

JOURNAL **OF THE** **EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA**

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL. XII OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

VOLUME TWELVE: 1985



PUBLISHED BY
EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA
DHARWAR



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Editor

Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer

MYSORE

Secretary and Executive Editor

Dr. S. H. Ritti

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PRINTED IN INDIA AT
VIDYASAGAR PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE
128, 11TH MAIN, MYSORE-570002
THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA
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Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India [Bhāratiya Purābhilēkha Patrika]
[Being Vol. XII of Studies in Indian Epigraphy]: Vol. XII, pp. vi+140+8 p. Plates.
Editor : Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer ; Secretary and Executive Editor : Dr. S. H. Ritti.
Published by the Epigraphical Society of India.

First Published—1986



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PRINTED IN INDIA AT

VIDYASAGAR PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE

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EDITORIAL

A Decade of Useful Existence

With the successful conclusion of the XIth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India at Dharwad in January 1985, the Epigraphical Society completed a decade of its useful existence. During these ten years the Society has succeeded in bringing together scholars and students of Indian Epigraphy on a common forum and thus play a significant role in widening the dimensions of epigraphical studies in our country. It is heartening to note that during these years almost a fraternity of epigraphists has been formed. The society has created a core of devoted scholars and a band of devoted workers who have promoted the interest of the Society and have furthered the cause of Epigraphy. Great stalwarts have spoken on the forum of the Society and have bestowed their best thoughts on the importance and the need for stepping up epigraphical studies and have made concrete suggestions in this regard. Their presidential addresses are an up-to-date review of the progress of epigraphical studies and a pointer and guideline for further studies. It is gratifying that the Society could bring out, in book form, these presidential addresses so as to make the wisdom of these stalwarts available to posterity. The Society has also done the pleasant duty of recognising the services rendered by senior scholars by presenting them to the younger generation and honouring them through *Tāmrapatra Prasastis* which is indeed a unique feature of the activities of the society.

Irreparable Loss

Come to think of the stalwarts. My heart grieves with pain and a lump comes to the throat and dazed I feel, when I think of the irreparable loss suffered by the world of scholarship due to the most unfortunate demise of such great epigraphists and humanists like Prof. Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, Prof. Dinesh Chandra Sircar and Dr. Ganesh Hari Khare within a short span of one year.

It was only in January 1985 that the Society felicitated Dr. G. H. Khare on the occasion of the XIth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held in Dharwad. Who could guess that, that would be the last of the many honours received by this versatile scholar?

And Dr. Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi. An erudite Sanskrit scholar and a committed epigraphist, he is the second scholar to contribute to the *CII* volume series after Fleet and the only Indian scholar to contribute as many as 3 volumes to this great series so far.

Who does not know Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar? This gigantic person with gigantic scholarship, with a gigantic heart had endeared himself to numerous young scholars not so much by pampering as by forthright criticism and unique guidance. I wonder if there will be any other scholar any time to surpass this gigantic writer in quality and quantity.

All the three stalwarts were closely associated with the Epigraphical Society and they evinced keen interest in its growth. The Society feels gratified that it felicitated all the three scholars on different occasions. The Society cherishes the memory of their association for all time to come.

Seminars On Epigraphy

Two important seminars were held during the year, one on Epigraphy itself and the other where Epigraphy loomed large. The former, South Asian Workshop on Epigraphy, was organised by the Director of Epigraphy under the auspices of South Asian Regional Co-operation (SARC) between 25th and 31st March 1985. Many epigraphists from all parts of the country and a few from SARC member-countries participated in the Seminar. It was indeed a landmark in the history of epigraphical studies in this country. The other one was a National Seminar on Archaeology, organised by the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of Karnataka, Mysore, from 23rd to 25th December 1985. The gamut of the Seminar was wide enough to cover pre-historic Archaeology, Art and Architecture and Epigraphy and Numismatics. This was one of the very neatly organised seminars with wholesome academic contents. A unique feature of this seminar was the supply of all the research papers presented at the seminar, well in advance to the participants who were expected to study them and come prepared for a fruitful discussion at the seminar. A laudable attempt indeed, worthy of emulation. I hope, the research papers pre-

sented in both the seminars will see the light of the day soon.

New Books

There are some welcome publications also during this year. As a part of the the Centenary celebrations, the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka, Mysore, has brought out two important volumes bearing on Epigraphy. One is the collection of copper plate inscriptions in the custody of the Directorate. This volume, edited by Dr. K.V. Ramesh and Dr. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, contains copper plate grants published for the first time, which provide considerable new material.

The second one is the *Vijayanagara Inscriptions Volume I*, which is a topographical list of Vijayanagara Inscriptions edited by Dr. B. R. Gopal. It is to be noted that it is not a mere list but it contains highly useful, detailed and judicious summaries of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period. This is the first of the several volumes expected to come in due course. It contains a list of as many as 427 inscriptions discovered in Bangalore, Bellary, Bidar, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts in Karnataka State. The subsequent volumes are expected to contain the summaries of as many as 6000 Vijayanagara inscriptions from other parts of the State as well as from the other States. I earnestly hope that these volumes sponsored by Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi are made available to the scholars as quickly as possible.

Welcome indeed is one more volume, Vol. VIII, in the revised series of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* being published by the Institute of Kannada Studies of the Mysore University, under the stewardship of Dr. B.R. Gopal. The world of researchers eagerly awaits the publication of further volumes in this series.

The Indian Council of Historical Research has sponsored another project of publishing the texts of the inscriptions belonging to different ruling dynasties. A weighty volume of the Gaṅgā Inscriptions edited by Dr. K. V. Ramesh under this project appeared last year and we are happy that yet another volume under the title *Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Pushyabhūtiś and Yaśōvarman of Kanauj*, edited by Kiran Kumar Thaplyal has appeared this year. How I wish many more volumes of such value appear in quick succession.

Mention should be made here of another praiseworthy project for bringing together all the published Sanskrit inscriptions in several volumes. This project has been undertaken by *Uṭṭāṅkita Vidyā-Araṇya Trust*, blessed by his Holiness Jagadguru Shri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati Sankaracharya Swamigal of Shri Kāñchi Kamakoti Pitha. The first volume contains texts of 16 inscriptions all referring to the saint Vidyāraṇya. I highly appreciate this endeavour and I hope the project will be successfully completed with the benign guidance and the blessings of His Holiness.

A Sense of Satisfaction and Expression of Gratitude

With the publication of this issue,

the journal reaches the 12th year of its age and the Society completed the same number of years of its existence. I am indeed happy that I have been associated with the onward march of the Society through these years. My friends in the Society must have entrusted to me the secretariship and the executive editorship in an auspicious moment, six years ago ; because I have thoroughly enjoyed working for the Society and I have loved my job. While I might have contributed to some extent, to the growth of the Society, I am certain that the Society has indeed contributed to my growth. I have been immensely benefitted by my close association with the Society, in many ways. More than anything else, the Society has earned for me the goodwill of innumerable friends throughout the country and I ever cherish this friendship as an invaluable treasure. What more can I do except expressing my gratitude to the Society and my friends in it ?

Being twelve year old, the Society has now crossed the formative stage and it is on the threshold of entering into the stage of growth. It is my sincere desire that younger people with dynamism and foresight come forth and shoulder the responsibility to lead the society on the path of progress. I only pray : *Vṛiddhir-astu*. I have great pleasure to present this volume. In this respect, I acknowledge with thanks the great help extended by our friends Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director, Epigraphy, Dr. S. S. Iyer, Dr. Venkatesh and other members in the office of the Director (Epigraphy) and office of the Chief Epigraphist in seeing this volume through the press in record time. As

usual, the printing has been handled ably and efficiently by Shri S. K. Lakshminarayana and his enthusiastic and nice assistant Shri R. Venkatesh of the Vidya-

sagar Printing and Publishing House, Mysore. I express my sincere thanks to all of them.

Shrinivas Ritti

The Indian Council of Historical Research has sponsored another project of publishing reports of the inquiries belonging to different ruling dynasties. A weighty volume of the Gupta Inscriptions edited by Dr. K. V. Ramesh under this project appeared last year and we are happy that yet another volume under the title Inscriptions of the Mahabharata, Gupta, Pratihara and Jasthana of Kanauj, edited by Kishan Kumar Tachib, has appeared this year. How many more volumes of such value appear in quick succession.

Mention should be made here of another privately project for bringing together all the published Sanskrit inscriptions in several volumes. This project has been undertaken by Dr. K. V. Ramesh. The first volume contains texts of 10 inscriptions all relating to the saint Vidyapati. I highly appreciate this endeavour and hope the project will be successfully completed with the design guidance and the blessings of His Holiness.

A series of Sanskrit and English or Hindi the publication of this series.

Before this year of the Society has now passed the formation stage and it is on the threshold of coming into its own. It is my sincere desire that young people who determine to do good should come forth and shoulder the responsibilities toward the society on the path of progress. I only pray : I wish you I have great pleasure to present this volume. In this respect I acknowledge with thanks the great help extended by our friends Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director, Epigraphy, Dr. S. K. Varadachari and other members in the office of the Director, Epigraphy and office of the Chief Epigraphist in seeing this volume through the press in record time. As

IN MEMORY OF

MAHĀMAHŌPĀDHYĀYA PADMABHŪṢAṆA

DR. V. V. MIRASHI,

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HISTORY AND CULTURE, NAGPUR UNIVERSITY,
NAGPUR AND HONORARY FELLOW, EPIGRAPHICAL
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POONA AND CHAIRMAN, BHĀRAT ITIHĀSA
SAMSŌDHANA MAṆḌĀL, POONA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

Eminent scholars and friends, I deem it a great honour to have been elected as the General President of the 11th Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India. Though at first I hesitated to accept this honour considering the fact that I am not an epigraphist in the true sense of the word, in the end I decided to accept it because I was deeply touched by the generosity of the members of the Executive Committee shown in inviting a foreign historian to the chair of the President of their Congress. I am also grateful to Professor Ritti, Secretary of the Society, who, in persuading me to accept the invitation, kindly reminded me of the friendship I have enjoyed with Indian epigraphists including himself since I visited the Office of the Government Epigraphist in Ooty for the first time in 1962. It is only because of this long friendship with Indian epigraphists, that I have dared to take on the responsibility of being the President of this Congress.

Today, the history of the Epigraphical Society of India has entered into its second decade, and people have come back to Dharwad where the Congress was born eleven years ago. The name of Dharwad and Karnatak University, the host institution, therefore, will be remembered for ever in the history of Indian epigraphical studies, but may I remind you of another honour given to Karnatak University? It was the first University in India to establish a department

Noboru Karashima

dedicated to the study of epigraphy. Professor Ritti, Head of the Department, has made great efforts to celebrate the return of the Congress to its birth place after ten years by requesting the attendance of all the former Presidents of the Congress. I am, therefore, extremely happy to be in your midst on this very auspicious occasion. We have lost, however, several eminent epigraphists including two of the former Presidents during these ten years. Let us pray to God for the peace of their souls. Professor Ritti has also organized a Seminar on Epigraphy and Allied Subjects on the occasion of this Congress to impart the knowledge of epigraphy to the younger generation. I wish him every success in this significant task.

Importance of Epigraphy In India

In this speech I would like to emphasize the important role epigraphy has to play in the Indian academic world, particularly in the study of history. Inscriptions are indispensable source materials for history in India. This point will be better understood, if we compare Indian historical study with those of other countries. China, for example, has a well developed tradition of historiography. In the 1st century B. C. a famous officer called Ssu-ma Chien compiled a comprehensive history of dynasties in China which began from the legendary emperors and went down to the contemporary emperors of the Han dynasty. It consists

*Delivered at the XIth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Dharwar on 9th, 10th and 11th January 1984.

of 130 Chuan or chapters divided into five parts. The first part gives a chronological description of the events during the reigns of all the emperors, the second part gives genealogical tables of the emperors and other people, the third part explains the administrative structure of the Han dynasty, which consisted of seven departments, the fourth part describes the short history of the previous dynasties and kingdoms and the last part affords detailed information on important historical figures classified into several categories such as scholars, righteous officers, chaste ladies, etc.

This work of Ssu-ma Chien, which later came to be known as the *Shih-chi*, was appreciated by the people so much that many scholars in succeeding dynasties wrote similar types of history following the example of the *Shih-chi*, and from the T'ang dynasty in the 7th century it became a custom for a new dynasty to compile a history of the previous dynasty based on the pattern established by the *Shih-chi*. In all a total of 25 such dynastic histories were officially compiled throughout the whole length of Chinese Imperial History, which spanned over a period covering almost 2,000 years. This custom of compiling official dynastic annals was adopted in other East Asian countries including Korea and Japan.

For these countries, therefore, we have an abundance of information on history. For example, we can find the date of any important event in the reign of a emperor quite easily by referring to the chronological (almost daily) accounts of the emperor's reign in a dynastic

history. Even the introduction of a new tax item, if it is important, is often recorded with the arguments put forward by both the officials who supported and opposed the change as well as the final decision made by the emperor. This availability of detailed information on almost all important historical matters is quite different from the uncertainty we constantly face in the study of Indian history.

As you well know, in India there are hardly any dynastic histories comparable to the Chinese dynastic annals, except for a few works like *Rājatarāṅgi* of Kalhaṇa. Of course the Muslims introduced into India the tradition of their own historiography, and therefore the *Ain-i-Akbari* can be compared to a certain extent to the Chinese annals. Generally speaking, however, we can get very little help from the compiled history for ancient and medieval (Hindu) periods. While studying the Chōla revenue system, I longed to have a written account of the arguments both for and against the introduction of *kaḍamai*, *echchōru*, etc.

Notwithstanding the unavailability of compiled documents on history, there are a great number of inscriptions which give us sound information on contemporary history. In the countries where many compiled histories are available like China, inscriptions are only of secondary importance in the study of history, though there are of course some cases in which an inscription plays a crucial role. On the contrary, in countries where practically no compiled histories are available, inscriptions are often the most important

and the only reliable source materials for the study of history. Therein lies the significance of epigraphy, and its importance for historical studies in India cannot be emphasized enough.

The recognition of this importance urges us to pay due attention to several matters in epigraphical studies, which I will discuss later in relation to the present state of studies and their future development. Before proceeding to those points, however, I wish to take a quick look at the important discoveries of inscriptions and the publications of epigraphical study during the past year.

Discovery of New Inscriptions :

The Chandravalli inscription of Kadamba Mayūśarman, published as long ago as 1929, is again in the news. Recently Shri Rajasekharappa, a Kannaḍa scholar and keen student of epigraphy, has claimed that, contrary to long held belief that it is written in Prakrit, the language is actually Sanskrit. Dr. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India, who recently visited the spot and studied the inscription *in situ*, confirms Shri Rajasekharappa's finding and says that the inscription records the repairing of the tank by the Kadamba king (*taḍagam dṛiḍh[i]kṛitam*). Dr. Ramesh also concurs with the Kannaḍa scholar's opinion that the name of the ruler is written as Mayūśarmma. It is worth pointing out here that the newly discovered fact about the language of this important record being Sanskrit fits very well into the known historical context of Mayūśarman belonging to an orthodox *vaidika* brāhmaṇa family and that his period

witnessed the beginning of the resurrection of the Brahmanical faith and its medium, Sanskrit all over India.

Engraved on a rock called Sunaippārai in the village of Paraiyanpattu, South Arcot District, is an inscription in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeluttu characters of the 5th-6th century A.D., recording that the rock is the memorial (*nisidikai*) of Aradan, the disciple of Va[cha]chanandi Āchāryan of Pānāḍu, who gave up his life by fasting. In this inscription we can see clearly the transformation of Brāhmī into Vaṭṭeluttu. The palaeography of this record may be compared to that of the Tirunātharkunṇu inscription.

At Rāmṭek, the famous Rāmāgiri of Kāḷidāsa's *Meghadūta*, in Maharashtra, while carrying out conservation work in the Kevala Narasimha temple, Dr. Jamkhedkar discovered a much damaged inscription of great historical significance engraved on the innerside of the temple wall. This Sanskrit record in Gupta characters mentions the Gupta emperor Chandragupta and refers to a deity as Prabhāvatīsvāmin, in all probability so named after Prabhāvatīguptā, the Guptā princess and queen of the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudra-sēna II, as well as the construction of a tank and *dēvasva* in Kadalīvāṭaka-grāma. This record provides further evidence for the close relationship which existed between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas and attests to the importance of Rāmṭek in those days.

The discovery of the Risthal inscription of Aulikara Prakāśadharmma (Vikrama year 572=515-16 A.D.) at the village Risthal located to the west of Sitamau, the headquarters of Sitamau Tahsil, Mandasor

District, Madhya Pradesh, provides us for the first time with a detailed genealogy of the family of Aulikaras related to Yaśodharmman and thus settles the problem of Yaśodharmman's antecedents which were hitherto unknown to historians. It is also known from this record for the first time that the Hūṇa ruler Tōramāṇa was defeated by Prakāśadharmma certainly before 515-16 A.D. This record, when studied along with two other already known Mandasor inscriptions referring to Yaśodharmman (one without a date and the other dated 532 A.D.) solves these two controversies in North Indian history of the post-Gupta period.

In a rock shelter near Śābarapāḍhi at Bādāmi, Bijapur District, Karnataka, a Kannaḍa inscription in 7th century characters was recently discovered. This inscription refers to the rock shelter as a *bila* and as having been given to a certain Raṇakēsari by the *mahājanas* at the pleasure of Satyāśraya-mahārāja. Śrī S. V. Padigar of Karnatak University who discovered the inscription, suggests the identification of this ruler with Pulakēśin II of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

Among the few discoveries of the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, some Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions from Coimbatore district may be mentioned. First, an inscription at Veḷḷalūr of about the 9th century attributable to a Chēra king refers to the place as Velilūr. The name component "vel-il" suggests that it may have been an abode of some Vel chief in earlier times. It may be mentioned that Veḷḷalūr has been the find-spot of a number of Roman coin hoards. Second, two Tamil inscriptions, one in

Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the other in Tamil characters, both of the 10th century, refer to Kaḷabhra rule. The discovery of these two inscriptions proves the extension of the Kaḷabhra rule over the Koṅṇu region. It is generally believed that the Kaḷabhras disappeared in the 6th century A. D. or soon afterwards. But the present discovery marks a turning point in the history of Tamil Nadu as it advances the period in which we definitely know they ruled by another 4 centuries, thereby making them contemporaneous to the early Chōḷas. The gifts made by these kings to a Hindu temple show their tolerant attitude towards Hinduism in the 10th century.

Another version of Vaḷaṅgai-Idaṅgai inscription has been recently discovered by a College teacher at Asūr in Perambalur Taluk of Tiruchchirappalli District relating to the famous peasant-artisan revolt of 1429 A.D. It concerns the resolution passed by the two groups of Veṇbar-nāḍu.

The Department of Epigraphy of Tamil University has been very active in collecting copper-plate records from some of the famous *maṭhas* of Thanjavur District, viz., Dharmapuram, Tiruppanandal and Tiruvāḍuṭurai. It is to be appreciated that the Tiruvāḍuṭurai maṭh alone has supplied about seventy such records. The bulk of the hundred odd plates collected recently by the Department belongs to the Toṇḍaimāṇ chiefs of Pudukkōṭṭai and the Sēṭupatis of Ramnad mostly datable to the 18th century. There are also some Vijayanagara and Nāyaka copper-plate inscriptions and some belong to the various Pāḷayagārs of the Tiruchchirappalli and Thanjavur Districts. This collection, which is

being prepared for publication, will provide ample information to fill in the details of the socio-economic history of 18th century Tamil-nadu. These records refer to the social activities of many communities like the Vaṇikars, Veḷḷālas, Brāhmaṇas, Nāḍārs, etc. There is even a record which refers to a voluntary contribution by the Dutch Company towards renovation work in the Chidambaram temple.

An inscription in Brāhmī characters of the 5th century A.D. has recently been discovered on a boulder on the banks of Musi river near Chaitanyapuri in Hyderabad. It records the establishment of a habitation on the hillock by a certain *Bhadanta* Sanghadēva, the water-bearer of the *gandhakuṭi* of Gōvindarāja vihāra. This Gōvindarāja-vihāra may have been constructed by Gōvindarāja of the Viṣṇu-kunḍin dynasty.

A charter, written in Kannaḍa language and characters and dated Śaka 1077 (1154 A.D.) was discovered, not long ago, in Kolhapur, Maharashtra. The record refers to the reign of Gaṇḍarāditya of the Śilāhāra family and states that his feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vijayāditya was governing from Aulavāḍa. It mentions Kūchirāja as the grandson of *sat-kavindrōttama* Pampā and as the father of Kappadēva *alias* Kappaṇa who is referred to as the *Mahāmātya*, *Mahāpratihāra* and *Sādhivigrahi* of Vijayāditya. The record registers the grants of land and a house site, at Siriguppe near Mirinje-nāḍu, earlier granted by Kūchirāja, by the good offices of Kappadēva, by *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vijayāditya, for the *aṣṭavidhārchanā* of the

deity Sāntinātha-dēva at the *basadi* situated at Kolhāpur, repairs to the *basadi* and feeding of the ascetics therein. The grant was made to Vardhamāna-bhaṭṭāraka, a disciple of Kukkuṭāsana-Maladhārisvāmī, belonging to Mūla-saṅgha, Dēsiya-gaṇa and Pustaka-gachchha. The inscription provides the earliest copper-plate reference to Pampā, the famous court poet of Arikēsari of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Vēmula-vāḍa.

The discoveries mentioned above do not necessarily represent all the discoveries made during the past one year, but were selected rather arbitrarily. Indeed it is not at all easy to obtain information on new discoveries and I suggest that brief reports on all discoveries be given to the editor of the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* for early publication. Afterwards or even simultaneously the detailed information can be published in the same journal or elsewhere. This would facilitate the spread of scholarly information and enhance communication and the exchange of information between scholars working in the same field.

Of the important recent epigraphical publications, one is the *Karandai Tomil Sangam Plutes of Rājendra Chōḷa* by Shri K. G. Krishnan. The set of Karandai plates of Rājendra I, which consists of 55 copper plates, is certainly the most important Chōḷa copper plates hitherto discovered and furnishes us with a tremendous amount of new information. Shri Krishnan, Retired Chief Epigraphist, has edited the texts critically and analysed almost all the important aspects of the grants recorded in them including the

question of the ancestor villages of the 1080 Brāhmaṇa donees who were granted land in the newly established huge *chaturvedimaṅgalam*. This publication therefore, may be described as monumental.

The other is the *Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas* by Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy. This is also monumental, since it gives critically edited texts and translations of all the Western Gaṅga inscriptions in a huge single volume. This is a fine product of years of time consuming research.

There is one regrettable point, however, I have to mention here in relation to these two important publications. That is the fact that it took so long to publish the manuscripts after they were completed. *Karandai plates*, a publication of the Archaeological Survey of India, took ten years, and *Western Gaṅga Inscriptions*, a publication of the Indian Council of Historical Research, took eight years. In the future, I sincerely hope, such long delays in publication will not be repeated by highly esteemed institutions like Archaeological Survey of India or Indian Council of Historical Research.

In relation to the publications put out by Indian Council of Historical Research, I wish to refer to the two lists of inscriptions prepared as project works of Indian Council of Historical Research, which still remain unpublished. One is the Topographical List of Vijayanagara Inscriptions prepared by the late Professor T. V. Mahalingam and Dr. B. R. Gopal, and the other is the Topographical List of Tamil Inscriptions upto the 13th century prepared by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the University of Madras. I fully

appreciate that Indian Council of Historical Research has provided financial aid to these projects thereby recognizing the importance of epigraphy, and am overjoyed to learn from the Director of the institution that they will be published before long. Such lists are basic tools for inscriptional studies, particularly in regions where a large number of inscriptions are available for study like South India, and I sincerely hope that scholars will endeavour to prepare more lists in the future.

Epigraphists and Historians

Now let me return to the point I made at the beginning of this speech in relation to the importance of epigraphy in India. First, I would like to invite your attention to the relation between epigraphists and historians. Since inscriptions are the most important source material for the study of ancient and medieval (Hindu) Indian History, historians who study these periods require a basic knowledge of epigraphy. Needless to say, to undertake any serious study, they have to be able to read inscriptions by themselves. We often find scholars, particularly foreign scholars, depending solely on English translation of inscriptions or the brief contents of inscriptions published in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*. Inscriptions however, record quite a few customs which are now completely extinct and unintelligible to us. It is quite natural therefore that English translations by epigraphists indicate only very tentative interpretations of such problems. Especially the English translation made by the early epigraphists in the late 19th or early 20th century should not be blindly followed. Brief descriptions of the contents

of inscriptions given in the *Annual Report*, as you well know, do not include all the important matters recorded in the inscriptions. Therefore, unless scholars are very familiar with inscriptional studies having gone through many texts, it is often difficult for them to grasp the real significance of the contents of a particular inscription merely from the summaries in the *Annual Reports*.

Let me relate my own personal experience, which highlights the benefit to be derived from reading original texts. More than ten years ago while I was living in Mysore with my family, a few scholars of the Office of the Chief Epigraphist including Dr. Ramesh, the present Director of Epigraphy, were trying to decipher the impression of a Tamil inscription hung on the gallery wall of their office. Because of damage to the inscription it was not easy to decipher, and they were unable to read a portion of it. Though I had never studied palaeography properly, when I joined them at the gallery, I was able to guess the reading of the portion they were trying to decipher. If my memory is correct, it ran "koḍuttōm" meaning 'we have given'. When I suggested the reading, Dr. Ramesh seemed to be surprised but immediately agreed. The reason why I was able to make such a guess is very simple. The inscription in question was a record of a land grant, and since by that time I had read a great many land grant inscriptions for my study of landholdings in Chōla times, I was able to guess the reading logically from the contents of the inscriptions. I have quoted this incidence not to boast of my knowledge but to show the merits

to be obtained from reading many original texts. I cannot overemphasize the importance of reading original texts of inscriptions for historians.

For an epigraphist, on the other hand, I wish to suggest two things. First, they should take pride in their work. Epigraphy is extremely important for the study of Indian history, and epigraphists must bear the responsibility for seeing that inscriptions are deciphered in an accurate fashion. They are privileged to be at the front line of research working with first hand materials and should not think it below their dignity to do such things as taking estampages.

Secondly, although epigraphists are specialists whose main task is to decipher inscriptions with the knowledge of palaeography, it is quite natural and understandable for them to have good knowledge of history. Without a sound knowledge of history, even the dating of a particular inscription may be difficult. Fundamental knowledge of Indian history in general and regional history in particular is indispensable. However, I wish further that they would pay due attention to the methods and trends in the study of history as well. History is not a mere description of a king's campaigns or the daily life of the nobles. The horizons of historical studies extend much further than that and include the social activities of the people. Recently more attention is being paid to socio-economic aspects including the problems of social change and economic development. I hope, therefore, that epigraphists will also acquaint themselves with such methods as Marxist social

analysis and the recent approach in historical studies called "historical anthropology" taken by scholars of the Annales School. If they acquire such knowledge, they will be able to discuss many problems with historians, thus enlarging the scope of their contribution to the study of history.

Of course, history and epigraphy are two different disciplines and the historian may not be able to be an epigraphist in the true sense of the word, and vice versa. Therefore, there should be a division of labour between the two. However, if historians come into the field of epigraphy to some extent, and if epigraphists understand what historians are doing, there will be inter-disciplinary cooperation between the two groups, which will contribute to the further development of the study of both the disciplines. It is the importance of inter-disciplinary cooperation that I want to particularly emphasize in this talk.

Training in Epigraphy

Now let me proceed to my next point. That is the question of how to train good scholars in the field of epigraphy. The first condition for a scholar to become a good epigraphist is a knowledge of the language. Besides knowledge of a classical regional language, one has to know Sanskrit. Even for Dravidian epigraphy, knowledge of Sanskrit is indispensable. Moreover, epigraphists should be trained in linguistics as well. They should also have a good knowledge of history and be conversant with the fundamentals of archaeology, fine arts, religion, anthropology, etc. Of course, one also has to

be trained in the discipline of epigraphy and master various ancient forms of the script, peculiar expressions in inscriptional language, the technique of taking estampages etc.

Given the above picture of a good epigraphist, then the problem is how to train such an epigraphist. In this relation, I would like to make a few suggestions. Considering the tremendous importance of epigraphy and the special training that scholars need to undergo to become an epigraphist, the best and possibly the only way is the establishment of a School of Epigraphy, just like the School of Archaeology associated with the Archaeological Survey of India. Though the establishment of such a school has once been suggested by Shri K. G. Krishnan in his Presidential Address at the 8th Congress, I would like to repeat it here, since it has not yet materialised. The Director of Epigraphy should run it. The State Department of Archaeology of each State could also run such a school.

At the same time, a greater number of Universities should have a department of epigraphy. As I mentioned at the beginning of this speech, Karnatak University was the first to establish a department which has the word *epigraphy* as a part of its title, and now the Tamil University in Thanjavur and probably a few more elsewhere have such departments. However, the present number of such Universities is far from sufficient. I would suggest that each State should have at least one University which has a department of epigraphy. That is a minimum requirement and there should preferably be a few such Universities in every State.

Another alternative would be to create more diploma courses of epigraphy in universities. These universities in turn could train more historians to read inscriptions by themselves.

The third suggestion concerning the training of epigraphists is that there should be a regular exchange of scholars among the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, State Departments of Archaeology and the University Departments of Epigraphy or History. The exchange of scholars is particularly necessary between University Departments and the other two institutions. For example, staff belonging to the University Departments may be deputed to the Office of the Chief Epigraphist for training or research for one or two years, and staff from the Office of the Chief Epigraphist or State Departments of Archaeology could teach for them at the University on deputation for one or two years. Such exchange would certainly benefit both the institutions, and ensure that many young scholars will be properly trained in epigraphical studies.

You must remember that Dr. D. C. Sircar expressed the fear in his Presidential Address at the 2nd Congress that "soon there will be nobody to read and interpret inscriptions correctly", and this fact was repeatedly mentioned in the Presidential Address at the 6th Congress by Dr. K. D. Bajpai, who urged "the universities, research institutes and the State Departments of Archaeology to share the burden more actively and earnestly" for the development or survival of epigraphy. The three suggestions I have made above for training scholars in epigraphy are, I believe, authorities will consider them positively.

A New Trend In Epigraphical Study

Next let me discuss a new trend in the study of inscriptions. Last year the 31st International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa was held in Japan. At this congress I organized a seminar on South and South-east Asian Epigraphy. In one of the subsections of that seminar, which dealt with South Asian epigraphy, many scholars discussed the statistical method recently employed by myself and colleagues in the study of inscriptions and welcomed the application of that method. The idea of using statistical methods came from reflecting on the limitations of past studies. Of course I am ready to admit the important contributions of past studies, but in some of the studies, which concern mostly socio-economic analysis of history, inscriptions were dealt with in an arbitrary fashion. In the case of Chola history, for example, where there are a good number of extant inscriptions, if we pick out a few inscriptions to argue for ascertaining some tendency, for example, the prevalence of individual landholding, it is rather easy to find another set of inscriptions to argue the contrary, namely for the existence of common landholding. How are we to determine what these inscriptions actually indicate? For socio-economic analysis, therefore we have to gather all the concerned inscriptions and process them statistically to determine general tendencies. This is a way of avoiding arbitrariness of arguments and making the discussion more constructive.

There is yet another merit. By the application of statistical methods we can find out facts otherwise unknown to us.

Let me give you an example. In Chōla inscriptions *madhyastha* who appeared as the secretary or registrar of a village assembly is frequently mentioned. Though the number is not so large as that of *madhyastha*, there are a good number of references to *nāḍālvāṇ* also in Chōla inscriptions, which can be translated as the person who governs the *nāḍu* (territory). We may be able to say from the meaning of these terms and the way they appear in inscriptions, that the former represents the autonomous activity of the village community, and that the latter suggests the rule of villages by local chiefs. If we examine statistically the frequency of the appearance of both the terms dividing the Chōla rule into four periods, we obtain the following results.

| Period | I | II | III | IV |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| <i>Nāḍālvāṇ</i> | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 1.9 |
| <i>Madhyastha</i> | 2.7 | 2.2 | 0.6 | 0.5 |

These figures clearly indicate that reference to *nāḍālvāṇ* were increasing and references to *madhyastha* were decreasing. If we consider the characteristics of these two terms as given above, we may be able to say that the tendency shown in the table indicates a change in the agrarian order of the time, such as the deprivation in the village community of its autonomy by the local chiefs and the emergence of a feudal system.

Therefore, the merit of the statistical method is two-fold: 1) it avoids arbitrariness in some arguments and gives them a scientific base, and 2) it uncovers

certain hidden facts otherwise unknown to us. However, I wish to warn scholars against mechanically applying the statistical method to the study of inscriptions. Unless we are familiar with inscriptions by reading many of their texts, the application of that method will not be productive or sometimes misleading. Especially the statistical processing of the data obtained from the *Annual Report* concerning the contents of inscriptions other than the place and date of inscriptions, is very tricky and should be avoided. Even as to the dates, if we read and study the texts of the inscriptions carefully, we can on occasion revise the date given in the *Annual Report*.

Now I would like to make another request to the concerned authority in relation to the introduction of this new method into the study. The applicability or usefulness of the statistical method depends on the number of inscriptions available. You will easily understand that greater the number of inscriptions available, the more significant will be the result of the application of statistical method. From this point of view, may I be permitted to point out the unsatisfactory situation in the publication of inscriptional texts, particularly Tamil inscriptions, by the Archaeological Survey of India. Our rough estimate shows that out of more than ten thousand Chōla inscriptions (mostly Tamil), the texts of only three thousand and five hundred, roughly one third, have been published.

There are two remedies for this unsatisfactory situation. First, we have to accelerate the speed of editing by increa-

sing the number of staff in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist. The backlog of unpublished Tamil inscriptions is enormous and the present number of staff does not seem to be sufficient to handle the situation. At the same time, some improvement should be made in the printing work. The Government Press in Calcutta seems to be very unsatisfactory and even the assignment of the work to a private press in Madras has failed to bring any improvement. Two of the former Presidents suggested in their Presidential Addresses that the Office of the Chief Epigraphist should have its own press. I do not know what would be the best solution for this problem, but I would request the concerned authority to give the utmost importance to speed up publication for the benefit of scholars.

The second remedy concerns the way of making available to scholars the unpublished inscriptional materials preserved in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist or similar offices in States. If so, many inscriptions remain unpublished, scholars who are sincere in their research will naturally wish to read the unpublished texts. It is the duty of those institutions, therefore, to afford facilities to the scholars to consult the transcripts or impressions. In this sense, recent relaxation of the policy adopted by the Director of Epigraphy in providing scholars who visit the Office of the Chief Epigraphist with such facilities is most welcome.

The service of providing scholars with unpublished materials, however, should be rendered without damaging the materials. Scholars who visit the Office of the Chief

Epigraphist or other similar institutions, therefore, should take great care in handling unpublished materials such as transcripts and impressions and should try their utmost not to damage them. They should also try not to disrupt the official work of the institutions. In this connection though I refrain myself from going into the details of the plan, I suggest that photo copying machines be immediately installed in all those institutions to solve the problem of preservation and utilization of precious materials.

Other Trends In The Field

Another trend of study seen in the seminar which I convened as mentioned above is comparative epigraphical studies in some larger area in Asia, for example and particularly, between South Asia and South-east Asia. As you know well, in ancient South-east Asian countries like Champa, Khmer and Sāilēndra, Sanskrit was used in inscriptions showing the cultural influence of India in those countries, and their study was mainly conducted by French, Dutch and Indian scholars who were well acquainted with Sanskrit and Indian Culture. This tradition should be continued. After World War II, however, the study of inscriptions in regional languages such as Khmer, Burmese and Javanese, has been pursued more vigorously, and now a new field is open for the comparative study of socio-economic history between South-east Asia and South Asia. At the seminar in Japan, an American scholar presented a paper on the comparison of a Cambodian socio-religious institution of the 12th century with that of the Chōlās. That is a good example of the direction of study to be developed in

future, and there are many more topics which can be studied more properly through the method of comparative study in those two regions.

In order to develop such studies, I would like to suggest that in future seminars be organized once in every two or three years. In this relation, it is good news to hear that Dr. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, is now preparing for a seminar on South Asian Epigraphy inviting scholars from countries in South Asia. I wish him great success in his efforts.

Yet another trend which I wish to mention lastly is the increased interest or rather "enthusiasm" in the study of the Indus Script. Recently so many books and articles on the decipherment and study of the Indus Script have been published, and seminars on the subject have also been organized. In 1983 Tamil University held one seminar and one of the sub-sections of the seminar I organized in Japan also dealt with the study of the Indus Script. After the breakthrough in the identification of the language used in the Indus Script made by the Soviet and Finnish scholars in the 1960s using computers, there has been no advance in the study, though several scholars claimed their success in the decipherment, and there are still many scholars who do not admit the identification of the language with the Proto-Dravidian suggested by the Soviet and Finnish scholars. In this present state, what is necessary for further advance in this field is the coordination of various views and discussions published in these recent studies. In this relation may I be permitted to mention the book on Indus Script studies, which I have edited and which will be published this year. In the hope of making a contribution to promote the co-ordination of

studies on the Indus script, I have included a comprehensive bibliography of the past studies in this book.

Conclusion

In this speech, I have tried my best to stress the tremendous importance of Indian epigraphy, particularly in relation to historical studies. At the same time, I regret to point out certain difficulties which we have been facing in the study of Indian epigraphy and which have been referred to by many former Presidents. As I mentioned earlier, Dr. Sircar expressed the fear that in future properly trained epigraphists might disappear. Considering all these points, I dare to suggest, on this occasion while we are assembled here, that we consider the possibility of establishing the Epigraphical Survey of India as a sister institution of the Archaeological Survey of India.

However, there is a proverb in Japan saying "They have made a Buddha's statue, but forgotten to infuse it with the spirit." While talking of organizational improvement, we should not forget to consider our own spirit. Let me quote a couplet from a poem of Chu Hsi, a 12th century Chinese philosopher. "The young are apt to grow old without making progress in study. One should not waste even a moment of time in the pursuit of study" If we liken our Society of Indian Epigraphy to a human being, we have just entered our teens. We are still young and apt to grow old without making any progress. Let us work harder at epigraphical studies and not waste any time in our efforts for the development of Indian Epigraphy. This is the spirit we should adopt.

Thank you very much for your kind attention.

1 VIRASOMIDEVA, CHATURVEDIMANGALAM—A PANDYA TOWNSHIP NAMED AFTER THE HOYSALA VIRASOMESVARA

R. Tirumalai

Introduction :

In the first half of the 13th century, the Hoysalas had effectively intervened in the Chōla-Pāṇḍya conflict for supremacy. The aim of the Hoysalas was to maintain the balance between the two. The Chōlas, from the latter half of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III had tended to be the weaker side. The Pāṇḍyas under Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya-I (acc. A. D. 1216) had gained the upper hand. The intervention of the Hoysala Vira Narasiṃha II (1220-38 A. D.) and of Vira Sōmēśvara (1233-67 A. D.) was to contain the Pāṇḍyas. They achieved this end both by use of arms and of diplomacy, entering into matrimonial alliances with the Pāṇḍyas.

The Pāṇḍya rulers reciprocated this latter gesture, and were deferential towards the Hoysala ruler. Indeed, tributes were extracted by the Hoysalas for which portions of land-dues, in the Pāṇḍya townships in the Ramanathapuram district had been allocated, as in Ilaiyāṅḡuḍi, Paramakkudi taluk, and Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, Tirupattur taluk.¹

Services were instituted in the name of Vira Sōmadēva, as in the Viṣṇu temple at Alagarkōvil² and in the Minākshi temple at Madurai,³ including a festival in the Minākshi temple when at the end of it, the *ūrtha* (bathing festival) was to synchronise with the Maghā in Arpaṣi

(October-November) month, the natal-star of Vira Sōmēśvara.⁵ Grants made by the Hoysala rulers were ratified and supplemented, by the diversion of the king's dues from lands.⁶

The penetration of the Hoysala influence is also attested by two lamp services instituted by Vāmanna, the brother-in-law of Varadana-dandanāyaka, the *śrī-karāṇa* (Accounts Officer) of the Hoysala king, Vira Sōmidēva to Nelyēli-udaiyadēvaru, (i. e., Nellaiyappar), at Tirunelvēli. This inscription is in Kannada.⁷

THE GRANT : The most spectacular tribute paid to this acknowledgedly friendly supremacy of the Hoysalas by the Pāṇḍya ruler was the founding of a *brahmadēya*, a township granted with occupancy rights to the *brāhmaṇas*, on the banks of Tāṁbraparni river in the southern most part of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This grant village named Vira Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam is identical with Murappa-nādu village in Srivaikuntam taluk in Tirunelvēli district.

The grant was made on the 988th day after the 8th year of Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya-II (acc. 1228 A. D.). The inscription has his *meykirtti* : *Pumalar-tiruvum*. This could be ascribed to the 11th regnal year (1249-50 A. D.). The king was seated in his palace at Madurai on a couch named *Maṭṭavāḍyan*. His uncle,

the Hoysala ruler (-he was either the maternal uncle or his father-in-law) had suggested the grant of the *brahmadēya* village (*Māmiḍi namakkuch-choṇṇamayil*). The king readily granted it.⁸

The grant was to 224 *brāhmaṇas* well-served in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* (*Vēdamum Sāstramum pōy Vyākhyāthakkalāi*) ; each was given 1 *paṇḍu* (share). Twenty *paṇḍus* (shares) were added for the services in the temple (*dēvadāṇa paṇi sey yṛitti*) -in all 244 shares had been allocated.

LOCATION : The new township was constituted, including therein Kūḍalūr and Kīlaikkūḍalūr in Murappa-nāḍu. To the north and east of the new township, the Tāmraparṇi river skirted it. The river takes a sharp turn from the north to the south at this point. To its east lay the Valla-nāḍu ridge sloping from the south to the north from the range and reserve forest of that name. To the south of the grant-village was the boundary of Muttalāṅguṛichchi *alias* Rājasimhamangalam, and the boundary of Seyṇālūr *alias* Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* in the same nāḍu. This latter is identical with Seytuṅganallūr village⁹ on the Tirunelvēli-Tiruchendūr line. It lies about 6 miles to the south of Murappa-nāḍu. To its west, flowed the Murappa-nāḍu canal, called *Sundarapāṇḍyan-Tēṇṇāru*. This could be the original canal of the present day Marudūr west canal, taking off from Marudūr Anicut on the Tāmraparṇi river. The entire territorial division in which Seytuṅganallūr was also situated was named Murappa-nāḍu.

