

JOURNAL

OF THE

EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]
(BEING VOL. XV OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)
VOLUME FIFTEEN : 1988



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MYSORE

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Secretary and Executive Editor

Dr. S. Subramania Iyer

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EDITORIAL

Ever since we met at Guwahati, the society has been making slow but steady progress. In the year gone by, the society could enrol more members. The society is deeply grateful to its members for their unstinted support and co-operation. The society looks forward to more and more members joining it in course of time and strengthening it for its bastion of strength is indeed its enthusiastic members.

We are happy to hold our fifteenth Annual conference at Anantapur under the auspices of the Department of History, Krishnadevaraya University. We are deeply grateful to the Vice-chancellor, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Krishnadevaraya University for hosting this conference. It is a matter of satisfaction to note that the society is holding its Annual conference for the first time in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

The society is happy to note that the Department of Archaeology and Epigraphy of the Tamil University, Thanjavur conducted a seminar on Brāhmī script in March 1988. Several well known scholars attended the seminar and presented important papers.

We have referred earlier to the urgent need to start a post-graduate diploma course in epigraphy and have lauded the Archaeological Survey of India for starting for the first time in 1986 a short term course in epigraphy in the Institute of Archaeology at New Delhi for departmental service personnel and research scholars from universities. While stressing once again our request to start a full pledged diploma course in epigraphy, we are happy to note

that the Archaeological Survey of India is once again conducting a short term course in epigraphy this year.

We regret to note that in the year gone by, the society lost five of its active members. Lt; col. H.V. Dikshit, Shri L.T. Sharma, Dr. A.V. Jeyachandrun, Dr. Gift Siromony and Dr. Mrs. Devahuti are no more with us. We offer our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved families and as a token of its gratitude and remembrance, we respectfully dedicate our present volume to their hallowed memory.

We express our sincere thanks to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) without whose active support and timely help we would not have completed the printing and publication of this volume. We thank our chairman Dr. S. H. Ritti for his guidance and help in running the society. We are equally grateful to our Vice-chairman Shri Madhav N. Katti, Dr. Venkatesha, Treasurer and Shri S. Nagarjuna, Assistant Secretary for their active help. We are also grateful to Dr. M. D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist and Dr. C. R. Srinivasan, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for patiently checking the proofs of this volume. We would be failing in our duty if we do not thank Shri S. K. Lakshminarayana, Proprietor, Vidya-sagar Printing and Publishing House and his staff notably Shri S. Manjunath for the neat and speedy printing of this volume.

Lastly, we thank the Indian Council of Historical Research for its generous financial assistance towards the publication of this volume.

S. Subramania Iyer
Secretary and Executive Editor

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri

Distinguished Friends and Fellow Delegates, I deem it a great honour to be invited to act as General President of the fourteenth annual conference of the Epigraphical Society of India and take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Executive Committee and distinguished members for conferring on me the singular honour involved in electing me to this august office. I am fully aware of the onerous responsibilities an incumbent of this chair is expected to discharge as my predecessors have done so very ably. I have no pretensions to match their performance, but shall try to acquit myself to the best of my ability with your valuable cooperation which, I am sure, would be coming forth in an ample measure.

We met for one of the earlier conferences of the Society at Calcutta which was so far the easternmost point of the penetration of its activities. Now we are meeting further east at Guwāhātī, the capital of Assam. The ancient name of this region known to us from literature and epigraphic records are Prāgjyōtisha and Kāmarūpa which played an important role in Indian history from at least the fourth century A.D. when Pushyavarman, its ruler, is supposed to have submitted to the Gupta emperor Samudragupta on his own as we learn from the famous Allahabad pillar inscription. However, for

a few centuries thereafter it appears to have largely confined its activities to Assam and part of Bengal and it was only about mid-seventh century A.D. that Bhāskaravarman, the last known member of Pushyavarman's dynasty, made it join the mainstream of national life by his association with Harshavardhana and participation in the religious assemblies held by him at Kannauj and Prayāga. Since then it continued its association with the mainstream of Indian life in some or other form, in larger or smaller degree. It owes its present name, Assam, to the Ahoms belonging to the Shan tribe which crossed over from Burma in the thirteenth century A.D. who were gradually Hinduised and occupied an important place in Assamese life, an example of the assimilative Indian culture. Assam has played a vital role in the field of religious and literary history of India from fairly early times, and Pālakāpya's well known work, *Hastyāyurvēda*, dealing with various aspects of elephants, in which Assam abounds even now, is one of its contributions to Sanskrit literature. It has imbibed Brahmanical religions from fairly early times, and the fact that it abounded in Hindu temples while Buddhism was not very popular is recorded even by Yuan Chwang who saw everything with the coloured vision of a Buddhist and often turned even non-Buddhists into Buddhists. Vaishnavism, popularised in

* Delivered at the XIV Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Guwahati on 8th, 9th and 10th of December 1987.

medieval times by Saṅkaradeva (16th century) and others, Saivism and Śāktism enjoyed great popularity from ancient times. The region has also yielded a large number of epigraphs, both copper-plate charters and lithic records, ranging from fifth century A.D. to recent times which have been published and studied by a number of scholars including P. N. Bhattacharya, Maheshwar Neog, Mukund Madhav Sharma, D. Sharma, D. C. Sircar and others. Guwāhāṭī itself, sanctified by the river Brahmaputra or Lauhitya and the Kāmā-khyā-piṭha, has enjoyed the position of the capital of Kāmarūpa with some intermissions. And the State Museum situated at this place, which gives luring glimpses of the art and archaeology of Assam, has been organising a number of seminars on a variety of subjects and hosting conferences, thanks to the enlightened interest and enthusiasm of Dr. R. D. Choudhury, Director of Museums in Assam, is eminently suited to the deliberations of this conference which will, hopefully, give a fillip to epigraphical researches in this part of the country.

With your kind permission we may now refer to a few problems concerned with Indian palaeography and epigraphy. Several theories have been propounded regarding the origin of Brāhmī and Kharōshthī some of which trace them to some foreign sources. Of the theories of foreign origin of the Brāhmī script the most popular is the one tracing its origin to the North Semitic or Phoenician script,¹ while about Kharōshthī it is held

almost unanimously that it is a somewhat modified and enlarged form of the Aramaic which was popularised by the Achaemenids of Iran.² As regards the theories of Indian origin, it has been suggested recently that Brāhmī was invented by the Maurya emperor Aśōka who popularised it throughout the length and breadth of his empire.³ As for Kharōshthī, its derivation from the Aramaic was questioned by R. B. Pandey, who was a strong champion of its Indian origin,⁴ and his view has recently been strongly reinforced by Professor V. S. Pathak in his Presidential Address to the twelfth annual conference of our Society.⁵ We are not concerned here with the question of their origin, but with another problem on which these scripts have an important bearing. We often hear the talk of introducing reforms in our present day Indian scripts with a view to reduce the number of signs, to help reduce the number of keys in our typewriters and make them easy for the printing presses to print and enable the children to learn the alphabet without much difficulty. But those who champion the cause of scriptal reforms simply forget the fact that not much can be done in isolation from the cultural context. Any change to be acceptable must be in consonance, however nominal, with the national tradition. However, no attention has been paid to see if our ancient scripts offer any help in this matter. Let us now try to find out what the ancient most forms of letters in these two scripts can contribute to the solution of this problem. It is interesting to note

that both these scripts, in their earliest form, provide very important hints which can be beneficially exploited in the present context. As regards the consonants, an examination of some of the letter-forms reveals that the framers of our alphabets had fully realised the fact that basically there were only three letters in each *varga* or phonetically allied group of *aksharas* while others were an extension of these primary letters. This is clearly indicated by a few of the aspirated letters whose forms bear a close resemblance to their basic forms. This is true of both Brāhmī and Kharōshṭhī which contain a few such forms. The basic letters were the first, third and fifth, which is nasal, while the second and fourth ones were merely aspirated sounds of the preceding letters which are, as stated above, basic. Thus, *ka, ga, ṅa, cha, ja, ṅa, ṭa, ḍa, ṇa, ta, da, na, pa, ba* and *ma* were basic *aksharas*, while *kha, gha, chha, jha, ṭha, ḍha, tha, dha, pha* and *bha* were derivative aspirations of the basic letters preceding them. This is apparent from a comparison of the forms of a few letters in Aśōkan Brāhmī and Kharōshṭhī, which form the earliest datable samples of these scripts. Thus, so far as Brāhmī is concerned, five of the aspirated letters are merely extended or altered forms, while the rest have been formed differently. *Cha*, for instance, has its semi-circle attached to the lower left portion of a vertical line, whereas to make it aspirated the semi-circle is turned into a full circle. Likewise, *ṭa* is formed by a semi-circle open to right, while the same when turned into a perfect

circle stands for the aspirated sound (*ṭha*). Between *ḍa* and *ḍha* the similarity is not so very apparent, though it cannot be denied: *ḍa* consists of a vertical stroke on top which turns into a horizontal line to left which again takes a downward vertical line in the lower portion. The same with its bottom rounded upon itself becomes *ḍha*. *Da* is formed by a vertical line relieved in the middle by a semi-circle or square open to right. It becomes *dha* when the ends of the vertical are removed and the semi-circle is closed by a vertical line on the left; occasionally there is a variation and the semi-circle is on the right. There is comparatively much less difference between *pa* and *pha*: *pa* is formed by a vertical line with its lower end curved to right while in the case of *pha* the curve is strongly accentuated and its upper end slightly turns to left. It would thus follow that there is similarity, more or less, between the forms of the letters *cha* and *chha*, *ṭa* and *ṭha*, *ḍa* and *ḍha*, *da* and *dha*, and *pa* and *pha*, and obviously the aspirate forms are derived from the preceding basic forms.*

The same story is told by Aśōkan Kharōshṭhī, and we notice a few close resemblances. First regarding the *vyañjanas* or consonants; Between *ga* and *gha*, there is little difference: only a ligature, large or short, attached to the right of the vertical differentiates *gha* from *ga* which consists of a vertical with a curved loop in the upper part, the curve being open on top. *Ja* and *jha* also bear very close

resemblance: *Ja* comprises a vertical with a semi-circle in the upper part, while in *jha* the lower portions of the curve of the semi-circle cross one another. Between *ṭa* and *ṭha* also there is a close similarity, *ṭa* being formed by a vertical stroke with a straight or curved horizontal attachment on either side, whereas in the case of *ṭha*, both strokes are added to the left in the upper portion one below the other, the lower one showing an upward curve and the upper one, added at the top, enclosing it fully or partially. *Da* and *dha* also closely resemble each other, both being formed by a cursive vertical stroke, that of *da* being open on left in the lower portion and on right in the upper portion, and that of *dha* showing a sharp curve open to left in the upper part. The last pair showing remarkable resemblance verging on identity is formed by *pa* and *pha* both of which consist of a vertical line with the addition of a hook showing a downward bend at its right end in the upper portion, sometimes about the middle but generally at the top; in the case of *pha*, this hook emanates from a little to the left of the vertical stroke a little below the top.⁷

The foregoing account would make it clear that there exists considerable similarity in the forms of the letters *ga* and *gha*, *ja* and *jha*, *ṭa* and *ṭha*, *da* and *dha*, and *pa* and *pha* in the Kharōshṭhī script. If we take Brāhmī and Kharōshṭhī together, it would be found that all seven groups of basic and aspirate letters

have somewhat similar, sometimes almost identical, forms. These letters are, to put them in the proper sequence, *ga* and *gha*, *cha* and *chha*, *ja* and *jha*, *ṭa* and *ṭha*, *ḍa* and *ḍha*, *da* and *dha* and *pa* and *pha*. Of these, *ṭa* and *ṭha*, *da* and *dha* and *pa* and *pha* are common to both Brāhmī and Kharōshṭhī, while the rest are peculiar to either Brāhmī or Kharōshṭhī.

As regards vowels, Brāhmī has completely independent signs for *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*, while their long (*dirgha*) and increased (*vṛiddha*) forms are indicated by the addition of some or other ligature. Independent signs for *ṛi* and *lṛi* are met with only from about the sixth century AD,⁸ and that too not as frequently as other vowels; naturally as there are not many words beginning with these vowels,⁹ the first of which is commonly met with only as medial sign in Sanskrit¹⁰.

As against this, in Kharōshṭhī we have only a single basic sign for *a* which is in the form of a vertical stroke showing at the top a curve to left, and it is by adding ligatures across, on right or left top or in the lower portion, that we get the other vowels, viz. *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*. There are no *dirgha* (long) or *vṛiddhi* (increased) forms in Aśōkan Kharōshṭhī.¹¹

What is the outcome of these considerations? The fact that there is no fundamental difference between the *alpa-prāṇa* (unaspirated) and *mahā-prāṇa* (aspirated) sounds and their expressed forms was

known to designers of the Brāhmī and Kharōshthī scripts though they could not succeed in expressing this fundamental unity in all cases. This vital fact should be kept in mind while talking of scriptal reforms. What may be reasonably done is to dispense with the separate signs for aspirated sounds which may be indicated by some convenient ligature added to the signs for basic consonant sounds. What form it should take should be left to be decided by scriptologists as various scripts are involved.¹²

As regards vowels also, while Brāhmī yields no indication useful for reforms, Kharōshthī throws an important hint. As seen above, the basic sign is only that of *a*, while the rest of the vowel signs are formed by adding necessary ligature to its different parts. It has to be remembered in this connection that these ligatures are the same as those employed as medial signs attached to consonants. The same may be done in respect of our present-day scripts: using *a* as the basic sign and forming other vowels by adding the medial signs as in the case of consonants. It may be added that Mahatma Gandhi advocated this idea about vowel signs in the Nāgari script in order to simplify it,¹³ and even now some institutions associated with him like the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samitis of various non-Hindi-speaking states are using this system. Of course, *ṛi* and *lṛi* would have to be retained as independent signs.

The introduction of these reforms would result in the reduction of letter-signs by at least thirteen, which could accordingly reduce the number of keys in the typewriters and printing presses and render the

alphabet-learning process for children much simpler. These suggestions are applicable to all the Indian scripts derived from Brāhmī except only Tamil which has only the first and last letters of a *varga*. Of course, as regards vowel signs, our suggestion is equally applicable to it also. It is interesting to note in this context that most of our modern scripts are even now, after the lapse of over two thousand years, very close to Brāhmī, and consequently it should not be very difficult to introduce these reforms.

I may now refer to a few problems posing great danger for the future of epigraphical studies in India. Epigraphy and numismatics are two of the most difficult branches of archaeology which attract only devoted industrious students because with the same degree of effort and devotion required for little work in these fields one can attain much more in other branches. Therefore, there is a smaller number of students offering these branches as compared to those offering other branches of archaeology and culture. The situation has become all the more serious as the number of students with the requisite linguistic background is fast dwindling. Early Indian inscriptions are almost exclusively in Sanskrit languages (including Prakrit) and consequently for understanding them a sound knowledge of Sanskrit is highly essential. How important it is can be appreciated from the fact that most of the earlier epigraphists were primarily Sanskritists, and it was mainly because of their Sanskrit background and interest in the past that they were attracted to epigraphy. Sanskrit continued to be used greatly even after

regional languages came to be employed for inscriptions, and therefore, a good knowledge of Sanskrit is necessary even for mediaeval epigraphy; and even for inscriptions in regional languages which have a lot of vocabulary of Sanskrit words or otherwise connected with Sanskrit, the benefit of the knowledge of Sanskrit is immense. However, Sanskrit studies are declining, and in most of the degree colleges in Maharashtra, which was supposed to be a stronghold of Sanskrit, there is no provision for Sanskrit teaching. This is only illustrative of the general condition in regard to Sanskrit studies which may be applicable to some other states also. And even in universities and colleges with provision for Sanskrit teaching, the language is generally offered mainly by girls, boys generally keeping away from it. And even those offering it are not quite serious about it and by and large just manage to pass the examinations without acquiring any proficiency in the language and metrics and rhetorics which are so very important for grasping Sanskrit inscriptions couched in high flown style. Most of even those students offering epigraphy (or studying it as a compulsory subject) are without the necessary Sanskrit knowledge and just get through the examinations by reading the translations of inscriptional passages which may be asked generally in the examination; and without the knowledge of Sanskrit even good acquaintance with palaeography is of little use as is well known to most epigraphists who had occasion to decipher inscriptions. What is required for epigraphical study is a sound combination of linguistic, palaeographic and historical background. While the last two are

generally provided to post-graduate students offering epigraphy as one of their subjects for the post-graduate examination, no stress is given to the acquisition of the first with the result that even students passing out with epigraphy as a subject are not dependable for studying epigraphy. Therefore, it is necessary that the universities should either insist on the knowledge of Sanskrit for admission to epigraphy group or provide for a compulsory intensive Sanskrit course simultaneously with the study of epigraphy. Then alone our universities would be able to provide us good prospective epigraphists.

The howlers caused by the absence of the linguistic equipment are best illustrated by the late lamented Professor D. C. Sircar who, in one of his papers published in the Society's journal, invited our attention to the gross misinterpretation of certain stanzas encountered in a grant of the Pāla king Śūrapāla (C. 850-58 A.D.) and the Ulubari copper-plate charter of king Balavarman of the Śālastambha dynasty of Prāgjyōtisha-Kāmarūpa who ruled towards the close of the ninth century A.D. resulting in serious historical inaccuracies including the creation of fake names.¹⁴ Our Society's chairman, Professor S. H. Ritti, who is privileged to head the only university department in the country including the word 'epigraphy' in its name, would, I hope, bear me out on this point. It was obviously in view of this difficulty that Professor Sircar felt constrained to observe painfully in his presidential address of the Second (Indore) session that "There are very few successful epigraphists in India today. It is found that soon there will be

nobody to read and interpret an inscription correctly." Friends, let us try to prove this observation false which alone will be a real tribute to the great epigraphist.

That the knowledge of Sanskrit is equally important for numismatic studies is best highlighted by, *inter alia*, the recent unwarranted controversy regarding the attribution of Allan's Class 3, copper, of the Yaudhēya coins bearing the legend *bhāgavata-svaminō Brahmanyadēvasya* (or *sa*) *Kumārasya* (or *sa*) which were rightly attributed till recently unanimously to the people known as Yaudhēyas on the basis of a unique silver coin of the same type with the legend *bhāgavatasvaminō Brahmanya Yaudhēya*.¹⁵ Recently this ascription was sought to be questioned and the coins under consideration were proposed to be attributed to a people called Kumāras known from the *Mahābhārata* ignoring the fact that a people have as a rule to be mentioned in plural whenever they are referred to independently by themselves.¹⁶ Even coins supply such examples in the case of the Yaudhēyas themselves as well as the Mālavas and Ārjunāyanas, and epigraphists know that in inscriptions also they (eg. Mālavas) are invariably referred to in plural.¹⁷ The proposed attribution of Kāḍa coins to a people called Kāḍa has been refuted by Shri Devendra Handa precisely on this ground.¹⁸

One of the reasons for the decline of Sanskrit studies is the three-language formula strictly implemented in some of the states. Under this formula one has to study one's mother-tongue, Hindi as the central official language and English compulsorily. If one wishes to study Sanskrit

also, one is required to offer it as an optional subject, *viz.*, one would have to study four languages under this formula which very few would normally like to do. The three-language formula should, therefore, be suitably modified in order to provide for the study of Sanskrit which must be accommodated within the framework of this formula. And if one is really serious about it, it should not be very difficult. This can be best achieved by retaining the mother tongue, with which the child is familiar right from his/her birth, as a compulsory language only up to the primary stage and replacing it with a classical language thereafter. An exception could be made only in rare cases where a student intends to specialise in his/her mother tongue. However, in such cases also there should be no difficulty since the three-language formula is limited up to higher secondary stage and thereafter one can offer his/her mother tongue for specialisation for which he would now be better equipped in view of his Sanskrit knowledge which has a great bearing on our vernaculars. If this modification is effected, Sanskrit studies may get a boost.

Another thing that is imperative for strengthening epigraphical studies is the introduction of properly devised training programmes. Some university departments of ancient Indian history and archaeology have introduced specialised post-graduate diploma courses in epigraphy. Most welcome from this point of view, however, was a special training course in epigraphy for officers of the Archaeological Survey of India and teachers and research students from universities and research institutes

run by the Archaeological Survey of India under the able direction of Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), who was actually responsible for its introduction. In conducting this course, besides the officers of the epigraphy branch of the Survey, co-operation of some university teachers known for their specialisation in epigraphy was also sought, and there was appreciably good response. The course should continue in the interest of the growth of epigraphical studies with the provision of allowances to such of the participants as are not supported financially from other sources.

The need to step up and popularise epigraphical studies can hardly be over-estimated. Fortunately, the Epigraphical Society of India, which began its career some fourteen years ago at Mysore and held its first session at Dharwad under the auspices of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy of the Karnatak University headed by our Chairman, has been rendering yeoman service in this field. It has been holding its conferences at different places and publishing the journal regularly, thereby bringing together on a common platform a large number of scholars and students interested in epigraphy. It has also brought out other publications on the occasion of the eleventh session to mark the successful completion of ten years when again it met at Dharwar. Its membership has grown steadily which may be taken as an index of growing popular interest in epigraphy including technical matters like editions of recently discovered inscriptions and general studies based on epigraphs. Let us hope and pray that it continues to grow and

serve its avowed objective more vigorously in the days to come. The awareness of the historical value of inscriptions led to the incorporation of a section devoted originally to epigraphical studies the scope of which was later enlarged to cover numismatics and archaeology, used in a narrow sense, in the Indian History Congress a few years earlier. It has also been serving the same purpose of popularising and stepping up epigraphical studies though, since the establishment of the Epigraphical Society of India, the epigraphists, both professional and general, have generally preferred to associate themselves with the latter even if a good number of historian-epigraphists including myself continue to be associated with both the organisations, the case being similar to numismatists and archaeologists interested in historical studies who in spite of their professional organisations are associated with all of them.

Inaccessibility of information about inscriptions discovered across the borders, particularly Pakistan, forms a great handicap in furthering our epigraphical studies. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) can play a vital role in removing this obstacle in an uninterrupted flow of such information. Reports, books and periodicals published in the neighbouring countries should be made freely accessible to interested students and scholars. Frequent exchange of scholars, including both unofficial and official, should be encouraged and there should be unrestricted participation of scholars in the symposia and seminars which may be organised by the Epigraphy branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. In this

connection I should like to mention that such a seminar was actually held by the Epigraphy branch in March 1985, but unfortunately Maldives, Bhutan and Pakistan remained unrepresented. Let us try to ensure their participation in future. The usefulness and desirability of such exchanges can hardly be overestimated.

The number of epigraphs copied to date far exceeds a hundred thousand, and the number of those lying untapped and unknown must be much larger. The small office of the Chief Epigraphist located in one corner of the country is simply unable to take care of this enormous epigraphical wealth of the country. It would, therefore, be desirable to give a serious thought to the suggestion of launching a full-fledged Epigraphical Survey with its headquarters located centrally as embodied in the resolutions frequently passed at the annual conferences of the Epigraphical Society of India and made in some presidential addresses of the Historical Archaeology, Numismatics and Epigraphy section of the Indian History Congress.¹⁹ Its set up should be carefully decided to meet the specialised nature of its requirements.

Inscriptions are discovered from time to time in the course of planned archaeological excavations and explorations, digging foundations for buildings, dams, ploughing, etc., which may be described as chance finds. It is imperative to publish them regularly in order to enable historians to utilise their evidence for historical purposes, not to speak of litterateurs who would like to use them as literary pieces as well as a valuable tool for the reconstruction of

literary history. It was evidently with this objective that a regular journal titled *Epigraphia Indica* was launched as early as 1892, and there is no gainsaying that it served a very useful purpose as a barometer of epigraphical research, and its earlier volumes are even now being beneficially used as a valuable reference tool. Unfortunately, however, it has fallen in arrears of several volumes. The same is true of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* which carried reports of the discoveries of inscriptions during the concerned years and contained much information. In fact, in respect of a majority of inscriptions they constitute the only sources of our knowledge. It is appreciable that older volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Annual Report* have been reprinted of late and have thereby become available to young researchers and institutional libraries. The enthusiasm with which these reprints have been received is indicative of the great demand in which these publications are. Of the wellknown *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* series also, only seven volumes could be published in about a century that has elapsed since the publication of J. F. Fleet's *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, which was released as the third volume of the series, in 1888. This also has been possible mainly due to the genuine devotion and enlightened enthusiasm of the late lamented veteran epigraphist, Professor V. V. Mirashi, who contributed as many as three volumes, viz., on the inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, Vākāṭakas and Śilāhāras, which were published as Vols. IV-VI of the series. Steps must be taken to update these and other publications

like the *South Indian Inscriptions* and thereafter maintain their regularity. By doing so the Survey would be rendering a great service to the cause of furthering epigraphical studies.

Difficulties of press are reported to be the main reason for this backlog. I feel very strongly that instead of depending on government presses, which are overburdened with the ever-increasing routine government work, the Archaeological Survey of India should think seriously of having its own properly equipped press.

Before we conclude, reference must be made to the Indian Council of Historical Research which has launched upon an ambitious programme of providing teachers and students of history with the inscriptional sources dating from *circa* sixth to the fourteenth century A.D., the chronological terminals varying according to the requirements of each case, in handy volumes arranged chronologically, dynasty-wise and regionally. I am happy to record that this project has recorded a steady progress and a few volumes covering the inscriptions of the Western Gaᅅgas by Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Pushabhūtiś and Yaśovarmaᅅ of Kanauj by Professor K. K. Thaplyal, the Gajapatis of Orissa by the late Professor R. Subrahmanyam and the Pallavas by the late Professor T. V. Mahalingam have already been published, while the inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Paᅇᅇuvamaᅅśins and Somavamaᅅśins by the present author are going through the press and are likely to be released shortly in two parts. A few other volumes are in the pipeline and

expected to be completed shortly. This programme, which is meant to supplement the above-mentioned *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* series, was initiated by Professor R. S. Sharma, the first Chairman of the Council. Professor Ifan Habib, the present Chairman, is actively encouraging the furtherance of the scheme, apparently keeping in view the highly useful purpose of historical research it is bound to serve. The Council is also bringing out a topographical list of inscriptions in Tamil Nadu and Kerala by the late Professor T. V. Mahalingam, and the Vijayanagara inscriptions are under compilation by a group of scholars led by Professor S. H. Ritti which, besides him, includes Dr. P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, Professor B. R. Gopal and Dr. M. D. Sampath. It also proposes to bring out some other epigraphical publications. Let us pray for the success of this programme.

At the end, kindly allow me to refer to some recent Indian epigraphical publications. Professor B. N. Mukherjee, who deciphered the Shell Script for the first time in 1983 with a monograph published in the same year, has been pursuing it further with the decipherment of more inscriptions in this script, his latest contribution on it being published in vol. XV of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*. A very useful publication of the epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey of India is the *Dynastic List of Copper-Plate Inscriptions* (1887-1969) which is based on the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* for the same period. Let us hope it would be followed by a companion volume on the lithic records which contain

equally useful information. Its other publications during 1987 include *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the years 1975-76, 1976-77 and 1978-9 and the *Topographical List of Inscriptions* copied from Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Pondicherry and Tamilnadu during 1939-72. Andhra Pradesh Department of Archaeology has been very active in this respect, and its recent publications include the *Temple Inscriptions in Srikakulam District* by Drs. N. Ramesan and N. Mukunda Rao, *Simhachalam Temple Inscriptions* by Dr. N. Mukunda Rao, and vol. V of the *Epigraphia Andhrica*. Professor Shriram Goyal has made a praise-worthy attempt to bring out something like corpus volumes of inscriptions in Hindi which are particularly useful to students of epigraphy. He had earlier published the *Prāchīna Bhāratiya Abhilēkha Saṅgraha* and the *Gupta-Kālīna Abhilēkha* and has followed them up by the *Maukhari-Pushyabhūti - Chālukya - yugīna - Abhilēkha*

which has just been brought out. Other useful publications include *Researches in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics* by Professor Jagannath Agrawal, one of our former Presidents, which is a collection of his valuable contribution in these fields from time to time, Professor K.M. Shrimali's *Agrarian Structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan* which is based on the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, and Dr. S.P. Tewari's *Contributions of Sanskrit Inscriptions to Lexicography* just to be released on this occasion:²⁰

Friends, I have tried to highlight some of the problems with the hope that they would receive serious attention from you and others. If even a few of these suggestions are found to be of some use, I shall feel amply rewarded. Lastly, I should like to thank you sincerely for giving me a patient hearing.

Notes :

1. For this view, see Buhler, *Indian Palaeography*, Indian edition, Calcutta, 1952, pp. 25 ff.; A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, London, 1963, pp. 10 and 73 ff. For a summary of the various views on the origin of Brāhmī, see R. B. Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, Part I, second edition, Varanasi, 1957, pp. 35 ff.
2. G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, second edition, Ajmer, 1918, pp. 31 - 37.
3. Gift Siromoney and Michael Lockwood, *The Invention of the Brāhmī Script*, Madras Christian College, Dept. of Statistics, Scientific Report No. 30, 1977; S. R. Goyal, "Brāhmī Script, An Invention of the Early Maurya Period," *The Origin of Brāhmī Script*, edited by S. P. Gupta and K. S. Ramachandran, Delhi, pp. 1-53; *Kauṭilya and Megasthenes*, Meerut, 1985, pp. 82-100. For criticism of this view by a number of scholars including myself, see *The Origin of Brāhmī Script*, pp. 55. ff.; K. G. Krishnan, "Presidential Address", *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. ix, pp. vi-ix. Krishnan's views on the number of basic signs of Brāhmī as expressed in this address are somewhat different from those found in his paper entitled "Brāhmī Script in Tamil-nadu," *Studies in Indian Epigraphy [Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India]*, vol. I, pp. 26-30.

4. R. B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp 57-58.
5. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. xiii, pp. 7-8.
6. See chart at the end.
7. *Vide* chart at the end.
8. According to G. H. Ojha, these letters are first met with in the *varṇa-mālā* given at the end of the manuscript of *Ushnīshavijayadhārāṇī* (circa sixth century A.D.) found at the Horyuji monastery in Japan. See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 65 and pl. XIX. Thereafter also these vowel-signs are rarely met with.
9. In Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit Dictionary*, these two letters, including their *dirgha* (long) forms, cover just about four pages (pp. 223-227).
10. Even as a medial sign it is not found in Prakrit and therefore absent in Aśōkan and other early inscriptions which are generally in Prakrit. It does not, of course, mean that it (and, for that matter, its initial form) was absent from the script which was meant as much for Sanskrit as for Prakrit.
11. See chart at the end.
12. In some of the South Indian scripts this system is already prevalent in respect of a few aspirated letter-signs. In Telugu and Kannaḍa for example, only a short vertical stroke added at the bottom distinguishes *chha*, *ḍha*, *dha*, *pha* and *bha* from their unaspirated basic forms. In Malayalam, there is little difference between the signs of *cha* and *chha*, *ḍa* and *ḍha* and *pa* and *pha*, while the sign for *ṭha* continues to be a full circle.
13. Of course, he did not try to find support for it in our ancient tradition as attempted in these pages.
14. "Epigraphical Howlers", *JESI*, vol. v, pp. 10-14.
15. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* (in the British Museum), p. 270.
16. Nisar Ahmad, "The Kumārās-A Forgotten Ancient Indian Tribe", *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, ed. J. P. Singh and Nisar Ahmad, Varanasi, 1977, pp. 154-92. For P. L. Gupta's support to this suggestion, see *Numismatic Digest*, vol. ii (ii), pp. 22-23. For our criticism of this view, see *ibid.*, vol. viii, pp. 35-36.
17. J. F. Fleet, *CII*, vol. iii, p. 83.
18. Devendra Handa, *Studies in Indian Coins and Seals*, Delhi, 1985, p. 39.
19. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Presidential Address", thirty-ninth Session, Hyderabad, Vol. II, p. 910.
20. This information has been kindly supplied by Dr. R. C. Sharma, Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Shri Madhav N. Katti, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, and Dr. N. Mukunda Rao, Chief Epigraphical Officer, Directorate of Archaeology, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

1 SAHASARAM COPPER PLATE OF VIKRAMADHAVALA, VIKRAMA 1251

T. P. Verma

In February 1985, a student of Adarsh Inter College, Varanasi approached me with the photostat copy of the impression of a copper plate and wished me to read it for him. The copper plate was in the possession of one of his relatives in Sahasaram (Sasaram) in Bihar. (Unfortunately the paper containing the names of both these persons is misplaced by me.) He gave two or three visits before I could give some details about the contents of this copper plate and obviously he was not satisfied because to their expectations it should have had a reference to some hidden treasure, popularly called a *bijaka*. After knowing this, all interest of these people in this copper plate was lost. Although the boy said that he and his relative will have no objection to publish it, and also that he will send a formal letter to this effect from his relative, he was never seen again.

This copper plate according to the photostat copy of the impression, measures about 13.5" x 9" and is engraved on both sides. The first side contains 21 lines and 2 lines are on the second side. It is written in wellknown mixed style of poetry and prose of the Gāhaḍavāla period. First ten lines contain eight verses in the following order: 1. *Sragdharā* 2. *Mālini* 3. *Sikharinī*, 4. *Sārdūlavikriḍita*, 5. *Vasanta-tilakā*, 6. *Sārdūlavikriḍita*, 7. *Vasantatilakā*, and 8. *Mālini*. The prose part contains a date in V. S. 1251, Monday, Vaiśākha kṛishna - amāvāsyā, i.e. Monday, 3rd May

1193 A.D. It was a *Sōmavati - amāvāsyā* when the solar eclipse took place; an auspicious day for a *vrata* combined with solar eclipse.

The palaeography of the charter belongs to the class of Nāgarī of twelfth century A. D. and closely resembles those of the Gāhaḍavāla period copper plates. Although there is not much difference between the shapes of *pa* and *ya*, some sort of distinction has been maintained between the two letters in this epigraph. At one place (line 17) the letter *ya* in *diya* was erroneously engraved as *pa* and it was corrected later by the engraver. Perhaps he could not differentiate it from the copy supplied to him. But later in the same line again he could not catch the distinction between the letters in the word *dasyathā* which is engraved as *dāspatha*. *Ba* is indicated by *vā*. There seems some orthographic confusion in the use of *sa* and *sā* also (cf. line 4 = *srē* for *srē*, line 13 = *simā* for *simā*, line 14 = *sata* for *sata*, line 20 *sahasrēṇa* for *sahasrēṇa*, = *satēna* for *satēna* and *sudhyati* for *sudhyati*). The language is Sanskrit and is written in verse and prose both as indicated above.

The inscription begins with an invocation of Lord Śiva in *Sragdharā* metre. Then in seven *ślokas*, information about the kings of the dynasty is given. It informs that in the line of great Khadirapāla, there was a king named Sādhava. His son was king Tōraṇadhavala. The son of Tōraṇa-

dhavala was king Pratāpadhavala whose son was king Sāhasadhavala. The son of the latter, the issuer of this grant, was Vikramadhavala and he is called a *mahānripati* or a great king.

The occasion for the issue of the grant was the *Sōmavati-amāvasyā* combined with the solar eclipse. On this auspicious day, after having a bath in the river Sōṇa, the king addresses the people of the village Karamrāḍi in the Svargadvāra-pattalā and a host of his officials to confirm the donation for the proper worship of Lord Sujanēśvara, the deity of the village called Kōśa.

The official *akshapaṭalika*, responsible for the writing of the grant is named Ṭhakura śrī Sujana, a scion of the Śrīvāstavyakāyastha family.

This is the first official copper plate grant of a king of the Khadirapāla (Khayaravāla) or Dhavala dynasty. Earlier some four inscriptions of Pratāpadhavala were known from the Sahasaram area of the former Shahabad district of Bihar.¹ Later the 'Sone-East-Bank Copper plate of Indradhavala and Udayarāja' was published by Śrī Harit Krishna Deb.² This charter was issued by a Kadamba feudatory, *mahāmāṅgalika* Udayarāja acknowledging the overlordship of Indradhavala, the younger brother of Vikramadhavala, the issuer of the present grant, in V. S. 1254, i.e. A. D. 1197 or about three years after the present grant. This copper plate of Udayarāja also gives the genealogy of the Dhavala dynasty of Jāpīla. It gives the name of the father of Pratāpadhavala as

Raṅadhavala³ but our grant reads the name as Tōraṅadhavala which appears to be more correct. The founder of the dynasty seems to be one Sādhava who was, perhaps, an ordinary subordinate king. His son was Tōraṅadhavala, again an ordinary king. But his son Pratāpadhavala was more illustrious than his father and grandfather. In his inscriptions Pratāpadhavala is called *Nāyaka* and *Mahānāyaka*. From, this it has been inferred that perhaps he was a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kānyakubja. This may be true because for some time the Gāhaḍavālas seem to have some administrative influence over the area during the time of king Vijayachandra of Kānyakubja. This is attested by the grant of the time of that king dated in the V.S. 1223 (A.D. 1166).⁴ About two years later, in V.S. 1225 (A.D. 1169) *Mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavala, styling himself as the lord of Jāpīla, issued a charter⁵ in which Pratāpadhavala, declaring the grant of Vijayachandra spurious, informs his descendants 'that the brāhmaṇas (i. e. *viprāḥ*) of Suvaṅṅahala obtained from one Dēū, who was a servant of the king of Gādhinagara (i. e. modern Kanauj), a *ku-tāmra* by fraud after having bribed (him); that no reliance should be made in the said grant of the brāhmaṇas, and, that not even an iota of land in the village near about Kalahaṅḍi really belonged to the above brāhmaṇas.⁶ It is interesting to note that both the grants are published.

Thus an interesting issue arises about the position of the *Mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavala and the Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kānyakubja. There can be no doubt about the overlordship of the Gāhaḍavālas over

this area of Bihar during the period under discussion.' The Tārāchaṇḍī Rock inscription of Pratāpadhavala⁸ itself is an evidence that the king of Gādhinagara appointed an officer named Dēū, who, after taking bribe from the brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala, issued a forged grant (*ku-tāmra*). Now the question is what were the circumstances under which the Gāhaḍavāla king appointed an officer in this area and under what circumstances Pratāpadhavala contemptuously issued the orders and asked his descendants not to believe the forged grant and to collect all the taxes from them? This shows that although the overlord had the power to appoint officials in the territory of his feudatory with the power to issue the grant in the name of the king the latter at the same time, had the right to denounce the forged or false orders of the officials issued in the name of the overlord. This again emphasises that administration in India was mostly run under the Dharmāśāstras rather than the orders of the kings. It is noteworthy that in his inscriptions Pratāpadhavala never refers to any overlord although his *Mahānāyaka* status and reference to Dēū indicates that he was a subordinate feudatory. But, however, it suggests that inspite of being a small ruler and designating himself as *Nāyaka* or *Mahānāyaka* according to the area of his possessions and/or his position in the court of the overlord he had considerable freedom to rule over his own territories without much interference from the kings of Kanauj.⁹

In the Tārāchaṇḍī inscription Śatrughana, the son of Pratāpadhavala, is called *mahārājaputra*.¹⁰ Thus indirectly Pratāpa-

dhavala considers himself as a *mahārāja*. It is not impossible that for his subjects Pratāpadhavala was as respectful as a *mahārāja*. However, we should not forget that during later times the meaning attached to the title of *mahārāja* dwindled considerably.

The Tutrāhi falls inscription informs that Pratāpadhavala had three sons named Śatrughana, Viradhavala and Sāhasadhavala. About the former we hear in the Tārāchaṇḍī inscription referred to above. Sāhasadhavala figures in the Sone-East-Bank Copper-plate inscription of his son Indradhavala and the latter's Kadamba feudatory *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Udayarāja dated in V.S. 1254 (A.D. 1197). Our present copper-plate inscription also refers to him as a king. We have, however, no information about the third son of Pratāpadhavala Viradhavala from any other source. It is not certain that Śatrughana and Viradhavala ever ruled over the Khayaravāla kingdom. But we know that after Sāhasadhavala his first son Vikramadhavala, the issuer of the present grant was ruling in 1197 A.D. and then he was succeeded by his younger brother Indradhavala. If we take this as a family tradition of the Khayaravālas we may assume that the two brothers of Sāhasadhavala might also have ruled after the death of their father in succession if they survived. The other alternative is that perhaps Vikramadhavala died issueless and hence his brother Indradhavala succeeded him.

The Dhavala dynasty probably flourished atleast until A.D. 1223 if we consider Śrī Pratāpa of the Rohtasgaṛh Rock inscription of that date¹¹ to be a scion of

the Khadirapāla dynasty. In that case he should be called Pratāpadhavala, the second. In this inscription he is said to have defeated the *yavanas* in mere sport (*ja (yavana - dalana - lilā - māmsalaiḥ)*). There can be no doubt about his being a descendant of the Dhavala dynasty which is evident in the expression '*svair = yaśōbhir = dhavalayati dharitrim Śrī - Pratāpa - kshitiṅ - drē*'.¹² Thus this dynasty resisted the Mohammadan invasions atleast until 1223 A.D. in the Sahasaram-Rohatasgarh area.

