, and not lion. The coins reported by the three scholars bear the legends, as mentioned above. R. Subrahmanyan and P. R. K. Prasad suggest that the legend stands for Vikramendravarman II, but Waheed Khan supposed that it stands for Vikramendravarman I.

M. Ramara, A. M. Shastri, and S. Ramayya disagreed with R. Subrahmanyan and others in ascribing the bull-type coins to the Vignukundins. They argue that bull was never the crest-symbol of the Vignukundins but, on the other hand, the seals of several Pallava copper plate grants bear the bull-symbol and so the coins belong to the Pallavas. S. Ramayya even discounted the occurrence of legends on the coins, and suggested that if at all they were to be accepted as legends they might stand for the name or title of some Pallava king who might have issued them. But it can be ascertained that there was no Pallava king before Mahendravarman, who bore the epithet Vikrama.

S. D. Chattopadhyaya has, in a review of the arguments, suggested that when the dynasty had a long duration of rule, the coin-devices could not be
limited to the crest-symbols only, and points out the similarity in fabric and the rayed circle around the symbols on the reverse common to both the types are important for purposes of identification when the legends on them are uncertain. He suggests that the similarities, together with the recovery of the two types from Yelävaram hoard, point out their concurrent circulation and to have been issued from the same mint-place, which must be Vëñgl. Thus, he opines that, just as new devices on the reverse of the lion-type of coins, the new devices on the bull-type coins may be accepted to be of the Viñhukundins, "unless a more positive argument is launched against it."

Chattopadhyaya points out that the symbols on the coinage of a dynasty are continued by their successors in many cases. Thus, he suggests that the bull on the coinage of their predecessors the Gålañkäyanas was perhaps continued by the Viñhukundins, and similarly their lion-symbol was continued by their successors, the Eastern Cälukyas. The appropriation of a coin-type, does not necessarily indicate conquest.
An analysis of the coin types in South India shows that neither symbols, the bull and lion belongs to a single dynasty. When more than one dynasty are found to have issued coinage with same symbols, a particular coin-type type cannot be satisfactorily ascribed to a specific king, or a dynasty. In such cases, if provenance be depended on as the means to settle the controversy, the lion-type must be taken as Visnukundin issues, for they are discovered all over the Deccan. More significant is the discovery of a hoard of lion-type coins at Paunar. It is known that the Visnukundin rule at one time embraced much of the Deccan and their coinage must have been in circulation for a considerably long time in Viderbha, for otherwise, the people would not be induced to hoard the coins. The discovery of the bull-type coins and coin-mould at places associated with the Pallavas points out the possibility of their being the issues of that dynasty. The Pallavas carried on relentless fights with Andhradesa, even in the time of the Visnukundins, for supremacy over the region. They ruled parts of it, on several occasions. No wonder, thus that the Pallava coinage was in circulation in Andhradesa, when Visnukundins were rising to power. Possibly, the Visnukundins took over the coin-type from the Pallavas.
III. Symbols and their Meanings:

A. Obverse Symbols:

The bull and the lion might represent royalty and *majesty* from the political point of view and can be easily replaced each by the other.

B. Reverse Symbols:

The Viṣṇukūndin coins on the reverse bear the symbols of pūrṇakUMBha, the wheel, and the conch. The pūrṇakUMBha, is depicted as a vase placed on a stand, flanked by two dandas, or lamp-stands and the whole design is encircled by lines indicating radiance, or a rayed circle, as Chattopadhyaya describes. There has been a recent attempt to describe the design as a dvitāla vimāna or a temple complex, but the suggestion is most unlikely. The wheel is depicted in profile, with a prominent central hub and dotted crescents on its four sides, the whole shown in a circle of radiance. The conch is also depicted within a circle of rays and flanked by two lampstands.

The wheel and conch may indicate Divinity of kingship. This is in consonance with the kings having claims for divinity. Conch is also found on the seals of the Vāsistha kings of South Kalinga,
who were defeated by the Viṣṇukūṇḍins.  