ITS HISTORY : The grant included the wet lands, black-soil, dry lands, house sites,

gardens, tanks, water-spread and foreshore-lands. It excluded the earlier grants, if any made, for Jaina shrines and other shrines, and specifically, 4 *mā* of land purchased by Villavadarayaṇ *alias* Uḍayaṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ, of Valukkūr in Kulasekhara-perunteru, near Paṭṭiṇamarudūr in Śūraṅguḍi-nāḍu,¹⁰ who had endowed it for Ulaguṇya vandiśvaram uḍaiyār, the local Śiva deity, together with a house-site, house and garden.

The earlier occupants, the tenants, and the cultivators and the land-dues payable by them were all extinguished. The entire lands were re-constituted into one revenue unit (*orupurav-ākki*). The occupiable house-sites were divided, and assigned to each *brāhmaṇa* grantee according to the share allotted. The township was re-named as Murappa-nāṭṭu-Pōśala Vīra Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimangalam, in the name of the king's uncle and Hoysala ruler.

The land dues payable on the lands had already been granted to the Nellaiyappar temple at Tirunelvēli. The rates for such dues were re-stipulated as recommended by the Hoysala ruler. Only lands cultivated and coming to yield after being measured by the rod '*Sundara-pāṇḍyan-kōl*' of 24 feet were to be charged the rates, inclusive of the *antarāyam*, *viniyōgam* and cash levies (*achchu*) and *kāryavārāyichchi* (court-fee), *veṭṭipāṭṭam* (corvee), and *paṇḍupili* (the lint of cotton) due to the king and *sandhivigrahaḥpeṇu* (levies for war and peace or diplomatic emissaries) and all other items, the rates as revised were as below :

For *kār* - (The pre-monsoon crop) =

4 *kāṣu* per *mā* (of 33 cents) plus paddy: 3 *kalams* (per *mā*) by the *Vira Pāṇḍiyan* measure.

For lands brought to yield by baling (*Tulaviraichcha*) - $\frac{1}{2}$ of the above rate.

For gingely, horsegram, *tiṇai*, *Iruṅgu* (black-millet - 2 *dramams* per *mā*).

For *piśānam*, the main crop, also at the rates specified above.

It will be noted that while the irrigated crops had to pay the dues, both in cash and in kind, the rates charged for dry and unirrigated crop was payable only in cash.

The king's command was to be transcribed into an authenticated extract of the revenue account (*uḷvari*) by the revenue officials, and it shall also be conveyed in the form of the proceedings by the authorised officers. The officials who authenticated this command were:

Gurukulattarayaṇ *alias* Virachōḷadēvaṇ *alias* Uyyaniṇṇāduvāṇ of Taḍaṅgaṇṇi Śiṅṅūr in Tirumalli-nāḍu (near Srivilliputtūr, in Ramanathapuram dt.)

Pallavarāyaṇ *alias* Arayaṇ Viradamuḍittāṇ of Śakrapāṇinallūr of Sevvīṇṇukkai-nāḍu.

A royal epistle refers to the 4 *mā* of land excluded in the above grant which, by a mistake of fact, had been granted later to the Viṣṇu temple overlooking the *kārāṇmai* rights therein.¹¹

Āḷi Villavadarayaṇ of Valukkūr had this holding of 4 *mā* of land (measured by the *Sundarapāṇḍiyan-kōl*) and it was

excluded from the *brahmadēya* grant. There was a share-interest in the 4 *mā*, the *kārāṇmai* or occupancy rights belonged to Villavadarayaṇ. The *kaḍamai* or the king's share of the land dues had been assigned to Yōgiśvaram-uḍaiyār, the Śiva temple in Murappa-nāḍu. This was also engraved on the walls of the temple at Tirunelvēli.¹²

But Vēṇāḍaiyāṇ, a chieftain, had without securing the consent of the subsisting occupant, Villavadarayaṇ had made over the *kārāṇmai* right belonging to the latter to the Viṣṇu temple which the former had built in this township.

The mistake had to be rectified. Hence, Vēṇāḍaiyāṇ had purchased, in exchange therefor, a parcel of land in the command area of Maṇakkūḍi, the eastern hamlet of Śrivallavamangalam, in Kīlkaḷa-kūṇṇam.¹³ This village lies to the north-west of Murappa-nāḍu, at about 6 miles. The extent of the land purchased was 16 *mā*. The *kārāṇmai* rights in this parcel of land were made over to Villavadarayaṇ. The *kaḍamai* portion was granted to Vēdanāyaga-viṇṇagar-āḷvār temple at Murappa-nāḍu.

The rate of *kaḍamai* was one *kalam*, one *tūṇi*, one *padakku* of paddy, and *Māvaraikkāṇi-achehu* in cash per *mā* for lands which had sustained paddy cultivation per crop, to be delivered to the priest and the Śrivaishṇavas of this temple.

The purchase of the land in exchange in the neighbouring township, some 6 miles to the west, is noteworthy. Did that indicate that the vendible lands were hard to come by in the new township

where the occupants had been induced on all irrigable lands.

In the 12th year of the king, by a *Konerimakkondan* grant addressed to the priests and *Śrivaishnavas* of *Vīra Sōmideva-
vinnagar-ālvār* temple, the king made a further assignment of *achchu* yield from *vinlyogam* (apportioned cesses), *kāriyavār-
āychchi*, *veṭtipperu*, *paṇjupili*, *sandhivigra-
happeru* and *porvaris* and other dues realisable from the 16 *mā* and another *ṭmā*, being the occupied holding in *Manakkudi* in *Śrivalabbhamaṅgalam* of *Āli Villavada-
rayan* of *Vāluṅkūr*. The land bought in exchange by *Vēṇāḍaiyār* to restore the *kāraṇmai* rights of *Āli Villavadarayan*.

On measuring the lands coming to yield, the rate of levy inclusive of *kādamai* and other items specified above, according to the grading of the township shall be as follows:

For pre-monsoon crop (*kār*) - paddy *M*
kalam, *ṭmā* and *padakku*,
For gingely and horsegram and *tingi*,
etc. - 2 *dramam*;

For *pisānah*, the main crop, at the same rates.

While the dry rate is the same, the difference in the rates charged for wet crops as between *Murappinādu* and *Manakkudi* could be due to the differential yield, fertility and water supply. The paddy rate is just of that for *Murappinādu*, but no cash-levy is indicated. This could account for the higher extent to roughly correspond to the gross yield.

The supplication made to this effect by *Ayyan Malavarāyan* (a high official)

of the king, was granted. It is noteworthy that the *Mishṇu* deity here is named also after the Hoysala ruler.

Another royal order issued in the 12th year refers to several grants made to the Vishṇu temple,¹⁰ and consolidates them.

The Vishṇu temple had been erected by *Vēṇāḍaiyār*,¹¹ *alias* *Arayan* *Pūvaṇ* of *Marudodayanallūr* *alias* *Kilai-koḍumālūr* in *Vadatalaichchembi-nādu*.¹²

To provide for the maintenance and apparel supply for the deity, the *sabhaiyār* had re-allocated lands as follows:

(a) 1 *paṅgu* (share) originally excluded from the common holding (*podu*) for *Dēvaṇṇa*;

(b) 1 *paṅgu* excluded from the common holding for the township accountant;

(c) 2 *paṅgu*s allocated in lieu of 1 *mā*, earlier granted with *kāraṇmai* rights to the Vishṇu temple by the *sabhaiyār* and in substitution for 16 *mā* of land added to this township account, which

was in the occupancy of *Vāluvūr* *Āli Villavadarayan*, the *kādamai* from which was assigned to the *Yōgisvara* temple at this place - that is the land in *Manakkudi* above, making an additional 3 *mā* in all 4 *paṅgu*s and

(d) an additional 1 *mā* of land.

Presumably, the *sabhaiyār* felt it will be conducive to better management if the Vishṇu temple had lands allocated

from within the township.

The king ordered the grant of the *kāraṇ-mai*, *miyāṭchi*, *kaḍamai*, *antarāyam*, *vinī-yōgam* and all the cash dues (*achchu*) *kāriyavārāyechchi*, *veṭṭippāṭṭam*, *pañjupili*, *sandhivigrahappēru*, and other demands from these lands.

The supplication to this effect was made by Ayyan Maḷavarāyaṇ.

The two officials who authenticated the deed were Aḷagiyapāṇḍya Viḷuppara-yaṇ of Arumpor - kūṟṟam and Arayaṇ Muḍivaḷaṅgum-perumāl of Perumānallūr of Āṇḍa-nāḍu.

The next transaction evidences the keen sense of ownership of individual holdings. A *brāhmaṇa* occupant, Yāda-vasimhabhaṭṭaṇ of Pirāṇḍūr had been enjoying one *paṅgu* as a charitable grant based on a written deed (*śāsana-dharmam*). A Malayāḷa *brāhmaṇa* Araṅgambi (presumably a migrant from Kannaḍa or Kēraḷa country) had purchased the land in the name of the Viṣṇu deity, Vēdanāyakap-perumāl, and had got the taxes remitted (*vari nikkalukku*). He had instituted a festival but had abandoned it without concluding the tenth day festival. The original occupant (*pūrva-svāmi*) Yādava-simha-bhaṭṭaṇ contended that he had not received a portion of the price due for the land *paṅgu* (share) which was restored to him. The land-dues therefrom were also re-fixed. In addition to the *kaḍamai* due to the deity of Tirunelvēli temple, an additional share of *kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* and the apportioned levies due to the *sabha* for communal obligations was fixed

at 140 *kalams* to be paid to defray the festival expenses.

This royal command addressed to the *sabhaiyār* of Pośāla - chaturvēdimangalam was attested by Gurukularāyaṇ, Toṇḍaimāṇ, and Paḷandiparāyaṇ and Pallavarāyaṇ.¹⁷

The transactions evidence the deep-rooted sense of individual ownership, and occupancy rights which could be acquired only after due compensation or by exchange of lands or equivalent rights elsewhere.

There was a *maṭha* of the Advaiti (*ekadaṇḍi paramahaṃsa*) sanyāsin in the township. Provision was made for it in the 14th year of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Vira Pāṇḍya who conquered Iḷam, Koṅgu, Chōṇāḍu, and had an anointment of heroes at Chidambaram (A.D. 1266-67). The *maḥāsa-bhai* of Vira Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimangalam made provision for the *maṭha* accordingly.¹⁸

The grant was made to Śrī Narasimha-parama-svāmigaḷ, who was the deity presiding over that *maṭha* (*samārāḍhanai koṇḍaruḷia*). The lands so endowed comprise the following :

- (i) The land sold in the month of *Vriśchika* (November - December) in the 11th year (A.D. 1263) by the *Mahāsabhā* located as under :
2nd canal - 8th field and the 9th field part ;
3rd canal - 8th field and the 9th field part, both on the northern portion.

The land granted as garden land to the deity of Śrivaikuṇṭham was to be localised as convenient towards the west,

and excluded. Also in the remaining land, a pathway all along the river, east-west $\frac{1}{2}$ *kōl* in width, running south-north was to be retained for easement rights.

(ii) To the south of the Anavaradānān channel the lands to be enjoyed by the *maṭha* were

under the second canal - 8th field on the west and

under the third canal - 8th field on the west

A pathway $\frac{1}{2}$ *kōl* in width should be left out, right till another channel, Tirunāḍu Uḍaiyān channel towards the south and all along that channel thereafter towards the east and this pathway shall be left at the head of each parcel of land contiguously.

(iii) A third plot was granted in the month of Kārttika (November-December) in the same year as *maḍappuṇa iṇaiyili* $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* in extent. A parcel of land had belonged to one Solapirān Bhaṭṭaṇ. This was bought in by Agnidēva Bhaṭṭaṇ in a sale made by a royal command (*āṇṇākrayam*), for cash. The previous occupant had made a grant of *kāṇi* land in lieu of of which a share of 3 *mā* was allocated to the *maṭha*.

(iv) Some more private grants by Iṇaiyā-naraiyūr Śrī Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭaṇ and Saṅkīrtana Bhaṭṭaṇ of the same nativity had been made. These were $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* in extent, equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ share. It can be deduced that 1 share of holding in the *brahmadēya* was about 2 *mā* of land or 66 cents.

(v) From the 13th year, *pasānam*, a royal grant of 1 *paṅgu* of Pāganūr Śēvakan has been granted as *maḍappuṇam* with *kārāṇmai* and *iṇaiyili* (i.e., both with occupancy rights and the royal dues remitted)

The *maḥasabha* recorded these varied grants made by the king, and other private benefactors, and their own sales of land and entered them as tax-free for the *maṭha*. It should be noted that while in some parcels, only *kārāṇmai* rights were endowed, in others, land dues alone were granted and in a few others both.

A number of the Brahmadēya residents attested this deed, being the proceedings of the *maḥasabha*. Their names disclosed that the residents were both of Śaivites and Vaiṣṇava persuasions. The nativity and the names of the signatories are given in the appendix. If an inference can be drawn therefrom the *brahmadēya* residents do not appear to be of any different stock from the occupants of other *brahmadēya* township of the Pāṇḍya country. The *maṭha* belonged to either the *Advaita* or the *Dvaita* sect (*Ēkadanḍi*), with the presiding deity therein of Narasimha.

In the 21st year of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the deity of Tirunelveli made a grant to the same *maṭha*.¹⁹ The command was addressed to the bhaṭṭas of Vīra Sōmidēva Chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The village Murappanāḍu is described herein as the grant for kitchen expenses for the Tirunelveli deity (*aḍukkaḷaipuram*); the deity was pleased to re-assign the yield of *kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* from the occupied lands granted

as *iṅaiyili* to that temple in favour of the *maṭha*. These had been entered earlier in the temple revenue accounts, and were collected earlier by the *sanyāsins* attached to the Tirunelvēli temple. Hereafter, the benefit was to accrue to the Ēkaṇḍa sanyāsi, (i.e., *brāhmaṇa advaitin* for their food requirements (*bhikṣhāśeṣam*).

From the evidence described above, the following summing up of the facts and conclusions can be made :

SUMMARY

A new *brahmadēya* township, Vīra Sōmidēya Chaturvēdimangalam had been constituted on the banks of Tāmbraparṇi by the Pāṇḍyan ruler, Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya-II in A. D. 1249 at the request of his uncle, the Hōysala ruler, Vīra Sōmīśvara (A.D. 1233-67), named after him. The township was situated in the eastern most extremity of the then command area of the Tāmbraparṇi river, where it takes a turn from the north to the south, and the high ridge of Vaḷḷa-nāḍu range, rises to its east. The township is located on the west bank of the river, on the Tirunelvēli - Tuticorin road, abutting the wet-lands fed by the canal from the Tāmbraparṇi river. This would perhaps be an index of the progress of wet cultivation, and occupied land, having reached the very end of the gradient in the Tāmbraparṇi basin. The utilisation of the gravity flow had reached its optimal proportions.

The *brahmadēya* had 224 shares, besides 20 shares for the temple services. The *brahmadēya* shareholders were not big estate holders, but men of smaller

parcels with varied obligations. The occupant-assignee had constituted themselves into a *mahāsabha* to administer the common affairs of the township. They could allocate shares of land from common holdings, and also give effect to the royal grants suitably localising the land.

The prescriptive grant of the *kaḍamai* and other dues in the whole township had belonged to the Tirunelvēli temple. The *brāhmaṇa* grantees were eligible to hold the land under that deity, and enjoy the residual share of the yield. But there were others as well, like Āḷi Villavadarayan, who had *kāraṇmai* rights. These rights could not be extinguished unless duly compensated by exchange of lands or by payment of purchase price. A grant made of such pre-existing *kāraṇmai* right by mistake of fact had to be rectified, and re-compensated to the lawful owner by purchase of land in an adjoining township to restore his share. Could this possibly suggest the paucity of vendible irrigated lands within the new township wherein the occupant *brāhmaṇas* had been inducted? The *brahmadēya Sabhā* later seems to have allocated shares from their common holding within, in lieu of this parcel lying outside their limits to facilitate easy beneficial enjoyment. The attribute of private property in holdings was pronounced. Lands could be bought and sold or gifted or inherited. But the rights so conveyed were confined to and co-eval with those of the predecessors entitled or the vendors and the grantors.

The king's share of land dues had been made over to the Tirunelvēli deity,

but that share in smaller parcels were granted to other beneficiaries like the Śiva or the Viṣṇu temples in the new township or to the *maṭha* of the Ēkadaṇḍi Paramahansa.

The township while executing these grants carefully localised the lands continuously to help the beneficial enjoyments of the parcels by the grantees. They ensured easement rights, and took care to demarcate pathways in a contiguous and unbroken manner to be preserved while allocating localised parcels of land. The totality of land-holding pattern that emerges brings out the multiplicity of shared rights and obligations and the tenurial complexity.

The lands were mostly channel-fed. The ayacut was parcelled out and laid out under each channel, numbered serially and the parcels thereunder were also numbered. The lands being on a higher level, with the river flowing deep down, at least the lands abutting the river banks would have needed baling of water. So too, the high level pockets in between the wet lands. In lieu of the additional labour, and the scarcity of supply entailed, only 50 percent of the levy, for flow irrigation was collected on lands irrigated by baling.

NOTES :

1. *ARSIE.*, 1949 - 50, 295
2. *Ibid.*, 1928, 308
3. *Ibid.*, 1929 - 30, 292
4. *Ibid.*, 291
5. *ARIE.*, 1961-62, B 326

Even the rate charged for the *brahmadēya* holders of land, 3 *kalams* per *mā* and 4 *kāṣu* was clearly concessional. This was the specific response of the Pāṇḍya ruler to the Hoysala ruler's request. The rate for the lands in Manakkūḍi was less than half of even this rate. In addition, to the Śiva and the Viṣṇu temples, the latter named after the Hoysala ruler, the *brāhmaṇa maṭha* of Ēkadaṇḍi Paramahansa, with the presiding deity of Narasimhasvāmi which had existed in the township. Some names of the occupants like Dēvaṇṇa and Araṅgambi would suggest a sprinkling of migrants from Malayāḷa and Kārṇāṭaka among the occupants. But the nativity and names of the *brāhmaṇa* signatories on behalf of the *mahāsabha* could indicate that many were of the same stock as residents elsewhere in the tract²⁰.

The influx of occupants from Kārṇāṭaka could have begun in the Hoysala times, when a number of Mādhva and Kanarese-speaking people migrated to this locality and became land-owning residents as in Vasavāpuram, Viṭhalāpuram and other places on the banks of Tāmbraṇarī.

6. *Ibid.*, 1949-50, B 295; *ARSIE.*, 1928, 308
7. *ARSIE.*, 1912, 16
8. *SII.*, Vol. V, No. 448
9. *ARIE.*, 1959 - 60, B 359 - 360
10. This *nādu* should be located in Koilpatti taluk of Tirunēveli district in which Āḍaṅṅūr township lay - vide *SII.*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 142; 174 and 183
11. *ARSIE.*, 1906, No. 433.
12. *Op. cit.*, *SII.*, Vol. V, 448 - The deity is referred to therein as Ulaguyyavandiśvaram-uḍaiyār.
13. This township is identical with revenue village of Gaṅgaikoṇḍān in Tirunelveli taluk - vide *SII.*, Vol. V, Nos. 724, 728, 729 and 734. The extent is described as "Mukkale oru ma" It could denote 16 *mā*.
14. *ARSIE.*, 1906, No. 431
15. *Ibid.*, No. 434
16. He should have belonged to Koḍumalūr in Mudukalattur taluk; Ramanathapuram district - *SII.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 399. It is noteworthy that all the chieftains who figure in the Tāmbra-parai tract here hail from the area now comprised in Ramanathapuram district.
17. *ARSIE.*, 1906, No. 432
18. *Ibid.*, No. 435 Six of the signatories in this document have signed in Sanskrit.
19. *Ibid.*, 1927, 72 - As Mādhava himself lived from about AD. 1195 to 1275, it is more likely that this *maṭha* was of Advaita persuasion.
20. Six of the signatories have signed their names in Sanskrit, —vide *ARSIE.*, 1906, No. 435.

Appendix

Names of signatories to the proceedings of the *mahāsabha* which met on the *pūrva paksha prathamai* in the month of Āḍi(July 4th, 1266).

Iruṅgaṇḍi Tiruvaraṅga Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭan

Iṅṅyūr Soṭṭai Ravi Dēvi bhaṭṭa somayāji's son Māhēśvara Bhaṭṭan

Varavalūr Yagñamūrtti Bhaṭṭan

Kāñja Bhaṭṭaśri - Mahāsūraikanātha Bhaṭṭan(He signed in Sanskrit)

Iḍayāttākuḍi Tirumāliruṅjōlai Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭan(signed in Sanskrit)

Pirāṇḍūr Viṅṅurindān

Kāṭṭukkūṇi Daṇḍakumāra Bhaṭṭan (signed in Sanskrit)

Prayāgai.....Dhavasvāmi Bhaṭṭan

Ādanūr vēda Nāyaka Bhaṭṭan

Varrālūr Śrī Mādhava Bhaṭṭasōmayājiyār (signed in Sanskrit)

Iḍayāṅṛākkūḍi Ērutiruvuḍaiyān Bhaṭṭan

Pār Konṇai Tiruviśālūr Aḍigaḷ Bhaṭṭan

Iṇaiyānaraiyūr Nārāyaṇa Saṅkirtana Bhaṭṭan

Muḍumbai Kōla Vāmaṇa Bhaṭṭan (Signed in Sanskrit)

Irāyūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭan

Pirāṇḍūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭan

Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa Sōmayājiyār

Vaṅḡipuram Śrī Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭan

Korōvi Śrī Bharatālvān Bhaṭṭan

Seyñjālūr ṇānabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji

Agnivit Sarvakrathukkal's son Dēva Bhaṭṭa Sōmayāji

Agnivit Vājapṛyājin (signed in Sanskrit)

Iruṅgaṇḍi Āvuḍaiyān Bhaṭṭan

Śrī Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭan

Gōmaṭam Dāmōdara Bhaṭṭa Sōmayājiyār

Iraiṇyūr Sottai Yājñaśrī Bhaṭṭa Sōmayāji

Varrālūr Śrī Mādhava Bhaṭṭa Sōmayājiyār's son Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa

Kaṅṇai Suyājña Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭan's son Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭan

2 A TERACOTTA SEAL INSCRIPTION

WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO V'IMA KADPHISES

B. N. Mukherjee

An interesting terracotta seal found during an excavation at Ganwaria in the Basti district of U. P. was noticed by K.M. Srivastava and P.R.K. Prasad in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. VII, 1980, pp. 98-101. The shape of the impression of the seal on a lump of terracotta is circular (with a diameter of 2.3 cms.). The seal impression displays a two armed male deity, seated facing to the front. His hair is knotted. His left hand holds a trident-cum-battle axe, and the left clasps a thunderbolt (*vajra*). Below the deity appears an inscription in the Brāhmī script.¹

K. M. Srivastava and P.R.K. Prasad read the inscription as *Kaphuputavimasa*, and and translate it as "of Wima, the son of Kaphu." They identify Wima with the Kushāṇa king V'ima Kadphises and Kaphu with his father Kujula Kadphises. The authors claim that it is the "first and foremost official record of Wima Kadphises". They think that Kujula Kadphises was known "as Kaphu in addition to Kapa and Kapha" and that the evidence of the seal supports the "information furnished by the annals of the Chinese dynasty of Hūṇas that Wima was the son and successor of Kadphises I". It has been further observed that "the Brāhmī script on the personal sealing of the king indicates that Wima wielded control over the land where the script was in use."²

We propose to discuss here the above reading and interpretation of the seal inscription. But before offering our reading of the inscription, we like to point out certain factual inaccuracies in the observations of Srivastava and Prasad.

The correct spelling of the name of the son of Kujula is *V'ima* (often wrongly spelt as *Wima* or *Wema*).³ Since there was no Brāhmī letter conveying the sound *v'*, the name had to be spelt as *Vima* or *Vema* in that script. The name is spelt as *Vima* (or *Vema*) in the Mat inscription of a temple keeper employed by the Kushāṇa King in question.⁴ This is incidentally an official or semi-official Brāhmī inscription referring to the Kushāṇa monarch. Strangely enough, Srivastava and Prasad, who claim the seal inscription under review as "the first and foremost official record" of 'Wima' and as his first document in Brāhmī, do not even mention the well-known Mat epigraph, even if they do not want to attribute it to the reign of V'ima. They do not also care to explain why an "official" seal of a king does not attribute, according to their own reading, royal titles to that monarch, particularly when two known Kushāṇa royal seals (one of Kanishka I and the other of Kanishka III)⁵ do contain royal epithets.

Kaphu could be a variant of the epithet *Kapha* appearing on Kujula's coins.

The word *Kapha* and all its variants (*Kadaphes*, *Kadaphiza*, *Kavsa*, etc.) inscribed on coins of Kujula as well as the word *Kadphises* and its variants (*Kavphiṣa*, and *Kapiṣa*) in V'ima's coin-legends are ultimately derived from Old Iranian *Kāṣa-paiša*, meaning 'of honoured form.'⁶ Both the father and the son thus had a common title. It was not a part of personal name of either. If the seal inscription really refers to V'ima, his father should have been mentioned by his personal name and not by a title alone, as Srivastava and Prasad's reading would require us to believe.

The relationship between Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh (identified with Kujula Kadphises)⁷ and his son Yen-Kao-Chen (identified with V'ima Kadphises)⁸ is specified in the *Hou-Han-Shu*.⁹ This Chinese treatise contains annals of the Later Han dynasty (not Hūṇa dynasty).

We may now examine the reading of the seal as offered by Srivastava and Prasad. Our reading is based on the reproduction of the seal appearing at the end of their article.¹⁰

The first letter has been read by Srivastava and Prasad as *Ka*. It is really the letter *Ka* with the sign for medial *u*.¹¹ or *ū*¹² or *ṛ*¹³.

The second letter looks like an ellipse (with its top and bottom closed). A horizontal or semi-horizontal bar runs across the middle of the ellipse. The sign for medial *u* is attached to the bottom of the ellipse. Such a figure can be read only as *tha*¹⁴ with the sign for medial *u*. The third letter is definitely

a.¹⁵ It is surprising that Srivastava and Prasad read it as a conjunct letter consisting of *pu* and *ta*. Has there been any such conjunct letter?

The fourth letter is *va* with the sign for medial *e* and not *i* (as is wrongly thought by Srivastava and Prasad). This is quite clear even in the ling drawing of the inscription furnished by them.¹⁶ The fifth character is surely *ma* with the sign for medial *i*. Unfortunately Srivastava and Prasad have not read this sign though it figures in their line drawing.¹⁷ However, they have correctly deciphered the last letter as *sa*.

The above discussion allows us to read the seal inscription as *Kṛi* (or *Ku* or *Kū*) *thuavemisa*. Certain palaeographic features, like the horizontal bar in *tha* and the sign for medial *i* in *mi*, tend to place the inscription not earlier than the 3rd-4th century A. D.¹⁸ On the other hand, the form of the letter *ma* indicates that the epigraph need not be placed beyond that period¹⁹ and that of *a* suggests a date not after the 2nd century A. D.²⁰ Hence the palaeographic features seem to refer the seal to sometime in the period ranging from the 2nd to the 4th century A. D.

The language of the record is obviously Prakrit. Since sonant *r* disappears in the relevant form of Prakrit,²¹ the first character may better be read as *ku* or *kū*, but not as *kṛi*.

The whole inscription can be meaningfully read as *Kuthua Vemisa* or *Kūthua Vemisa*. It refers to the seal as 'of Vemi, who belongs to the family or area called

Kuthu or Kūthu (*Kuthuka* > *Kutha*; or *Kūthuka* > *Kūthua*)".²²

Whether this interpretation is acceptable or not, there is absolutely no doubt that the seal inscription does not

refer to the Kushāṇa king V'ima. There may be some indications of Kushāṇa influence in the region, which yielded the seal.²³ But there is no evidence of the rule or Kujula of V'ima in the area concerned.

NOTES :

1. *JESI.*, Vol. VII, 1980, p. 103.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.
3. *Acts du XIVe Congress des Orientalistes.*, p. 219; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*. Calcutta, 1967, pp. 47 and 95, n. 35.
4. *KG.*, pp. 57-60; B.N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and Its Society - The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981, pp. 41-45.
5. G. R. Sharma and others, *Kushāṇa Studies*, Allahabad, 1968, p. 45 and pl. XX, no. A; *KG.*, pp. 84-85 and pl. VI, no. 1.
6. *KG.*, pp. 45-47.
7. *KG.*, pp. 46 and 93, n. 24.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Fan Yeh, *Hou-Han Shu*, Ssu-pu pei-yao edition, ch. 118, p. 9a.
10. *JESI.*, Vol. VIII, 1980, p. 103.
11. For an example of this rather unusual form of medial *u* consisting of a slanting stroke attached to the middle of lower portion of the left (and not right) side of a vertical bar, see H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (edited by K.L. Janert), Göttingen, 1961, p. 271, no. 31, letter *pu* and *hu* in l. 2.
12. A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1963, pl. VIIIb, II, 1-2.
13. *Ibid.*, pl. IXa, line 7.
14. *IP.*, pl. Xa, II, 1-8. The line drawing furnished by Srivastava and Prasad also shows the horizontal bar (*JESI.*, Vol. VII, 1980, p. 101). Hence how they could take the letter as *pha*?
15. *IP.*, pl. VIIa, II, 8-9; pl. VIIIa, I, 10; B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and Its Society - The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*. Calcutta, 1981, pl. IV, no. 25.
16. *JESI.*, Vol. VII, 1980. p. 101.
17. *Ibid.*

18. *IP.*, pl. Xa, II, 1-3. It should, however, be recorded that it may not be impossible to notice the relevant form of the sign for medial in a 2nd century inscription. For an example we can refer to the medial *i* in the word *Budhaśami* in an inscription of the time of king Huvishka, recently edited by us.
19. Compare *IP.*, pl. VIIIb, II, 1-12 and pl. XIb, I, 1 with *ibid.*, pl. XIb, II, 2-12.
20. Compare *ibid.*, pl. VIIIa, II, 1, 5, 7 and 10 with *ibid.*, pl. IXa, II, 6-12 and pl. Xa, II, 1-12.
21. A. C. Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, 2nd edition, reprint, Delhi, 1975, p. 25.
22. c.f. *Kusuluka* (in the Taxila inscription of the year 78) > *Kusulua* (in the Mathura lion capital inscriptions). The names *Liaka Kusuluka* and *Kusulua Patika* suggest *Liaka* as the appellation of a clan or family. On the other hand, the expression *Budhila Nak(r)arasa*, (i.e. "Budhila belonging to Nagara", identifiable with Nagarahāra or Jalalabad) in the Mathurā lion capital inscriptions refers to N gara as the name of a place.
23. See our paper on the seal inscriptions referring to a *Dēvaputra vihāra* found at Piprahwa ("*Dēvaputra vihāra* of Kapilavastu", *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1977, Vol. XIX, nos. 1-2, pp. 62-64).

3 JATAVARMAN RAJA RAJAN SUNDARA PANDYA

N. Sethuraman

The extreme south of the Indian peninsula was the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Madurai was its capital. In the middle of the 13th century the Pāṇḍyas rose to power. The entire Tamil country, Kerala and part of Ceylon were brought under the banner of the Pāṇḍyas. In the beginning of the 14th century the Pāṇḍyas were at their zenith. The country was rich and prosperous. This attracted the Muhammadan invaders from the north.

The successive Muhammadan invasions in 1311, 1319 and 1324 A.D., eclipsed the name and fame of the Pāṇḍyan empire which gradually declined down. The Muhammadans occupied Madurai and established the Madurai Sultanate. In the year 1371 A.D., the Vijayanagara prince Kampana came to the rescue of the Tamil kings, drove out the Muhammadans and restored orderly government in the Tamil country. The Pāṇḍyas retired to the south and existed till the middle of the 17th century.

The above is the brief history of the Pāṇḍyas of the south. The object of this article is to investigate an important historical event of the 14th century. It is generally believed that a Pāṇḍyan prince killed his father and joined the Muhammadan invaders. The present research reveals a different picture. Records show that the Pāṇḍyan prince, even though, at the initial stage, joined the Muhammadan invaders, later realised his fault and

came back to his house. He did not kill his father.

In this connection, before proceeding further, I would like to refer to an important information about the names of the Pāṇḍyan princes. In the course of seven hundred years (1000 to 1700 A.D.) scores of Pāṇḍya kings existed. They had only six names often repeated. They are Kulaśekhara, Sundara, Vira, Vikrama, Śrīvallabha and Parākrama. These are the royal (*abhisheka*) names bestowed on the princes at the time of anointment. They had the dynastic titles either *Māra-varmaṇ* or *Jaṭāvarmaṇ*. Princes with same or different royal names and with same or different titles rule jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reigns is common. Brothers and their relatives may also have the same anointed names. The princes are identified by their epithets, *praśastis*, titles, surnames, birth star, accession dates and other internal and external evidence. The personal names bestowed on the princes at the time of their birth would be different. Records introduce the anointed (royal) names only. For further details I request the reader to please refer to my books *Medieval Pāṇḍyas* and *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKARA PANDYA I

The most celebrated Pāṇḍyan king of the 13th century was Māra-varmaṇ Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya¹. He came to the throne between the 23rd June and the 12th July

1261 A.D. His Tamil *prasasti* begins with “*Ter polum alkul*”. He had the epithet “*emmanḍalamum koṇḍaruḷiya*” (who took every country). His birth star was Mūla. His records with highest regnal years 44 and 47 corresponding to 1312 and 1315 A.D. are available.² As we shall see below Kulaśekhara was alive in 1318 A.D. also.

FIRST SON

Jaṭāvarmaṇ Vira Pāṇḍya was the first son of Kulaśekhara.³ He came to the throne between the 16th May and the 5th June 1297 A.D. His rule extended upto 1342 A.D. Vira Pāṇḍya had the surname *Kaliyugarāmaṇ*. The fourth *prākāra* walls of the Srīraṅgam temple were built by him and they are called “*Kaliyugarāmaṇ tirumadil*”. A record which comes from Srīraṅgam belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya.⁴ It is in year 21, corresponding to 1318 A.D. The record states that Kulaśekhara, father of Vira Pāṇḍya, instituted a service called “*Kulaśekharaṇ - sandhi*” in his name in the temple. In order to meet the expenses he gifted the village Chittiravalli *alias* Kēraḷa - Chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ to the temple. The royal letter, (*tirumugaṁ*) from Kulaśekhara granting the village was received by the son Vira Pāṇḍya and he gave effect to it (*ayyaṇ tirumugappaḍiyil nānum taṇḍu*). This clearly shows that Kulaśekhara was alive in 1318 A.D. (The village Chittiravalli was also called Kēraḷa - Chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ. This surname was probably given by the Kēraḷa king Ravi-varmaṇ Kulaśekhara, who occupied this territory in the period 1313 to 1317 A.D.).

Another record⁵ which comes from Kaṇkuḍi belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya year 22, month Vṛiśchika, *pūrva paksha pañchami*, Uttirāḍam and Monday, The date regularly corresponds to 30th October 1318 A.D. It states that upto that time the tank was dry and the lands fell fallow. They were repaired and assigned to the temple. The chieftains (*mudalis*) and the personal officers (*uḍankūṭṭam*) of Perumāḷ Kulaśekhara dēva and the chieftain Vijayālayadēva made the necessary settlement. This again confirms that Kulaśekhara was alive in 1318 A.D. Probably that was his last date.

SECOND SON

Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya was the second son of Kulaśekhara. He came to the throne between the 17th March and the 27th April 1303 A.D. He had the epithet “*emmanḍalamum koṇḍaruḷiya*” (who took every country). His rule extended upto 1325 A.D.

During this period there was another prince also called Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāmaṇ. His birth star was Pushya. The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya kulōdaya* states that Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāmaṇ was the son of the sister of Vira Pāṇḍya *alias* Kaliyugarāmaṇ. Evidently he was the grandson of Kulaśekhara by a daughter. Sundara *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāmaṇ came to the throne in 1304 and ruled till 1319 A.D. The family tree is given below.⁶

Mājavarmaṇ Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya
of birth star Mūla 1268—1318

Jaṭāvarmaṇ Vira Pāṇḍya
alias Kaliyugarāmaṇ
1297—1342

Jaṭāvarmaṇ
Sundara Pāṇḍya
1303—1325

Daughter

Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya
alias Kōḍaṇḍarāmaṇ of birth
star Pushya 1304 - 1319.

FATHER AND SONS

A record which comes from Nallūr (near Vṛiddhāchalam) belongs to Mājavarmaṇ Kulaśekhara.⁷ It states that prince Sundara Pāṇḍya set up the image of god Vira Pāṇḍīśvaram Uḍaiyār in the name of his elder brother Vira Pāṇḍya. He also set up the image of goddess Dēśamikka Peruma Nāchchiyār in the name of the queen of Vira Pāṇḍya. This record clearly shows that the brothers were on cordial terms. Sundara showed great respect to his elder brother.

Eight records which come from Sri Vaikuṇṭham are engraved on the same wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the Viṣṇu temple.⁸ Four belong to Kulaśekhara. They are dated 1300 to 1305 A.D. The records state that Kulaśekhara gifted lands to the temple for the formation of a garden called *sēraṇai veṇṇāṇ tirunandavaṇam*. The image of goddess Vaikuṇṭha Valliyār (Lakshmī) was also set up. Provision was made for services in the month of Māsi on the day of Mūla, the natal star of the king. A *maṇḍapa* called *Kulaśekharaṇ tirumaṇḍapam* was also built.

One record belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya and it is dated 1300 A.D. The record states that the prince made gifts to the temple for conducting a service called *Vira Pāṇḍyaṇ - sandhi* in his name. Three records belong to his younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya. They are dated 1304, 1309 and 1316 A.D. The record states that Sundara arranged a special service called *Sundara Pāṇḍyaṇ - sandhi* in his name in the temple. The compound wall was constructed by him and it was called *Sundara Pāṇḍyaṇ tirumadil*. The front tower called *Sundara Pāṇḍyaṇ gōpuram* was also built by him. In all these records a pious devotee called Tēvar Pirāṇ Tātar figures. He met Kulaśekhara and his sons on several occasions and obtained grants for the renovation and general repairs of the temple. The above records prove that the father and his two sons were getting on happily. There was no quarrel among them. All of them contributed services in the temples and thus served the people.

Mālik Kāfur invaded Tamil Nadu in April 1311 A.D. (which we shall see somewhere below). This was a great shock

to Kulaśekhara who fell sick. The faithful son Sundara Pāṇḍya arranged special services in the Viṣṇu temple for the welfare of his father. The services were to be conducted every month on the day of Mūla, the natal star of his father.⁹ Thanks to his prayers, Kulaśekhara lived till 1318 A.D.

In the year 1313 A.D. Kēraḷa king Ravivarman Kulaśekhara and his co-regent Kēraḷa Vira Pāṇḍyan occupied Tiruchchirāppalli and the northern areas of Tamil Nadu.¹⁰ The Pāṇḍya brothers Vira and Sundara appealed to the Kākaṭiyas. The Kākaṭiya king Pratāpa Rudra readily responded. In the year 1317 A.D. his generals drove out the Kēraḷa prince from Tamil Nadu.¹¹ Vira Pāṇḍya, and Sundara Pāṇḍya were grateful to the Kākaṭiya general Muppiḍi Nāyaka in whose name they arranged special services in the Vṛiddhāchalam temple.¹²

For ought we know is this. Kulaśekhara and his two sons Vira and Sundara were on cordial terms. There was no animosity in the family. The brothers were ever united. This we shall again refer to when we study the narrations of the Muhammadan historians. During this period there were some more Pāṇḍyan princes. Here we are concerned with the activities of three contemporary princes only. We shall see them below.

JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA PANDYA

Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya¹³ came to the throne in 1315 A.D. His Śōlapuram record¹⁴ equates his eighth regnal year to Śaka 1244 confirming his accession in 1315 A.D. A record which comes from

Ariyūr is in the 7th year of the king and it mentions a coin called *vāḷal vaḷi tiṇandāṇ paṇam*.¹⁵ Another record which comes from Nagar is in his fourth year and introduces him as Parākrama Pāṇḍya *alias vāḷal vaḷi tiṇandāṇ*.¹⁶ Evidently Parākrama adopted this title in 1318-19 A.D. *Vāḷal vāḷi tiṇandāṇ* means "he who cut the way through, by his sword." This high sounding title clearly indicates his success in some crucial battle. Incidentally Khusru Khān the general of Delhi Sultān Kutabdin Mubārak Shāh invaded Tamil Nadu in 1318-19 A.D. but he was severely beaten back.¹⁷ Probably Parākrama took a leading role in defeating the Muhammadan invader and adopted the title *vāḷal vaḷi tiṇandāṇ*. The phrase *vāḷal vaḷi tiṇandāṇ* is a fixed point in the history of the Pāṇḍyas. It has depth and historicity. If we find this phrase in any record we can immediately conclude that the record was engraved after 1319 A.D.

A record which comes from Madurai Minākshī Amman temple is in two verses. It praises the valour and heroic adventure of the Pāṇḍya king "*vāḷal vaḷi tiṇandāṇ*" evidently Parākrama Pāṇḍya.¹⁸ The *Tiruppaṇi-vivaram* (chronicle of the Madurai temple) says¹⁹ that the west *gōpura* of the Madurai Minākshī Amman temple was built by Parākrama Pāṇḍya in 1323 A.D. The *Tiruppaṇi-mālai* (another chronicle) also states that the *gōpura* was built by him.²⁰ The record of Parākrama is found on the wall of the west *gōpura*.²¹ It states that Parākrama *alias Vāḷal vaḷi tiṇandāṇ* fled to Kāḷaiyār-kōyil near Madurai. The Muhammadan invaders captured Madurai and established the Madurai Sultanate.²² Parākrama was captured and

sent to Delhi. However he escaped and returned to Tamil Nadu. This is evident from a record which comes from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. It belongs to Mājavarman Kulasekhara II (of accession 1311 A.D.) year 20, month Vaikāśi corresponding to 1331 A.D. It states that Śrī Parākrama Pāṇḍya dēvar *alias Para Rāja Rāmon alias vaiyam toḷa niṇṇa perumāl* gifted cows to the temple.²³ The fact remains that Parākrama lived till 1334 A.D.