Of the geographical names we find the name of a village *Karamrāḍi* in *Svarggad-vāra - pattalā*. It is interesting to note that a village named Kalahaṅḍi appears in the Tārāchaṅḍi Rock inscription referred to above. In this inscription the name is spelt in two different ways at two places. In the verse portion it is spelt has *Kalahāṅḍi*.¹³ But in the 'Spurious Grant of Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra, Vikram year 1223' the village is spelt as '*Kirihaṅḍi*' which is said to be in the *Saputrāra - pattalā*. Prof. D. C. Sircar observes 'the second name may be a mistake for *Kalahāṅḍi*, though the modern form of the name, viz. *Karavaṅḍiyā* would suggest that the modern *Kirihiṅḍi* or *Karahaṅḍi* was an alternative form'.¹⁴ Now we have yet another form of the name in *Karamrāḍi*. We feel that the

original name pronounced by the local people must have been akin to the modern name *Karavaṅḍiyā* but while putting to writing by the *paṅḍits* attempts were made to Sanskritise it, and hence there are so many variations in its spelling. In our inscription the name of the *pattalā* or district is given as *Svarggad-vāra* while in the spurious *Gāhaḍavāla* inscription it is called *Saputrāra*. Prof. Sircar has observed that 'it is difficult to say whether it has been correctly written'.¹⁵ To us it appears that *Svarggad-vāra* should be the correct name of the district and perhaps the area around the Sahasaram was under this district or *pattalā*. The other geographical name is *Kōśa* in which the temple of the deity *Sujanēśvara* was situated. We do not have any information about this place. The mention of *Jāpila* is also made in connection with the invocation of its presiding deity *Chaṅḍikā* and the place is well known as the capital of the kings of *Khayaravāla* dynasty. This place is identified with modern *Jāpla* or *Jāpla-Dinārā* which is now a railway station on the Eastern Railway on *Dēhri-on-Sone - Gomoh* line, 25 miles east of *Dehri-on-Sone*.¹⁶

Following is the line of the kings of this dynasty as revealed from the inscriptions of this dynasty discovered so far :

Khadirapāla

1 Sādhava

2 Tōraṇadhavala

3 Pratāpadhavala I (V. S. 1214-1225 i.e.
1158-1169 A.D.)

Satrūghana Viradhavala 4 Sāhasadhavala

5 Vikramadhavala
(V. S. 1251 i.e. 1194 A.D.)

6 Indradhavala
(V.S. 1254 i.e. 1197 A.D.)

7 Pratāpadhavala II
(V. S. 1297 i.e. 1223 A.D.)

TEXT¹⁷

[Metres : *Anuṣṭubh* 9-14 ; *Mālinī* 2, 8 ; *Pushpitāgra* 15 ; *Sikhariṇī* 3 ; *Sardūlavikri-
dīta* 4, 6 ; *Śragdharā* 1 ; *Vasantatilakā* 5, 7]

FIRST PLATE, FIRST SIDE

- 1 Kshubhyat = saptārṇṇavāni skhalad = amaradhunī bhātikṛit = nirjjarāṇi (bhram)ṣya
(ṣya)t = kshōṇidharāṇi prachalakaratat - ōtkshipta - tār - ōtkarāṇi || (1) majjad =
bhūmaṇḍalāni trasad = asura - sur - ō -
- 2 nmukta - hāhāra - vāṇi trāyāntām = vaḥ samantāt = tripura - hara - mahā - tāṇḍav -
āḍamva(āḍamba)rāṇi || [1*] Mahati Khadirapālasya = ānvayē dur-nnivārah prasasad =
asama - śai(sai)nyaḥ sādhaḥ kshmadhar - ōbhūt | ya -
- 3 d = asahita - samast - ārāti - mattōbha - kumbha - sthala - vīgala - mukt - ālakṛitā,
saṅgara - śriḥ || [2*] Tatō jātaḥ śrimān = agaṇita - guṇa - grāma - ruchibhir =
yaśōbhis = tējōbhis = trijagad = avati -
- 4 ṛṇṇ - ādbhutabharah | mahāvīro vairi - vyatikara - śiraḥ srē(śrē)ṇi - maṇibhiḥ sphurad -
pād - ōpāntō Raṇadhavala nāma kshitipatiḥ || [3*] Tat - putrō bhagavān = ahinakatakāḥ
sad - bhūti - śōbhā -
- 5 dharah śraddhā - va(ba)ndhura - Virabhadra - sahitaḥ saṃpṛikta - śakti - kramah |
nānā - darśana - bhāgya - mūrtti - mahim - āścharya - prachārō vṛisha - prasthānō =
ti - va(ba)lah Pratāpadhavalō lōkēsvaraḥ Śa -
- 6 ākaraḥ || [4*] Tasy = ātmajaḥ praṇata - vairi - narēndra - mauli - māṇikya - kōkanada-
pūjita - pāda - piṭhah | Śri - Sāhasō narapatiḥ sura - sundaribhir = udgiyamāna - bhujā-
vikrama - vibhra -

- 7 ma - śrīḥ || [5*] Vaikuṅṭhi - prakara - pratishṭha - laḍaha - śrikamvu (kambu) - kānti-
chhaṭā - luṅṭākibhir = udāra - vikramatayā yat - kirtti - visphūrṭtibhiḥ yē(yā)tāḥ prasphu-
rit - ōrmmi - mēdura - chatuḥ - pāthō = 'dhivichhhēdi -
- 8 ta - vyāchakrēṇa karālītā gumugumāyantē samantād = diśaḥ || [6*] Tasy = ātmajas =
tribhuvāna - pravaraḥ pravīraḥ Śri - Vikramō narapatir = vijayī jagatyām(tyām) |
yasya prāchaṇḍa - bhujā - daṇḍa - chalat = kṛi -
- 9 pāṇa - trast - ārayō yudhi bhṛīsaṁ vimukhibhavanti || [7*] Ripu - timira - nikāyaḥ =
srasta - bhūmaṇḍala - śrīḥ sarati giri - darībhyō = khaṇḍalē maṇḍal - āgrē | hṛita - ripu-
kumud-ābhē dhāmabhir = dhāma - dhā -
- 10 mnō dhavalita - suramārggē Vikram - ārkasya rājñaḥ || [8*] Sō = 'yam śrīmaj =
Jāpiliya - Chaṇḍikā - charaṇa - pankē(panka)ja - paryupāsana para parama - māhēśvara
samara - niḥśaṅkamalla - sār - ētara - vi -
- 11 chāra - chaturānana - mahānṛipati - Śrīmad = Vikramadhavala - dēvō vijayī ||
Svarggadvēra - pattalāyām Karamrāḍī - grāma - nivāsīlōkān = api cha rājā(ja) -
yuvarāja - mantri - purōhi -
- 12 ta - bhāṇḍāgārik - ākshapaṭalika - pratihārā - naimittik - āntaḥpurika - dūta - kari -
turang - ośhṭra - nau - sādhanika - daṇḍanāyaka - sāmanta - sēnādhikārikān =
ājñāpayaty = ādiśati vō(bō)
- 13 dhayati cha | viditam = astu bhavatām(tām) yath = ōpari - likhita - grāmaḥ | sva śi
(si)mā - paryantaḥ | sa - jalasthalaḥ | sa - lōha - lavaṇākaraḥ | s - āmra - madhūkāḥ |
sa - gartt - osharaḥ | sa - nidhāna - daś - ā -
- 14 parādhaḥ tēna vāṭika - tṛiṇa - jantu - gōchara - paryantaḥ | s - ōrdhv - ādhara -
chatur - āghaṭa - viśuddhaḥ | śrīmad = Vikramādityasya dvādaśa - sa(śa)ta - samvatsar -
aik - ōpēta - paṁchāsa(śa)d - varsh - ādhikē Vaiśā -
- 15 kha - māsasya Kṛishṇ - āmāvāsyāyām sthī(tit)thau(thau) Sōma - dinē | Rāhu - grasthē
Divākarē Sōṇa - naḍē snātva - vidhivat mantra - dēva - manuja - pitṛi - gaṇāms = ta =
(ṇāns = ta) rppayitvā mātā - pitrōr = ātmanaś = cha puṇya - jayō
- 16 bhīrīdhayē gōkarṇa - kuśa - tila - yava - karatal - ōdaka - pūrṇam kṛitvā
Chandr - ārkam Yavat Kośa - grāmiya - dēva - Śrī - Sujanēśvarāya saṁkalpya
tāmreṇa sāsanikṛitya pradattō = 'smā -
- 17 bhīr = iti matvā yatha diyamāna - bhāga - bhōga - kara - prabhṛiti - samast - ādāyam =
ājñāvidhēyibhūya pūrva - pravāhēṇa dāsyatha | Tathā cha bhavanty = atra pauraṅgikāḥ
ślōkāḥ ||
- 18 bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś = cha bhūmim prayachchhati [1*] ubhau tau puṇya -
kārmmāṇau niyātau svargga - gāminau | [1 9*11] Va(Ba)hubhir = vvasudhā dattā
rājabhiḥ Sagar - ādibhir = ya (bhiḥ [*]ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya
- 19 tasya tadā phalam | [10*] Hiraṇya - maṇi-muktāni vastrāṇy = ābharaṇāni cha [1*] tēna
sarvvaṁ = idam dattam yēna dattā vasundhara || [11*] shashṭhi - varsha - sahasrāṇi
svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidah | ākshēptā ch = ānumantā cha dvā =

- 20 $\bar{e}(v\bar{e})$ va narakam vrajēt || [12*||] Taḍāgānām sahaśrē (srē)ṇa aśvamōdha - (sa)śatēna cha |
gavām - kōṭi - pradānēna bhūmi - harttā na sū(śū)dhyati || [13*||] Gām = $\bar{e}kām$
svarṇṇam = $\bar{e}kām$ cha bhūmēr = apy = arddham = angulam (lam) |
- 21 haran = narakam = āpnōti yāvad = āhūta - samplavam || [14*||] [Sakalam] = idam =
udāhṛita smṛiti - vihitam jitam = ātmanō narēndrāḥ | tarala - taraṅga sa -

FIRST PLATE, SECOND SIDE

- 22 ṅga - viśvam svayam = anuchintya na kirttayō vilōpyāḥ || [15*||] Likhitam = idam
Śrīvāstavya - kāyasth - ānvay - ākshapaṭalika Ṭhakura - Śrī
- 23 Sujanēn - ēti || Saṁvat 1251 Vaiśākha vadi 15 Sōmē ||

Notes :

- 1 a Tutrāhi Falls Rock inscription of Pratāpadhavala, Jyaishṭha vadi 4, Vikrama 1214 (19th April 1158 A.D.) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 310
- b The Tārāchaṇḍī Rock inscription of Pratāpadhavala, Jyaishṭha vadi 3, Vikrama 1225 (16th April 1169 A.D.) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 23-27 and plate
- c Phulvariya (Rohtasgarh) inscription of Pratāpadhavala, Vaiśākha vadi 12, Guru, Vikrama 1223 (Thursday, 27th March 1169 A.D.) *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, p. 179, No. 126 and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, Appendix, p. 22, No. 152.
- d The undated Phulvariya inscription recording the names of three sons of Pratāpadhavala. (Noticed by T. Bloch, *PRAS. EC.*, 1902-03, pp. 20 ff.
- 2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 222-230 and plate.
- 3 D. C. Ganguly, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 49,
- 4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXV, pp. 153-58 and plate
- 5 The Tārāchaṇḍī Rock inscription of Pratāpadhavala, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 23-27
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 7 cf. Roma Niyogi, *The History of the Gahadavala Dynasty*, pp. 95-96 and 163-64.
- 8 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 23-27
- 9 Refer to Niyogi, *op. cit.* pp. 163-64 for more discussion on point.
- 10 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 27, line 6 and fn. 12.
- 11 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 310-311.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 311.
- 13 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 26-27.
- 14 *Ibid.*, vol. XXXV, p. 154.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 25.
- 17 From impression.

DATE OF THE EARLY PANDYAS

(6th to 10th Century)

N. Sethuraman

The extreme south of the Indian Peninsula was the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The boundaries of this ancient kingdom of approximately 20,000 square miles were Cape Kanyakumari and the Indian ocean in the south, strait of Mannar (Bay of Bengal) in the east and the western ghats (running along the longitude 78°E) in the west. The northern boundary extended upto (the latitude 10.25° N.) the southern limits of the Kongu-maṇḍalam and the Chōḷa country. The modern city Madurai was its capital. The Pāṇḍyan royal house was one of the ancient dynasties of India. The Pāṇḍyas existed from before the beginning of the Christian era upto the middle of the 17th century. The earliest epigraphical reference to the Pāṇḍyas is found in the inscriptions of Aśōka the great.

In the middle of the 4th century A.D. (?) the Kaḷabhras invaded the Pāṇḍya country and occupied the capital city Madurai. In the middle of the 6th century A.D. the Pāṇḍyas emerged victorious, rose to power and overthrew the Kaḷabhras. In the written down history this is the starting point of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty which flourished without break for more than thousand years leaving behind thousands of inscriptions with which we, the epigraphists are very much concerned. The Pāṇḍyas who existed from the middle of the 6th century A.D. up to the end of the 10th century A.D. are called early Pāṇḍyas. In this paper an attempt is made in reconstructing

the dates of early Pāṇḍyas.

The ancient Tamil classics mention many Pāṇḍya kings who existed prior to the coming of the Kaḷabhras. Scarcity of epigraphical evidence stands in the way of identifying them and we have to wait till some new discoveries come up in the future. I make this statement with confidence because the recent discovery of a coin throws light in this direction. On the observe the coin bears the name *Peruvaḷudi* in Brāhmī letters and the figure of a horse representing the performance of the *Aśvamēdha-yāga* by the king and on the reverse the fish emblem of the Pāṇḍyas appears.¹ The king is to be identified with "Palyakaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi" (Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi who performed many *yāgas*) who is referred to in the ancient Tamil poems. The *Vēlvikuḍi* copper-plates of Neḍunśaḍaiyaṅ Parāntaka, *alias* Varaguṇa I (of accession 768 A.D.) year 3 dated 771 A.D. state that Peruvaḷudi and his descendants existed prior to the coming of the Kaḷabhras.² The newly discovered coin which bears the name *Peruvaḷudi* in Brāhmī letters was no doubt issued by the same king. The date of the coin could be suggested on the basis of palaeographic features of the Brāhmī letters. There are only five letters and the experts in this field could suggest convincingly either the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D. The discovery of the coin is one step forward in identifying a Pāṇḍya king who

existed sometime after the beginning of the Christian era.

The Tamil poems *Tēvāram hymns* of the 7th and 8th centuries and *Tiruvāchakam* by Māṅikkavāchakar of the 9th century are essentially religious in character and they emphasise the *bhakti* cult in the Saivite faith. The poems refer to some historical events connected to religious affairs and such information, though limited, enables us to some extent in identifying some of the early Pāṇḍya kings.

Panchavan

Literature and inscriptions call the Pāṇḍya king *Teṇṇavaṇ* and *Pañchavaṇ*. *Teṇṇavaṇ* means southerner and the title fittingly suits him in view of his position in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula. *Pañchavaṇ* means "The five". Swamikannu Pillai said that at a time there were five Pāṇḍya kings and so they were called the *Pañchavaṇ*³. Robert Sewell refuted this theory on valid grounds and said that at a time many princes could have existed and the word *Pañchavaṇ* was probably a title⁴. The title *Pañchavaṇ* confused many scholars and it stood in the way of constructing the chronology. Some even tried

to see five Pāṇḍyas at a time but in vain.

What is the meaning of *Pañchavaṇ* ? Why should the Pāṇḍya king be called by that title ? These questions prompted me to consult the records of the Pāṇḍyas, Chōḷas, Kēraḷa kings and also the Kākaṭiyas. I found that *Pañchavaṇ* means the lord of the five lands namely Kuriñchi (mountains), Mullai (forest), Marudam (plains), Neiydal (sea shore) and Pālai (desert). These are the territorial divisions of the Tamil country and they are graphically described in classical Tamil grammar. The Tamil poem *Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal-puraṇam* by Selli Nagar Nambi (13th century) explicitly states that *Pañchavaṇ*, the Pāṇḍya was the lord of the five lands and his capital was Madura⁵. The title *Pañchavaṇ* has no bearing on the chronology. Thus having removed the obstacle 'Five Pāṇḍya theory' the chronologist is able to proceed freely.

Early Pandyas 6th to 10th Century

The discovery of the six copper-plates issued by four early Pāṇḍya kings is a landmark in the history of the Pāṇḍyas⁶. The following genealogy is furnished by the charters (The dates are discussed below).

- (1) Kaṇḍuṅgōṇ who overthrew the Kaḷabhras (existed around 550 A.D.)
- (2) Māṅavarmaṇ Avaniśūlāmaṇi
- (3) Sēndaṇ
- (4) Māṅavarmaṇ Arikēsari (624-674 A.D.)

- (5) Kō Saḍaiyaṅ Raṇadhīraṅ (674-725 A.D.)
 |
 (6) Māṛavarmaṅ Rājasimha (725-768 A.D.)
 |
 (7) Neḍuṅḍaiyaṅ Parāntaka *alias* Varaguṅa I (768-815 A.D.)
 |
 (8) Śrī Māraṅ Śrīvallaḅha - (815-860 A.D.)
 |
 (9) Vira Pāṇḍya (860-863 A.D.) (10) Māraṅ Saḍaiyaṅ *alias* Varaguṅa II - (863-910 A.D.) (11) Saḍaiyaṅ Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṅa (866-910 A.D.)
 |
 (12) Māṛavarmaṅ Rājasimha (910-927 A.D.)
 |
 (13) Sundara Pāṇḍya (died in his teen age) (14) Saḍaiyaṅ Vira Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Chōḷa (938-959 A.D.)
 |
 (15) Māraṅ Vikrama Pāṇḍya

Approximately 150 stone records of these kings are available in the traditional Pāṇḍimaṅḍalam⁷. Most of them are in Tamil Vatteḷuttu characters. A few records engraved in the period 863 to 888 A.D. are available in Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur districts, the traditional Chōḷa-maṅḍalam where the Pāṇḍyas extended their authority for a brief span of 15 years. Otherwise the records engraved between 600 and 1000 A.D. are found in Pāṇḍimaṅḍalam only including the areas lying south of Trivandrum. Earlier records

introduce the kings as Māraṅ Sēndaṅ or Sēndaṅ Māraṅ. Later records (from 8th century) introduce the kings as Māraṅ Saḍaiyaṅ or Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ. These names create serious difficulties in identifying the kings, their records and dates. Sēndaṅ and Māraṅ are the dynastic titles of the Pāṇḍyas. Later they took the modified form Saḍaiyaṅ and Māraṅ or Māṛavarmaṅ. Still later they become Jaṭilavarmaṅ and Māṛavarmaṅ. When the father is a Sēndaṅ or Saḍaiyaṅ or Jaṭilavarmaṅ the son would be a Māraṅ or Māṛavarmaṅ. Evidently,

- 1) Māraṅ Sēndaṅ means Sēndaṅ, son of Māraṅ or Māṛavarmaṅ.
- 2) Sēndaṅ Māraṅ means Māraṅ or Māṛavarmaṅ, son of Sēndaṅ.
- 3) Māraṅ Saḍaiyaṅ means Saḍaiyaṅ, son of Māraṅ or Māṛavarmaṅ.
- 4) Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ means Māraṅ, son of Saḍaiyaṅ.

These names indicating the titles of the father and son appear in all the stone records of the early Pāṇḍya kings. Internal evidence and the copper plates help us in identifying some of the records and the kings who caused them to be engraved. However, most of the records are still unidentified and probably they may remain so for ever. The records of Vira Pāṇḍya (No. 14) furnish the full name of the king but unfortunately his dynastic title is absent in those records. The copper-plates state that he was a Śaḍaiyaṅ. As I have already stated there are approximately 150 early Pāṇḍyan records engraved in the course of four hundred years and among them only seven records supply astronomical data. Others quote the regnal years only.

1) Two records which come from Tirupparaṅkuṅṅam and Āṇaimalai belong to Neḍuṅjaḍaiyaṅ Parāntaka *alias* Varaguṅa I (No. 7). They supply the Kaliyuga year. Out of these two only one gives the regnal year, month, star and the week day Sunday⁸. The data confirm his accession in 768 A.D. Incidentally this is the earliest Pāṇḍyan record which quotes the week day in Sanskrit (and not in Tamil).

2) A record which comes from Aivarmalai belongs to Varaguṅa II (No. 10) and supplies the Śaka year expired 792 coupled with the regnal year eight⁹. The data confirm the commencement of his reign from 863 A.D.

3) Three records in Tamil script coming from three villages in the Tiruchirappalli district (Chōḷa-maṅḍalam) belong to Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ *alias* Varaguṅa II and

they furnish the regnal year, month, star and week day¹⁰. The data agree with the initial year 863. Incidentally these are the earliest Pāṇḍyan records which quote the week days in Tamil and they are found in Chōḷa-maṅḍalam.

4) A record coming from Ambāsamudram belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya (No. 14) who took the head of the Chōḷa. It quotes year 12, month Mithuṅa and solar eclipse. The star and weekday are absent.¹¹

All the other records quote the regnal years only. Here also we come across some curious peculiarities. Most of the records which bear the name Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ and in which the regnal years are more than 4, quote the same as 4+ some year. For example, year seven is quoted as year 3 opposite to 4 i.e., 4+3. Similarly the records of Śaḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ quote the regnal years as 2+ some year. The Sanskrit portion of the Daḷavāy-puram copper-plates² of Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṅa quote the regnal year as the year which is current after the expiry of four ten (40) plus one and plus 3. It means that 44 years have passed and the 45th year is running. The Tamil portion states year forty plus three plus two evidently 45 (regnal year is always a current year)

There were many Māraṅs and Śaḍaiyaṅs. Naturally their records should bear the name either Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ or Śaḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ. Curiously, records bearing the name Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ alone freely quote 4 plus some year. Similarly records bearing the name Śaḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ quote 2 plus some year. Why should they quote like that? Till

date we have no answer. This much is certain that since a known Māraṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ quotes 4 plus, it does not mean that all Māraṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ records which quote 4 plus should be assigned to that known king only. They may belong to several Māraṇ Śaḍaiyaṇs. The same theory also holds good for Śaḍaiyaṇ Māraṇs who freely quote 2 plus. In stray cases Māraṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ also quotes 2 plus (see T.A.S. Vol. IV, No. 24). Against this background of oddities and strange phenomenon, the chronologist has to extract the maximum possibility or at least the probability. Let us see how it is done.

Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ Parāntaka *alias* Varaguṇa I (No. 7) came to the throne in 768 A.D. and this is confirmed by stone records¹³. The Vēl̥vikuḍi copper-plates state that his father Māraḍvarmaṇ Rājasimha (No. 6) defeated Pallavamalla (the Pallava king Nandivarman) whose rule (between 730 and 795 A.D., is known from the accounts given in the Pallava charters¹⁴. Rājasimha contemplated matrimonial alliance with the Gaṅga dynasty and his son married the daughter of the Western Gaṅga king. The contemporary Gaṅga king was Śrīpurusha who ruled from 725 to 788 A.D. These information place Rājasimha in the second quarter of the 8th century A.D.; but we have no means of knowing his accession date and also of how many years he ruled. External evidence prompts us to allot him the probable period 725 to 768 A.D. This is purely a reasonable guess and the initial year is subject to alteration by a few years plus or minus.

The copper plates state that Kō-Śaḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra (No. 5) father of Rājasimha defeated the Chalukyas at Maṅgalapuram¹⁵

which city as we shall see below was founded by his father Māraḍvarmaṇ Arikēsari. The Chalukyan expedition in the Pāṇḍya country could be in 674 A.D. when the Chalukyan emperor Vikramāditya I was camping at Uḍaiyūr, the ancient Chōḷa capital, on the banks of the river Cauvery, a hamlet of the modern city Tiruchirappally. Dr. K. V. Ramesh, after consulting the Chalukyan records, points out that during this expedition Vikramāditya was ably assisted by his son Prince Vinayāditya. The Chalukyan charters explicitly state that making light of his father Vikramāditya's order, Prince Vinayāditya set out southward and vanquished by force the powerful brave and resisting Pāṇḍya king and captured his capital city Madura. He further occupied the Kumari Dvīpa (Kanyakumari) took the ruler prisoner and thus made his father Vikramāditya happy¹⁶.

It is evident that in 674 A.D. the Chalukyas penetrated deep into the Pāṇḍyan country and the Pāṇḍyan charters state that Kō-Śaḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra defeated the Chalukyas at Maṅgalapuram. We are not concerned with who defeated whom. We are not concerned with the source materials which point out the existence of the Pāṇḍya king Kō-Śaḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra in 674 A.D. We can safely allot the period 674 to 725 A.D. to this king and as usual it is subject to alteration this or that way.

The Tamil epic Periyapurāṇam written by saint Śekkiḷār (1139 A.D.) helps us in identifying Māraḍvarmaṇ Arikēsari (No. 4) and his date. The poem states that Paranjyōti, the general of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman participated in the Vātāpi

campaign of 642 A.D. After the war the general retired from the army services, settled down at Tirucheṅgāṭṭāṅkuḍi in Thanjavār district and became a Śaivite devotee. He was called Tiru Toṅḍār (humble servant). He married Tiruveṅkāṭṭu Naṅgai and had a son. When the son was of school going age (five), the young saint Tirujñāna Sambandar met the happy family at Tirucheṅgāṭṭāṅkuḍi. We can roughly place this event around 650 A.D.

Periyapurāṇam further states that saint Tirujñāna Sambandar left Tirucheṅgāṭṭāṅkuḍi, visited many sacred places and finally came to Madurai. The then Pāṇḍya king was a staunch Jaina. At the request of the Pāṇḍya queen Maṅgayarkaraṣi and the minister Kulachiraiyar, saint Sambandar made the Pāṇḍya king accept the Śaivite canon. The king lost his faith in Jainism and became a staunch devotee of Lord Śiva. Periyapurāṇam calls this king "Neḍumāraṅ who was victorious at Nelvēli". He is to be identified with Māṅavarmaṅ Arikēsari (No. 4) who is referred to in the Vēlvikuḍi copper plates as the victor at Nelvēli and Puliyūr and who performed many Tulābhāras and Hiraṅyagarbhas. The course of events confirms the existence of this king in 650 A.D.

The Vaikai river bed inscription of Śēndaṅ Māraṅ, year 50, is to be assigned to this king¹⁷. The record states that the king performed many Tulābhāras and Hiraṅyagarbhas, founded the city Maṅgalapuram and built a sluice called Arikēsariyāṅ probably in his name. The recent inscription discovered at Enati also belongs to this king¹⁸. It is in chaste

Tamil verses and states that he was Śēndaṅ Māraṅ Arikēsari, the king of Kūḍal (Madura), the victor at Nelvēli and Puliyūr and that he performed many Tulābhāras and Hiraṅyagarbhas. In the records the king figures as a pious Hindu devotee and not as a Jaina. Evidently these records were engraved after his conversion from Jainism to Śaivite faith. Periyapurāṇam states¹⁹ that the king ruled for a long time (araṣu-uṟimai - neḍuṅkālam), and this statement agrees with the high regnal year 50 quoted in the Vaikai river bed inscription. We can safely allot the period 624 to 674 A.D. to this king subject to minor adjustment depending upon future discoveries.

Pandikkovai

Pāṇḍikkōvai (the commentary on Irayaṅār Ahapporuḷ) is an ancient Tamil poem. Three hundred and fifty verses of this poem are available. The hero of this poem is the Pāṇḍya king who was the victor at Nelvēli and Puliyūr, evidently Māṅavarmaṅ Arikēsari²⁰. From the poem it can be inferred that the author of the poem and the king were contemporaries. The author of this poem is not known.

Sundaramurthy Nayaṅār, one of the 63 Tamil Śaivite Nāyaṅmārs, existed in the first quarter of the 8th century. He mentions the other 62 Nāyaṅmārs some of whom were his contemporaries and the rest existed several years or centuries earlier. In his poem Tiruttoṅḍattokai Sundaramūrti Nāyaṅār mentions Kāri Nayanār who existed several years earlier. The poet Nambi Āṅḍār Nambi (11th century A.D.) states that Kāri Nāyaṅār hailed

from Tirukkaḍavūr in Tanjore district. Kāri Nāyaṅṅār was a poet and he used to compose poems praising the kings. Śēkkiḷār, the author of the Tamil epic Periyapurāṇam (1139 A.D.), narrates in detail the story of Kāri Nāyaṅṅār. He says the Kāri Nāyaṅṅār who hailed from Tirukkaḍavūr in Tanjore district was a great poet and he used to compose Tamil poems called Kōvai praising the three Tamil kings Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. This shows that Kāri Nāyaṅṅār existed after 550 A.D. Śēkkiḷār further states that after hearing the Tamil Kōvai poems the three Tamil kings gifted to the poet Kāri Nāyaṅṅār money, treasures and wealth. Kāri Nāyaṅṅār utilised the entire proceeds for feeding the Śaivite devotees and also for constructing temples dedicated to Lord Śiva.

From the above statement we get some important information. As far as Tamil literature is concerned we find that Kāri Nāyaṅṅār was the earliest known poet who composed Kōvai poems in Tamil. He existed prior to the time of Sundaramūrti Nāyaṅṅār, i.e., prior to 8th century but later than 550 A.D. The earliest known Kōvai poem in Tamil is *Pāṇḍikkōvai* whose hero is Māṅavarmaṅ Arikēsari and who ruled from 624 to 724 A.D. According to the poem the poet and the hero were contemporaries. These facts prompt us to surmise that most probably Kāri Nāyaṅṅār was the author of the Tamil poem *Pāṇḍikkōvai*. We also get corroboration to this surmise from the words of Śēkkiḷār himself. Before narrating the story of Neḍumāraṅ (Māṅavarmaṅ Arikēsari) Śēkkiḷār says that he proceeds to write the story of Neḍumāraṅ with the kindness gifted to him by

saint Kāri Nāyaṅṅār²¹. This statement prompts us to surmise that Kāri Nāyaṅṅār was probably the author of *Pāṇḍikkōvai*. (Probably in the 12th century all the verses of the poem *Pāṇḍikkōvai* and the name of the author were available to Śēkkiḷār).

In the stone records Māṅavarmaṅ Arikēsari is called *Śēndaṅ Māraṅ* which means Māraṅ son of *Śēndaṅ*. In the genealogical table his father (No. 3) figures as a *Śēndaṅ*. The grandfather is a Māraṅ (Māṅavarmaṅ). Naturally in the stone records we can expect *Śēndaṅ* the father of Arikēsari as *Māraṅ Śēndaṅ* (*Śēndaṅ* son of Māṅavarmaṅ). A record which comes from Malaiyaḍikuṛiḥi belongs to Māraṅ *Śēndaṅ*, year 17, and it is assigned to him²². The records of his predecessors are not found and for want of source materials we are unable to suggest their probable dates. The position occupied by Māṅavarmaṅ Arikēsari, whose existence in 650 A.D. is confirmed, prompts us to infer that his great grandfather Kaḍuṅḍōṅ who overthrew the Kaḷabhras existed probably around 550 A.D.

Śrī Māraṅ Śrīvallabha (No. 8) was the son of Varaguṇa I of accession 768 A.D. The Ceylon chronicle *Mahāvamsa* states that a prince of this family, more probably the son of Śrīvallabha, appealed to the then Ceylon king *Sēna II* (of accession 851) to invade the Pāṇḍya country. The Ceylonese readily obliged. In the 9th year of *Sēna II* the Ceylon army captured Madurai, killed Śrīvallabha and installed his son on the Madurai throne. In view of this achievement the Ceylon king *Sēna* adopted the title *Madhurā Dunu*²³.

According to Mahāvamśa this happened in 860 A.D.

Śrīvallabha was a Māraṇ, son of Śaḍaiyaṇ Parāntaka *alias* Varaguṇa I. Naturally in the stone records we can expect him as a Śaḍaiyaṇ Māraṇ. This is confirmed by a record coming from Erukkaṅkuḍi in Ramanathapuram district. The record is in the 18th year of Śaḍaiyaṇ Māraṇ and it explicitly states that the king is Neḍu Māraṇ Śrīvallabha²⁴.

The interval between 768, the accession date of Varaguṇa I, and 860 the last date of his son Śrīvallabha is 92 years. Among the several Śaḍaiyaṇ Māraṇs, Śrīvallabha is the only Śaḍaiyaṇ Māraṇ who could have ruled maximum number of years. A record which comes from Śiṅṅamaṇūr belongs to Śaḍaiyaṇ Māraṇ and it is in his 46th year²⁵. In view of the high regnal year it is assigned to him. Evidently he should have come to the throne around 815 A.D. and this date is tentatively taken as his accession date subject to minor adjustment depending upon future discoveries.

Māraṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ *alias* Varaguṇa II (No. 10) and Śaḍaiyaṇ Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇa (No. 11) were the sons of Śrīvallabha by his two queens. Varaguṇa counts his reign from 863 A.D. In the Daḍavāyapuram copper plates, year 45, Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇa accepts his elder brother Varaguṇa as his overlord²⁶. He states that he issued that charter when Varaguṇa, his overlord, the devotee of Lord Śiva, was protecting the world. He further states that in the Seṅṅilam battle he

defeated the prince who was born prior to him. That elder brother could not be Varaguṇa because in the charter itself Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇa accepts Varaguṇa as his overlord. In the circumstances we have to infer that there should have been another prince either younger or elder to Varaguṇa and he should have been supported by the Ceylonese.

The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍyakulōdaya* states that Varaguṇa was driven out by his brother and he was wandering in the forest²⁷. There he met Saint Māṅikkavāchakar with whose blessings he drove out his brother from Madura and got back his kingdom. This information satisfactorily fits into the accounts of Mahāvamśa which states that the prince (son) of the Pāṇḍya king was installed on the throne in 860. This prince should have ruled from 860 to 863 A.D. Most probably he was Vira Pāṇḍya (No. 9) whom the contemporary Koḍumbāḷūr chief Pūdi Vikramakēśari claims to have defeated²⁸.

Varaguṇa was not crowned by his father. He got the kingdom by his valour. This is confirmed by a record which comes from Perumbullī²⁹. It states that the chief Paḷḷivēḷāṅ Nakkaṇ Puḷḷaṅ defeated Simhaḷa Rājar at Seṅṅilam and helped his overlord Varaguṇa Mahārājar in many ways. The date of this battle should be around 863 A.D. when Varaguṇa defeated his brother and the Ceylon king and mounted the Madurai throne.

A record which comes from Aivarmalai³⁰ belongs to Varaguṇa II. It quotes śaka year 792 expired and the regnal year 8.

The data indicate the commencement of his reign from 863 A.D. Three records which come from the villages Lālguḍi, Tiruveḷḷarai and Javantināthapuram introduce the king as Māraṇ Ṣaḍaiyaṇ. They state that the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa gave money in the hands of the officer Aṇḍanāṭṭu

Vēḷāṇ for burning perpetual lamps in the temples. In all the records the regnal year is quoted as 4+9. They also supply astronomical data. The records are tabulated below. The dates confirm the accession year as 863. A.D.

TABLE I

Serial Number	Record No., Village	King, year and data	Date
1.	S I.I., XIV, No. 12 Tiruveḷḷarai	Māraṇ Ṣaḍaiyaṇ, year 4+9, month Viṛchika, Monday and star Aśvati.	14th November, 875 A.D.
2.	E.I., XXXIII, No. 6 Javantināthapuram	Māraṇ Ṣaḍaiyaṇ, year 4+9, month Dhanus, Monday and star Aviṭṭam	5th December, 875 A.D.
3.	S.I.I., XIV, 12B Lālguḍi	Māraṇ Ṣaḍaiyaṇ, year 4+9, month Dhanus, Tuesday and star Ṣadayam.	6th December, 875 A.D.

A record which comes from Tillaisthānam in Thanjavur district (Chōḷa-maṇḍalam) is in the fourth year of Māraṇ Ṣaḍaiyaṇ²¹. In the record Māraṇ Ṣaḍaiyaṇ states that his queen (Nampirattiyār) and Kōṇ-Parāntakaṇār gifted money for burning a sacred lamp called Varaguṇa Mahārājar. The record evidently belongs to Varaguṇa II and it is dated 866-67 A.D. Kōṇ-Parāntakaṇār is no doubt Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇa, the younger brother of Varaguṇa, and he is called 'Kōṇ' which means 'king'. This clearly shows that Varaguṇa himself crowned his younger brother. This is the earliest record in which the younger brother figures as a prince. In the circumstances we can safely surmise that Parāntaka Vira

Nārāyaṇa was crowned probably in 866 A.D.

We have already seen that in 860 A.D. the Ceylonese killed Srivallabha and installed his son Vira Pāṇḍya on the Madurai throne. Varaguṇa by his strength and valour drove out his elder brother from Madurai and got his kingdom. The Perumbullī record states that the chief Paḷlivēḷān defeated the Simhaḷa Rājar at Seṇṇilam and helped his overlord Varaguṇa in many ways. The Ceylon king was defeated in the Pāṇḍya country. Probably he should have been there helping Vira Pāṇḍya but Varaguṇa was victorious. The date of the Seṇṇilam battle should be around 863 A.D. from

which date Varaguṇa counts his reign. His younger brother Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa helped Varaguṇa in this crucial battle. This is evident from the Daḷavāyपुरam copper plates in which Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa states that in the Śeṅṅilam battle he defeated the king (Vēl-vēndan) who was born prior to him. Probably in view of this help Varaguṇa crowned his younger brother Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa in 866 A.D.

Before proceeding further we should know why the first son of Śrīvallabha sought the help of the Ceylon king. In the present state of our knowledge of the source materials we have no means of knowing the reason for the internal trouble in the royal family. We can only make a reasonable surmise. In the Daḷavāyपुरam copper plates, after referring to his elder brother Varaguṇa as his overlord, Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa introduces his own mother Akkaḷa Nimmaḍi and her parents belonging to the family of the Pottappi Chōḷas. After mentioning his mother, Vīra Nārāyaṇa states that he defeated the king who was born prior to him. From these statements we can infer that probably Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha had three queens. Vīra Pāṇḍya was probably the eldest son by the second queen and Varaguṇa was the son of the chief-queen. Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa was the son of the last queen. As per the custom Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha probably wished to crown Varaguṇa the son of the chief-queen. Being enraged at the supersession the eldest son Vīra (by the second queen) should have turned to Ceylon for help. Even though he was successful in his initial move, ultimately Varaguṇa became victorious. The fate of Vīra is not known.

Varaguṇa became the master of Pāṇḍi-maṅḍalam. He extended his authority in Chōḷa-maṅḍalam also. Records of Varaguṇa are available in Thanjavur district the seat of the traditional Chōḷa-maṅḍalam. In the year 888 A.D., in the Tiruppuṇampiyam battle, the Chōḷa king Āditya and the Pallava king Aparājita defeated Varaguṇa. This was a major set back in the life of Varaguṇa. He retired from active politics and entrusted the administration of the kingdom with his younger brother Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa whose descendants also ruled in the later period. The Daḷavāyपुरam copper plates of Vīra Nārāyaṇa were issued in his 45th year when his elder brother Varaguṇa was also alive. Probably 910 A.D. was the last date of the brothers.

In the stone records of this period Varaguṇa is called Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ *alias* Varaguṇa Mahārāja. Certain records of this period quote the name of the king as Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ only. This prompts the epigraphists to assign these records to Varaguṇa. We must remember here that his younger brother Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa is also a Śaḍaiyaṅ as evidenced by the Śiṅṅamaṅūr copper plates. Naturally he should also be a Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ. Therefore the records of this period which bear the name Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ only may belong either to Varaguṇa or his younger brother Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa. Internal evidence alone can help us in identifying the king who caused the inscription to be engraved. For example the Kaḷugumalai rock inscription belongs to Māraṅ Śaḍaiyaṅ year 35 plus 7. (*S. I I.*, vol. XIV, 42). It states that a brāhmaṇa gifted gold for burning lamps in the temple. The record

states that the charity should be under the protection of the soldiers of Parāntaka and the sacred rock (*Parāntaka virarum tirumalai virarum*). Evidently the record is to be assigned to Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇa and it is dated 908 A.D. Where the king is not identified we can simply state that the record belongs to either Varaguṇa of accession 863 or Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇa of accession 866. Since the difference in the accession years is only four, it will not do any harm in the investigation of the records concerning religion, social, cultural and other aspects of the studies of this period.

In the Daḷavāyapuram copper plates Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇa states that Varaguṇa was a staunch devotee of Lord Śiva. He says that Varaguṇa, who in his heart made Lord Śiva Pinākapāni (who has the Pināka bow in hand) to reside happily, is protecting the world. Māṅkka-vāchakar served as a minister under Varaguṇa. Later he became a Śaivite saint. In his poem *Tirukkōvaiyār* the saint Māṅkka-vāchakar praises Varaguṇa as a worshipper of Lord Naṭarāja of Chidambaram. Saint Paṭṭinattār (10th century) states that Varaguṇa gifted his queen to Lord Śiva of the Tiruviḍaimarudūr temple. He says that Varaguṇa of laudable compassion willingly gifted his dēvi who had beautiful curled hair to Lord Śiva of the Tiruviḍaimarudūr temple (*puri kuḷal dēviyai parivuḍaṅ koḍutta periya aṅbin Varaguṇa dēvar*). Could it be the reason for the absence of a heir apparent (son) to Varaguṇa? Again could it be the reason for entrusting the administration of the kingdom with his younger brother Parāntaka

Vira Nārāyaṇa whose descendants alone figure in the later period?

In the words of saint Paṭṭinattār, Varaguṇa willingly gifted his wife to Lord Śiva (of the temple). This reminds us the story of Iyar-pakai-Nāyanār of the Tamil epic *Periyapurāṇam*. It states that one day Lord Śiva in the guise of a Śaivite devotee, came to Iyar-pakai-Nāyanār and demanded the latter's wife. Iyar-pakai-Nāyanār did not know that He was Lord Śiva. He thought that a gift to a Śaivite devotee was a service to Śiva. Therefore he willingly gifted his wife to the Śaivite devotee Could it be a *Kāpālīka* cult? If this was so, was Varaguṇa a follower of *Kāpālīka* school? It needs deep study.

Māṅavarmaṅ Rājasimha (No. 12) was the son of Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇa. In the stone records he figures as Saḍaiyaṅ Māṅaṅ and some of his records are identified. Rājasimha was also called Mānābharaṇa. This is evident from three records of Parāntaka Chōḷa I of accession 907. The records come from three villages Tiruchattuṅai, Tillaisthānam and Tiruppaḷanam situated in Thanjavur district, the traditional Chōḷa-maṅḍalam³. The records are in the 5th, 8th and 9th years of Parāntaka Chōḷa and they are dated 911-12, 914-15, and 915-16 A.D. They state that the servant of the queen of the Pāṅḍya king Mānābharaṇar son of Parāntakan (Pāṅḍyanār Parāntakan Mānābharaṇanār) gifted gold to the temple for burning lamps. The dates indicate that Rājasimha *alias* Mānābharaṇa commenced his reign from 910 A.D. which was the last date of his father. The three records also

indicate that at the time of writing these records there was cordial relationship between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas. This did not last long. In the year 919, Parāntaka Chōḷa defeated the combined forces of the Pāṇḍya and the Ceylonese³³. Later Parāntaka Chōḷa invaded the Pāṇḍya country and defeated Rājasimha who fled to Ceylon³⁴. The event is to be placed in 927 A.D. from which year the records of Parāntaka Chōḷa ranging from his 20th to 40th regnal year are freely available in the southern most part of the Pāṇḍya country³⁵. The Śiṅṅamaṅṅūr plates of Rājasimha were issued in his 16th year and this fits into his reign 910 to 927 A.D. The Ceylon chronicle *Mahāvamsa* states that Rājasimha left Ceylon went to Kerala

and died there after sometime.

The records of Vira Pāṇḍya (No. 14) the son of Rājasimha are available. In the stone records he bears the epithet *śolan talai koṇḍa* which means "he who took the head of the Chōḷa". The earliest record in which the epithet appears is in year 6 and the last³⁶ is in year 20. Vira Pāṇḍya killed Uttamaśīli the last son of Parāntaka Chōḷa and adopted this title³⁷. He was also called Chōḷāntaka (god of death to the Chōḷa). A comparative study of the records tabulated below reveals that in the stone records, upto the middle of the 6th year, he was a Māraṅṅa Śaḍaiyaṅṅ and in the later records he appears as Vira Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Chōḷa.

TABLE No. 2

Serial Number	Reference	Name of the king	Regnal year	Internal evidence
1	Śivakāśi copper plates	Śaḍaiyaṅṅ Vira Pāṇḍya	3	The minister Iyyakkum Śelvan Kanaiyar Paḷḷi Teṅṅṅavan Uttaramandiri figures.
2	<i>S.I.I.</i> , vol. XIV, 80, footnote 2	Vira Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Choḷa'	8	The above minister figures.
3	<i>T.A.S.</i> , vol. IV, No. 24	Māraṅṅa Śaḍaiyaṅṅ	2+1	-do-
4	<i>S.I.I.</i> , vol. XIV, 4	Māraṅṅa Śaḍaiyaṅṅ	4	Officer Poliyūr Nāṭṭu Araiyaṅṅ Māraṅṅa Achaṅṅ figures
5	<i>S.I.I.</i> , vol. XIV, 5	Māraṅṅa Śaḍaiyaṅṅ	Year 5 day 593	-do-
6	<i>S.I.I.</i> , vol. XIV, 79	Vira Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Chōḷa	7	called Chōḷāntaka Pallavaraiyaṅṅ
7	<i>T A.S.</i> , vol. III No 24	-do-	13+1	-do-

In the first three records the same minister figures. The officer who figures in 4 and 5 also figures in 6 and 7 in which he borrows the title *Chōlantaka* of Vira Pāṇḍya. The table clearly shows that.