The pūrṇakumbha and the wheel are originally Buddhist motifs, commonly found in the art at Amaravati, Nāgarjunakonda, and other places. They seem to have passed on to the Hinduism, when the Buddhism contributed its vital elements to the latter during the period under study. The wheel, representing Dharma in Buddhism, was an object of veneration and worship in the early centuries before and Christ. The concept of the wheel as Kālacakra is as old as the Vedic age, and the Buddhists borrowed it as symbol for Cosmos and the cycle of human life. It appears frequently on Sātavāhana coinage and apparently became a traditional symbol in currency systems. It seems to have passed into Vaiṣṇavism as a principal attribute to Viṣṇu, in the course of the religious syncretism during the period. Several figures of Viṣṇu, belonging to the period show the wheel in his hands as exactly in the manner, as it was depicted on the Viṣṇukūṇḍin coins. It is worthy of note that it appears in the same way carved on the pedestal, on which the Buddha is seated in cave no. I, at Ajanta, and depicted on the seals of copper plates of some ruling dynasties.
of South Kosala and Viderbha\textsuperscript{62} and also their Vaisnavite affiliations through Buddhism. The wheel, in the political aspect, perhaps, symbolises the position of a Cakravartin\textsuperscript{63} and its depiction on the Vignukundin coins might in that case be a corollary to their claim to overlordship of entire Cakravartiksetra.

Thus, a comprehensive study of the political and cultural conditions of the Deccan and South India reveals the continuity of the coin devices by several ruling families and the Vignukundins were only an example to the phenomenon. Symbols on their coinage can thus be found reflecting the political achievements of the kings and the cultural conditions of the period.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. \textit{Vide infra}, Appendix II, for a detailed analysis of the coin types.

2. \textit{Supra}, pt. I, Ch. 2. notes nos. 40 and 63.


5. \textit{Ibid.}

7. R. Subrahmanyam, APGAS., No. 8, (oppp. cit.) p. 45.


16. From History to Pre-History at Nevasa, pp. 119-200.

17. JNSI., XXXIII, pt. i, pp. 126-27.


19. Coins of South India (1889) pl. II, Nos. 49 and 50.

20. C.J. Brown, Coins of India, pl. VII, No. 8 and p. 62, and note. It is interesting to note that the coins are attributed to the Pallavas, even in recent times, in the Report on the Excavations at Nevasa, opp. cit. note. 17.

22. Buddhist Remains, p. 118 (1932)

23. EDA., pp. 556. He argues that some gold and silver coins with Lion emblem may also be attributed to the dynasty.


25. JNSI., XXXIII, opp. cit., p. 166.


27. Ind. Ant., XXV, pp. 322-23.

28. APGAS., No. 11, pp. 3-4 and also No. 10, p. 35.

29. Ibid., No. 8, opp. cit., p. 45 ff.


32. This traditional view on the religion of the Viṣṇukūḍins is no longer acceptable, except for the last two kings, vide infra, pt. IV, Ch. 3, for a discussion.

33. APGAS., No. 8, opp. cit., p. 46.

34. Ibid., p. 46.

35. Ibid., p. 46 and 48.

36. JNSI., XXXIII, p. 83.

38. *APGAS*, No. 10, *op. cit.*, p. 34.


41. The seal of the Tūndī plates bear the symbol of a bull. *supra*, pt. i, Ch. 2, note no. 137.


48. The elephant and the Ujjain symbol originally belonged to the Sātavāhana coinage and adopted by the Ikṣvākus, following their preceding overlords. Chattopadhyaya suggests (*infra*) that it indicates the issue of coinage, in correspondence with the currency traditions of the locality, also *CCSSI*, p. 14.
49. JNSI., XXVIII, pt. ii, pp. 165 ff and VII, XI, p. 1 ff. for the similar view of Ajaymitra Shastri. Thus, the area of distribution of the lion and bull type coins was different from each other. Also Chattopadhyaya, JNSI., XXXIII, opp. cit., p. 76 and CCSSI, p. 14.

50. Ajaymitra Shastri, VII, XI, opp. cit. The provenance of the coins and the statement in the Tummalagudem set II, that Mādhavavarman was the lord of all the land between the three seas and the river Rava, supra, pt. I, Ch.2, note No.197, clearly points out the fact.

51. See the author's article in Itihas, VII, No.2, pp. 8 ff.


54. Infra, pt. III, Ch.1, Sect. IV9. It may be interesting to note that the conch symbol on the Vissukundin coinage does not seem to be a replacement of some other earlier symbol, but a gradual change through some intermediary stages of the crude depiction of the Pūrṇakuṁba. The coins illustrated by M.Ramarao, APGAS., No.10, pl. IIb, points out this fact, as also observed by him, p. 34.

55. C.Sivaramamurti, Amarāvati Sculptures, pp. 60 and pl. XIX, 3 and XXIII, No. 1 etc.

56. Vide infra, pt. IV, Ch. 3.
57. *Amaravati Sculptures*, opp. cit., p. 57 and 61 and pl. XX, 2; XXXIV, 2, LVII, 2, LIII, 3 etc.

58. *Rgveda*, 1, 164. 11.


60. *Vide infra*, pt. IV, Ch. 3.

61. *Infra*, pt. IV, Ch. 4.


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