JATĀVARMAN SRIVALLABHA

Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha²⁴ came to the throne between the 23rd June and the 31st August 1308 A.D. He had the surname Akavarāman. A coin called *Akavarāman paṇam* was current in this period. He ruled a till 1324 A.D. A record which comes from Dhurvāsapuram²⁵ is in his 33rd year. It is dated Monday the 5th February 1341 A.D. and mentions the coin *vāḷal vaḷi tirandāṇ* called after Parākrama of accession 1315 A.D. A record which comes from Tirukkālār is in the 25th year of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha²⁶. It is dated Saturday the 27th March 1333 A.D. The record states.²⁷

"..... in those days when Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya Deva came with the Muhammadans (tulukkar) the local chieftain, his brothers and the devotees were killed and the country was devastated due to rioting and floods....."

This information clearly shows that a prince called Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya existed prior to 1333 A.D. and he joined the Muhammadan invaders who for the first time came to Tamil Nadu in 1311 A.D. We shall see the relevant sources and identify this prince.

RAJA RAJAN SUNDARA PANDYA

The records of Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya are tabulated in Appendix I. He bears the title *Jaṭāvarman*. His Tiruvankuḷam record²⁸ year 14 mentions the coin *vāḷal vaḷi tirandāṇ* which title was adopted by Parākrama in 1319 A.D. This shows that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne after 1305 A.D. His existence prior to 1333 A.D. is confirmed by Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha. On the basis of this information the astronomical data of his records are applied to the period 1305 to 1333 A.D. The dates indicate that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 5th February and the 30th March 1310 A.D. He existed till 1332. In 1333, Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha states that in those days Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya joined the Muhammadan invaders.

AMIR KHUSRU

Amir Khusrū was the court poet of the Delhi Sultan Alāudin Khilji. Khusrū also served as a captain in the army. He was a contemporary of the events which he graphically describes in his poems. He says that Alāudin Khilji sent his general Mālik Kāfur to conquer the kingdoms in South India. Mālik Kāfur conducted two campaigns. In the first one he defeated the Kākatiyas. In the second campaign he went upto Madura the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. Khusrū who was a witness to the campaigns narrates the events in detail and also gives the dates in Hijira calendar. His narrations are tabulated below.²⁹

INVASION OF SOUTH INDIA BY MALIK KAFUR

(In the Hijira calendar the day of the lunar month begins at sunset.

This is taken into account in the following dates)

| Events | Hijira Date A. H. | Date in A. D. |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 1) Mālik Kāfur left Delhi | 24th Jamadal, Akkir, 710 | 18-11-1310 |
| 2) Mālik Kāfur arrived at Dēvagiri and got support | Thursday, 13th Ramzan, 710 | 4-2-1311 |
| 3) He left Dēvagiri on | 17th Ramzan, 710 | 8-2-1311 |
| 4) Mālik Kāfur arrived at Bandri | 5 days later | 13-2-1311 |
| 5) Mālik Kāfur left Bandri | Sunday 23rd, Ramzan, 710 | 14-2-1311 |
| 6) Mālik Kāfur arrived Dvārasamudram | 5th Shawal, 710 | 25-2-1311 |
| 7) Vira Ballāḷa surrendered and made over his treasures to Mālik Kāfur | Friday 6th, Shawal, 710 | 26-2-1311 |
| 8) Mālik Kāfur left Dvārasamudra for Tamil Nadu | Wednesday, 18th Shawal, 710 | 10-3-1311 |
| 9) Mālik Kāfur plundered and massacred at Birdhul (Viradhavaḷam at Tiruchchirapalli) He destroyed Kandūr (Thanjavur Kaṇḍi-yūr). He destroyed the golden temple at Brahmapuri. He broke the idol, collected vast treasures. He destroyed the temples at Birdhul | 13th Zilkada, 710 | 4-4-1311 |
| 10) He arrived at Kham | Thursday 17th, Zilkada, 710 | 8-4-1311 |
| 11) Mālik Kāfur arrived at the gates of Madura, the city belonging to Sundara Pāṇḍya's brother | Five days later | 13-4-1311 |
| 12) Vira Pāṇḍya fled with his queens; Mālik Kāfur plundered the city and the palace; burnt the temple Jagnar (Chokkar the Siva temple). left Madura on | Sunday 4th, Zilhijja, 710 | 25-4-1311 |

| Events | Hijira Date A. H. | Date in A. D. |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------|
| 13) Mālik Kāfur returned with the booty ; arrived at Delhi and presented himself before Alāudin Khilji on | Monday 4th, Jumades Sani, 711 | 18-10-1311 |

The above table is self explanatory. Amir Khusru says that Mālik Kāfur arrived at Bandri on 13th February 1311 A.D. (item No 4 of the above table) There Malik stayed to make enquiries respecting the countries in advance when he was informed, that the two Rais of Mabār (kings of Tamil Nadu), eldest named Bir Pandya (Vira Pāṇḍya) and the youngest named Sundara Pāṇḍya who had upto that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions and that Ballāla Deo (the Hoysaḷa king Vira Ballāḷa) the Rai of Dvārasamudram on learning this fact, marched for the purpose of sacking their two cities and plundering the merchants, but on hearing of the advance of the Muhammdan army he returned to his own country.

Amir Khusru says that the eldest brother Vira Pāṇḍya and the youngest brother Sundara Pāṇḍya advanced against each other. We must carefully read his statement. The mention of eldest brother and youngest brother clearly shows that there should have been minimum three brothers. We know that Vira Pāṇḍya of accession 1297 A.D. and his younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1303 A.D. were on cordial terms. In the words of Khusru the youngest Sundara Pāṇḍya fought with the eldest Vira Pāṇḍya. This proves that there should have been a third brother

also called Sundara Pāṇḍya and he advanced against Vira Pāṇḍya. The battle should have been fought in the last quarter of 1310 A.D. and the Hoysaḷa king Vira Ballāḷa also participated in some form. When Ballāḷa came to know the advance of the Muhammadan army, he immediately returned to his capital prior to 13th February 1311 A.D. on which date Mālik Kāfur arrived at Bandri and heard the above news.

Here we have two information. The first one is about the third (youngest) brother also called Sundara Pāṇḍya. The second information is the battle in the South around third quarter of 1310 A.D. The fight was among the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷa king also took part in some from. Now let us see what the Hoysaḷa records state about these events.

HOYSALA RECORD

A record which comes from the Rishi gōpura of the Kāñchipuram Kāmākshī- amman temple is in two verses.³⁰ It states that Ballāḷa restored the Pallava king Raḡanaṭha *alias* Rājagaṇḍa Gōpāla *alias* Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla to the throne at Kāñchipuram, defeated the Chōḷa and a Pāṇḍya and honoured the two Pāṇḍyas. The record further states that Ballāḷa married the daughter of the Pallava.

The Pallava king Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla³¹ came to the throne in 1291 A.D. His record in year 21 corresponding to 1311-

12 A.D. is also found on the same wall.³² Evidently he should have been restored to the throne sometime before 1311 say in 1310 A.D. and his daughter married Ballāḷa. During this period Ballāḷa honoured two Pāṇḍyas and defeated a third Pāṇḍya. The two Pāṇḍyas were Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1297 A.D. and his younger brother Jaṭavarman Sundara of accession 1303 A.D. The third Pāṇḍyan prince who was defeated by Ballāḷa is evidently the youngest Sundara Pāṇḍya, who in the words of Amir Khusru, advanced towards his eldest brother Vīra Pāṇḍya. The Chōḷa who was defeated by Ballāḷa was probably a Telugu Chōḷa chieftain.

A record³³ which comes from Viriñchipuram west of Kāñchipuram throws light on the circumstances under which the Pallava could have lost his throne. The record belongs to Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 12, month Aippaṣi corresponding to October 1308 A.D. It states that the chief Kulaśekhara Śāmbuvarāya made grants to the temple for celebrating a festival called *Andalil veṅṅāṇ tirunāl* in his name. The chief claims to be victorious at a place called Andalil which is located in the vicinity of Viriñchipuram west of Kāñchipuram. He makes this claim in the record of Vīra Pāṇḍya. Probably Vīra Pāṇḍya assisted by his chief Kulaśekhara Śāmbuvarāya should have defeated the Pallava chief Raṅganātha *alias* Vijayaṅḍa Gōpāla. The Pallava lost his throne at Kāñchī. Later in 1310 A.D. Ballāḷa married the daughter of the Pallava chief. On this auspicious occasion Ballāḷa honoured his friends Vīra Pāṇḍya and the younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya and with their influence and friendship helped his father-

in-law to mount the throne at Kāñchī. Ballāḷa also defeated the youngest brother Sundara Pāṇḍya who advanced against the eldest brother Vīra Pāṇḍya.

Vīra Pāṇḍya was grateful to Ballāḷa. In February 1311 A.D. when Mālik Kāfur attacked the Hoysaḷa kingdom, Vīra Pāṇḍya sent an army of horse and soldiers to assist Ballāḷa.³⁴ In spite of this help Ballāḷa was defeated. After conquering the Hoysaḷas, Mālik Kāfur invaded Tamil Nadu in April 1311 A.D., plundered the cities Tiruchirappalli and returned to Delhi in October of the same year.

The youngest Sundara Pāṇḍya who fought with the eldest Vīra Pāṇḍya and who was also defeated by the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa in 1310 A.D. was evidently Jaṭavarman Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1310 A.D. who in the words of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha joined Muḥammadan invaders when they came to Tamil Nadu in April 1311 A.D. We shall now see further information in the accounts of Wassaf.

WASSAF

About this time Sultān Uljitu was ruling in Persia. Tehran was its capital. Wassaf was a popular poet in the Persian court. He started writing his work in 1300 A.D. In June 1312 A.D. he completed the first four volumes and presented them to the Sultān who was much pleased and rewarded Wassaf. In the fourth volume Wassaf refers to the Pāṇḍyan princes and the campaign of Mālik Kāfur. Wassaf states³⁵ that Kulaśekhara had two sons. The first son was Sundara Pāṇḍya and he was the legitimate son. The second

son was Vira Pāṇḍya whose mother was the concubine of Kulaśekhara. As Vira Pāṇḍya was very shrewd and intelligent Kulaśekhara anointed him successor rejecting the claim of the legitimate son Sundara Pāṇḍya who being enraged at this supercession, killed his father in a moment of rashness and undutifulness towards the close of the year 709 H (1310 A. D.) and placed the crown on his head in the city of Mardi (Madurai). Upon this, in the middle of the year 710 H (1310 A. D.) his brother Vira Pāṇḍya assisted by the son of the daughter of Kulaśekhara advanced against Sundara Pāṇḍya who trembling and alarmed fled from his own country and took refuge in the court of Alāudin Khilji at Delhi.

Wassaf's account does not agree with the inscriptions and also Amir Khusru. All the Pāṇḍyan princes were legal heirs as evidenced by the dynastic title Jaṭavarman. Kulaśekhara was not killed in 1310 A. D. He lived till 1318 A. D. It was Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya, the youngest brother who joined the Muhammadan invaders. This information coupled with gossip, rumours and accounts of doubtful accuracy reached Persia and Wassaf thought that a friend of the Muhammadans was the legitimate son and the enemy of the Muhammadans was the illegitimate son. Wassaf did not come to India. He says that he has written the account based on the oral statements gathered from his trustworthy friends. Those friends were the officers and attendants of the Persian ambassador in the court of Alāudin Khilji. They were in Delhi when Mālik Kāfur returned after the campaign of South India. Alāudin Khilji who was

not on cordial terms with the Sultan of Persia killed the ambassador and ill-treated his officers and attendants. Those who escaped the torture and miseries fled to Persia. They informed Wassaf about the campaign of Mālik Kāfur and also the hearsay stories about the Pāṇḍyan princes. In the circumstances Wassaf doubted the very story which he heard. For he says,

"While I was engaged in writing this passage, one of my friends said to me: The kings of Hind are celebrated for their penetration and wisdom; why then did Kales Dewar, during his lifetime nominate his younger and illegitimate son as his successor; to the rejection of the elder, who was of pure blood, by which he introduced distraction into a kingdom which had been adored like a bride".

This clearly proves that Wassaf suspected it as a rumour. He is very cautious in his assessment of the picture. There is reason for this. After the ruthless campaign of the south, Mālik Kāfur (who in the words of Wassaf was a very Saturn) returned to Delhi in October 1311 A. D. Wassaf refers to this campaign and the Pāṇḍyan princes in his fourth volume which he presented to his sultan in June 1312 A. D. The information which he gathered within an interval of eight months got twisted and this prompted Wassaf to doubt the truth behind the story.

At any rate the fact remains that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya, the youngest prince, was a rebel in the Pāṇḍyan house and in the year 1311 A. D., he joined the Muhammadan invaders. Circumstances prompt us to surmise that Rāja Rājan

Sundara Pāṇḍya was the last son of Kulaśekhara, probably by a second queen or he could be the son of Kulśekhara's younger brother who is referred to in the Tirukkaḍaiyūr record discussed below.

TIRUKKADAIYUR RECORD

A record which comes from Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Thanjavur district) belongs to Kulaśekhara³⁶. It is in his 34th year dated Sunday the 10th September 1301 A.D. The record registers a joint resolution of the brāhmaṇas of two *brahmadēyas* and the Vellāla farmers of the adjoining villages to set apart 10 veli of lands for burning 108 perpetual lamps in the temple of Kālākāla Dēvar for the welfare of the king Kulaśekhara. The occasion for this gift is stated to be that their prayer to the god was answered by way of the king having resumed for himself the administration of the *nāḍu* (country) from his younger brother (*tiruttambi*), and thus having enabled them to return to their own homes from other regions to which they had fled owing to the disturbed state of the country, for a long time, and where they had to suffer great privation and miseries.

The story is very clear. Kulaśekhara entrusted the administration of the country to his younger brother in whose reign the people suffered a lot and fled to the other areas. They prayed to god and also appealed to Kulaśekhara to take the administration in his hands. Kulaśekhara readily obliged the people and brought the country under his direct rule. Naturally the younger brother should have been disappointed and embittered by frustrations. The date was 1301 A.D. Jaṭāvarman Rāja Rājan Sundara

Pāṇḍya could be the son of that frustrated younger brother of Kulaśekhara and in order to take revenge he could have advanced against Vira Pāṇḍya in 1310 A.D. This is only a reasonable assumption. The younger brother of Kulaśekhara should also be a Māṇavarman. Curiously two records belonging to a Māṇavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya coming from Vṛdhāchalam and Acharapākkam point out the existence of Vikrama Pāṇḍya in this period. The former³⁷ quotes year 3, Makara, Pūrva Paksha, Trayodaśī, Pushya and Monday corresponding to 23rd January 1301 A.D. The latter³⁸ quotes year 3, Mīna, Apra Paksha, Ēkādaśī, Śrāvaṇa and Monday corresponding to 6th March 1301 A.D. The dates indicate his accession in 1298 A.D. and his existence upto 1301 A.D. Probably he could be the younger brother of Kulaśekhara. The dates point out his anointment a year after the accession of Vira. Why should Kulaśekhara crown his son Vira in 1297 A.D. and his own younger brother Vikrama in 1298 A.D.? could it be the reason for the bad administration of Vikrama? There is some lacuna in this and we are unable to answer it at present. Except the astronomical date we have no other means to confirm the existence of Māṇavarman Vikrama of accession 1298 A.D. Curiously the astronomical date of these two records do not agree with the dates of other known Māṇavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍyas³⁹ of accession 1218, 1250, 1322 and 1377 A.D. The Pāṇḍyas exercised their authority in the northern areas of the Tamil country in the period 1251 to 1371 A.D. and strangely the date of the Vṛdhāchalam record produce the date 23rd January 1301 A.D. only. Thus astronomy

is the only and lone plus point in our favour in proposing the existence of this Vikrama in 1298 to 1301 A.D. and in the present state of our knowledge and acquaintance of the source materials, we are obliged to assume that Mājavarman Vikrama of accession 1298 A.D. could be the younger brother of Kulaśekhara.

However it is difficult to say definitely, whether he was the son of Kulaśekhara or the son of his younger brother, Rāja Rājan

Sundara Pāṇḍya, the youngest in the family, who fought with his eldest brother Vira and joined the Muhammadan invaders in 1311 A.D. There was another Muhammadan invasion (Khusru Khān) in 1319 A.D. but this time they were beaten back. Rāja Rājan Sundara should have realised his mistake and returned to his brothers. Probably this was the reason for the appearance of his records from 1321 A.D. only. He was alive in 1332 A.D. His fate is not known.

APPENDIX I

JATAVARMAN RAJA RAJAN SUNDARA PANDYA

| Village and Record | Year and Data | Date |
|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Ādanūr Pd. 424 | 12, Mēsha, ba 13, Friday and (Uttirattādi) (See Tamil text) | 27th March 1321 A.D. |
| Neyvāsal Pd. 351 | 12, Mēsha, śu 13 mistake for 14, Chitra and Sunday | 27th April 1321 A.D. |
| Kuṇṇāṇḍārkōyil Pd. 353 | 12, Mithuna, śu 1, Pushya and Friday | 26th June 1321 A.D. |
| Kalappal 334/19 5 | 12, Tula, ba 3 mistake for śu 14, Monday, Uttirattādi | 5th October 1321 A.D. |
| Malaiadipatti Pd. 520 | Year 12 | 1321-22 A.D. |
| Ādānūr Pd. 354 | Year 12 | 1321-22 A.D. |
| Pd. 355 | Year 12 | 1321-22 A.D. |
| Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No.265 | 13, Simha, ba 8, Rōhiṇi and Friday (first set of data) | 6th August 1322 A.D. |
| —do— | 13, Kaṇṇi, śu, Viśākha and Wednesday (second set of data) | 15th September 1322 A.D. |

| Village and Record | Year and Date | Date |
|---|--|---------------------------|
| Kōyil Tirumalam 248 / 1917 | 13, Kumbha, śu 3, Sadayam mistake for Rēvati, Wednesday | 9th February 1323 A.D. |
| Ādanūr Pd. 356 | 13, Kārttigai | November 1322 A.D. |
| Iraniyūr 11 / 1926 | 13 | 1322-23 A.D. |
| Vēlānguḍi 504 / 1959 | 14, Vaikāśi | May 1323 A.D. |
| Tiruvaraṅkuḷam Pd. 487 | 14, Vaikāśi—mentions the coin <i>vāḷal</i> <i>vāḷi tiṇḍān paṇam</i> called after Parākrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1315 A.D. | May 1323 A.D. |
| Tiruvaraṅkulam Pd. 488 | 14, Āṇi | June 1323 A.D. |
| Kalappal S.I.I. Vol VIII, No. 268 | 23 Tulā, śu 3, Mūla and Friday | 23rd October 1332 A.D. |
| Kuṇṇakkuḍi 42 / 1909 | lost | |

On the basis of 248 of 1917 Rēvati in Kumbha of 1310 A.D. falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 4th February. On the basis of Pd. 424 Uttirattādi in Mēsha of 1310 A.D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 30th March. Jaṭavarman Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 5th February and the 30th March 1310 A.D.

The record from Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 265 supplies two sets of date in the same 13th year. This is a fixed point. The *tithi* quoted in Pd. 424 helps us in correcting the *tithi* in Pd. 351. Corrections

are suggested in 334 of 1925 and 248 of 1917 following the law of astronomy. The errors in the astronomical data in a few records are due to the troublesome period after the Muhammadan invasions. Internal evidence justify the initial date 1310 A.D.

Elsewhere *vide* my book *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas* (edition 1971) I surmised that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne in 1313 A.D. I made further research and I am fully convinced of the revised date 1310 A.D. which correctly fits into the accounts of Amir Khusrū and the records of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa. The revision

does not make any harm or damage to the methodology of my earlier surmises. In fact the revision helps us in understanding the history of this period in a better way.

The investigation of the Pāṇḍyan records is so difficult that it took seven years for me in finding the correct accession year of this prince.

APPENDIX II

A) An individual by name Maiykkun Dēvan Sokkanāyanār Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla figures in the following records. The villages mentioned below are within a radius of 3 kilometers.

| Village and record | King | Year |
|--|---|------------------------|
| Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 265 | Rāja Rājan Sundara, Year 13 | 1322 A.D. |
| Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 268 | Rāja Rājan Sundara, Year 23 | 1322 A.D. |
| Tirukkālār S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 247 | Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha, Year 25 | 1333 A.D. |
| Tirumakkōṭṭai 260 and 267 of 1917 | Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II, Year 22, Karkaṭaka, śu 1, Thursday, Pushya | 20th July 1335 A.D. |
| Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 262 | Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II, Year 23 | 1337 A.D. |
| Kalappal S.I.I., Vol. VIII, No. 267 | Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II, Year 23 | 1337 A.D. |

B) An individual by name Chella-ppillai *alias* Parākrama Pāṇḍya Amarakōṇār figures in the records Pd. 351, 354 and 355 of Appendix I of Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya. He is evidently the officer of Jaṭavarman Parākrama of accession 1315 A.D. and he figures in the records dated in 1321–22 A.D. of Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya. The records state that the cultivating tenancy right of the *devadāna* lands lying in the village Arasamaṇavāla

Nallūr was conferred on Parākrama Pāṇḍya Amarakōṇār who in turn agreed to spend the income from the lands for services in the Śiva temple Vaḍapulam Uḍaiyār and also to conduct special services called *Amarakōṇ-sandhi* in his name in the temple. It is said that the grant was also recorded on copper.

C) Pd. 353 (Appendix I) dated 1321 A.D. states that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya

gifted 101 gold coins as endowment to the Śiva temple Tiru Kuṇṇakuḍi Uḍaiya Nāyaṇār. The interest accrued was to be utilised for performing sacred services in the temple and also for conducting a special service called *Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya* - *sandhi* in his name in the temple. It is said that the grant was also recorded on copper. The other record (Appendix I) also registers similar grants by the king or by his officers to various temples. D) Kalappal record 334 of 1925 (of Appendix I) of Rāja Rājan Sundara is dated 1321 A.D. In this record a chief by name Sokka Nāyaṇār Parākrama Pāṇḍya Maḷavarāyar figures. Evidently he is an officer of Parākrama of accession 1315 A.D. and he figures in the record of Rāja Rājan Sundara.

E) Another individual by name Sakatanar Monnaiyar Akaḷaṅka Nāḍālvār figures in the Kōyil Tirumalam record 248 of 1917 of Rāja Rājan Sundara, Year 13 dated 1323 A.D. The same individual figures in the Tiruppugalūr record 73 of 1928 of Maḷavarman Kulaśekhara II, Year 19 dated 1333 A.D. The two villages are within a distance of ten kilometers.

F) The above records prove that Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya who joined the Muhammadan invaders in 1311 A.D. returned to his house in 1321 A.D. followed the footsteps of his ancestors and granted gifts liberally to the temples. The contemporary Pāṇḍyan princes were also magnanimous and affectionate towards him.

Notes :

1. Kielhorn - *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 227; Sewell - I.A. 1915 p. 198; N Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*, p. 98.
2. Tirukkalakkuḍi *ARSIE.*, 1916 No. 106, Year 44; and Valliyūr *Ibid.*, 1915 No. 600, Year 47.
3. N. Sethuraman - Two Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of accession 1303 and 1304 A.D. *JESI*, Vol. X
4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 221.
5. Kaṅkudi (near Tiruchchirappalli) *ARSIE.*, 1913; No. 38 I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy who was kind enough to send me the transcript of the record.
6. As in 3 above.
7. Nallūr (near Vṛiddhāḷchalām) *ARSIE.*, 1941 No. 156 *Ibid.* 1939 - 43, p. 249.
8. *A. R. I. E.*, 1959-60, p. 25.
9. Ramnad district Tirumal Ugandan Kōṭṭai record *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 51 Jaṭavarman Sundara, Year 9
10. N. Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*, p. 136.

11. Jambukēśvaram *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 430 and Śrī Raṅgam *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 283 - *tiruvaḍi kuṇḍramu Vīra Pāṇḍi ninni, malayāḷa tiruvaḍi Kulaśekhara ninni.*
12. Vṛiddhāchalam *ARSIE.*, 1918, No. 72 Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of acc ssion 1303 A.D. Year 14.
13. Robert Sewell - *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 264 and N. Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pandyas*, p. 152.
14. Śōjapuram *ARSIE.* 1909, No. 487
15. Ariyūr - Pd, No. 622 - Jaṭāv rman Parākrama Year, 7
16. Tirukkivilur taluk - Nagar *ARSIE.*, 1910, No. 303
17. Elliot and Dowson - *History of India as told by the Muhammadan historians* 1871 edition - Part III, pages 214, 215 and 219
18. Madurai *ARSIE.* 1915, No. 7
19. & 20. D. Devakunjari - *Madurai through the ages*, 1979 edition p. 222; *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 138; *Ibid.*, 1914, P. 4.
21. Madurai *ARSIE.*, 1905, No. 58
22. Devakunjari - *Madurai through the ages*, p. 160.
23. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 73.
24. N. Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pandyas*, p. 156.
25. Dhurvāsapuram - Pd. No. 638. Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha, Year 33, Kumbha, Hasta and Monday.
26. Thanjavūr district Tirukkajar *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 247, Year 25, Mēsha, Pūrva Paksha Ēkādaśi, Makha and Saturday.
27. *Ibid.* II. 16 to 20.
28. Tiruvārunkūjam Pd. No. 487 Jaṭavarman Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya, Year 14 month Vaikāśi; *ARSIE.*, 1914 No. 255 is the same.
29. Elliot and Dowson Part III pp. 69 and 555. Also see N. Sethuraman, *The Imperial Pandyas*, p. 176 to 178.
30. Kāñchipuram *ARSIE.*, 1954-55; No. 312, *Ibid.* 1954-55 p. 16.
31. *ARSIE.*, 1943-55, p. 16; *Inscriptions of Nellore district*, part II - Nellore records Nos. 60 and 71.
32. Kāñchipuram *ARSIE.*, 1954-55, No. 310.
33. Viriñchipuram *ARSIE.*, 1940, No. 180 read with the same temple record. *Ibid.*, No. 178 of Vīra Pāṇḍya, Year 14. Also see *Ibid.*, 1939-43, p. 250, para 55.

34. Elliot and Dowson, Part III p. 49-50.
35. *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 25 and 49 to 54.
36. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXII, Part I, No. 46.
37. Vriddhāchalam (Mājavārman Vikrama) *ARSIE*, 1918, No. 82.
38. Achcharapākkam Mājavārman Vikrama *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 465.
39. (a) Mājavārman Vikrama Pāṇḍya I of accession 1218 A.D. - see N. Sethuraman, *Medieval Pāṇḍyas*, p. 173.
- (b) Mājavārman Vikrama Pāṇḍya II of accession 1250 A.D. - see N. Sethuraman, *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas* p. 58.
- (c) The data of *ARSIE.*, 1905 dated Śaka 1209 and *Ibid.*, 1933; No. 14. indicate the existence of Mājavārman Vikrama III of accession 1282 A.D.
- (d) The data of *ARSIE.*, 1929; No. 286 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 916 and Tamil Nadu State Archaeology, Nannilam Taluk, Tiruppaṇaiyūr 198 / 1978 agree with Mājavārman Vikrama V *alias* Rājakkal Nāyan of accession 1322 A.D.
- (e) Mājavārman Vikrama VI of accession 1347 A.D. - see N. Sethuraman - *Five Pāṇḍyas kings of the 14th century* - paper presented in the 1934 Epigraphical Conference held at Aurangabad.

4. IDENTIFICATION OF THE FIVE PANDYA KINGS

MENTIONED IN THE KANKODUTTAVANITHAM INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I, YEAR 36

P. Venkatesan

The inscription in which a list of five Pāṇḍya kings are mentioned is found engraved in the north wall tier of the Nayanavaradēśvara temple at Kaṇkoḍuttavanitham, near Kumbhakōṇam in Thanjavur District¹. This inscription is a sheet-anchor in the history of the Pāṇḍyas as it is an unique record which gives, for the first time, a list of five Pāṇḍya kings and recapitulates the old land grants made by them in favour of the temple, in which the inscription is found incised. The great importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it offers some rare information regarding the five royal personages and their grants, about which nothing is known from any other source, as they did not leave behind separate records.

The inscription is dated in the 36th regnal year (1304 A.D.) of the Pāṇḍya king Māra-varmaṇ Kulasekhara I (1268-1312 A.D.). Engraved deep below the surface level this inscription in Tamil language and characters, was so far covered by silt accrued owing to the dilapidated condition of the temple. It records the purchase of 180 *kūḷi* of land by the *Ādichanḍēśvara deva-kanmigaḷ* of the temple of Uḍaiyār Puḡa-lābaraniśvaram Uḍaiyār in Ālattānguḍi, a hamlet of Jayadaraṇ *alias* Jayatuṅga chaturvēdimāṅgalaṁ, a *brahmadēya* in Maṅgala - nāḍu, a sub-division of Arumolideva-vaḷa - nāḍu in favour of the goddess kōyil Nāchchiyār Dēvar tampirāṭṭiyār.

After recording the above details, the inscription proceeds with the recounting of the details of lands purchased by the same temple officials and the gifts of land received by them from several individuals in favour of the same deity during the preceeding years of the same king and some of his predecessors and contemporaries. While the present tense is used at the time of recording the details of the first transaction stated above, the inscription carefully uses the past tense in all the foregoing transactions. Further the inscription is noteworthy in as much as the details of the transactions are recorded against the regnal years of the ruling Pāṇḍya king Māra-varmaṇ Kulasekhara I, in the descending order, while those transactions made during the regnal years of the contemporary and preceeding kings are mentioned in the ascending order. Thus the purpose of the inscription seems not only to record the current business transacted but also to recapitulate the old land grants and to serve as a document of consolidated account of all the transactions made till the date of the inscription.

Let us now study the details of transactions (given below in the form of a list) as recorded in the inscription, which will enable us to identify the kings. The identification becomes necessary because there existed about ten kings with

the same names prior to 1304 A.D. The indentification becomes difficult as the inscription deliberately omits the epithets

Maṇavarman and *Jaṭavarman*, alternatively borne by the Pāṇḍya kings.

Details of lands purchased or received as gift by the temple officials in favour of the Godess

| Sl. No. | Kings and regnal years | Names of individuals and amount of land purchased | Names of individuals and amount of land received as gift | Names of individuals figuring while describing the boundary details |
|---------|---|---|--|---|
| I | Māṇavarman Kulasekharadēva, Regnal year 36 Do. year 33 | 1. Bhāradvāji Karumāṇikkāṇ Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ 2. Kavusiyaṇ perum-purakkaḍal-bhaṭṭaṇ 180 <i>kuḷi</i> of land. | Ilaṅgai cherrāṇ Śrī Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ 375 <i>kuḷi</i> | 1. Śi Rāmaṇ Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ |
| II | Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya dēva, Regnal year 3 | 1. Bhāradvāji Karumāṇikkāṇ Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ 2. Bhāradvāji Ālumpirāṇ Tirukkaṇṇa-puram uḍaiyāṇ-bhaṭṭaṇ [47] <i>kuḷi</i> | ..... | 1. Ilaṅgai cherrāṇ Śrī Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ 2. Bhāradvāji Gōvindaṇ Ālāgiyamaṇavāḷa-bhaṭṭaṇ |

| Sl. No. | Kings and regnal years | Names of individuals and amount of land purchased | Names of individuals and amount of land received as gift | Names of individuals figuring while describing the boundary details |
|---------|---------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| II | Do. year 5 | | Nagari Viramiṇḍaṇ, a <i>kaikkōla</i> purchased land from Ilaṅgai cherrāṇ Sri Kṛishṇa- bhaṭṭaṇ and granted. 62 <i>kuḷi</i> | 1. Sṛi Rāmaṇ Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ 2. Kaṇṇappiḷḷai 3. Karumāṇikkaṇ Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ |
| | Do. Year 10 | Ilaṅgai cherrāṇ Sṛi Kṛishṇa- bhaṭṭaṇ 120 <i>kuḷi</i> | .... | .... |
| | Do. Year 13 | Sṛi Kuḍandai- uḍaiyāṇ Sṛi Sēṇā- pati Aḷagiya maṇavāḷappiriyan, the <i>madhyastha</i> of the village 250 <i>kuḷi</i> | .... | 1. Kaṇṇappiḷḷai |
| III | Sṛi Vikrama Pāṇḍya- dēva Year 3 | Bhāradvāji Sṛi Rāma-bhaṭṭaṇ 140 <i>kuḷi</i> | .... | 1. Uttamaṇ |
| | Do. Year 5 | Rāmāṇḍāṇ of Nallūr [100] <i>kuḷi</i> | .... | .... |
| | Do. Year 6 | .... | Pakkam Aḷagiya Nāyakkaṇ | 1. Uruttirāṇḍāṇ <i>alias</i> Kaikkōḷappēraiyaṇ 2. Perumpurakkaḍal Tiruveṅkaṭa- bhaṭṭaṇ |

| Sl. No. | Kings and regnal years | Names of individuals and amount of land purchased | Names of individuals and amount of land received as gift | Names of individuals figuring while describing the boundary details |
|---------|--|--|--|--|
| | Do. Year 6 | ..... | Perumpurakkaḍal Tiruvēṅkaṭa - bhaṭṭaṇ 300 <i>kuḷi</i> | ..... |
| IV | Srī Vira Pāṇḍya-dēva Year 20 | Karumāṇikkaṇ- Nārāyaṇa- bhaṭṭaṇ 150 <i>kuḷi</i> | ..... | ..... |
| | Do. | ..... | Srī Rāmaṇ Āditta bhaṭṭaṇ | 1. <i>eṇṇudāṇa nilam</i> (i.e. land belonging to me) 2. Muṇṇāḷ Nallūru- ḍaiyāṇ |
| V | Srī Sundara Pāṇḍya-dēva, Year 17. | ..... | Rāmāṇḍāṇ <i>alias</i> Marudāṇḍāṇ of Pāṇalūr (This is stated as an old land) | ..... |
| VI | Srī Sundara Pāṇḍya-dēva, Year 3 (This is a different transaction in favour of the deity Uḍaiyār Tillai Nāgēśvaram- uḍaiyār of Kāvadu- kkuḍi) | 1. Bhāradvāji Karumāṇikkaṇ Nārāyaṇa- bhaṭṭaṇ 2. Bhāradvāji Aru- lāḷaṇ Tirukka- ṇṇapuram uḍaiya-bhaṭṭaṇ 3. Ilāṅgai cheṇṇān Srī Kṛishṇa- bhaṭṭaṇ | ..... | ..... |

The inscription ends with the attestation of *Ṣeṭṭa pōṣaṇ* *Śrī Kumāra-bhaṭṭaṇ*, *ṣeṭṭa pōṣaṇ* *Dakṣiṇāmūrthy-bhaṭṭaṇ* of *Vaṅgippuram* and *Śrī Kuṇḍai-udaiyāṇ* , the *madhyasīha* of the village. The *sabhaiyar* of *Jayatuṅga-chaturvēdimaṅalam*, who is stated to have perused all the documents seems to have written the draft of the record, which was engraved on stone by a certain *Śīrpāchchāri* of *Maṅgala-nāḍu*, a sub-division of *Arumolideva-vaṇaṇḍu*.

Although the inscription does not disclose openly the chronology of the six kings, it is not altogether silent in revealing their identity and thereby enabling us to identify them. The internal evidence, which the inscription contains is of great help in this direction.

The inscription explicitly uses the epithet *Mājavarmaṇ*, only to *Kulaśēkhara dēva*, and deliberately omits the epithets *Mājavarmaṇ* and *Jaṭāvarmaṇ*, which were alternatively borne by the Pāṇḍya kings, to the other five kings; thereby leaving us on unassailable grounds to assign the inscription to *Mājavarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara-dēva*.

This *Kulaśēkhara-dēva* was *Mājavarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara I* of acc. 1268 A.D. and his 36th regnal year corresponds to 1304 A.D., which is the date of the inscription. His rule extended upto 1312 A.D.² Now, if we look at the Pāṇḍya chronology prior to 1304 A.D., we find that there were four kings with the name *Sundara Pāṇḍya*, two kings with the name *Vīra Pāṇḍya* and four kings with the name *Vikrama Pāṇḍya*. Since, only five kings

are mentioned in our inscription and their epithets are omitted, it becomes difficult to identify who exactly was the *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* or *Vīra Pāṇḍya* or *Vikrama Pāṇḍya* of our inscription from among the ten kings of the Pāṇḍya chronology. This difficulty is solved by the internal evidence supplied by the inscription.

A perusal of the details of transactions made, which is given above in the form of a list, reveals that the names of a few individuals appear more than once during the reigns of more than one king. This enables us to infer reasonably that those kings might have been contemporaries. In the list we find the following few individuals, who appear in the 36th regnal year of *Mājavarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara* also appear in the reigns of *Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya* (No. II of the list), *Śrī Vīra Pāṇḍya* (No. IV of the list) and *Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya* (No. VI of the list). They are 1) *Bhāradvāji Karumāṇikkaṇ Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ* 2) *Ilaṅgai cheṇṇāṇ Śrī Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ* 3) *Bhāradvāji Alumpirāṇ Tirukkaṇṇapuram-udaiyāṇ-bhaṭṭaṇ* and 4) *Śī Rāmaṇ Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ*. We may not be far wrong if we infer that *Mājavarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara*, *Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya* and *Śrī Vīrapāṇḍya* were contemporaries. If this is accepted, then it goes to prove that this *Śrī Sundarapāṇḍya* was none other than *Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundarapāṇḍya*³ II of acc. 1277 A.D. and the transactions made during the 3rd, 5th, 10th and 13th regnal years of his reign fall well with in 1304 A.D., the date of our inscription. The other three kings of his namesake who ruled prior to 1304 A.D., are thus eliminated.

If we apply the same strategy, we will find that Śrī Vira Pāṇḍya of our inscription was Jaṭāvarmaṇ Vira Pāṇḍya⁴ I of acc. 1253 A.D., whose 20th regnal year would correspond to 1273 A.D. He cannot be Jaṭāvarmaṇ Vira Pāṇḍya II of acc. 1297 A.D. as his 10th regnal year would be 1317 A.D., which is beyond the scope of this study.

Having identified the above kings, now let us turn our attention to Śrī Vikrama Pāṇḍya (No. III of the list) and Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya (No. V of the list). Could Vikrama Pāṇḍya be Māṇavarmaṇ Vikrama Pāṇḍya⁵ II. (acc. 1250) A certain Rāmāṇḍāṇ, is figuring in the transactions made during the reigns of both the kings. This leads us to believe that both these kings could have been contemporaries. Thus, Śrī Vikrama Pāṇḍya was Māṇavarmaṇ Vikrama Pāṇḍya II and

Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya was Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya I both of whom, it is known, were contemporaries.

Thus our study enables us to identify the kings whose epithets are omitted in the inscription.

They are :

- I Māṇavarmaṇ Kulśekhara = Māṇavarmaṇ Kulśekhara I (1268-1312 A.D.)
- II & VII Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya = Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1277-1300 A.D.)
- III Śrī Vikrama Pāṇḍya = Māṇavarmaṇ Vira Pāṇḍya II (1250-65 A.D.)
- IV Śrī Vira Pāṇḍya = Jaṭāvarmaṇ Vira Pāṇḍya I (1253-83 A.D.)
- V Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya = Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1251-74 A.D.)

Notes :

1. This inscription is included in the *ARIE*, 1982-83. I am thankful to the Director (Epigraphy) for permitting me to read this paper at the XIth Annual Congress of the Society held at Dharwad.
2. Inscriptions from Tirukkaḷakkudi (Ramnad District) (*ARSIE*, No. 1906 of 1915) and Tirukkajar (Thanjavur District) (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 251) are dated in the 44th regnal year of the king which corresponds to A.D. 1312. For a detailed discussion on this please refer to *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*, by Shri N. Sethuraman.
3. K.A.N. Sastri remarks that this king had apparently no distinguishing titles and the identification of his records is a matter of considerable difficulty. (*Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 188)
4. This king is credited to have conquered Iḷam (Ceylon), Koṅgu, the Chōḷa Kingdoms and performed anointment at Chidambaram etc.
5. This Vikrama Pāṇḍya was the elder brother of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya I (Acc. 1251 A.D.) N. Sethuraman, *Imperials Pāṇḍyas*, pp. 81.

5 REAPPRAISAL OF THE INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA'S

REIGN : YEAR 23

S. P. Tewari

The importance of the record under discussion lies in its date portion which refers to the last so far known date of Kanishka's reign. It was discovered from the area of Sonkh (near Mathura) by Raj Bahadur Pandit Radhakrishna in the year 1920-21. The contents of this record, which appears on the pedestal of a Bōdhisattva image,¹ have been briefly noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for those years.² But the complete text of the record along with the significance of its contents was brought to our notice first by Daya Ram Sahni in his paper titled "Three Mathura Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushāṇa Dynasty" published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.³ Since then, this inscription has received the attention of scholars all over the world, mainly because of its chronological significance.

Decades later, Prof. Mirashi, not being aware of the fact that the record had been published earlier by Sahni, made a pointed reference to this inscription and urged the desirability of its proper edition.⁴ Subsequently, Dr. Chhabra got the clue from Mirashi and published its text in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXVIII.⁵ It is from this journal that Sircar picked up this record while revising his book *Select Inscriptions*.⁶

Apart from the above notices of this record, significant from the view point of textual criticism, are also the notices of Agrawala,⁷ Janert⁸ and Sharma⁹ who have all contrary to Mirashi, Chhabra and Sircar, adopted the text of this inscription from Sahni only for the purpose of review and modifications.

Leaving the issue of textual criticism for some other occasion and concentrating here only on the decipherment of the date portion, I find that except for Sahni, none of the scholars has paid much attention to the minute details of this portion of the record. Mirashi, Chhabra and Sircar have taken the reading of the symbols for 20 and 3 for granted without offering any comments whatsoever. Janert has, of course, taken note of Sahni's comments in this regard but has concluded differently.¹⁰ I shall avert to the views of Janert later on. For the moment, let us see what the observations of Sahni are regarding the date portion of this record.