- 1) Vira Pāṇḍya of Śivakāśi copper plates is to be identified with Vira Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Chōḷa'
- 2) Up to the middle of the 6th year, the stone records introduce him as Māraṇ Saḍaiyaṇ. In the later part of his sixth year he killed the Chōḷa prince Uttamaśīli and adopted the title 'who took the head of the Chōḷa.'

The Śivakāśi copper plates state that Vira Pāṇḍya was a Saḍaiyaṇ and Mānābharāṇa was his father. We have already seen that Rājasimha (910-927 A.D.) was called Mānābharāṇa and evidently he was the father of Vira Pāṇḍya. Rājasimha was a Māraḍarmaṇ. Vira is a Saḍaiyaṇ. Naturally his stone records introduce him as Māraṇ Saḍaiyaṇ. The copper plates further state that Śrīvallabha was the great grandfather of Vira. This Śrīvallabha figures as No. 8 in the genealogical table.

It is a known fact that Vira Pāṇḍya was killed by the Chōḷa king Āditya Karikāla and the latter adopted the title "*Vira Pāṇḍyan talai koṇḍa*" i.e. who took the head of Vira Pāṇḍya. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu copper plates of Rājendra Chōḷa state that the young prince Āditya Karikāla killed Vira Pāṇḍya. The inference is that the Chōḷa prince prior to his accession took active part in the battle and killed Vira

Pāṇḍya. Āditya Karikāla came to the throne in 960 A.D. and he should have killed Vira sometime prior to this date³⁸. The records of Vira Pāṇḍya upto year 20 are available. His 20th year should be prior to 960. A record which comes from Ambāsamudram belongs³⁹ to Vira Pāṇḍya and it is in year 12. The record quotes month Mithuna and solar eclipse. A solar eclipse in Mithuna in the 12th year of Vira Pāṇḍya could be expected prior to 952 A.D. It did occur on 18th June 950 A.D. Applying the Indian calendar system we get the equation.

12th year = Mithuna 950 A.D.

10th year = Mithuna 938 A.D.

1st year = Mithuna 939 A.D.

Vira Pāṇḍya came to the throne between Mithuna 938 A.D. and Mithuna 939 A.D. Record No. 3 of the table No. 2 above bears the name Māraṇ Saḍaiyaṇ and it no doubt belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya. The record quotes the date as year 2 plus 1, month Karkaṭaka. This statement clearly shows that the accession month of Vira Pāṇḍya was Karkaṭaka. Between Mithuna 938 A.D. and Mithuna 939 A.D. Karkaṭaka falls in 938 A.D. only. Vira Pāṇḍya came to the throne in the month Karkaṭaka in the year 938 A.D. In other words he came to the throne between the 25th June and the 25th July 938 A.D.

Two records which come from Ukkirankōṭṭai belong to Rājasimha dated 11th and 15th year. The records state that the village Karavandapuram is situated in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu⁴⁰. Another record which

comes from the same village belongs to Vira Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Chōḷa and it is in his 15th year. The record states that the village Karavandapuram is situated in Pāṇḍimārttāṇḍa-vaḷa-nāḍu⁴¹. Evidently *Pāṇḍimārttāṇḍa* was the title of Vira Pāṇḍya. This is confirmed by another record of Vira Pāṇḍya and it comes from Peruṅkuḷam⁴². Vira Pāṇḍya was also called Vira Kēraḷan. This is evident from his Āṇaiyūr record, year 10, dated 948 A.D. The record mentions the royal seat called 'Vira Kēraḷan' put up in the palace called 'Mānābharāṇan Tirumāḷigai' in Maṅgalāpuram⁴³. (The palace is called in the surname of the father of Vira Pāṇḍya). Śivakāśi copper plates state that the mother of Vira Pāṇḍya was the daughter of a Kēraḷa king. Naturally Vira Pāṇḍya adopted the title *Vira Kēraḷan* from his mother's side. The city Chōḷāntaka-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the surname of Vira Pāṇḍya existed near Madurai. A Vishṇu temple called Vira Kēraḷa dēvar in the surname of Vira Pāṇḍya also existed in the village Chōḷāntaka-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam. (Today the village is called Sōḷa-vandān).

The Śivakāśi copper plates state that the Sundara Pāṇḍya was the elder brother of Vira Pāṇḍya. Sundara died in his teen age. After his death a sepulchre temple was built over his mortal remains by Vira Pāṇḍya and it was under the management of the Pāśupata Saivites called "Mahā Vratins." The temple is situated at Paḷḷimaḍam. The records engraved on the bases and the walls of the central shrine belong to Vira Pāṇḍya and they contain his epithet. In the records the temple is called *Paḷḷippaḍai*

temple (sepulchral) Sundara Pāṇḍya Īśvaram. A lone record⁴⁵ which comes from the north wall belongs to Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ year 2, It mentions the temple as Sundara Pāṇḍya Īśvaram. The name *Paḷḷippaḍai* is absent. Evidently Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ of this record was a successor to Vira Pāṇḍya. Recently, a record of Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ year 2 is found at Tiruppūvaṇam⁴⁶. It mentions Rājasimhakuḷam which was constructed by Rājasimha. The record mentions an officer called Viranārāyaṇa Vira Pāṇḍya Vinai Mārāyan. Viranārāyaṇa was the surname of Vira Pāṇḍya⁴⁷. This officer served under Vira Pāṇḍya and also his successor Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ. A record which comes from Tiruppuḍaimarudūr is in the 2+18th (20th) year of Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ⁴⁸. It mentions the headman of the village called Vira Pāṇḍyakkam, a hamlet of Malaiya Mādēvipuram in Pāṇḍimārttāṇḍa-vaḷa-nāḍu. Pāṇḍimārttāṇḍa was the surname of Vira Pāṇḍya, Evidently Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ of this record was a later king.

The above records show that the successor of Vira Pāṇḍya was a Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ. Vira Pāṇḍya is a Saḍaiyaṅ. Naturally his son should be a Māraṅ and in the above records his son figures with the name Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ. In the Ambāsamudram record of Vira Pāṇḍya year 12 an officer called Vikrama Pāṇḍya Mūvēṇḍavēḷān figures. A record which comes from Kuttālam belongs to Rāja Rāja Chōḷa I, year 20, corresponding to 1005 A.D. The record mentions a village called Vikrama Pāṇḍyanallūr⁴⁹. Probably Vikrama Pāṇḍya was the son of Vira Pāṇḍya and in the records he figures as a Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ. His accession and terminal dates are not known.

Successors of Vira Pāṇḍya

We surmised that Saḍaiyaṅ Māraṅ Vikrama Pāṇḍya was the son of Vira Pāṇḍya. Saḍaiyavarman Śrīvallabha of 'tirumagaḷ jayamagaḷ' Tamil *prasasti* ruled from 1014 to 1031 A.D. In the year 1021 A.D., Rājendra Chōḷa drove out Śrīvallabha from Madurai and installed his second son Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya on the Madurai throne. Śrīvallabha was ruling in the Tirunelveli area⁹⁰. His Tiruvāliśvaram record⁹¹ is in the year 17 corresponding to 1031 A.D. It is said that the record was engraved by the stone engraver Parākrama Pāṇḍya-peruntachchan. Probably a Parākrama Pāṇḍya existed prior to the time of Śrīvallabha. A record of Rāja Rāja the

great coming from Sēvūr in North Arcot district⁹² is in the year 20, corresponding to 1005 A.D. The Tamil *prasasti* of the record states that the king defeated the Pāṇḍyas, destroyed Madurai and had the epithets *Tenna Parākrama* and *Kirti Parākrama Chōḷa*. These facts prompt us to surmise that Parākrama Pāṇḍya was the contemporary of Rāja Rāja. Probably Parākrama Pāṇḍya was the father of Śrīvallabha. The position occupied by Parākrama Pāṇḍya makes him a Māravarmaṅ. If this understanding is correct and since the dates are also very close we may not be far wrong if we surmise that Parākrama Pāṇḍya was probably the grandson of Vikrama Pāṇḍya. On the basis of this surmise the tentative genealogy is given below.

(14) Vira Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Chōḷa'
(938-959 A.D.)

|
(15) Māraṅ Vikrama Pāṇḍya

|
(16) Saḍaiyaṅ (not identified)

|
(17) Māraṅ Parākrama Pāṇḍya

|
(18) Saḍaiyaṅ Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya (1014-1031 A.D.)
(*tirumagaḷ jayamagaḷ* Tamil *Prasasti*)

Notes :

1) Thanjavur Tamil University News Bulletin No. 10 dated 16th February, 1985.

2) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, pp. 291 - 309.

3) *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 166.

4) *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 172.

5) N. Sethuraman, Pañchavan the Pāṇḍya - *Studies in Indian Place Names*, Vol. VII, p. 124 ff.

6) *Ten Pāṇḍya Copper Plates*—Published by the Tamil Varāḷḅḅu Kaḷagam-1967; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, No. 16; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXII 1893; *A.R. Ep.*, 1907, Part II, pp. 62 - 69; *S.I.L.*, vol. III, p. IV, No. 206; *A.R. Ep.*, 1960-61, p. 15.

- 7) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV
- 8) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVI, No. 15.
- 9) *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII, No. 41.
- 10) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV, Nos. 6, 12 and 12B.
- 11) *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, No. 95.
- 12) *Ten Pandya Copper Plates* – The Tamil Varalāṅṅu Kaḷagam – 1967.
- 13) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVI, No. 15.
- 14) *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, No. 11 and *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII, No. 9
- 15) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 301, lines 66-67 ; *Ibid.*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 80.
- 16) K. V. Ramesh – *Chāḷukyas of Vātāpi* – p. 112.
- 17) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVIII, No. 4 ; See footnote 7 in page 32. Sri K. G. Krishnan ignores the inscribed stroke and reads Sēndan maṅṅu ; others read Sēndan Māraṅ which seems to be quite convincing.
- 18) Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology.
- 19) *Periyapurāṅam* – Niṅṅasīr Neḷumāra Nāyanār Purāṅam, verse 9
- 20) T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.* vol. VI p. 156 ;
K. V. Subramanya Iyer – *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 123.
- 21) *Periyapurāṅam*, Kari Nāyanār Purāṅam, verse, 5.
- 22) *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. B 358
- 23) *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* vol. III, Part I, pp. XXXVI and XXXVII
- 24) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV, No. 14
- 25) *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, No. 78
- 26) *Ten Pandya Copper Plates*
- 27) *Pāṅḍyakulōdayam* – Published by The Punjab University
edited by K. V. Sarma.
- 28) *S. I. I.*, vol. XXIII, No. 129 ; K. V. Soundararajan – *Inscriptions of Mūvarkōil Koḷumbāḷūr Tamil Nadu* – page 231 of *Indian Epigraphy and its bearing on the history of art* – American Institute of Indian studies.
- 29) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII No. 31
- 30) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV No. 22
- 31) *Ibid.*, vol. V No. 608
- 32) *Ibid.*, vol. XIX No. 149 and 239 ; *Ibid.*, vol. V, No. 583
- 33) *S. I. I.*, vol. III No. 99 ; *Kiḷappaḷuvūr A. R. Ep.*, 1926 No. B. 231 of Parāntaka year 12,
- 34) K. A. N. Sastri – *The Cōḷas*

- 35) Tiruttāṅgal *A.R. Ep.*, 1922 No. B 157 year 20 ; *A.R. Ep.*, 1931 No. B 142 year 20 ;
Kuttālam *A.R. Ep.*, 1917 No. B 444 year 20 ; Kuttālam *A.R. Ep.*, 1917 Nos. B 438, 459, 441, 442,
443 and 445 ranging from year 21 to 36.
- 36) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV
- 37) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII p. 90
- 38) N. Sethuraman, *Early Cholas* – p. 64
- 39) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV No. 95
- 40) *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII p. 45
- 41) *A.R. Ep.*, 1935-36 No. B. 197 ; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII p. 284 f.n. 6
- 42) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV No. 93
- 43) *A.R. Ep.*, 1961-62 No. 336
- 44) N. Sethuraman – *The Medieval Pandyas* – see the chapter - Sōlavandān Complex
- 45) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV No. 46
- 46) Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology – *Kalveṭṭu Magazine* 20 – The surmise made therein
is not convincing.
- 47) *T. A. S.*, vol. III part I No. 22
- 48) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV No. 68
- 49) *A. R. Ep.*, 1917 No. B 454
- 50) N. Sethuraman – *Medieval Pandyas*.
- 51) *S. I. I.*, vol. XIV, No. 239
- 52) *A.R. Ep.*, 1911 No. B 394 ; Rangachari, North Arcot District 328.

BANPUR PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI INDRARATHA

K. S. Behera

This charter was found at Banpur in the district of Puri in Orissa. It was brought to light in 1963 while digging for laying the foundation of the local college. It was first deciphered by Dr. K. B. Tripathy in the Oriya Journal the *Jhankāra* No. X, pp. 661-668. Subsequently the inscription was edited by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1966, pp. 271-276. The charter is now kept in the Department of History, Utkal University.

The charter is incised on a set of three plates and each plate measures 27.5 × 19.3 cm. The first and the third plates bear writing on the innerside, while the second plate is engraved on both the sides. Altogether there are 71 lines. The plates are held together by a copper ring which is about 11.5 cm. in diameter. The royal seal attached to it contains a seated figure of Lakshmi in the centre flanked on either side by an elephant in the act of pouring water over her.

The characters are similar to those found in the copper plate grants of Dharmaratha¹ and Uddyōtakēsari². The engraving is neatly done but there are several errors and the rules of grammar at some places have not been observed.

The language is Sanskrit. The grant portion (lines 28-41) a short sentence (line 11) in between verses 5 and 6 and the date portion at the end (lines 69-71) are in prose

while other portions are in the form of Sanskrit verses.

The following orthographical peculiarities may be mentioned.

The superscript *r* is very often a short horizontal stroke put below the top *mātrā* towards the upper left corner of a consonant (cf. *r=vāha* in line 6; °*utsarpibhiḥ* in line 7; °*karma* in line 10 etc.). In a few cases it is put above the top *mātrā* (cf. *varjitāḥ* in line 34; *Kārttika* in line 71). But *Kārttika* in line 70 has been written in the first type. The consonants *p* and *y* are very often indistinguishable. The final *m* has been written like the *anusvāra* of the modern Bengali form. About orthography, the *anusvāra* has often been changed into *ṅ* (ch. *vaṅsa* in line 26; *kramaṅgata-* in line 2; *kāṅch.maṅgāṅcha* in line 46 etc.). In some cases the final *m* followed by a consonant has not been changed into *anusvāra* (cf. *dattāmva* in line 52). *N* also takes the place of *anusvāra* in *gavāṅ=kōṅi* in line 49. *Tāmvra* has been written for *tāmra* in line 39 and *s-āmvra* for *s-āmra* in line 36. These peculiar spellings are due to the influence of local pronunciation. The doubling of the consonant following the superscript *r* which is the usual feature of early medieval inscriptions, is rarely found in this charter.

The charter is issued from Yayātinagara. It registers the grant of the village of Laghukumbhī situated in the *khaṇḍa* (subdivision) of Sadyatukhallī in the district (*vishaya*) of Thōraṇa in Kongada-maṇḍala in favour of Khadiravaṇī Bhaṭṭārikā by the Sōmavamśī king *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Trikaliṅgādhipati* Indraratha.

The inscription was written by the *Mahākshapaṭalin* (chief of the records office) Amṛitachandra. It was engraved by the smith, Vāhēruka. The date of the record is given as Kārttika *sudi* 2 in the 6th regnal year of the king.

The charter begins with the symbol for *siddham*. The first stanza is in praise of lord Śiva. This is followed by four verses containing the description of the city of Yayātinagara, which appears to be the capital of the reigning monarch. Verses 6-11 deal with the ancestry of the reigning monarch who is the donor of the present grant. The dynasty is traced to the moon and is stated to have produced in due course a king named Bhīma who had a (second) queen named Durgā. He begot from her three sons of whom Indraratha, the donor of the present charter, was the eldest. The other two younger brothers were named Vaṅgaratha and Śankararatha. Verses 12-14 deal with the description of the noble qualities of the reigning monarch Indraratha. He acquired Kaliṅga by virtue of being a favourite of the king Dharmaratha (the eldest son of Bhīmaratha, born of his first queen) and by his own strength and valour defeated Vajrahasta. When Dharmaratha

departed into heaven, he (Indraratha) after repeatedly hearing complaints from the people of the great suffering caused by Śrī Vatsarāja, came from Kaliṅga and killed him. He also came into conflict with Abhimanyu, who has been stated in verse 14, to have claimed the kingdom illegally. After killing him, Indraratha was anointed king by the blessings of the learned brāhmaṇas. He became the lord of the three kingdoms (Kōsala, Ōḍra and Kaliṅga). The follows a prose passage (lines 28 to 41) mentioning the epithets of the reigning monarch, the details of the grant such as the donee and the regular and irregular taxes in connection with the grant. Indraratha assumed the titles of Paramamāhēśvara, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Sōmakulatilaka, and Trikaliṅgādhipati, and he was also devoted to his parents. He granted the village of Laghukumbhī situated in the Sadyatakhalla-khaṇḍa in the district of Thōraṇa of Kongada-maṇḍala, in favour of the deity Khadiravaṇī-bhaṭṭārikā for performing her daily rites relating to *bali charunaivēdya* and other rites. The village was granted with lands and water along with the waste lands, the trees, the treasure-troves etc. within the four boundaries, till the sun, moon and the earth would endure : for the religious merit of the donor and his parents. The royal order relating to the grant was addressed to the officers such as *Samāhartṛi*, *Sannidhātṛi*, *Niyuktādhipārikas*, *Dāṇḍapāsika*, *Pisuna* and the persons of the royal establishment, such as *rajñi* (queen), *rāṇaka* (the feudatories), *rājaputra* (the prince) and other royal favourites and the inhabitants of the realm. The grant was made free from all the

obstructions, along with the taxes such as *Padatijivya*, *Andharava*, *Pratyandharūpā*, *Adattādāna*, *Hastidaṇḍa*, *Chiṭṭola*, *Disāvaradāna*, *Karaṇa-chechchhāya*, *Anatarāvāḍḍi*, *Varavalivarda* etc. thereby making the village a rent-free holding. Then follows the usual mandate to the future kings to maintain the gift. This is followed by 13 imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted from *Dharmaśāstra*, which are again followed by four other verses describing the achievements of the royal officers who were associated with the execution of the grant. Verses 28 to 30 deal with the achievements of the minister for war and peace (*sandhivigrahin*) but his name has not been mentioned. The verses praise his prowess in the battles in subduing the enemies, whose arrows were capable of creating fire in the circles of the enemy, who was capable of bringing out the pearls by breaking open the frontal globe of the elephants and decorating his own body and whose sword was continuously dancing in the battlefields. Verse 31 deals with the qualities of Amṛitachandra, the writer of the grant, who was the *Mahākshapaṭala* (chief of the records office). The lines 69 to 71 refer to the victorious sixth regnal year of Paramamāhēśvara, Mahārājadhīrājā Śrīmad-Indraratharājādēva on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Kārttika*. The charter was engraved by *Vijñāni* (the smith) *Vāhērūka*. The date has been repeated in numerals in line 71 as *Samvat 6, Kārttika śudi 2*.

Of the localities mentioned in the grant *Yayātinagara* is usually identified with *Jaipur*³ in *Cuttak* district but this appears to be unlikely as *Yayātinagara* was situated

on the banks of the *Mahānadi*. *Kōngada-maṇḍala* was formerly a part of the *Sailōdbhava* territory and covered *Ganjam-Puri* districts. *Thōraṇa* of the grant is also mentioned in a *Sailōdbhava* charter and seems to represent *Sōraṇa* in the *Puri* district. The subdivision of *Sadyatakhalī* may be identified with the village *Ghia-khalla* under Banpur police station in the *Puri* district. *Khadiravaṇi-Bhaṭṭārikā*, probably represents *Khadiravaṇi Tārā*, of *Buddhism*.

The charter is an important document of the *Sōmavamśi* family. The ruler *Indraratha*, is new to this record and he is not met with in the *Brahmēśvara* inscription⁴ of *Uddyōtakēsari*'s reign and the *Ratnagiri* grant of *Karṇadēva*⁵ which provide the complete genealogical table of the *Sōmavamśi* dynasty. In the Banpur charter *Indraratha* is mentioned as born in the lunar family. He was the son of *Bhīma* who is identical with *Bhīmaratha* (*Mahā-Bhavagupta* II, son and successor of *Yāyāti Mahāśivagupta* I). He had two younger brothers, viz., *Vankaratha* and *Sankararatha* who are noticed in any other record. *Indraratha* is said to have won the royal fortune of *Kaliṅga* being a favourite of *Dharmaratha*. This *Dharmaratha* is the *Sōmavamśi* king *Mahāśivagupta* II *Dharmaratha* of the *Khandapara* grant who was the son and successor of *Bhīmaratha*. The charter further states that when *Dharmaratha* died his kingdom was oppressed by *Śrī Vatsarāja*. *Indraratha* came from *Kalinga* and killed *Vatsarāja*. He also defeated *Abhimanyu* who had illegally (*atyamuchitam prāptadhipatyam*) seized the kingdom.

It appears that Indraratha assisted Dharmaratha in his military campaign against Āndhra. In the Mallaram charter⁶ Saktivarman I, the son of Danārṇava, claims victory over Dharmaratha, and Indra, the latter evidently represents Indraratha of the Sōmavamśi family. Indraratha seems to have defeated Vajrahasta II (A.D. 981-1016). Dharmaratha appointed Indraratha as the Governor of Kālīṅga. After the death of Dharmaratha, taking advantage of the chaotic political condition the Paramāras invaded the Sōmavamśi kingdom. Śrī Vatsarāja mentioned in line 24 of the Banpur charter, was probably a feudatory of the Paramāra king Sindhurāja⁷. According to Mērutuṅga Śrī Vatsarāja was also connected with the early life of Bhōja. Indraratha defeated him. During this chaotic situation Abhimanyu seized the Sōmavamśi throne but Indraratha defeated him and occupied the Sōmavamśi kingdom. Abhimanyu of the Banpur charter was evidently the son of Vichitravira, a lineal descendent of Mahābhavagupta I, Janamējaya. He was also the father of Yayāti II, Chaṇḍihāra.

Indraratha came to the throne at a very critical period following the death of Dharmaratha. The Brahmēśvar Inscrip-

tion mentions "when he (Dharmaratha), the Rājamalla (the best of the king) departed unto heaven without issue, all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries; there was a lapse of short and eventless time. Then Chaṇḍihāra, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vichitravira, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Janamējaya, was made king by the ministers"⁸.

Indraratha could not enjoy a peaceful reign. As known from the Udayapur Praśasti he seems to have been defeated by the Paramāra king Bhōja (C. 0001-1047)⁹. According to the Tirumalai Inscription of Rājendra Chōja (A.D. 1012-1044), issued in his thirteenth regnal year (A.D. 1024), he captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with (his) family in a fight which took place at Ādinagara, a city whose great fame knew no decline".... Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach...the good Kōsalai-nāḍu where brāhmaṇas assembled"¹⁰. Ādinagara is evidently a variant of Yayātinagara which was the capital of the Sōmavamśis. Rājendra Chōja's expedition in Eastern India took place before 1024 A.D. during which period he defeated Indraratha¹¹.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 7, 15, 17, 19 - 25 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 18 *Indrarajrā* ; verse 10 *Malini* ; verse 8-9 *Mātrāvṛitta* ; verse 27 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verse 31 *Pṛithvi* ; verse 26 *Sālini* ; verses 4-5, 11-14, 29-30 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 6 *Sikhariṇi* ; verse 28 *Śragdharā* ; verses 1, 3 *Vasantatilakā*]

FIRST PLATE

1. Indu[h]* jaṭāsu viśadō = 'gniśikṣhā-piśaṅgi lālāṭa - chakshushi - galē visham = añjan - ābham | satvam rajas = tama -

- 2 ti triguṇasya tasya sthāna - kramaṇ = gatavatē = 'stu namaḥ Śivāya || [1*] Svasti śrīmati
yatra soudha - śikhara - nyasthai -
- 3 r = atīva - sphurad [= ābhaiḥ] kāñchana - kumbhakair = atīśaya - prōddīpita [ḥ*] vyōmani |
lōkai[r] = utkaṭa - vismaya - vyati -
- 4 karaḥ(raiḥ) sphāribhaval = lōchanaiḥ sthāna - sthāna - gati - kramēṇa katham = apy =
ālakshyatē = 'harpatiḥ || [2*] Prāsāda - maulishu
- 5 kar - āvja(ābja) - paramparābhīr = ākrīshyamāṇa - parilamvi(lambi) - nabhaḥ prachāram |
yasmin = niśāsu niśīta - dyuti - cha -
- 6 ndra - vimvam (bimbam) = āyōjyatē mukurakṛityavidhau vadhūbhiḥ || [3*] Yasminn =
asprīśataḥ kshitiṃ khurapuṭai[r*] = vāhā
- 7 n = asaṃkhyān = api pratyēti sudṛīśījanō na tu rajōbhāraiḥ samutsarpibhiḥ | anyad =
yasya ja -
- 8 lāśayēshu yugapad = dantāva(ba) lān = gaṇair = anyōnya - pratipanna - ḍiṇḍima -
ravair = a[m*]bhaḥ sagapā (mutpī)ya -
- 9 [tē] || [4*] Yad = bhūmīvalayasya bhūshaṇa - vidhi [r*] = yasy = āpi soudha śrīyō yat =
soudhasya mṛigīdṛīśō
- 10 [mṛiga]dṛīśām yat = varttinīnānnavāḥ (nām = ānvayaḥ) | yadyā(syā)[ḥ*] tōraṇa -
chitra - karma - kanaka - graivēyak = ādi sphu -
- 11 ṭam = vīdhībhūtam = ath = ēdam = apya = anumuhuh kriḍ = ēti sampaddyatē || [5*]
Tasmat = śrī - Yayāti - nagarāt¹⁹ ||
- 12 Pināki Lōkēbhyaḥ kshiti - parisarē dharma - vigatim = viditv = ēva = āhūya svayam =
anayad = ādēśa - padavim |
- 13 vivasvantā(ntam) māna(nyam) khacharam = achirād = ēva bhavatā dharitī gantavyā
śamayētta (yitum) = adharm-ōrjitam = iti || [6*] Aksha -
- 14 triyakulē bhūtvā sakuṭumvō(ṭumbō) mah - ādbbutam | karishyām = iti tēn = āpi
pratijajñē Śiv-āgrataḥ || [7*] Tasya
- 15 tanayēshu madhyē mahānubhāvō Mahēśvarē bhakthaḥ | bhagavantam = amvi(ambi)
kāpatim = avatārē(riṇam) pūrvajō da -
- 16 dhau || [8*] Bhagavatī cha s = ānukampē nija - kula - bhūshān = cha paṇitari chandrē |
pitur = āśayasya cha va(ba)lād = ā -
- 17 [la]mbhitēn = Ēndra - rājya - vara - lābhaḥ || [9*] Sirasi kṛita - Śiv - ajñā(jñō) martya-
lōkē vivasvān = ajani cha kulaputrō Bhīma -

- 18 nām = ōttama - śrīḥ | ayam = alabhata Durgā(gām) pūrva - patnīm = cha patnīm = ajanayad = atha tasyām pūrva - putri[m] (trān) cha putrān || [10*]

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

- 19 Śrimān = Indrarathō = 'jani prathamataḥ soundarya - śourya - kshamā - dharmā - tyāga - dayā - vivēka - vinaya -prāga -
- 20 lbha - saty - āśrayaḥ | prāsūtām = atha vikram - ādi-suguṇa - grām = aika - lil- āspadē(dau) pūrvam = Vaṅgarathō = 'tha
- 21 Śankararathas = tasy = ānurūp = ānujau || [11*] Yō = śāv = Indraratha[h*] rath - āṅga - mahimā Sōm - ānvaya - kshamāpatiḥ śri -
- 22 mad = Dharmarathasya vallabhatayā lēbhē Kaliṅga - śriyam | sañjagrāha cha vighrahē bhujā va(ba)lāt = tām = Vajra
- 23 hastād = ahō vikrānti[m*] mahatīm padāti - va(ba)hut - ālpatvē tu nya(nira) - sth - ādaraḥ || [12*] Svarga[m*] dharmā - dharā - patau
- 24 gatavati śrī - Vatsarājō(jē) nṛipa(pē) bhṛityān = sādayati prajām = iti muhuḥ śrutvā janēbhyaḥ girāḥ | ya(yō)
- 25 āgatya Kaliṅgatō nija - bhujādarpēṇa dript - ātmaka (kō) vyāhṛity = ainam = udātta vṛitti - hṛidayō dhatta(ttē)
- 26 = 'bhimanyau mataḥ || [13*] Yō vidvān = Abhimanyum = apy = anuchita[m] prāpt - ādhipatpyam = bhuvō vaśśya (vaśśya) sy = ānadhikāriṇa[m*]
- 27 raṇa - bhuvī vyāpādayaddē (yad = dvē)śhiṇa[m*] | tal = lakshmi[m*] dvijasattamair = anumātām = āsādya sē[nā] -
- 28 dyapattraī (dhipair = tam) rājyañ = cha turungakēna jagṛihē yēn = āśya rājyantaram (rājyantaram) || [14*] Parama - mähēśvara Mā -
- 29 tāpiti-pād - ānudhyāta Parama - bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Sōma-kula -
- 30 tilaka Trikaliṅg - ādhipati śrīmad = Indraratharājādēvaḥ kuśalī || Kōṅgō (ṅga)da - maṅḍaliya [Thō] ra -
- 31 ṇa - vishaya - sadyata[kha]llikhaṅḍīya - Laghukumbhi - grāmē | atas = tad = vishayiya - vrā(brā)hmaṇān = -āpūjya samā -
- 32 hatṛi - sannidhātṛi-niyukt = ādhikārika - dāṅḍapāsika - piśuna-vētrik - āvarōdhajana - rājñī - rāṇaka - rāja -

- 33 putra - rājavallabha - bhōgijana - pramukha samasta - janapadān samājñāpayati
viditam = astu bhava -
- 34 tām yathā = 'smābhir = ayam grāmaḥ sa - pratihāraḥ sarvva - vā(bā)dhā - varjjitaḥ
padātijivya - andharūpā - pratyandha -
- 35 rūpā - adattādāna - hasti-daṇḍa-chiṭṭola - diśāvāra - dāna - karaṇachchhāya-antarā
va[ḍḍi] - varava (ba)li(li) varda - sa -
- 36 rrv = oṅparikar-ādāna - sahitaḥ sa - jala - sthala - gartt-ōshara - chatuḥ - simā -
paryantaḥ s- āmra - madhu (dhū)ka - prabhṛiti

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

- 37 nānāvṛikshaḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ śri - Khadiravaṇi - bhātṭārikāyām(yāḥ) va(ba)li
charu - naivēdya - pradīpa - dō -
- 38 l-ōpachē(cha)yō āchandr-ārka -kshiti - samakāl - oṅpabhōgāya mātā - pitṛōr = ātmanaś
= cha puṇya - yaśō = 'bhivṛidha -
- 39 yē salila - dhārā - puraḥsaratta (ram tā)mra-śāsanēn = ākarikṛitya pratipādita ity =
āvagatyā samuchita-
- 40 kara - bhōga - bhāg - ādikam upanayadbhi[h*] bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna prativastavyam =
iti || Bhāvibhiś = cha bhūpatibhiḥ
- 41 dattir = iyam = asmadiyā(ya) - dharma - gauravād = asmad = anurōdhāch = cha
sudattir = iv = ānupālaniyā || Tathō(thā) ch = ōkta[m*] dharma -śā -
- 42 strē || Va(Ba)hubhir = vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis =
tasya tasya tadā pha -
- 43 lam || [15*] Mā bhūd = aphala - śānkā vaḥ para - datt = ēti pārthivāḥ | sva -dattāt =
phalam = ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupā
- 44 lanē || [16*] Shashṭim = varsha - sahasrāṇi svarggē(gē) mōdati bhūmidah | ākshēptā
ch = ānumantā cha dvau tau nara -
- 45 ka - gāminau || [17*] Agnēr = apatyam = prathamam suvarṇam bhū [r*]-vaishṇavi
sū[r*]ya - sutāś = cha gāvah | yah
- 46 kāñchanaṅgā (m gā)ñ = cha mahiñ = cha dadyād = dattās = trayas = tēna bhavanti
lōkē || [18*] Āsphōṭayanti
- 47 pitarō valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi - dātā kulē jātaḥ sa nas = trāta bhavishyati | [19*]

- 48 Bhūmim̄ yaḥ pratigrihnā(hṇā)ti yaś = cha bhūmim̄ mā(pra)yachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya - ka[r]māṇau niyataṁ(tau) sva[r*]ga - gā -
- 49 minau || [20*] Taḍāgānām̄ sahasrēṇa vājapēya - śatēna cha | gavaṅkō (vām̄ kō) ṭi - hradānēna bhūmi-ha[rtā]
- 50 na śudhyati || [21*] -Suvarṇam̄ = ēkaṅgā (kām̄ gā)m̄ = ēkā[m̄*] bhūmēr̄ = apy = ardhm̄ = aṅgulam̄ | haran = narakam̄ = āyāti
- 51 yāvad = āhūta - samplavam̄ || [22*] Haratē hārayēdy = astu manda-vu(bu)ddhis = ta[m̄o]vṛitaḥ | sa va(ba)ddhō
- 52 vāruṇaiḥ pāśais = ti [r*] yg = yōni - su(shu) gachchhati || [23*] Sva - dattām̄ = para - dattām̄ = vā yō harēta vasu -
- 53 ndharām̄ | sa viśṭhāyām̄ kṛimi [r*] = bhūtvā pīṭṭibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [24*] Ādityō Varurṇō vi
- 54 śṇu[h*] Vra(Bra)hmā Sōmō Hutāśanaḥ | Śūlapāṇiś = cha bhagavān = abhinandati (nti) bhūmidam̄ || [25*] Sāmā -
- 55 nyō = 'yam = dharma - sētu[r*] = nṛipāṇām̄(ṇām̄) kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sa[r*]vān = ētān = bhāvi -

THIRD PLATE

- 56 naḥ pā[r*]tḥivēndrān = bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || [26*] Iti kamala - dal - āmvu(mbu) - vi(bi)ndu -
- 57 lōlām̄ śriyam̄ = anuchintya manushya - jivinañ = cha | sakalam̄ = idam̄ = udāhṛitañ = cha vu(bu)ddhvā
- 58 na hi purushaiḥ para - ki[r*]ttayō vilōpyāḥ || [27*] yad = vā (bā)ṇāḥ pakshapāli - pavana - ra -
- 59 ya - parishvaṅga - sandīpta - vidyud = vahnni-jvālā-samūhair = anumita - jalada - vyūha - samchā -
- 60 ra - līlāḥ | udgachchhantō ghanēbhyas = tad = anu cha si(śi)khayā gumbhitān = ēka - tāra - santāna -
- 61 granthitās = tē katham̄ = api dharaṇi - pṛiśṭha - pa[r*]yantam̄ = īyuh̄ || [28*] Tasy = ānta[h*] sthita Chandra sē (śē)khara -
- 62 pada - dvandasya mandākinī - tōyād = abhy = adhik - ādaram̄ dvija - pad - āmbhōbhiḥ samabhyukshitaḥ | vidyā -

- 63 [yām] nija - vēśmanō jalanidhi[r*] = lōk - ānukampā - mati [r*] = viśv - ārādhini
śa(sa) ndhivigrahapa -
- 64 [dē] [svā]mi - priyē jāgrati || [29*] Udghāṭya pratikumbhi - kumbha - pharu(la)
kanna(m = tan=ma)uktika - śrēṇi -
- 65 [bhiḥ] kṛitv = āthō nija - dēha - maṇḍana - vidhiṃ yad = khaḍga - lēkhā - naṭi |
sangrām - āngaṇa - raṅga - bhūmi -
- 66 su(shu)muhuḥ svachchhandatō līlayā nṛityanti hṛidayaṅgamā samabhavad =
vidvēshi - bhūmi - bhujām || [30*] Asau
- 67 nija - bhuj - āsa(śa)ni - kshapita - vairi - buūbhṛit - kulā(lō) mahākshapaṭālī
yaśaḥpaṭala - kaumudi - chandramāḥ | ka -
- 68 lā - nivaha - janmmabhūr = Amṛita - chandra nāmā nidhiḥ samasta - guṇa -
sampadam = idam = alīkhach = chhāsa -
- 69 nam || [31*] Parama - māhēśvara mahārājādhirāja śrīmad = Indraratharāja-dēvasya
pravarddhamāna
- 70 vijaya - rājyē shasthē samvatsarē Kārttika - māsi śukla - paksha - dvitīyāyām
tīthau likhitam = i
- 71 dam yatr = ānkēn = āpi samvat 6 Kārttika śudi 2 vijñāni Vāhērukēna utkīrṇam
(ṇam) ||

Notes :

- 1 Khandapara Plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha, *JESI.*, Vol. I, pp. 85-96.
- 2 S. N. Rajaguru, (ed.) *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, pp. 225-34; *JASB (Letters)*, Vol. XIII, p. 72.
- 3 K. C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Kara and the Somavamsis of Orissa*, pp. 14-15.
- 4 *JASB (Letters)*, Vol. XIII, p. 72; S. N. Rajaguru, (ed.) *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, pp. 244-52.
- 5 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, pp. 248-49.
- 6 The Mallavaram Plates of Parāntaka, *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 89-90.

- 7 *OHRJ*, Vol. XXXIII, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 164.
- 8 *JASB (Letters)*, Vol. XIII, p. 72.
- 9 *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. V, p. 66.
- 10 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, pp. 248-49.
- 11 I am thankful to Dr. S. Tripathi for checking the reading.
- 12 There is a prose passage between the verses 5 and 6.

KANYAKUMARI

(A RECONSTRUCTION FROM EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE)

R. Tirumalai

Kumari of Kumarimaṅgalam¹ as this township at the land's end was known in the inscriptions, had figured in the accounts of the early foreign travellers of the first and second centuries A.D.

In ancient Tamil literature, Kumari has been the traditional frontier of Tamil Nadu and the *Tolkkāppiyam Pāyiram* has declared it to be so in the opening lines.²

The Pāṇḍyas seem to have had the distinguishing title of "Kaṇṇikāvalaṅ".³

It was also held as the sacred place for taking bath especially by maidens and married women who wanted to expiate and redeem their sins of unfaithfulness or immorality by taking a bath at Kumari. After the bath, they worshipped the Kumari Goddess. *Maṇimēkhalai* refers in more than one place to Sāli, a Brāhmaṇa woman from far off Vāraṇāsi, wife of a Vedic teacher who was unfaithful to him and afraid of the punishment for her sin, came to Kumari for bath to purify herself and get rid of her sin. The suggestion was obvious that a bath at Kumari was even more sacred and purifying than Vāraṇāsi and even sinners from Vāraṇāsi had to come to Kumari to expiate for their sins.⁴

Silappadikāram refers to Pahrūḷi, a river and Kumari hills with the cruel sea had engulfed. The Paraḷiyār, following southwards from the ghats in this district still preserves the memory of this old river.⁵

The evidence from these literary sources, viz., *Silappadikāram*, *Maṇimēkhalai*, and *Peruṅṅāḍai* can be attributed to about the 6th to 8th century A.D. It was quite likely that that was an age when there was a great deal of contact with, and migration from the Gangetic plain, and the sacred Tirtha at the southern tip of the land had attained universal recognition. It is interesting to note that Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, the Pāṇḍya ruler in his 17th year (773 A.D.) granted a village, Vēlāṅguḍi, after renaming it as Śrīvaramaṅgalam (i. e., Nāṅgunēri - in the taluk of this name, about 20 miles north of Cape Comorin) as brahmadēya with *kārāṅṅmai-miyāṭchi* as "sarvaparīhāra" (with all immunities) to Sujjāta Bhaṭṭa, who had been well-versed in all Śāstras and Yajña Vidyā, son of the learned Suhu Miśra (a Rīgvēdi Bahuvrasan of Bhārgava-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra, a resident of Saptāli, a Brāhmaṇa village in Magadha country).⁶

Later literary references continue to extol this traditional sanctity of Kumari and the merit of a bath at its ghat.⁷

But the earliest extant epigraphic evidence dates only to about the 9th century. In the 10th year of Pāṇḍya Māgan Śaḍaiyaṅga a Veḷḷāḷa, Murugan had endowed 25 ewes for a lamp service on Pushya asterik in the month of Tai (January-February).⁸

The evidence pertaining to the Chōḷa times is more copious. In the reign of Kōpparakēsarivarman, a Vēḷār of Kīḷār-nāḍu in Kīḷūr-kūrṅgam endowed a lamp service to Kanyā Bhaṭṭār.⁹

In the 15th year of Rājarāja I (1000 A.D.) Kumari maṅgalam, as the place was called, was included Puṟattāya-nāḍu, in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu. One Rāja Mārttāṅḍappērarayan *alias* Sūrai Sāttan of Nāttaravākkūḍi in the same nāḍu had endowed a lamp and 25 ewes which would yield 1/8 (*āḷākkū*) measure of ghee per day for the lamp service. Nārāyaṅga, a resident of that township was entrusted with the ewes and he had to measure out the ghee. Sūrai Sāttan also donated a bugle (*kāḷam*) 6 *palam* in weight by the weighment rod - (*veḷḷikkōl*)¹⁰ balance in which the weights are noted by silver stripes for digits.

Puṟattāya-nāḍu has been taken to mean "a nāḍu which is outside the (Vēnāḍu) country. The country east of Kōṭṭār was known in the olden days as Puṟattāya-nāḍu or the country outside Veṅāḍ".¹¹ This observation of Sri Vasudeva Poduval based on *Travancore State Manual* (1906), Volume I, may perhaps, be open to doubt. For one thing, the most important township east of Kōṭṭār, Suchindram itself was located in Nāñjil-nāḍu. The tract termed "Puṟattāya-nāḍu" was the coastal strip in

Nanguneri Taluk and (Radhapuram sub-Taluk) and extended upto Kanyākumari, this tract was known for the external revenues (*puṟattu-āyam*) (as opposed to internal revenues (*uḷḷayam*)) from the brisk fishing, pearl fishing and commerce and trade in foreign imports that should have accrued to the State. It is perhaps, legitimate to trace the name to this significant feature of external revenues and it could mean "the tract which yields external revenues" and this term occurs right from early Chōḷa times.

Next year (1001 A.D.), two merchants, Kuḍidānam Cheṭṭi and another Cheṭṭi by name Rājamārttāṅḍan gave fifty ewes for feeding a lamp with ghee in the temple.¹² Kōn Kōṅḡan was another donor who figures in a record of his 20th year. If the person of the same name occurring in Darśanam-koppu (8th year) and Vaḍasēri (18th year) of Rājarāja and in Tērūr (the 3rd year of Rājēndrachōḷa)¹³ was identical, he must have been an important person from Śīṅḡaraśūr in Ārkāṭṭu-kūrṅgam in South bank, in Chōḷa country, who came down to Nāñjil-nāḍi in the wake of the Chōḷa military expedition and expansion.¹⁴

A number of fragments dated in the 12th and 13th years of Rājarāja I are also noticed in the Kumari temple¹⁵ and also in the Śiva temple called Guhānāthasvāmin temple at Cape Comorin.¹⁶

The evidence dating to Rājēndra I's reign is even larger. These are also found not only in the Goddess temple but also in the Chōḷa temple (now dilapidated) called Rājarājīśvaram-uḍaiyār, now called

Guhānāthasvāmin temple of Kōṇērīśvaram-udaiyār. It is located at the very entrance to Cape Comorin at the junction of Valliyūr-Kāval Kiṅar Cape Comorin road and the road from Suchīndram.¹⁷ The location of the township has also been described as in Puṛattāya-nāḍu in Utama chōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Rājaraḷapāṇḍi-nāḍu from Rājendra's record of 24th year (1036 A.D.) onwards.