The date portion, which has so far been taken as 20+3, is expressed by the symbol for 20 and then (as accepted by other scholars except Sahni) by three (?) horizontal bars denoting the figure 3. The identity of the symbol for the figure 20 is accepted on all hands but as regards that of the numeral 3, it is disputed. (pl. I.) The comments of Sahni, who had

the chance of examining the statue bearing this record *in situ* and who had brought the text of the record to light for the first time, are worth examining in this regard. He says, "it is noteworthy that in the epigraph being described, the units figure of the year appears to consist of four horizontal bars, the uppermost one being thinner than those below it. *If we were aware of any other instance of the numeral four being expressed by four bars instead of the symbol usually met with in early inscriptions,*¹¹ the interval between the two reigns¹² might dwindle down to only three months"¹³

This remark of Sahni regarding the four horizontal bars expressing the numeral four is reviewed by Janert as follows:

"Sahni has drawn attention to the fact that there is a horizontal stroke above the three bars denoting the figures 3, and has suggested that the figure might be for 4. But, as he himself, remarked there is no example of such representation of the numeral 4 and as the uppermost stroke is thinner and longer than those below it, I am convinced that it is accidental. Mr. Agrawala is of the same opinion."¹⁴

The sole cause of Sahni's hesitation in not accepting finally the four horizontal bars of the record as denoting the figure 4 and the *sumum bonum* of Janert's review of the same is that they knew of no other instance of the numeral four being expressed by four bars instead of the symbol usually met with in early inscriptions. In other words, had there been any other similar example available from the field of early inscriptions to

support this rather strange occurrence, there would have been no difficulty in accepting the four horizontal bars as expressing the numeral 4.

This solitary instance of four horizontal bars, whether accidental or deliberate, appears once more in one of the recently discovered copper plates of Bhulunda year 50+4.¹⁵ Here, the symbol for the numeral four figures in two different ways. First time, when the date of the grant is mentioned (in this case, year 50+4) the sign for the numeral 4 is drawn in its evolved form that resembles to the Brāhmī letter *pka* and the second time, while mentioning the fourth *tithi*, four horizontal strokes one below the other are given. After considering the flawless execution of the grant as a whole and the neatly drawn four horizontal bars in particular (pl. II) it is difficult to assume that this has happened accidentally.¹⁶ In my opinion, the engraver of this grant was well aware of the two types of symbols for 4, one being archaic and rare and the other being an evolved one which was more commonly used.

With regard to numerical symbols occurring in Brāhmī records it is not safe to rely blindly on the conclusions drawn by Bühler and Ojha all the time, since the epigraphical sources they could consult were quite limited in number in comparison to what is now available. There is every need to re-examine the date portions of the early records in the light of new discoveries. The utility of such an exercise has been recognised time and again by Bühler, Fleet, Lüders and many others.¹⁷ I have shown elsewhere how rewarding such re-examinations are.¹⁸

Hence, the four horizontal bars of the inscription of Kanishka that were ignored by Mirashi, Chhabra and Sircar and considered by Janert as a mere accident should be treated as a symbol for the numeral 4. Sahni was right in pointing out the existence of such a symbol for the first time and I am sure that with keen observation we will come across more such instances of the numeral 4 being expressed by four horizontal bars.

It goes without saying that the acceptance of our view will have a great bearing on the chronology of the Kushāṇa dynasty. Now the last record of Kanishka will not be that of year 23 but of the year 24. And this will, as it has been rightly presumed by Sahni, dwindle down the interval between the reigns of Kanishka and Vāsishka to only three months.¹⁹

After the introduction of this amendment in the reading of the date portion of the present record, when we take the issue of succession between Kanishka and Vāsishka first and then between Vāsishka

and Huvishka, we arrive at a different conclusion than has been previously reached.

- i) Vāsishka assisted Kanishka in the capacity of a junior ruler from the year 2²⁰ up to the summer of year 24.
- ii) Later on, as is established from another recently discovered record of Huvishka, year 25,²¹ Vāsishka, in all probability, started assisting Huvishka again in the capacity of a junior ruler from the summer of the year 25. Besides many other things, this also accounts for the absence of even a single coin issued in the name of Vāsishka.²²
- iii) Thus, there is every likelihood that the Kushāṇa Sovereignty passed on directly from Kanishka to Huvishka and Vāsishka remained as junior ruler²³ throughout his career.

Notes :

1. The image of Bōdhisattva bearing this inscription is now deposited in the State Museum, Mathura (Museum No. 20.1602).
2. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1920-21, p. 35.
3. *J.R.A.S.* July, 1924, pp. 399-401 text, p. 400.
4. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 292. n. 2.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 42-44 with the facsimile of the inscription and also the photograph of the statue bearing this record. It is worth mentioning here that Sahni's paper (mentioned above) has no illustration of the record.
6. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Second edition, Calcutta, 1965, p. 146,

7. *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, J.U.P.H.S. 1948, p. 46.
8. Heinrich Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, ed. by K. L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961, p. 172.
9. *Buddhist Art of Mathura*, Delhi, 1984 p. 182, n. 44. Whereas in case of Agrawala and Janert the volume of *Epigraphia Indica* (that came out in 1958) was not available, it was certainly there for Sharma to comment upon.
10. *op. cit.*, p. 172.
11. Italics is added by us.
12. That of Kaniska and Vāsishka.
13. *J.R.A.S.* July, 1924, P. 401.
14. *Mathura Inscriptions* p. 172, n. 2.
15. "Recent Discoveries and Research Methods in the Field of South Asian Epigraphy" by Dr. K. V. Ramesh, vide, *Indus Valley to Mekong Delta*, Madras, 1985 pp. 7-8. See also, *JESI*, Vol. X, pp. 86-89.
16. I am grateful to Dr. S. K. Bajpai for providing me the photograph of this grant.
17. See, *E.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 243-46 where Lüders has discussed in detail the uncertain views of scholars about one and the same symbol being taken either as 40 or as 70.
18. "On the Numerals of the Brāhmī Records", by S. P. Tewari, vide, *Proceedings of the South Asian Workshop on Epigraphy*, Mysore, 1985 (in the press).
19. The present record of Kaniska is dated in the first month of *grishma* and that of Vāsishka (vide *E. I.* II pp. 369-70) in the fourth month of *grishma*.
20. For details on the inscription of Vāsishka, Year 20, see B. N. Mukherjee in *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Calcutta, 1973.
21. This record is critically edited by me for publication in *E.I.* Vol. XL and the matter is in the press. For further details, see my paper "On the numerals of the Brāhmī Records" vide, *Proceedings of the South Asian Workshop on Epigraphy*, Mysore, 1985, pp. 25-31.
22. For similar views see the *India under the Kushāṇas* by B. N. Puri, Bombay, 1965, pp. 55-56
23. For a systematic discussion on the issue of a junior ruler assisting the senior in managing the affairs of the empire, see B. N. Mukherjee's paper on the "Isāpur yajña yūpa Inscription" vide *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1973.

6 A NOTE ON THE THALNER PLATES OF BHANUSHENA

Ajay Mitra Shastri

A couple of copper-plate charters of a chief named Bhānushēṇa were found in 1967 at Thālner in the Sirpur Taluk of the Dhulia District, Maharashtra, and have been edited by the late Moreshwar G. Dikshit in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVIII, pp. 69-75. Both these inscriptions are incised on a set of three plates each which were held together by their respective rings passed through a hole pierced in the middle of the upper portion of these plates.¹ The rings and the seals attached to them are, however, not forthcoming. The rims of the plates are raised with the result that the writing on them is well preserved. The first and the third plates bear writing only on the inner side while the middle plate is inscribed on both sides. The characters are of the Western variety of the Southern and tops of most of the letters in one of these charters² and some of the letters in the other set³ are characterised by deeply scooped out round dots, a feature noticed in some of the records found in the nearby Nasik region. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of three imprecatory verses found towards the end, the records are throughout in prose.

Practically identically worded except the grant portion which naturally differs, both these charters refer themselves to the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhānushēṇa of the Kumbhakarṇa dynasty which ruled from

Sthālaka-nagara which is identical with the modern village of Thālner, the provenance of the charters. Bhānushēṇa is said to have been preceded by four members of his family, to wit, Jayarāja, styled first (*ādī*) *mahārāja* and evidently the founder of the dynasty, *Mahārāja* Āḍhyarāja, *Mahārāja* Bhaṭṭākarāja and *Mahārāja* Svāmīkarāja. They were related as father and son as would follow from the description of each succeeding monarch as a son of his predecessor. Again, as for the first four chiefs, each of the succeeding chiefs is said to have meditated upon the feet of his father. Bhānushēṇa, who is described in a little more detail, is stated to have meditated upon the feet of his mother and father and to have been a devout devotee of Bhagavat, i.e., Viṣṇu (*parama-bhāgavata*). He is further represented to have won fame in many a battle (*aneka-samara-labdha-yaśas*). Both these records register Bhānushēṇa's donation of a couple of pieces of land to the brāhmaṇa Nāgavasū, son of Bhaṭṭiśūra and grandson of Khandachīhaṇi, an inhabitant of Sthālaka-nagara and a student of the four Vēdas and belonging to the Gautama *gōtra* and Vājasaneyā branch of the *Yajurvēda*. The donated land was situated in both cases in villages included in the district (*vishaya-bhōga*) of Sthālī-nagara, evidently the same as Sthālaka-nagara. Some of the localities mentioned in connection with the grants have been identified in the proximity of Thāl-

ner. Both the grants were written by a state official (*rājyādhipakṛita*) whose name appears to have been *Dēvadēva*⁴ and who was son of *Prithivīdēva*, and the *dutaka* in both the cases was *Pratihāra* Nāgadāsa. Both the charters were issued on the seventh day of the bright half of *Kārtika* in the thirtieth year, apparently of the benefactor's reign.

There are a few points which call for elucidation. At the end of both these records we find the expression *Silagrahasya*, 'of *Silagraha*'. In other words, they belong to *Silagraha*. It is obvious that *Silagraha* was another name of *Bhānushēṇa*.⁵ It is interesting to note in this connection that the names and *birudas* beginning with the word *Sila* appear to have enjoyed great popularity in sixth-seventh centuries A.D.⁶

The donated land in both the cases is described identically. In Set A it is called *pañchāsā*⁷ and in Set B *parṇāsā*⁸ and *pañchāsā*.⁹ The alternative employment of the words *parṇāsā* and *pañchāsā* in Set B should leave no doubt that, though morphologically somewhat different, they are identical in meaning. Dikshit maintains reticence regarding the connotation of these words. The expression *pañchāsāt* in Sanskrit means 'fifty',¹⁰ and its Marāṭhī descendant *pañnāsa* is still in vogue, and the form *parṇāsā* obviously represents the intermediate stage in the transition from *pañchāsāt* to *pañnāsa*. In an editorial note, G. S. Gai invites in this connection to the terms *pañnasa* and *pañnāsu* met with in some Kannaḍa inscriptions which, according to him, denote a land tenure under which the donee enjoys

fifty percent of the revenue of the donated land.¹¹ However, there is nothing to indicate that this kind of land tenure had come into existence during the period to which the inscriptions under consideration belong and in the Khandesh region of Maharashtra. It is, in our opinion, preferable to take the expression in question in the sense of 'fifty' which is palpably an allusion to the land-measurement which being in common parlance has been left unspecified.¹² And we know from other records that *nivartana* was the most popular land-measurement in the area and period in question. In a few other records also we find similar references containing only figures without specification of the unit of measurement, *nivartana* being taken for granted. In particular we should like to refer here to the Thāḷner plates of Harishēṇa, the last known member of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas, which also mention only figures. So what these charters refer to were in all probability pieces of land measuring fifty *nivartanas*. The second set (called B) of these records show that *parṇāsā* as an intermediate stage between *pañchāsāt* and *pañnāsa* was already in vogue at the time of this record, if not earlier.

There is some uncertainty regarding the date of these grants. This is so because their date is specified only with reference to the grantor's reign without mentioning any known era as is also the case with the Vākāṭaka¹³ and Muṇḍa-putra¹⁴ records. Both these grants were issued on the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika* in the thirtieth year *Bhānushēṇa*'s rule. But on palaeographical considerations, Dikshit proposed to place

them in the 6th-7th century AD.¹⁵ Recently V. V. Mirashi, though not directly discussing the question, has added a new dimension to the problem by referring Bhānushēṇa, the issuer of the charters and the last known member of his family, to a much earlier period. In view of the general period of the inscriptions arrived at on palaeographical grounds and the provenance, Dikshit had indicated the possibility of Bhānushēṇa serving as a feudatory of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi though he was fully aware of the total absence of reference to the sovereign power.¹⁶ Banking squarely upon the non-mention of the sovereign power the indication of the date in regnal years instead of the Saka era which, according to him, must have been used if he was a vassal of the Early Chālukyas, Mirashi concludes that Bhānushēṇa was ruling independently. According to him, his (Bhānushēṇa's) family rose to power after the fall of the Śātavāhanas in *circa* 230 A.D. in an atmosphere of chaos and confusion in the Deccan. While he is not sure as to how long the family continued to rule in West Khandesh, he thinks it probable that it was overthrown by the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēṇa (c. 400-465 A.D.) in connection with his performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. He is led to this conclusion by the discovery of a small hoard containing, *inter alia*, ten silver coins of Dahrasēṇa at the village of Dahigaon in the Malkapur Taluka of the Buldhana District of Vidarbha¹⁷ which, in his opinion, is indicative of Dahrasēṇa's occupation of a part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom on the western boundary of Vidarbha. And if Dahrasēṇa had advanced as far as the Malkapur region, he must have evidently conquered the

intervening region of West Khandesh or Dhulia District which, following him was at this time under the Kumbhakarnas, *i.e.*, Bhānushēṇa or one of his *descendants*.¹⁸ Mirashi further surmises that Gōmīkarāja mentioned in the Thālner grant of Harishēṇa, the last known member of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas, was probably a Traikūṭaka feudatory in the West Khandesh region and therefore vanquished by Harishēṇa who was bent upon to wreak vengeance against the Traikūṭakas who had hurled humiliation upon his cousins, *i.e.*, the Nandivardhana branch, by occupying a part of their kingdom.¹⁹

The above premises of Mirashi are, however, far-fetched and forced and fail to carry conviction. Almost the sole basis of this historical reconstruction is the discovery of a small hoard of coins of the Traikūṭakas at Dahigaon. It must be remembered in this connection that the hoard contains only ten coins of the Traikūṭakas while remaining twenty-six coins are of the Western Kshatrapas. Kshatrapa coins have been found in hoards as well as stray finds from various parts of Vidarbha off and on, and it has been suggested by Mirashi himself that the Vākāṭakas had no coins of their own²⁰ and consequently allowed Kshatrapa and Gupta coins to circulate in their territories. Following this line of argument, one may as well hold that Traikūṭaka coins were also allowed to circulate and their find in the Dahigaon hoard is of no historical value. The fact that the hoard contains both Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins, which hailed practically from the same region, may as well be taken to indicate that it represents the

wealth of some person hailing from that region. It is noteworthy that hoards of coins have often been reported from places situated hundreds of miles away from the territories under the rule of the dynasties to which they belonged, and such finds are indicative of their popularity and value attached to them rather than of political hold of the issuers of such coins over the region in which the find-spots are situated.²¹ Therefore, the discovery of Dahrasēna's coins at Dahigaon fails to yield the historical deductions made by Mirashi and cannot by itself be taken to indicate Traikūṭaka conquest of a portion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. Likewise, there is nothing to support his conjecture that Harishēṇa issued his Thālner plates after his conquest of the Thālner region. Had the grant been actually made in course of his *digvijaya* which is supposed to have brought him to this place, the drafter of the record would not have failed to state this fact. There is nothing to indicate that the Thālner region was conquered by Harishēṇa himself, and it is quite possible that it was annexed earlier, specially because the grant recorded in the Thālner plates was made by him early in his reign (third regnal year) and the officers responsible for executing it are known to have served under his father Dēvasēna.²² Then again, there is no evidence to indicate that Gōmīkarāja was a vassal of the Traikūṭakas. It is rather strange that while Mirashi built his entire historical reconstruction solely on the ground of the non-indication of Bhānushēṇa's feudatory status in his two Thālner charters, he regarded Gōmīkarāja as a Traikūṭaka vassal when the inscrip-

tion indicates no such possibility, a fact of which he was himself aware.²⁴ As we have shown elsewhere, the fact that the grant was made with the permission of Gōmīkarāja seems to indicate his high position, and it is not unlikely that he was a respected member of the Vākāṭaka family.²⁵

As pointed out by Dikshit, palaeographical evidence indicates sixth-seventh century A.D. as the date of these charters. This date is also supported by the list of officers addressed in connection with the grant most of whom are identical with those mentioned in such post-Vākāṭaka inscriptions as the Malhara plates of Āḍityarāja²⁶ and the Nagardhan grant of Svāmīrāja.²⁷ We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the Thālner grants in question also belong to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Dikshit's supposition that Bhānushēṇa was a vassal of the Early Chālukyas was based squarely on the employment for him of the title of *māharāja* which was often used, particularly in northern India, for feudatory chiefs. We must remember, however, that the Vākāṭakas, who were sovereign rulers, were content with the employment of this title for themselves. If the Kumbhakarṇa chiefs flourished in the post-Vākāṭaka period and ruled over an area which was formerly under the Vākāṭakas, they, too, could have well used the same title even though they ruled as independent monarchs. There is, thus, nothing to suggest the feudatory status of the Kumbhakarṇas. We may, therefore, conclude that the Kumbhakarṇas were, like the Muṇḍaputras and the family of Svāmīkarāja, succession states of the Vākāṭakas in different parts of

their kingdoms. They appear to have continued to hold their own till they were vanquished by the Early Chālukyas during the reign of Pulakēśi II. It will follow

from the foregoing discussion that Bhānu-shēṇa's Thāner grants throw welcome light on the post-Vākāṭaka pre-Chālukya history of the Khandesh region²⁸.

Notes :

1. Dikshit's description that the hole has been bored in the centre of the left margin of the plates (EI, XXXVIII, p. 69) is apparently due to oversight as would follow from a glance at the plates facing pp. 72, 73, 74 and 75.
2. Designated Set A. See *Ibid.*, plates facing pp. 72 and 73.
3. Called 'Set B. Vide *Ibid.*, plates opposite pp. 74 and 75.
4. The relevant words in the inscriptions are *Prithivideva putra-Dēvēna Dēvēna*. See Set A, lines 25-26; Set B, line 37. Dikshit regards the second *Dēvēna* as redundant (*Ibid.*, p. 73, n. 2; p. 75, n. 3) and takes *Dēva* to be the name (*Ibid.*, p. 72). According to G.S. Gai (*Ibid.*, p. 73, n. 2), the intended name seems to have been *Dēvēnādēva*.
5. Dikshit contents himself by saying that *Śilagrahasya* was 'probably the sign-manual of Bhānushēṇa', remaining silent about its actual significance (*Ibid.*, p. 70).
6. Cf. the name (or *biruda*) *Śilāditya* which is known to have been borne by the Pushpa-bhūti emperor Harsha and a few members of the Maitraka dynasty. In the case of the Maitrakas, it appears to have been the principal name.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 72, lines 9 and 13.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 74, line 13.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 74, line 19.
10. The word *pañchāśa* means 'fiftieth', but in this case *pañchāśa* with the final *t* dropped and the preceding vowel elongated appears to have been employed in the sense of 'fifty', not fiftieth. In the descendants of *pañchāśa* in modern Indian languages also the word has dropped its final consonant.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 70, n. 2. Also see G. S. Gai, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannaḍa*, p. 203, s.v. *pañnāṣṭagar*; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 234, s.v. *pañnāṣa*.
12. Current coins are and were in the past often referred to in common parlance merely by specifying the figures, the denomination being taken for granted.
13. The Hisse-Borala inscription of the reign of Dēvasēna is a solitary exception, but this is a private record registering a pious deed.

14. For the Malhara grant of the Muṣṭaputra king Ādityarāja, see V. V. Mirashi, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. LIV, pp. 1-13 and plates; and for the date, vide *JESI*, Vol. IV, pp. 30-41; Vol. VII, pp. 69-75.
15. *EL*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 69.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
17. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 118-122; V. V. Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 180-184.
18. V. V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 83-85.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
20. This observation has to be modified as a few Vākāṭaka coins have been discovered recently. They are being studied by the present author.
21. Thus Kshatrapa coin-hoards have been reported from Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Ranjangaon near Pune which were never under the Kshatrapas.
22. For a full discussion on this question, see my papers in *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. I (I), pp. 25-28; Vol. III (I), pp. 7-9.
23. Svāmīlādēva and Boppa, who figure as *dātaka* and writer respectively in this grant, are mentioned in the Hisse-Borala inscription of Dēvasēna's reign.
24. *Indological Research Papers*, p. 85.
25. For a detailed discussion of the evidence of Harishēṇa's Thalner grant, see my paper in *JESI*, Vol. XI, pp. 15-20.
26. For the text of this inscription, see V. V. Mirashi, *History and Inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas and Western Kshatrapas*, pp. 162-164. For its date, see my papers in *JESI*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-40, Vol. VII, pp. 69-75.
27. V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 614-615. Svāmīrāja is described as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta*, 'meditating upon the feet of his overlord', without naming his feudal lord, showing thereby that his allegiance to his overlord was only nominal and that he was ruling as an independent ruler for all practical purposes. It is likely that he started his career as an independent ruler but later acknowledged the supremacy of his unnamed sovereign only as a matter of political expediency.
28. Dikshit took the symbol at the beginning of the first plate of Set B to stand for *om*; but in all likelihood it stands for *siddham*. Then again in set A, line 9, he proposed to correct *pūrvv-ōttara-sīmāyā* to *pūrvv-ōttara-sīmāyāḥ* whereas the last word of the compound should actually be *sīmāyām* which is actually the reading in the corresponding portion (line 13) of Set B.

7 DHĀRANIKOTA IVORY SEAL RE-EXAMINED

P. V. Parabrahma Sastry

The ancient site at Dharaṇikōṭa on the right bank of the Kṛishṇa river adjacent to Amarāvati in the Guntur District was excavated by late Sri M. Venkataramayya and Sri K. Raghavachari in 1962-1965. One of the valuable antiquities discovered is an ivory seal which has been reported in *Indian Archaeology*, a review, 1964-65, pp. 2-3, pl. II. C. Subsequently, Sri Raghavachari, one of the excavators read a paper on it at the seminar held in 1970, under the auspices of the Nagpur University and the Archaeological Society of India. It was re-examined and published by I. Kartikeya Sarma giving a different reading.¹ The present writer offers here yet another reading with a different interpretation. I am grateful to Sri Raghavachari for kindly supplying me a clear photograph of the seal which is reproduced here. My observations are based on this photograph only. It is known that the original seal is preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Amarāvati.

According to the two scholars, the seal is made of ivory with almost a circular flat surface of 1.9 cms. in diameter. It has a circular knob or ring-held on the rear with transverse perforation below. I. K. Sharma states that the knob is neatly bevelled and has a lined edge, so also the semi-circular profile of the seal. The seal is slightly broken and flaked off at the middle and at the extreme left edge. The design repertoire is artistically ren-

dered in two registers. The lower one is bordered by the incised two-barred railing within which the legend is incised in the negation. The upper register, which is slightly bigger than the lower one contains some representations. The border is uniformly marked with small verticals touching the edge.

Sharma describes in brief the technique adopted by the artist in preparing this seal. He says that the artist had drawn the outline of the whole picture with a sharp pin and then lines were deepened with a much sharper instrument to emphasize the scene in depth. The letters of the legend have been executed much deeper, obviously to satisfy the requirements of the seal.

Unfortunately the first letter which is the last in the negative is seemingly broken. Raghavachari thinks it to be the line of breakage and totally leaves it off. The remaining letters he reads as *da si la sa* and ascribes the Brāhmī characters to 2nd and 3rd century A.D.

Sharma takes the first letter to be the truncated remnant of the full letter *gi*, his reason perhaps being want of space as it comes last on the negative. For want of space as well as the breakage, the latter in his opinion suffered damage partly. The extant portion of the letter in his view is part of *gi*. He ascribes the characters to 1st century B.C.-A.D. but not later. His full reading is *gi da*

se la sa, which he renders as *Gridhra sailasya* in Sanskrit.

There is another difference in their reading of the third letter; Sarma reads it as *se*, whereas Raghavachari reads it as *si*.

SYMBOLS IN THE UPPER SEMI CIRCULAR PORTION :

Leaving the small verticals on the periphery, above the legend portion, below there is a railing made of three horizontal lines touching the two ends and intercepted by about ten verticals within. In fact, such a railing is also found below the legend and above a criss-cross railing at the bottom of the seal.

- a) The main central figure is a structural representation of a shrine. Both the scholars however, agree that it belongs to some Buddhist organisation, say some *vihāra*, with two-storeyed super structure. Leaving the ground floor of the building which is not clear, the two floors are distinctly separated by railing like base structures. The first floor is shown by two kudus, and the second one by one kudu, surmounted by a finial. The tops of all the kudus are horizontal and not arched as we usually notice in Buddhist and some Hindu structures. They do not seem to be *chaitya* windows as Raghavachari thinks.
- b) To the left of the main structure of the shrine there is a post on the top of which there is a representation a bird: Raghavachari thinks it to be a lamp with two flickering flames; Sarma says it is the image

of a garuḍa (*gridhra*). But it is neither of the two. It is clearly a representation of a peacock with *sikha* on the head and expanded feathers.

- c) Left to this post is a triangle headed standard set up on a flat base supported by a small post as noticed on some of the early coins.
- d) On the right side of the structure there is a tree with five or six leaves, which Sarma thinks to be a *tāla* tree. Raghavachari takes it to be a plantain tree.
- e) To its right is another symbol which is partly damaged. The extant portion seems to be two of the four wings of the *svastika* symbol.

Raghavachari says the seal symbolised either a Buddhist shrine or a guild organisation. The legend Dasilasa (of Dasila) in his view is probably the name of some priest of the Buddhist organisation of Amarāvati or a guild.

Sarma on the other hand ascribes the seal to a *saṅgha* or guild of monks hailing from Gridhrakūṭa-śaila at Rājagṛīha. Those monks, he says, who were staying at Dhānyakāṭaka, perhaps even built a monastery of their own and the seal was meant for their official transactions. With this conclusion he deals at length about the Gridhrakūṭa, and its identification, in a scholarly manner.

A close examination of the photograph of the seal makes us doubt the above views of the two learned scholars.

1. There is every likelihood of a broken letter in the beginning of the legend

which was incised last on the negative. For want of space or owing to the break on the edge, the letter is partly missing. Considering the space adjustment the possibility of the truncated letter to be *gi* is far fetched. Again there is no trace of the medial vowel *i* on the top of the letter. It is more likely that the letter is *kha* which in *Brāhmī* of that period is only a vertical with a slight bend to the left at the top. Space problem does not arise with regard to this letter. Secondly, the third letter in Sarma's reading is *se*, which is not correct. It is long *sa*, as we see in the photograph. Very light trace of medial *i* is however noticeable as Raghavachari reads. His reading *Dasilasa* does not seem to convey any sensible name of a person or an organisation. The reading of the legend in all probability is [*Kham*]*dasāḥasa*, which in Sanskrit will be *skandaśāla*, that is, of the shrine of Skanda or Kārtikēya. In support of this, the bird on the post is clearly a peacock with expanded tail and a *sikha* on the head. Peacock is the well known vehicle of Skanda and the symbol of the same decorates his flag as in the case of other deities like Garuḍa for Viṣṇu and Nandi for Śiva. The significance of the other symbols noticed on the seal is not easy to explain. These symbols occur on the early Hindu coins also. No particular significance has been satisfactorily attributed to them so far. Raghavachari says that the emblem and the carvings of the seal denote some affinity with Buddhist symbols. Sarma also interprets the whole scene on the seal as connected with the Buddhist pantheon. As there

is not much space in the beginning to suggest the first damaged letter as '*gr*' and secondly, as the third letter cannot be read as *se*, the legend cannot be read as *Gīdaselasa*. Moreover the Prakṛit form of the Sanskrit *Ḡṛidhra* cannot be *gida*.

There is a likelihood that the plantain like tree may represent the *kuśa* grass with long leaves. In such a case it signifies the birth place of Skanda, as known from his significant name *Sara-janman*, that is born on the *Sara* or *kuśa* grass. There is no wonder that, like the vehicle peacock the *kuśa* grass is also shown near his shrine. It is shown with six leaves perhaps to indicate his six *mātris* i.e. *Shāṇmātura* aspect of Kārtikēya.

If the reading *Khamdasāḥasa* is acceptable, we have to take the structural representation to be that of a brahmanical shrine. The ground floor is not clear in the figure. It can be said only that its plinth is square in plan. The super structure consists of two storeys. On the flat roof of the ground floor there is the base of the first floor, consisting of three horizontal layers intercepted by pilaster like verticals. Above this there are two window openings between which a railing extends vertically even above those windows. On its top there is a single window which is again surmounted by *kalasa*. The window like openings unlike the Buddhist arches appear to have angular corners, an architectural feature of the brahmanical structures. The entire representation is to be taken as the shrine of the god Kārtikēya. Basing on palaeography and the symbols of triangle-headed standard and

svastika of the early period the seal may be ascribed to the first century B.C. as Sarma opines. The importance of the seal lies in the representation of an early brahmanical shrine, as distinct from the

Buddhist *stūpa* structures of the period. In fact we do not have among our monuments any structures of a brahmanical temple nor its representation otherwise datable to that period.²

Notes :

1. *Indian Antiquary* (Third series), Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 128 ff.
2. K. V. Soundararajan thinks that the structure depicted may represent a *maṇḍapa*. In his view, the term *śāla* is more applicable to a building used as school (*vidyā-śāla*) or sacrificial hall (*yajña-śāla*) or any such structure of a similar nature than to a temple.

8 HINDU SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS IN HYBRID SANSKRIT FROM LAGHMAN

Helmut Humbach

In his book 'La vieille route 1' Inde de Bactres a Taxila', which appeared in 1947, A. Foucher published eight inscriptions written in Indian Śaradā script from Laghmān (Afghanistan)¹. Photographs of them had been taken by a page of the Emir Habib ullah in 1911. Since then they were kept in the Kabul Museum the director of which made them available to Foucher in 1925². In the course of a field trip in 1975 financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, G. D. Davary was able to identify and locate the finding-place as the Surī Tiga cave (Dari: Sang-e Surākh) in Mount Badrāgei in the Dordorī mountain valley, approximately 30 km north west of Mehtarlām. He also produced new photos of the inscriptions which in some cases, compliment those published by Foucher.³

The historical framework into which these texts should be fitted was already clear to Foucher: "They represent engraved cave inscriptions - unfortunately, produced in a careless fashion and by inexperienced hands - in an Indian alphabet similar to that which has remained in use in Kaskmir". At a first glance these epigraphs give the impression of being prior, albeit only slightly, to the conquest of Lampāka [=Laghmān] by the Moslems. M. J. Filliozat, whom we consulted on the question of the paleographic reliability, has come to the same conclusion by comparing them with the Chamba inscriptions (IX-X

century), and, in particular, with the inscriptions on the coins of the last Śāhi [= Shāhi] kings of Gāndhāra. Here we have the final traces of the Hindu domination in the lowlands before its final destruction by Mahmūd of Ghaznī⁴.

Admittedly, Foucher had a very poor opinion of their philological and historical value, and, indeed, of their legibility: "To all appearances, a complete deciphering of these eight graffiti could only be performed by a Paṇḍit trained in the scripts and dialects of the North West since his childhood."⁵ However, I am not able to share his view. At least two of the eight inscriptions, viz. Foucher's no. 2 and no. 8, are certainly worthy of scholarly attention and intensive occupation with them is not unproductive.

A: FOUCHER'S NO. 2 (PL. 27B), CF. FIG. 1

On this inscription Foucher reports as follows: "Throuh a whim of the improvising lapicide,..... [it] is written in imitation of one of those wooden tablets which served in the country at one and the same time as a 'slate' for school-children and as letter paper for officials. It is also the least illegible of the batch, and as the word *putra* 'son' occurs no less than three times in its three lines, it is probable that it is setting out a genealogy. Nevertheless, this does not permit reconstruction in a satisfactory

fashion."⁸ Actually, it is quite easy to read. However, the absence of the visarga and the occurrence of non - Sanskrit forms, such as *bhagavaḍa* (instead of *bhāgavātāḥ*) or *kṛishina* and *karmina* (instead of *kṛishṇa* or *karmina*) do present some difficulties for the analysis. At first, I attempted to avoid these readings which seemed impossible to me, but this only led to untenable consequences. Fortunately, my colleague, Prof. Dr. Buddruss recognised in *kṛishina* a Prakrit form for Sanskrit *Kṛishṇa*, the well-known name of an incarnation of god Vish-

ṇu. He was thus able to declare the linguistic form of the text to be hybrid Sanskrit, and at the same time gave a first indication that the persons named therein had probably been *Kṛishṇa* worshippers. By the way, it is very improbable that the names of those persons form a genealogy, as Foucher believed. They are rather the names of three donors or pilgrims on behalf of whom the inscription was incised. Each of them is preceded by the usual filiation formed by father's name + *putra* 'son'.

TEXT

1. *Om svasti*[^{1*}] *Kṛishina-putra Vuchakakarmina*
2. *Naṃgha⁷-putra Vaikuṇṭhayajamāna Sheshṭhāṃsa⁸-pu-*
3. *tra Vakhaṭāīsa⁹ bhagavaḍa.¹⁰ Namō Harasa i*[^{11*}]

TRANSLATION

1. Om ! Hail ! The Son of *Kṛishina*,¹¹ *Vuchakakarmina*,¹²
2. (and) the son of *Naṃgha*, *Vaikuṇṭhayajamāna*,¹³ (and) the son of *Sheshṭhāṃsa*,¹⁴
3. *Vakhaṭāīsa*,¹⁵ the *Bhāgavata(s)*.¹⁶ Reverence to Hari.¹⁷

B : FOUCHER'S NO. 8 (PL. 28d), CF. FIG. 2

On the rest of the inscription, viz. on nos. 1 and 3-8, Foucher gives the following opinion : "The writing of these is so slovenly and so cursive that the goddess *Sārada* herself would sometimes fail to recognise here the alphabet which bears her name."¹⁸ I am again here of a different opinion, as far as no. 8 is concerned. Essential passages of the latter are rather easy to read; the only really problematic section is the first half of line 3.

The text of no. 8 is of considerably greater extent than that of no. 2. In line 1 one might, therefore, expect a date. As a matter of fact, after the usual introduction *Om svasti* 'Om, hail' the very common abbreviation *saṃvat* 'year' is discernible. It is followed by a year date consisting of three figures. Taking the forms of akshara figures listed in *Ojha*, pl. 73ff., as a basis, and comparing Foucher's with *Ojha*'s, I believe that the figures must be read 300 40 3 = 344.¹⁹ It is difficult to answer the question as

to which era I would relate this date to. If Foucher's attribution of the inscription to the close of the Shāhi period is correct, then only the Harsha era, beginning in 606 A.D., would actually be possible. The year of origin of the inscription would thus be $606 + 344 = 950$ A.D. However, this question is best left open until the reading of the year has been checked on a broader basis. On all accounts, it can be seen that the chronology of the dates in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Shāhi period poses more difficult problems than Abdur Rehman had presumed in his article recently published on the subject.²⁰

In line 3 we find two instances of the title *Śrī*, with name following. The first of the two begins with *Śrī Kīsa*. The fourth *akshara* is enigmatically retou-

ched in Foucher's photo, but in Davary's it proves to be *ra*, the vertical stroke of which is interrupted twice by damage to the stone. Thus: the reading will be *Śrī Kīsara*. It seems to me likely that this is an example of continuation of the use of the Roman Caesar title. As I was able to demonstrate a number of years ago, this ambitious title was borne by that important ruler in the Turkish Tigin-Shāhi dynasty, who reigned from 738 till 751 A.D., and whose name is *Fromo Kēsaro* or *Fromo Kēsaro* on his Bactrian coins, *Fu-lin-ki-so* in Chinese tradition and *Phrom Gesar* in Tibetan sources. (Cf. Sogd. *Frwm*, OTurk *Purum* Chin. *Fu-lin* 'Rome'.)²¹ As we know from Al-Biruni, the Tigin-Shāhis were succeeded by the Hindu Shāhis of Gāndhāra. Thus, the adoption of the great name by one of the latter is natural enough.²²

TEXT

- 1 *Om syasti* [*|] *saṃvat* 300 40 4 *kārttika-masā*²⁵ *pravaradhama*[ān . .]
- 2 *atra śānarattāci*²⁶ *vi[ro.a.a]*²⁷ *pūrva[y]yām*²⁸ *chā[yām]* *i[mām]* . . .
- 3 [*Śr*]i-*Kīsara*²⁹ *dacajakra* (*ṅk*) *e* (*n*) *adhimate*³⁰ *Śrī-Kamara*³¹ *d[ē]va-[shahi]*-
- 4 *vrajena Veṅkhaḍaisera*³² *jivana bhikhita*³³ *Ka-*
- 5 *va...ṇa*.

TRANSLATION

- 1 Om, hail. (In the) year 344, at the augmenting [... day³⁴] of month Kārttika.
- 2 At this time, at the afore-mentioned (date which was) distinguished by the shining of pleasant rays, [after having arrived] at this shady place in the (sanctuary ?)
- 3-5 highly estimated by Śrī Kīsara, the Lord of Veṅkhaḍa³⁵ was supplicated for livelihood by Kava...ka, a member of Śrī Kamara Dēva Shāhi's troop.³⁶

As far as the second instance of *Sri* is concerned, in Foucher's photo one reads at first *Sri Kamaradava[sha]*. On comparison with Davary's material, however, it turns out that the first *akshara* of the name was only incompletely retouched by Foucher. The correct reading of the initial *akshara* is not *ra* but *ka*. Even on Foucher's photo the missing loop is distinguishable. Thus one arrives at *Sri*

Kamaradava[sa]. This should almost certainly be restored into *Sri Kamara-d[ē]va-[shā][hi]*. The name is identical to that of a certain *Sri Kamara* [...] which is shown on a copper coin of the Shāhi period in the British Museum.²³ Whether or not one may presume identity of person is, apart from the historical question, not at least also a numismatic one.²⁴

Notes :

1. A. Foucher. *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres a Taxila* Vol. 2. Paris 1947, pl. 27-28.
2. Foucher, p. 386 f.
3. G. D. Davary : *Epigraphische Forschungen in Afghanistan*. *Studia Iranica* (1981), 51-59, pls. I-XI. See pp. 56-58 and pl. IX, fig. 15.
4. Foucher, p. 387.
5. Foucher, *op.cit.*
6. Foucher, *op.cit.*
7. The function of the horizontal stroke at the foot of *na* is not clear. It is likely to be misplaced. Its correct position may be above the second *akshara* of line 3, v. note 9.
8. *Sheshthā[ṇ]śa* = class. Skr. **Śreṣṭhāms* 'enjoying the best share,' but cf. also Skr. *shashthāmsa* - 'a sixth part, esp. the amount of tax or grain taken in kind by a king.'
9. *Vakhaṭaiśa* incorrect for *Vekhaṭaiśa* (v. note 7) or rather *Vemkhataiśa* = Class. Skr. *Veṅkaṭeśa*. Cf. *Veṅkhataisera* in the following inscription.
10. *bhagavaḍa* incorrect for *bhāgavaḍa* = Class. Skr. *bhāgavataḥ* (Sg.) of *bhāgavataḥ* (pl.).
11. *Krishina* = class. Skr. *Kṛishṇa*. Here used as a theophoric proper name ?
12. *karmina* = Class. Skr. *karmin-* 'performing a religious action etc.' *Vuchakakamina* seems to be a religious name.
13. *Vaikunṭha* is a name of Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa. *Vaikunṭhayajamāna* 'worshipper of Vaikunṭha' also seems to be a religious name.
14. Also a religious name.
15. Class. Skr. *Veṅkaṭeśa* is a name of *Kṛishṇa*.

16. i.e. 'member(s)' of the Bhāgavata sect of worshippers of Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa.
17. *Harasa* incorrect Gen. Sg. of Class. Skr. *Hari*, a name of Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa. The value of the final *i* is not clear. Xossibly a flourish to fill up the line.
18. Foucher, p. 387.
19. G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India*, Delhi 1959, pl. 74b (300), 73a (40), 76b (4).
20. Abdur Rehman: An Inscription of Jayapāla Śāhi, *JRAS.*, 1978, p. 31-37. He disregards the chronological evidence resulting from the Tochi inscriptions. This is to justify the conjectures made by him in the text of Al-Biruni's report on the time-reckoning in Kashmir and Laghmān (India, trsl. Sachau. Vol. 2, p. 8 ff)
21. H. Humbach: Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler. Vol. I., Wiesbaden 1966, p. 20-22 and 64-65 (NumH 247-251). - J. Harmatta: Late Bactrian Inscriptions. *Act. Ant. Hung.* 17 (1969), esp. p. 409-412 and 431 f. - H. Humbach: *Die baktrische Ara der Tochi-Inskriften*. W. Eilers [Ed.]. *Festgabe deutscher Iranisten zur 2500-Jahrfeier Irans*. Stuttgart, 1971, p. 74-79.
22. On the coin inscriptions of the transition period v. H. Humbach: The Iranian names of the Hindu Shāhis. *MSS* 30 (1972), p. 51-53.
23. The only illustration of this coin known to me is by E. Clive Bailey: Dates on Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1882, 2 (= 3rd. series, No. 6) pl. 1, 1. Cf. the description, ib., p. 162, no. 1: "Obverse: Peacock with outstretched wings, as on Gupta coins; dotted marginal circle. Degraded execution and poor preservation. Reverse: Lion of Varka's type to the left." (Thus remarkably different from the very common Bull and Horseman type!)
24. The coin of Śrī Kamara is not dealt with by David W. Macdowall: The Shahis of Kabul and Gāndhāra, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1968 (7th. series, Vol. 8), p. 189-224.
25. *karttika masa* incorrect for *kārttika-māsa* or *kārttika-māse*.
26. *sūnarttāchi* incorrect for *sūnrittārchī* i.e. *sūnṛita-archi*.
27. *virōcana* intended?
28. *pūrva[y]yām* incorrect for *pūrvāyām*.
29. On the *ra* of *Kisara* v. above. The rest of the name is un-intelligible.
30. *°e[n]adhimate* hardly to be read *°ena dhimate* but rather incorrect for *°enādhimate*, i.e. *°ena adhimate*. The *akshara na* is more clearly visible on Davary's photo:
31. On the *ka* of *Kamara* v. above.
32. *Veṅkhaḍaisera* = Class. Skr. *Veṅkaṭeśvara*. cf. above, n. 9.
33. *bhikhita* incorrect for *bhikhita* = Class. Skr. *bhikshita[m]*, hardly *likhita* for *likhita* = Class. Skr. *likhita[m]*.