Besides a few records of the 5th year, when early in his reign Rājendra I undertook the war against Chēra¹⁸, a number of records are dated from 28th to 31st year (1040 to 1043 A.D.). This perhaps, was the period when there was recrudescence of trouble in the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra country towards the close of his reign.¹⁹ There are also records of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroys, Jaṭavarman Sundara and Māṛavarman Vikramachōḷa-Pāṇḍya. From the data presented below the following conclusions can be drawn. There was a movement of a number of Vellāḷas from the Chōḷa-maṇḍalam to the South. Besides, a number of generals and

garrison chiefs stationed in Nāñjil-nāḍu also figure in the inscriptions. A maid servant of high status serving the emperor himself, and another from Paḷuvūr serving the Queen Mukkōkiḷānaḍigaḷ have donated lamp services. Donors from as far as the south and north banks of Cauvery or Coleroon in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam and also some from within Nāñjil-nāḍu, and also merchants therefrom and from the Pāṇḍya country are conspicuous. The garrison chiefs and the soldiery had taken the supplementary occupation of tending the gifted ewes or sheep and supplying ghee to the temple.

Kanyākumari had apparently different parts of Brāhmaṇa settlements named Kumari maṅalam (near Kumari temple). Rājaraḷiśvaram near Guhānātha or Kōṇērīśvaram-udaiyār temple was also known as Kaḷikuḍi perhaps because of the proximity to backwaters (kaḷi) and had a merchant's residential area as Gaṅgaikoṇḍa chōḷapuram. The epigraphic evidence is now set out in detail.

Rājendra I	To whom	Donor	Donation	Entrusted to whom
5 th year ²⁰ (1017 A. D.)	Kanyābhaṭṭārar	Sundaran- Naṅgaip- perumāḷ of Chōḷa -maṇḍalam, Teṅkarai.	25 ewes for 1 lamp for 1/8 measure of ghee per day by 1/4 measure called "Nārāyan"	Siṅgan- dēvan ²¹
Do ²²		Perumāṇ from Chōḷa- -maṇḍalam, Teṅkarai. (fragment)		

Rājendra I	To whom	Donor	Donation	Entrusted to whom
24 th year ²³	Guhānāthasvāmin (called Rājarājīś- varam-uḍaiyār at Kumari)	Chōlakulavalli of Pālayūr- Tiṭṭai in Puliyūr-nāḍu in Arunmoḷidēva vaḷanāḍu, who is the kitchen- maid, who served (aḍum) the food for the emperor, Rājēndrachōḷa,	50 ewes	(Built in)
28 th year ²⁴ (1040 A.D.)		Appi Ponnāṇḍi, a Veḷḷāḷa of Madil- kuruchchi, in Muḷḷi-nāḍu for the benefit of his younger brother, Appi Nārāyaṇan.	25 ewes	Mērudachōlai, a Veḷḷāḷa of Kaḷi- kuḍi.
28 th year ²⁵		A dancing girl, Kaṇḍan Solai.	25 ewes for 1/8 measure per day.	Būdan Gaṇavati. His surety Viyāḷan Saḍayan.
29 th year ²⁶ (1041 A.D.)	Guhānātha- svāmin temple (Rājarājīśvaram -uḍaiyār)	Śivājñāna Bhaṭāran <i>alias</i> a Veḷḷāḷa of Kalikālachōḷa- nallūr <i>alias</i> Karuṅgula-vaḷa- nāḍu.	25 ewes	Īsvaran Iluppai, a shepherd of Maṇarakuḍi in Nāñjil-nāḍu- Surety Araṅgan Baladēvan, resident of Maṇarakuḍi.
30 th year ²⁷ (1042 A.D.)	”	A Veḷḷāṭṭi, Aḍigaḷ Appi, a donor from Tirukkuruṅguḍi in Nāṭṭārruppō-		

Rājendra I	To whom	Donor	Donation	Entrusted to whom
31 st year ²⁸	”	kku (identical with is the famous Vaishṇava centre of the name), in Nanguneri Tk.		
		Maṅarkkāḍan <i>alias</i> Naḍuvunila Danmacheṭṭi of Maṅalūr on Vaigai banks in Rājarājapāṇḍi- nāḍu. (identical with Maṅalūr in Sivagangai Tk on the south bank of Vaigai ?)	50 ewes for measuring 1/4 measure ghee by the temple measure called Pavittira- māṅikkam.	A garrison chief (Paḍaitta- laivan) Avayaṅ Kāvīdi Surety a shepherd Araṅgan Maṅiyān.

Other donors to Goddess Kumari temple for a lamp service were, the general (*Perundaram*) Sōmāśi Amohava in service under Rājēndrachōla²⁹. The (fifty) ewes which he had donated were taken over by the garrison leader (paḍaittalaivan) Añji Tiḍan and his chief Vidanan, undertaking to deliver *utakku* of ghee. One other donation was on behalf of an Arayaṅ (chieftain) Pannanaḍi Mērkkuḍaiyan of Vaḍagarai of Chōla-maṅḍalam.

Chōla Pāṇḍya

Jaṭāvarman
Sundara

10 th year ³¹ (1033 A.D.)	Goddess Kumari shrine	Periyāḷ Saṅgam, a maid-servant from Paḷuvūr in Uttuṅgachōla- vaḷa-nāḍu in the	50 ewes for 1/8 measure per day ghee	Kēraḷan Kūttudēvan.... <i>alias</i> Sōḷagan Pāṇḍi and Tāmani Sāttan.
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	To whom	Donor	Donation	Entrusted To whom
		house hold retinue (<i>Ahaparivaram</i>) of Mukkōkilānaḍigaḷ the queen (was the queen also a princess from the Chēra family ?)		
13 th year ³²		A native of Gaṅ- gaikoṇḍachōḷa- puram Karuṅguḷa -nāḍu.		
Chōḷa Pāṇḍya Māḡavarman Vikrama. ³³	God'sess Kanyā- bhaṭṭarar	Dēvan pūvana- Tirumugavan, a resident of Kōṭṭār, <i>alias</i> Mummuḍichōḷa -nallūr.	N. A.	
Vikrama- chōḷa- Pāṇḍya. ³⁴	Bhagavati of Kumāramaṅ- galam.	Tiruchchirram- balam-uḍaiyāṅ- <i>alias</i> Perayark- uḍaiyān Nārāyaṇan of Ālamulai in Mullaikkāḍu-nāḍu in Arumoḷidēva- vaḷanāḍu, in Chōḷa-maṅḡalam	1 kāsū for (lamp ?) service within the <i>garbhagrīha</i> of the temple on (new moon) Amāvāsya day.	

A record of the 29th year³⁵ of the Chōḷa Pāṇḍya ruler is significant. In that year the Perumakkaḷ of Rājarājēśvaram in Kaḷikkuḍi (i. e., the Brahmin residents near about the Kōnērīśvarar temple in Kanyākumari) met on a Pushya nakshatra on a Tuesday in the *mukhamanḍapa* of that temple and made a collective transaction (*sabhakāryam*). A merchant of Kumari *alias* Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram by name Āchchan Mārṅṅili *alias* Pēndiru-

ndan had set up a shrine named after himself on Tiruppendiśvaram-uḍaiyār. The residents, hence, honoured him (*Dēsam-kuḍuttu*). He had deposited a sum of 20 *kāsu*, which he had collected through donations *ivaṅ paḷiyikshampukkutiḍittanta*) for defraying the food-offerings of the new shrine. The *Perumakkaḷ*-the Mahājanas is translated thus in Tamil and hence, it could refer to be Brahmin residents - used the deposit of 20 *kāsu* for repairing the

Kōnāḍarkuḷam, in Jayaṅḡoṇḍachōḷanallūr in Nāñjil-nāḍu which was a *dēvadāna* tank of Rājarājēśvaramuḍaiyār temple and had been breached by a heavy flood and was not able to hold the storage, its supply channel had also to be relaid. The *Sabhayār* hence repaired the tank, and re-excavated a canal straight along (or in continuation of) the branch channel taking off from the [Ta] ḷaikkuḍi channel with this amount. ("..... *laikkuḍi Kālininrum pōnda nēr kavare kal kallavum.*") From the yield in years of successful cultivation under this renovated tank they agreed to deliver per day 2 *nāḷi* rice for the food offerings for the new shrine set up by the merchant. The temple accountant (*dēvakaṇṅakan*) Arayan Kuṅṅan wrote the deed.

Further evidence is available pertaining to the reigns of his two sons, Rājādhiraḷa and Rājēndra II. It may be recalled Rājādhiraḷa had carried the war into the Chēra territory, and put to death the vanquished Chēra ruler and also conquered Kūpaka country identified with Vēṅṅḍ around Quilon and liberated its prince (*Kūpakartarasai sēvagam tulaitu*). The king of Vēṅṅḍ was also killed and Kāndaḷūr-śālai was again sacked.³⁶

A series of records of the 30th and 31st year of Rājādhiraḷa³⁷ refer to the arrangements made for a water-dispensing shed set up near Rājarājēśvaram-ḍaiyār temple, and also for maintaining a feeding-place (*śālai*) for students learning Vēdas.

The water-pandal was set up by

Ayyanambi *alias* Teṅṅmaṅgalakālaman, a minister of the Chōḷa emperor.³⁷ The donor also arranged for the supply of 10 *nāḷis* of paddy from Maṅṅkuḍi for defraying the expenses for distribution at the shed.³⁸

In the 31st year of Rājādhiraḷa³⁹, the temple authorities of Srī Rājarājēśvaram at Kumari Kaḷikkūḍi sold a piece of land to the Nāṅṅpattēṅṅaiyavar. The plot had the following boundaries :-

To the south of the circumambulating wall running to the south of the temple of Aiyappan Vēdiya Śāstra, who is pleased to be installed on the south-eastern side of the temple of Rājarājēśvaram-ḍaiyār; To the north of Uttama-chōḷappērēri, about 10 feet in width;

To the west of the highway which ran on the eastern bund of the Uttama-chōḷappērēri; The highway which was passing from Kumari to Cakra-tirtha, about 12 feet in length; The eastern boundary is not given; perhaps the plot abutted the temple wall.

The vendees could erect a water-shed called Jayaṅḡoṇḍachōḷaṅ within this plot. They could raise a grove and a pandal, within (*kavaṅam*), and fence the plot within these boundaries, and raise fruit-bearing or yielding trees within. They received the agreed sale price which is not stipulated. The accountant of the deity, Arayan Kaṅṅaṅ wrote the deed. The total area of the plot should be 120 sq.yds. (12 × 10).

Apparently the Chōḷa minister had set up the water shed at the junction of

the two highways. It was located at the junction of the Valliyūr - Kāval Kiṇar - Kumari road. The *chakratīrtham* referred to is a tank, though dilapidated still noticed on the southern side of Nagercoil - Kumari road near the dilapidated Guhānāthasvāmi temple. Uttamachōḷappēreri is an old abandoned tank beside the Kōnērīśvarar temple (as Rājarājēśvaram or Guhānāthasvāmin temple is now called). The *Nāḷpatteṇṇāyiravar* (48,000) referred to are identical with a body of Śiva Brāhmaṇas or Paṇmāhēśvaras who were widely distributed including Śrīlāṅka.⁴⁰

These Paṇmāhēśvaras had received a signed deed from the Maṇaṅkuḍi *ūrār* to supply (paddy) from lands endowed as *sālābhōgam* for Rājarāja-śālai at Kumari which was also located to the south of the Śāsta temple, referred to above at the south-eastern corner of Rājarājēśvaram-ūḍaiyar temple. The details are, however, lost.

The *sālai* was distinct from the water-pandal referred to earlier. It becomes evident further from the inscription of the 30th year of Rājādhirāja.⁴² The *sālai* is here named as Śrīvallabhapperuñjālai *alias* Rājarājapperuñjālai at Kaḷikkuḍi. Perhaps this *sālai* had existed even earlier than Rājādhirāja's time and was renamed after Rājarāja and had continued to exist. The salt pans called Mahipālakulakālappēraḷam at Maṇaṅkuḍi⁴³ had been in default in tendering the salt at the fractional rate stipulated against the total yield as 'royalty' and assigned to the *sālai* (*kaiyuraikollum uppu*). This was supplicated to the king for revival by one Pavitramāṇikkattāragappērarayaṅ *alias* Arikulakēsari

of Tiṭṭai, who was a yeoman of the queen's palace, and keeper of the royal *insignia* serving Ulaguḍayapirāṭṭiyār, the queen of Rājādhirāja (*Pirāṭṭiyār Tiruppaḷlittoṅgaluḍaiyāṅ*).⁴⁴ He brought forth a royal epistle addressed to those who regulate and subdivide the salt pans in Rājarājaten-nāḍu (*kūruśeyvār*) and those who superintend the collection of dues therefrom (*kaṅkōṇiśeyvār*). The king stated that it was reported to him that in earlier years, from the salt produced and distributed (*selavu*), the *sālai* was provided for, by a *nāḷi* salt per *kalam* of production (*i.e.*, 1/96) as the share of the royalty allocated to it, and that this share payable to the *sālai* was not being remitted or permitted by these officials (*Vidukalireṇru keṭṭōm kottōm*). The king ordered that, if that was the case, the officials should restore the (assigned) share of salt to the *sālai* for its customary enjoyment. *Tirumandiraōlai* Sembiyan Ten. . nnāṭṭukkōṅār transmitted the royal order and conveyed it.

The Maṇaṅkuḍi *ūrār* also had received a deposit of 30 *kāsu* and agreed to measure out paddy every year from the 31st year (of Rājādhirāja ?) to the *Ṣaṭṭapperumakkaḷ*, *i.e.*, the elders or guardians or teachers of the students in the *sālai*. The *ūr-karanattān*, Māraṅ-Madhurāntakaṅ wrote the deed and attested it.⁴⁵ There was also a grant of ewes for a lamp service by a donor whose name is lost.⁴⁶

An order of Rājendra II dated in his 4th year (1057 A.D.) is significant.⁴⁷ It was issued from his couch called *Kāḍu-*

veṭṭi in Kēraḷan-māḷigai in the palace at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram. The order has three constituents. It allocates the revenue and *antarāya* (payable in cash) from the villages from which already the main land demand (*kaḍamai*) had been assigned to the respective institutions.

(1) For celebrating the Hasta asterisk, the natal star of one of his queens, *Kiḷānaḍigaḷ*, and for festivals for the goddess on that day, the proceeds from the following levies due from the *dēvadāna* villages of *Kānyabhaṭṭāriyār* were granted : *Ūr-kaḷaṅju*, (fee for testing gold). *Kumara-kachchāṇam* (marriage-levy ?), *min-pāṭṭam* (fishing-levy) included *kiḷiṅai* and (ii) ... *pāṭṭam*, *moram*, *Ilaivāṇiyappāṭṭam* (the lease amount of levy on betel-leaf growers), *tiṅgaḷ-kāsu* (cash for particular days or months) *kaḷaḷavu-pāṭṭam* (levy on measuring liquid measures), *pāḍikkāval-kūli* (watch and ward fee), *kāl-kūli* (fee for measuring gram), *kōl-kūli* (for measuring linear

measurements or survey of lands), *āṭṭu-ppāṭṭam* (lease-levy on sheep), *pērmudalāyam*, *taragu-kūli* (fee for brokerage) included *antarāya* dues as levied on occupied holdings (*karaikuḍalāi-varugiṅṅapaḍi*).

(2) Besides *Ūr-kaḷaṅju*, *Kumara-kachchāṇam*, *min-pāṭṭam*, *tari-iṅai* (tax on looms), *taṭṭārap-pāṭṭam* (levy on goldsmiths) included *Kiḷiṅai*

(b) *Ilaivāṇiyappāṭṭam*, *kāḷaḷavupāṭṭam*, *pāḍikkāval*, *āṭṭuppāṭṭam*, *Pērmudalāyam*, (*taragu*) *kūli* included *antarāyam* from the *dēvadāna* villagers of *Rājarājēsvaramuḍaiyār* granted for the provisions required for the deity.

(3) The yield from the *antarāya* items (similar to the above) from the villages held as *sālābhōgam* by the *Rājarājan-śālai* also were granted as additional income for the *sāla*.

The record is signed by as many as 105 royal officials in the revenue hierarchy. The designation of the officials signing the royal order are as follows :

<i>Tirumandiraōlai :</i>	Chancellor who conveys the order.
<i>Oppūttupugunda Kēḷivivari :</i>	The attestor of the royal order being entered in the Revenue account.
<i>Uḍan Kūṭṭattu Adigāriḷ :</i>	The officers attending on the king.
<i>Viḷaiyil Adigāriḷ :</i>	The correspondent -officers.
<i>Uḷvari-Tiṅaikaḷattukkankāṇi :</i>	The superintendents who supervise the Revenue Accountants/Administrative Officers/of the original accountant.
<i>Puṅgavari-Tiṅaikkaḷam :</i>	The Superintendent of the Field Revenue Officers or officers who maintain field revenue accounts.
<i>Variṭtagam :</i>	The keeper of the Revenue-demand Register.
<i>Mugaveṭṭu :</i>	(The endorser of the addressee or despatcher ?)
<i>Variṭtaga Kaṅakku :</i>	Account of the tax-registers.
<i>Variyiliḍu :</i>	Registrar of the tax-register.

<i>Ātchippāṭṭamum Kaipēral</i> :	The officers writing the accounts for the enjoyers of the <i>Kaḍamaiyum Kaḍamai-Eluthum</i> :	<i>pāṭṭam</i> amounts assigned and the <i>kaḍamai</i> dues from each occupant.
<i>Puṟavuvari Tiṇaikaḷa-nāyagam</i> :		The chief of the superintendents of the field accountants.

The inferences that flow from the data are (1) in the first instance only a part assignment of the dues which should have constituted the main land-revenue dues (*kaḍamai*) was conveyed and not the whole proceeds and levies due from the *dēvadāṇa* villages. *Kiḷiṟai* or supplemental revenues and *antarāya* (usually) cash levies from within the assigned townships or dues from various professions or occupation or cesses were retained with the king which were subsequently granted to the three donees, the Kumari goddess, the Rājarājesvaram—udaiyāṇ and the *sālai* named after Rājarāja.

2) The levies enveloped the diverse agricultural operations and non-agricultural occupations.

3) The revenue hierarchy was really a long one comprising 105 persons and well-manned for cross-check.

Next year, (1058 A.D.) Vetti Sendil, mother of Virānilai Vellāḷa, Appi Achchan instituted a lamp service in the temple of Rājarājesvaram-udaiyār. in memory of the

latter (who had deceased) and the 25 sheep she endowed were taken over by Bhaṭṭaṇ Kumaraṇ together with his brothers (who had stood surety for him presumably).⁴⁸ Virānalai was a *dēvadāna* village of Kanyābhagavatī temple.

In the 7th year of RājendraII's successor, Virarājendra (1059 A.D.) two villages were granted for the goddess Kumari :

1) Naṟṟiṟakkuḍi - in the same Pura-ttāya-nāḍu : 371-3/4 (*vēli*) ; 2 *mā*.

2) Peruṅguḍi (Kil-Koṃbu included) : 59 odd *vēlis*. This is the famous inscription which gives a whole *prasasti* of the Chōḷa dynasty in Sanskrit, but the operative portion of the grant is in Tamil.⁴⁹

The same villages figure again in a grant by Kulōttuṅgachōḷa I dated in his 14th year (1084 A.D.). The king made the grant for feeding the Brāhmaṇas in the temple of the Goddess Kanyābhaṭārar and the grant constituted the following :

12 <i>kalams</i>	from the <i>sālābhōgam</i> of Naṟṟiṟakkuḍi. ⁵⁰
28 „	-do- Peruṅguḍi.
12 „	from Seṅgaḷūr <i>alias</i> Sabhā maṅgalam
2 „	from Virānilai Sattanēri.

54 *kalams*

This assignment of the dues was entered in the tax-register. A part of the inscription in the temple in a second pillar seems to convey the grant of lands in several villages in Puṛattāya-nāḍu for the food offerings to the Goddess from the 7th year of a king whose name is not available.⁵¹

A fragmentary inscription refers to the jewellery including Tirumulaippāṭṭam, the breast-cover plate, and others made of gold.⁵²

Fragments attributed to 11th and 12th centuries introduce a new name *Tenvāraṇavāsi-nannāṭṭu Kumari*. (Kumari in the southern Vāraṇavāsi nan-nāḍu). A donor from Kurakkēni Kollam instituted a lamp service in the *garbhagr̥iha* of the Goddess.⁵³ A more interesting inscription refers to special services for *Mahānavami* day, from various individuals of the place one Vugacheramāṇ Ammai Sāttan, Aḍiyān *alias* Korri Dēvadēvaṇ Muṇṇiyaṇ and two others. The provisions for the services were to be delivered by the *vāriyar* who was performing the *vāriyar* service in that year. This would indicate a committee system of temple servants undertaking collectively the responsibility for conducting services instituted had developed⁵⁴ and the committee had a tenure.

After the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the Pāṇḍyas were slowly reviving in the southern parts of their kingdom and near about Madurai. A number of inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman - Srivallabha, Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara are noticed in this tract. Several fragments of inscriptions from Agastīśvaram could be

ascribed to Jaṭāvarman Srivallabha.⁵⁵ On the supplication of one Kambai Nāḍālvāṇ, the king remitted 150-1/2 *māḍai* to be granted as *dēvadāna-iṛaiyili*.⁵⁶ In another *brahmadēya* village, irrigated by *nāṭṭār* (a jungle stream), Munnūṛuvamaṅgalam, the revenue-yield was granted as half-*dēvadāna-iṛaiyili* for providing clothings and other needs of Agastīśvarasvāmi.⁵⁷ at the request of one of the temple priests Sāttan Nārāyaṇan⁵⁸ and at the request of the queen Ulagamūduḍaiyāl.⁵⁹ The total yield of revenue from Munnūṛuvamaṅgalam was 215 *māḍai*.⁶⁰ After deducting half the yield granted to the temple, the remaining half of 107-1/2 *māḍai* was granted as *maḍappuṛa-iṛaiyili*⁶¹ and the dry and rain-fed lands were also granted for feeding the daily-serving priests, Śivaḍgis who returned after taking their bath in Kanyātīrtha (i.e., in the sea at Kumari). They were residing in the *maṭha* called after his queen to take effect from the fourth year.⁶²

It would appear that the serving priests and the attendants in the temple had to have their daily bath at Kanyākumari Tirtham prior to the commencement of services.

Munnūṛuvamaṅgalam should be located in the tract irrigated by Nambi-ār (nāṭṭār in the inscription) in Nanguneri Taluk, as Tirukkuruṅguḍi also is stated to be in the same river tract.

Even later in 1568 A. D. on every Amāvāsya day, the Brāhmaṇas who were returning after bath in Kanyākumari were supplied free *kaṇḍi* (rice porridge)⁶³ at Agastīśvaram, the neighbouring township.

Jaṭavarman Parākrama claims to have vanquished the Chēras in battle, and received tribute from them. He was offered by the king of Kūpaka, his daughter, and Parākrama married her. He fought and took Viḷṅgam and Kāandalūr-śālai. He reformed the weights and measures and stamped them with the Pāṇḍyan emblem. He gave 10 lamps of exquisite beauty to the temple at Anantapuram (Tiruvanandapuram) and granted Tāyanallūr for that purpose. He also presented Puṟattāyanāḍu to the family deity of the Pāṇḍyas (*Teṅṅavar tam kuladaivam teṅkumari kanniyār*) the Goddess Kaṅṅi of (Kumari)

North

: Adiyānūr (identical with Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram) in Nāñjil-nāḍu, including Peruṅguḍi hills of this nāḍu, excluding Panaikuḍi hills, and the area enveloped by the three hills, as per royal order, the hills noted below.

Ānaimalai, Manattirappārai, Tōranakuḷi, Piḍāranēri Kolukkottu (Cairn), Kandanēri (Cairn), the northern branch of Valaiāru, Kodikkala and other conifer from which firewood is taken (*Viṟakaḍukkuppai*).

North-eastern corner : Karuṅḷam, Alliyūr, Puśankāḍ, including Pukkūḷkuḷi, Kirattikuḷam, Siḍarraippārai, Neḍuvēlikkuḷi, and west-facing water-drainage or water-fall; and other locations specified.

The eastern boundary : Viśāpuri in Karuṅḷa-vaḷanāḍu and the south-eastern corner of Irukkanturai.

Southern boundaries : Going east as far as the Mēlmalai, south of this nāḍu and Kēralamguḍi or Kēralankuṟuchchi, and Maṅarḷkuḍi of Nāñja-nāḍu, and traversing a number of specified places, including the depression (lit : water collection (*Nirkoḷli*) of Dēvikuḷam, joining at the east of Tovalai, along Uraṅḍam Porrai and Ūsimalai, joining at Anamalai.

The area comprised in these traverse-boundaries would thus include all the hills now comprised to the north-east of Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram and north of the present Thovala channel in Thovala Taluk, but excluding Panaguḍi hills and then comprising the hills to the north-east of Agastisvaram Taluk and extending upto Karuṅḷam (Village No. 42) Nanguneri Taluk on the Cape Comorin - Paḷuvūr - Panaguḍi road and Eṟukkanturai, Nanguneri Taluk to its east and the sea coast from Kūttapuli to Pillikuḷam in Nanguneri

for giving alms and feeding those who were present on the festival day of Tai Pushya (Puśhya asterisk in Tai month), which, incidentally, was also the king's natal star.⁶⁴ This king has been held to be a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I, and his successor Vikramachōḷa.⁶⁵

The Kanyākumari inscription of Parākrama Pāṇḍya from which the above details are culled is couched in beautiful Tamil. In his 9th year he recorded the broad outer boundaries of all the *devadāna* villages endowed for Kanyābhaṭārar. They are :

Taluk. On the south, it extended upto the eastern limit of Agastisvaram village and the hills called Marutuvāmalai, in roughly the area to the east of Thovala - Marungūr - Magilaḍi road, and the alignment of Nāñjil-nāḍu Puttanār channel, and the eastern portion of Agastisvaram Taluk.

The three hills referred to should be in the Thovala Taluk forest ranges now called Mahēndragiri, Poigaimalai, Thadukamalai, excluding the Panaguḍi range,

and also the smaller hills of Kāttāḍimalai, Śāstānkōyilmalai, Latchmaṇapoṭṭai and Parvatamalai.

These were granted as tax-free *dēvadāna* for meeting the expenses of food offerings sandal paste, and for sandal and camphor for the festival conducted on the King's birthday, the *Taippūsam* day. The tract endowed consisted mostly of the ghats and hills, perhaps, because the yield from the sandal trees growing therein could be appropriated.

Another record of the 16th year of Māraṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ records a grant of a lamp service and sheep therefor by one Pullanārāyaṇaṇ of Kaḷakkāḍu.⁶⁶

In the 9th year (1202 A.D.), Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I, the Pāṇḍyan king who revived the Pāṇḍyan glory, was seated in his couch, Munaiyadarayaṇ in Puḷaḷabharāṇaṇ-maṇḍapam in the inner enclosure of the palace at Madurai, east of Māḍakkuḷam. The students/managers (*śāṣṭar*) of Kumari-maṅgalaṃ made a request. A new *maṭha*

named after the king had been instituted in the temple of Kanyākumari, and to feed the mendicants (*paradēsi*) or travelling pilgrims they sought an assignment of 50 *kāṣu* from the *antarāya* dues payable by the township of Kōḍālūr *alias* Kulaśēkhara-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ in Mēlavēmbu-nāḍu (identical with Koḍaganallūr, a village 3 miles south of Mēlakkallūr in Tirunelveli Taluk) which was already endowed as *dēvadāna* to the deity at Tirunelvēli and the goddess (*tirukāma-kkōṭṭappuṇam*) so that against this cash-assignment they could buy paddy at the current prices from time to time to feed the *paradēsis*. On this request being endorsed by Sōraṇ, Śrīvallavamārāyan, the chief in-charge of the kitchen and commissariat of the king, he ordered that the request be granted from the 12th year and 50 *kāṣu* be entered as *maḍappuṇam*. A counterfoil (*uḷvari*) for the grant entered in the tax-register and his epistle of command was also ordered to be issued. A number of royal officials signed and attested the order. They were :

Kiḷkuṇḍārru Veliyārruṇḍaiyān *alias* Avaiyan Śāttan

Miḷalai-kūrram Kiḷkūrru Viḷattūruḍaiyān Araiyan Nārāyaṇaṇ *alias* Mayirāpalaṇ.

Puravuvāri Tiṇaikaḷam Miḷaki-kūrram Kiḷkūrru Vilattūruḍaiyān Śokkan-ḍaiyān.

Puravuvāri Tiṇaikaḷanāyakan Araṅgaṇ Viḷupparaiyan Aḷiyāttūruḍaiyān.

” ” ” Rājarāja Viḷupparaiyan Kāliṅgarāyan.⁶⁷

In Kollam 376 (1201 A.D.), in the month of Mēsha (Chittirai - April/May), a merchant, Maṇiyaṇ Gōvindaṇ from Kurakkeni-Kollam endowed a lamp, and a lamp with a peacock-head (*Mayilviḷakku*). The tract is called here Purattāya-nāḍu

alias Tenvāraṇavāsi-nannāḍu. The temple priests serving within the inner precincts undertook to maintain the service. The first accountant of the temple, Tiruvāranāyanallūr-ḍaiyān signed the deed. It was attested by the goldsmith Appan

Sundaran *alias* Muppattiruva-taṭṭān.⁶⁸ A fragment also notes a donation or assignment by Arayan Śoran of Tāyanallūr for a daily service expense which was entrusted to the Kumari Śāttan.⁶⁹

There is a gap in the available epigraphic evidence from the 13th to 15th century. In 1452 A. D. a resident of Muttam presented a lamp weighing 25 *palam* with 2 tiers of lamps.⁷⁰ King Udayamārtāṇḍavarma (1516-35 A.D.), the Vēṇād king, was a prolific grantor of lands, and revenue to the Hindu temples. They extended even to many temples in the Pāṇḍya country on the banks of Tāmbra-parṇi and even further north. In Kollam 708 (1533 A.D.), he instituted a new morning service in his name in Kumari temple. He gave in all 4 *mā*, *mukkāni*, 1/4 *mundirigai* (in all 1 acre and 58 cents) which were to yield nearly 60 *kōṭṭas* for the early morning service. Presumably the lands were double-crop lands. The lands were in 10 parcels under the several sluices, third, fourth, and fifth in the ayacut of Pudukkuḷam in Tāḷaikkūḍippārūr in Nāñjil-nāḍu. While distributing food offerings, *kuruṇi* cooked rice was to be given to Nayinan Mārttāṇḍan including Vaṭṭappaḷḷi per day. This order was issued from the king's camp at Kaḷakkāḍu, on the banks of Pachayār.⁷¹ Further lamp offerings in 1568 A. D. and a deposit of 100 *paṇam* was made by a private donor.⁷²

Two inscriptions at Muttam, in the fishermen's settlement about a mile north of Cape Comorin dated Kollam 668 and 701 are significant. They evidence the changing winds wafting the pearl fishery

coast and throw light on the sea-fishing that was an ancient occupation in the littoral.

The order of Kollam 669 (1494 A.D.) sanctioned the assignment of dues (*kaḍamai-vaḡaiyil*) from various fishing activities for pounding oil (presumably coconut oil) for the lamps in the church at Kumari Muṭṭom.

The taxes so assigned were, the tax on *maḍi-valai* (a kind of net, or net used by fishermen in double catamarans) on each *vāḷai-valai* (net used for catching *vāḷai*), on each *sālai-valai* (net for sardines), on each hemp net (*saṇal-valai*), and on each boat (*uru*) (laden with cargo) for import or export 1 *paṇam*; and 1 *paṇam* for every boat (*vilai viṭṭa sām̄bān*) sold. In addition, the share of paddy collected as brokerage (*nel-eḍuppu*) and other customary dues (*sutantriyam*) and the share of the fish due (to the King) for the catches in that haven, viz., at Kumari-muṭṭam, Kōvaikuḷam. Kumari-muṭṭam is on the Gulf of Mannar facing east, while Kōvaikuḷam is facing the Arabian Sea about 2 miles west of Kanyākumari.

Within the four boundaries of the area specified, the king also exempted the taxes on left hand and right hand castes, the military levies (*paḍai-paṇam*) and *piri-sanda kāṇikkai* (a tribute on brought in cargoes for distribution?) and other levies.

These dues were ordered to be utilised for the *paḷḷi* (church) and for the services(?) (Odnikku) therein for all time. Stones were planted for the area so relieved of

the obligations, symbolising (*saṅkētam*) the grant.⁷³ This order should be assigned to the ruling Vēṅṅāḍ king, Ravi Ravivarma. The dispensation of Kollam 701 (1525 A.D.) was that of Udayamārtāṅḍavarma. This recalls the notorious quarrel, violence and tyranny and blackmail and illegal confiscation of fish, and other activities in which the *kuḍimakkal* of Muṭṭom Tuṟai (fishermen) including elder *kaṅkan* and younger *kaṅkan*, (i.e., the headman of the community) were involved. The king interfered and put a stop to this unruliness and gave asylum to fishermen to live there in peace.⁷⁴ The first order was given in the reign of Ravi Ravivarma, and the second in the reign of Udayamārtāṅḍavarma. They were both solicitous to the fishermen who had been converted to Christianity by the Franciscan and the Jesuit missionaries and the Vēṅṅāḍ rulers granted several facilities to the Portuguese for trade in pepper. But these missionary activities posed a political threat as the Portuguese encouraged through the missionaries the converts to throw off allegiance to the native rulers and to swear loyalty to the king of Portugal.

The dispossessed Pāṅḍyan rulers also sought the help of the Vijayanagara rulers. Hence, Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara sent Sāḷuva Timma, his brother-in-law down south and he succeeded in subjugating the Tiruvaḍi ruler, Udayamārtāṅḍavarma and making him a vassal under the Vijayanagara emperor, extracting tribute to him.

But two more invasions of Vijayanagara rulers had occurred. The second was in the reign of Vīra Kēraḷavarma

(1544-45 A.D.) The Vēṅṅāḍ rulers had been following, perhaps, as a matter of political expediency, to secure support against the Vijayanagara invasion. a policy of tolerance and facilities were extended to St. Francis Xavier for his missionary activities in the Pearl Fishery Coast. The Vēṅṅāḍ rulers also discontinued payment of tribute. Rāmarāja sent his cousin Eṟṟa Timma Viṭṭala, who defeated the Vēṅṅāḍ ruler.

Appaṅṅa-nāyaka, the *Daḷavoy* of Viṭṭalēśvara, set up a *jayasthambha* and recorded it on the pedestal or the *bali-pīṭha* (the pedestal where food offerings are made) of the Kumari temple. Another inscription at the base of the *dvajasthambha* (flag-staff) of Kumari temple also gives the genealogy of the Tuḷuva dynasty.⁷⁵

In Kollam 782, Śaka 1529 (1607 A.D.) Mūṭta Virappa *alias* Viśvanātha-nāyaka, son of Muttu Kṛiṣṇappa-nāyaka had endowed the *ayacut* of Kakkaraikuḷam, the cultivable lands (*puṟavu*) and the wells and the dry lands falling to the share of land holdings (*karaikkāḍu*) in Pullāḷaṅkuṟuchchi in the same *nāḍu*. The lands were to yield in all 56-1/4 *kōṭṭas* of paddy for the morning service to the goddess. This was the *Saitimukham* (or permanent deed issued by the officials of the treasury of Kumari temple to account for the *dharmakartā*, Nayinān Tirunelvēliperumāl). From the food offerings, this accountant of the *dharmakartā* was to receive *kurunai* cooked rice daily.

The signatories to the documents were interesting⁷⁶ :

- 1) *Śrikāryam*, Mudali - nāyakkar.
- 2) *Attāntra-kaṅakku* - Kaṅṅāyiram

- (3) *Kaḍaikūṭṭu-kaṇakku* – Sevvandinātha Piḷḷai
 (4) Accountant Kumārasvāmi
 (5) „ Sevvandicheṭṭiyār’s accountant – Padmanābhan
 (6) „ Valappanāyakkār’s accountant – Māḍikkūttu.
 (7) „ Naguchēṭṭināyakkār’s accountant – Saḍapōkan.
 (8) „ Dēvadāna Dikshitar’s accountant – Kaṇḍai
 (9) *Mudal-paṇṇu-kaṇakku* – Sivindrakkuṭṭi Kāḷikkūṭṭi.
 (10) „ „ Anandan Iravi (11) *Dharmakartar-kaṇakku* Nayinān
 (Tirunelvēli)-perumāl (12) *Śribhaṇḍāra-kaṇakku* Nayinān Mārttāṇḍan

The accountants were of several categories : (1) Of the Temple and its Treasury – *Śrikāryam* and *Śribhaṇḍāram* (1, 2, 12) (2) Of final audit and accounts—*kaḍai-kūṭṭu* (3, 4)

- (3) The accountants for the various *kāryakartas* or *sthānikars* – instituted by the *nāyakas* (5, 6, 7, 8) (4) Accountants recording transactions in the first instance (9, 10) or who enter the Capital receipts gross amounts (*Mudal*) (5) The accountant for the *dharmakarta* (11)

In 1664 A.D., Tirumalai Koḷundu Piḷḷai (who might have been a *sthānikar* made an endowment for the merit of his ruler, Chokkanātha - *nāyakkār*, and Vaḍamalaiappa Piḷḷai (the *kāryakarta*). This was a *dharmadāna* for the Tirujñānasambanda-maṭha on the banks of *Chakra-tīrtha*, to the north of the temple. The lands comprised the following : (1) newly reclaimed land under Karaikuḷam in Paṇakuḍi ... 15 *kōṭṭai* sowing capacity, (2) Vilvalaiñḷān reclaimed land .. 3 *kōṭṭai* sowing capacity
 (3) Parisūryankuḷam .. 14 *kōṭṭai*
 (4) Kāli sluice .. 14 „
 (5) In Karuṅguḷam (in Teṇṇaṇṇu) – (in Nanguneri Taluk) under Tērēṇṇukuḷam, Kolumanērikuḷam :- 30 *kōṭṭai* (6) 1/4 *kōṭṭai* of salt per month from Vāriyur-Seṅguḷam salt pans. (7) The old waste reclaimed

(or under (reclamation) in Vīramārttāṇḍa-ppērēri and Punarkuḷam in Kōnamaṭḡalam in Nāñḷil-nāḍu, a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* of the goddess shrine.⁷⁷

A few label-inscriptions engraved in the *maṇḍapa* in front of Kāśivīśvanāthar shrine in the temple should also belong to this period. The shrine was distinctly the contribution of the *kāryakarta* of *nāyaka*, commemorating Viśvanāthā-nāyaka, the first *nāyaka* general who came down south and founder of what became the *Nāyak* dynasty of Madurai.⁷⁸

An inventory of jewellery of the goddess perhaps left in the custody of a recipient temple-functionary is listed in an inscription of 1671 A.D. They were kept in a big brass box:⁷⁹

(1) The main goddess (Periyānāchchiyār)	crown	...	1	item
An ear-ring – pair		...	2	„
The eye-petals (2)		...	1	„

<i>Sutti</i> with diamond and rubies set	....	1	item
Front-costume cover (<i>Munmaṅgi</i>)	....	1	„
<i>Śrihasta</i> (Hand)	....	1	„
The <i>Māṅgalyam</i> - (<i>Malaiyan Tāli</i>)	....	1	„
<i>Kuḷal</i> (The gold tube chain)	....	1	„
<i>Uṇḍaimaṇi</i> - Two beads usually pended on either side of <i>tirumāṅgalya</i>	....	1	„
2) Those of Thyāgasaundari-nāchchiyār :			
Front costume cover			
Silver hand	....	1	„
„ curls	....	1	„
„ sandal cup	....	1	„
„ small cup	....	1	„
		4	(four silver pieces)

The last inscription worthy of note⁸⁰ is dated 1760 A. D. (Kollam 935). This records the expenses incurred in connection with the renovation of the main entrance

Expenses

In the year 1760 A.D.

- 1) Removing the main beam jointed at the entrance-gate on the eastern side of the *śikhara* of the temple and replacing it by a new cut plans therein $1325 + 3/4 + 1/16$
paṇam
- 2) Expenses for 8 *paṇam* weight of sandal paste applied to goddess and Brāhmaṇas' feeding $3553 - 1/16$
paṇam
- 3) For drawing pictures in the temple on the northern side $550 + 3/4 + 3/16$
paṇam

and building a shrine for Gaṇēśa at the main junction and consecration of the deity and other connected items and how they were met.

How met

- 1) Balarāma
Kulaśēkhara
Perumāḷ Padma-
nābhadaśa
(Vēṇāḍ ruler) : 3000
paṇam
- 2) The Superintending Accountant of the temple, Bhagumati-bhaṭṭan of Puttēri. 350
paṇam
- 3) The accountant of the *Śrikāryam* Muttam-perumāḷ-bhaṭṭan : 156-1/2
paṇam

In the year 1761 A. D.

4) For building the shrine of Kanni-Vināyaka at the Brahma-Sandhi of the village and consecrating the deity.	1269-1/16 <i>paṇam</i>	4) <i>Sāntikaran</i> (Priests), the <i>Piḷḷaimar</i> , the <i>Stalattar</i> , the temple tenants, the <i>nāṭṭār</i> , the <i>cheṭṭies</i> of <i>Kōṭṭār</i> , the <i>nagarattār</i> - gave as <i>Valipāḍu</i> (contribution for worship).	4422+3/4+1/10 <i>paṇam</i>
5) Silver image of a <i>Sribali</i> together with an aureole (including working charges and for silver and gold weighing 1143-1/4)	3698+1/4+1/16 <i>paṇam</i>	5) Expenses, including paddy and money from the temple treasury.	4023+3/4+3/16 <i>paṇam</i>
6) For bathing the said image	356-1/16 <i>paṇam</i>		
7) For making a silver pot (weighing 400 of silver) including making charges	1200 <i>paṇam</i>		
Total ...	11953-1/4 <i>paṇam</i>	Total ...	11953-1/4 <i>paṇam</i>

It will be seen the king had met 1/3 of the expenses and the contributions from the residents of *Nāñjil-nāḍu* of various description was 1/3, and the temple treasury had borne 1/3. The two temple officials had (on their own or on collecting contributions) contributed 506-1/2 *paṇam* and they were stipulated to be used for making images of *Sribali* and the beam-replacement, and for the image of the

Gaṇēśa respectively. The two accountants, one supervising, and the other *Srikāryam* looking after temple affairs were *Bhaṭṭars* from *Puttūr*, a village near *Nagercoil*.

A Summing up :

The temple and the township of *Kumari* was as old as the beginning of history. Early foreign notices and continuous

Tamil literary traditions attest the sanctity attached to the waters at the confluence of the three seas and to the worship of the Goddess Kumari, who was claimed to be the guardian deity of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. Significance was attached to the place as the natural frontier of the land. It was the ambition of any conquering ruler to put up a pillar of victory at the place.

But the available evidence of the Chōḷa period is more abundant. A number of lamp-services were instituted by the natives of the Chōḷa country from either side of the Kāvērī and the Coleroon rivers. They were a mix of people - the soldiers and generals (*perundanam*), *Veḷḷāḷars* or agricultural elite, the officers of the Chōḷa kingdom, merchants and dancing girls, and servants of the palace. Among them were the kitchen-maid who served food to the Chōḷa emperor, Rājendra I and a maid-servant of one of his queens. Lamp service to Kumari was a favourite form of offering. Lamp-making, particularly with that of a peacock-head, was a handicraft which had been developed very early in the tract and still continues to retain its fame. This should attest the diversification of crafts and the excellence attained in metal work.

Sheep or cash deposited for feed of oil were left with the garrison-chiefs or heads of soldiers who had set up residence at Kōṭṭār and elsewhere. This provided a peacetime or supplemental occupation for them and their families.

The place around Kumari temple was known as Kumarimaṅgalam. Surely the

Śivabrāhmaṇas, *Paṇmāhēsvaras* and others of the Brāhmaṇa literate class had taken residence near about that temple.

In the reign of Rājarāja, a temple for Śiva was newly added, and this was located at the junction of the two roads from the east and the north. The deity here was named after the Chōḷa emperor and there was also, perhaps, a colony of *Paṇmāhēsvaras* and others near about this temple. A fresh water tank called Chakratirtha and an irrigation tank Uttamachōḷappērēri were also adjoining this temple. There was a *sabhā*, and the members of the *sabhā* received cash deposits from donors, and invested the amount in reclaiming and renovating *devadāna* tanks and ensured a steady income and return to defray the expenses for the purpose of the grant.

In the reign of Rājādhirāja I, a water pandal was added by one of his ministers at this site, and it was provided for, by assigning land-dues payable by Maṇaṅkuḍi-ūrār. The site and appurtenant land purchased from the temple authorities were utilised for not only a pandal but raising fruit-bearing trees. The *Paṇmāhēsvaras* belonging to the 48,000 *Śivabrāhmaṇas* who had spread all over South India and even Śrī Lan̄ka looked after this charity.

In addition there was also a school and or *maṭha* for teaching the Āgamas and the Vēdas. They were assigned not only land-yield or dues but also salt from the royalty due to the State from the salt pans of Maṇaṅkuḍi. The discontinuance of this former vogue was

reported to the king by an official of his queen's establishment and the king directed its restoration.

Rājendra II enlarged the content and the quantum of earlier grants by assigning the *kiliṭṭai* and *antarāya* as well from villages endowed as *dēvadāna* both to Kumari temple and to the Śiva temple, as well as those endowed for the school as *śālābhōgam* (to maintain the *sāla* and feed the inmates). Vira Rājendra added 330 and odd *vēlis* in 2 villages as grant to Kumari temple. Portions of these villages and two others were further assigned as *śālābhōgam* by Kulōttuṅga I. Provision was made to give early morning breakfast or food to those who had been returning from Kumari after bath even in the adjoining township of Agastisvaram. None of the three institutions so assiduously fostered by the Chōlas, the *śālai* the water-pandal and the Rājarājēsvara temple have survived in form, and this has fallen into disuse. There is enough evidence to show that the township organisation in the area closely followed the pattern of similar townships in the Pāṇḍya and the Chōla tracts. The *sabhā*, the *ūrār*, and the temple organisation shared the characteristics of similar organisations, during this period. There are also references to the *vāriyam* of the township organisation which undertook executive responsibilities.

By the end of Kulōttuṅga's reign, the Pāṇḍyas slowly gained ascendancy. Parākrama Pāṇḍya endowed a whole tract comprising the hills in the western ghats on the north-eastern corner of Thovala taluk besides, dry and irrigated lands in

the southern portion of Nanguneri taluk, near Panaguḍi, and the eastern half of Agastisvaram taluk to meet the festival and sandal and camphor expenses on Tai-Pushya festival and to feed the pilgrims attending the festival at the Kumari temple. The Goddess is described as the family deity of the Pāṇḍyas.

A *maṭṭha* named after the Pāṇḍya ruler, Jaṭavarmaṇ Kulaśekhara was generously provided for, by the king assigning 50 *kāsu* from the *antaraya* due to the king from a *dēvadāna* village, Kōḍalūr in Mēlvēmbu-rāḍu endowed for the Tirunelvēli temple. The lands or villages endowed as *dēvadāna* were mostly located in Purattāya-nāḍu, where Kumari is itself located and in Nāñjil-nāḍu to its west, but some stray grants were in Mēlvēmbu-nāḍu in the adjoining district of Tirunelvēli. Right upto this period Purattāya-nāḍu was a part of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

With the rise of the Vēṅḍ kings to power, Kanyākumari passed into their territory. Udayamārtāṅḍavarma also liberally provided for additional services by land grants in Tālaikuḍi.

But his reign was quite noteworthy for the changes that were overtaking Nāñjil-nāḍu and the sea coast. Christianity had claimed a large number of converts, and a church had been established at Kumarimuttom, the adjunct of the township where the fishermen lived, on the north-eastern corner of the township. King Udayamārtāṅḍa had also assigned substantial revenue from fishing, an important occupation, trade, and commerce to the church for supply of cocoanut oil. The

vigorous external trade and commerce the region had is well attested by this inscription. He adopted a liberal policy towards the Portuguese, the Jesuits and the converts. Also he interfered in the quarrels among the fisherman-leaders or chieftains and gave asylum to those who were threatened eviction from their habitats.

Udayamārtāṇḍa's expanded territorial acquisitions had ousted the Pāṇḍya rulers. The Vijayanagara rulers could not also take kindly to the increasing conversions aggressively pursued by the Portuguese, the Jesuits and the Franciscan missionaries and then desecrating the Hindu temples.

The Vijayanagara invasions were the result. The Tiruvaḍi chieftains were subdued, and the Nāyaks made their power and influence felt. In the period that followed *dharmakarttas* or *sthānattārs* were presumably, appointed by the Nāyaks to look after the temple affairs. A new shrine for Kāśī Viśvanātha was also an addition during this period. The temple had an elaborate organisational structure with several categories of accountants to cross-check each other.

The last noteworthy epigraphic evidence is of the renovation done in 1760 A.D. and how the expenses were met. The entire people of Nāñjil-nāḍu, and several

sections of the community therein had participated and contributed to this renovation, in addition to the king of the tract.

That was a collective effort. The king contributed only 1/3 of the expenses but his was perhaps the largest single share. The *sthānattār* (temple servants), *sthalattār* (leading residents of the place), the merchants from Kōṭṭār, the *piḷḷaimār*, holders of lands, the temple tenants, the *nagarattār* or the merchant-community guilds contributed the highest proportion. The two *Bhaṭṭars*, who were temple officials preferred a contribution towards the making of two images of Gaṇeśa and the Goddess. Together it was an example of the entire residents of various community-groups, contributing to the renovation, sharing the expenses and the merit with the king. Even so, the temple treasury had to bear a third share thereof. The liquidity that the treasury had could be attributed to the cash contributions and deposits and yield-proceeds from endowed lands converted in cash which the treasury had accumulated over time towards spending on capital maintenance expenditure. This broad-based sharing of expenditure would also attest that besides the king, the residents of Nāñjil-nāḍu had made substantial contribution towards the renovation and the installation of new images in this favourite shrine at the land's end.

Notes :-

- 1 Vide "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" (circa 81-96 A.D.) *Foreign Notices*, p. 59. The author refers to Comarin, beyond Balita (Varkalai) at which are the Cape of Comarin and a harbour

hitherto come those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy ; women also do the same ; for it is told that a goddess once dwelt there and bathed. There is also a distinct reference to 'Panaliya' (Paralayār) and the tract around, the Nāñjil-nāḍu.

- 2 "Vaḍavēṅgaḍam Teṅ Kumari aiyiḍai
Tamiḷ Kūṟum Nal ulagattu" - *Siṟappapaśuram (Tolkappiyam)*
- 3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 274.
- 4 "Kumari Padan Koḷkaiyin Vaṅaṅgi"-*Maṅimēkhalai, UV* Edn., 1981, c. 13, line 74
"Teṟkatkumari yaḍiya varuvēn"-*Ibid.*, c. 13-line 83
The goddess here was known as "Pushpahāsi". - Vishṇu is also named Puspahāsa in *Sahasranāma* ;
p. 439
- 5 "Pahruḷiyāṟṟuḍan Palmalai Aḍukkattu Kumari Koḍuṅkaḍal Koḷḷa." - *Śilappadikāram*,
Ch. 11, lines 19, 20, (1957 Edn.).
- 6 Śrīvaramaṅgalam plates of Pāṇḍiya Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (*Ten Pāṇḍyan Copper Plates*) - The Tamil
History Academy, Madras. (1967).
- 7 "Peruntogai" - M. Raghava Iyengar Ed. 1935-36, V.V. 108, 109, 26, and also v. 1463 at
page 335.
- 8 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 141, f. n. (32 of K. 1085)
- 9 *Kanyākumari Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1968, 54 (*T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 142)
- 10 *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968, No. 48.
- 11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 275.
- 12 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 142
- 13 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 145
- 14 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 143-4. Vaḍaśēri Inscription. Malayāḷam Era
- 15 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 142 f.n. (No. 38 of 1085, Malayāḷam Era)
(No. 39 of 1085, Malayāḷam Era)
(No. 34 of 1085, Malayāḷam Era)
- 16 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 142 (No. 27 of 1085, Malayāḷam Era)
- 17 There are two roads, one from the north (from Tirunelvēli) forks off at Kāval Kīṅar towards the
east and joins the other from the west from Nagercoil to Kanyākumari about a mile west of the
temple. The road from Tirunelvēli proceeds further south to Āralvōimoḷi and through Thōvāḷā
pass it proceeds to Nagercoil.
- 18 *The Chōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 241
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70

A RECONSTRUCTION FROM EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

- 20 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 147
- 21 Siṅgam Dēvan had undertaken another endowment of 25 ewes for tendering 1/8 measure of ghee (No. 25 of 1087) *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 152, f.n.
- 22 *Ibid.*, f.n. (No. 24 of 1087, Malayālam Era)
- 23 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 161. Pīlajyūr Tiṭṭai has been located in Nagapattinam Taluk, Thanjavur District (S. No. 101 in the Chōḷa-maṇḍalam list of Sri Y. Subbarayalu's "*Political Geography of the Chōḷa Country*" - 1973)
- 24 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 239-40.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 240 ; Also *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-1972 (p. 115)
- 26 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 240-241 ; *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-120 (T. N.)
- 27 -do- p. 241, Fragment ; *K. I.* Vol. I, 1968-108
- 28 -do- p. 241
- 29 *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-64
- 30 *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-50
- 31 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 150 ; *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-51 (T. N.) The year is here read as 2 (0). There appears to be another deposit of 10 *kāṣu* for a lamp service to be maintained from the interest yield of someone connected with Mukkōkkiḷānaḍigaḷ, a queen, (*K.I.* Vol. I, 1968-40)
- 32 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 151-2. Fragment.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 152, No. 113
- 34 *Ibid.*, No. 114
- 35 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 249 ; *K.I.*, 1968-118. The regnal year is read as 21 in the latter. My interpretation of portions of the inscription differs from the translation in *T.A.S.*, Vol. I. Tāḷakkuḍi the village referred to, perhaps, can be identified with the village of that name in Thovala Taluk. It is irrigated by a channel from Paḷayār.
- 36 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 242.
- 37 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 169 ; *K.I.*, 1968-110 *The Chōḷas*, Vol. II, part II, pp 797-98, *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 242.
- 38 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 170 ; *K. I.*, 1968-112. Maṇarkuḍi is identical with the sea-coast village of that name in Agastisvaram Taluk.
- 39 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 168-169. The error in attributing this inscription to Rājarāja II at p. 168 has been corrected by the learned epigraphist himself at p. 242. *The Chōḷas* Vol. II, part I, p. 79.
- 40 *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 14-20

- 41 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 242 ; *K. I.* Vol. I, 1968-114. The learned editor notes that the contents of this inscription proceed to mention something about the water-shed established by Ayyanambi (p. 242) because of the common occurrence of Nīrpatteṅṅāyiravar and the Śasta temple. My interpretation differs. The inscription at p. 242 refers to a *Śalai* and not *tannīr-pandal* and there are more than one reference to such a *Śalai* as explained in the text. Nārpattēṅṅāyiravar being a collective body could be associated with more than an institution besides their accredited responsibility for Śrī Rājarājēśvara temple, other institutions like the *Śalai* and water pandal could even be taken as adjuncts, under their supervision.
- 42 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 163 ; *K. I.*, Vol. I / 1968 -12
- 43 This place is even now known for its salt pans from and salt production is even now current.
- 44 The term "*Tongal*" is interpreted in the sense of royal apparel and *insignia*. (Vide *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. IV, p. 208, item (13). The term "*Kaiyurai*" is interpreted as the customary share of royalty expressed as a fraction of the total salt provided. Confer "*Uraināḷi*" (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8 and *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. I p. 486.)
- 45 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 149-50
- 46 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 164-68 ; *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-56
- 47 *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-39.
- 48 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 243 ; *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968 - 106.
- 49 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 144.
- 50 Read as Narasayarkkuḍi in *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-56. The reading adopted in the text is that in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 274-5. *A.R. Ep.*, 1965-66, No. 217.
- 51 *A.R. Ep.*, 1965-66, No. 218 ; in *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-58.
- 52 *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-43.
- 53 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 1968-71 ; See also *Ibid.*, 1968-60
- 54 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 1968-53. Of course in Kēraḷa *Variyar* means a distinctive class of temple servants But the phrase *āṇḍu - vāriyam - seyyum - vāriyar* refers to the annual committee/executive members.
- 55 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 1968-2
- 56 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 1968-4
- 57 *Ibid.*, 5
- 58 *Ibid.*, 6 ; also No. 12
- 59 *Ibid.*, 8
- 60 *Ibid.*, 10
- 61 *Ibid.*, 11

- 62 *Ibid.*, 14
- 63 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 1968-27A ; *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 48
- 64 *T.A.S.* Vol. I, pp. 17-23 ; *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-57. My identification of the same place-names here differs from the learned editor of *T.A.S.*, Vol. I.
- 65 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 18 ; K.A.N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 123-24.
- 66 *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 141, f. n. ; *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-55. The latter attributes this inscription to the 12th century.
- 67 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 26-27.
- 68 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 65. For a similar endowment, please see *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-71, *K. I.* Vol. I, 1968-60. Are the two identical ? The latter edition has several gaps in the text.
- 69 *K. I.*, Vol. I, 1968-74.
- 70 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 64-65, No. 48.
- 71 *Ibid.*, Volume VI, pp. 124-130. The grant is described here as *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* a term usually used only for grants to Viṣṇu temples. *Tāḷaikkuḍi* is the village of that name in Thovala Taluk. *Kaḷakkāḍi* is a village of that name in the western part of Nanguneri Taluk Vaṭṭappaḷli is the *Sthānikar* family which wielded great influence in Suchindram also.
- 72 *K.I.*, Vol. I, 1968-93.
- 73 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 179-180, *Maḍi-valai* is stated to be a double net, inner one being of small meshes and the outer larger. *Vilai Viṭṭa Sāmbān* may mean either a boat sold or the boat-load of cargo sold. On *Sāmbān*, Duarte Boubasa has an interesting note (vide) in *T. A. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 178. "The navigation (in Coalem and Quilicare) is carried on in small craft which they call *Champanes*, in which Moors come to trade and carry thither the goods of Cambaya. Here certain horses are of great value and they take cargoes of rice and cloth and carry them to Malabar" It seems to have been derived from a Chinese word to mean "three blanks", with reference to the method of building the small boats, according to Sri R. C. Temple.
- 74 *T.A.S.*, Vol. VI, p. 181
- 75 *A.R.Ep.*, 1945-46, Nos. 109-110
- 76 *T.A.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 195-98 ; Nāguchetti-nāyaka here might have been, perhaps, connected with Chinnanāguchetti-nāyaka, son of Potti-nāyakkan, who built a Teppakuḷam in Maṇṇārkōyil in 1604-05 A.D. (see the author's work *RājendraVinṇagar*, p. 51).
- 77 *T.A.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 198.
- 78 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 201.
- 79 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pt. I, p. 64.
- 80 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 113-15.

THE DRAS (LADAKH) PILLAR INSCRIPTION

B. K. Kaul Deambi

On Srinagar-Leh National Highway between the hamlet of Isyalbo and the village of Dras lies a group of three pillars of granite mica slate. On one of these pillars is an inscription in seven short lines. The writing is much defaced now but was in a state of perfect preservation when it was first copied by Sir Alexander Cunningham.¹ The record has been described by Cunningham in his work *Ladakh*, p. 380, pl. XXX. It has also been referred to by Vigne in his *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 393 and also by Francke in his *History of Western Tibet*, p. 52.

On one side of the pillar is sculptured a horseman and on the other a standing human figure. Cunningham² regards the pillar as a sati pillar since, according to him the horseman is 'the usual emblem placed on the pillar of a Rajputani sati to denote that her husband was soldier.' Cunningham has tried to decipher the inscription as well but since he could not make out anything out of the inscription he left it untranslated saying, 'I am unable to translate (the inscription) satisfactorily'.

The object of the study is to decipher and translate the record for the first time with a view to clear some misconceptions connected with the pillar and the inscription.

The inscription is in Sanskrit language and in Śāradā characters called by Cunningham Kashmiri Ṭākri. Before we

actually decipher the inscription we have to bear in mind that the inscription was incised by one living in a far-flung area and not supposed to possess a sound knowledge of Sanskrit language and grammar. That is why we find in the epigraph some grammatical irregularities, incorrect language influenced by the local vernacular and orthographical mistakes. In fact, such peculiarities are common in all inscriptions hailing from remote areas. These features of the inscription, no doubt, render its interpretation somewhat difficult.

In the first line we find only one syllable *pra*. Its significance is not clear unless we take it as an abbreviation of *Praṇām* (homage). Second line reads *Lōkēśvaram chā Maitreyam*³, *Lōkēśvara* and *Maitrēya*. The third line is difficult to interpret as it contains both orthographic and grammatical mistakes. It reads *pratishṭashṭa kyāsa* the syllable *shṭa* having been written twice. The expression may be corrected as *pratishṭhitāḥ Kyaśēna* i.e. installed by *Kyaśa*.⁵ Cunningham's reading *pratishṭaptantasram* except the first part is wholly unwarranted.⁶ The fourth line is somewhat clear and reads *om bhavatu sarva satva pra* which may be corrected as *om bhavatu sarva satvānām pravṛidhaye*, 'may it (this sacred act of installing the images) be for the increase (of the religious merit) of all living beings.' Cunningham's⁷ reading *Atabhavatumanya matvanvapra* is wholly incorrect and makes no sense. The fifth line reads *Aṭha*

gharanyakula śreyārtha(m) for the glory of Atha belonging to the family of Ṭharaṇya. The sixth line is again problematic. It reads *aśvaśvapṛitha*. Here we can easily detect an orthographic error in as much as the syllable *śva* has been written twice. Such duplication is not uncommon in epigraphic records and manuscripts and has been noticed above in *pratiśṭaṣṭa* line 2. *Pṛitha* may be vernacularised Sanskrit *pati* and the expression may be corrected as *aśvapati*, the horseman. Cunningham's fantastic reading of the seventh line reads *naprā* and the last line *da-ala*. Both these lines are written in bolder characters. *Naprā* may be the name of the architect who constructed the pillar and *Da-ala* may indicate his residence. In *Da-ala* we may have the earlier form of the name of the village *Dras*. *Ala* in Tibetan means a pass and several passes in this region have the names ending in *ala*, e.g. *Chang-ala*, *Dmb-ala*, *Kandu-ala*, *Photo-ala*, *Zoji-ala*, etc. *Dras* (a modern name) is situated just across the pass *Zoji-ala*.

The whole epigraph may be translated as : Homage. These images of *Lōkēśvara* (i.e., *Avalōkitēśvara*) and *Maitrēya* were installed by *Kyaśa-a* for the increase of

the religious merit of all living beings and for the glory of *Aṭha* who was a horseman and who belonged to the family of *Ṭharaṇa*. The architect was *Naprā*, resident of *Da-ala*.

It may be pointed out here that the human figure sculptured on the pillar besides the horseman does not represent a woman as believed by Cunningham. It is a standing figure of *Maitrēya* mentioned in the inscription. Francke³ also recounts a local tradition regarding the pillar according to which "the figure is not woman but a plain *Maitrēya*."

Thus the pillar is not a *sati* pillar commemorating the act of *sati* committed by a woman after the death of her soldier husband. The inscription purports to record the installation of the images of *Lōkēśvara* and *Maitrēya* for the glory of *Aṭha* who was a horseman and for the increase of the spiritual merit of all living beings.

It has been a common practice among the Hindus and Buddhists alike to instal images of deities for the glory of the deceased relatives and kins.

Notes :-

1 Cunningham Alexander, *Ladak*, Physical, Statistical and Historical, Sagar Publications, New Delhi, 1977, p. 380.

2 *Ibid.*

3 The last syllable *yam* of *Maitrēyam* is continued in the third line.

- 4 The first *shṭa* with closed top in the letter *sha* looks like *ṭṭa*
- 5 *Loc.cit.*
- 6 Cunningham. A, *op cit.*, pl. XXX.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 380. Cunningham reads, *Atabhavatumanya maṭwanvapra adatharabha u (la) maiyatre (ma) (ndra)*
- 8 Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, p. 52.

THALIGRAM (SILCHAR) INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN LAKHMIDEVI

Madhav N. Katti

The inscription being edited in the pages of this journal for the first time, was copied by me in course of my visit to Assam in the year 1986. It is presently kept in the house of Shri Ballabh Burman¹ in the village Thāligṛām, Silchar Sub-Division, Kachar District, Assam. The epigraph which is beautifully engraved on a well-dressed slab, is in Sanskrit language and Assamese script.

The record contains the date, both in chronogram and Śaka year, the details of which are furnished both as per the solar and lunar reckonings. The epigraph is in seven lines and except line 7, the remaining lines form a single verse in *Sragdharā* metre. The formation of some words, which will be discussed below, reflect a local or regional trend.

The details of date in chronogram *Ketōy-ādri-chandrē, Vṛishagata-tapanē Bhaumijē vāsarē*, will mean in the year (i.e., the Śaka year) 1720 (here *kē* should be taken as a corrupt form of *khē* (i.e., *ākāśa*), and thus the chronogram can be deciphered as *khē-tōy-ādri-chandrē, Vṛisha* (i.e., *Vṛishabha*)-*māsa*, Tuesday (*Bhaumijē-vāsarē*), which was a full-moon day (vide the word *Pūrṇachandrē*) in line 6). In line 7, the the Śaka year 1720, *tarikh*, [15] i.e., 15th day of the month of *Jyēshṭha* are mentioned.

These details correspond to 1798 A.D., May 29 and the cyclic year was *Sukla*

(as per the northern calendar). It is interesting to notice here that the Śaka year referred to in the inscription is obviously *Sālivāhana Śaka*.²

The following palaeographical peculiarities are worth noticing here. The letter *ga* (in *Vṛisha-gata*) in line 1 is of the cursive variety and the letter *ka* (in *kshitipatika*) in line 3 has its vertical stroke not touching the top horizontal stroke. This trend is also seen in the same letter (in *Sākabadaḥ*) in line 7. An orthographical peculiarity is seen in the word *kalusha* (line 6)³, where the letter *lu* is engraved more like *lva*. The correct forms of such words are shown in the transliterated text.

The purport of the inscription is to record the completion of the construction of the temple⁴ of *Sāntadēva* by *Lakshmīdēvi*, queen of *Hariśchandra-nārāyaṇa*, who belonged to the family of *Hēḍambachandra*. The temple was constructed in the midst of a tank (*sarasi*) and its construction was completed on the full-moon day, the date of our epigraph. It is also interesting to notice here that the inscription refers to queen *Lakshmīdēvi* as the disciple of *Sāntadēva*, as *rāja-mātā* and a powerful lady (*balavati*). The temple is further referred to as *kali-kalusha-hara* (that which removes the defects or sins of the *Kali* age).

The inscription is of much political significance in that it brings to light for the first time Lakshmīdēvi, queen of Hariśchandranārāyaṇa. King Hariśchandra-nārāyaṇa belonged to the family of Hēḍambachandra, who was also the progenitor of the dynasty, which is also known as the family of Kachāri rulers. It was not known so far how long Hariśchandranārāyaṇa ruled. From the evidence furnished by the record we can interpret that he had died sometime earlier than Śaka 1720 (1798 A.D.). In all probability he must have died leaving only a minor son as his heir-apparent and due to this reason his queen Lakshmīdēvi, also referred to as *rāja-mātā*, must have run the administration of the kingdom.

This is strengthened by the fact that she is referred to as a powerful lady (*balavati*). She was also a disciple (*dāsī*) of Śāntadēva, who may not have been alive on the date of the record and therefore she caused the construction of the temple for him (completed on the date of the record). It is possible that she must have got it built for the merit of her deceased husband and for the prosperity of the family.

The temple, though dilapidated, is even today preserved in the midst of the tank, outside the village Thāligrām and both the temple and the revetment of the embankment of the tank are reminiscent of the architecture of the period.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Śrī k (kh)ē-tōy-ādri-chandrē Vṛiṣha-gata-Tapanē
- 2 Bhaumijē vāsarē vai śrī śrī Hēḍambachandra
- 3 kshitipatika-Harichā(ścha)ndranārāyan(ṇ)asya
- 4 rān(ṇ)i-śrī-Lakshmīdēvyā sarasi balavant(t)yā
- 5 rājamātāya dāsā(syā) prāsādam Śāntadē-
- 6 vaṁ Kali-kalusha-haram pūrṇa-chandrē supūrṇaṁ⁶ [I*]
- 7 Śākābdaḥ 1720 tārikha⁷ 15 Jai(Jē)shṭhasya ||

Notes :-

- 1 The inscribed slab is stated to have been brought from the precincts of a modern temple, rather a small shrine, at the outskirts of the village, where it was kept for a long time and is presently in the custody of Shri Ballabh Burman. Obviously, it was set up in the temple in the midst of the tank, near the modern temple and when they became dilapidated due to the ravages of time, the inscribed slab must have been brought and kept in the modern temple referred to above. Even now we can trace out the tank and a small temple in the midst of it. Evidently they are the same as the ones referred to in the inscription. The inscription is being noticed in the *Annual Report on*

Indian Epigraphy, for the year 1987 under preparation and published in the pages of the journal, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy).

- 2 Though the Sālivāhana Śaka reckoning was widely known in South India and the Deccan it had reached Assam through Bengal, perhaps through Tripura, a few centuries earlier. The expression *Vṛishagat-tapanē* (line 1), means when the sun entered the Vṛishabha constellation i.e., in the month of Vṛishabha.
- 3 My reading of the word as *kalusha* was confirmed by Dr. J. B. Bhattacharya and his colleagues of the Assam University, who informed me that such a form (of *lu* appearing like *lva*) frequently occurs in the manuscripts of the period also. For the details of coronation of the kings of this dynasty, vide. Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, (Simla, 1926) pp. 251 ff.
- 4 *Prāsāda* means 'temple', 'mansion', etc., and in the present context it can be taken as a 'temple'. The structure which is still preserved in a dilapidated condition proves this.
- 5 From the inked impressions.
- 6 The letters *pūrṇa* and *pūrṇam* in line 6, appear more like *pūṇḍra* and *pūṇḍram*. However, the intension of the engraver is clear.
- 7 In the figure 15, the second digit is not very well engraved.

A KHAROSHTI INSCRIPTION ON AN IMAGE OF GANDHARA ART

B. N. Mukherjee

A Kharoshṭī inscription on the back of an image of Maitrēya is the subject of this paper. It is at present in the Indian Museum¹ (figs 1 and 2)

The sculpture is carved out of a slab of grey schist. Stylistically it is attributable to the Gandhāra school, though its exact provenance is not known. It is 66 cms in height, 35.7 cms. in width and 9 cms. in depth at the base.

The sculpture displays a seated male figure. He sits cross-legged facing front. His right forearm is half-raised and the hand is in *abhaya-mudrā*. His left hand rests on lap. Its fingers hold the top of a pot. He has matted hair with a top-knot. The pupils of the eyes are marked. His drapery has parallel and convex folds. The chest and belly are left uncovered. He is adorned with bangles, wristlets, armlets, ear-rings, two necklaces and a sacred thread (or breast chain) to which two amulets are tied. A part of a nimbus is still noticeable at the back of the head.

The seat of the male figure is flanked by two lions standing to front with their

mouths open and tongues hanging out.

The last noted feature betrays influence of the Mathura school of art where seats flanked by lions standing to front can be noticed from the time of an image of the Buddha and one of Mahāvira, both dated in the year 22 of the Kanishka era.² The pot (nectar-pot) held by the left hand of the figure identifies him as Maitrēya. It is thus an icon of Maitrēya produced by the Gandhāra school under the influence of the Mathura style. It is stylistically datable to a period about or after the year 22 of the Kanishka era.

On the back of the pedestal there is a Kharoshṭī inscription in two lines. N. G. Majumdar, who first noticed the sculpture, took the inscription as illegible, though the opening portion appeared to him as *ka 400*.³ The inscription can now be read clearly after the cleaning of the back of the image done recently.

The language of the Kharoshṭī inscription is Gandhārī Prakrit. We propose to read, sanskritise and translate it as follows.

Prakrit Text

- lines 1 Sha 4 [I] Teḍotvaṇe hiḍa
2 Sha 20 [+] 20 [+] 4 [+] 4 [+] 4 [+] 4

Sanskrit Version

- lines 1 Sa(mvatsare) 4 [I] Tritattvaiḥ hitam [I]
2 Sa(mvatsare) 56.

Translation

In the year 4. [It is] beneficial through three truths,
(or real states). In the year 56.

The use of cerebral *sha* in place of dental *sa* in Gandhārī Prakrit is attested by the *Gāndhārī Dhammapada*.⁴ There are also examples of replacement of *ta* by *ḍa*.⁵

The inscription seems to advocate the benefit (*hita*) of understanding three truths or real states (*tattvas*) mentioned as characteristics (*lakṣhaṇa*) in Buddhist texts. A Buddhist belief implores for realisation that "the five constituents which make a being" are *anitya* (impermanent), *anātma* (soulless) and full of *duhkha* (misery).⁶

The inscription bears two dates. The details of the second date are written as 20 [+] 20 [+] 4 [+] 4 [+] 4 [+] 4 [-] 4 instead of usual 20 [+] 20 [-] 10 [+] 4 [+] 2.⁷

As noted above, the sculpture may be stylistically dated to about the year 22 of the Kanishka era or later. So the year 56 of the record, which must have been engraved on the image immediately or sometime after its creation, can be referred to the same reckoning. If the area is identifiable that of 78 A.D., the year 56 can be taken to have corresponded to 133-34 A.D.

The year 4 probably refers to the rule of a local subordinate chief. We have at least two other examples of the use of regnal year as well as an era in dating a Kharoshṭī inscription.⁸ However, the era in both the cases is that of Azes (I).⁹ Our record seems to be the first noticed one dated in the Kanishka era and also in a regnal year. Herein lies the importance of the epigraph.

The inscription is important from another point of view. The way the lions are represented on the pedestal is taken by a group of scholars as an indication of a date not earlier than the second century of the Kanishka era or a date in a second Kushāṇa era initiated after the first century of the Kanishka era.¹⁰ The believers in the first alternative think that the figure for 100 was omitted before the figures for 20 and 2 in the inscription on the pedestals of the above noted images of the year 22. The image under review proves that the stylistic feature in question had developed before the year 56 of the Kanishka era. In that case there is no difficulty in referring the Mathura image also to the year 22 of the Kanishka era. The treatment of drapery of the central figure on the pedestal of the image of the year 22 is similar to that of the garment of Maitrēya under review. This similarity also shows that there is indeed nothing in the stylistic treatment of the figure in question (i.e., icon of Maitrēya) suggesting a date 100 years after the year 56 of the Kanishka era. Hence, the icon of Maitrēya should be assigned to the year 56 of that reckoning, as suggested by the inscription.

The evidence of the inscribed image of Maitrēya thus militates against the theory of omission of the figure denoting a hundred in dating the Mathura images in the second century of the Kanishka era. There is also no independent evidence of the beginning of another era immediately after the first century of the Kanishka era.

The dated icon discussed here is the sixth known dated image of the Gandhāra school of sculpture. Hence, it has considerable bearing on the determination of chronology of Gandhāra art.

The Kharoshṭī inscription edited here seems to be one of the most important, even if also one of the shortest, epigraphs in Gandhārī Prakrit.

Notes :-

- 1 N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, reprint, Patna, 1987, pt. II, p. 92, no. 308 and p. 128, no. 308.
- 2 J. E. Van Lohuizen, "The Date of Kanishka and Some Recently Published Images", *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, (edited by A. L. Basham) Leiden, 1968, p. 128 and pl. II ; R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathura*, p. 208 and fig. 126.
- 3 N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
- 4 J. Brough, *The Gandhāri Dhammapada*, Oxford, 1962, p. 124. Verse no. 46 has *shaga* in place of *saṅgaṃ*.
- 5 S. Konow, *C.I.I.*, Vol. II, pt. I, *Kharoshṭhi Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 150. In a Manikiala inscription we have - *paḍi'a* - in place of -*pratika*-. See also A. C. Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, reprint, 1975, p. 15.
- 6 R. C. Majumdar, (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951, p. 372 ; A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1970, p. 53 and f. n. 1 for references to the sources.
- 7 For a similar unusual way of expressing a date (by writing *saṃ 20 [++] 20 [++] 20 [++] 20 [++] 20* instead of *saṃ 100*), see A. H. Dani, *Chilas* Islamabad, 1983, p. 110.
- 8 S. Konow, *op. cit.*, p. 62 ; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. XI, pp. 102-03.
- 9 *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. XI, pp. 103 and 109.
- 10 J.E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The 'Scythian Period'*, Leiden, 1949, pp. 232-59 ; J.M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1947, pp. 270-73.
- 11 *S.P.*, p. 236.
- 12 B. N. Mukherjee, "Problems of Dated Images of the Mathura School of Sculpture of the Kushana Period", *Central Asia in the Kushan Period*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1975, pp. 346f.

AN INTERESTING YAUDHEYA SEAL FROM NAURANGABAD

Devendra Handa

It was in 1965 that Bhagwan Deva Acharya published an interesting Yaudheya clay seal (figs. a & b) from Naurangabad in Haryana.¹ It, however, attracted the attention of scholars when it was republished in *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* five years later² and his monumental work on ancient seals in 1974.³

Naurangabad (Bamla) is located in District Bhiwani on Rohtak-Bhiwani road, about 35 kms. north-west of Rohtak and nearly 11 kms. south-east of Bhiwani. The ancient mound here has yielded, among other relics, 80 coin-moulds of punch-marked coins, 100 coin-moulds of Indo-Greek coins, more than 2,000 coin-moulds of Kushāna coins and nearly 8,500 coin-moulds of the Yaudheyas (*Yaudheyānām bahudhānake* type).⁴ Obviously, it was an important city of ancient India and a strong hold of the Yaudheyas.

The Yaudheya seal from Naurangabad under reference is well-baked, reddish in colour and oval in shape. It measures 6×4.9 cm. and has a knob at the back which also bears the finger impressions of probably its maker. It has a symbol in the beginning of the negatively engraved four lined legend in the Brāhmī script of circa first century B.C. or A.D. which has been read by Swamiji as :

line 1. *Rapati*

2. *Yaudheyā-Janapa-*

3. *da - prakṛitānāka-*

4. *nagara*

The symbol in the beginning of the legend was rightly thought to be a sacrificial post by the Acharya when he published it first.⁵ He, however, was not sure of it when he published it again in 1970⁶ but again recognised it as such subsequently.⁷

Swamiji wavered about the legend also. In 1965, he restored the first word (in the first line) as *raipati* thinking that the vowel marks above the letters had been truncated.⁸ In 1970, however, he suggested that the seal belonged to Rapata (or Rapati) mentioned in the first line, who was probably an official of the Yaudheya tribe of Prakṛitānākanagara which he identified with Naurangabad.⁹ He also mentioned that some friends suggested that the first letter was not *ra*, but *ha* and thus they deciphered the first word as *hapata*, intended for Hayapati, the lord of horses. Quoting the well-known verse from the *Mahābhārata* : *Tato bahudhanam ramyam gavāḍhyam dhana-dhānyavat | Kārtikeyasya dayitam Rohitakamupādravat ||*

Swamiji observed that the word *gavāḍvam* is also found as a variant of *gavāḍhyam*. So he thought that like Rohitaka (modern Rohtak), the second city, too, may have been rich in horses.¹⁰

Swamiji, however, revised his views again in 1974 and read the first word of

the legend as *Raipati* meaning 'the lord of wealth'. The whole legend has been interpreted to denote 'the seal of Prakṛitānākanagara of the prosperous Yaudheya Janapada' or 'the seal of Anākanagara, the capital of the prosperous Yaudheya Janapada'. Prakṛitānākanagara of Anākanagara was suggested to be the ancient name of the fort at Naurangabad.¹¹ Following Swamiji, Siluk Ram, too, took the word *rapata* to be *raipati* 'which would indicate the prosperity of the Yaudheya Janapada'.¹²

Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri, while confirming the initial symbol to be sacrificial post in railing as also found on the Yaudheya coins of Bull-Elephant Type, thought that the second letter of the first word (in the first line) was undoubtedly *ha* and not *pa*. So he observed that what can be definitely read as *rahata* is probably intended for a word like *Rauhita*, the medial signs being off the surface of the seal.¹³ This seems to be a very reasonable and logical reading and restoration as Rohitaka was a well-known centre of the Yaudheya republic. Prof. Shastri also read the first letter of the second line as *Yo* and not *Yau* though the latter seems to have been intended. "Thus, the seal inscription" he observed, "refers to the town of Prakṛitānāka of the Yaudheya Janapada of Rohita or Rohtak. The town of Prakṛitānāka, of which the present seal is, thus, belonged to that section of the Yaudheyas which occupied the Rohtak area."¹⁴

Siluk Ram, however, differs from Swamiji and Prof. Shastri in his interpretation of

the word *Prakṛitānākanagara*. He observed that "while giving us the budget of a feudatory income, the *Sukranītisāra* (iv. 7.24 ff.) distributes it into privy purse, *prakṛitis*, *lekhaka*, queens and princes, scholars, army, elephants horses, guns and reserve fund. Here *Sukranītisāra* has used *prakṛitis* in the sense of ministers and officers. Therefore, our legend, if interpreted accordingly would mean that the seal belonged to the city where the ministers and officers lived". He continued that "if this interpretation is accepted, it would show that he seal does not belong to the city of 'Prakṛitānāka' as taken by Bhagwandeve Acharya, but that it belonged to the city or, more probably the capital of the Yaudheyas where the ministers and officers lived".¹⁵

Siluk Ram is perhaps not aware of the fact that the *Sukranītisāra* is a very late text¹⁶ and it will not be logical to adduce its evidence for the Yaudheya polity. Even if, for the sake of argument, one agrees to the explanation of the word *prakṛiti* as given in that text, it is not understandable as to how did this word change to *Prakṛitānāka*. Siluk Ram has not explained it.

We, however, feel that what has been read as *Prakṛitānākanagara*, has to be split into *prakṛitā* and *Nākanagara*. *Prakṛitā* should go with the preceding words to form the compound *Rohita-Yohdeya-Janapada Prakṛitā*. A clue and confirmation to this is provided by a clay sealing which bears a *prakṛitā* ending legend. This sealing was obtained from Agroha (District Hissar, Haryana) and shows a *chakra* flanked by

a conch on either side in the upper half and the two lined Brāhmī legend below which reads : *Śrī Nārāyaṇa-de*
va-prakṛitā (fig. c).¹⁷

The last letter of the legend is not clear in the illustrations of the Naurangabad seal. We see faint traces of a vowel mark on it. The last word may have originally been *Nākanagarī*. The complete legend may thus be read as follows :

- line 1. *Rohita*
2. *Yodheya-Janapa-*
3. *da - prakṛitā Nāka -*
4. *nagar[e|i]*

In case we accept the last word as *Nākanagare*, the legend would mean "(Something indicated by feminine gender) created by the Yaudheya *janapada* of Rohtak in or at *Nākanagara*," but if we accept the latter reading, the legend may be interpreted as "*Nākanagarī*, made (or created) by the Yaudheya *Janapada* of *Rauhita*". This would imply that *Nākanagarī* was founded or created by the Yaudheyas of Rohtak. Since Naurangabad has yielded coin - moulds of punch-marked and Indo - Greek coins also, it certainly was not founded by the Yaudheyas. It may have been made the administrative headquarters by the Yaudheyas where they also set up their mint.¹⁸ We may point out that even if the whole legend is taken to form one compound word, it may be interpreted to denote "*Ānākanagara*, created by the Yaudheya *Janapada* of *Rauhita*". We, however, prefer to split the legend and read it as indicated above and think

that the Yaudheyas of Rohtak made *Nākanagarī* their new capital. This is also indicated by the discovery of the Yaudheya seals/sealings bearing the legend *Yaudheyānām Jayamantra-dharānām* from Naurangabad.¹⁹ The term *Jaya-mantradhara* has been interpreted variously as those vested with the policy of the state,²⁰ members of the cabinet or executive committee,²¹ councillors of victory,²² etc. *Mantradhara*s, thus, seem to have been very important state functionaries who in all probability resided in the state capital.

We also know that Rohtak was the mint site of the Yaudheyas during the late second-first century B.C. when coins of Bull-Elephant Type bearing the Brāhmī legend *Yaudheyānām bahudhāṇake* were issued from there.²³ The discovery of a very large number of Indo-Greek coins from Khokrakot (Rohtak) indicates that this important stronghold of the Yaudheyas was occupied by the Indo-Greeks for sometime. It is not improbable that the city suffered considerable damage and destruction at the hands of the aliens because of the stiff resistance offered by the Yaudheyas of Rohtak. The setting up of the Indo-Greek mint at Naurangabad and not at Rohtak also indicates this.²⁴ Soon, however, the Yaudheyas seem to have ousted the Indo-Greeks and began re-issuing their coins from Naurangabad after giving it a face-lift and making it their new capital. This also explains the existence of two different Yaudheya mints at Rohtak and Naurangabad located at a distance of only 35 kms. from each other.²⁵

Notes :-

- 1 Bhagwan Deva Acharya, *Vira Bhūmi Harayāṇa* (Hindi), Jhajjar (Rohtak), 1965, pp. 143-51. The author, however, did not reveal the provenance of the seal in this book.
- 2 Vol. XXXII, Part-II (1970), p. 155, Pl. V. 2-3. The find spot of the seal was mentioned for the first time here as Naurangabad (Bamla) in District Hissar. The four seals and sealings published by Bhagwan Deva Acharya in this paper in Hindi have also been published by Siluk Ram without illustrations in his paper entitled "Some Important Seals of the Yaudheyas", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur, Vol. XIV, Pt. I (March, 1976), pp. 93-95.
- 3 Swami Omanand Saraswati (alias Bhagwan Deva Acharya), *Ancient Seals Of Haryana*, Jhajjar, V. 5. 2031, pp. 45 ff. and pl. XI.
- 4 Swami Omanand Saraswati, *Ancient Mints Of Haryana*, Jhajjar, V. 5. 2036, pp. 25 ff. and 109.
- 5 *Vira Bhūmi Harayāṇa*, p. 146. He also rightly pointed out its similarity with the symbol seen on Yaudheya coins of Bull-Elephant Type (Cf. John Allan, *BMC, AI*, Class II, p. 267 ff.).
- 6 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 155.
- 7 *Ancient Seals Of Haryana.*, pp. 45 ff, and pl. XI.
- 8 *Vira Bhūmi Harayāṇa.*, pp. 147-48.
- 9 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 155.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 *Ancient Seals Of Haryana*, pp. 45 ff.
- 12 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXXVIII (1976), pp. 118-19.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 Siluk Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 95. Swamiji (1974, p. 56) also takes the word 'Prakṛita' to denote the capital as the word Prakṛita is still used for the capital in Indonesia.
- 16 Lallanji Gopal (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XXX) has put forward convincing arguments to prove that it was compiled in the early 19th century.
- 17 It is now preserved in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh. We are thankful to the Director of the said department for the photograph of this sealing.
- 18 Swamiji (V.S. 2036, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.) has located two mints of the Yaudheyas at Naurangabad.
- 19 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 155; *Ancient Seals Of Haryana*, pl. XII, Recently, one more beautiful sealing of this type has been found from Naurangabad by Shri Mohinder Singh of the Kurukshetra University.