34. The participle *pravardhamāna-* 'augmenting' is also found at the commencement of line 2 of Foucher's no. 3 (pl. 37c), apparently in connection with the illegible date Cf., e.g., J. F. Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*. Repr. Varanasi 1963, No. 23, l. 1 f.: *śrīmati pravarddhamāna-māhā-chaitra-sambatsare* 'in the prosperous augmenting Mahā-chaitra saṁvatsara.' Ibid. No. 25, l. 2: *śrīmati pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājye Mahāśvayuja saṁvatsare* 'In the glorious augmenting and victorious reign, in the Mahā-śvayuja saṁvatsara.' Similarly in the Hatun rock inscription (v. below, note 36): *Śri-Paṭōla-dēva-shāhi . . . pravardhamāna-rājye*.
35. Class. Skr. *Veṅkaṭeśvara* is a name of Kṛṣṇa.
36. The following instances of the spelling *shāhi* are known to me: 1. Inscriptions of the Kushāpa Kings, v. A. Marico : *J.As.*, 246 (1958), p. 386-395. 2. Coin inscriptions of the Kidārites, Hephthalites and Turkish *Shāhi* Tigin Kings, v. H. Humbach: *Baktrische Sprachdenkmale* 1, p. 142 (Index). 3. Allahabad Prāṣasti of Samudragupta, v. Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1. (l. 23: *dāivaputra shāhi-shāhā-nushāhi-śaka murundaith*). - 4. Hatun rock inscription, v. N. P. Chakravarti *E. I.*, 30 (1953-54), p. 230 (*Śri-Bhagadatta-vaṇṣa-sambhūta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-maharājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Paṭōla-dēva-shāhi-śri-Navasurendrāditya-nandi-dēva*, cf. above, note 34). - 5. Gardez inscription (so called Kabul inscription) of Shāhi Khimḡālā, v. D. C. Sircar *E. I.*, 35 (1963), p. 47 (*paramabhaṭṭāraka-maharājādhirāja-śri-shāhi-Khimḡālaityāna-shāhi*). 6. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, v. O. v. Hinuber : *Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften*. Gottingen 1979, p. 11 (= Nachr. d. Ak. d. Wiss. in Gottingen. Phil. - hist. Kl., Jg. 1979, p. 337) (*śri-Paṭōla-dēva-shāhi Vajrādityanandin, śri-Paṭōla shāhi Vikramādityananda, śri-dēva-Paṭōla-shāhi Vikrādityanandin, śri-dēva-shāhi Surendravikramādityananda, shahānushāhi Paṭōlashāhi śri-Navasurendrādityanandi-dēva*).

The spelling *śahi* preferred by Foucher (in French transcription *chāhi*) is found in: 1. *Rājatarāṅginī*. 2. Devai stone inscription of King Bhimadeva, v. E. Senart *J.As.* 9eme serie, t. 4 (1894), p. 60^a, and R. B. D. R. Sahni *E. I.*, 21 (1931-32), p. 293 (*paramabhaṭṭāraka-maharājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śāhi-śri-Bhimadeva*). The correct reading *śāhi* is by Senart, Sahni has *Sāhi*. - 3. Tochī inscription ITAS v. H. Humbach : *Baktrische Sprachdenkmale* 1, p. 109 (*tiso śahi*).

The spelling *sāhi* seems to occur in the colophon of the *Bhaishajyagurusūtra*, v. N. Dutt : *Gilgit Manuscripts*. 1. Srinagar 1939. Introduction, p. 40, and Text, p. 32.

9 THE AMINABAD INSCRIPTION OF ANAVĒMA AND PEDAKOMATI VĒMA

C. Soma Sundara Rao

The inscription under study hails from Aminābād in the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. It is written on a rock in the vicinity of the temple of Mūlaṅguramma on a hillock. It is noticed as No. 259 of 1932-33 in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*.

The language of the inscription is Telugu composed in verse and prose. The inscription has two verses in the Sīsa metre, followed by a prose passage containing borders of the gifted villages.

The inscription is written in Telugu script of 14th-15th Century A. D. While the first verse is dated in the reign of Anavēma in Śaka 1298, the other verse relating to the gift of Pedakōmati Vēma is not dated. The script in which this verse and the subsequent Telugu prose passage are written is not in any way different from that of the first verse. But as Pedakōmati Vēma was the ruler from 1402-20 A.D., this part should be assigned to the first quarter of the 15th Century A.D. As there is no demarcation between these two inscriptions, it is likely that the whole inscription was written in the reign of Pedakōmati Vēma, recording the earlier donation of Anavēma to the deity. The script can be compared well with the Phirangipuram inscription of Pedakōmati Vēma dated in 1410 A.D.¹ Letters like *k*, *l*, *m*, *v*, etc. are more developed than those of the Vānapalli² and Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru³ plates of Ana-

vēma and agree with those of the Phirangipuram inscription. The long medial *ā* for the consonants comes down and takes a leftward curl, which can be occasionally noticed in the grants of Anavēma.

The inscription starts with the stanza recording the donation of king Anavēma of three villages viz., Paḍidaram, Mūlaṅgūram and [Pina]-Palkkalūru in the Kōṭa-bhūmi to the goddess called Mūlaṅguramma for her *aṅga*- and *raṅga*-bhōga. The goddess is described as the tutelary deity (*kula-svāmini*) and mother of the whole world (*akhila-Jagannmātā*). This gift is said to have been given on the pūrṇima day of the month of Māgha, in the cyclic year Naḷa and the Śaka year 1.98 (The date is not verifiable but the details correspond to 25th January, 1377 A.D.) This stanza is followed by another in which Pedakōmati Vēma is said to have given the above three villages along with all enjoyments and exemptions (*bhōg-aṣṭvarya-sarva-manyatas*) to the deity. He is described as *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and Arjuna in battle. He is said to have come to the throne in due course. The king wished to make the gift of his paternal uncle, Anavēma, secure. He also constructed walls and towers to the temple which were sky-high. This is followed by the names of boundaries of the villages which cannot be made out easily.

The inscription is important in respect of political history and religion of the Reḍḍi period in Āndhra history.

From the political point of view, it is significant that this inscription refers to a confirmation of the gift given by Anavēma (1364-86 A.D.) in the time of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma (1402-20 A.D.). It is well-known that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma created a lot of trouble in the reign of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi (1386-1402 A.D.), being himself a contender for the Reḍḍi throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. This was repulsed by Kāṭaya Vēma, the brother-in law and minister of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi. The establishment of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Rājahamēndravaram and the enthronement of Kāṭaya Vēma in 1395 A.D. resulted in bitter conflict between the two kingdoms viz., Koṇḍaviḍu and Rājahamēndravaram which was the chief feature of the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.⁴ While Anavōta, his brother Anavēma, and the former's son Kumāragiri belonged to Vēmā Reḍḍi's family, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma belonged to the family of Mācha, a brother of Vēmā Reḍḍi, the founder of the Reḍḍi dynasty of Koṇḍaviḍu. The different lineages of the two kings and the turbulent period in the reign of Kumāragiri and the ultimate assumption of authority in the Koṇḍaviḍu region by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma must have created in the minds of people whether the new king would confirm the earlier gifts, and hence the necessity of this renewal of the gift.

There are no doubt instances of kings confirming the gifts made by the immediately preceding dynasties. The Nāsik inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi⁵ confirms the gift given by Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna. The Polamūru plates of Jayasimha I⁶ of the Eastern Chālukya family make the donation of the gift to a son of the original do-

nee, who figures in the Polamūru plates of Mādhavavarman of the Vishṇukunḍin family⁷. These are some instances where the re-gift was made. But generally the religious donations must not have been touched by the latter kings, inspite of the political rivalries. Otherwise, we must expect more number of renewals of gifts.

In respect of religion, this is the only inscription which refers to Mūlaṅguramma as the tutelary deity of the Reḍḍis. This fact is not somehow highlighted, inspite of the fact that the text of this inscription was noted by J. Ramayya Pantulu as early as 1930,⁸ and the inscription was noticed in the Epigraphy Report for the year 1932-33. M. Somasekhara Sarma also does not mention the deity in his *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms*. He refers to the Ghōḍerāya family as having influenced the Reḍḍi kings in their leanings towards Śaivism.⁹

While the deity Mūlaṅguramma is located in Mūlaṅgūra, which must be Aminābād itself according to this inscription, literature refers to Mūlaṅguramma at Rajahmundry. Śrīnātha's *Kāśikhaṇḍamu*¹⁰ mentions this deity as Mullagūrisakti and identifies her with Umā and locates her in the north-east of the city of Rājahamēndrapura. In view of this reference, C. Papayya Sastri¹¹ was led to believe that another Mūlagūramma was installed at Rajahmundry probably by Kāṭaya Vēma who was the first important ruler of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry. The *Śivalilāvilāsamu*¹² and the Ahōbilam inscription¹³ of Kāṭaya Vēma also mention the village Mūlagūra.

From the fact that a village called Mūlaguram is mentioned in this inscription, it is likely that the Śakti derived its name from the village. As the temple is still in existence at Aminābād, the find-spot of this inscription, Mūlaguram might have been the original name of the present village Aminābād. But this name doesn't occur in the two other inscriptions discovered at this place, viz., the inscription of Rācha Vēma dated 1415 A.D.¹⁴ and that of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah dated 1592 A.D.¹⁵ The new name must have come into vogue sometime during the 16th Century A.D.

Apart from Mūlaguram, the inscription mentions two other villages viz. Paḍidaram and Pina (Palakalūru). The Government Epigraphist reads the name

of the first village as Veḍidaram. But Paḍidaram is clear. This is identified by K. Iswara Dutt¹⁶ with Paṇidam in the Sattenapalli taluk, but it is far distant from Aminābād. The other village is read as China Palakalūru by the Government Epigraphist. The first letter looks like Pi and may be read as Pina Palakalūru. There are at present two villages called Peda¹⁷ and Pina-Palakalūru in the Guntur taluk, near Aminābād. These villages are on the border of the Sattenapalli taluk in which Aminābād is situated. *Bhūmi* is a territorial unit in the Reḍḍi period and Kōṭa-bhūmi corresponds to parts of Sattenapalli, Guntur and Narasaraopeta taluks of the Guntur District. J. Ramayya Pantulu deleted *Pina* and corrected Mūlaguram-bina to Mūlagurambu to suit the metre.

Notes :

1. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 269 ff.
4. M. Sasmasekhara Sarma, *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms*, p. 167.
5. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 71.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 254 ff.
7. *J.D.L.*, Vol. XI, pp. 31 ff.
8. *Sāśma Padya-maṅjari*, No. 68.
9. *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms*, pp. 311-12.
10. Introduction Verse 58 (Vavilla ed., Madras, 1969).
11. *Śrinātha Kavita Samiksha*, Vol. II, p. 97.
12. *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms*, Appendix, p. 561.
13. *S.I.L.*, Vol. X, No. 577.

14. *Ibid.*, No. 582.
15. *Ibid.*, No. 751.
16. *Prāchināndhra Chāritraka Bhūḡōlamu*, p. 117.
17. N. Ramesan, *Copper-plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 185 ff. This is a copper-plate grant recording the gift of village Peda-Palakalū by Anavēma Śaka in 1300. But the palaeography of the record makes it belong to a later date.

From the fact that a village called Mūtaguram is mentioned in this inscription, it is likely that the Śakti belonged to its name from the village. As the temple is in the village of Anavēma, it is the present village Anavēma. But the name doesn't occur in the two other inscriptions discovered at this place, viz. the inscription of Rāḥa Vēma dated 1415 A.D. and that of Muhammad Qutb Qāḍi dated 1392 A.D. The new name must have come into vogue sometime during the 14th Century A.D.

Apart from Mūtaguram, the inscription mentions two other villages viz. Pāḍigaram and Pina (Palakalū). The Government Epigraphist reads the name

Notes :

1. E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 88 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 289 ff.
4. M. Samskrita Śāstra, History of the Kalyāṇ Kingdom, p. 187.
5. E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 71.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 294 ff.
7. I.D.C. Vol. XI, pp. 31 ff.
8. Śāstra Pāṭya-mūlāni, No. 58.
9. History of the Kalyāṇ Kingdom, pp. 311-12.
10. Introduction Verse 58 (Vavilala ed., Madras, 1937).
11. Śāstra Pāṭya-mūlāni, Vol. II, p. 87.
12. History of the Kalyāṇ Kingdom, Appendix, p. 161.
13. E.I. Vol. X, No. 577.

10 INSCRIPTION OF AURANGZEB FROM BILGI IN KARNATAKA

N. M. Ganam

This inscription of Aurangzeb is found in Bilgi situated about twenty eight kilometers north west of Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijapur district of Karnataka. The slab bearing the inscription and measuring 40 by 38 cms. is built up into the left wall of the step-well called Arretinabhāvi also called as Uqbi bāoli. The epigraph is inscribed with six line text in Persian prose which is engraved in relief in bold Nasta' liq letters. The existence of this inscription has been reported in the gazetteer of the Bijapur district without any detail. There are also Sanskrit, Marāṭhi and Kannaḍa versions of this Persian record inscribed on different stone slabs and fixed in the wall of the same well.¹

The inscription in Persian was copied

by my colleague Shri S. S. Hussain, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in 1976.² According to the text, Nawwād Dilir Khān son of 'Abdu'l-Karim Buhlūl Khān Miyāna granted four *Chāwars*³ of land in the town (*Qasba*) Bilgi in pargana Bākarkotāh (Bāgar Kota) to his servant Bisāji Pandit son of Mohdāji and grandson of Bābāji, a Pātālshāhi Rughvēdi (Rigvēdi) brahmin (*zun-nā'dar*) in the 51st regnal year of Aurangzeb (1707 A.D.) and A.H.1119 (1708 A.D.) and that the grantee out of his personal earned income excavated a step-well and laid out a garden for his merit in the next world. The work was completed under the supervision of his nephew *Kishnaji* son of Raghūnāt[h]. It ends with a curse of divorce for the intruders whether a Hindū or a Muslim.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

1. Dar Aḥd-i-Ḥaḍrat-i-Zill-i-Subḥāni Aurangzib Bādshāh Ghāzī Sana 51 julūs-i-wālā
2. Wa sana 1119 Hijri Tis'a Me'ya Aif⁴ (?) Nawwāb Nāmdār Dilir Khān Bahādur bin Abdu'l-Karim Buhlūl Khān
3. Miyāna raba chāwar zamīn az sawād-i-qusba-i-Bilk(g) amala-i-Pargana-i-Bak(g)-arkōta ba banda Bisāji Pandit
4. Wald Mohdāji bin Bābāji Zunnārdār Ruk(g)bidī Pātālshāhi nukar-i-muizzi ilaiḥ atā Karda
5. Chunānchi banda zar-i-ḥaqq-i-halāl az Khāna-i-Khud bajihat-i-ḥusūl-i-thawāb-i-uqbā bāwli wa bāgh

6. aḥdās namūda ba ihtimām-i-Kishnāji wald Raghūnāt birādarzāda ba-itmām rasid.
Agar kasi Muslimin yā-Hanūd muzāḥim shawad talāq ast.

TRANSLATION

1. In the reign of His Holiness, the shadow of God, Aurangzeb Bādshāh-Ghāzi (in the) year 51 of the exalted accession
 2. and in year 1119 Hijrī, nine, (and) hundred (and) thousand, illustrious Nawwāb Dilīr Khān Bahādur son of Abdu'l-Karim Buhlūl Khān
 3. Miyāna granted four *Chāwars* of land in the vicinity of the town Bilgi situated in pargana Bāk(g)arkota to his servant Bisāji Pandit
 4. Son of Mohdāji son of Bābāji Brahmin (*zunnārdār*) Rughbedi Pātālshāhi, the servant of the aforesaid Nawwāb.
- 5 & 6. Therefore, the servant out of his personal earned income excavated a step-well and laid out a garden in order to secure the reward of the next world under the supervision of his nephew Kishnāji son of Raghūnāt[h]. If any one from among the Muslims or Hindus contravenes, he will be deemed to have incurred a divorce.

Before we proceed to refer to the personages in the inscription, we may compare the three versions in their dates. The Persian version records two dates as 51 regnal year and Hijrī 1119. The latter date tallies with the Śaka year 1630 given in the Kannaḍa, Sanskrit and Marāṭhī versions⁵ which correspond to 1708 A.D., whereas the 51 regnal year ended on 28th Dhī'l-Qada A.H. 1118 (February 20, 1707 A.D.) on the death of Aurangzeb. Therefore, either there is an inadvertant mistake in engraving the Hijrī year or it may be taken to mean that the construction of the step-well was started in 1118 A.D. and completed in 1119 A.D.

The epigraph is important in more than one aspect. Firstly it provides the name of a famous nobleman who

first served the 'Ādil Shāhī and later under the Mughals. Dilīr Khān whose name was Abdu'r-Ra'ūf Khān was the founder of the minor dynasty of Sāvanur. He belonged to the Miāna clan of Afghāns as is also referred to in the text. He was the son of Abdu'l-Karim Khān, one of the most powerful noblemen at the court of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpur. After the death of his father in 1678, Abdu'r-Ra'ūf Khān became the premier nobleman of Bijāpur.⁶ When the Mughals besieged Bijāpur in 1685, the command of the Bijāpur army fell on Nawwāb Abdu'r-Ra'ūf Khān and Sharza Khān, another senior nobleman of Bijāpur. Both bravely conducted the operations. But as the Mughal pressure was vigorous and the siege continued well over a year, Sikandar

Ādil Shāh in consultation with his commanders in order to prevent useless bloodshed decided to surrender the fort to Aurangzeb who was himself directing the operation. Abdu'r-Ra'ūf Khān was sent to the Mughal camp to settle the terms. It was on 12th September 1686, that the fort was finally handed over to the Mughals. Sikander Ādil Shāh, Abdu'r-Ra'ūf Khān and Sharza Khān presented themselves before Aurangzeb. Sikandar Ādil Shāh was kindly received by Aurangzeb who bestowed upon him the robe of honour and was enrolled among the Mughal peers with the title of Khān. Abdu'r-Ra'ūf Khān who joined the Mughal service, also received the title of Dilir Khān with a rank of 6000 *zāt* and 6000 horse.⁷ Dilir Khān continued to serve the Mughals for a long time under Khānjahān Firūz Jang. In the 48th regnal year of Aurangzeb, his Mansab was raised to 7000 and was assigned twenty *maḥāls* of Bankapur, Torgal and Belgaum held earlier by his father. He first made Bankāpur his headquarters but afterwards moved to his newly founded town Sāvanur in Dharwar district. He died in 1715 A.D.⁸

The epigraph is also quite interesting, as it furnishes details of the grant of land made by Nawwāb Dilir Khān to his Brahmin servant Bisāji or Visāji Pandit. The interesting point about the record is that the grantee Bisāji Pandit who built a step-well and laid out a garden for earning religious merit is specifically described in the text as *Pātālshāhi Rughvedi* Brahmin. The term *Pātālshāhi* could not be explained satisfactorily. The Kannaḍa

version, the gist of which is given in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, gives the name of the builder as Visājipantru, the son of Pātālsayi Mahādēva.⁹ Though Mahādēva is evidently Mohdāji of Persian version, the term *Pātālshāhi* or Pātālsayi may probably indicate a family name. Bisāji or Visāji Pandit is not traceable in the available records. It is only from the present epigraph that we get the valuable information that he was a servant or an official attached to Nawwāb Dilir Khān and was probably connected with the local administration. This also confirms the historical records that Abdu'r-Ra'ūf Dilir Khān had appointed Hindū officers to look after the revenue management of his territories.¹⁰

The epigraph under study also furnishes an interesting piece of information that Bilgi was the town situated in Pargana Bākarkota which is evidently the old name of the present Bāgalkōṭ.

The concluding line of this record is imprecative one of which states that whoever from Muslims or Hindus interferes will incur the curse of divorce. The curse of divorce (*Talāq*) in respect of Hindus is interesting and may be taken to indicate that divorce was considered abominable both among the Muslims as well as Hindus. The imprecations like this are usually found in the Perso-Arabic records on endowments. They provide us with an insight into the prevalent taste of the people and their religious belief in the sanctity of the place.

1. *Mysore State District Gazetteer*, Bijapur District (Bangalore, 1966), p. 564
2. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1976-77, No. D 204.
3. Chāwar is the Marathi word for a measure of land. One chāwar consisted of 120 bighas (H. H. Wilson), *A glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* etc. (London 1855. Reprint, Delhi, 1968, p. 107).
4. The text says so. The date in words should have been *Tis'a Ashr wa Mi'ya Ba'd al Alf* (1119).
5. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1928-29, Nos. E 72-74.
6. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'athirul-Umara*, Vol. II (Calcutta 1890), p. 57.
7. *Ibid.*, *op.cit.*, p. 58. M. I. Zubairi, *Basatinu's-Salāfin* (Hyderabad), p. 157. Sāqī Mustād Khān, *Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, Eng. tr. J. N. Sarkar (Calcutta 1947), p. 171.
8. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*, p. 58, Bombay Gazetteer (BG), Vol. XXII, Dharwar (Bombay, 1884), p. 793.
9. ARSIE, 1928-29, No. E 73.
10. BG., *op.cit.*, p. 410

The epigraph under study also furnished an interesting piece of information that Bilgi was the town situated in Parasara Bāgarān which is evidently the old name of the present Bāgarān.

The concluding line of this record is impressive one of which states that who ever from Muslims or Hindus interfere will meet the case of divorce. The case of divorce (Talaq) in respect of Hindus is interesting and may be taken to indicate that divorce was considered abominable both among the Muslims as well as Hindus. The implications that are usually found in the Para-Arabic records on endowments. They provide with an insight into the prevalent state of the people and their religious belief in the sanctity of the place.

Khan who joined the Mughal service also received the title of Dilir Khan with a rank of 6000 zat and 6000 horse. Dilir Khan continued to serve the Mughals for a long time under Khān-i-Jang. In the 4th regnal year of Aurangzeb, his Mansab was raised to 7000 and was assigned twenty mansabs of Bāgarān. Toral and Belgam held earlier by his father. He first made Bāgarān his headquarters but afterwards moved to his newly founded town Sāvarur in Dharwar district. He died in 1715 A.D.

The epigraph is also quite interesting as it furnishes details of the grant of land made by Nawāz Dilir Khan to his Brahmin servant Bisaji or Bisaji Pandit. The interesting point about the record is that the grantee Bisaji Pandit who built a step-well and laid out a garden for creating religious merit is specifically described in the text as Pāṭāshāh Rājvād. The term Pāṭāshāh could not be explained satisfactorily. The Kannada

ANDHRA EPIGRAPHS AND FOLKLORE

S.S.Ramachandra Murthy

It is common knowledge of every indologist that inscriptions are not only singularly important for the reconstruction of political history but also equally important for understanding the contemporary social and cultural history. Numerous inscriptions shed welcome light on beliefs, customs, superstitions, etc. of the multitude. Thus epigraphy forms an important source material even for the folkloristic studies. The term 'folklore' is taken to denote "those traditional beliefs, superstitions, manners, customs and observances of ordinary people which have persisted from earlier into later periods and which, in fragmentary, modified or comparatively unchanged form, have continued to exist outside the accepted pattern of contemporary knowledge and religion, in some cases, down to modern times."¹ An attempt is made in the following pages to examine the contribution of the inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh to folkloristic studies.

It is interesting to note that many superstitions and beliefs are current with regard to the inscribed stones and copper plates not only among the common folk in the villages but also among the urban people. More often than not the epigraphical explorers come across the people who in all good faith warn them not even to touch the inscribed stone since the same is believed to have been possessed by evil spirits; or some times the movements of the explorers are carefully watched by some

who are undoubtedly convinced that the stone has secret information about a hidden treasure engraved on it in a mysterious script and language. For many people inscribed stones have more medicinal values than any life-saving drug can claim. Here we may recall Hultzsch's observation about the Brahmagiri rock on which the famous edict of Aśoka was engraved. He states - "The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *aksharagunḍu* or "letter rock", and was supposed to be endowed with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink." Likewise K. V. Ramesh narrates a curious incident in his own inimitable style with a touch of humour. "It was one of my exploration tours and after being mistaken variously for a treasure-hunter, non-believer, child-lifter and sorcerer in many villages earlier, I and my copying attendant reached, on a scorching mid-day, Dastapur a remote village in the Gulbarga District of Karnataka. There, on a permanent platform in front of the temple of Hanumān, we found erected a temporary *pandal* which had for its roof some twenty tin sheets. Deciding that duty should get precedence over lunch-and in coming to this laudable decision we were helped by our full knowledge that no lunch or, for that matter, no eatable of any description was available for sale within a radius of twenty rugged miles-we walked towards the inscribed slab.

Before we could actually reach it, however, we were accosted by some village elders; who, on being told the purpose of our visit, began to advise us rather persuasively that we should desist from our foolhardy venture for, they said, there dwelt in the inscribed slab some supernatural power which will surely fall as the moment we defile it with our touch. We told them that every profession had its own hazards and that we were duty-bound to copy the inscription. Much to the chagrin of the entire village, which had by then collected on the scene as if by previous appointment, the copying attendant approached the stone and had just placed the paper against the slab to measure out the area of writing when, pat came from nowhere a fierce whirlwind which blew into the sky all the tin sheets which a moment ago had formed the roof of the temporary *pandal*. With those tin sheets thus floating in macabre fashion, pandemonium broke out and all the gathered man, women and children started running helter skelter. I had not known before then what a fast runner I myself was. Eventually, however, unable to flout the law of gravitation for long, all the tin sheets returned to earth and settled down one above the other in a neat pile and we too returned to the temple with our composure restored in past. The next hour was spent by me and the attendant, ever ready to take to flight again if need be, in copying the inscription while the villagers broke dozens of coconuts to appease the enraged deity. We left the village soon after, unfed and unbefriended.³

Now let us return to the main theme of the paper. The data available in the inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh about the

subject with which we are presently concerned may be classified in the following groups : 1. Folk, 2. Hero-stones, 3. Magic charms and folk medicine, 4. Folk entertainments, 5. Folk beliefs, 6. Folk expressions.

1. Folk deities :- Folk deities are more commonly known as village deities. Henry Whitehead observes that the worship of village gods or goddesses represent a pre-Aryan cult of the Dravidian peoples, more or less modified in various parts of South India by brahmanical influence and some details of the ceremonies seem to point back to a totemistic stage of religion. The normal function of the village deity is the guardianship of the village but many of them are believed to have other powers, especially in relation to disease and calamity.⁴ In India, especially in South India, there is no village without atleast one local deity in some form or the other. The village deities referred to in epigraphs may be broadly classified into the following categories :

I. The goddesses who have widely known common stories regarding their manifestation :- The village goddess Ellamma may be cited as an example. A number of folk songs identify the goddess Ellamma with Rēṇuka, the wife of sage Jamadagni. The story that Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni, beheaded his mother on the orders of his father is too well-known to be recounted here in detail. Many Telugu folk songs narrate this story, of course with some variations.⁵ We have an indirect reference to this deity in a couple of inscriptions. The Nandyālaṃpēṭa inscription, dated 1555 A. D., records the gift of land to the

goddess Nandyāmma who is described as *Parāsuramūni Kanna parama kalyāṇi* i.e., the mother of Paraśurāma.⁶ Hence Nandyāmma, obviously known so because of her association with the village Nandyālampēṭa, may be identified with Rēnuka-Elamma. An unintelligible and undated inscription from Bhīmaguṇḍam refers to *Jamadagni-manōhari*.⁷ Another inscription engraved on a stone near the Ellama temple in the village Sāraṅgupalli, dated 1638 A.D., records the setting up of the goddess Ādavēni-Yallamma in the temple of Īśvara.⁸

II. *The goddesses who are known by the name of the village in which they are set up* :- The village goddesses Mullaṅgūramma⁹, Vendōṭ-amma¹⁰, Vāvillan-amma¹¹ may be quoted as a few examples.

III. *The goddesses who are known by the names of the trees under which they are set up* :- It is a common practice to build a small shrine to house the village god or goddess. However, many times we find mere images set up under trees with no roof over them. Such deities, some times, are referred to by the trees which gave them shelter. eg. Tummalamma (goddess set up under the tumma (accasia tree)¹², Vēmulamma (after the margosa tree)¹³, Chintalamma (after the tamarind tree).¹⁴ Sometimes a goddess set up near an ant hill and referred to as Puṭṭalamma¹⁵ (Telugu *putta*, ant hill).

IV. *The goddesses whose images are set up on the tank bunds to assure a perennial water supply* :- Such deities are often referred to as Gaṅgamma after the river Gaṅgā and we have many inscriptional references to them. An inscription engraved

on a slab set up on the bund of a tank in Chintakommudinna and dated 1747 A.D., registers the grant of a *dasavanda-mānya* and quotes the goddess Gaṅgamma set up on the tank-bund as a witness to this gift.¹⁶

V. *Male deities* : eg. Pōturaju¹⁷, Kātrēdu¹⁸, Birapadēvara¹⁹. It may be noted that the number of males in the folk deities is quite negligible.

VI. *Others* :- In this category a number of folk deities are included.

The local deities are generally considered as inferior and they are housed in small shrines and worshipped by common people. However, it is interesting that we have epigraphical references to somewhat big temples with *māṇḍapas*, etc., and to endowments of villages, land, tax-income made for conducting regular worship and other services to these deities even by kings and chiefs. The Aminābād inscription of Pedakōmaṭi Anavēmareḍḍi, dated 1376 A.D., records the gift of three villages for providing offerings to the goddess Mullaṅguramma, the family deity of the Reḍḍi kings.²⁰ The king is also stated to have built the temple of this goddess together with *prākāra* and *gōpura*. An inscription from Boggāram and dated 1401 A.D., records the gift of that village to the goddess Gurrāla Paramēśvari by the trading chiefs of several communities including *nāṇādeśis*.²¹ Another inscription from Eguvarāchapalli, dated 1445 A.D., records the construction of the temple and *raṅgamaṇḍapa* to the deity Aremāmbika by Tirumalēśvaranāyaka of the Audumbara family.

In some temples of these folk deities worship was offered thrice a day and festivities were celebrated like in the temples of

other gods and goddesses. An inscription set up in front of the Polēramma temple in Mācherla, dated 1313 A.D., records the grant of income from tax to the goddess Gaṅgāparamēśvari by Dēviri-nāyaka for the worship and offerings to the deity during all the three *sandhyas*. For this provision was made for the supply of one *mana* of rice, one *tavva* of green-gram, some vegetables and 300 *chemanti* (*Chrysanthemum*) flowers every day.²³ Another inscription from Sōmpālem, dated 1559 A.D. records the gift of tax-income from Sōmpalle-agrahāra to the goddess Chavundēśvaramma (Chāmun-*ḍēśvari*) for conducting worship, food offerings and *Pāruvēṇṭi-mahōtsava* by mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jillela Kṛishṇamarājayya Veṅgalārāju.²⁴

The fact that atleast some of the village deities were held in high esteem even by brāhmanas is attested to by an inscription from Nandavaram.²⁵ This epigraph, which is dated 1570 A.D. records the resolution of the *vidvanmahājanas* of Nandavaram on the occasion when their *agrahāra* village was restored to them and they were reinstated in that village by mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarāja Tirumalayyadēva-mahārāju, that they would take to the study of the *Vedas* and *Sāstras* and would abstain from leaving dowries for marriage of girls (*kanyāsulka*) in their community. The fact that this inscription is found engraved on a pillar in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Chavundēśvari temple suggests that the *Vidvanmahājanas* met in that temple and passed the resolution in the presence of the goddess Chavundēśvari.

It is very interesting to note that though animal sacrifice to the village deities is quite common not more than a couple of inscriptions refer to this practice. Even these two inscriptions perhaps belong to a late period. One of them refers to animal sacrifice to be offered to the village goddess Gaṅgā when cattle were affected with diseases.²⁶ This leads us to conclude that though animal sacrifice was common it was not considered worth mentioning in an inscription as it was not received as a meritorious and acceptable practice, by one and all. However, there are epigraphical references to devotees who offered their heads to the folk deities to have their desires fulfilled. The hero-stone inscription set up in the village Mācherla states that Achakuṇḍu entered the army of Birudugāmaya and offered his head to the deity Padlasāni for the victory of his master.²⁷ Though the village gods or goddesses are generally taken to protect the village in which they are set up from epidemic diseases, etc., they are also believed to have many other powers like blessing barren women with children or blessing a pregnant woman with a healthy child.²⁸

The foregoing discussion makes it amply clear that Andhra epigraphs have enough to contribute to our knowledge about folk deities.

Hero-stones :- A person who lays down his life for a noble cause like fighting a war, rescuing cattle and women, offering himself to a god for his own merit or for the welfare of the king etc., is believed to attain the heavenly abode of heroes

(*virasvarga*, *virā-lōka*).²⁹ The Kalakaḍa inscription of Vaidumba Gaṇḍatrinētra (10th century) refers to a hero who fought and attained the blissful company of the celestial damsels (i.e., died) remembering the saying, 'by victory one secures the goddess of Fortune; by death in war, the celestial nymphs, the body is destructible in a moment; why then care for death in war?' (*Jitēna lobhyatē Lakṣmī mṛitē = āpi surāṅgaṇā kṣhāna-vidhvamsini kāyē kā chintā mraṇē raṇē emba māta neneyuttam surēndra-gaṇika - gh ma - stana - prāptan = adam*).³⁰ Usually a stone was erected by his family members in memory of a hero which is generally referred to as a hero-stone. Often such stones have the image of the hero in action or a representation of the belief that the hero attains heavenly abode as hero fighting, hero being escorted by the heavenly damsels and hero seated in *virā-svarga* in the company of celestial nymphs.³¹ Such stones (with or without image) are referred to in inscriptions as *kuliśa-gallu*,³² *bala - śāsanada - kallu* and *bira-kallu*.³⁴

In a number of instances the heroes are deified and the hero-stones are worshipped. It is interesting to note that the deified heroes are credited with supernatural powers like any other gods or goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. A Telugu classic *Hamsaviṃśati* credits the heroes (*virula*) with the power of granting children.³⁵ The Śrīvāra inscription, dated 1320 A.D., records the death of a *mahāsā-mantadhipati* Hiriya Bommēnāyaka in a fight and grant of land to those who were appointed to worship the hero-stone, three times a day (*i birakallu pratishṭhēya mūru vali pūje-puṣṭakāra maḍuva sthāni-*

karigē).³⁶ An inscription engraved on a slab set up in the courtyard of the *Virulaguḍi* (temple of heroes) in Kārempuḍi records that a merchant built a temple for a number of heroes (*virā-kōṭi*) and set up the *garuḍa-stambha*.³⁷

Based on the purpose of the hero-stone inscriptions they may broadly be classified into following groups :

1. Inscriptions recording the death of hero in war
2. -in rescuing cattle
3. -in fighting robbers, wild animals
4. Inscriptions recording the self-sacrifice for the sake of overlords
5. Inscriptions recording self-immolation for religious purpose.

Numerous epigraphs refer to the death of valiant soldiers in battle fields and to setting up hero-stones in their memory. The Būḍidapalle inscription records the death of a certain Dēvaya in a battle fought against the Nōḷambas and the grant of the village Minuki as *bāḷgaḷchu* by the Bāṇa king Mahāvali Vāṇarasa to the hero's family.³⁸ Another inscription from Kalakattūr records the grant of the village Elemandala as *kalnāḍu* by the Nōḷamba king Mahēndra I to the family of the hero who died in a battle.³⁹

A number of inscriptions record the death of those who sacrificed their lives while rescuing cattle being forcibly taken away by the enemy army. The Gaṅgārūr inscription, assignable to the 3rd-4th century A.D. is the earliest to refer to *gō-grahaṇa*.⁴⁰ It states that the pillar on which the record is engraved is a

chhāyākambha of Śivadāsa who fell during a cattle raid. It is interesting to note that as many as eleven hero stone inscriptions are found set up in the village Maṅgala (Chittoor district), all recording the death of different people during cattle raids at Maṅgala.⁴¹

An inscription from Honnēralihalli, dated 963 A.D., records the setting up of the *bala-sāsanada-kallu* in memory of *akka-sāla* (goldsmith) Sarbbachāri who lost his life in a fight with thieves at the village Rolle.⁴² Another inscription from the village Peṇḍlimarri records that a certain Viraya killed a tiger and became a hero (i. e. died) (*viruḍai nilichenū*).⁴³

Loyalty to master is considered as one of the great virtues. Quite a few servants were so loyal to their master that they protected him even at the cost of their own lives. There are instances of servants committing suicide on the event of the death of their master with the belief that they could serve him even in the other world.⁴⁴ A hero-stone inscription now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Hyderabad refers to the offering of his head to the Dēvi by Prōlē after paying reverence to Oḍerāju, obviously for the latter's welfare.⁴⁵ This slab depicts the hero in the act of cutting off his head with a sword held in his right hand and holding his tuft with his left hand. There are seven more un-inscribed slabs in the same place depicting similar acts of self-immolation.

It is interesting to note that there was a tradition of a servant offering himself as *kilguṇṭe* to his overlord. That is,

to fulfil the oath that he would not allow the body of his overlord to touch the ground, the servant covers the body of his dead master during cremation in such a way that the dead body will not touch the ground. The Hēmavati inscription of c.900 A.D. is the best example for this kind of hero-stones.⁴⁶ It records that on the death of a certain chief one Malayamma became his *kilguṇṭa*. The slab bears the scene of this incident. In this scene there is a pyre on which can be seen two persons lying one above the other, both facing upwards and the body of the upper person without touching ground. Needless to say that this kind of sacrifice can be cited as an example of extreme loyalty of a servant to his master. Such hero-stones can be referred to as *kilguṇṭa* hero-stones.

As extreme loyalty makes one to offer his own life for the benefit of his master, a deep sense of devotion leads a devotee to sacrifice his own life to the god or, more often, goddess. This practice gained more currency with the advent of Viṛaśaivism. Those who offered their lives to the deities were worshipped as heroes and their pious acts were recorded on stones. The Mallam inscription, dated in the 20th regnal year of Pallava Kampavarman (c.890 A.D.), registers a gift of land by the *ūrār* of Tiruvānmūr (mdn. Mallam) to Paṭṭam Pōttan for the pious act, probably, of his father, in cutting off his flesh from nine parts of his body and finally his head as an offering to the goddess Bhaṭāri (Durgā).⁴⁷ This inscription is engraved above the figure of a person holding his severed head, while the right hand grasps a sword.

The above discussion drives home the point that persons who gave up their lives for various noble causes were deified and that the hero-stones were worshipped. Once the dead heroes are deified attributing supernatural powers to such heroes and hero-stones follows. Needless to say that some of the beliefs which lead individuals to sacrifice their lives and the worship of hero-stones fall within the scope of folkloristic studies and that epigraphs provide us with valuable data in this connection. In this context it may be noted that the sculptures also deserve a detailed study in this direction.

Magic charms and folk medicine

A magic charm is defined as "an assemblage of oral formulas, which are traditional in nature and used requesting help of a particular god or gods, supernatural being or a human being possessed with some supernatural power, to attain some ends. It is learnt and transmitted through oral tradition from person to person."⁴⁸ Although these are considered as oral formulas they were engraved on stones which were planted usually in the border of the village with the belief that the magic formula engraved on them had the power to prevent the god or goddess of disease from entering the village. We have a few epigraphs recording some magic charms supposed to be effective in curing the cattle diseases. These inscriptions record either the command to the folk deities to receive the offered food and get out of the villages without causing any harm to the cattle or request to the deities already set up on the boundary to drive away the god or goddess who may

cause cattle diseases. An undated inscription from Vēbinābi exhorts Mahāśakti to accept the animals sacrificed for her (*ēṭulu āhāramu tisukōnti*) and to get out of the village.⁴⁹ Two inscriptions, engraved in late characters, seem to record some charm to avert the hoof-disease (*khura-rōga*)⁵⁰ Both the records address Ghaṇṭākarna⁵¹ and refer to some unspecified remedy suggested by Sahadēva, obviously to *khura-rōga*, while he was in the court of Virāṭa as Tantripāla. It is traditionally believed that Ghaṇṭākarna, if worshipped, would cure particularly the hoof-diseases of cattle. There is atleast one inscription which prescribes some native medicine for an unspecified cattle disease apart from sacrificing animals to the village goddess.⁵² It seems to state that the village deity (*bhaḍāri*)⁵³ Gaṅgā, set up on the boundary (*polimera*), should be worshipped and that the *erṇa-gūḍu* (red rice' i.e., the cooked rice soaked in the blood of the sacrificed animal) offered to the goddess must be strewn (on the boundary). This is followed by the details of the components of the medicine to be given to the cattle. It says that some specified vegetables and salt, mustard, pepper, garlic and jaggery should be mixed with sour butter milk and a measure of it should be given to the cattle (*marēḍu donḍakūra tilalu buduma āvālu vuppu miriyālu velluḷḷi kalu-madi bellam pulimajjiga tō mandu chōsi-gottamāḍu tōpaliki peṭṭedi*). However, it may be noted that quite a few or the expressions in the inscriptions of this type do not convey any meaning as some unintelligible words, supposed to have mystic value, are used.

Folk Entertainments :—Acrobatics, hunting,

weight lifting and dolls play are the folk entertainments referred to in the Andhra epigraphs. A number of inscriptions refer to a community called *Vipravīnōdins* known for their magic shows, though the epigraphs do not refer to the nature of their magic shows. The *dommari* community, famous for their acrobatics, figure in many inscriptions. All these records belong to Vijayanagara and post-vijayanagara period. The inscriptions lead us to conclude that both the *dommaris* and the *vipravīnōdins* enjoyed some status and that they were in a position to make many benevolent gifts to the temples. The Maravapalli-agrahāram inscription, dated 1529 A.D., records the gift of 4 *māḍas* by the *dommaris*, received by them as *dommaripannu* or *dommari-tyāgamu* from the *kampūs* of the village Bukkarāyapuram for celebrating various festivals.⁵⁴ The gift is stated to have been made for the merit of the *dommari* community which includes 24 *kulas*. It is further stated that the *kampus* should regularly hand over the money to the *mahājanas* of the village who were made responsible for celebrating the festivals in the temple. The Kandukūru inscription, dated 1683 A.D., gives us an idea about the risky acrobatics performed by the *dommaris*.⁵⁵ It states that while the *dommaris* Addareḍḍi and Pāpaya were performing some acrobatics on the rope tied to two poles planted apart in the presence of the chief Mahammadkhān, *desahis*, *sthala-karaṇams*, *nāyakās*, *chalumula-samasta-pekkandru*, etc., in the Skandapuri (mdn. Kandukūru), the former fell down from the rope and died. The inscription further records that a village was gifted to the Anna-ṛeḍḍi

and Pāpaya with hereditary rights, obviously as compensation.

We have a reference to tiger hunt in an undated inscription coming from Nallapalli.⁵⁶ It states that in a face-to-face tiger hunt, arranged by Srikanṭhayyan, a certain Indappan pierced the tiger and died with it and that some land was granted in recognition of his prowess, obviously to his family.

The Obulāpuram inscription, engraved in late characters, is interesting in that it refers to weight lifting.⁵⁷ "This inscription is engraved on a spherically dressed granite stone. It simply states that a certain Chinna Buchchayya of Obulāpuram lifted (the stone weighing) 15 maunds. Taking 24 pounds as the equivalent for a maund the weight of the stone would roughly be 360 pounds. Such stones meant for the practice of weight lifting by gymnasts and called *ilavaṭṭak-kal* in Tamil-nadu is a common feature in villages even today, but the special feature that marks this stone from the rest of its kind is the inscription that is engraved upon it."

Another folk entertainment dolls play (*bommalaṭa*) is referred to in an inscription from Chidipirela, dated 1579 A.D.⁵⁸ It records the gift of a village as *mānya* to Peda Chittaya who is described as *bommalaṭa-rayitu* and *bommalaṭa amṛita-kavi* indicating his efficiency in playing dolls. The dolls used for the play are made of hollow wood. Threads are passed through different limbs like hands, legs, etc., of the dolls and all those threads are together brought out through the head of the doll. The dolls are placed before the

screen while the player, who holds all threads, himself sits behind the screen so that he cannot be seen by the spectators. As he narrates the story he pulls the threads in such a way that the limbs of the dolls move as required by the context. Usually the player would be well versed and he narrates the story appealingly. Some doll-players were capable of composing verses extempore as attested by the title *amṛitakavi* of the doll-player referred to in the above inscription.

Folk beliefs : In this section it is proposed to draw the attention of scholars to two beliefs suggested in the inscriptions. The first pertains to fertility cult. It is well known that the cult of fertility is very ancient and widespread as proved by a number of *nagna-kabandha* sculptures discovered.⁵⁹ In Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, the lower half of an image depicting a nude female figure in the sitting posture, with the legs doubled up and wide apart and the feet pointing outwards was discovered.⁶⁰ On the narrow strip of space below the image is engraved an inscription in Prakrit language assignable to the 3rd century A.D. Though the inscription does not give any clue to the identification of the image it says that the image was caused to be made by a queen who is described as *a-vidhavā* and *jiva-puta*. Images of this type were the result of the belief that their worship or donation as votive images would help prosperity of progeny.

The second belief suggested in an inscription is that if one kills himself cursing that somebody else, who is responsible for this tragedy, the latter would incur the sin of homicide.

Obviously vengeance coupled with utter helplessness of the victim to avenge the harm done to him by the other party is responsible for this belief. An inscription from Bhīmavaram, probably assignable to the 10th-11th centuries, states that this is the image of Chandrarāsi-bhaṭṭāra who cursed Kēdārarāsi-panḍita that he would incur the sin of killing a *brāhmaṇa* and committed suicide by stabbing himself.⁶¹ It is probable that either Chandrarāsi-bhaṭṭāra could not avenge the harm done to him by Kēdārarāsi-panḍita or that he was afraid of incurring the sin of killing a *brāhmaṇa* should he kill the latter. Consequently, he decided to put an end to himself nevertheless, cursing Kēdārarāsi-panḍita that he should incur the sin of *brahma-hatyā*. It is noteworthy that both the parties involved in this tragic incident were *Śiva-brāhmaṇas*.

Folk Expressions :- Nicknames and vulgar imprecatory passages belong to this group. It is interesting that we have a few inscriptions which simply record the nicknames without any other details. Of such, one is *Bhaga-priyuru* found engraved on a marble pillar discovered on a mound called *stambhala-bōḍu* in Samādhānapuram, Guntur district.⁶² On the basis of palaeography this may be assigned to about the 7th-8th centuries.

Needless to say that the main purpose of any inscription is to record the donations like land and villages made to *brāhmaṇas*, temples, *viḥāras*, etc. Even in ancient period the land and villages donated were appropriated by selfish people for themselves. To arrest this tendency and to protect the endowments

people were warned that they would incur the sin of committing the five *mahāpātakas* should they take away charities made by others. One of the earliest inscriptions to record such an admonishment was the noted Hirēḥaḍagalli Prakrit charter of Śivaskandavarman. However, in course of time warnings of this kind proved to be ineffective and consequently the donors were forced to use more harsh language. The result was the vulgar imprecatory passages involving the wives and sisters of those who dare to destroy the gift. An inscription from Tripurāntakam, dated 1253 A.D., records that whoever destroys the endowment would incur the sin of killing his eldest son on the banks of the Gaṅgā and getting himself beaten up with a broom stick by his enemy as he (i.e., the destroyer) went to his house begging with the skull of his eldest son in hand.⁶³

In the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period we find many unprintable vulgar expressions purporting to threaten people who venture to destroy the gift. It is curious that we find this kind of expressions more in the inscriptions coming from Nellore district.⁶⁴ Even vulgar drawings were made some times to warn the illiterate.

The foregoing observations make it abundantly clear that epigraphs form a very important source material for folkloristic studies. It is high time that folklorists should examine the epigraphical material thoroughly to make the folkloristic studies complete. Although folklore is considered to be concerned with mainly oral traditions, the study of epigraphs provide earlier references and other details which are now lost regarding various aspects of folklore.

Notes :

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 9 (1965), p. 518.
2. *CH*. Vol. 1 (Delhi, 1969), p. XXVII.
3. Ramesh, K.V. Presidential Address - Indian History Congress, XXXVII session (Calicut, 1976) V - Epigraphy, pp. 10-11.
4. Henry, Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India* (2nd ed. 1976, Delhi), pp. 16-17.
5. Ravi Premalatha, *Telugu Janapada-Sāhityamu Purāgāthalu* (Hyderabad, 1983), pp. 189 ff.
6. *Inss. of A.P. - Cuddapah*, Vol. II, No. 240.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 158.
8. *ARSIE.*, 1926, No. 386.
9. *Ibid.*, 1933, No. 259.

10. *Ibid.*, 1946, No. 95.
11. *NDI.*, Vol. III, p. 1221.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 265-67.
13. *ARSIE.*, 1939, No. 382, *Ibid.*, 1963, No. B 165.
14. *EL.* XXXIII, p. 18, text line 132.
15. *ARSIE.*, 1944, No. B 28.
16. *Inss. of A.P. - Cuddapah*, Vol. III, No. 61.
17. *ARSIE.*, 1960-61, No. B 6.
18. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 511.
19. *NDI.*, Vol. I, pp. 238-39.
20. *ARSIE.*, 1933, No. 259.
21. *Ibid.*, 1936, No. 205.
22. *Inss. of A.P. - Cuddapah*, Vol. II, No. 44.
23. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 505.
24. *Ibid.*, No. 237.
25. *ARSIE.*, 1944, No. B 4.
26. *NDI.*, Vol. III, pp. 1300 ff.
27. *ARSIE.*, 1939, No. 383, pt. 2, para 62.
28. Kōṭavi Gōparāju, *Simhāsana dvāṭrīṃśika* (Telugu), Canto III, verse 33, Ayyalarāju Nārāyaṇakavi, *Hamsavīmśati* (Telugu), Canto II, verse 92, Perhaps that is why there are personal names in Telugu like Ellamma, Māramma, Kāṭamarāju, etc.
29. Note the expression *bira-lōkamb-ēge* - *SII.* X, No. 622 (10th century).
30. *EL.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 270 ff.
31. *Ibid.*, see plate.
32. *ARSIE.*, 1917, No. 763 (Kannaḍa : Archaic)
33. *Ibid.*, No. 55 (Kannaḍa : 1320 A.D.)
34. *Hamsa-vīmśati*, Canto II, verse 90.
35. *SII.*, IX-2, No. 354 ; Also see *NDI.*, I, pp. 310-12.
36. *ARSIE.*, 1909, No. 557 ; *Ibid.*, 1910, pt. 2, para 49.

38. *SII.*, IX-1, No. 4 (9th cen.)
39. *Ibid.*, No. 20 (9th cen.)
40. *EL.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 207 ff.
41. *ARSIE.*, 1932, Nos. 177 ff
42. *Ibid.*, 1917, No. 55.
43. *Inss. of A.P.*, Cuddapah II, No. 23.
44. *ARSIE.*, 1942, No. 73 (10th cen.)
45. *Ibid.*, 1961-62, No. B 24 ; p. 25. Also see *Ibid.*, 1909, pt. 2, para 73.
46. *SIE (JESI)*, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff and plate.
47. *SII.*, XII, No. 106 (Tamil) plate. Also see *ARSIE.*; 1909, pt. 2, para 73 for hero-stones recording such sacrifices at Tripurāntakam.
48. S.L. Srivastava, *Folk culture and Oral Tradition* (New Delhi: 1974), p. 12. Y. M. Sokolov also defines charm as 'an oral formula possessing magic significance'. *Ibid.*, p. 15, 31.
49. *NDI.*, Vol. II., pp. 1300 ff.
50. *Inss. of A.P.*, Cuddapah, Nos. 40 and 187.
51. Wrongly given in the records as *Pumshpakarnna* and *Yamttakarna*.
52. *NDI.*, Vol. III, pp. 1225 ff.
53. Wrongly read as *(tva)dari* in the *NDI*
54. *SII.*, Vol. XVI, No. 85.
55. *NDI.*, Vol. II, pp. 563-66.
56. *ARSIE.*, 1913, No. 244 ; p. 2, para 45.
57. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, No. B 28.
58. *Ibid.*, 1938, No. 216.
59. For details see I.K. Sarma, *The Development of Early Śaiva Art and Architecture* (Delhi: 1982), p. 109, Waheed khan, Md.A., *Stone sculptures in the Alampūr Museum*, pp. 10-11 and plates 52-53 ; *EL.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 137 ff. and plate.
60. *EL.*, XXIX, pp. 137 ff and plate. Also see Waheedkhan, Md., A., *Op. cit.*
61. *SII.*, Vol. V, No. 58.
62. *ARSIE.*, 1943, No. E 56.
63. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 332.
64. For example see, *NDI.*, Vol. I, pp. 427, 439, 451, 456 ; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 748, 763, 801, 902, 1102 ; *SII.*, Vol. XVI, No. 331.

TIRUVIDANDAI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYARAJENDRA

C. R. Srinivasan

The subjoined inscription of Vijayarājendra i. e. Rājādhirāja (1018-1054 A.D.) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Varāha Perumāḷ temple at Tiruviṇḍandai, Chingleput Taluk, Chingleput District. It was copied in 1910 by our department and it is unpublished. For the highly interesting information which the record contains both in its historical introduction and in its grant portion it is taken up here for discussion.

Tiruviṇḍandai appears to have been an important institution famous as one of the 108 *Vaiṣṇava divya deśas* of the *Nāṭayiraprabhandham*. Most of the inscriptions bear eloquent testimony to the flourishing condition of the temple during the Chōḷas. Of the 26 records copied from this place four do not belong to the erstwhile Chōḷas. In them one¹ is dated 20th year of Kṛishṇa III in whose reign an image was set up by an individual. The other three records² viz., Jaṭa Vīrapāṇḍya (13th yr.), Māṛa Vīrapāṇḍya (10th yr.) and Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulasēkharadēva (20th yr.) refer to the gifts of lands etc. The general pattern of the Chōḷa inscriptions as a whole is to make provision for feeding the *brāhmaṇas* on festival occasions by instituting *Vāḍākaṇḍan* etc., and a vivid account of the public functionaries that existed during the Chōḷa rule.

The kings who are represented in

these are Pārthivēndravarman, Rājārāja I, Vīrarājendra, Kulōttuṅga I, Vikrama Chōḷa, Rājakēsari and Parakēsari (both unidentified). A festival called '*Rājārājadēvar tirunāl*' named after that great king, which was to continue for seven days from star Satayam (the star under which the king was born) evinces a good deal of interest to the reader.

The inscription consists of 12 lines. Though the alphabet employed is Tamil, Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words such as *svasti-sri*, *Mahāvishṇu*, *Viṣaiyābhishēkam* (1.1) *panmarana*, *Viṣaiyarājendra brahmādarāyan* (1.2) etc. Instead of repeating or recounting, we can say this tendency can be noticed through out the record to preserve phonetism of that language. In some cases, the conjunct letters alone are used partially resulting in the admixture of both Tamil and Grantha, e.g. *tri* in *kshatri*, *nda* in *pugunda*. etc. Therefore this kind of common occurrence, is not dealt in detail here.

There are several mistakes of commission and omission in the record while some of them are due to the negligence and ignorance of engraver. Others may be attributed to the scribe that committed the record to writing and passed it for being incised on stone. Though the mistakes are not too many to be cata-

logged here, attention however is drawn to a few.

Under mistakes of spelling may be noted where *na* takes the place of *ṇa* e. g. *Īsvaṇāṇa*, (1.4) *eḷuttināl* etc. This example can be multiplied as it occurs in too many places. Under omission of letters the following may be cited. *n* is omitted in *brahmadēvan* (1.2) *y* is omitted after *Viśai*, the lengthening is omitted in *Puttanār + āna* (1.5) and *l* is dropped in *Kōyil* (1.8)

Rājādhirāja who was the eldest of the three sons of Rājendra I inherited an extensive empire and ably maintained its extent and prestige during his reign. His *praśastis* give a succinct account of how he distinguished himself in the prolonged war with the Chālukyan powers at a time when there was trouble from the South—the Pāṇḍya and Kerala being always in league with Ceylonese rulers.

In the abstract of the historical introduction given in the present record one point that is particularly worthy of note is that the king performed the anointment of heroes at Kalyāṇapura. This is well attested by the literary evidences of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Vikramachōlan ulā* respectively.

of : *Kaḍiyaraṇkoḷ Kalyāṇar Kaṭṭaṇak-
kimpuri-ppaṇaik-kiriyukaittavan
girigaleṭṭiṇṇum puli porittadum
and : -mumuḍi pōy kalyaṇi seṇṇa
iaṇiyāṇmaich chēvagaṇṇum*

Above all his bringing the war-trophy viz., the *dvārapālaka* image after sacking Kalyāṇapura is an unassailable evidence

of : *Svasti śrī Uḍaiyār Śrī Vijayarājendra dēvar Kalyāṇapuram eṇḍu
koḍu vanda dvārapālār*

The pedestal is proudly proclaiming this fete in an inscription there on. Here he styles himself as Vijayarājendra. We know already from a record dated 36th year from Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbhakōṇam³ that he assumed the title Vijayarājendra after his triumphant entry into Kalyāṇapura. Kōṇērīrājapuram records⁴ attribute to the king the taking of the head of Pāṇḍya, capture of the *sālai* of the Chēra king, of Laṅka, of Raṭṭapāḍi etc and the performance of the anointment of heroes at Kalyāṇapura. Our record from Tiruviḍandai also recounts these heroic acts and confirms that Rājādhirāja had the said title. It is a known fact that his brother Rājendra II co-operated with his elder brother in the protracted Chālukya war and turned the tide of war into a brilliant victory in spite of the fact that his brother had succumbed while fighting seated on an elephant on the war-field. (*Kalyāṇapuramum Kollapuramum eṇḍu yāṇai meṇṇuṇṇina dēvar*). His characteristic title '*Kalyāṇapuram koṇḍasoḷaṇ*' finds mentioned in an inscription⁵ of Rājendra II. We have to recall here that the same title is spoken of. The assumption of the title Vijayarājendra and the two records bearing the imperial family title *Parakēśari* instead of *Rājākēśari* was a baffling problem and created dust for some time by epigraphists.⁶ This is now set at rest on the basis of the internal and collective evidences of epigraphs. In confirming

the identity of the king with Rājādhirāja, our record under review is a supplementary evidence.

The grant portion of the inscription gives us to understand that in the 35th year and 191st day of the king's reign when he was pleased to remain in the bathing hall within his palace at Gaṅgāikondasōlapuram the king gave the royal consent to the gift made. The epigraph states that the income of the village from the tax on oil mills (*śekkiṟai*) expenditure (*viṇiyogam*) tax on looms (*taṟiyiṟai*) tax on smiths (*taṟṟār-pāṭṭam*) was to be utilised for celebrating the daily (*nityasiṟappu*) and monthly festivals (*tiṅgaḷ tōṟum tiruviḷā*) on the day of the natal star Pūram (*nām piṟanda Pūra nāḷgaḷāl*) of the king. This is the only inscription that gives evidence to the fact that he was born on the day of the nakshatra Pūram (*Pūrvaphalguni*). It refers to the gift to Tiruviḍandai (In inscription it is Tiruviḍavandai) temple of Mahāvishṇu evidently the Varāha Perumāḷ of other inscriptions in the same place and the village is stated to have belonged to Paḍuvūr-nāḍu a sub-division of Kalyāṇapuraṅgaṇḍasōlā-kōṭṭam. It is interesting to note that the territorial division of Āmūr-kkōṭṭam to which Tiruviḍandai belonged here receives the surname '*Kalyāṇapuraṅgaṇḍa chōḷa*' in honour of the king's conquest of Kalyāṇapura. Seventy officers of different rank and file figure in this record. From the phrase *iraikaṭṭiṇa-poṇ* it is elicited that 109 1/2 *kaḷañju* and 4 *maṇḷāḍi poṇ* are earmarked for the daily festival (*nityasiṟappu*) and other income from the various taxes mentioned above are to be utilised for the monthly festival or on

the days of Pūram every month.

The main theme of the record is to enter the order or the consent of the king into the revenue registers as is implied by the phrase '*veṇḍum nivandaṅgaḷukku dēvadānam iṟuppadāga pugunda kēḷi variyilṭṭadu*'. On my scrutiny, I observe that nowhere it is stated in the record that the said village was gifted. But the concerned *Annual Report* states in the remarks column that it records the gift of village Tiruviḍandai to the temple of Mahāvishṇu. Therefore the '*dēvadānam iṟuppadāga*' denotes the class of gift or classified entities in regard to the assessment of income from specified taxes on the *dēvadāna* lands of the village. K. G. Krishnan has clearly defined⁷ some of these terms such as *dēvadānam*, *paḷḷichandam*, *kāṇimuzṟuṭṭu* etc., and says that these terms refer to the lands endowed on different classes of institutions such as temples of gods of vedic faith, the monasteries or temples of non-vedic faiths such as Buddhism and Jainism etc., He adds that in the same village it is possible that there were some lands given as *bramadēya*, some others as *dēvadāna* etc. Therefore it can be inferred that the income allocated for the monthly festival comes perhaps under the *dēvadāna* group of lands in the village and it is fallacious to say that the whole village was gifted for the said purpose.

We have seen the grant and the occasion on which it was made. Let us now deal with the procedural part wherein the hierarchy of officials are mentioned. The oral order was to grant exemption from the taxes as *dēvadāna iṟaiyili* and to

record this fact in the taxation register with effect from the 35th regnal year of the king. The order therefore was first committed to writing (*eḷuttināḷum* 1.1) by *Tirumandira-ōlai*, Mummūḍi Chōḷaṅ Mānikkan *alias* Tamiḷadaraiyan of Vaigavūr in Nittavinōda vaḷanāḍu. In the order of precedence, the immediate higher officer viz. Tirumandira-ōlaināyakam who is figuring along with other six colleagues attest to the transaction. The expression *oppittu pugunda kēvipadiye variyilittukolgaveṇṇu* indicate the work done by these group of seven officers, namely the comparing the oral order (*kēlvi*) and 'the order that was committed to writing'. The second duty which they have to perform is to pass on their 'bidding' to the next set of officers called *uḍan kuṭṭattu adhigāriḡal* numbering 15 probably with their endorsement or necessary instructions to the later. It is appropriate here to recall the observations made in regard to the 'offices' by K. G. Krishnan. "This indicates that the status of the former is higher than the latter, though both of them should be taken as executive officers of the state. Therefore between the two, the former may be understood to be always on immediate attendance on the king as the term *uḍankūṭṭam* may imply and were evidently functioning in an advisory capacity in matters of policy while the latter were probably only charged with carrying out the orders as and when assigned."⁸

The present record draws a clear distinction between the first and second set of officers. The relevant portion of the text reads *ēva ivarḡal evinapadiyē uḍankūṭṭattu adhigāriyaḡal*. Therefore the

uḍankūṭṭam as per the bidding are expected to follow the instructions in relation to the transaction. In view of their importance of policy making, we can assume that the matter was referred to them. This is confirmed by the fact by the mention of so many officers mostly in groups and the file passing through these officers such as *Naḍuvirukkai*, *Viḍai Adhigāriḡal* and again *Naḍuvirukkai*, *Puravuvartinaikkaḷattukāṅḡani*, *Puravuvartiṇaikalam*, *Varippottagam*, *Mugaveṭṭi*, *Variyiliḍu*, *Varippottagakanakku paṭṭōlai*, *kil-mugaveṭṭi*, *varippottagam*, *paṭṭōlai*. Here the strength of *Viḍai Adhigāriḡal* and *Uḍankūṭṭattu adhigāriḡal* are the same numbering 15. Where as the strength of other officers has not exceeded four. Mention of *Mugaveṭṭi* and *kil-Mugaveṭṭi* points out to the fact, that the former was a senior and the latter is a junior in the cadre as he is placed below '*paṭṭōlai*'. Likewise *varippottagam* and *varipottagakanakku*. The group of officers designated as *naḍuvirukkai* are shown in this record just below *uḍankūṭṭam* and *viḍai Adhigāriḡal*. In Karandai plates they are ranked with *uḍankūṭṭam*. But here they are shown as both Senior and Junior to *Viḍai Adhigāriḡal*. That *variylidū* is senior to *varippottagakanakku*. In Karandai plates the order of precedence is reversed or juxtaposed. The two *Mugaveṭṭis* seem to have read out the documents as evidenced by the '*vāsitta*' in line 12. Neruppai uḍaiyān who was holding the office '*varippottagam*' had entered the communication (*terippu*) in the revenue books. The *paṭṭōlai* is stated to have drawn the *kilatterippu* probably the authorised version of the presence of the *Puravuvartiṇaikkaḷa-nāyakam* or recorded the

proceedings on the 139th day of the 35th regnal year of the king; and got it attested by the latter. Thus the first draft of the order written by the 'ōlai' officer in the immediate presence of the king is scrutinised and approved by senior officers with the proper official form and practice scrutinising each new proposal in the light of existing codes, rules and practice. Between the day quoted at the beginning and the end, there is an interval of 52 days which we may account for the procedural delay for its execution. Every order required the presence of such a host of officials to be put through-reminds us of the other inscriptions of Chōla period viz. Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Virarājendra, Leyden grant and Karandai plates of Rājendra, which bear close resemblance, of course.

It is said that Chōla geography-particularly the subordinate divisions underwent many reshufflings and their names were changed so often to justify the complaint that it came to suffer as much from the plague of homonyms as the kings themselves. Here is the evidence to show that some of the officers often described themselves by the name of the ruling sovereign followed by the phrase and identical title *mūvēndavālan* together with surnames such as *Vijayarājendra*, *Rājādhirāja* and to cap it all *Kalliyānapuraṅḡoṇḍa*. They are mostly *Tirumandira-ōlai nāyakam*, *uḍankūṭṭam Viḍaigārigal*. Some of the territorial divisions such as *valanāḍu kōṭṭam* and *charuppēdimāṅgalams* are named as *Vijayarājendra vaḷa-nāḍu*, *Rājādhirāja-vaḷa-nāḍu* and *Kalyānapuraṅḡoṇḍa sōla-vaḷanāḍu*

Hierarchy of

Officers :-

| | II. | Nos. |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------|
| 1. Tirumandira -ōlai | 1 | 1 |
| 2. Tirumandira -ōlai - nāyakam | 2-8 | 7 |
| 3. Uḍankūṭṭatti adhigaṅgal | 9-23 | 15 |
| 4. Naduvirukkai | 24-27 | 4 |
| 5. Viḍai Adigārigal (Karumamārāyum) | 28-42 | 15 |
| 6. Naḍuvirukkai | 43-44 | 2 |
| 7. Puravuvarithtiṇaikaḷattu-kaṅgani | 45-48 | 4 |
| 8. Puravuvari - tinaikkaḷam | 49-51 | 3 |
| 9. Varippottagam | 52-53 | 2 |
| 10. Mūgaveṭṭi | 54-57 | 4 |
| 11. Variyiliḍu | 58-60 | 3 |
| 12. Varippottagakkanaḱku | 61-63 | 3 |
| 13. Pattolai | 64-65 | 2 |
| 14. Kilmugaveṭṭi | 66-67 | 2 |
| 15. Varippottagam | 68-69 | 2 |
| 16. Pattōlai | 70 | 1 |
| 17. Puravuvari-Tinaikkaḷa nāyakam | | 70 |
| 18. Puravuvari Tinaikkaḷam | | |

| Designation | Name of Person | Village | Sub-division | Division | Text line |
|----------------------------------|--|---|--------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 7 |
| 1. Tirumandira -Ōlai | 1. Mumudichō- lan Mānikkan @ Sembiyan Tamiladaraiyan | Vaikūr chēri | Kilār-Kūrṅam | Nittavinōḍa vaḷa- nāḍu | 1. 3 |
| 2. Tirumandira Ōlai Nāyakam | 2. Nakkan Mā- yan Siṅgalān- takan alias Viṣairāṇḍra Brahmārāyan | Kēralāntaka charuppēḍimaiṅ- galam | Veṇṇāḍu | Uyyakkonḍār- valanāḍu | 3 |
| 3. Arumoljivik- ramasōlan | alias Viṣaiyārāja Mahābali vānarājan | — | — | — | — |
| 4. Araiyan Jayaṅ -goṇḍa sōlan | alias Viṣaiyārāṇḍra Irukkaivēlan | — | — | — | 3 |
| 5. Araiyan Geru- bhi vāhanan | alias Viṣairāṇḍra kāḷingarājan | — | — | — | — |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---------------------------------|--|--|---------------------------|------------------------|-----|---|
| | 6. Arayan īśva- rān <i>visaiya- rājendra vaṇā- ttudaiyār</i> | — | — | — | | |
| | 7. Nilāṅgudi tāṅgiyār <i>alias</i> Pallavarājan (<i>eva</i>) | — | — | — | | |
| | 8. Tillaiṇṇāṅgar <i>alias Visairājen dra Pottappiśōlar</i> | — | — | — | | |
| 3. Uṇṇakūttattu adhikāriṅgaḷ | 9. Komarakuḍai- yān Pichchanā dittan <i>alias</i> <i>Visaiyarājendra mūvēndavēḷār</i> | | Sēmarai kaṇḍam | Rājāsraya vaṇāḍu | 4 | |
| | 10. Pāṭaikūttar <i>alias</i> Kalyāṇa- Sōḷanallur purandara mūvēndavēḷār | Jayaṅḇoṇḇa <i>alias</i> Sōḷanallur | Kurukkaināḍu | Rājadhiraṇja vaṇāḍu | 4 | |
| | 11. Sīvacharaṇa- ttār <i>alias</i> Sēm- nallūr (Kil- biyan Anutira kuṇḇāru) mūvēnda vēḷār vēḷān Nīṭakaṇ- ṇan <i>alias</i> | Sōlasikhanai- nallūr (Kil- biyan Anutira kuṇḇāru) | Rājendra sōḷavaḷa nāḍu | Rājārājapāṇḇi nāḍu | 4-5 | |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---------------------------|---|---|------|---|
| | 12. Irumuḍisōla Sīvapāda- mūvēndavēḷār sekharanaḷḷūr udaiyār | | Tiruvaḷundur- nāḍu | J. S. Vaḷanāḍu | L. 5 | |
| | 13. Kōn Ambalak kūtṭaranār <i>alias</i> Rāja- vichchādira Mūvēndavēḷār | Ponṇarri | | Mijalaikūṛram Rājarājapāṇḍi- nāḍu | 5 | |
| | 14. Sadaiyaṇ puttānār <i>alias</i> Tannavaṇ Mūvēnda vēḷār | Panaṅgaḍu kuḍi | Vaṇḍālai-Mēḷū- Kūṛram | <i>Visaiyaraṅendra</i> vaḷanāḍu | 5 | |
| | 15. Velān pagai Aḍakkiyār <i>alias</i> vaḷavan Mūvēndavēḷāṇ | Gaṅgaikoṇḍa sōlanallūr | Vilaināḍu | J. S. Vaḷanāḍu | 5 | |
| | 16. Pāsūrkūtṭar son of Iraiya- vēṭṭar | Ādandampakkam | Ākuḍināḍu <i>Rajāḍhirāja</i> <i>kkoṭṭam</i> | J. S. Vaḷanāḍu | 5 | |
| | 17. Nakkan Madūrāntakan <i>alias</i> Āhava- mallakulāntaka mūvēndavēḷār | --- | --- | --- | 5-6 | |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|-------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---|---|
| 18. | Nallattadiyār Aṭṭavallār <i>alias</i> Pallavan Mū- vendavēlār. | Annilūr | Vēṇṇāḍu | Uyyakkonḍar- vaṇanāḍu | 6 | |
| 19. | Singāṇai puttar <i>alias</i> Teṇṇa- van mūvēnda vēlār | Mummuḍi Sola- nallūr | Ārvala kūṇṇam | Viśaiyarājēndra vaṇanāḍu | 6 | |
| 20. | Kanjaran śetti Tiruvāḍigal <i>alias</i> Uttama sōla mūvēnda vēlār | — | Tiruvindalūrnāḍu | Irājādhiraṇja vaṇanāḍu | 6 | |
| 21. | Kaliyan Āḍittan | Senguḍi | Tiruvalundūr- nāḍu | J.S. Vaṇanāḍu | 6 | |
| 22. | Kōṇulār pat- tanār perṇār <i>alias</i> Aḷaṅiya Rāja mūvēnda vēlār | -Ānmūrṇāḍu | Tirumuṇaiṇṇāḍu | Irājēndrasōla vaṇanāḍu | 6 | |
| 23. | Nallattadiḷal sen. nār <i>alias</i> Dānatuṅga vilupparaiyar | Anniyūr | Vēṇṇāḍu | Uyyakkonḍār vaṇanāḍu | 7 | |
| 24. | Sahanai Aṭi- rātra yāchayār | | Rājēndra sōla charuppēdiman- galam | Kṣatriyaśikhā- maṇi vaṇanāḍu | 7 | |
| 4. | Naḍuvirukkai | | | | | |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|-----------------------------------|--|-----------|---|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| | 25. Sri Mādhava bhaṭṭan | Karipuram | Rājādhirāja- charuppēdimān- galam (taṇiyar) | --- | --- |
| | 26. Solaippirāṇ Bhaṭṭa Sōma- yāji | Uppangāl | --- | --- | --- |
| | 27. Sri Rāma- bhaṭṭan | Pasalai | Gaṅgaikoṇḍa śōla charu- ppēḍi- maṅgalam | Tiruvālu- dūrnāḍu | Jayaṅkoṇḍa Śōla vaṇanāḍu |
| 5. <i>Viḍai Adhi- gariga!</i> | 28 Rāja Mahendra Mūvēndavēḷār | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | 29. Gaṅgaikoṇḍa śōla Mūvēnda- vēḷār | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | 30. Arikulakēsari Mūvēndavēḷār | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | 31. Divākaran Niṇṭār <i>alias</i> Vikrama śīnga- mūvēndavēḷār | Ālattūr | --- | --- | Nittavinōḍa vaṇanāḍu |
| | | | Āvūr | kūṟram | |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| | 32. Attanikūttā- nār <i>alias</i> Vāṇavaṇ Mūvēnda vēlār | Pūṇḍi | | Puliyūr nāḍu | Vaṣaiyarājēndra vaḷanāḍu | 8 |
| | 33. Vēḷān Tāya- nār <i>alias</i> Sēmbiyan | Karuppūr | | | | 8 |
| | 34. Viḷupparaiyar | | | | Chengininaḍu | 8 |
| | 35. Kōṇ Aḷagiya pāṇḍiyanār <i>alias</i> Visaiya- rājēndra śem- bilnāḍiṭṭu kōṇār | Uttama śōḷanallūr | Vaḍakarai śēmbil nāḍu | Madhurāntaka vaḷanāḍu | Rājarājapāṇḍi nāḍu | 8 |
| | 36. Villavan śōḷa Viḷupparaiyar | | | | | 8 |
| | 37. Tāyanāḍa- vēlār <i>alias</i> Uḷaḷanda Śōḷa mūvēnda vēlār | Kūrūr | kurumbūr | | Jayaṅgoṇḍa śōḷa- vaḷanāḍu | 8 |
| | 38. Sittar <i>alias</i> Rajādhirāja pallavaraiyan | | | | | 1.8 |
| | | | | Kuvalaivēḷikōyil | Kalliyānapuraṅ- goṇḍa Śōḷa vaḷa- nāḍu | 1.8 |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|--|--|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|---|----|
| | <i>alias</i> Chōlendra chūlāmaṇi mūve- nda vēlān | Maṇalūr (kiḷavan) | | | | 9 |
| | 48 Tiruveṅgaḍom son of Seṅgal kiḷān | Rājāśraya- nallūr | Māṅgaḍu- nāḍu | <i>Viśaiyaṛājendra- kōṭṭam</i> | Jayaṅgoṇḍa śōla-maṇḍalam | 9 |
| 8. <i>Puravuvāritti- ṇaikkalam</i> | 49 Karuṅgaṇṇi kiḷān . . . Mādhavan | — | — | Muḷaikkāḍu-nāḍu | <i>Viśaiyaṛājendra- vaḷanaḍu Rājādhi- rāja vaḷanaḍu</i> | 10 |
| | 50 Gōvindaṇ pūvan <i>alias</i> Śōḷakula māṇi- kka mūvenda- vēlān | Pūvēndiraśōla- nallūr | — | Tiruvindalūr- nāḍu | | 10 |
| | 51 Laṅgu- ḍaiyān Dēvan . . . Tāman | — | — | Tiruvārūr-kūṛṭṭam | Adirāsarāja-vaḷa- nāḍu | 10 |
| 9. <i>Varippottagam</i> | 52 Kō chaditāṅgiyār | Paḷḷam | — | Muṇṇūru- kūṛṭṭam | Rājaraṅgappāṇḍi- nāḍu | 10 |
| | 53 Vattimānan ulōganāthān | Neṛkuppai | — | Uyyakkonḍār- vaḷanaḍu | | 10 |
| 10. <i>Mugaṇṇeṭṭi</i> | 54 Kṣavan Muḍi- goṇḍaśōḷan | Āḍaṇḍam pākkilān | Ākuḍināḍu | <i>Rājādhirāja k-kōṭṭam</i> | Jayaṅgoṇḍa śōla- maṇḍalam | 10 |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---------------------------------------|--|---------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------|
| | 55 Korraṇ kaḍam baṇ Ḍevakan Sundaran | Senjivagaram | | Maniyil-nāḍu | Pagaimcehchi- kaṇḍa-kōṭṭam | 11 |
| | 56 Irāman Siruḍai kaḷalum | Tāyanallūr | | — | — | 11 |
| | 57 Arikaṇḍa- nāḍittan | Tumbūr | | — | — | 11 |
| 11. <i>Variyiliḍu</i> | 58 Sōmanselvan | Punagamchēri | — | — | — | 1.11 |
| | 59 Kshatriya- pallava Mūvēn daveḷan | — | — | — | — | 1.11 |
| | 60 Nārāyaṇan Vellyam | Iḷaiyūru | Araṁnilai Mum- muḍi ṣolanallūr | Kshatriyaparā- sya-kkōṭṭam | — | 11 |
| 12. <i>Varippottaga- kkanakku</i> | 61 Gaṇjaran Sūtri Paṭṭāḷagan | — | — | — | — | 11 |
| | 62 Karunākaran Aḍavallān | Iḷaikkāḍu | — | — | — | 11 |
| | 63 Mutippi- chchan | Kōsambakkilān | — | — | — | 11 |
| 13. <i>Paṭṭōlai</i> | 64 Sangikūṭṭan | Kalaiyanpāḍi | — | — | — | 11 |
| | 65 Gaṇḍarāchi- chan Kamban | Maṇarpākkam | — | — | — | 11 |
| 14. <i>Kilmugaveṭṭi</i> | 66 Samiṭṭiran Tēvaḍi | Nūlappiyāru | Ambattūr-nāḍu | Rājādhirāja Kōṭṭam | Jayaṅṣoṇḍa ṣolanamḍalam | 11 |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| | 67 Añjanavaṇṇa Añjanavaṇṇa Kūṇṇāṇ | — | — | — | — | 11-12 |
| 15. Varippōṭa- gam | 68 Neṇkuppai- vaṇṇaiyāṇ | Neṇkuppai | — | — | — | 12 |
| | 69 Siṅgan-Sūṭṭi | — | Ādhaṇḍam pākcam | Āguḍi nāḍu | Rājādhirāja- kkōṭṭam | 12 |
| 16. Poṭṭolai | 70 Siṅgan Tillai- Vallam | Vallam | — | — | — | 12 |
| | 71 Solakula māṇi Pūravuvari Tinaikkalā Nāyakam | — | — | — | — | 12 |
| | 72 Ādāṇḍam pākkilān | — | — | — | — | 12 |
| | 73 Solakulamāṇi- Tinaikkalāṇ vēlān | — | — | — | — | 12 |
| I | Viśaiyaraṇḍendra- valaṇaḍu | (b) Ārvala-kūṭṭam | (c) Veṇḍālai Vālūr-kūṭṭam | (d) Muṭaikaḍu-nāḍu | | 45 |
| | 14 Panāṇḍaḍukuḍi | Mummuḍi | Soṇanallūr | | | 19 |

| | | | | | |
|-----|---|----|--|--|--|
| II | Jayaṅgaṇḍaśōlamanḍalam Viśaiyaṛaṇḍrak-kōṭṭam | 48 | | | |
| | Māṅgaḍu-nāḍu | — | | | |
| | Rājāśrayanallūr | — | | | |
| III | Rājādhiraṇja-valānāḍu | — | | | |
| | (a) Kuṟukkai-nāḍu | 10 | | | |
| | Jayaṅgaṇḍaśōla-nallūr | — | | | |
| | (b) Mīlalai-nāḍu | 44 | | | |
| | Korramangalam | — | | | |
| | (c) Tiruvindalūr-nāḍu | 50 | | | |
| | Pūvēndiraśōlanallūr | — | | | |
| IV | JS Valanāḍu/ Rājādhiraṇjak-kōṭṭam | — | | | |
| | Maṇḍalam | — | | | |
| | Ākuṭi-nāḍu | — | | | |
| | Ambattūr nāḍu | — | | | |
| | Nūlappiyān | — | | | |
| | Āṇḍampākkam | 16 | | | |
| | Kalliyāṇapurāṅgaṇḍaśōla-valānāḍu | 66 | | | |
| V | Rājādhiraṇja-charuppēḍimaṅgalam. | — | | | |
| | Karipuram | 25 | | | |
| VI | Kalyāṇapurāṅgaṇḍa śōla - valānāḍu | — | | | |
| | | 25 | | | |

| Territorial Divisions | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Visāiyarājēndra- vaḷanāḍu | 14, 19, 45, 49 |
| Visāiyarājēndra-kōṭṭam | 48 |
| Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāḍu | 10, 44, 50 |
| Rājādhirāja- kōṭṭam. | 16, 54, 66, 69, |
| Rājādhirāja- maigalam | 25 |
| Kaliyānapuraṅḍa śōla-vaḷanāḍu | 25, 38 |
| Officers | |
| Visāiyarājēndra | (2) |
| Brahmamārāyan | 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 |
| Uḍaṅkūṭattū- adhigarigal | 9 |
| Viḍaiadhigarigal | 25 |
| Rājādhirāja- Pallavaraiyar | 38 |
| Kaliyānapuraṅḍa śōla mūvēnda vēḷār | 41 |
| Territorial Divisions | |
| Visāiyarājēndra- vaḷanāḍu | 14, 19, 45, 49 |
| Visāiyarājēndra-kōṭṭam | 48 |
| Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāḍu | 10, 44, 50 |
| Rājādhirāja- kōṭṭam. | 16, 54, 66, 69, |
| Rājādhirāja- maigalam | 25 |
| Kaliyānapuraṅḍa śōla-vaḷanāḍu | 25, 38 |

Notes :

1. ARSIE., 1910 No. 270
2. Ibid., Nos. 276, 277 and 279
3. Ibid., 1908 No. 14
4. Ibid., 1909 Nos. 655-56
5. SIL., Vol. V No. 64
6. ARSIE., 1907, Pt. II, para 38 ; 1908, Pt II, para 56
7. Karamalai Tamil Sangam plates, pp. 33-34 ff
8. Karamalai plates.....op. cit p. 21

13. A NEW JAINA PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM VARUNA (MYSORE)

H. R. Raghunath Bhat

The inscription engraved on a pillar was discovered during my field work at Varuṇa near Mysore. The granite pillar (130×22×18 cms) contains on its two faces thirty three lined inscription (frontface : 1-15 lines ; back side : 16-33 lines). The remaining two faces are blank. On the top of the pillar is carved four faceted or petalled lotus moulding kept in an inverted form. The slender pillar is not finely dressed except the frontal face. There is no relief sculpture carved within the niche on the top portion, of the pillar as found in the case of other Jaina pillars at Varuṇa.¹ It is in a good state of preservation and now found erected in front of the Huṇḍi Māramma on the eastern tank-bund of the Dēvāmbudi.

The lithic record is written in old Kannaḍa script and language of about tenth century. The text is in prose style. The language of the record is not without any orthographical errors. There is no date specified in the text of the inscription. On grounds of palaeography, contents of the text and comparison with similar inscriptions at Varuṇa, it may be ascribed to about tenth century.

This is a Jaina memorial pillar which may be described as a *Nisidige sihambha śasana*, erected in honour of the *kanti* Gaṅgabbe. The importance of the inscription may be highlighted as follows :

Historical importance : The record re-

fers to the famous Gaṅgā family (*Gaṅgakula*) and introduces, probably for the first time, Gaṅgabbe as a Jaina *kanti*, who hailed from this Gaṅgā family of the tenth century.

The lithic record throws further light on an outstanding Jaina ascetic of the period-Kumāranandi. However this Varuṇa pillar inscription does not add any new information to the political or dynastic history of the period.

Socio-religious significance : The purport of the inscription is to give an account of the Jaina *kanti* Gaṅgabbe and her pious end.