- 20 K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Bangalore, 1955, p. 145.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 *B.M.C, A.I.*, p. clii
- 23 Birbal Sahni, *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1945, pp. 1-32.
- 24 *Ancient Mints of Haryana*, pp. 35-36.
- 25 Coins issued from Rohtak and Naurangabad, though of the same type, may have differed in minute details. Allan had observed that "Two fabrics may be distinguished in these coins, a large size with square characters in the inscription and a smaller neater size with the inscription in rather cursive Brāhmī characters" *B.M.C, A.I.*, p. cxlix). We hope that a micro-study of the coin-moulds from Rohtak and Naurangabad would enable us to distinguish the coins of these two mints.

ISLAMIC INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL AND THEIR CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS

Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq

It is very difficult to assert when did human beings started developing their writing skill, but one thing can be taken as granted that the idea of recording their thoughts and events of the times through inscriptions is as old as the development of writing character itself. Since the art of writing is one of the most useful and effective methods for human cultural expression, all the ancient civilizations had their own writing characters, specimens of some of those have survived until the time of our age in the forms of inscriptions on stones or on burnt clays or on metal plates. As a result, we find that three most important civilizations of the old world - the Indus, Mesopotamian (Babylonian) and Nile - had quite rich writing tradition, examples of which can still be seen in different museums of the world.

Bengal which lies in the eastern part of South-Asian sub-continent has also quite a rich palaeographical heritage which goes back centuries before on the basis of archaeological findings. Basically a Gangetic delta itself, Bengal's southern parts form the basin of numerous rivers which merge into the bay of Bengal creating countless openings on the seashore. Because of these natural harbours, the bay of Bengal used to be very important part of ancient trade route, evidence of which can still be found in the archaeological remains of the region and in the descriptions of

voyagers and ancient maritime chronicles. However, the northern part of Bengal which is rather slightly highland, has preserved more archaeological treasures. The pre-Islamic archaeological findings show that Bengal had a very rich tradition of stone carving sculptures. Undoubtedly this rich tradition of stone sculptural iconography was much motivated by the prevailing religions like Hinduism and Buddhism as both of these religions allow idol making and worshipping. However, surprising enough that in spite of this superb stone carving and sculpture making tradition, the artist and craftsmen did not use their skill in stone calligraphy in general. The inscriptions of pre-Islamic Bengal are more of a informatory nature than to be a calligraphic masterpiece.

There was a significant change in the artistic trend in the region after the advent of Islam. While iconography used to be a medium of expression in the sacred arts of many religions like Hinduism, Buddhism and even in Christianity, Muslim world never accepted the idea of iconography for their religious art. Instead they tried to explore the other means to express their artistic zeal. It was in calligraphy that they found one of the best means to fill the gap which was created by the discouragement of iconography. As a result we find that the artists of Muslim Bengal

diverted their traditional stone carving skill to produce some wonderful specimens of stone calligraphy which still enrich many museums of the world.

The written forms have some sort of sacred place in Islamic culture. Probably it stems from the idea that it was the words of *Qur'an* through which God revealed Islam and these words in written forms could be the best means to express religious art. In fact Qur'anic verses form a very significant part of the calligraphic heritage of Muslim world. As a result, we find that most of the inscriptions of Muslim Bengal contain Qur'anic verses in their texts.

Pen and penmanship also bear great significance in Islamic religion and culture. Pen is important both symbolically and spiritually as it is mentioned in the very first few verses of *Qur'an* revealed to the Prophet Mohammad. Pen was the first creation of God through which he recorded all the events of past, present and future of the universe. Thus it was associated with the symbolic power of God's endless knowledge. Similar importance is attached to penmanship as it is considered to be one of the noblest branches of art. The tradition of Prophet Mohammad that Allah being beautiful himself loves the beauty signifies the importance that Islam attaches to the aesthetic perception of human beings. Naturally the art of beautification becomes much more important when the sacred art of writing is performed.

Hence, the written forms in Islamic

culture serve several purposes. It serves as visual symbols of our verbal images and sounds we normally use while expressing our thinking process. So while its main purpose is intellectual communication, we cannot ignore its visual effects. The fact that a powerful good writing is more enhanced with its aesthetic beauty, prompted the Islamic culture to create more visual aesthetic appeal in the forms of their writing. This gave their writing a more dynamic function expanding its dimensions.

The spiritual aspects of written forms are also of great importance in Islamic culture as we have pointed out before because they play a very important role to transmit God's messages to human beings. After all it was the written forms through which the Holy scriptures were preserved through ages after ages. In other words the written forms are taken as a medium of linkage between God and human beings and thus they perform the sacred role in religion and society.

The importance of calligraphy in Islamic culture can also be judged by the place and position of a calligrapher in the Muslim society. It was from the very early period of Islam that the calligraphers occupied such a high position in Muslim community. So we find that those who were responsible to write *Wahi* or divine revelation in the court of the Prophet used to have special status known as *Katibul Wahi* or writer of *Wahi*. In the later ages also, we find that the calligraphers used to enjoy very dignified position in the royal courts; even sometimes they rose upto the position of ministers. One

of the most celebrated calligraphers of Islam Ibn Al Muqla'a who being a minister in the Abbasid court used to enjoy such enviable position that he fell into the conspiracy of court jealousy quite a number of times. Whatever tragedy this unfortunate calligrapher had to go through is a sad story as not only he was sacked from his ministerial position but was subjected to brutality and humility by the jealous courtiers.

The art and architectural heritage of the Muslim world suggest that the artist and architect always enjoyed a great royal patronage in the Islamic history. We find that usually it was the calligrapher whose position used to be the most dignified one among the artists and artisans. In fact the classical Islamic literature is full of books on calligraphy, the life and works of calligraphers and on the praise of pen and penmanship. Comparing to this vast number of literature on calligraphy, we find that sources on architecture or other fields of art are very few. The architects of many famous buildings in the Muslim world are not known while the calligraphers of many architectural inscriptions are quite well known either through literary sources or through their signatures in the inscriptions. This in fact reveals to us the dignity and position of calligraphers in the Muslim world.

Calligraphy, thus being a very important part of Islamic civilization and culture found a new role in Bengal after its conquest by Muslim rulers. In fact we will not be exaggerating, if we say that the history of Muslim epigraphy began

in this region from the very day the Muslims entered in this region. It would be quite unlikely at that period to erect any monument or significant building under the patronage of ruling class which would not have any inscription on it, as if the building would look naked bereft of any inscription. As a result, we find a wonderful treasure of epigraphical records and inscriptions in Muslim Bengal which are rich both in its artistic execution and in the historical information it contains.

Though a number of these inscriptions have already perished with the passage of time due to the lack of preservation and many other natural and social factors, still those which have survived from the cruel hand of time, are quite large in number and they offer quite a vast and virgin field of study in the political, social, cultural and art history of the region.

The study of these epigraphical treasures did not begin until the beginning of the last century when both some local scholars as well as some British orientalist and antique-collectors started taking interest in these inscriptions. One of the pioneers in this field was Sayed Ghulam Husein (D. 1817) who lived near Gaur, the ruined capital city of Sultanid Bengal, which was abundant in Muslim inscriptions and other archaeological relics. While compiling his famous work on the history of Bengal *Riyad-Al-Salatin*, he studied the epigraphical materials of Gaur and used them in constructing the chronology of ruling dynasties of Bengal. Another scholar from the same region Munshi Ilahi-Baksh also used the epigraphical materials like his

predecessor in compiling his book *Khurshid-E-Jahane Numa* which deals with the history of Bengal. Both of the above-mentioned works were done in Persian language in early nineteenth century.

Among the British pioneers, the name which comes to our mind first is Sir Henry Creighton who lived in the vicinity of Gaur for nearly 20 years from 1786 to 1807 and even died there. It is during this period that he wrote his famous book *The Ruins of Gaur*, which contains many sketches and drawings about the monuments and buildings of Gaur. In his book we find a lot of references to the inscriptions which the writer found existing in his time in Gaur.

It might be interesting to mention here that this was the era when more and more interests were growing in the west about the oriental antiquities and art objects and many Europeans were visiting the old sites and ancient cities in search of antiques. The ruined cities like Gaur and Pandua in Bengal attracted quite a large number of British antique collectors. Though most of this antique treasure hunters practised a gross vandalism by plundering every piece of archaeological object which they could carry with them, still some of them also left beautiful accounts and lucid diaries about these ruined cities, which are again quite good source-materials like the inscriptions of those places. Most of these personal accounts and diaries are now preserved in the India Office Library in London.

Among these antique collectors, the most celebrated one is major William Franklin

who visited these sites at the beginning of the last century. His diary *Journal of a route from Raj Mahal to Gaur* gives us a very lucid description about the archaeological remains of that region. He also quotes quite a number of inscriptions of Gaur. His antique collections which he took with him to England consisted of many monumental Arabic inscriptions on stone slabs some of which he donated to the British Museum. However, the most masterpiece of one of his collections found its way to U.S.A. through the antique-dealers and now it is preserved in the University Museum in Philadelphia.

It may be interesting to mention here that Major William Franklin was accompanied during his tour by a local guide Munshi Shyam Prasad who was quite well versed in Arabic and Persian. At the request of Major Franklin, Shyam Prasad prepared a monograph on the ruined cities like Gaur and Pandua and their inscriptions. This monograph *Ahwal-E-Gaur wa Pandua* is also an important source on the epigraphy of these places. Another contemporary amateur archaeologist is Orme who also left for us a small monograph entitled *Ruins of Gaur*. His manuscript which is also preserved in India Office Library (No 65 : 25) contains readings of quite a few inscriptions of Gaur.

The second half of the nineteenth century rather witnessed more scholarly oriented investigation into the art and archaeological study of the region. Among the comprehensive studies in this era, we may mention the book *Gaur, its ruins and Inscriptions* by J. H. Ravenshaw which

was published in 1878. This book was particularly rich with many illustrations of the inscriptions of Gaur along with their text. However, the formation of Archaeological Survey of India in 1862 brought a revolutionary change in the archaeological study of the region. Its first Director General Sir Alexander Cunningham and later on his colleagues took very systematic steps to record the existing inscriptions. Many of the estampages and ink rubbings of the inscriptions collected by the Archaeological Survey of India were forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta where the distinguished scholars like Henry Blochmann deciphered and published them in the journals and proceedings of the Society.

The idea of the establishment of a special branch for Epigraphy and bringing forth a specialized series *Epigraphia Indica* was rather a very dynamic step taken by the Archaeological Survey of India by the end of nineteenth century. With the turn of the century, a more special series *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (abbreviated *EIP*) devoted entirely to the Muslim Inscriptions of India was started and the first issue of this new series came into light in 1907-1908. This journal which was redesignated after the independence of the sub-continent with a new name *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* brought into light quite a number of inscriptions of Bengal. Among the scholars who exhaustively contributed in this field, mention may be made of the names like Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, Dr. Z.A. Desai and Maulvi Shamsuddin Ahmad. Undoubtedly, their contributions specially enriched

this field. Though most of the Muslim inscriptions of Bengal have already been brought to light so far by different scholars, still many of them requires further scholarly investigation and correct decipherment.

As we have already mentioned, inscriptions form indispensable source-materials for discerning facts of the political, socio-cultural and art history of the region. In fact we hardly exaggerate when we say that they are one of the most authentic sources for history which are hardly vulnerable to forgery. In the case of the inscriptions of Bengal, the information derived from them can be used for a wide range of historical and art historical purpose. Since a vast majority of them commemorate the constructions of different types of buildings and monuments, they are the first hand source of information for the contemporary architectural history. They also help us towards the proper identification of many contemporary buildings and their functions. Since most of them bear the dates, they are very the important sources and in many cases the only strictly contemporary source for the date of the construction of the building and thus provide the historian much needed shed ancore to establish the chronology. Quite often they also record the name of the builders and throw light on their political and social status which are again very significant information as they may not be available in any other sources. Another useful information we sometimes find in the inscriptions are the name of the local and provincial officials and their titles which are also of great historical

importance. Appearance of the name of reigning monarch and his titles in the inscription is also of historical significance as it indicate the sovereignty of the monarch in the place where the inscription was executed.

The inscriptions provide us valuable

art historical information. They are the authentic records of the stylistic development of the palaeography and calligraphy in the region. Many of them have richly decorated background on the surface and very often on the borderline which are undoubtedly of great interest for the art historians.

URAIYUR INSCRIPTION OF PANDYA VARAGUNA

M. D. Sampath

This inscription¹ was copied recently from the Tāṇṍōṇṇiśvara temple at Uṟaiyūr, Tiruchchirapalli Taluk and District, Tamil Nadu. It is engraved on either side of the door-jamb at the entrance to the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine. Some portions of the inscription, being damaged badly, the details are not clear. Nevertheless in the extant portion, is retained the main purport of the record, which belongs to the reign of the early Pāṇḍya king Māṟaṇṇaḍaiyaṇ *alias* Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguṇa-mahārāja.

The present record in Tamil language is engraved in Tamil characters of the ninth century A.D. Dated in the 4th + 9th year of this Pāṇḍya king, it registers the sale of wet and dry lands and the grove at Varagūr to the deity Tiruttāṇṇiśvarimahādēva (Skt. Svayāmbhū-mahādēva) by the *mahāsabhai* of Nandiparmmanaṅgalam, after receiving the price-value of 120 *paḷaṅkaśu* and the interest (*paḷiśai*) on it. The price-value was placed in the hands of a *vēḷaṇ* of Aṇḍa-nāḍu, whose name is not mentioned in the record. The sum invested over the sale of land includes two shares of price-value (*vilaipporuḷ*) and one share of tax-value (*iṟaikāval*).

This record is important, for the details of date given enables us to understand the chronology of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king. This is the third inscription which furnishes the date 4th + 9th

year of the reign of Varaguṇa. The details of date *viz.*, Dhanu, Thursday and Mūlā-nakshatra, in the above year falls on December 1, 875 A.D. The dates of the Javantiṇāthapuram² and Lālguḍi-B records³ are 875 A.D., December 5, Monday and December 6, Tuesday respectively. It would not be wrong to say that one and the same king issued all these records, though on different week-days, from the region around Trichy. The sequence of dates compels us to draw a conclusion that Varaguṇa was campaigning in this area, probably to repulse the Pallava attacks.

The above dates were arrived at by counting the reign period of Varaguṇa II from the date of his accession, which was again arrived at from his Aivarmalai (Ayyampālayam) record⁴ of his 8th year coupled with the Saka date 792.

The contemporaneity of the Pallava king Nandivarman, the victor of Teḷḷāru with the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa II was discussed at length by the editor of the Javantiṇāthapuram inscription. He refuted the identification of the Pāṇḍya king of the Lālguḍi records A and B with Varaguṇa I on certain considerations.⁵ Now, let us examine the Pāṇḍya campaign against this Pallava king. M. Venkataramaya while assigning the date of the subjugation of Pallava Nandivarman III before 867 A.D., had stated that, "it

cannot be said, however, that even after the military marches across the Chōḷa country into the Pallava dominions, Varaguṇa II was able to establish anything like sustained or supreme control over the regions⁷⁶. His argument based on the presence of Pallava records in the Chōḷa territory, is unacceptable as the text of the Uraiyyūr inscription goes against the possibility that Pāṇḍyas occupied this territory. Also our record testifies the presence of Varaguṇa, before whom, the sale of Varagūr by the *mahāsabhai* of Nandiparmmamaṅgalam took place. Perhaps the area covering Nandiparmmamaṅgalam was under his control. The grant village Varagūr may be identified with its name-sake in Perambalur Taluk of Tiruchchirappalli District. We know from several records that this part of the Chōḷa country was a disputed land. For, we hear of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya inscriptions on

and often in this region and of the campaigns of Varaguṇa II, through his epigraphs. That the Pāṇḍya campaign was successful is evident from the reference to the Pallava as a donor in one of the records of the Pāṇḍya king at Lāḷguḍi⁷⁷. Not only our inscription but also the record from Javantiṇāthapuram establishes the statement that Pāṇḍya Māraṇchaḍaiyaṅ undertook campaign against Śōḷa-nāḍu⁷⁸. It is reasonable to say that in the early part of the reign of Varaguṇa II, the Chōḷa country was not lost to the Pallavas.

Again coming to the topography, the name of the place Nandiparmmamaṅgalam, from where the *sabhai* functioned, suggests that it came to be called after the Pallava king Nandivarman. However, the place is not identifiable with any of the modern names.

TEXT⁹

- 1 1^oṛkku yāṇḍu 4 āvadiṛ [kke]-
- 2 dir oṅbadām-āṇḍu Dhanu-nā-
- 3 yaṛṛu Vyāḷakkiḷammai [pe*] ṛṛa Mūla mu-
- 4 dal-āga Nandiparmmamaṅgalattu
- 5 Tiruttāṅṛōṅṛi-perumāṇaḍi-
- 6 gaḷukku Kō-Māraṇchaḍaiya[r-āyiṇa]
- 7 Pāṇḍy-ādhipati Varaguṇa-mahā
- 8 rājaṅ-Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-vēḷāṅ
- 9 kaiyil-ivvū [r*] nal-palaṅ-kāśu-
- 10 120 i-nūṛṛirubadu [kāśum]

- 11 idaṇ palisaiyum. hija-
- 12 na-vishṇukramā . . mēdi.
- 13 ji-sōmayājiyā....
- 14 r nambiyum [dēvakanmiga]lum]....
- 15 sabhaiyōm....[Va*]-
- 16 ragūr [o] rri
17 . . ñchoṇṇi.....ippo-
- 18 ṇ padi [ṇaiñ-ka]lañju.....
- 19 r būmi.....
- 20 bhaiyōm [av-Varaguṇa-pa]-
- 21 rmaṇṇku yāṇḍu 4 āvadin-edir 9-
- 22 nāṅgaḷ [irutta]....
- 23 pēr patṭadum nāṅgaḷ mu . .
- 24 ... koṇḍu.....
- 25 . palisaiyil.....
- 26 . . [niṇṇa] palisai....
- 27 din kāśu 120.....
- 28 ṇai poṇ padiṇaiñ-kaḷaṅ -
- 29 jum āga ipponṇum
- 30 ikkāśum ippalisaiyu -
- 31 m orri mūṇṇu kūṇiṭṭu ira -
- 32 ṇḍu kūṇum vilaiippo -
- 33 ruḷ - āvad-āgavum oru kūṇu i -
- 34 ṇai - kāval-āvad-āgavum ippari -
- 35 ś-oṭṭi Varagūr vilaiṅkuṇa viṇ -
- 36 ṇu iduvēy poruḷ śila -
- 37 vum-āga oṭṭi viṇṇu kuḍuttō -

- 38 m Nandiparimmamaṅgalattu pe -
 39 ruṅguṟi sabhaiyōm sa -
 40 bl ai paṅikka eḷudinēṅ madhyastha -
 41 ṅ
 42 to 48. - damaged.
 49 kku
 50 ṅgaḷē ...
 51 [ñ-cheṅṅu]
 52tiru [kō] . .
 53 m kuḷamum nandavāṅattukku -
 54 m-āga muṅ dēvaruḍaiya vē -
 55 liyum idaṟkku teṟkkuk-kuḍi -
 56 p-perumakkaḷukkum-āga [mā]ṅiya -
 57 [ttu] kuḍutta vēliyi -
 58 [l-aṟai] vēliyu nikki i-nāṅg-e -
 59 llaiyilum-agapaṭṭa uṅ[ṅi] -
 60 lamoḷiviṅṅi innilamu -
 61 . . paḍāgai ūr
 62 mē ṅaṅṣeyum puṅṣeyu -
 63 m kuḷamum kuḷavāyumu puṅ -
 64 ṅum teṟṅṅiyum ūr nattamu[m*] -
 65 uḍampoḍi āmai tavaḷn -
 66 dadu Varagūr taṅ peru nāṅ -
 67 g-ellaiyilum-agapaṭṭadu u -
 68 ṅṅilaṅmoḷiviṅṅi [ṅ] [pa] -
 69 l-uruvir [mā] - palā maramum maṅṅu -

- 70 m-e [p*] pēr paṭṭadam ivviraṅ -
 71 ḍuk-iḍakkai nilamun Tiruttā -
 72 ṇṇōṇṇi - mahādēvarkku viṇ -
 73 ṇu kuḍutta in-nilattāl sa -
 74 bhaiyōm koṇḍa vilaip -
 75 poruḷum iṇaip-poruḷu -
 76 m-āvadu¹¹

Notes :-

- 1 This inscription has been included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1985-86. My sincere thanks are due to the Director (Epigraphy) and to the Chief Epigraphist for permitting me to use the original and to edit this record.
- 2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 38 ff.
- 3 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIV, No. 12-B.
- 4 *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 705.
- 5 See for the details, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 39 ff.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- 7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 52, Text. 1. 1.
- 8 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 40 ff.
- 9 From inked impression.
- 10 Beginning is lost.
- 11 The text is incomplete.

EPIGRAPHICAL GLIMPSES OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

H. S. Thosar

It is now an established fact that foreign trade was one of the major factors in ancient Indian economy. Its antiquity could be traced right upto the Indus Valley Civilization. The Mauryan emperors set up a permanent link between the Indian sub-continent and the western world by building up roads and attempting to develop a uniform system of administration. During the post-Mauryan period the north-western part of India was occupied by non-Indian people such as the Indo-Greeks, Śakas, Pahalavas and Kushāṇas. This encouraged India's commercial contacts with Western Asia and the Mediterranean world. It also brought Central Asia into the orbit of Indian merchants and this in turn led to trade with China.

At the beginning of the Christian era there was a rapid growth in India's trade with the Mediterranean world. This was the result of the discovery of the monsoon based sea route between India and Africa by Hippalus. It was synchronised by the establishment of the Roman empire in the Mediterranean and the rise of the Śātavāhanas and Śakas in the Deccan, which further accelerated this trade. The increasing demand of the Romans for spices and similar luxuries took Indian traders to south-east Asia and brought Roman traders to southern and western India. The Roman trade proved to be the most profitable in India's overseas trade. As it was mainly a seaborne trade, most of the trade emporiums were con-

centrated in the Deccan and the far South. That is why a majority of the Roman coins found in India come from South India and the Roman antiquities are also mostly found in the Deccan and coastal region of South India. The Indo-Roman trade continued to prosper throughout the period of the Roman empire. This is substantiated by the occurrence of Roman coins in India belonging to almost all the Roman emperors from the time of Augustus onwards. Early Tamil literature bears testimony, to Yavana settlements at important Indian ports and marts. This has been corroborated by the excavations at Paithan, Ter, Nasik, Nevasa and Bhokardan in Western Deccan and Kāñchīpuram, Vasavasamudram, Amarāvati, Dhulikōṭa, Śālihuṇḍam, Koṇḍāpur, Yellēsvaram, Arikamēḍu and other sites on the eastern coast. Arikamēḍu was more than just a port of call on the route to Malaya and China. It is therefore not surprising as to why Pliny complained of the Indian trade being a serious drain on the national income of Rome, where 550 million sesterces went to India each year.

A lot of work has been done on this subject which, however, is mainly based on literary evidence. The epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological evidences on this problem have not been dealt with properly and exhaustively. If it is done, it will certainly enlighten us more on this problem. Through this paper an attempt is being made to highlight the epigraphical

evidences relating to this subject. The epigraphical material on India's foreign trade is mainly of the following types :

- 1 Inscriptions on pottery, seals and sealings,
- 2 Legends of the Roman coins,
- 3 Inscriptions mentioning the names of foreign traders, and
- 4 Inscriptions referring to Indian merchants and guilds involved in foreign trade.

Inscriptions on Pottery and Seals :

The Arretine pottery found at Arikamēḍu near Pondichery represents the first category. This pottery has got potter's stamps such as VIBII, VIBIF, and ITTA.¹ The first two stamps belong to C. Vibienus, the famous potter of Arezzo in Italy who flourished during the 1st Century B.C. The third belongs to P. Attius, the famous Roman potter of Augustan age. This is a clear evidence of the import of Roman pottery to India. It was obviously brought by the Roman traders coming to India. The Arretine ware and its associate Amphorae are noticed at so many places in the Deccan and the South such as Kāñchīpuram, Śālihuṇḍam, Ter, Vasava-samudram, Nattamēḍu, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Nevasa, Paithan, Brahmagiri, Chandravalli, etc. It certainly shows the brisk trade between India and the Roman empire during the early centuries of the Christian era. The inscriptions on the potsherds corroborate the same.

Indian commodities were exported to the Roman empire through traders or trading

organizations stationed at port towns. As a result of this there was a regular communication link between the port towns and inland emporiums. An inscribed sealing discovered at Bhōkardan (ancient Bhōgavardhana) in the Jalna district of Maharashtra provides an evidence of this communication link. The inscription belongs to the 1st century B.C. and reads as *Thāṇe-nagara gatāyā idā* "It belongs to one (lady) who had gone to or was staying at Thāṇe-nagara (Thāṇe, near Bombay). It may also refer to some institution located at Thāṇe-nagara at that time. The sealing was actually affixed to certain articles or letters and indicated ownership or dispatching authority. The groove on the back is indicative of its use".

Besides Broach and Cambay in Gujarat, Sopara, Kalyan and Chaul near Bombay have been known as important ports on the west coast during the early centuries of the Christian era. The present inscription adds one more name (Thāṇe) in the list of ports involved in Indo-Roman trade. The sealing probably belongs to a lady. If it is so, it will shed new light on the participation of women in international trade. There are several names of women referred to in inscriptions at Nāsik, Kuḍā, Kārle, Kaṇhēri and other places of Western Deccan who had come from distant towns and who were related to traders or caravan leaders. (Śārthavāha).

Roman Coin legends :

Coins of the reigns of almost all the Roman emperors from Augustus to Justinus have been found in India². Most of the

coins were found in the South, which shows that, that part of our country was mainly involved in the Indo-Roman trade. The legends indicate that during the first century A.D., this trade was carried on a large scale, because coins belonging to Augustus and his successors upto Nero were located at different places and are in larger numbers than others. From 2nd century onwards it continued with fluctuations till the end of the Roman empire. It is interesting to note that even after the division of the Roman empire, emperors of both the branches encouraged trade with India. This is witnessed by the occurrence of coins belonging to the emperors of both branches i.e., Rome or Milan and Constantinople.

Inscriptions :

Literary and archaeological evidences have already indicated the existence of Greek and Roman settlements at the various places in the Deccan and South. The epigraphical evidence further substantiates this fact. It is further interesting to note that a bulk of Yavanas mentioned in these inscriptions had settled at Dhenukākaṭa i.e., Dharṇikōṭa on the Kṛishṇa in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. These names have been mentioned in the inscriptions of Buddhist caves in Western Deccan. Since these caves were situated on the trade routes, it can be presumed that the Yavana donors had visited these places as traders involved in the Indo-Roman trade. Following are the inscriptions mentioning the names of Yavanas.

1) Two inscriptions on the fourth pillar in the left side of the Kārle Chaitya record the gift of the pillar by Sihadhaya or Simhadhvaja, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭa.⁴ Two inscriptions on the same pillar belonging to the same person suggest frequent visits of this foreign trader to the monastery. The person had adopted Indian name and had entered the Buddhist order.

2) An inscription on a pillar in the left side of the same chaitya records the gift of Dhamma, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭa.⁵

3) Pillar No. 13 in the right side of the Kārle Chaitya bears an inscription referring to a gift by Dhammadhaya or Dharmadhvaja, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭa.⁶

4) Pillar No. 15 in the same side of the chaitya contains gift by a Yavana Chulayakha from Dhenukākaṭa.⁷

5) Pillar No. 9 in the left wing of the same chaitya records the name of its donor as Yashavadhana, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭa.⁸

The names of several other donors from Dhenukākaṭa are also noticed in these inscriptions. They are as under :

i) An inscription on the 13th pillar in the left side of the Kārle Chaitya records the gift of Dhammadēvi, a relative of Gahapati Aseka from Dhenukākaṭa.⁹

ii) The inscription above the entrance of the Kārle Chaitya records the donation

by Simhadatta, a perfume trader from Dhenukākaṭa.¹⁰

iii) Another inscription on the pillar of the same chaitya records the gift by Svāmika, a carpenter or sculptor from Dhenukākaṭa.¹¹

iv) The 7th pillar to the left side of the Kārle Chaitya registers gift by Mitra-dēva from Dhenukākaṭa.¹²

v) The 6th pillar in the left side of the same chaitya was gifted by Sōmilanaka from Dhenukākaṭa according to an inscription on it.¹³

vi) According to an inscription on pillar No. 1 in the left side of the Kārle Chaitya, it was gifted by Isalaka, the soon of Gola, a trader from Dhenukākaṭa.¹⁴

vii) The inscription on a pillar in the right wing of the Kārle Chaitya reveals that the pillar was caused by merchants' guilds from Dhenukākaṭa. This inscription is very important as it brings to light the involvement of the guilds of merchants and traders in India's external trade activities.¹⁵

viii) An inscription on pillar No. 14 in the right wing of the same chaitya states that the pillar was caused by Rohimita from Dhenukākaṭa for Angila, a resident of Chulapetu¹⁶. It shows that those persons who were not in a position to visit the monastery sent their gifts through traders who used to have frequent visits to Kārle on their way to the ports on the west coast.

ix) An inscription in cave No. 4 at Pitalkhōra records the gift of Kaṇha, the

son of Sāmasa, a resident of Dhenukākaṭa¹⁷. An inscription on the image of a Yaksha at Pitalkhōra also mentions the donor's name as Kaṇhadasa, a jeweller.¹⁸ He is probably the same Kaṇha referred to above.

x) An inscription outside the cave No. 1 at Shelarwadi records the gift by a lady named Siyagutikā the mother of Nanda and wife of Usabhanaka from Dhenukākaṭa.¹⁹

xi) An inscription in cave No. 76 at Kaṇhēri records the gift of nun Sāpā, the daughter of Kulapriya Dhamanaka from Dhenukākaṭa.²⁰

xii) At Kārle, pillar No. 10 bears an inscription recording a gift by Mahāmatā, a lady from Dhenukākaṭa.²¹ Another pillar records the gift by Vaidya Mitadāsa from Dhenukākaṭa.²²

xiii) The Nasik inscription in cave No. 3 refers to the Buddhist monks from Dhenukākaṭa residing at Nasik.²³

The twenty inscriptions referred to above were engraved by the residents of Dhenukākaṭa i.e., Dharṇikōṭa in Andhra Pradesh, who had visited the Buddhist monasteries at Kārle, Kaṇhēri, Pitalkhōra and Shelarwadi. Most of them were traders. These inscriptions thus establish a brisk trade between Dhenukākaṭa and the ports on the west coast. The monasteries of Kārle, Kaṇhēri and Shelarwadi were situated on the trade route linking the inland cities of the Deccan with the ports in Koṅkaṇ such as Sōpara, Kalyān, Thāṇe and Chaul. The traders from Dhenukākaṭa mentioned in the inscriptions at Pitalkhōra were probably on their way

to Broach. The inscriptions thus reveal the different trade routes connecting the inland territory of the Deccan with ports on the west coast through which the trade was carried with the Mediterranean world.

The findspots of Roman coins in India show that the largest number of Indo-Roman trade centres were in Tamil-nadu and Andhra Pradesh.²⁴ The inscriptions referred to above confirm the same. These inscriptions further shed light on the preeminence of Dhenukākāṭa as a chief centre of Indo-Roman trade in the eastern part of the Deccan, where a large number of Yavana traders had settled. They had adopted Indian names and Indian religion and thus were completely assimilated with the Indian way of life. In the light of this evidence a large scale excavation at Dharnīkōṭa is necessary, because earlier excavations at the place have yielded the Rouletted ware indicating its contacts with the Roman empire.²⁵

The names of Yavana or foreign traders from other places are also mentioned in these inscriptions. They are as under :

1) The pillar No. 5 in the right side of the Kārle Chaitya refers to the name of Vitasangata, a Yavana from Umehnākāṭa.²⁶

2) There is an inscription in a cave at Junnar which registers the gift by Irila, a Yavana from Gatadēśa.²⁷

3) In cave No. 67 at Junnar there is an inscription recording the gift of Yavana Chaita from Gatadēśa.²⁸

4) An inscription in a chaitya on

the Manmodi hill at Junnar has preserved the name of a Yavana donor named Chanda.²⁹

5) Another inscription at Junnar records the gift by Aduthuma, a Śaka.³⁰

6) An inscription in cave No. 12 at Nāsik mentions the names of Indrāgnidatta, a Yavana from Dhantāmīṭi who was the son of Dhammadēva, a Yavana from the north and the father of Yavana Dharmarakshita.³¹ The present inscription suggests Yavana settlements in north India also. Dhantāmīṭi is probably the coastal city of Patala in Indus delta which was refounded as Demitrias by the Indo-Greek King Demitrias in 183 B.C.

7) Another inscription from the same place records the gift by a Yavana donor from Śvētapatha.³²

8) An inscription at a Kārle cave belonging to the reign of the Śātavāhana king Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi registers the gifts by Harapharana, the son of Shetapharana from Abulāmā. According to Bühler the donor was of Persian origin and was probably a trader.³³

9) In cave No. 12 at Ajaṅṭa there is an inscription recording the gift of the cave by a trader named Ghanamadaḍa.³⁴ There is no clearcut evidence of his foreign origin but the name itself is suggestive of it.

10) The Sañjēli copper-plates of the reign of Tōramāṅga reveal that even after the decline of the Roman empire in the Mediterranean and the Gupta empire in

India, brisk trade continued between this country and the West during the sixth century A.D. These plates clearly mention the term 'Vaidēśya vāñijakaḥ' i.e. foreign trader who had gathered at Vaḍrapalli (Vaḍphali, in the Dhulia district of Maharashtra) from all the four quarters³⁵ The donors were the foreign traders such as Gōmika and Dēmatta from Daśapura (Mandsaur in M.P.), Sēnavarmā of Mathurikā near Mathurā (U.P.), Pitrayasha, and Chitrayasha from Kānyakubja (Kanauj in U.P.) and Kaṁgghusura and Bhassama of Ujjena (Ujjain in M.P.). As most of the places mentioned in these plates have been identified in Dhulia district of Maharashtra and Kheda, Panchmahal, Baroda and Broach districts of Gujarat it can be said that Broach still continued to be the main port town in India's trade with the western world.

The copper-plates also mention the names of several retail merchants as donors along with the names of foreign traders. The record is an evidence of perfect understanding and mutual trust between the merchants involved in foreign trade and the local retail merchants. The mention of Mathurā and Kanauj as centres of foreign trade is also very important. Because during the early centuries of the Christian ear, Deccan and South India were predominant in the field of foreign trade. The conquest of Gujarat by the Guptas probably brought the northern cities into the orbit of the sea-borne foreign trade. It is further interesting to note that Mathurā and Kanauj are the two places out of the five findspots of Roman coins in U.P.³⁶

From the names occurring in the Sañjēli grant, some of the traders such as Sēnavarmā and Agniśarma seem to be of Indian origin or might have taken Indian names. But there are several other names such as Kaṁgghusura, Bhassama, Bhadvija and several Bhagguna which sound non-Indian and may have to be attributed to the fact that the Hūṇas were an alien tribe.³⁷ The long list of foreign traders referred to above shows that besides Indians, foreigners such as the Greeks, Romans, Śakas, Persians and the Hūṇas were involved in India's foreign trade. The residential places of most of these foreigners have not been identified so far. A correct identification of the same will certainly throw more light on India's foreign trade.

There are several other inscriptions in the caves of Western India which bear testimony to commercial activities of individual traders and trade guilds and the role of trading centres and port towns.

1 Two inscriptions in cave No. 36 at Kaṁhēri record the gift of a trader from Kalyāṇ (near Bombay) who is described as the son of Viṣṇunandi.³⁸

2 Cave No. 7 at the same place bears an inscription recording the gift by Sulasa-datta, a jeweller from Chemulya (Chaul in the Raigadh district of Maharashtra).³⁹ The name of Sulasadatta occurs as a donor in an inscription at Junnar in which he is described as the son of Heranika, a resident of Kalyāṇ.⁴⁰ If he is identical with this jeweller of Chemulya we shall have to presume that for business purposes

different members of the same family stayed at different places.

3 An inscription in cave No. 2 at the same place contains a donative inscription referring to the gift by Svāmidatta, a jeweller from Kalyāṇ.⁴¹ An inscription recently discovered at the same spot registers the gift of a cistern by Punarkasu, a trader from Kalyāṇ. It also refers to Negama or trade guild from Kalyāṇ.⁴²

4 In the same cave Nāgaṇaka from Nāsik has registered his grant through an inscription.⁴³

5 An inscription in cave No. 4 contains a gift by Svāmika a merchant from Sopāraga.⁴⁴ (i.e., Nala Sopara in Vasai Taluka of Thane district).

6 Dhamma, a merchant from Kalyāṇ has registered his endowment through an inscription in cave No. 12.⁴⁵

7 Nanda, an ironsmith from Kalyāṇ has inscribed his donation on the wall between cave Nos. 14 and 15.⁴⁶

8 Ṛishipāla, a trader from Kalyāṇ has engraved a donative inscription in cave No. 24.⁴⁷

9 In cave No. 37 there is a donative inscription belonging to an anonymous trader from Kalyāṇ.⁴⁸

10 Cave No. 39 bears an inscription recording the gift by Nāgapālita, a jeweller from Sopārā.⁴⁹

11 Dhamanaka, the son of Rohiṇimita a banker from Chemula has recorded his endowment⁵⁰ in cave No. 95.

12 Bhūtapāla, a banker from Vaijayanti (Vanavāsi in Karnataka) has immortalized his name through an inscription in the famous chaitya at Kārle.⁵¹

13 There is an inscription in cave No. 14 at Kuḍa in Raigadh district of Maharashtra mentioning the endowment by Mahika, an iron trader from Karahāṭaka.⁵² (Karad, Satara district, Maharashtra).

14 In the same cave Vasula, a banker has inscribed his gift. His name also occurs in the inscription in cave Nos. 18 and 21.⁵³

15 In cave No. 17, an inscription mentioning his donation has been caused by Nāga.⁵⁴

16 An inscription in cave No. 23 at Kuḍa is very important as it records the gift by Śivadattā the wife of Pusanaka, a trader and sārthavāha.⁵⁵ The name of Śivadatta's husband Pusanaka occurs as donor in an inscription at Beḍsa, which describes him as the son of Ānanda, a banker from Nāsik.⁵⁶

17 The name of another sārthavāha Āshāḍhamitra occurs in an inscription in cave No. 24 at the same place.⁵⁷

18 An inscription in the chaitya at Junnar registers the grant made by a merchant Virasēnaka.⁵⁸

19 Another inscription at the same place records the gift by the guild of corn dealers.⁵⁹

20 Another inscription from Junnar mentions the name of jeweller from Kalyāṇ as Saṅghahaka, the son of Kulira.⁶⁰

21 An inscription in the chaitya at Junnar mentions the gift by Budhamitra and Buddharakshita, the sons of Aśvaśarmā from Bharukachha⁶¹ (i.e., Broach in Gujarat.)

22 Another inscription from the same place refers to a donation deposited with the guilds of weavers and bronze makers.⁶²

23 An inscription in a cave at Nānēghāṭ records the gift by Gōvindadāsa, a resident of Soparā.⁶³

24 The name of a merchant named Vira occurs as a donor in an inscription in cave No. 6 at Nāsik.⁶⁴

25) Cave No. 10 at the same place bears an inscription of Sakanikā through which she had recorded the depositing of gift money with the guilds of potters and oildealers.⁶⁵

26) Another inscription in the same cave mentions the gift by Ushavadatta guild.⁶⁶

27) In cave No. 12 there is an inscription recording the gift by Ramaṇaka, a trader from Chhākalepaka.⁶⁷

28) An inscription in the chaitya at Pitalkhōra mentions the endowment by Mitradēva a perfumer from Pratiśthāna.⁶⁸

29) An inscription from Pauni in Bhandara district of Maharashtra also refers to the gift by traders.⁶⁹

The occurrence of the names of Kalyāṇ based traders Viśṇunandi and his

son in two Kaṇhēri cave inscriptions⁷⁰ and the mention of Vasula Sēṭhi's name in three inscriptions at Kuḍa⁷¹ show the frequent visits of these traders to the spots. The name of Sulasadatta, a jeweller from Chemula occurs in the inscriptions at Kaṇhēri and Junnar.⁷² This indicates the visit of one trader to different places. The same inscription states that Sulasadatta lived at Chemul whereas his father Heranika stayed at Kalyāṇ. It shows the expansion of one trading firm into different branches, at different places.

The Kuḍa inscription in cave No. 23 records the involvement of a woman in commercial activities.⁷³ Śivadattā, the wife of a trader and sārthavāha Pusaṇaka from Nāsik has recorded her endowment in this inscription, whereas Pusaṇaka himself visited the Beḍsa caves and registered his endowment there.⁷⁴ This is an example of trading activities carried by husband and wife at different places. The same Beḍsa inscription further highlights on the different members of a family as it states that Pusaṇaka was a sārthavāha and his father Ānanda was a banker from Nāsik.⁷⁵

The reference to different guilds and traders such as, perfumers, jewellers, ironsmiths, goldsmiths, potters, weavers, oil-makers, carpenters, bronzemakers, corn-dealers, sārthavāhas and bankers reflects the involvement of different trades and guilds in foreign trade. The mention of port towns such as Broach, Kalyāṇ, Sopāra and Chemul and inland places such as Nāsik, Paiṭhan, Karhāṭaka, Vajjayanti and Dhenukākaṭa sheds light on the contemporary commercial geography.