1. Gaṅgabbe was a Jaina *kanti* who represents a special class of nuns in the Jaina monastic order.

2. She was born in the Gaṅgakula (*Gaṅga kuḷōdbhave*) whose centre of activities, Talkād, is not far away from Varuṇa.

3. Gaṅgabbe was a disciple (*śishyatiyar*) of Maladha Kumāraṇandi's disciple (*śishye*) Bhadabbe and hence she represents a *kanti* initiated by a senior *kanti* or *Ajji* (*Ārye*).

4. Gaṅgabbe was affiliated to Tuṅga-anvaya and *Sūrastha-gaṇa*. In fact she has been eulogised as *Sūrasthagaṇa-guṇāgrāṇi*.

Such a great *kanti* as Gaṅgabbe was, she was practising *sanyāsanavidhi* and meditating on the *pañchaparamēśhthis* (*aydannontu*), voluntarily terminated her life (*suparyasana-yeydu*) and obtained *ūdhvalōka* or *svarga*.

The present pillar inscription as an *epitaph* commemorates the death of Gaṅgabbe, probably at Varuṇa itself.

The new inscription also throws light on the personality of Kumāraṇandi, one of the outstanding Jaina ascetics of the Gaṅgā period. He has been described as Malada Kumāraṇandi. Malada/Maladhāri represents a Jaina religious mendicant not grieved of the bodily impurities. He is also called *Munindra* (Indra-great among ascetics) endowed with such virtues as *niyama* (*niyamādi guṇopetarappa*). Śrīmat Kumāraṇandi-bhaṭṭāraka of Koṇḍakundānvaya and Śrī Malagegurugaṇa, as a mendicant is said to have been wandering in *kāma* (*grāma*), *pura* (*nagara*), *biḍa* (*khēḍa*), *khaṇḍada* (*kharvaḍa*) *maḍamba*, *paṭṭaṇa* and *nābhimukha* (*drōṇā-mukha*) in the same order as mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Bēguru.²

Dēvarahaḷli copper plates of Gaṅga Śrīpurusha also mentions Kumāraṇandi bhaṭṭāraka who was a doyen among ascetics, a very second Kumāra or Kārtikēya in the matter of pleasing Paramēśvara (royal patron) and a protector of the learned. As the copper plates are ascribed to 776-77 A.D., the above mentioned Kumāraṇandi may be considered as a different Jaina ascetic from the one of the same name mentioned in the Varuṇa epigraph.³

The details regarding Bhadaḍbe, who

was probably a senior sanyāsini who initiated Gaṅgabbe, have not been given in this pillar inscription. She is also known through this epigraph for the first time possibly.

The Jaina *nisidige* obviously contains some of the technical terms like *jināsāna malada/maladhāri*, *anvaya*, *gaṇa*, *ubhayasān-gha sanyasanavidhi*, *aydunnatiu* (*nōmpi*) *svarga*, and *kanti* which are too well known to be explained here.⁴

A word about the personal name Gaṅgabbe may not be out of context. As the very name suggests and as she was born in Gaṅgakula (*Gaṅgakuḷōdbhava*), she belonged to Gaṅgā family and Gaṅgā area. It is in the early medieval period that we find a more common tradition of affixing the term *Gaṅgā* to personal and place-names like Gaṅgappa (968-69), Gaṅgagāvuṇḍa (1029), Gaṅgayya (1037; 1112), Gaṅgaras (951) Gaṅgavāḍa (900, 986), Gaṅgavūra (970).⁵

That Varuṇa was a Jaina centre in the tenth century has been corroborated by the present pillar inscription, in addition to other Jaina inscriptions and antiquities already noted (at Varuṇa). The new Jaina pillar inscriptions adds yet another name of *kanii* Gaṅgabbe (known for the first time) to the list of *kantis* who played a significant role in the socio-religious life of early medieval Karnataka.⁶

TEXT

I First Face

1. Bhadrama-
2. stu Jina
3. śāsana-
4. ya[**] Sva-
5. sti[**] Niya-
6. māḍigu-
7. ṇō pēta-

8. rappa śrī-
9. mat ma-
10. lada(dha) Ko-
11. māraṇa-
12. ndi munī-
13. ndrara śishye-
14. yar Bhada-
15. bbe

II Second Face

16. yavara śi-
17. shyattiyargGaṅga
18. kuḷōdbhave-Tu-
19. ngānvaya mu-
20. ne yādi
21. tapa viḡatādi
22. rāya Sūra-
23. stagaṇa guṇā-
24. graṇi śrīmat-
25. t Gaṅgabbe
26. kantiyaru-
27. bhaya saṅga
28. parityagaṅga
29. mappa sanya-
30. sanavidhiyim
31. aydunnontu
32. suparyasana
33. geydu svargga[!*

Notes :

1. Another pillar inscription with an image of Jina was discovered by me
2. Chidanandamurthy, M. : *Kannaḡa śāsanagaḡa saṃskritika Adhyayana*. Mysore, 1979
3. Ramesh, K. V. : *Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas*, Delhi, 1984 ; *ARIE* 1969-70, A-5
4. See Shamaraya T. S., and Nagarajayya, P. *Jaina Paribhāṣā kōṣa*. Bangalore 1981
5. See *EC.*, II (1973), *IT* (1976), III, (1974), VII (197R), IX (1906)
6. See, Channakka, Yeligar, : *Śāsanagaḡli Karṇāṡākada Stree Samāḡa* (Ph. D. Thesis), Dharwad, 1981

14. MADHYA PRADESH IN KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS

S. L. Shantakumari

There has been relationship between Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh regions from the early times. We get references to Malwa as one of the countries which was included in the kingdom of Bādāmi Chālukyas during the time of Maṅgalēśa. From the time of the Bādāmi Chālukyas the kings pertaining to Rāshtrakūṭa, Kalyāṇa Chālukyas, Kalachūris, Śēuṇas and the Hoy-sala dynasties had their contact with Madhya Pradesh. Though there had been relationship between the kings of Karnataka and the kings of Madhya Pradesh, the relationship was more often other than friendly, and their conflicts are very well known. Here a reference has been made to some of the interesting facts referred to in Kannada inscriptions pertaining to this region in the ancient period.

While recording their activities, the kings of Karnataka have referred to some of the places of Madhya Pradesh over which they had established their supremacy or with which they came into contact.

Malwa, for example, was one of the *Chhappannadeśa* (i.e. conventionally known as fifty-six territories) according to an inscription.

Dhārā, the capital of Malwa is the present Dhār in central India. It was *kularājadhani*² during that period. It was a sacred seat of Mahākālēśvara and is also known as Dhārātīrtha. There are references

to this Dhārā in Kannada inscriptions. Many times it was Dhārā which was the main target of the attacks of the Kannada kings. For example an undated inscription from Mālghān says-

Chaladim Dhāreyanūraḍāḍuripi
Munnam Maṇḍavam
goḍṇanērvadalim Kañchiyaneyde
suṭṭu muḷidam³

According to another inscription-

Dhārāpuramam nirādhāram māḍi..aliy
udayiya makkaḷ Jajjugi Jagadēvanam
kāṇisikonḍubaruttam⁴

i.e. after subduing Dhārā he met Jajjugi Jagaddēva son of Udayāditya, the Paramāra king.

One Ēchabhūpa of Haihaya lineage calls himself as *Māhishmati-puravarādhisvara*⁵ which go to indicate that he hailed from this place. Māhishmati has been identified with Māhēśvara or Mahēsh on the banks of Narmadā (40 miles to the south of Indore).⁶ According to another view Māhishmati is modern Māndhātā on the Narmadā in Nimar district in Madhya Pradesh.⁷

In the same way *Kālāṇjarapuravarādhisvara*,⁸ the title of the Kalachuris of Karnataka often occurs in inscriptions. This indicates that they hailed from Kālāṇjarapura. This Kālāṇjarapura is the present Kālīnjar in the Banda district of Bundelkhand.

The present Kalpi⁹ in Central India

was formerly called Kālapriya. It is here according to a view that Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III crossed or stabled his horses on his way to Kanauj.

It is well known that *Ujjayini* was a principal town in central India. It was an educational and religious centre. It was one of the Śākta pīṭhas and the capital of Avanti. Vikramādityadēva of the Gutta family calls himself as *Ujjayini-puravarādhisvara*.¹⁰ An inscription dated 1192 A. D. gives the description of Ujjayini which was in Malwa.¹¹

Khāṇḍava was a place of Puranic fame. In times of yore, it was an extensive forest area. (The story of the burning of the Khāṇḍava-vana is well known). It had another name Kōṭitīrtha or Kōṭīśvara as gods had installed god Śiva under the name Kōṭīśvara during their fight with the Dānavas. It was here that Śrī Kṛṣṇa built Indraprastha for the Pāṇḍavas (Later story is well known). There are references to this Khāṇḍava in some of the Kannaḍa inscriptions. While describing the glory of a fort at Sēḍimba in Kannaḍa region, an inscription¹² says that Khāṇḍava was destroyed by Arjuna, the island Laṅka was consumed by Vānara or Hanumān and Tripuras were reduced to ashes by the spark of fire springing from the eyes of Śiva. But oh! unique is the citadel of Sēḍimba which is stronger with its overbearing splendour defying any assaults. There are other inscriptions also which speak about the destruction of Khāṇḍava by the Kannaḍa kings, for example a Hoysala inscription refers to the burning of Khāṇḍava¹³ by the Hōysala.

Māṇḍava was another such place which figures in many of the Kannaḍa inscriptions.

It is the present Māṇḍu in M. P.¹⁴ To give an example: Sēuṇa Singhaṇa invaded Malwa during the time of the king Arjuna. This Arjuna has been identified with Arjunavaraman who figures in Singhaṇa's inscription dated 1206 A.D. who had to allow Singhaṇa to besiege the fort of Māṇḍu. The inscription says —

Dhāriṇigoṁḍe beḷugoḍeyanātane
māḍida nārggavuṇḍu Kaisārada
durggavarggamanadōrbane dōrbaḷa-
dinde koṇḍanem vīran
Sīṅghaṇaṁ viśhama Maṇḍava
Klāmḍava Śakrasūnu baṁbhēri
gabhīra śaiḷa pavi Dhōrasamudra
samudrakumbhajaṁ.¹⁵

The present *Udaipur*, a small village near Bilsa, is said to have been founded by Udayāditya. It is known that it was a town of considerable importance, splendour and architectural grandeur during that period. This seems to have been occupied by a Hoysala king.

Vīraśriyaṁ pratāpi Poysaḷabhūpa
Khāṇḍavaman unnadaḷumijidu
Māṇḍavan Vindhya śailadoḷ
negadudu kai
koṇḍud Udhāpuraman a
khaṇḍita tējōgni Poysaḷorvīśvarana.¹⁶

The means to say that after burning Māṇḍava and Khāṇḍava, the Hōysala king seized the city of Udhāpura of his enemies. This has been identified with Udaipur near Bhilsa.

Ratnapura was another such name which occurs in Kannaḍa inscriptions. According to a record the Nolamba chief

named Pāṇḍyadēva seems to have chased the king of Ratnapura at his master's command. This Ratnapura has been identified with Ratnapura in Bilaspur district.

Kannada inscriptions not only speak of the political relationship but of the relation in the religious field also. For example, the famous saints of the Kālāmukha sect of Karnataka were from the Malwa region. It is well known that different groups of this sect have gone to different parts of South India. Priests in many of the Saiva temples in Karnataka belonged to this sect. Some of the strong holds of the Kālāmukha sect were Baḷligāve, Sūdi, Hombal, Kukkanūr, Maniṅgavaḷli etc.¹⁷

There was trade relationship also. For example an inscription of the 10th cent. A.D. speaks of Gūrjara-pana i.e. the market of the traders from the Gūrjara country. While referring to the route between Malwa and Kuntala, an inscription says¹⁸

Mālava Kuntala Madhyadoḷesada
vijaya pathadim baytante.
śatruvaṭṭaṇade lasatsindhāra
maneseye vikramabhūpam

i.e. the poet of the inscription tries to compare the route between Malwa and Kuntala to the *sindhāra* or the partition on the forehead of a lady.

In the same way there seems to have been a matrimonial alliance also. From an inscription it is known that the daughter of Lakshmaṇarāja of the Kalachuri family viz, Bonthadēvi was the wife of Vikramāditya (i.e. Vikramāditya IV of the Chāḷukya dynasty). While referring to this, the inscription says—

Dāhalapati Lakshmaṇarājaputri
saubhāgya samanvate Bonthadēvi
jagannute dēvaki enisi
Vikramāṅganevādaḷ¹⁹

Apart from these, there are descriptions of the Mālava region in Kannada inscriptions. For example—

Bhuvanastutyamenipudā
Bharatadoḷ kangoppamam
petta Mālavadēśam piḍi
embariṣṭhadhanamam kaṭṭem
barolpūvane Kavarembadārasale
bēṭa vanjaranavam Kollembarā
sāriyam tivi embartoḍeyandalem-
narulidanti mātanādēśado²⁰

i.e. to say that there were no vices at all in the country. The word *hiḍi* (i.e. catch) was used only while giving money. *Kaṭṭu* i.e., in binding or tying was known only in preparing the garland of flowers. Piecing was known only in hunting. Thus, the people of Malwa did not even use the words which indicated harshness-let alone being harsh.

According to another record dated 1102 A.D. says that—

Bharatōrvvishaṭkhaṇḍam taratara-
dim tenkalalli
Mālavameseguṁ tāvarendenippa
Kamaḷamgaḷe sāllemajātisankaram-
pūvi
noḷakke nūṭana karagrahaṇam viyā-
hadalli
tōrkkāvira vengadalsurabhiyam
kareyambaḍenippa Lakshmi Kāmā-
vaḷi
rājaniti hṛdaya stuti Mālavadoḷ
virājikuṁ²²

i.e. here, *jāti saṅkara* could be seen only in preparing garlands of different types of flowers, *karagrahaṇa* was only in marriages and no *karagrahaṇa* or taxation at all. At least the poet dreamt of a tax free land in Malwa. These are the signs of best government in Malwa.

One more inscription while describing Malwa says that it was a small world in

itself in the universe. It was glittering like a kingdom of god and when god was creating *bhuvana prāsāda* it formed the foundation. It was known for its brilliant character and was excellent in the creation of Brahma. This was the picture of Madhya Pradesh region according to Kannaḍa inscriptions.

Notes :

1. EC, Vol. IX, Bn. 96
2. *The Paramaras*.
3. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, p. 255
4. *SII*, Vol. XX, No. 93
5. *Ibid*, p. 305
6. *Ibid*.
7. *Ibid*, no. 1.
8. *Ibid*, p. 337
9. *The Paramaras*
10. *SII*, Vol. XVIII, No. 295
11. *Ibid*, No. 299
12. *Jainism in South India*, p. 263
13. *EC*, Vol. V, Ak. 102 (a)
14. *SII*, XVIII, *Int*, p. xviii
15. *Ibid*, No. 227
16. *EC*, Vol. V, Ak. 102 (a)
17. P. B. Desai, *Basaveśvara and His Times*, p. 117
18. S. H. Ritti and G. C. Shelke, *Inscriptions from Nanded Dist*, No. 2
19. *SII*, Vol. XVIII, No. 297
20. *El*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.
21. *SII*, Vol. XVIII, No. 295
22. *Ibid*, No. 299

15. EVOLUTION OF STUPA : EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

K. D. Bajpai

In ancient literature numerous references to *stūpa* are available. In the Pāli and Prākṛit literature the words for Sanskrit *stūpa* (or *stūpaka*) are : *thūpa*, *thuva*, *thūva*, *thūba* and *tumba*. For *chaitya* and *chaityagriha*, the words used are : *chetiya* and *chetiyaḡhara*. These terms are also found in ancient inscriptions. Other terms associated with *stūpa* and its structure-complex, found both in literature and epigraphs, are *chaityakuṭi*, *dhātu* or *śarīra* (for relics), *dhātugarbha* (relic-shrine), *kumba* or *kumbhaka* (pillar-base), *śāmbha-thabha-thambha* (pillar), *tōraṇa* (gateway), *yashṭi* (staff), *yashṭi-chhatra* (parasol supported by a staff), *maṇḍipikā-maṇḍavika* (miniature or small shrine), *śilāpatṭa* (stone stele), etc. To distinguish the *stūpas* and other structures made of clay and wood from those made of stone or having stone-casing, the words *śailika*, *śailamaya* and *śaila-dēvagriha* were used for the latter.

The large colossal *stūpas* were called *mahāstūpas* (*mahāthūpas*), similar to *mahāvihāras* (large monasteries). A cluster of several *stūpas* constructed together was designated by the actual number of *stūpas*, e.g. *pañcha-thūpaṃ vimānaṃ*.¹ The term *pañcha-thūpa* may be compared with the *pañchāyatana* of the Hindu temple. The number five was conventionally regarded as an auspicious number.

The origin of the Buddhist *stūpa* can be traced back in the Vedic burial mound or tumulus. The Vedic term *stūpa* signified

the upper part of human head. In the early Buddhist *stūpa*, the *aṇḍa* (dome) represented the Buddha's head and the upper part of *harmikā* represented *ushnīsha* on Buddha's head. Before the human form of the image of Śākyamuni had been evolved, the upper most part of his symbolic form seems to have been the *triratna*. The word *chaitya* seems to be related with Vedic *chiti*, in which the use of bricks was prescribed.

A reference here may be made to one of the pillars of the northern gateway in the main *stūpa* at Sāñchi. The Brāhmī inscription incised below the symbolic feet of the Buddha reads as *Bhagavato paṃāṇa laṭhi* (i.e. the *yashṭi* or staff of the size of Bhagavān=Lord Buddha). The inscription can be assigned to c. 100 B. C. The *yashṭi* here is surmounted by a *triratna* symbol representing the upper part of the Buddha figure. The total height of the *yashṭi*, along with the upper *triratna* part, is about 7 feet. From several Buddhist works we know that Śākyamuni Buddha was a remarkably tall personality. Taking into account the label-inscription and the height of the entire *yashṭi* at Sāñchi, the traditional account of the body of Tathāgata seems to be corroborated. The inscription also tends to indicate that by c. 100 B.C. the reminiscences of the *mahāpurusha* form of the Buddha were still alive. This idea was probably responsible for the carving of some of the early colossal statues of the Buddha and of the Bōdhisattva

Maitrēya during the Kushāṇa period. The unusual height of the Buddha's figures and the depiction of *ājanubāhu* and *jālāṅguli* features are a pointer to the depiction of the Buddha as a *mahāpuruṣa*. In some *sthānaka* images of the Buddha, his body resembles the body of a sturdy *yakṣa*.

From the literary and inscriptional source-material we know about three main categories of *stūpas*. These are :

1. *Funery stūpas or dhātuchaityas*—They were constructed for the purpose of depositing and preserving the sacred relics of the Buddhas, Bōdhisattvas and other religious personages.
2. *Commemorative (smāraka) stūpas*—They were made to mark a sacred spot, where some significant religious or historical event had occurred.
3. *Votive stūpas or stūpikas*—They were usually small in size and were donated by a particular person or by a group of persons.

In some Buddhist texts, a few other varieties of *stūpas* are mentioned, such as *aṅgāra-thūpa* (for enshrining the embers of the body) and *kumbha-thūpa* (constructed over the sacred vessel in which bones had been collected²).

At the initial stage, the Buddhist *stūpa* represented the *parinirvāṇa* of Śākyamuni, which was a great event. Later on the *stūpa* became one of the chief symbols of Tathāgata. B. M. Barua has rightly observed that in the beginning the Buddhist *thūpa* indicated a funeral monument, "a mound-shaped *chaitya* enshrining the bodily remains or relics of a notable personage"³.

During the pre-Maurya and Maurya times, *stūpa* was rather a simple structure unadorned by human figures or the natural scenes. In the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana age and the Śaka Kushāṇa period, the Buddhist and also the Jaina *stūpas* were decorated with various motifs.

In the *stūpa*-art of Bhārhut one finds slight decorations of creepers and other simple designs. Mention may be made of 4 *stūpa* models on the Bhārhut railing and 3 on the eastern gateway with simple decorations. The two model *stūpas* there (Barua, III, p. 66 figures 54 and 55) represent the event of *parinirvāṇa* (demise) of the Buddha. Apart from that, they also signify the great personality of the Śākya-muni.⁴

Interesting stone *stūpa* models have been found not only at Bhārhut but also at Sāñchī, Mathurā, Bōdhgaya, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and at several other sites. From these models one can find out the nature of various *stūpas* constructed at different sites. For the purpose of the study of evolution and gradual development of the *stūpa*-architecture in various regions, these models, along with the extant original structures, furnish a valuable material. In most of the *stūpa*-models, we see the three chief components, viz. the circular or square base, the hemispherical dome and the *harmikā*.

Some of the *stūpa*-models, particularly at Sāñchī, Mathurā, Bōdhgaya and in the Vengi region show some interesting designs of *stūpas* which were adopted for constructing big monuments in those places during different times. Along with the three chief components one can notice richly

decorated *toraṇa* gates the *vēdikās* and attractive human forms on some of the models.

During the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period this kind of embellishment can be seen in several *stūpa* models. Mention may be made of the famous Jaina *ayāgapaṭṭā* in the Mathurā Museum (No. Q. 2). According to the Brāhmī inscription of the 1st century A. D., incised on this stone tablet, the *ayāgapaṭṭā* was donated by a lady called Vasu, daughter of a courtesan named Lavaṇaśobhikā. The tablet shows the complete picture of the Jaina *stūpa*, which was constructed at Mathurā during that period. Besides the main components of the *stūpa*, an embellished *toraṇa-dvāra*, with several *vēdikās* and stairs has been carved on the tablet. There are also figures of nymphs standing in attractive *tribhaṅgā* posture. These female beauties can be compared with similar figures on the railing pillars round at Bhūtēśvar, Kaṅkali and Sonkh in Mathurā and several other sites, like Sanghol in Panjab.

It was mainly due to the Mahāyāna influence that the *stūpas* became decorative with human and animal figures and with various tasteful designs. The images of Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas, the chief events from Śākyamuni's life and the Jātaka stories were carved on *stūpas* and the *toraṇas*. Voluptuous and ravishing female figures, standing in graceful postures, were carved to adorn the gateways or the railing of the *stūpas*. Later on, in the post-Gupta period the impact of Vajrayāna is discernible in the Buddhist figures along with several female deities on *stūpas*.

⁹According to the tradition, the Maurya

emperor Aśoka caused to be constructed as many as 84,000 *stūpas* in different parts of the country. The number 84,000 is purely conventional. A reference in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 369) can be cited here, wherein it is stated that the entire Jambūdīpā was adorned with the relic-shrines (*stūpas*) of the Buddha : *maddhātu-garbha-parimaṇḍita Jambukhaṇḍam*.

The colossal *stūpas* constructed during the reign of Aśoka were at the four chief sites associated with the Buddha. These sites were Lumbini, Bōdhgaya, Sarnāth and Kuśinagar. Besides these, large *stūpas* were also constructed during Aśoka's time at Nagaravihāra (Jalalabad), Takshaśilā, Bhār-hut, Sāñchi and a few other important sites in the country.

The Nigālīsāgar pillar inscription of Aśoka found near the village Niglivā in the Nepal terai makes a significant reference to the *stūpa* built in honour of the past Buddha Kanakamuni. The *stūpa* was originally constructed before the time of Aśoka. The inscription indicates that the same *stūpa* was enlarged a second time, or was made double its original size, during the 14th regnal year of Aśoka. The original record runs as follows :

1. Devānam piyena piyadasina lājina codasa vaśābhisitena.
2. Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyam vaḍhite.

This shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was alive before the time of Aśoka.

The relic casket inscription from Piprahwa⁹ in the Basti district of Uttar

Prādśh mentions the donation of a receptacle of the relics of Gautama Buddha (lord of the Śākya) made by Sukīrti and Bhakti along with their sons and their wives :

Sukīti-bhatinaṃ sabhaginikanam sa-
puta-dalanam

iyam salila-nidhane Budhasa Bhaga-
vate Sakīyānam.

Some inscriptions from Mathurā give interesting references to the Buddhist and Jaina *stūpas*, which were constructed in and around Mathurā during the Śaka-Kushāṇa and the Gupta periods. A stone rounded from village Ganeshra in the Mathura district bears a Brāhmī inscription of the late 1st century B.C.* The inscription reads :

Kshahrātasa Ghaṭākasa. . . . ye thupa
pati[thāpita].

It refers to the construction of a *stūpa* by some female relation of Kshaharāta chief Ghaṭaka,

Two other Brāhmī inscriptions⁷ from Mathurā bear interesting references to *chaitya-kuṭi*. The first one mentions the installation of an image of Bōdhisattva in the year 16 (A.D. 94) of Kanishka-I by one Nāgadatta in a monastery of timber merchants in his own *chaitya-kuṭi*—*svakiyaṃ chetiya-kuṭiyam*. The second inscription was incised on the stone pedestal of a Bōdhisattva image in the Saka year 17(=95 A.D.). The donation of the image was made by Nāgapiyā, the wife of a goldsmith called Dharmaka. The Bōdhisattva image was installed by a lady called Nāgapiyā in her own *chaityakuṭi* for the teachers of the Dharma-

guptaka school. The inscription reads as follows :

Dharmakasa-ssobaṇikasa kuṭumbiniye
upaśika Nāgapiyā :

Bodhisattva pratīhāpeti svakiyā
chetiyā kuṭiyā.

The images of Bōdhisattva referred to in the two above inscriptions were persuasably of Maitrēda, who was the chief Bōdhisattva, and whose cult images were carved in Mathurā during the Kushāṇa period.

Another inscribed stone slab (Lucknow Museum, No. J. 20) recovered from Kaṅkali Tīla, Mathurā is of unusual importance. It is the pedestal of an image of the Jaina Tirthankara Muni Suvrata. The inscription ends with : *Pratimāvo dve thūpe devanimite*. Vincent Smith, and following him several other scholars, have interpreted these words to mean that the Jina image was installed in a *stūpa* 'constructed by gods'. On the basis of this interpretation it has been tried to trace the antiquity of the said Jaina *stūpa* to several centuries before the Christian era. As I have already suggested, the word *deva-nimite* does not seem to indicate 'made by god'. It should be taken to mean *deva-nimitta* i. e. for the deity (Muni Suvrata). The words '*pratimā vo dve*' most probably refer to two images (one in addition to the present inscribed statue) which were simultaneously installed by the side of the Jaina *stūpa*.

A few Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā and elsewhere indicate that some Buddhist monks were expert artists and contributed considerably to the construction of *stūpas* and to the carving of artistic

images for worship. A reference can be made to the monk named Yaśadinnā. The Brāhmī inscription on a standing image of the Buddha (Mathura Museum No. A-5) says that it was carved by Yaśadinnā.

A few years ago another similar Buddha image of the same period was acquired from Gōvindnagar, a locality of the Mathurā town. The inscription on this second image clearly mentions that the image was prepared by the monk-artist Yaśadinnā. It appears that this very artist was responsible for the carving of the famous *mahā-parinirvāṇa* image of the Buddha at Kuśinagar.⁸ The Brāhmī inscription of the 5th century A.D. on a part of the pedestal of that image runs like this:

Dēyadharmōyaṃ mahāvihāra - svāminō

Haribalasya

pratimā chēyam ghaṭita Dinnēna

Māthureṇa

(i.e. this donation of the image has been made by Haribala, the owner of the great monastery. And this image has been carved by Dinna of Mathurā).

The three images of the Tathāgata, mentioned above, show high workmanship, which could only be possible from the hand of a master artist.

The early Kharōshṭī inscriptions from the Udyāna-Gāndhāra regions throw valuable light on the construction of Buddhist *stūpas*, *vihāras* and on the installation of Buddhist images at various sites in that extensive area. Buddhism had spread and taken roots in that region before the

time of Kanishka-I. Later on, Kanishka and his successors took active steps to propagate the religion, even beyond Gāndhāra and Udyāna, in central Asia.

A few references from the Kharōshṭī inscriptions assignable to a period between c. 100 B. C. and 200 A. D., can be cited here:

The well-known lion-capital found in Mathurā (now deposited in the British Museum, London) bears several Kharōshṭī inscriptions.⁹ The main record on the lion capital refers to the donations made by Kamuia (Kambōjikā), the chief queen of king Rājuvula. She caused the preservation of the relics of the Buddha and the construction of a Buddhist *stūpa* and *sanghārāma* at Mathurā.

The Taxila copper plate inscription of the great donor (*mahādāna-pati*) Patika mentions the erection of a *stūpa* and a *sanghārāma* at Takshaśilā on the Buddha's relics during the reign of *mahārāja* Mōga. The area where this pious work was done is called *Kshema* in the inscription.¹⁰

The mount Banj Kharōshṭī record of the year 102 makes reference to a *stūpa* called *vajra stūpa*.¹¹

The Kurram casket inscription of year 20¹² refers to the donation, made by Svētavarmā, son of Yaśa. The relics of the lord Śākyamuni were established in a *stūpa* in his own grove in a new *vihāra* by Svētavarmā:

'tanuvakamhi ranyamhi nava-viharamhi'.

This act was done for the Sarvāstī-vādi teachers.

From the Hiddā inscription of year 28¹³ we learn that the relics of Bōdhisattva were deposited by Saṃghamitra, an architect, in the king's grove in a *stūpa*. The word used in the record is *Bōdhisattva-sarira* :

‘*Pratistapita sarira - raja - raṁṇyammi thubammi*’.

The word used for the architect here is *naya-karmika*.

Another Kharōshṭī inscription dated year 303 on a relic casket found at Kala-ḍhēri near Charsadda deserves mention here.¹⁴ It records the donations made by one Raṇasimha, who established a *saṅghāma*, with a *stūpa* in *Avaśaura*, in honour of his parents, in honour of alī Buddhas, all Pratyēkabuddhas, all Arhats, his children and wife and in honour of the Kshatrapa Avakhaghada, the village-lord of the *Mahārāja*.

In this inscription the references to the previous Buddhas, the Pratyēkabuddhas, the Arhats and to the village-lord (*gama-yami*) are noteworthy.

The Kharoshṭī inscriptions generally use the term *thuva*, or *thubha* for *stūpa*. For relics, the words *sarira* and *dhātu* were commonly used. Bōdhisattva in the Hiddā record probably refers to Bōdhisattva Maitrēya, who was regarded next in importance to Śākyamuni Buddha in Mathurā and in the western regions.

A stone casket inscription obtained from Dēvnīmōrī in Gujarat deserves mention here. The record is dated in the Śaka year 127 (205 A.D.) and refers to the

reign of Rudrasēna, a western Kshatrapa.¹⁵ It is written in chaste Sanskrit.

The relevant extract from the inscription is given here under :

*Kṛitaṁ = avani-ketu-bhūtam = mahāvihār-
āśraye mahāstūpaṁ*

*satvānek - ānugraha - niraśābhyāṁ śākya-
bhikshubhyāṁ*

*sādhv - Agnivarmma - nāmnā Sudarśanēna cha
vimukta-randrēṇa*

*kārmāntikau cha pāśāntika-pālau Śākya
bhikshukāv = atra*¹⁶.

In the record the era in which it is dated is called that of the *Kathika* kings. *Kathika* here may indicate ‘propagator of the Buddhist faith’. The word stands for the Kushāṇa rulers, whose era was adopted by the western Kshatrapa rulers on their coins and inscriptions.

The inscription refers to the construction by two Buddhist monks. Agnivarmā and Sudarśana, of a great *stūpa* (*mahā-stūpa*) attached to large monastery (*mahāvihāra*) at Pāśāntika-Pallī (the ancient name of Dēvnīmōrī). The two monk-donors are also mentioned as supervisors of the construction.

The *stūpa* built by them was like a flag on the earth (*avani-ketu*).

After the verse 4, the first line of verse 5 reads :

‘*daśa-bala-sarira - nilayaś = śubha - śaila-
mays = svayam Varāhēṇa*.’

(i.e. the sacred stone casket for keeping the relics of the Buddha under the *stūpa* was made by an artist called Varāha),

The excavations conducted at Dēvnīmōri by R. N. Mehta have revealed the structural *stūpa* and other important antiquities. During the Kushāṇa-Kshatrapa supremacy in the north and the Śātavāhna-Ikshvāku rule in the south, some large size *stūpas* and *vihāras* were constructed at several sites. They were designated as *mahāstūpas* (*mahāthūpas* or *mahāchetiyas*) and *mahavihāras*. In the north-west, north and west, big *stūpas* were built at several sites in the regions of Udyāna, Gāndhāra, Madhyadēśa, Magadha and Surāshṭra. Similarly, in the areas of Andhra and Maharashtra, huge structured *stūpas* came into existence. As sites like Pauni, Karle, Bhājā, Nāsik, Amarāvati, Gōli, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jagayyapēṭṭa, large *stūpas* were constructed. In a good number of inscriptions found in the Vēṅgi region the word *mahāchetiya* occurs for such monuments. The huge railing complex around the big *stūpas* was called *mahāvedikā*.

The inscriptions found in large numbers at Karle, Nasik, Pauni, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and several other sites furnish a chronological sequence of the Buddhists art in the Deccan and the Vēṅgi region. They also indicate the nature of artistic, literary and religious activities during the period between the 2nd century B.C. and the 5th century A.D. The names of different ruling dynasties, regions,

towns and villages and those of various categories of people and corporations are preserved in these inscriptions.

Apart from the technical architectural and art terms referred to above, the inscriptions of the Deccan and Vēṅgi regions give us terms like *parichakāsūchi*, *āyaka*, *uttariyaka*, *pūrṇaghaṭaka paṭa*, *Bodhi-rukkha pāsāda* (Bodhi shrine), *chetiyaghara*, etc.¹⁰

From Amarāvati about 150 Brāhmī inscriptions have been discovered, which are important for the study of political and cultural history. The biggest *stūpa* at the site had a diameter of 120 feet. It was known as *Dhanamahāchetiya stūpa*. The merchant guilds of Dhānyakataka were the chief donors in the construction of this great artistic monument of the country. The Chaityakas, a sect of Buddhist monks and nuns, played an important role along with the Śātavāhana and Ikshvāku ruling houses, to adorn the Vēṅgi and Deccan regions with numerous edifices and sculptures of abiding beauty.

The Buddhist *stūpa* represented the very personality of Śākyamuni Buddha. It gradually became a symbol of the highest spiritual attainment *par excellence* and of human emotional integration. Even after the anthropomorphic form of the Buddha was evolved, the significance of *stūpa* continued to abide for centuries.

Notes :

1. *Pali Jātaka*, V, 117.6.
2. *Digha Nikāya*, II, pp. 164-67.
3. B.M. Barua, *The Bharhut Stūpa*, Book III, pp. 8-9.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
5. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, no. 46, p. 81.
6. Luders' *List*, No. 14 d-3; Jenart, *Mathura Inscriptions*, pp. 157-8.
7. Luders' *List*, No. 79 b-2 and No. 24, 2-3, Jenart, *Mathura Inscriptions*, pp. 191-92 and 187-88.
8. See A. Cunningham, *Archl. Survey Reports*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 57-8 and Vol. XXII, p. 17.
9. Sten Konow, *CIL*, Vol. II (i) Reprint - Delhi, 1969, no. XV.
10. *Ibid.*, no. XIII, pp. 28-29.
11. *Ibid.*, no. XIX, pp. 55-57.
12. *Ibid.*, no. LXXX, pp. 152-55.
13. *Ibid.*, no. LXXXII, pp. 157-58.
14. Published by N.G. Mujumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 8 ff; see also Sten Konow, *D.R. Bhararkar Volume* (Calcutta, 1940), pp. 305-10.
15. See R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhury, *Jl. of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XII, p. 173, D.C. Sircar, *loc. cit.*, Book II, no. 72 A, pp. 519.
16. For a discussion of these and other technical terms see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yaksha* (parts I-II), V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 283-90.

16. SOME ASPECTS OF THE TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT

Iravatham Mahadevan

Introduction : This paper is a brief review of the developments in the field of Tamil-Brāhmī studies. The paper is especially addressed to the wider audience of Indian Epigraphists outside Tamil-nadu who may not be fully conversant with the developments in this relatively new branch of South Indian palaeography.

2. **Nomenclature :** The term 'Tamil-Brāhmī' is used to describe the Tamil inscriptions written in a special variant of the Brāhmī script adapted to the Tamil phonetic system. It is likely that the names *Drāviḍi* and *ḍāmili* found in the ancient Jaina and Buddhist literature refer to this script. It is my view that the major palaeographic, orthographic and linguistic adaptations found in this system of writing confer on it the status of a separate script, even though its ultimate origin from the Brāhmī script is not open to doubt.

3. **Landmarks in Tamil-Brāhmī Studies :** The first Tamil-Brāhmī inscription was discovered by Venkoba Rao in 1903 in a natural cavern at Kīḷavaḷavu in Madurai District. At present we know of the existence of about 15 short cave inscriptions, from 24 sites besides scores of graffiti on pottery and a few coin-legends written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script (see map in fig. 1). The script was identified as Brāhmī and the language as Pāli by Venkayya (1907). Krishna Sastri (1919) pointed out for the first time occurrence of Tamil words in these inscriptions. The real breakthrough in the under-

standing of these inscriptions was achieved by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar (1924), when he identified the special Tamil characters (*l*, *ḷ*, *ṛ* and *ṇ*) in this script and conclusively established that the language of the cave inscriptions is in fact Tamil with an admixture of some Prākṛit words.

The second phase in the Tamil-Brāhmī studies began when Iravatham Mahadevan published the *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions* (1966) and demonstrated the use of an earlier form of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu orthography in the earlier inscriptions. He also proposed a tentative chronology of the cave inscriptions based on the Arikamēḍu graffiti (datable in c. 1-2 cent A.D.). His work has been followed by four major studies, in this field by T. V. Mahalingam (1967), R. Nagaswamy et al (1972), R. Panneerselvam (1972), and M.S. Venkataswamy (1981). These studies, while not always in agreement in readings and interpretations, have nevertheless laid a solid foundation for further advances in this rapidly developing field.

4. **Origin of the Tamil-Brāhmī Script :** It is certain that the Tamil-Brāhmī script developed out of the Brāhmī script. The evidence on this point may be summarised thus :

- (i) All but four letters of the Tamil-Brāhmī script are identical with those of the southern variety of Mauryan Brāhmī script found in the Aśōkan edicts at Siddhāpura;

Yerragudi, Brahmagiri, Māski and other places in the South.

- (ii) Even the four characteristic Tamil-Brāhmī letters (viz. *l*, *ḷ*, *r* and *n*) can be shown to be derived from the corresponding Brāhmī letters having the nearest phonetic values (see fig. 2).
- (iii) The earlier absence of separate letters for the short vowels *e* and *o* and their later development by a process of adaptation from the corresponding long vowels indicate that the Tamil-Brāhmī script developed from the Brāhmī script which did not have the shorter vowels, *e* and *o*.
- (iv) Letters of the Brāhmī script, not part of the Tamil-Brāhmī alphabet, are found used occasionally to express non-Tamil sounds in loan-words even in the earliest Tamil-Brāhmī texts (e. g. *dhāmmam* in the Māṅgulaṃ cave inscriptions).
- (v) Grouping of *l*, *ḷ*, *r* and *n* at the end of the Tamil alphabet shows these later additions to the script.

5. *Chronology of the Tamil-Brāhmī Script* : The edicts of Aśoka (272-232 B. C.) still continue to be the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions which can be dated with certainty (Goyal 1979). It appears that the Brāhmī script was the product of the second urbanisation in North India and was developed during the latter half of the First Millennium B. C. to meet the needs of administration and commerce and for the propagation of the newly formed religious faiths, viz., Buddhism and Jainism.

The Tamil-Brāhmī script, an off-shoot of the Brāhmī script, flourished between c. 3-2 cent B. C. and 2-3 cent A. D. This dating is supported by the following lines of evidence :

- (i) The palaeography of the Tamil-Brāhmī script is virtually identical to those of the Mauryan Brāhmī script in the North and the Sinhala Brāhmī script to the South (3-2 cent. B. C.)
- (ii) Pottery bearing Tamil-Brāhmī graffiti are found only in the Late Megalith-Early Historical levels (2 cent B. C. - 2 cent A. D.).
- (iii) The contemporaneity of the Tamil-Brāhmī script and the Tamil Saṅgam age is attested by inscriptions and coin-legends (2 cent B. C. - 2 cent A. D.).

6. *Palaeography of the Tamil-Brāhmī Script* : The Tamil-Brāhmī script is an adaptation of the Brāhmī script to the Tamil phonetic system. The adaptation consists of—

- (i) *Omission* of letters representing sounds not found in Tamil viz., the semi-vowels, anusvāra, visarga, voiced consonants, aspirates and sibilants. There are also no ligatures (*saṃyuktākshara*).
- (ii) *Additions* of letters representing new sounds peculiar to Tamil (viz. *l*, *ḷ*, *r* and *n*).
- (iii) *Modifications* including a special form of *m* and the peculiar interchange in the values of *i* and *ī* symbols in the earlier cave inscriptions

(which again get reversed in the later inscriptions.)

- (iv) *Occasional use* of non-Tamil letters like *dh* and *s* in Prākṛit loan words (e.g. *dhammam*, *Kasipaṇ* etc.)

7. Orthography of the Tamil Brāhmī script :

An extremely interesting feature of the earlier Tamil-Brāhmī script is its remarkable orthographic system to indicate vowels and pure consonants distinguishing this script sharply from the parent Brāhmī script. These features are as follows :-

- (i) The consonantal symbol represents the basic or mute consonant and has no inherent medial *-a* sound (This feature was first noticed by Buhler in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu casket inscriptions.)
- (ii) The medial sign for *-a* also represents the longer *-ā* medial vowel. (This feature distinguishes Tamil-Brāhmī from Bhaṭṭiprōlu script which uses separate medial *-a* and *-ā* signs).
- (iii) The inter-change in the values of *i* and *ī* symbols (This feature is also found in the Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions).
- (iv) The short *u* of the Brāhmī script represents the 'ultrashort' *ü* sound peculiar to Tamil, while the long *ū* of the Brāhmī script represents both short and long sounds (*u* and *ū*) of Tamil. (e.g. *ūpu* for *uppū* 'salt' etc.)

8. Evolution of the Tamil-Brāhmī script :

There are however several cave inscriptions and pottery graffiti which do not exhibit these peculiarities but share the 'normal' orthographic features of the Northern Brāhmī script, except that the consonant symbols can stand for the basic sounds also.

It is likely that the two systems represent either two successive stages as earlier suggested by Mahadevan (1968) or two more or less contemporaneous styles of writing (which seems more likely from more recent evidence, e.g. Aivarmalai inscription).

Each of these two orthographic systems got modified with time in two different and characteristic ways :

- (1) The TB-I system did not distinguish between the short *-a* and long *-ā* medial vowels. This confusion was removed by the development of a separate long *-ā* medial vowel sign in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu system which is thus obviously later than the TB-I stage.
- (2) The TB-II system did not distinguish between the mute consonant and the syllabic sign with the inherent *-a* medial vowel. This anomaly was rectified by the invention of the *puḷḷi* (dot) for the basic consonant in the next stage (TB-III). These developments are indicated in the chart appended (Fig. 3).

9. Evolution of the later Tamil Scripts:

The Tamil-Brāhmī script had a continuous evolution until it became by imperceptible changes the Vaṭṭeluttu script in the Southern and the Western areas and the Tamil script in the Northern and Eastern areas of the Tamil country. The palaeographic evolution has been well documented by several scholars (Gopinatha Rao, 1910; Sivaramamurti, 1952; Krishnamurthi, 1980).

10. Important new discoveries of Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions:

1) The occurrence of the names of the kings and chieftains celebrated in the Tamil Sangam literature in the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions was first brought to light by Iravatham Mahadevan (1966) in his revised readings and interpretations of the Maṅgūlam grants of Neṭuñcheḷiyaṇ (fig. 4) and Pugalur grants of the Irumporai (fig. 5).

2) A cave inscription recently discovered by Selvaraj of the Tamil-nadu Archaeology Department gives the name of another celebrated chieftain of the Tamil Sangam age, viz., Atiyaṇ Neṭumāṇ Añchi of Tagadūr. The occurrence of the epithet *Satiyputo* in this record settles once for all the question of the identity of this name mentioned in the Aśōkan edicts (Nagaswamy 1981).

3) A square Pāṇḍyan copper coin featuring a horse on the obverse

and the 'double fish' symbol on the reverse with the legend *Peru Vaḷuti* has been recently purchased from a dealer in Madurai (Krishnamurti, 1984). More than one Pāṇḍyan king bore this name in the Sangam age. It is significant that one of them had the epithet *pal-yāga-salai* ('he of many sacrifices').

4) A unique metal seal was found in the recent excavations of a megalithic burial complex at Anai-kodda, Jaffna District in Sri Lanka.

The seal depicts 3 symbols in the upper line which closely resemble graffiti marks on megalithic pottery and in the lower line a legend which has been tentatively read as *ko veṇṭa* ('The king'). (Indrapala 1981).

5) An exciting discovery comes from Quslir al Khadim, a site on the Red Sea coast of Egypt recently excavated by American archaeologists (Donald Whitcomb and Janet Johnson 1980). Two sherds from the period of Roman occupation of the site (roughly contemporaneous with the Roman factory of Arikamēdu on the East coast of India), are inscribed with the Tamil names *ā ta ṇ* and *ka ṇa ṇ* in Tamil-Brāhmī script. These graffiti are the earliest Indian inscriptions found outside India and attest to the early maritime activity of the Tamils.

6) Recently the Tamil-nadu State Department of Archaeology has discovered Tamil-Brāhmī graffiti

on potsherds excavated from a Megalithic site at Kōvalaṇ Pottal near Madurai and from Iron Age/Early Historical levels at Koṛkai, both dated c. 2nd cent B.C. These finds are yet to be properly published.

7) The Tamil-Brahmī graffiti found at Arikamēḍu and dated by Roman associations in c. 1-2 A.D. by Mortimer Wheeler continue to be the sheetanchor for the chronology of the Tamil-Brahmī inscriptions. However the stratigraphy and dating of the site has recently been critically re-assessed by Vimala Begley (1983) who assigns an earlier date (c. 2 cent B.C.) to the beginnings of the settlement. She has also pointed out that Casal's excavations at Arikamēḍu in 1949 yielded an inscribed sherd with Tamil-Brahmī letters *below* the Roman levels in a Megalithic context. Casal's find is the earliest and most securely dated inscribed sherd so far found in Tamil-nadu and sets the earlier limit for the dating of the Tamil-Brahmī script.

8) A hoard of cast lead coins was found at Aṇḍipaṭṭi in Chengam Taluk, North Arcot District and published by Mohandas (1967). The coin has the legend: *Tinnaṇ etirāṇ chēntaṇ - a*, giving the name and title of the chieftain. The coin legend is datable for the use of the *puḷḷi* to mark the short *e*

and the rare genitive suffix *-a*. The coin has been assigned to c. 2-3 cent A.D. on palaeographic grounds.

9) Though it was known for a long time that the silver 'portrait' coins of the Andhra, Śātavāhana rulers contained bi-lingual legends, it is only recently that it has been established that the legend on the reverse of these coins is in Tamil and written in the Tamil-Brahmī script. R. Nagaswami, R. Pannerselvam and S. Ramayya have made significant contributions to our understanding of these coin-legends. The silver 'portrait' coins were issued by Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi and his successors in 2nd cent A.D. The coins depict the bust of the king on the obverse and certain dynastic emblems on the reverse. The legend on the obverse giving the name of the ruler is in Prākṛit language and in the Northern Brahmi script. The legend on the reverse which is a literal rendering of the obverse legend, is in Tamil language and written in Tamil-Brahmi script. The following example from the coin of Vāsishṭhiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi (c. 159-166 A.D.) is typical of the series :-

Obv : *Rāṇo Vāsithiputasa siri Satakaṇisa*

Rev : *Arachaṇ-ku Vāchiṭṭi makaṇ-ku tiru Chātaṇaṇiku*

Meaning : (The coin) of king Vāsishṭhi-putra Śrī Satākarni. The most important palaeographic features on the reverse coin legend are : *ch* with the open loop, *m* with the cross-bar not touching the left arm and protruding beyond the right arm, presence of the Dravidian alveolar *ṇ* and the employment of the *puḷḷi* to indicate the basic consonant *t*. Linguistically the most noteworthy features are the occurrence of the Tamil words *arachaṇ* (king), *makaṇ* (son) and *tiru* (for Śrī), and the use of the dative suffix *-ku* in the genitive sense. However the literal word-for-word translation of the Prākṛit original into Tamil has resulted in the curious and linguistically anomalous repetition of the genitive suffix after every word in the text, which is not required by Tamil syntax. The earlier view of D. C. Sircar recently reiterated by I. K. Sarma that the reverse coin-legend is in 'Old Telugu' requires modification in the light of the present evidence. In particular we may note that *arachaṇ*, *makaṇ* and *tiru* are Tamil forms not known to Telugu. The pronominal ending *-aṇ* for masculine personal names is again in Tamil. The corresponding form in Old Telugu has been reconstructed as *-aṇṭ*, not found on the coins. The use of the prothetic *a* in *arachaṇ* (Skt. *rajan*) is again characteristically Tamil usage, not known to Telugu. There can therefore be no doubt that the reverse coin-legend is in Tamil.

11. Conclusion :

The study of the Tamil-Brāhmī is still in its infancy. There are several

unsolved puzzles some of which are mentioned here :

(i) Who brought the Brāhmī script to Tamil-nadu and modified it to suit the Tamil language? The earlier scholars like K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar attributed the development to the Buddhists. But there is hardly any Buddhist association with the Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions. More recently the Jaina association with these inscriptions has been emphasised (Nagaswami 1979; Ramesh 1974). But this leads to another puzzle : Why are there no Jaina inscriptions in the period between, the earlier Tamil-Brāhmī and the later Veṭṭeluttu periods in these caverns. The gap of about 3 centuries (c. 4-6 cent A.D.) cannot be explained if there was continuous Jaina occupation of the caverns during this period.

(ii) How are the two streams or stages of the Tamil-Brāhmī script to be accounted for? Is it possible to ascribe different sources, say, Jaina and Buddhist, or from the North and from Sri Lanka or different routes (by land and by sea) to them?

(iii) How do we explain the phenomenon of two types of script (Veṭṭeluttu and Tamil) which developed from the same parent script, in the same linguistic area and almost at the same time?

These and other problems are likely to be solved when more inscriptions are discovered and studied in an inter-disciplinary effort involving epigraphists, linguists, archaeologists and historians.

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17. NEW LIGHT ON THE CLOSING YEARS OF KALACHURI OF TRIPURI DYNASTY

S. Subramonia Iyer

Recent researches have revealed the fact that the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Tripuri did not come to an end with Vijayasimha, who hitherto was considered by historians as the last known king in that dynasty. On the other hand, it was conclusively shown after a thorough examination of the existing epigraphical sources with the help of the recently discovered Maṇḍla stray copper plate charter of Vijayasimha dated in the Kalachuri year 949 that Vijayasimha was succeeded by his son Trailokyamalladēva and the latter ruled till 1240 A. D. as is known from his inscriptions so far discovered.¹

While giving the genealogy of the Kalachuris of Tripuri, V. V. Mirashi takes Ajayasimha as Vijayasimha's son.² This statement requires some revision in the light of the discovery of Umaria plates of Vijayasimha dated in the Kalachuri year 944³ and Maṇḍla stray copper plate of the same king dated in the Kalachuri year 949.⁴ Jayasimha begot in his queen Gōsaladēvi two sons named Vijayasimha and Ajayasimha. The relevant verse is as follows :

Putraṁ Vijayasimh-ākhyā[m*]
y-āsūta Dyaur=iv= Āruṇam |

anya[m] ch= Ājayasimh-ābhidhānam
s= ēva sudhā nidhi[m] [||*]

After the death of king Jayasimha (1163-1188 A.D.) Vijayasimha, his eldest son succeeded him on the Kalachuri of Tripuri throne.

It is however not known whether Ajayasimha ever became king. V. V. Mirashi also doubts whether he actually ascended the throne. In all the four inscriptions viz. Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha dated in the Kalachuri year 932 (1180-81 A. D.),⁵ Bhērāghāt Gauri-Sankara temple inscription⁶, Umaria plates of Vijayasimha dated in the Kalachuri year 944⁷ and Maṇḍla stray copper plate charter of Vijayasimha dated in the Kalachuri year 949⁸, he is styled only as *Mohākumāra*. We have shown already that Trailokyamalla was on the Kalachuri (of Tripuri) throne as early as the Kalachuri year 963 (1212 A. D.),⁹ which is the date of the Dhureti plates, when he was just a boy of about 15 years old and he continued to rule till Vikrama 1298 (1240-41 A. D.), which is the date of the fourth Rewa charter.¹⁰ This shows that Ajayasimha probably predeceased Vijayasimha and he never occupied the Kalachuri (of Tripuri) throne.

Notes :

1. *Srinidhi-Perspectives in Indian Archaeology, Art and culture - Sri. K. R. Srinivasan Festschrift*, p. 303 ff.
2. *CII*, Vol. IV, pt I, p. CVIII.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLI, p. 95 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XL, p. 213 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, pt. II, p. 645 f.
6. *Ibid.*, pt. I, p. 363 f.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLI, p. 95 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XL, p. 213 ff.
9. *CII.*, Vol. IV, pt. I, p. CVII
10. See my article in *Srinidhi*, p. 303 ff.

It is however not known whether Vijaya-simha ever became king. V. Y. Mishra also doubts whether he actually ascended the throne. In all the four inscriptions viz. Kumbhi plates of Vijayastambha dated in the Kalachuri year 932 (1180-81 A. D.), Bhaja Gauri-Bankura temple inscription, Umanis plates of Vijayastambha dated in the Kalachuri year 944, and Mahajala stupa copper plate charter of Vijayastambha dated in the Kalachuri year 939, he is styled only as Mahakumara. We have shown already that Tarlokayastambha was on the Kalachuri (or Tripuri) throne as early as the Kalachuri year 903 (1151 A. D.), which is the date of the Dhruva plates, when he was just a boy of about 12 years old and he continued to rule till Vikrama 1208 (1240-41 A. D.), which is the date of the fourth Bawa charter. This shows that Vijayastambha probably predeceased Vijayastambha and he never occupied the Kalachuri (or Tripuri) throne.

Recent researches have revealed the fact that the identity of the Kalachuri of Tripuri did not come to an end with Vijaya-simha, who himself was considered by historians as the last known king in that dynasty. On the other hand, it was conclusively shown after a thorough examination of the existing epigraphical sources with the help of the recently discovered Mahajala stupa copper plate charter of Vijayastambha dated in the Kalachuri year 939 that Vijayastambha was succeeded by his son Tarlokayastambha and the latter ruled till 1208 A. D. as is known from his inscriptions as far discovered.

While giving the genealogy of the Kalachuri of Tripuri, V. Y. Mishra takes Vijayastambha as Vijayastambha's son. This statement requires some revision in the light of the discovery of Umanis plates of Vijayastambha dated in the Kalachuri year 944, and Mahajala stupa copper plate of the same king dated in the Kalachuri year 939. Vijayastambha in his queen Goshabai's two sons named Vijayastambha and Ajayastambha. The relevant text is as follows:

Purnima Vijayastambha-ekshyam
Vijayastambha-ekshyam

Notes :

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, Vol. LXX, Pt. I, 1930, p. 303 ff.
2. *CII.*, Vol. IV, pt. I, p. CVIII.

18. PADARDI INSCRIPTION OF HARPALADEVA

Venkatesha

This epigraph was found engraved on one of the four faces of a pillar fixed on the bank of a tank (*talāb*) in Pādarḍi village, Sanchore Tahsil of Jalore district, Rajasthan. This was recently copied by me during my visit to the said village.

The inscription contains 21 lines of writing the letters of which generally cover a space of 1 cm length and 1.5 cm width. Except the imprecatory verse given at the end which is in *anushṭubh* metre, the remaining portion of the record is in prose. The entire first line containing Vikrama Samvat and the beginning of the second line are completely damaged and consequently only part of the date portion is now preserved. The characters of the record are Nāgarī assignable to the 14th century A.D. and the language is Sanskrit (*corrupt*), as will be seen from the text. The inscription begins with the date of which as already stated above, the most important details viz., the Vikrama year and the name of the fortnight are totally lost. The other details of the date are Phālguna, 11, Thursday, Punarvasu-nakshatra, Mithuna lagna and Makāra rāśi. Though the date of the record is lost, it is possible to assign the record on palaeographical and other grounds to 14th century A.D. After the date portion this record refers to the glorious reign of the king *Rāja-srī* Haripālādēva in whose territory lay the village Pādarḍi. This inscription was written with the knowledge of the committee consisting of five (*pañchakula*)³ headed by

Maham^o [*Gōṇa*] ṇa.

The object of the inscription is to record an excavation (*khanāpaniya*) of a tank (*taḍāga*) for the use of all beings to quench their thirst (*dahārthe*) in connection with (*lagna*) the death and also for the merit of (*śreyōrtham*) *rāja-srī* Bhāskara, the son of *Bāl-srī* Rāmādēvi by *Sō* Jētra. The record concludes with an imprecatory verse.

A branch of the Chāhāmāna family was ruling from Satyapura i.e., Sāñchōre during the 14th century A.D.³

The importance of the present record lies in the fact that it is the first record so far discovered belonging to the reign of Haripālādēva.

It is known from the Jaina work that a certain *Rāṇaka* Haripāla was ruling over Satyapura in the 14th century. This is corroborated further by Naini, the historian.⁴ But in an inscription⁵ of one of successor kings of this family viz., Prātāpasimha dated V. S. 1444, the name of Haripālādēva does not figure in the genealogical portion of this record. This led scholars to postulate that since he was not in the direct line of succession of this family his name was omitted. The present inscription being the only one so far known of this king confirms the fact that he had an independent reign and his territories included Pādarḍi, the findspot of the present inscription.

Of the geographical names that occur in the record under study, *Parasiharachā* is identical with the modern *Padarāṇi*.

Notes :

I am highly indebted to the Director (Epigraphy) and the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore for their kind permission to contribute this article.

1. The three letters which are lost in the beginning of the second line can be restored as *pravartha*.
2. D. Sharma : *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 204 ff.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 26 ff.
4. Naini's account and *Kharataragachchha-pañjāvali* referred to in D. Sharma's *Early Chauhan Dynasties* pp. 170-71.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 64 ff.

19. THE ROUTE OF MAYURASARMA'S ESCAPE FROM KANCHI

M. J. Sharma

From the Tālagunda inscription¹ it is known that Mayūrasarma, born in a religious family of *Vaidikabrāhmaṇas* had gone to the Pallava capital of Kāñchī to prosecute his studies in the *Ghaṭika*. But there, enraged by the humiliation which he had to face as a *brāhmaṇa* at the hands of the Pallavas who were the staunch adherents of the *kshātra-vṛtti*, he 'unsheathed a flaming sword' as a flag of a rebellion and made escape with a vow to conquer the earth. The connected verse relating to the escape of Mayūrasarma from Kāñchī reads thus:

yō = ntapālān = Pallavēndrāṇām
sahasā vinirjitya saṃyugē
addhyuvāsa durggamām = aṭavīm
Śrīparvata — dvāra saṃśritām²

This was translated by Kielhorn as:

Having swiftly defeated in the battle the frontier-guards of the Pallava lords, he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.

Fleet interprets it as 'he established himself in a forest difficult of access in front of the Śrīparvata mountain'. Sircar interprets it as 'he established himself in a dense forest near Śrīparvata'. There is a controversy in regard to the identification of Śrīparvata. The Puranic Śrīparvatīyas, a dynasty whose capital or kingdom lay in the Śrīparvata region, have been identified with the Ikshvākus of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Jagga-yyapēṭa records³. Some have identified Śrīparvata with Śrīsaīla as most of the inscriptions⁴ of Vishṇukunḍins hailing from that

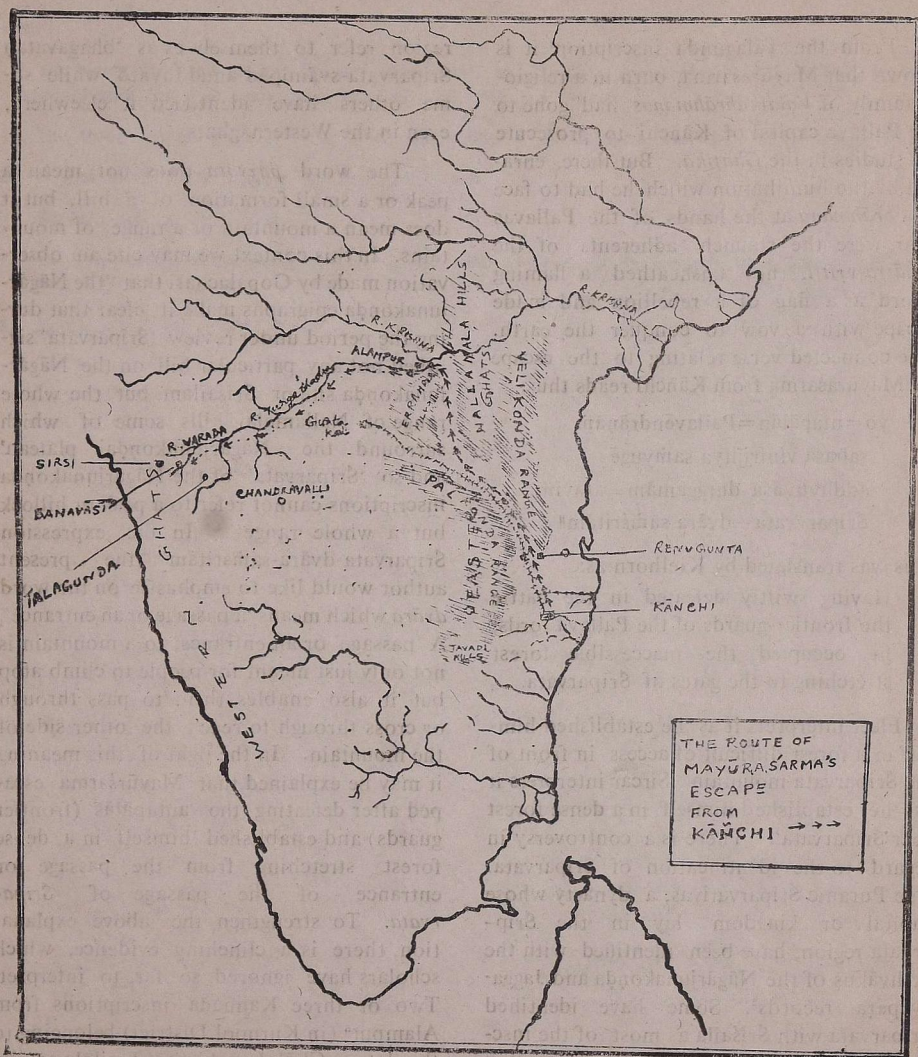
region refer to themselves as 'bhagavataḥ Śrīparvata-svāmipād-ānuddhyātō' while some others have identified it elsewhere, even in the Western ghats.

The word *parvata* does not mean a peak or a small formation of a hill, but it does mean a mountain or a range of mountains. In this context we may cite an observation made by Gopalachari that "the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa epigraphs make it clear that during the period under review 'Śrīparvata' signified not any particular hill on the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa site or Śrīsaīlam, but the whole range of Nallamalai hills some of which surround the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa plateau' and so 'Śrīparvata' of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions cannot refer to a peak or hillock but a whole range".⁴ In the expression Śrīparvata-dvāra-saṃśritām' the present author would like to emphasise on the word *dvāra* which means 'a passage or an entrance'. A 'passage' or an entrance, to a mountain is not only just meant for people to climb atop but it also enables them to pass through or cross through to reach the other side of the mountain. In the light of this meaning it may be explained that Mayūrasarma escaped after defeating the 'antapālās' (frontier guards) and established himself in a dense forest stretching from the passage or entrance of the passage of *Śrīparvata*. To strengthen the above explanation, there is a clinching evidence, which scholars have ignored, so far, to interpret, Two or three Kannaḍa inscriptions from Alampur⁵ (in Kurnool District) belonging to the later Chālukya kings Trailōkyamalla

(Sōmēśvara II) and Tribhuvanamalla' (Vikramāditya VI) refers to the location of Ālampur as

'Śrīparvata-dvārādhishṭī-tamappi = Ālampūra'

Now, this means that Ālampūr is situated at



the western entrance or passage of Śrīparvata. Alampur, geographically situated on the bank of river Tuṅgabhadrā, and the region around can be considered as 'a mouth' or 'an entrance' of a wide valley between the Erramala and Nallamala ranges of the Eastern ghats. The valley runs across the Eastern ghats, roughly in the south-eastern direction and reaches the other side near Tirupati or Rēnugunṭa. This passage or route is used partly by the modern Railway, by a track connecting Madras to Guntakal. If the region near Alampur is called 'paścima-dvāra' then the region near Tirupati must have been known as the *pūrvva-dvāra* and the mountain range with Erramala and Nallamala Hills covering the passage must have been known as Śrīparvata. Śrisaīla is in the Nallamala hills.

Mayūrasarma must have taken this route of north and north-west direction from Kāñchī and had reached Tuṅgabhadrā near the entrance. From there he might have followed the course, of the rivers

Tuṅgabhadrā and later Varadā across Raichur, Bellari, Dharwar and Noth-Kanara Districts. (See map) The land is even now rugged and then might have been covered with a dense forest. Chandravalli (Chitradurga District) from where his first inscription had come is not far from the above places and it could have been here that he had initially started to gather strength. As known from the Tālagunda inscription he, immediately after establishing the Kadamba kingdom, levied tributes from the Bṛihad Bāṇas⁶ and other kings. This action shows that the Bāṇas were opposing his rise to power and that they were the first enemies to be subdued by him.

It is significant that Bāṇas who were ruling over a region above Pālar river covering the districts of Kolar, Chittoor and Anantapur would have prevented Mayūrasarma taking any other shorter route of escape other than the route suggested above as their territory lay towards, the west and north-west of Kāñchī?

Notes :

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 32-34
2. K. Gopalachari : *Early History of Andhra Country*, p. 125
3. S. Sankaranarayanan : *The Viṣṇukunḍins and their times*, p. 169
4. K. Gopalachari : *Early History of Andhra Country*, p. 125
5. Kannaḍa Inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh, (A. P. Archaeological series), Nos. 11, 14-15 Ālampur.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 34

BOOK REVIEWS

Decipherment of 'Shell Script', By B. N. Mukherjee, published in the special issue of the *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*, No. 31, (Lucknow, June 1980), pp. 46.

'Shell Script' has puzzled the researchers for a long time, though the Brāhmī script and its other derivatives have been deciphered very comprehensively and studied ever since James Princep decoded the mother (Brāhmī) script nearly one and half centuries ago, and Prof. B. N. Mukherjee one of our leading indologists and epigraphists has earned universal admiration by deciphering this intricate script. In the present volume, which consists of three chapters, an appendix, list of abbreviations, select bibliography, index and as many as 20 illustrations, the learned Professor has traced the history of the attempts of various scholars in deciphering this script, discussed in detail about the derivation of the 'shell characters' from the mother script Brāhmī and shown how the form of each letter can be traced from the earliest Brāhmī letter.

The discussion also indicates that the background of culture is highly essential for understanding these inscriptions. Chapter I deals with the nature of 'shell script' and the attempts by various scholars towards its decipherment, Chapter II deals with its decipherment by the author and chapter III contains some of his general observations.

To indicate the nature of inscriptions, the example of the epigraph viz. *Vī(?)chūr*

ṇita sr[i]-[p]u[t]ra (p. 21) can be quoted here. The author has shown how with the knowledge of the details of 'horse sacrifice' this inscription can be understood thoroughly. In chapter III while giving his general observations he also discusses about the methodology he has adopted in deciphering the 'shell characters' which serves as a useful guide to understand this script. In the appendix, he also furnishes some interesting literary references about script (*lipi*). On the whole, the volume, though small in size, throws much welcome light on the 'shell script' and its decipherment. Prof. B. N. Mukherjee deserves our hearty congratulations for this rare type of service in placing this very important volume in the hands of researchers at a time when the need of such a volume is intensely felt. The editors of the *Bulletin of Museums* have done an excellent job by bringing out this special issue of the bulletin and thus earned the indebtedness of the scholars in the field.

Madhav N. Katti.

South Indian History and Society : Studies from Inscriptions: A.D. 850-1800 by Noboro Karashima, Oxford University Press, Delhi (1984), pp XXXVI and 217; Price: Rs. 140/-

The book which consists of thirteen essays arranged in four chapters, is a welcome addition to the literature on the land ownership, irrigation, the relation of the political authority with the society and the agro-economic system of the Chōḷa and the

subsequent periods. Though these essays have been written earlier and published in various journals and books over the past fifteen years as the author states, he has done a very good job by bringing them together for the benefit of the readers and scholars. Based mostly on inscriptions, the essays provide a comprehensive basic material for the research on the socio-economic system based on agriculture. Each essay is interrelated with the other in their subject material on the subject. In chapter three, there is a very good analysis of the revenue terms. The author should be congratulated for this useful effort in compiling together these research papers.

The book contains a useful glossary, index, maps and charts. The author has also written a comprehensive introductory chapter. The get-up of the book is pleasing and printing very fine. The publishers also deserve our hearty appreciation.

Madhav N. Katti.

Indus Valley to Mecong Delta : Explorations in Epigraphy ; Edited by Noboru Karashima, Published by New Era Publications, Madras-600 028 (1985), pp. 335, Price Rs. 180/-.

The volume contains twenty important research papers, of which nine deal with South Asia, six with Indus script and five with South East Asia, in the order that they are published. Of these three are key-note addresses, by the well-known scholars in the field, viz. Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Dr. Kamil Zvevibel and Dr. Claude Jauques, which either throw much welcome light on the new discoveries, or highlight about the

new methods of study. There are also interesting papers on the usefulness of the epigraphs as a source material. The papers on Indus script open a new vista and provide new clues helpful for deciphering the script. The papers on South East Asia also throw welcome light on Java, Cambodia etc. There are two papers on Karnataka epigraphy. All the papers are written by the well known scholars in the field. Though the subject matter is covered more or less comprehensively, researches going on in other States on the lines of those in Karnataka would have been equally welcome. The attempt of Prof. Noboru Karashima in publishing these research papers deserves all our appreciation as the volume has come out excellently well in a record time, immensely benefitted the scholars in the field and given a greater fillip to the research on the South and South East Asian regions. The book also contains a list of the contributors and author index to papers, which increase the usefulness of the volume. The get up of the book is pleasing and the picture on the outer cover very meaningful. The publishers also deserve all our appreciation.

Madhav N. Katti

Vijayanagara Inscriptions, Volume I, Edited by Dr. B. R. Gopal, Published by : Directorate of Archeology & Museums in Karnataka, Mysore-1. 1985, pp. xxx+238. Price not mentioned.

Published as the third in the Centenary Publication Series of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka, this volume is another remarkable contribution of veteran epigraphist Dr. B. R. Gopal

renowned for his revised editions of *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes, to the field of epigraphical research. It is the first volume in the series which are expected to cover the gists of Vijayanagara inscriptions found in the Southern States of India. "The idea", as explained by the editor of the volume, "is to provide the researcher all the necessary details which enable him to work without the necessity of looking into the texts of epigraphs, for, it is difficult for any one to be conversant with all the languages Kannaḍa, Telugu, Tamil, besides Sanskrit to study the texts".

The present volume is essentially a topographical list of Vijayanagara inscriptions in Karnataka which are alphabetically arranged according to the district, taluk and village in that order. It enlists a total of 427 inscriptions of Vijayanagara rulers found in five districts of Karnataka, viz., Bangalore (264), Belgaum (3), Bellary (155), Bidar (1) and Bijapur (4). Obviously, the inscriptions of the remaining districts of Karnataka and of the other two States are proposed to be published in the ensuing volume.

Each of the inscriptions contained in the volume is serially numbered with an abbreviated prefix indicating the State to which it belongs (e.g., K.N. for Karnataka). Then follow the name of the village, the published reference, the location of the record, its language and script, the dynasty and king, the date and the gist—all systematically arranged in wherever possible and the Christian equivalents of the dates given. It is to be specially noted that the gist is no mere compilation from the *Annual Reports*, but considerably exhaustive particularly with

reference to the socio-economic and cultural aspects. This quality of the work has certainly added to its value as a basic source book.

The utility of the work is further enhanced by the fact that this topographical list is preceded by a topographical index, a dynastic index and, above all, a brief but excellent introduction to the inscriptions enlisted in the volume. This introductory part covers the methodology and purpose of the work, gleanings about the less known political aspects, discussion on geographical terms, information about some little known chieftains and officials, economic and social aspects as well as cultural and religious facets of the period. Stress has been given to clarifying the existing ambiguities pertaining to certain aspects of history. A striking example of this is the discussion on geographical terms appearing in the contemporary epigraphs. Previous scholars have passed ambiguous statements with regard to the nature of the terms like *sthaḷa*, *simē*, *vaḷita*, *vēṇṭhē*, *rājya*, etc. occurring in Vijayanagara inscriptions. But Dr. Gopal has tried here to define on strong evidences the hierarchy of these geographical units relating to their jurisdiction. He has effectively shown that generalization cannot be made regarding the use of these terms all over the Vijayanagara dominions. For instance, he points out, that the term *vēṇṭhē* does not figure at all in the inscriptions of Bangalore district while it frequently occurs in those of Bellary region.

The introductory part gives considerable coverage also to understanding the economy and society of the period—an aspect of history particularly favoured by recent researches. Interesting references to cultural

aspects like music and dance are also pointed out. Dr. Gopal sees a faint allusion to *Yakshagāna* in the term *tāḷa-maddale* (KN. 279, 1556 A.D.). This may perhaps call for further evidence before it can be accepted. Because the *Yakshagāna*, as we know it today, is a feature of the Kanara region, whereas the epigraphic reference in question comes from Bellary district. The introduction also gives useful details pertaining to the Vaishṇava sect culled from the records in the volume. At the end of the volume, there is an useful index.

A few shortcomings of the work may however be noted. In the introductory portion much is said about the Vaishṇava sect, but practically nothing about the Śaiva and the Jaina sects, although the editor admits that "grants were made to Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Jaina temples without any distinction as several of the records in the volume indicate". A more serious shortcoming of the volume is that the list of inscriptions included in it is not exhaustive. There have been some omissions probably by oversight. For instance, whereas this volume enlists only four inscriptions from Bijapur district, there are at least six more dated inscriptions which have been left out: 3 from Bādāmi (Harihara I, *IA.*, X, pp. 62-63; 2 of Sadāśivarāya, *IA.*, X, pp. 64-65); 1 from Bijapur Museum (Sadāśivarāya, *SII*, XVIII, 217); 1 from Banaśankari (Achyutarāya, *IA.* V, p. 19, now in Bijapur Museum); and 1 from Chalachagudda (Sadāśivarāya, *IA.*, X, p. 66). We may hope that the

missing inscriptions will be included in another volume in the series. Again, it would have certainly added immensely to the utility of the work had this volume contained all those inscriptions which though not mentioning the dynasty/king/date could yet be assigned to the Vijayanagara period on other grounds. The reviewer is aware of the time factor and tediousness involved in such kind of work, but it appears to be an attempt worthwhile, particularly in view of the fact that micro level regional studies are assuming prominence in recent researches. Lastly, a word about the printing. Spelling mistakes, wrong founts, broken types, uneven printing, especially in the preliminary part, have partially marred the look of the volume.

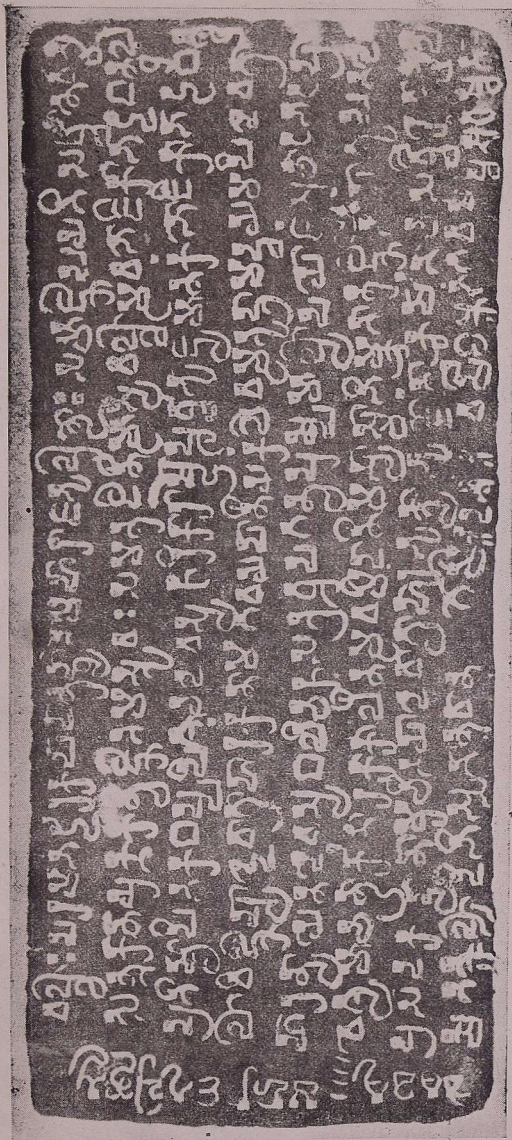
All said, it should however be pointed out that the volume is essentially a one-man work and all that is ideal and excellent cannot be expected. Viewed in the perspective of the limitations of the scholar, the utility of the volume certainly outweighs its shortcomings. There can be no doubt that the fraternity of scholars and researchers will receive this volume, and the succeeding ones, with an applause and sigh of relief that a long awaited topographical list of Vijayanagara inscriptions has at last seen the light of the day. Both Dr. B. R. Gopal and the Directorate of Archaeology in Karnataka deserve our congratulations for their painstaking efforts at this worthy job.

Shrinivas V. Padigar

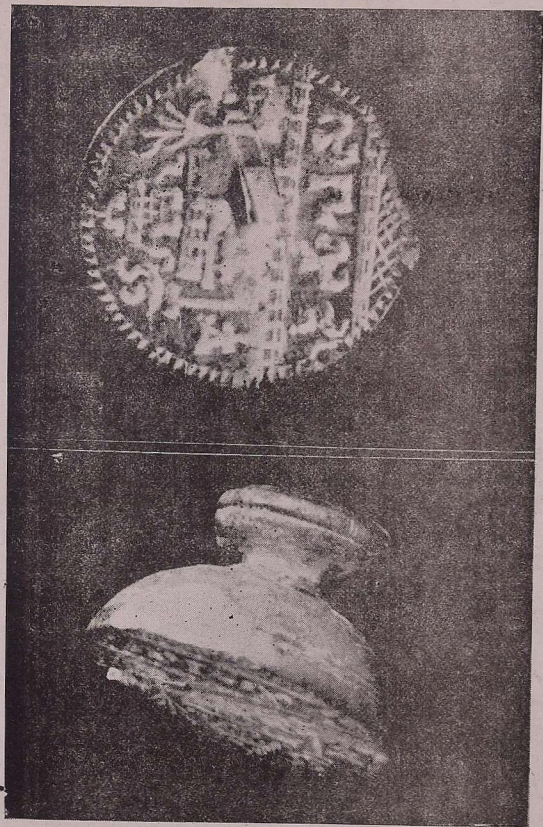
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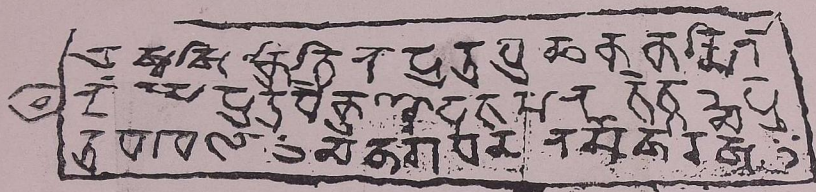
COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF BHULUNDA



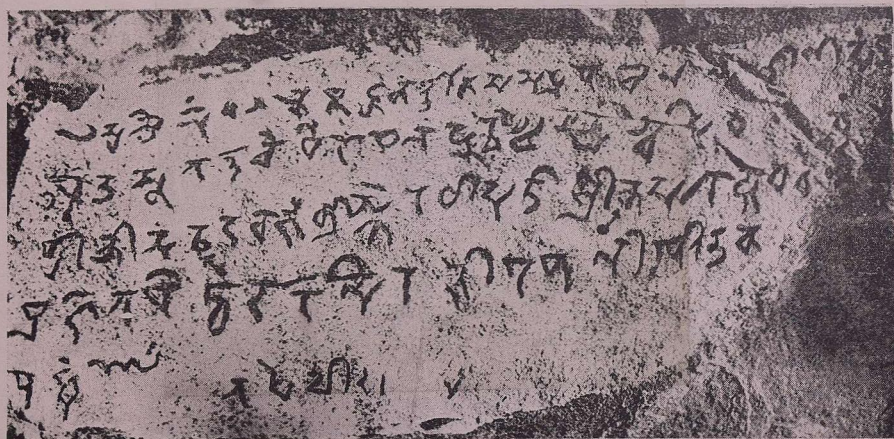
DHARANIKOTA IVORY SEAL



(Fig. 1) ŚĀRADĀ INSCRIPTIONS FROM LAGHMĀN



(Fig. 2)



(Fig. 1) MAP OF TAMIL NADU SHOWING SITES OF TAMIL BRÄHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS (1966)



Fig. 1: Map of TAMIL NADU showing sites of Tamil Brähmī Inscriptions (1966).

(Fig. 2) ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE SPECIAL TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ LETTERS

𑌕 → 𑌖 → 𑌗
𑌘 → 𑌙 → 𑌚 → 𑌛 → 𑌜 → 𑌝

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF 𑌞

𑌟 → 𑌠

𑌡 → 𑌢 → 𑌣 → 𑌤 → 𑌥 → 𑌦

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF 𑌧

𑌨 → 𑌩 → 𑌪

𑌫 → 𑌬 → 𑌭 → 𑌮 → 𑌯 → 𑌰 → 𑌱 → 𑌲

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF 𑌳

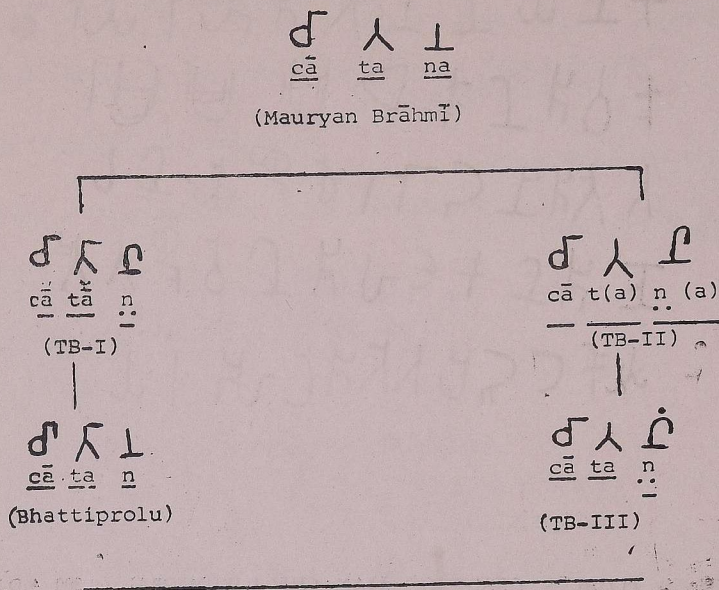
𑌴 → 𑌵

𑌶 → 𑌷 → 𑌸 → 𑌹 → 𑌺 → 𑌻 → 𑌼 → 𑌽

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF 𑌾

(Fig. 3) CHART SHOWING THE EVOLUTION AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE
ORTHOGRAPHIC SYSTEMS OF THE TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT

(cā ta n : a personal name used, as illustration)



Stages

MAURYAN BRĀHMĪ

(3 cent B.C.)

TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ-I

(c. 2-1 cent B.C.)

BHAṬṬIPRŌLU

(c. 1 cent B.C.)

TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ-II

(c. 2-1 cent B.C.)

TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ-III

(c. 1 cent B.C. to 2-3 cent A.D.)

Diagnostic Characteristics

Consonantal symbols have inherent -a. Basic consonants only in ligatures.

Consonantal symbols are always basic. The medial -a/-ā signs are alike.

Consonantal symbols are always basic. Separate vowel-markers for medial -a/-ā.

Consonantal symbols may be either basic or with inherent -a.

Consonantal symbols have inherent -a. Basic consonants indicated by *pulḷi* (dot).

(illustrating Earlier Tamil-Brāhmī, TB-I)

[illegible]

(Fig. 5) PUGAḶŪR GRANT OF ĀTAṆ CHEL-L-IRUMPOṚAI (c 200 A.D.)
(illustrating Later Tamil-Brāhmī, TB-II)

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a signature or a name, written diagonally across the page.

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