Notes :

- 1 *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp. 39-40
- 2 *Excavations at Bhokardan*, p. 77
- 3 *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp. 72-78 ;
I.A. Review, 1970-71, p. 62
- 4 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 53; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 327
- 5 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 55
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 326
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 327
- 8 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 328
- 9 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 328, No. 12
- 10 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 55, No. 9
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 53, No. 6
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 56, No. 11
- 13 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 327, No. 8
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 327-28, No. 9
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 326-27, No.3
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27, No. 5
- 17 *Ancient India*, No. 15, p. 82
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 76
- 19 *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. p. 92, No. 19
- 20 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. X, Lüder's List, No. 1020
- 21 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 328, No. 11
- 22 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 279
- 23 *Ibid.*, Vol., VI, p. 319; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 75, No. 3
- 24 *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp. 72-78
- 25 *Ibid.*, No. 13, p. 19.
- 26 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 325-26
- 27 *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Lüders List, No. 1154

- 28 *Ibid.*, No. 1182
- 29 *Ibid.*, No. 1156
- 30 *Ibid.*, No. 1162
- 31 *Ibid.*, No. 1140 ; C. A. Robinson, *Ancient History*, p. 419.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 395
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- 34 *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 116, No. 2
- 35 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, pp. 86
- 36 *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp. 72-78
- 37 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, Op-cit.
- 38 *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Lüders List, Nos. 1001 & 1002.
- 39 *Ibid.*, No. 1003.
- 40 *Ibid.*, No. 1179.
- 41 *Ibid.*, No. 986.
- 42 *Ancient India*, No. 5, P. 52 ; *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 46-49.
- 43 *Ibid.*, No. 985.
- 44 *Ibid.*, No. 995.
- 45 *Ibid.*, No. 998.
- 46 *Ibid.*, No. 1032.
- 47 *Ibid.*, No. 1000.
- 48 *Ibid.*, No. 1003.
- 49 *Ibid.*, No. 1005.
- 50 *Ibid.*, No. 1033.
- 51 *Ibid.*, No. 1087.
- 52 *Ibid.*, No. 1025.
- 53 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1056, 1063 and 1064.
- 54 *Ibid.*, No. 1062.
- 55 *Ibid.*, No. 1065.

- 56 *Ibid.*, No. 1109.
- 57 *Ibid.*, No. 1066.
- 58 *Ibid.*, No. 1153.
- 59 *Ibid.*, No. 1180.
- 60 *Ibid.*, No. 1177.
- 61 *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 96, No. 19.
- 62 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Lüders List, No. 1165.
- 63 *Ibid.*, No. 1119.
- 64 *Ibid.*, No. 1127.
- 65 *Ibid.*, No. 1137.
- 66 *Ibid.*, No. 1135.
- 67 *Ibid.*, No. 1139.
- 68 *Ibid.*, No. 1187.
- 69 *Pauni Excavations*, p. 41.
- 70 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Lüders List, Nos. 1001, 1002.
- 71 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1056, 1063, and 1064.
- 72 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1053 and 1179.
- 73 *Ibid.*, No. 1065.
- 74 *Ibid.*, No. 1109.
- 75 *Ibid.*

LITERARY ELEMENTS OF THE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS

Sarharuddin Ahmed

In between the period from 12th century A.D. to the early part of the 19th century A.D., the inscriptions of Assam are found in the following forms— (1) Rock engravings¹, (2) Copper-plate charters¹, (3) inscription on brick wall², (4) door-frame inscription³, (5) bell-metal-gong inscription⁴, (6) inscription on copper-dish⁵, (7) engraving on a silver umbrella⁶ and inscriptions on cannons⁷.

The inscriptions of the period were mainly issued by two ruling dynasties of Assam (1) the Koch rulers⁸ and (2) the Āhom kings and their high officials⁹. There are also a few inscriptions which were not directly issued by any royal house. These inscriptions may be termed as miscellaneous¹⁰.

Majority of the inscriptions of the period were issued to *brāhmaṇa* donees offering them land and servitor grants for their establishments and to render service to religious institutions. There is also an epigraph recording land grant offered to one muslim saint¹¹. Some inscriptions record constructions of temples¹² and excavations of tanks¹³, while some refer to the victory of kings in the battles¹⁴. There is also an inscription containing land transactions¹⁵. A copper-plate of king Gaurināhasimha (1780-94 A.D.) records the sale and purchase of men¹⁶. Inscriptions on cannons generally record either acquisition of weapons by defeating enemies¹⁷

or manufacture of a particular weapon¹⁸ or obtaining from enemies¹⁹.

Some of the epigraphs of the period are in Sanskrit, some are in Āhom and a few are in Assamese²⁰. Majority of the copper-plates charters are in both Sanskrit and Assamese, while in certain others in addition to Sanskrit and Assamese, Tāi language is also retained²¹. There are also inscriptions written in Arabic²². Sanskrit inscriptions or the Sanskrit portions of the inscriptions are mainly devoted to the descriptions of the donor kings. Brief descriptions of the high officials are given in the inscriptions which were issued through them. Our main purpose in the present paper is to evaluate the literary elements of the Sanskrit passages of the inscriptions covered by the period.

Majority of the Sanskrit passages of the inscriptions are composed in prose, some are in verse and very few are in both prose and verse²³. They are more or less similar in pattern. Certain common terms and expressions are handled down by composers of the inscriptions. Some of the very common terms used are—*vairi-vāraṇa-dāraṇa-pañchanana - pratāpa - tapana, prachanḍa - kōdaṇḍa - kāṇḍa - yamaḍaṇḍa - daṇḍita - prakāṇḍ-āri-muṇḍa - maṇḍali - maṇḍita, nissīma - bhīma- vikrama, gāmbhīry-ōdārya - maryād-ādi - guṇa - gaṇa - garīma, vipaksha-paksha - kshaya - daksha, himakara - hāra - hāra-vistāra - kīrtiḥ*, etc.

From the above expressions it is learnt that the composers of the epigraphs were acquainted with the concept of *kavisamaya* (i.e., poetical conventions) of the Sanskrit poetics. Poetical conventions represent certain fanciful ideas of the classical poets, who used to uniformly incorporate those ideas into their compositions. So far as the practical world is concerned, these ideas appear to be absurd or only partially true. But for the poets, these ideas involve not even an iota of unreality. Rhetoricians dealing with the poetical blemishes (i.e., *dōshas*) recognise a blemish called *Khyātavirudhatā*. But, even a case of would present itself as a *guṇa* or positive quality if it is endorsed by the poetical conventions (cf. *Kavinām samayē khyātē guṇaḥ khyāta-viruddhatā-Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII, 22). Viśvanātha Kavirāja in the context of discussing this merit of the poetical conventions enumerates a number of typical *Kavisamayas* :

—*mālinyam vyōmni pāpe, yaśasi dhavalatā varṇyate hāsa-kīrttyōḥ raktāu cha krōdharāṅgau, sarid-udadhī-gataṁ paṅkaj-ēndīvar-ādi* — (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII, VV. 23-25)

“The sky and sin are described as black, fame, laughter and renown as white, anger and love as red. Red and blue lotuses are spoken of as growing even in rivers and seas.

On the strength of poetical convention which recognises fame as white, the fame of king Śivasimha is said to be as white (*pāṇḍura*) as moon-rays (*himakara*), snake *Vāsuki* which it put by Śiva as a necklace

(*Hara-Hāra*), diamond (*hira*) and foam (*hiṅḍira*) (cf. ‘*himakara-hara -hāro-hira-hiṅḍira-pāṇḍura-yaśōmaṅḍala-maṅḍita.....*’ — Raṅgmahal Moat Inscription of Śivasimha, dated Śaka 1654)²⁴.

Besides the prescribed *Kavisamayas*, the composers of the inscriptions employ certain other *kavisamayas* in imitation of good poets.

lōkānugraha-kārakaḥ karuṇayā pārthō dhanur-vidyayā
dānen = āpi dadhīchi-kara -sadrīṣō mar-
yāday-āmbhōnidhiḥ ।
nānā-sāstra-vichāra-chāru-charitaḥ
kandarpa-rūp-ōjjvalaḥ
kōmākhyā-chāraṇ-ārchakō vijayatē Śrī
Malladēvō nṛipaḥ ॥²⁵

Here, in the verse, king Malladēva (i.e., Naranārāyaṇa) is compared to Pārtha (i.e., Arjuna) for archery, to Dadhīchi and Karṇa for offering gifts to others, to the sea for depthness, and to Kandarapa (i.e., Kāmadēva) for physical beauty.

Unlike the authors of the inscriptions of the early period of Assam history who showed their skill in the use of different Sanskrit metres, the composers of the present inscriptions employed very few metres. *Śardūlavikrīḍita* is frequently used by the composers of the inscriptions. Metres like *Vasantatilakā*, *Indravajrā*, *Upēndravajrā*, and *Amuṣṭubh* are also used in the Sanskrit passages of the inscriptions.

The Sanskrit inscriptions of the period

are composed in accordance with the traditional norms of rhetoric. In certain passages both *Śabdālamkāras* and *Arthālamkāras* are used with equal interest²⁶, while in certain others much more stress is given on *Śabdālamkāras*²⁷. Of the *Śabdālamkāras Anuprāsa* is almost common, and of the *Arthālamkāras Upamā* and *Rūpaka* happen to be widely adored.

The Sanskrit passages particularly the prose passages because of the repetition of the conjunct consonants *nda ṇḍa* appear to be very rich in *Padalālitya* cf. *Paripūrīta-digantara - nirantara - vāsava - vaṁś-āvataṁsa* (Viśvēśvara Temple Inscription of Gadā-dharasīmha, dated Śaka 1605²⁸); and of *hiṇḍ_ira-piṇḍa-pāṇḍurīta* (Umānanda Inscription of Gadā-dharasīmha, dated Śaka 1616²⁹). In the Umānanda inscription of Gadā-dharasīmha in the portion *prachanḍa-dōḍanḍa-kalīta-danḍa-kōdanḍa-kāṇḍa-khaṇḍita-danḍa vairichaya-muṇḍ-aśecha*, *Virarasa* is presented. The repetition of *ṇḍ* and the use of *ksh* have become very much helpful for *Ojaḥ-guṇa*. The author first describes Gadā-dharasīmha's valour and his terrible-ness with the enemies and then he narrates his fame, physical beauty, tenderness of heart and perfectness in judgement. Thus the author decidedly makes a change of *rasa*. In the first part where there is *Virarasa*, harsh sounding syllables are used, but in the later part where, far instance *bhakti or dēva-vishayaka-rati-bhāva* predominates, soft sounding letters are employed, as in *-iśana - pādara-vinda-makaranda-madhu-kara*.

It may, however, be pointed out that the prose passages of the inscriptions of

the early kings of Assam deserved to be as rich as the verse portions. Prayāga Praśasti of Harishēṇa³⁰ betrays an adequate proportion of both prose and verse, and exhibit literary beauty equally. The Sanskrit inscriptions of the present dissertation although they do not contain verse in addition to prose, yet, this deficiency is duly compensated by the fact that the prose passages mostly contain a *vṛttā-gandhi* type of prose³¹. This is warranted by the presence of the following clauses; which appear to be in the *śloka metre* :

'*kiriṭa-kōṭi-nighṛishṭa*
'*kālānala-samujjvala*
'*pārāvāra-mahōdāra*
'*gāmbhīry-ādi-guṇagrāma*
'*diḡaṅganā-gaṇās = phāla*
'*Sar-āsana-prasarīta*
'*viśrāma-dhāma-kandarpa*
'*kalēvara-purandara*
'*Śivasīmha-mahedraṇam*
'*padāmbuja-samāgatā*
'*nāmadhey-ōttara-dvāram*' —

(Northern Jayadvāra Rock inscription of Śivasīmha, dated Śaka 1660)³².

Although the modes of expressions, language and style of the Sanskrit passages of the epigraphs of the period are almost same, however, some exceptions are also noticed here and there. For instance while describing the fame of the king, the composer of the Kamalēśvara Temple (Nīlāchala) Rock Inscription of Śivasīmha³³ dated Śaka 1650 avoids the repeatedly used standards of comparison like *harahāra, hima, hira, hiṇḍira-piṇḍa* and used an altogether new imagery like *'sarada-sārvarī sārva-bhauma-chandrik-ōtkarsha-kīrtti*, which

implies that the fame of the king also possesses the excellance (*utkarsha*) of the light of the full moon-light, in winter season which falls all over the world (*sārvabhauma*), and which also spreads all over the world.

The language of the verses as well as the prose passages is simple. The authors of the epigraphs in their style appear to be closers to the famous prose writers of the classical literature. Certain typical terms used by Daṇḍin (750-850 A. D.)³⁴ can be traced in the inscriptions of the period. It is interesting to see that the description of king Rudrasimha in the Lepetkaṭā land grant inscription of the king³⁵ dated Śaka 1623 viz., *parama-prachanḍa-pratāpa-tapana dalita-prabala-ripu-ṣaṭala-nikhil-āchala-pāla mauli-mālā-vilāsi-śasana-sāgara-gambhīra-dhīra-sakala-lōka-manōratha-pūraṇa-kalpa-pādapa-hara-gauri-pādāravinde-makaranda -madhukara-śarad-indu-sundara-kirtti-nikara śri-śri-svarga - nārāyaṇa - mahārājādhirāja - Rudrasimhadēvaṃ*, bears a close resemblance with the description of king Rājahaṃsa of Daṇḍin. while giving a dis-

cription of king Rājahaṃsa, Daṇḍin writes *tatra virabhaṭa-ṣaṭala-taraṅga-kuṅjara-makara-bhishan-sakala-ripugaṇakaṭaka-jalanidhi mathana-mandārāya-mānasam-uddaṇḍa-bhuja daṇḍa, puramdara-pur āṅgaṇa-gaṇikāgaṇa-jēgīya-parāyaṇa-girvāṇa-taruṇa-gaṇikāgaṇa-jēgīya-mānayā,atimānāya-śarad-indu-kundu.....* *Rājahaṃso nāma ghanadarpa kandarpp-saun darya-oudarya-ohṛidya-niravadhya-rupō bhūpō babhūva.*³⁶

While defining poetry Viśvanātha Kavirāja says, *vākyam rasātmakeṃ kāvyam - poetry sentence, the soul whereof is rasa (i.e., sentiment)-(Sāhityadarpaṇa, I.)* The authors of the inscriptions covered by the present paper while describing the distinguishing qualities of the patron kings have followed the norms of composing a *kāvya*. Some of the compositions of the inscriptions are in no way inferior to the *Prayāga Prasasti of Harishēṇa*. Curiously enough, poet Harishēṇa himself calls the *Prayāga Prasasti-a kāvyā*. cf. *etach-cha kāvyam-ēshām -ēva-bhaṭṭāraka - pādānām dāsasya samihā-parisarppaṇ - ānugrah = ṅmilita - matēḥ* (line - 31)

Notes :-

1 For rock engravings and copper-plates, vide *PHGR.*, pp. 259-286, pp. 1-186; *SR.*, pp. 265-279; *SCB.*, pp. 323 ff; *SK.*, pp. 1-36; *ASSP.*, 35th year, 4th issue, 1978-79, pp. 31-40; *ASSP.* 37th year, 1st issue, 1980, pp. 96-44; *Prakāśa*, 2nd year issue, 1976, pp. 85-83; *Ep. Ind.*, (*Arabic and Persian Supplement.*), 1955-56, pp.33-34.

2 *PS.*, p. 48

3 *Ibid.*, p. 105

4 *Ibid.*, p. 78

5 This dish bearing inscription on its back side is now preserved in the Assam State Museum.

- 6 *P.S.*, p. 48
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 107-10
- 8 Three inscriptions of the Koches have so far been come to light. *P.S.*, pp. 2-4
- 9 Majority of the inscriptions of the period were left by the Āhom kings and their ministers. See the sources mentioned in foot-note no. 1.
- 10 Gaṇeśvarapushkaraṇī, Rock Inscription Śaka 1499, (*P.S.*, p. 3) records the excavation of a pond by one Hēḍamba king, Dununtrarāi. But the king remains unidentified from any other source. Kānāi Baraśi Bovā Rock Inscription, Śaka 1127, *P.S.*, p.1, Chandrabhārati's Rock Inscription, (*P.S.*, p. 1) and Kāmatēsvari Temple Rock Inscription, (*P.S.*, p.6) do not mention any royal house. Boko Stone Slab Inscription records the name of Ghiyasuddin-Azam-Shāh, the third ruler of the Illiyas Shahi dynasty of Bengal. *Ep., Ind.*, (Arabic and Persian Supplement.) 1955-56, pp. 33-34.
- 11 King Lakshmisīmha (1769-80 A.D.) offered land grant to one Anovar Faquir in Banbhag Pargaṇā of Nalbari district of Assam, Śaka 1702, *PS.*, pp. 68-9.
- 12 *P.S.*, pp. 2-4
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 5 and p. 10
- 15 *Ibid.*, Bhūmika, pp. 104-5 and also pp. 151-52
- 16 This copper-plate of Gaurināthasīmha records the sale and purchase of two Koches-Ātmārām and Dhiraman. They were sold by his maternal uncle at Rs. 40/- to Barphukan at Guwahāti. The plate is now preserved in the Assam State Museum.
- 17 *P.S.*, p. 108
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 109
- 20 Sundaridiyā Sattra Brass door Inscription, Śaka 1769, *PS.*, p. 92 ; Hayagrīva-Mādhava Copper plate of Gaurināthasīmha, Śaka 1704, *P.S.*, pp. 133-34 ; Stone Inscription recording sales and purchases of land, 16 . . Śaka, pp. 151-52 are in Assamese.
- 21 A Copper-plate of king Chandrakāntasīmha, Śaka 1737 preserved by Sri Sibanath Borthakur of Biswanath in Sonitpur district of Assam being trilingual in character - Sanskrit, Assamese and Tāi.
- 22 Boko Stone Slab Inscription now preserved in the Assam State Museum is written in Arabic. There are also two Cannon Inscriptions written in Persian (vide *PS* ; Bhūmikā p. 106 and 108). They are preserved in the Assam State Museum.
- 23 For example Dergaon Śiva Temple Copper-plate of Śivasīmha, Śaka 1656 is composed in both prose and verse. The introductory part in the beginning is in Sanskrit propose, the operative part in the middle is in Assamese and the concluding portion of the inscription giving an Instruction to the future kings is in Sanskrit verse. *P.S.*, pp. 20-21.

- 24 *P.S.*, pp. 18-19.
- 25 Nilāchala Kāmākyā Rock Inscription, of Malladēva (Naranārāyaṇa), dated Śaka 1487.
- 26 *PS.*, p. 2
- 27 cf. *hara-gauri-pādāravinda-makaranda-madhukara-sarad-indu-sundara-kirtti*—Land grant inscription of Rudrasīmha. Śaka 1623, *P.S.*, p. 9.
- 28 cf. *yaśōmaṇḍala-maṇḍita-bhūmaṇḍala-mahendra vamaśayataṃsa* Southern gateway Rock Inscription of Śivasiṃha, Śaka 1665, *P.S.*, p. 20.
- 29 *P.S.*, p. 7
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8
- 31 R. B. Pandey, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, p. 72.
- 32 Viśvanātha Kavilrāja defines different varieties of prose thus :

*cf. vṛttagandh-ōjhitam gadyam,
muktakam vṛttagandhi cha / /
bhavēd-utkalikāprāyam,
churnakam cha chaturvidham / /
ādyam samāsa-rahitam,
vṛtta-bhāga-yutam param / /
anya-ḍirgha-samās-ādyam,
turīyam ch-āḷpa-samāsakam /
(Sāhityadarpaṇa, ch. VI. VV. 330-31)*

- 33 *P.S.*, pp. 25-6
- 34 *P.S.*, p. 18.
- 35 Manoranjan Sastri *Sāhitya Darshana*, Introduction,
- 36 *P.S.*, p. 9.
- 37 *The Daśakumāracharita of Daṇḍin*, (Ed. M. R. Kale), pp. 1-2.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF RAM SINGH I, THE KACHHA CHIEF OF AMBER

N. M. Ganam

In this article, it is proposed to introduce two new inscriptions of the Kachhawāha chief of Amber, *Mahārāja* Rām Singh I, who performed great services to the Mughal Empire during the reign of Shahjahān and Aurangzeb. These two epigraphs are found from Rajasthan, one each from Niwāi and Mozamābād respectively dated, A.H. 1083 (1672 A.D.) and A.H. 1096 (1684-85 A.D.).

Of the two records, the first is from Niwāi, the headquarters of a tahsil in Tonk district. Niwāi is situated in 25° 22' N and 75° 56' E, on Jaipur-Kota National Highway. It is also a railway station on the Jaipur-Sawāi Madhopur metre gauge section of Western Railway.¹ Niwāi was a place of historical importance in the medieval period. In Akbar's time, it was the chief town of a *pargana* of the same name in the *Sarkār* (district) of Raṅthambhōr in the *Śāba* (province) of Ajmer and has a stone fort on a hill.²

The epigraphical tablet which is built into the facade of the temple called

Dāmodarjī-kā-Mandir, measures 45 cms in height and 35 cms in breadth.³ The text comprises six Persian couplets inscribed in two vertical panels; three couplets on each panel. The one on the right has one more line in prose containing regnal year of the Mughal sovereign Aurangzeb. The top of these two panels comprises invocations to God by His Attributes. The style of writing of this record is tolerably good *Nasta'liq* which is remarkable for the neat execution. The inscription is not engraved in relief but is cut into the stone in the manner of Sanskrit inscriptions. The text records the fact that a tank called *Rām Sarōvar* was excavated at the foot of the hill during the reign of Aurangzeb and during the rule of Rāja Rām Singh in Hijri year 1083 corresponding to the emperor's regnal year 15 (1672 A.D.) by Girdhar Dās Kāyat (Kāyastha) son of Sārangdhar of Sribās(tava ?) community. The text also contains two verses composed by the builder.

The text has been deciphered as under :

TEXT

a) Right Panel :

- 1 Yā Kārsāz
- 2 Dar 'Iḥd-i-Bādshāh-i-'adl Pazir
- 3 Shāh Aurangzib Ālamgir
- 4 Naubat-i-Rāja Rām Singh ba--kām

5 Rām Sar(o)var chu mäh gasht tamām

6 Banda Kāyat ḥaqīr Girdhar Dās

7 Ibn-i-Sārangdhar ṣifat Sribās

8 Hijrī Sana 1003 Julūs 15

b) Left Panel :

1 Hū

2 Farhād Ki Kuh ba-nok-i-nākhun Kandīd

3 Dar 'Ishq-i-Jamāl-rū'i-Shirin jumbīd

4 Kandīd banok-i-mizgān Girdhar Dās

5 Az bahr-i thawāb dāman-i-Kūh Jadīd

Fard

6 Ba-chashm-i-'ishq(o) muḥabbat nigāh kun ai Shaikh

7 Ki dar Masājīd-o-Butkhāna ma'shūq⁴ yakīst

Translation

a) Right Panel :

1 O ! The Accomplisher of the works

2-3 During the reign of the law abiding emperor Shāh Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr

4-5 (and during) the rule of Rām Sing, the excavation of (the tank called) Rām Sarōvar was satisfactorily completed.

6-7 (By) the servant Kāyat (i.e. Kāyastha), the insignificant Girdhar Dās son of Sārangdhar of Sribās (tava) caste.

8 (In the) Hijrī year 1083, regnal (year) 15.

(b) Left Panel :

1 He is (Allāh)

2-3 Farhād⁵ excavated the mountain with the tip of his nail as he was moved with the beauty of the face of Shirin.

3-4 (but) Girdhar Dās has excavated the new (tank) at the foot of the mountain with the tip of his eyelash in order to gain Divine favour.

Single verse

5-6 O Shaikh⁶ ! Behold (religion) with an eye of love and affection because both in the mosques and temples, there is one God.

The second inscription comes from Mozamābād, a town situated in Dubu tahsil of Jaipur district. It lies about seventy kilometres to the South-Southwest

of Jaipur. During the Mughal period, it was the *Pargana* headquarters in the *Sarkār* and *Ṣūba* of Ajmer. The place is variously spelt as Mozambād⁸, Mauzā or Mūzābād⁹ and Mozamābād.¹⁰ The epigraphical slab in white marble measuring 31 by 65 cms. is fixed on the inner side to the right of the Tripolia gate of the tank¹¹. The record is bilingual written in Persian version is executed in *Nasta'liq* characters and local dialect. Its Persian in relief and consists of ten lines in Persian prose and verse. It commences with the obeisance to Rāma. On the right margin, there is an inscription in local dialect carved in *Nāgari* characters.¹²

The object of this inscription is to record an excavation of a tank and the construction of its four walls and gate by Sīvānth son of Parasanāth son of Bālnāth, during the reign of Aurangzeb and during the government of *Mahārāja* Rām Singh. The work which was commenced in A.H. 1090 (1679-80 A.D.) was completed in A.H. 1096 (1684-85 A.D.). Its text was written by Mukat Rā'i son of Madan Singh of Dayāl Dās of the Mahājan community. It also states that he was resident of *Quaṣba* (town) Deoband in the Sahāranpur *Sardār* (district) and had come to the place alongwith Jairām Das, the the *amil* (revenue collector) when the *Jāgir* (of Mauzamābād) was in the possession of Mir Jalālu'd-Dīn Jiv and Mir Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Jiv.

Its text has been read as under :

- 1 Rām Sat¹³
- 2 Bādshāh Aurangzeb
- 3 Mahārāja Rām Singh

4 Mir Jalālu'd-Dīn Jiv and Mir Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Jiv

5 Banda - i - Daagāhiyash Sīv Nāth wald Paras Nāth Wald Bāl Nāth dar 'amāl-i-Jahān Panāh wa Rāj Amber barāy farāghat-i-

6 Khalqu'llāh dar sana 1090 Hijri bunyād-i-tālāb Shurū' Karda-i Kabayadaū chahār dīwārī wa darwāza' ba ṣan'at-i-īdal Mimār bastai. Chunānchi

7 dar sana 1096 H.Kār-i-Khair-i-tālāb sar-anjām yāftai binābar yādgārī in chand Kalima nawishtai. Nawishtam bar dari dīwār-i-Khānā Ki bāshad

8 az man-i-miskin nashāna. Agar goyand ān miskin Kujā raft bigo bigurikht az dast-i-zamāna, Chūn dar sūrat-i-ṣawāb tālāb shud har kas

9 Ki dar zamīn-i-hadd-i-tālāb zirā't numāyad ṭalāq - i - muṭlaq bar ō bād. Kātibu'l-ḥurūf faqīr ḥaqīr Mukat Rā'i wald Madan Singh ibn-i-Dayāl Dās

10 Qaum-i-Mahājan sākin-i-qaṣba Deoband Sarkār-i-Sahāranpūr hangām-i-jāgir-i-.....hamrāh-i-Jairām Dās 'amil

11 Darīnjā āmada būd

Translation

- 1 Rām (is) truth
- 2 Emperor Aurangzeb
- 3 Mahārāja Rām Singh
- 4 Mir Jāmālu'd-Dīn Jiv and Mir Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Jiv

5-6 During the reign of the world refuting.....and (during) the government of Amber, the servant of his court, Sīv Nāth son of Paras Nāth son of Bāl Nāth, the foundation of the tank was started for the comfort of God's creatures in the Hijrī year 1090 (1679-80 A.D.) by him with four walls and a gate under the architectship of Īdal (?)

7-11 This charitable work was accordingly completed in the year (A.H.) 1096 (1684-85 A.D.). Therefore as a memento to this occasion, these few words have been written. I have inscribed (these few words) on the wall of the gate so that they remain as a mark from this humble man. If people ask about me (after my death) as to where that poor man had gone, tell them that he had fled away from the clutches of time. The tank has now been completed for Divine favour. Consequently it is incumbent that any one who will till the land within the limit of the tank, he shall incur the curse of absolute divorce (*ṭalāq-i-muṭlaq*). The writer of these words is the poor and mean, Mukat Rā'i son of Madan Singh son of Dayāl Dās of the Mahājan community, a resident of Deoband in Sahāranpūr district, who had come to this place along with Jairām Dās, the 'āmil (Revenue Collector), when the fief (*Jāgīr*) was held by Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Jīv and Mīr Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Jīv.

It is interesting to note here that in the Mauzamābād record, after the invocatory words *Rām Sat*, the names of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, the feudatory chief *Mahārāja* Rām Singh and the names of *Jāgīr-*

dārs Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn and Mīr Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn have been written in the descending order at the top and in the text where their names occur, the spaces are left blank. This indicates that the reader should substitute their names in the blank spaces. It is more likely that their names are written at the top for the sake of respect. Only two mural records have been so far found written in this manner¹⁴ but instances are frequently met with in the Mughal documents (*farmāns* and *sanads*) where the names of the emperors are written with the same regard at the top and their actual places in the documents are left blank.

The two inscriptions under study are quite important from the historical point of view. Very few inscriptions have come to light which furnish information about the Rajput chiefs who so ably served the Imperial power. So far we get three records of Rāja Rām Singh I in all. His third inscription which is dated A.H. 1083 (1672 A.D.) was found from Sāmbhar, now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Amber.¹⁵ Our two epigraphs record the names of the Mughal sovereign Aurangzeb, his feudatory chief *Mahārāja* Rām Singh of Amber and other officials.

Mahārāja Rām Singh as referred to in the records was the eldest son of Mīrzā Rāja Jaisingh (I) of Amber. He entered the imperial service in the 16th regnal year of Shāhjahān (1643 A.D.). In the 19th regnal year (1646-7 A.D.), he received a robe of honour and was promoted to the rank of 1000 *zāt* (personal) with 1000 horses. By successive promotions,

his rank was raised to 3000 with 1500 horses in the 27th regnal year of Shāhjahān.¹⁶ In the war of succession which was fought at Samugarh, Rām Singh sided with Dārā Shukōh. After the latter's defeat, he went over to Aurangzeb who not only confirmed his *mansab* granted to him by Dārā but also increased his rank by 500.¹⁷ In march 1666, when Shivājī visited Agra, Aurangzeb sent Rām Singh along with Mukhlis Khān to accord him a warm reception. On the confinement of Shivājī Rām Singh was appointed to guard and to watch the former's activities and movements. When Shivājī effected his escape, Rām Singh was censured for his carelessness and deprived him of his rank.¹⁸

On the death of his father which occurred in 1667, Rām Singh was pardoned by Aurangzeb and he was graced with many favours. He received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, an 'Arab horse with golden harness'. He was conferred the title of *Rāja* and was promoted to the high rank of 4000 with 4000 horses.¹⁹ At the end of the same year, Aurangzeb deputed Rām Singh as the Commandant of the Imperial expedition to Assam and his rank in *sawār* (horse) was increased by one thousand more. He displayed great bravery and skill as general of the army for a period of about nine years.²⁰ In 1676, he was recalled from Assam. Immediately on his return, Rām Singh was asked to proceed with his contingent to North West frontier to curb the lawlessness. Rām Singh served in Afghānistān upto 1678 and after the province was pacified, he returned to Amber. He was again posted to Afghānistān in 1681.²¹ During this period, Aurangzeb conferred upon him the

title of *Mirja Rāja* which was the hereditary title of the rulers of Amber with an increase in his *mansab*.²² He rendered distinguished services at various places in the North West frontiers. It was in his last assignment at Kohat that Rām Singh died in April 1688.²³

Rām Singh as we have seen above had played a significant role as a soldier. He rose to the high position and served capably both in the North East and the North West frontiers of the empire.

The two epigraphs furnish important information not only about the political and administrative history of Amber but they provide much data for the local history and political status of the places from where they were set up. We know from these two records, that the *parganas* of Niwāi and Mauzamābād from where the records have been discovered had been held as *jāgirs* by Rām Singh during this period. This is also explicit with the term *Rāj Amber* meaning the State of Amber which is mentioned in Mauzamābād record. These two *parganas* continued to be held as *jāgirs* by his grandson, Sawāi Jaisingh (II).²⁴ It may be mentioned that the Rajput chiefs on joining the Mughal services and getting a *mansab*, besides being allowed to retain their ancestral territory, were assigned large *jāgirs* in different parts of the country for the military services rendered by them. The Mughal rulers used to call them as *Jagirdārs* or *Zamindars* to emphasise their overlordship but these terms do not occur in the records of these chiefs. Instead, the Rajput rulers in their correspondence with each other refer to their states by such

terms as *Rāj*, *Desh*, *Mulk* or *Watan*.²⁵ The present inscriptions also provide interesting information to the fact that though Rām Singh served elsewhere, he continued to enjoy his *jāgirs* in Rajasthan. This is an interesting piece of information regarding the Mughal administration of *jāgirs*.

Also from the Mauzamābād record, we come to know that the place was once held as *jāgir* by Mir Jalālu'd-Dīn Jiv and Mir Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Jiv who were most probably the two brothers. This shows that before it was assigned to Rām Singh, the *Jāgir* of Mauzamābād was in the joint possession of these two brothers. It may also be possible that the *pargana* of Mauzamābād which seems to have been earlier held by the ancestors of Rāja Rām Singh as *jāgir* was sequestered during the period of his demotion and was later restored to him. When and how long, this *pargana* of Mauzamābād was held as *jāgir* by the two brothers is not known. We also know from this record that the *jāgir* was sometimes assigned to more than one person.

I have failed to trace any detail about Mir Jalālu'd-Dīn and his brother Mir Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn. From the appellation Mir prefixed to their names, it can be reasonably surmised that they were the Sayyids.

Other personages mentioned in the records are : Sīv Nāth son of Paras Nāth son of Bāl Nāth, Girdhar Dās son of Sārangdhar, Mukat Rā'i son of Madan Singh son of Dayāl Dās, Jairām Dās and Īdal.

Nothing is practically known regarding

Sīv Nāth son of Paras Nāth and grandson of Bāl Nāth, the builder of the tank at Mauzamābād. He is mentioned as the servant of the court (Banda-i-Dargāh) which suggests that he was an official attached or serving under Rāja Rām Singh.

The second name is of Mukat Rā'i son of Madan Singh son of Dayāl Dās who wrote the text of Mauzamābād record. That he was also a poet is known from the two verses composed by him in the text. Unfortunately he is also not found mentioned in the chronicles or any other literary sources. It is only from the record that we know that he belonged to mahājan community and was a resident of Deoband, a town in Sahāranpur district of U.P. Anyway the record is important as it has preserved the name of an Hindu artist in the field.

The third name is of one Jairām Dās who had also come to Mauzamābād from Deoband with Mukat Rā'i. That he was a man of official status is known from the post held *viz.*, the '*āmil*', i.e. a Revenue Collector. He was attached to the *pargana* for the assessment and collection of revenue. He too finds no mention in the chronicles. The epigraph also names the architect (*mi'mār*) *viz.* Īdal or Aidal who was responsible for the construction of a tank at Mauzamābād—a piece of information not generally met with in the Indo-Islamic inscriptions.

About Girdhar Dās son of Sārangdhar, the builder of a tank at Niwāi, nothing is known. That he was also a poet is

known from the two couplets composed by him in the text. It is most probable that the whole metrical text was composed by him. In the text, Girdhar Dās is mentioned as Śrīvāstava Kāyastha. We know one Girdhar Dās Kāyastha of Delhi who had translated Rāmāyaṇa in *Mathnavī* form in Persian in A.H. 1036 (1626-27 A.D.).²⁶ Also we know from *Jāmi' u'l-Qawānīn* which was compiled in A.H. 1085 (1674-75 A.D.) that its author named Khalifa Shāh Muḥammad had among his friends, one Girdhar Dās to whom letters were addressed by him.²⁷ However in the absence of additional information, it is not possible to say if Girdhar Dās of our record is identical with any of the above. It is very likely that he was in the state service. From the poetical fragments illustrated in the text, the pantheistic philosophy preached by the Sūfīs and Mystics is echoed. We can infer from this, that Girdhar Dās was liberal in his religious views.

Another information furnished by the Niwāi record is that Girdhar Dās

who constructed the tank for public utility has named it as *Rām Sarōvar* probably after the name of lord Rāma.²⁸ The name *Rām Sarōvar* seems to have been suggested for the tank on the additional consideration that Rāja Rām Singh also bore the name Rām.

The two inscriptions under study thus speak to the fact that during the reign of Aurangzeb, there were many Hindūs belonging to the Mahājan and Kāyastha communities who flourished as poets, calligraphers etc. and also found working on such government posts, *Āmils* etc.

Lastly, the Mauzamābād record has an imprecatory passage which provides us with an insight into the religious belief of the place. The inscription states that any one who will cultivate the land within the limits of the tank will invite the curse of absolute divorce (*Talāq-i-Mutlaq*). The main purpose of this passage seems to be that the tank may not be appropriated by selfish people for themselves.

Notes :-

- 1 *Rajasthan State Gazetteers*, Tonk District (Jaipur, 1970), p. 301.
- 2 Abū'l-Fadl *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, Tr. H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1949), p. 109.
- 3 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREP)*, 1962-63, No. D. 243.
- 4 The literal meaning of *Ma'shūq* is beloved but here it is meant for God.
- 5 The stone mason Farhād falls in love with Shīrīn whom he meets when she and her serving maids decide to have channel made to convey milk for the flocks to their palace. When the Sassanid King Khusrau (590-628) discovers Farhād's attachment to Shīrīn, he gives him orders to construct passage through Mount Bisutūn. Farhād after some time is given a false news of Shīrīn's death, whereupon he hurls himself from the mountain top and kills himself.
- 6 *Shaikh* means a chief who is well learned in religion.

- 7 Abū'l-Fadl, *Op. cit.*, pp. 109 & 278.
- 8 *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*, Vol. II, (New Delhi, 1953).
- 9 Abū'l-Fadl, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
- 10 'Irfān Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi, 1982), Map No. 6 A.
- 11 *A R Ep.*, 1952-63, No. D. 191.
- 12 *ibid.*, No. B. 851.
- 13 *Sat* is a Hindī word of Sanskrit origin meaning Truth. The Amber rulers used to write such invocatory words as *Srī Rāmji* or *Sita Rāmji* at the top in their office orders and letters.
- 14 *Epigraphia indo-Moslemica*, 1921-22, p.26.
- 15 *Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1955 and 1956, p. 59.
- 16 Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthirū'l-Umarā*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1980), p. 301 ; Kewal Rām, *Tazkiratu'l-Umarā*, tr. by S.M.A. Hussain (N. Delhi, 1985), p. 263 ; M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (New York, 1966), p. 114.
- 17 Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Op. cit.*, p. 302 ; Kewal Rām, *Op. cit.*, p. 263 ; V. S. Bhatnagar, *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh*, Delhi, 1974, p. 9.
- 18 Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 302 ; Kewal Rām, *op. cit.*, p. 263 ; Sāqi Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, trs. by J. N. Sarḡar (Calcutta, 1947), p. 37.
- 19 Shāh Nawāz Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 302 ; Kewal Rām, *op. cit.*, p. 263 ; Sāqi Musta'id Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
- 20 Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 303 ; Kewal Rām, *op. cit.*, p. 263 ; Sāqi Musta'id Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- 21 Kewal Rām, *op. cit.*, p. 263 ; Bhatnagar, *op. cit.*, p. 11 ; Dr. M. L. Sharma, *History of the Jaipur State* (Jaipur, 1969), p. 127.
- 22 N. R. Khadgawat, *A Descriptive list of the Vakīl's Reports addressed to the rulers of Jaipur* (List), p. 6, Sl. Nos. 28 & 36.
- 23 Ḥāma, *op. cit.*, 128 ; Khadgawat, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Sl. No. 124 ; Bhatnagar, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 24 Bhatnagar, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-72.
- 25 Bhatnagar, *op. cit.*, p. 271 ; Sharma *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.
- 26 Dr. Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh, *Adabiyāt-i-Fārsī Men Hinduṃn Kā Hissa*, (Delhi, 1945), p. 88.
- 27 Dr. Nūru'l-Hasan, *Fārsī Adab ba-'Ihd-i-Ālamgīr* (Delhi, 1969), p. 385.
- 28 Lord Rāma was venerated by the Kachhawāha rulers who claimed to belong to the same *Vamśa* (race).

PEDDAVOLETI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I, YEAR, 11

C. A. Padmanabha Sastry

The charter¹ under study, is now lying with the Chief Epigraphical Officer, State Archaeological Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. He acquired this set from a private person in the village Peddavōlēṭi situated in the Patti-konda Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. This is edited in the pages of this journal with the permission of the Director (Epigraphy) and the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.²

The plates are strung together by means of a ring, passing through a hole pierced on the right side of each plate. The inscription is engraved on the second side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate and on the inner side of the third plate. The writing on the whole, is well preserved except a few letters near the ring hole of the second side of second plate, where a few letters are damaged and all the other letters are engraved neatly and can be compared with the characters of the other copper-plate charters of this king. There is a seal attached to the ring, bearing a crude figure of *Varāha* in relief. The plates including the ring weigh about half kilogram.

Each plate contains 9 lines of writing. As stated above, the engraver took less care and some of the letters are illformed and a few letters have been dropped too

(lines - 4, 14, 15, 16 etc.). The characters are, similar to the characters of the other grants, viz., Talamāñchi³, Gadvāl⁴, Āmudāla pāḍu⁵ and Tembhurṇi⁶ of this king.

As far as the palaeography and orthography are concerned, there is nothing special to mention. The class nasals have been used for *anusvāra*.

The grant is issued in the eleventh regnal year of the king Vikramāditya, in the month of Vaiśākha, and on the day of śukla pañchami, corresponding to 665-66 A.D.

The object of the grant is to record the gift of the Rachhamiṅṅi village situated on the southern bank of the river Tuṅga-bhadra, to Rēvasvāmin the grand son of Mādhaveśarman of Kāpisa-gotra, on the above mentioned day. Along with the gift, a further gift of land measuring 25 *nivarttanas* was also given to the same person.

The charter under study starts with the usual *praśasti*, as found in the other charters of Vikramāditya (lines 1 to 23). Lines 23 to 27 introduce one Mādhaveśarman belonging to Kāpisa-gotra⁷ and his grand son Rēvasvāmin. Rēvasvāmin, is described as an expert in the *yajana*, *Yajana* and *śaṭkarmas*, one who has the power to curse and bless and to whom the above mentioned gift was made by the king for

his own merit. The executor (*ājñapti*) was Śrī Varsharāja, where name appears for the first time in the charter of Vikramāditya I and was written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahi* Jayasēna⁸ who acted as the engraver of most of the charters of Vikramāditya.

The important factor of this charter

was the date and this is only charter so far issued in the eleventh regnal year of this king.

As for the geographical names are concerned, the gift village Rachchamiṛṛī can be identified with Rachchuparti village situated in Alampur Taluk of Mahboobnagar district.

TEXT¹

FIRST PLATE

- 1 Jayaty=avishkṛitam Vishṇōr = Vvārāham kshōbhīt - āṛṇṇavam [*] dakshīṇ -
ōnnata - dam [shṭr] - [āgra] - viśrā -
- 2 nta - bhuvanam vapuḥ [1 1*] Śrīmatā [m*] sakala - bhuvana - samstūya[mā]na-
Mānavyasa - gō -
- 3 trāṇām Hārīti - putrāṇām sapta - lōka - mātṛibhis = sapta-mātṛibhi [r] = abhi
va[r*]ddhitānām -
- 4 [Kārtti] kēya - parirakshaṇa - prāpta - kalyāṇa - paramparāṇām bhagavan =
Nārāya -
- 5 ṇa - prasāda - semāsāda (samāsādita) - Varāha - lāṅ[chchhan] - ēkshaṇa -kshaṇa -
- 6 vaśīkṛit - ā[śē]sha - mahībhṛitām Chalikyānān =kulam = alaṅkarishṇōr = Aśvamē -
- 7 dh = āvabhṛitha - snāna - pavitrikṛita - gōtrasya Śrī - Pulikēśivallabha - mahārāja -
- 8 sya prapautra[h*] parākṛānta - Vanavāsy = ādi - para - nṛipati - maṇḍala - praṇā -
baddha - vi -
- 9 śuddha - kīrttiḥ śrī - Kīrttivarmma - pṛithivīvallabha - mahārājasya pautraḥ

SECOND PLATE FIRST SIDE

- 10 samara samśakta sakal = Ōttarāpathēśvara - Śrī - Harshavarddhana - [ma*]ha
(hā), rājy = ōpa -
- 11 labdha - paramēśvar = āpara - nāmadhēyasya Satyāśraya - Śrīpṛithivīvallabha²

- 12 mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvarasya priya - tanayaḥ Chitrakaṅṭh - ākhyā pra -
 13 vara turāṅgamān = aikēn = aiva pratī - ānēka - samara - mukha - ripu - nṛipati -
 kuli (la) -
 14 [rudhi]ra - mal - āsvādana - rasanāyamāna jvalad = amala - niṣita - nistṛ[m*]śa -
 15 [dh = ārā*] - āvadhṛita - dharṇibhara - bhujaga - bhōga - sadṛi śa-nija - bhujaga -
 16 [vijita] - [vi*] jayēshu ātma kavach = āva[ma] gn - ānēka-prahāraḥ sva-gurōḥ Śriya -
 17 m̄ = avanīpati - triṭay - āntarit = ātmāḥkṛitya kṛit = āchishṭht = āśēsha rā -
 18 jyabharas = tasmīn = rājya - trayō vi[nash]ṭāni dēvasva - brahma - dēyāni
 dharmma (mmā)ya -

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

- 19 dharmma yaśō = 'bhivṛiddhyē sva - mukhēna sthāpitavān [u*] Raṇa = śirasi
 ripu - narēndrān -
 20 diśi diśi jivā sva - vaṁsaja(jā)m lakshmiṃ[l*] prāptaḥ = Paramēśvaratām =
 Anivārīta Vikramādi -
 21 tyah [u2u*] [Sa vikram] - ākrānta - sakala - mahā - maṇḍap - adhirājyaṁ (jyō)
 Vikramāditya - Satya -
 22 śraya [Śri-Prī]thivallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaras = sarvvān = ēvam = a -
 23 jñāpayati [u*] Viditam = astu vo = 'smābhīḥ Kāpisa-gourā[ya*] Mādhyā -
 śarmmaṇa -
 24 pautrāya yajana - yājana = ādhyāsana (pana)-dānā pratigraha - [vyāpta]-shaṭkarmmā
 25 [su] nīratāya śāp = ānugraha sēma[n]vitāya vēdāngavidē Rēvasvāmīdē -
 26 vāya yat = Tuṅgabhadrā - mahānadyāḥ dakṣhiṇa - taṣasthē Ṛachhamīṅṛi - nāma
 grāmasya pēru
 27 nīcha panchāśan = nivarttana - kshētrava (traṁ) pravarddhamāna vijaya rāja(jya)-[sa]m
 vatsarēshv = ēkādaśē

THIRD PLATE

- 28 varshē Vaiśākḥē śuklā-paksha [pa*]ñchamyām dattam (ttam) [u*] Śri Varsharājāḥ
 svayamēv = ājñaptiḥ[u*] Āyu -
 29 r = aiśvary - ādirām vilasitam = achirām chañchalam = avagachhadbhir =
 ā - Chan di(ndr) - ārka - dhār - āṛṇṇava -

- 30 sthiti - samakālaḥ(m) yaśaś=chikīshubhis = sva = datti - nirvviśēsham =
paripālāniyam=iti subha -
- 31 gē [|| ||]*Svan = dātuṃ sumahach = chhakyam̄ duṃkha (dukha)m =
anyasya pālanam[1*] dānam̄ vā pālanam̄ v = ēti
- 32 dānāch = chhrēyō = 'nupālanam̄ [||3||]* Uktam̄ cha bhāgavatā Vēdavyāsēna
Vyāsēna[||*] Bah -
- 33 hubhir = vvasudhān(dhā) bhuktā rājabhis = Sagar - ādibhiḥ[1*] yasya yasya
yadā bhū -
- 34 miḥ tasya tasya tadā phalam̄ [||4||]*Sva-dattā[m̄*] paradattām̄ vā yō harēta vasu -
- 35 ndharām̄[1*]shasṭī(shṭim) varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām̄ jāyatē krimiḥ[15||*] Mahāsē
(sā) ndhivigrahika Ja -
- 36 yasēnēna likhitā (tam̄) [||*] Svasty = antyā -¹¹

Notes :

- 1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1987-87, No. A.
- 2 The author has taken the oral permission from the Director, A.P. State Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of A.P., Hyderabad to publish the copper-plate chartes.
- 3 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.
- 4 *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 106 ff.
- 5 *E.I.*, Vol., XXXII, pp. 175 ff.
- 6 *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.
- 7 We can find this *gōtra* in the Vēlnalli grant of Vikramāditya I, *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6., pp. 46 ff.
- 8 *E.I.*, Vol. X, p. 106 ; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 116 ; *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6., pp. 46 ff.
- 9 From the inked impressions.
- 10 Since this portion is completely chipped off, it is restored with the help of other copper-plate charters of Vikramāditya I.
- 11 Therh is a Spiral shaped design.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE TERM SAMANYA

S. P. Tewari

Generally speaking the word *sāmānya* is nothing but a general term denoting the sense of 'common, general, alike, equal, ordinary, of an average or middle degree' and so and so forth. However, the usage of *sāmānya* in the field of sanskrit epigraphs that we plan to discuss here is though made in the sense of generality its implication has social significance as the term here denotes the identity of a special (in the sense of social distinction) kind of donees and in some cases donors as well.

The term *sāmānya* figures as a suffix along with general appellations of the donees of the grants drafted in sanskrit and belonging to (vaguely speaking) the period of 7th - 8th century onwards. A few select examples of the type will suffice here to follow the pros and cons of our arguments regarding the subtle sense of this term and its social implications.

I " *Lohigakaksha - pathak - āhāra vinirggata - tat - Traividya - sāmānya*....."¹

II "..... *Ujjayini - vinirggata Kūragirikā-sāmānya Daundāyana sagōtra*....."²

III "..... *Kūragiri-sāmānya-brāhmaṇa Gopa-putrebhyo*"³

IV "..... *Pushkara-sāmānya Bhaṭṭasuta Malhaṇena*"⁴

Prior to late lamented Dr. D. C. Sircar whose disagreement with the previous scholarship on the subject forms the main

theme of this review, it is worth remarking that in case of reference number one and four Dr. G.V. Acharya and Bhandarkar have explained the general sense of the term *sāmānya* as under :

I G. V. Acharya while translating the phrase '*Lohigakaksha pathak-āhāra-vinirggata-tat-Traividya-sāmānya*' has rendered that into English as, "... who belongs to the community of Traividya brahmins."⁵

II Bhandarkār's explanation of the phrase '*Pushkara - sāmānya Bhaṭṭa - suta Malhaṇena*, is that "Malhaṇa the donor is called Pushkara-sāmānya, i.e., belonging to the Pushkara community"⁶

Dr. Sircar while editing the two grants of early Guhilas (ref. II & III) either because he was not then aware of the above two references to the term and their forementioned explanation from Acharya and Bhandarkar or he has no inclination to dig further into it, has referred to the term *sāmānya* in case of both the phrase i.e., *Kūragirikā-sāmānya Daundāyana-sagōtra*' and '*Kūragiri-sāmānya-brāhmaṇa-Gopa*' as a 'resident of Kūragirikā'. In order to make the record straight he has here itself added a note towards the term *sāmānya* stating that "The expression has been used to indicate the sense of *Vāstavya*."⁸

After a gap of two years while he has occasion to edit two inscriptions of Durgarāja, Sircar has once again taken recourse to this term in the phrase

“*Pushkara - sāmānya Bhaṭṭa - sua Malha-
nēna*”⁹ and, sticking to his earlier meaning
of the term *sāmānya*, he has explained it
as ‘a resident of Pushkara’¹⁰ in all
disagreement with Bhandarkar who explained
the same as belonging to the community
of Pushkara brahmins.

In order to have all the references to
the term *sāmānya* complete at one place
let me add here that Sircar did remain
stuck to his gun (and that was common
with the great old man) even while com-
piling his glossary of Indian epigraphs.
The only difference here is that the tone
of Sircar is milder because he says that
the meaning of *sāmānya* as a resident is
of rare occurrence.¹¹ Here itself, he has
cited (though without exact references) a
few more examples of the type such as
Chāturvedya - sāmānya and ‘*Vallabhichā-
turvedya - sāmānya*’, which help us in
course of our review to arrive at the
desired sense of the term under consid-
eration.

However, it is obvious from the above
that the exact meaning of the term *sāmānya*,
specially in the contexts of the epigraphs
noted above, is disputed. Aim of this
note therefore, is to arrive at a more
logical meaning of the term as it was
desired.

Looking into the meaning of *sāmānya*
as a resident or *Vāstavya* as opined by
Sircar, followings are the points which do
not agree with this :

i) Had the person with whose appella-
tion the term *sāmānya* is suffixed been a

resident of the place such as Ujjayini or
so, there was no need whatsoever to
specify that by the term *vinirggata* which
means that he migrated from that place.
And, if it is to be construed that the
term *vinirggata* refers to the ancestors of
the person under context, this is too vague
to be understood. In such cases we have
examples such as, “*Vāmanasutāya.....
chinchhā - sthāna vinirggata pūrvajāya*”,¹²
i.e., the son of Vāmana whose ancestors
had migrated from a place called Chincecā.

ii) For a sake of argument even if it is
agreed for a while that the term *sāmānya*
means a resident what will be the sense
when we notice the term suffixed with
such appellations as Traividya and Chā-
turvidya. It will be nothing but funny to
say that so and so the resident of Trai-
vidya and Chāturvedya.

iii) But for the fact that Dr. Sircar
has once rather inadvertently explained the
term *sāmānya* in the sense of *vāstavya*
and later on continued sticking to this
very sense, the word *sāmānya* is never used
in so far as my information goes, in the
sense of a resident. Contrary to that,
in the works on Indian logic *sāmānya* is
a well-known word for denoting *jāti* or
generality.¹³

Needless to say that both the synonym
vāstavya to the term *sāmānya* and its
meaning as ‘a resident’ proposed by Sircar,
are rather illogical. In my opinion what
was proposed earlier by Bhandarkar and
Acharya seems to be the more appropri-
ate and logical sense of this term. Thus,
the persons mentioned with the general

appellation of Kūrāgirikā, Traividya and Pushkara suffixed with the term *sāmānya* are to be taken as 'belonging to these communities.'

So far this has been the semantic side of the term. The implication in the field of social history of the time and region is the main thing which is really important.

As in case of all the contexts noted above, the term *sāmānya* has been suffixed only with the names of people from the community of brahmins whether donors or donees its social implications are also confined so far to the members of that community alone.

To be precise and short, the two major points that emerge out of the review of this reference regarding the society of its time could be visualized as under :

i) The people of the brahmin community all over the country around this time were migrating from one region to the other at a large scale. Be it on account of their own will i.e., in search of better pasture or on account of being invited as a donee to receive land grants because of their expertise in certain branches of learning. This is clearly indicated by the term *vinirggata* in case of most of the contexts. But, in spite of being a migrant from one place to the other either it is out of the will of their own or if it is on the will of the members of the locality they migrated to, their place of the origin or so to say, the place of the origin of their ancestors was never dropped nor forgotten so long as the case of their identity in general was concerned. They remained to be known or called as the people from Kūrāgiri or Pushkara. In case

of the latter, even now we have a community of brahmins from Rajasthan who are known as Pushkaranas. In all probability they are the descendants of *Pushkarasāmānya* brahmins. In fact, the term *sāmānya* of the record is used only to denote the social status of these people. In day to day life of their times the address would have been as Pushkara only and not suffixed with *sāmānya*. In my opinion this suffix is added here just for the sake of making the sense clear.

ii) The other point where the suffix *sāmānya* is added with the people of the community of Traividya and Chāturvidya is even more important from the view point of social history of the time. This denotes, if I am right in my hypothesis, the degradation that has set in the community of brahmins. There was a time as we know when the brahmins proficient in in vedic learnings and with particular qualifications were called as Trivedins or chaturvedins. But in course of time, this kind of specialization which gave them the honour of using special appellations for themselves was lost or slackened and gradually all the descendants of Trivedins and Chaturvedins also came to be known by this appellation irrespective of the fact whether they fulfilled those qualifications or not. In other words, these appellations of Trivedi and Chaturvedī which were of special (and not general) category once upon a time were brought down to the status of general appellations. This is what, in my opinion, that is expressed by the suffix *sāmānya* with such appellations. Most probably, the Trivedi or Chaturvedī-*sāmānya* types of brahmins are the same who are referred to in the purāṇas as *brahmbnadhus*.

References and Notes :

- 1 *E.I.* XXIII, p. 151, 1-35
- 2 *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 172, 1-12.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 176, 1-17.
- 4 *Ibid.*, XXXV, p. 243.
- 5 *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 155 ; emphasis on the word 'community' is that of mine
- 6 Bhandarkar's List, No. 5
- 7 *E.I.* XXXIV, pp. 171, 172, 174.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 172, n.3.
- 9 *Ibid.*, XXXV. p. 243.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 239.
- 11 *Indian Epigraphical glossary*, pp. 289, 367.
- 12 *E.I.* XI, P. 183, 1. 18.
- 13 Of *Tarka-saṅgraha*, *pratyaksha khaṇḍa*, II. Edited with translation by Kuppaswamy Sastri, Madras. Herein *samānya* is noted as one out of seven *padārthas*, i.e., *dravya*, *guṇa*, *karma*, *samānya*, *Viśeṣha*, *samavāya* and *abhāva*. See also the *Pūrva Mimāṃsā and its sources* by Jha, G.N. Benares, 1964, ch. IX under *Jāti*. I am thankful to my colleague Mr. A. Ramulu of our office for drawing my attention to the above references.

DEVAKALI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ISANAVARMAN MAUKHARI

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal and
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The inscribed copper-plate discussed below was found in the course of excavating a canal in village Devakali, District Ghazipur, U.P. It is now in the State museum, Lucknow and bears the accession no 87. 138.¹

The plate is rectangular in shape, measuring 29 × 22.5 cm. It has a 5 cm wide rectangular projection in the centre of the top to which is soldered an oval seal measuring 7.5 × 7 cm at the maximum length and width respectively.

The seal bears the figure of Garuḍa, shown part-human and part-bird with wings widespread in the style of the Garuḍa figures met with on the seals and coins of the Imperial Guptas, and the legend *Śr-Īśānavarma-dēva*.

The inscription like all the other records of the Maukhari dynasty² is in Sanskrit³. Barring a *bhūmidāna* śloka in the *Indravajrā* metre at the end, the entire text is in prose.

As regards orthography, in some cases these is the duplication of the letter coming immediately after *r* as *t* *kirtti* in line 2 and *gartt-ōshara* in line 14; *m* in *varmma* in lines 4, 6, 7, 9 and 20, *dharmmārtha* in line 21; and of *v* in *sarvvādhikārīka* in lines 11-12. But in other cases such

duplication has not been followed, eg. in *varṇāśrama* in line 3, and *vinirgata* in line 7. It may be noted that in the Maukhari seals and inscriptions the form *varṇāśrama* is met with.

Another orthographic feature is the duplication of a letter when followed by *r* as *t* in *puttra* in lines 4, 6, and 7 and in *pittirōḥ* in line 16, and *d* in *s-ōddraṅga* in line 14. But this too is not uniformly followed. For example, there is no duplication of *k* in *chakraś* = *Chakradhara* in line 3. It may be pointed out that on the Maukhari seals we invariably find the forms *chakkraś* = *Chakradhara*. Similarly while the plate has *Chatus* = *samudrātīkrānta* in 1. 2, the seals invariably have *°kkrānta*. Another point to be mentioned is the expression *bhūmi-chchhidra* in line 15, (instead of *bhūmi-chhidra*) also met with in other inscriptions of the age.

There are also examples of the use of abbreviations in *śu* and *di*. *śu* stands for *sukla* (bright fortnight) and *di* for *divasa* (day). Such abbreviations are commonly met with in other ancient epigraphs.

The inscription which begins with *siddham*, expressed by a symbol, was issued from the victory camp (*jayaskandhāvāra*) named *Mandārāvāsa* and abounding in

boats, elephants, horses, chariots and infantry.

Then follows the genealogy from

Mahārājādhirāja Harivarman = Jayasvāmini *bhaṭṭārikā*
Mahārājādhirāja Ādiyavarman = Harishagupta *bhaṭṭārika*
Mahārājādhirāja Īsavarvarman = Umāgupta *bhaṭṭārika*
Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman = Lakshmivati,

Harivarman has been referred to as one whose fame extended beyond four oceans and who subdued other kings with prowess and affection. From other sources, we know that Harivarman was a mere feudatory lord (*mahārāja*) as also his two immediate successors. Identical phraseology is met with in the seals and copper-plates of Harsha, for Naravardhana, the first ruler of the Pushpabhūti dynasty, who along with his two immediate successors was also a feudatory (*mahārāja*). Harivarman has been compared with Vishṇu for his care of his subjects and is also said to have regulated the order of the *varṇas* and the *āśramas*.

The purport of the inscription is to record the grant of village Varggāshaṇa located in the district (*vishaya*) of Pāñchā-laka by king Īśānavarman Maukhari for the merit (*puṇya*) of his parents (who, in all probability were deceased) on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśāka, in the year 632 (as we read it).

The name of the donee is given as Gaṇadēva. He has been referred to as *bhaṭṭa* (i.e. 'learned') *chaturveda* (master of four *vēdas*) and son of Chandradēva. His *gōtra* and *pravara* are mentioned as

Harivarman to Īśānavarman - the issuer of the copper-plate under discussion. It is as follows :-

Krishṇātrēya and Śyāvāśva respectively. His original village was Nakraṭikā⁴ whence he migrated to the village granted.

It is stated that the village was granted together with mango groves and *madhūka* trees, along with water and land (*jala-sthala*), pit (*gartta*) and barren (*ūshara*) land upto its boundary, together with the land tax (*udraṅga*) and metal and salt (*lōha-lavaṇa*) present there. The people who brought uncultivated land under cultivation were to pay taxes on concessional rates and the regular and irregular troops were prohibited from entering the village. The inhabitants of the village were to pay all the taxes to the donee. †

At the end there is a verse extolling the merit of granting land and also the demerit of taking back the granted land.

A good number seals in copper and terracotta have come to light, belonging variously to Śarvarman, Avantivarman and a king of whose name only the first letter *Su* has remained preserved. And although it was believed by scholars that the copper seals must have been originally attached to copper-plates detailing grant of land or village, no such plates were forthcoming, and hence the find of the copper-plate under discussion assumes significance.

On palaeographic consideration as well as the contents of the inscription, it can be surmised that the plate is not original but either a forged one⁶ or a copy of damaged plate, with some letters and phrases subsequently restored. We discuss below such points as go to substantiate this.

The palaeography of letters both on the plate and the seal attached to it shows features which are characteristic of the period a couple of centuries later than the age of Īśānavarman.⁶ For example, the letters *k*, *l*, *s* and *y* are almost like their Nāgarī counterparts. The letter *m* too is very near to its Nāgarī form (see e.g. *mra* in 1.14).

The phraseology found in the present copper plate charter is not met with in the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas, Maukharis and their contemporaries but occurs quite commonly in the inscriptions of later period.⁷ It may be suggested that the initial line of the inscription in the original plate probably got damaged and the copier of the text, after a few centuries, reconstructed it on the basis of the expression that was being used in this context in the copper-plate grants of his age.

All the four kings Harivarman, Ādityavarman, Saravavarman and Īśānavarman mentioned in the plate have been referred to as *mahārājādhirājas*. It may be noted that in all the seals of the Maukhari dynasty⁸ the first three rulers have been invariably referred to as *mahārājas*, while Īśānavarman, the fourth ruler of that dynasty is designated as *mahārājādhirāja*. The fifth *mahārāja* in the Gupta and post-

Gupta periods came to indicate feudatory status of the ruler and an independent sovereign was designated as *mahārājādhirāja*.⁹ The predecessors of Īśānavarman must have been feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, who ruled at least up to the middle of the 6th century A.D. It is after the significant conquests of Īśānavarman, as referred to in the Haraha Inscription¹⁰ – that of the Āndhras, Śūlikas and Gauḍas – that made the Maukharis as an important political power, and hence it is in the fitness of things that Īśānavarman adopted the title *mahārājādhirāja* in contradistinction to that of *mahārāja* adopted by his predecessors. All his successors have been referred to as *mahārājādhirājas* in the seals of that dynasty. One explanation for the discrepancy of titles on the plate could be that the portion bearing the genealogy in the original plate got considerably damaged but the title *mahārājādhirāja* for Īśānavarman remained intact and the copier, unaware of the fact that the first three rulers of the dynasty were mere *mahārājas* (feudatories) added this title to other rulers also.

The names of two of the queens met with in the plates differ from those on the seals of the kings of the dynasty. The queen of Ādityavarman is referred to as Harishagupta bhattārikā instead of the form Harshagupta met with on all the seals of the Maukhari dynasty. There is no doubt that the version of the seals is the correct one. Harisha is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit name Harsha. It may be noted that several Prakrit forms are commonly met with in Sanskrit inscriptions of post Harsha period. It is likely that in the original damaged plate the letters *ha* and

sha were visible but *r* was damaged, and at a later date the copier or forger of the copper plate, conversant with such Prakrit forms of names, restored it as Harisha.

The name of the queen of Īśavarvarman as met with on the seals of the Maukhari is Upagupta whereas in the plate under discussion, she is referred to as Umāgupta-bhaṭṭārikā. Quite likely, on the original plate *u* and *gupta* of the name were well preserved while the letter *pa* got mutilated and lost. The forger or copier restored the name as Umāguptā.

In the genealogies met with in the Maukhari seals, the queens of *Mahārāja* Harivarman, Ādityavarman and Īśānavarman have been referred to as bhaṭṭārikā-dēvi. However, on the plate they have been merely designated as bhaṭṭārikā. The queen of *Mahārājādhirāja* Īśānavarman on the Maukhari seals is referred to as bhaṭṭārikā-māhādēvi obviously to distinguish her position from other queens by virtue of the higher status of her husband. Curiously enough, in the present plate, Īśānavarman's queen Lakshmivatīdēvi has been mentioned without any epithet whatsoever.

The inscription compares the first king Harivarman with Viṣṇu (Chakradhara), and refers to all other kings including Īśānavarman as *Parama-māhēśvaras*. This Śaiva affiliation of kings is in tune with the evidence of the known Maukhari seals. However, the seal attached to this plate shows the figure of Garuda, a typical Vaiṣṇava device, so commonly met with on the seals and coins of the *Paramabhāgavata* (i. e. Vaiṣṇava) Imperial Guptas, and was in fact their dynastic symbol. The

seals of the Maukharis, known so far are either of Śarvavarman (son and successor of Īśānavarman) or his successors, Avanti-varman and Su-. No seal of Īśānavarman or any of his predecessors is so far known. And all the available Maukhari seals show, the typical Śaiva device of Nandī (Śiva's bull) together with the *gaṇas* of Śiva¹¹ (The device wick also features on the seals of Harsha¹², who too is referred to as *Paramamāhēśvara* in his inscriptions) and the device goes well with the Śaiva Maukhari rulers. It does not seem convincing that Īśānavarman blindly followed the Gupta model of Garuda for his seal even though it did not go well with his religious learnings. It seems more probable that the seal attached to the original plate got lost beyond recovery and the forger or copier of the grant, who was familiar with the seals of the Gupta dynasty¹³ introduced the device of Garuda without giving any thought to the fact that the ruler was a Śaiva. It may also be pointed out that the Maukhari coins are imitations of Gupta coins both to the depiction of the device Garuda, and hence it is also possible that the copier borrowed the device from the Maukhari coins.

The date is in three digits. The second and the third digits are 3 and 2 respectively. The first digit is considerably mutilated and could be restored as 5 or 6. But for reasons given below we prefer to take it as 6. In the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman the date, mentioned in words is 611.¹⁴ It would be reasonable to infer that the era used in that epigraph, which unanimously taken as Vikrama era, should

also be the one used in the present epigraph as both of them belong to the reign of Īśānavarman and both are royal charters. Converting Vikrama 611 to the Christian era the date comes to (611-56=) 554 A.D. for the Haraha Inscription. If we take the mutilated number as 5 then the date of the copper-plate would be (532-57=) 475 A.D. This has to be rejected for two reasons - firstly because it would mean that Īśānavarman had an extraordinarily long reign-period of more than (554-475=) 79 years, and secondly, and more so, the date falls within the reign of the Imperial Gupta ruler, Budhagupta, who ruled over a fairly extensive kingdom.¹⁵ There is hardly any possibility of Īśānavarman's conquest of the Āndhras, Śūlikas and Gauḍas as mentioned in the Haraha inscription and his assuming the title *māhārājādhirāja* during the rule of that Gupta emperor. It may also be mentioned that the Shankargarh inscription of the time of Budhagupta¹⁶ refers to one Harivarman as a feudatory of that ruler. This Harivarman has been identified with the homonym first ruler of the Maukharī dynasty. If the identification is accepted, then there is no question of Īśānavarman's contemporaneity with Budhagupta, as the former - the fourth ruler of that dynasty was the great grandson of Harivarman.

Taking the figure as 632, we would get the date (Vikrama 632-57=) 575 A.D. which is 21 years later than the date, 554 A.D., of the Haraha inscription. This would indicate that Īśānavarman ruled at least from 554 A.D. to at least 575 A.D., which seems quite plausible.¹⁷ We know that the Maukharī rule came to an end in 606 A.D.

We have therefore to place the reign periods of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman and also of Grahavarman who ruled (if at all he ruled) for a very short period, and Su-whose reign too was quite short. Earlier scholars thought that Īśānavarman's reign did not last along after 554 A.D. But with the evidence of this inscription at hand, it can be said that it continued at least up to 575 A.D.

In the plate under discussion Śarvavarman has been referred to as *yuvarāja* and *dūtaka*. *Dūtaka* was a job of high responsibility and trust involving the drawing of the charter and delivering it to the donee. The Madhuban and the Banskhera plates of Harsha mention one Skandagupta as holding the office of *mahāpramātara* and *mahāsāndhivigrahika* and acting as *dūtaka*.¹⁸ The Nalanda (spurious ?) plate of Samudragupta¹⁹ refers to *kumāra* Chandra gupta as performing the same job. The Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman refers to one Sūryavarman as the son of that ruler. He has been praised therein for this bravery and skill and referred to a one who renovated a dilapidated Siva shrine, some scholars suggested that he might have been an elder brother of Śarvavarman. Since his name does not figure in any genealogical record of the Maukharis and since in their records Śarvavarman has been categorically mentioned as the son and successor of his father Īśānavarman, several possibilities have been suggested regarding the states and fate of Sūryavarman²⁰-

i) He was elder to Śarvavarman but predeceased his father and hence the younger brother succeeded his father. 2) There was

a war of succession in which the elder brother of Śarvavarman was defeated by the latter. 3) Sūryavarman should be identified with the homonym referred to as *nripa* and maternal grandfather of Sōmavāmsī king Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna in the inscription.²¹ He is described therein as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of (their) supremacy over Magadha," which is considered as sufficient evidence to identify him as a Maukhari ruler.

However the inscription under discussion which, according to the evidence discussed above, is datable to 575 A. D.—that is 21 years after the Haraha Inscription of 554 A. D., refers to Śarvavarman as *yuvārāja* and does not make any mention of Sūryavarman. The epithet *yuvārāja* would indicate that in 575 A.D. he was the elder or the eldest son of his father, as the office of *yuvārāja* was generally conferred upon the eldest son of the king.

We restate briefly the points that go to show that the plate under discussion is not the original one ;

1. The characters of the letters of the plate and the seal are of a couple of centuries later than the time of Īśānavarman Maukhari.

2. The expression *anēka-nau-hasty-aśva-ratha-patti* etc. is characteristic of inscriptions of much later period than that of Īśānavarman.

3. The plate refers to all the four Maukhari rulers as *mahārājadhīrājas*, while other sources refer to the first three as *mahārājas*.

4. The name of the queen of Ādityavarman is given as Harishagupta in the plate, instead of the correct form Harshagupta.

5. The plate has Umāgupta-bhattārikā as the name of Īśvaravarman's queen, instead of *Upaguptā* which is met with in the Maukhari seals.

6. The queens of the first three kings have been referred to as *bhaṭṭārikā*, instead of *bhaṭṭārikādevī* as met with in the Maukhari seals.

7. Īśānavarman's queen, Lakshmiṃvatī is referred to without any honorific suffix whereas in the seal-inscriptions she is mentioned as *bhaṭṭārikā-mahādevī*.

8. The representation of Garuḍa, a Vaishnva device, on the seal of Śaiva Īśānavarman is incongruous.

It is rather difficult to believe that such glaring mistakes and discrepancies, as, for example, titles of kings, names and titles of queens could occur in a charter detailing the grant of the reigning king, more so when the *dūtaka* i.e. officer incharge of drawing the charter and delivering it to the donee was *yuvārāja* himself. The plate should therefore be taken either a copy of a considerably mutilated original grant with restorations of text of mutilated portions, or as forged by someone with a view to fraudulently claiming the right of revenue of the village.²² Whatever be, the importance of the plate remains there as in either case the model of the copier or forger would have seen. the original plate.

The plate would show for the first time that Īśānavarman ruled at least up to 575 A.D. and that at that date Śarvarman was *yuvārāja*, which office would have been allotted to him by virtue of his being the elder or the eldest son of

the king. This would mean that if at all Śūryavarman was the eldest son of Īśānavarman in 554 A.D., the date of Haraha inscription, he might have died in between 554 A.D. and 575 A.D.

TEXT²³

- 1 siddham²⁴ [*] Svasti Mandārāvāsād - anēka - nau - hasty - aśva - ratha - patti - sampanna - śrī - ja -
- 2 yaskandhāvārāch = chatussamudr - ātikrānta - kirttiḥ pratap - ānurāg - opanat - ānya - rā -
- 3 ja - varṇāśrama - vyavasthāpana - pravṛitta - chakraś = Chakradhara iva prajānām - ā -
- 4 rttiharah mahārājādhirāja - Śrī - Harivarṃmadēvas = tat - puttraḥ parama - mähēśvara -
- 5 rājñi - śrī - Jayasvāminī - bhaṭṭārikāyām = utpannō mahārājādhirāja - śrī -
- 6 mad - Ādityavarṃmadēvas = tat - puttraḥ parama - mähēśvara rājñi - Harishagupta - bhaṭṭā -
- 7 rikāyām = utpannō mahārājādhirāja - Śrīmad = Īśvaravarṃmadēvas = tat - puttraḥ - parama -
- 8 mähēśvarō rājñi - śrīmad = Umāgupta - bhaṭṭārikāyām = utpannō - mahārājādhi -
- 9 rāja - Śrīmad = Īśānavarṃmadēvō Maukhari kuśali [*] Pāmchālaka - vishaya -
- 10 pratibaddhā chūta - gulgama - sahita Varggāshaṇa-grāmē yathāsthāna - niyuktā
- 11 rājarāja - kumārāmātya - mahāsāndhivigrah = ākshapaṭalika - sarvvā -
- 12 dhikārika - pratihāra - sāmanta - prabhṛitīn prativāsinaś = cha janapadān mānaya -
- 13 ti samājñāpayati [*] Viditam = astu bhavatām yath = opari - likhita - grāma [h*] sa
- 14 jala - sthala s - āmra - madhūka sa - gartt - oshara - simā - paryanta s - oḍdraṅga sa - lōha - la
- 15 vaṇākar - ādi - samēt - āchāṭa - bhaṭa - pravēśō bhūmichchhidra - nyāyen = āsmābhi[r*] = snā -

- 16 tvā Vaiśākhē pittrōḥ puṇyavṛiddhaye Nakralikā²⁵ - vinirgata - Krishṇātrēya - gōtra -
 17 Ātreyārchanāna - Śyāvāśva - prāvarāya cha bhṛṭṭa - chāturvēdāya Chandradēva - sutāya -
 18 Gaṇadēvāya śāsanatvēna pradattō mattvā bhavadbhir = anupālaniyaḥ ni -
 19 vēśi[ta*]ś = cha pratyādāyā (yaḥ) asya upanētavyaḥ dūtako = 'tra yuvarāja Śrī - Lakshmi -
 20 vatyām = utpannaḥ Śrī - Sarvvavarmmā[*] Saṁvat²⁶ 532²⁷ Vaiśākha śudi 15 ti ||
 21 Dattāni yān = iha purā nārēndrair = dānāni dharm - ārtha - yaśaskarāṇi | nirmālya -
 vantī
 22 pratitulyakāni²⁸ kō nāma sādhuḥ punar = ādadīta ||²⁹

Notes

- 1 We are grateful to Dr. S.D. Trivedi, Director, State Museum, Lucknow, and his colleagues for making available the photographs of the plate and also providing facilities to examine the original plate in the Museum.
- 2 For the records of the Maukhari dynasty, see K.K. Thaplyal, *Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Pushyabhūti and Yaśovarman of Kanuj*, Delhi, 1985.
- 3 The only Prākṛit form is the name *Harishagupta-bhṛṭṭarikā* in l. 6.
- 4 The name could as well be read as *Nakulikā*. However, as it stands, the reading *Nakulikā* is preferable (see below)
- 5 Such forgeries were not uncommon in ancient India. The Madhuban Copper-plate of Harsha (see Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, p. 182 f) refers to one Vāmarathya who with the help of a forged document enjoyed the revenue of the village Somakuṇḍakā.
- 6 *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff. ; Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 ff.
- 7 See Fleet, CII, Vol. III, p. 256.
- 8 For Maukhari seals, see Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-55.
- 9 See Fleet, CII., Vol. III, p. 10 f.n. 1
- 10 Line 12
- 11 For the device, see Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, pls VI-X
- 12 See *Ibid.*, pl. XIX
- 13 For Seals of the Gupta kings, see D. R. Bhaṛṭṭarkar, CII., Vol. III, pl. XLII, XLIV-XLVI.

- 14 It is as below : Ekādaśātirikṭēshu shaṣṭu Śātitavidvishi |
 Śatēshu Śaradām patyau bhavaḥ Śriśānavarmmaṇi ||
 (See Thaplyal *Op. Cit.*, p. 145, ll 20-21.)
- 15 See K. K. Thaplyal and A. Srivastava, *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 7-9
- 16 See B. C. Jain *J.E.S.I.* Vol. IV, pp. 62 ff.
- 17 Referring the date in Śāka era the date in Christian era would be (623 78) 701 A.D. (or if the date is read as 523, (523 78) 601 A.D.) which would be too late for Īśānavarman whose known date is 554 A.D. The question of the use of the Gupta era does not arise.
- 18 For Madhuban pl. see Thaplyal, *op. at.*, 1828., and for Banskhera pl., *Ibid.*, 177 ff.
- 19 For references, see Bhandarkar, CII., Vol. III, pp. 224 f.
- 20 See Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, p. 26
- 21 *Et.*, Vol. XI, 184 f. and p. 195.
- 22 In case of forgery, the forger would have changed the names of the donor and his father, his *gōtra*, *pravara* and original village only.
- 23 From impressions.
- 24 Expressed by a symbol.
- 25 One is tempted to read the name as *Nakulikā*. But a comparison with *kra* in *Chakras* = *Chakradhara* on line 3, on the one hand, and *ku* in *Kumarāmtya* line 11 and *kuśalī* in line 9 would indicate that *kra* is meant.
- 26 What has been read as *t* took like numeral 1 in the Dēvanāgarī script.
- 27 For this reading, see above.
- 28 For other variants of this verse see D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p.183, n.2.
- 29 There is a floral design engraved between the end of the verse and the *daṇḍa*

BOOK REVIEWS

Contributions of Sanskrit Inscriptions to Lexicography by S. P. Tewari, Delhi, 1987, pp. 247. Price Rs. 160.

Epigraphy and lexicography are closely related, and therefore for the interpretation of inscriptions an epigraphist is often required to consult dictionaries and word-indexes. And more often than not these fail to provide him the much sought after help as they often do not contain the uncommon words met with in inscriptions and even if they contain them, the particular shade of meaning for which they are employed is not included. These words are, thus, of great lexicographical interest. Though a bulk of material in the form of new inscriptions has come to light during the last over one century of epigraphical study, the compilers of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit dictionaries have shown shocking apathy to them and the words thrown up by inscriptions and their particular meanings have generally gone by default. Pioneer epigraphists from the time of J.F. Fleet and F. Kielhorn have drawn attention to such words, and more recently (1966) D.C. Sircar published his well-known *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. However, the need for the collation of such words and detailed discussions on them has been widely felt, and the present work of Dr. Tewari aims, successfully of course, at meeting this long-felt desideratum.

The work, which takes stock of select Sanskrit inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indica* ever since its inception, falls in to six parts. The opening chapter,

appropriately captioned 'Introduction', deals with the significance of epigraphy in relation to lexicography and affords the background and scope and purpose of the present study. The four subsequent chapters deal in an alphabetical order with i) the words referred to in inscriptions but not met with in the same form in the standard dictionaries, ii) the terms included in dictionaries but used in inscriptions in a different shade of meaning, iii) the *dēśī* (or rustic) words used in inscriptions in their Sanskritised forms, and iv) words really non-existent but resulting from incorrect readings proposed by the editors of the concerned records due to mutilation or effacement of relevant portion in a given epigraph. The sixth part, which is in the form of an appendix and the longest one comprising more than a half of the work (it covers 118 pages out of a total of 211 pages of the text), discusses in detail the intended meanings of sixteen words in as many sections of varying length and attempts to improve upon the earlier interpretations, constituting the most significant contribution of lasting value. The earlier interpretations are cited faithfully with their impropriety or irrelevance demonstrated and fresh interpretations enlightened by a sound knowledge and proper application of the classical Sanskrit literature suggested. The studies, which are reproductions of his several papers published earlier, cover the terms *ashṭa-pushpikā* (offering of eight kinds of flowers or figuratively eight kinds of *āsanas* or *mudras* originally in the worship of Śiva and later,

particularly in Bengal, of Nārāyaṇa), *cha'turddanta*, which, like the analogous *Shaq-danta*, should be taken to mean an 'elephant with its tusks developed and elongated four times (in the case of *shad-danta*, six times) as compared to those of the normal ones', *choksha* or *chauksha* (a sect of the Vaishṇavas now represented by the Chaukhaliyas of the Svāminārāyaṇa school of Gujarat), *dvirada-dānava* (Gajāśura), *gurubhir* = *abhyasta-nāman* (one whose name is first thought of and then repeatedly pronounced (i.e., the naming ceremony is performed) by his father (*guru*) in the company of teachers and holy personages, *harita-kalāpaka* (green thread tied round the water-jars), *kaṭuka* (guard of palace-gate), *māgha-ḍambara* (a kind of *chhatra* with its interior decorated with cloud-like designs; and in the case of ceilings of caves, temples and houses, decoration with various colours arranged in such a way as to look like a multitude of clouds with lightning), *niryūha* (an architectural member popularly known in Hindi as *chhajjā*; the portion of a building including galleries with railings supported by tusk-like pegs); *parivāhamāgha-vidhānam* (excellently provided with an outlet for the exit of excess water, *miḍha* being a scribal error for *miḍa* and the whole phrase being divisible into *parivāham* and *iḍa-vidhānam* and *iḍā=iḍya*), *pāṭyuparika* (an army officer in charge of the roll-call of soldiers), *partī-nartaka* (herald or banner-bearer of the army), *Purandara-nandana* (in the context of Viṣṇu, 'one who pleases Indra' (as a brother) and not 'son of Indra'), *sugrihitā-nāman* taking whose name is auspicious, rejecting the funeral meaning suggested by Levi), *upakārika* (tent-house), and *vārika*

(water-fetcher). Most interesting is the discussion on *chaturddanta* where it is pointed out that in keeping with the Pāṇinian rule that when a *bahuvrihi* compound denotes age, the second member of the compound gets acute accent on its first syllable, the composers as well as the engravers of the Western Gaṅga records, where this compound occurs, have taken care to provide an acute accent on the first syllable of its second member (p. 100).

The discussions are generally enlightening and suggested interpretations in most cases mark a definite improvement over the earlier ones. But the same cannot be said about all the terms, and in this connection we should, in particular, like to refer to the term *vārika* where we are inclined to agree with D.C. Sircar that it refers to an officer, and merely a water-fetcher (for his latest views on this term, see his note on this term in the *Vājapāya* (Prof. K. D. Bajpai Felicitation Volume) vol. I, ed. A. M. Shastri et al, Delhi, 1987, pp. 111-12). Then, as regards the arrangement, *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* and *sugrihitānāman* as well as *parivāhamāgha-vidhānam*, occurring as they do in the same inscription (Junāgaṛh inscription of Rudradāman), should have been taken up together one after the other. Levi's view is no longer taken seriously by any scholar and does not deserve the number of pages devoted to its refutation. Then, Dr. Tewari has taken into consideration only the inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indica*; it would have been advisable to take note of the enormous inscriptional material published in other journals including the present one. However, these and

other drawbacks need not detract us from the high value and usefulness of the present work which is a product of hard sustained labour of years and great scholarship.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Catalogue of the Inscriptions in the Assam State Museum by R. D. Choudhury. Directorate of Museums, Assam, Guwahati, 1987. Price Rs. 00.

The Assam State Museum at Guwahati is extremely rich in various kinds of antiquities, and the inscriptions gallery is one of the strongest. Practically all the portable inscriptions on copper plates, stones and iron objects dating from about the seventh century A.D. to comparatively modern times are deposited in this museum, and the Ulubari plates of Balavarman, which is the only inscription deposited in a district museum (Tezpur), has also been included in this descriptive catalogue which was released on the occasion of the 14th annual conference of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Guwahati under the auspices of the Directorate of Museums in December 1987. The work under review in these pages includes all these inscriptions dating from circa 7th century A.D. to the recent times and thus provides us with a panoramic view of the Assam epigraphy. They present a variety of languages and scripts, Sanskrit, Assamese and Tāi languages being written in the Siddhamātrikā, Assamese and Tāi scripts. The Dubi copper-plates, originally issued by Bhāskara-varman's great-grandfather Bhūti-varman and later destroyed and consequently reissued by Bhāskara-

varman, forms the earliest record in the holding of the museum. And Bhāskara-varman's Nidhanpur plates together with the above-mentioned Dubi plates constitute the most important sources of our knowledge of Assam's earliest historical ruling family, Bhauma-Nāraka, which traced its origin to the Mahābhārata period and whose last known member Bhāskara-varman played a vital role in the political vicissitudes of India during the 7th century A. D. With an account of these records the catalogue commences. The catalogue is divided into four sections dealing with the copper-plates, lithic records, cannon inscriptions and miscellaneous records and ends with an appendix entitled 'Origin and Development of Eastern Indian Scripts' by Dr. Maheshwar Neog.

The perusal of this catalogue reveals some interesting facts. Earlier inscriptions generally record land-grants in favour of the brāhmaṇas, while later ones are generally grants in favour of religious establishments like temples (ASM 3197, 5094, 3200, 3195, 5003, 5014, 5011, 5021, 4093, 5019) and *satras* or free feeding houses (ASM 5081, 2769, 4091, 5018). Servants (*paiks*) were donated in numbers to temples and individuals (ASM 5085, 5092, 5094, 2769, 5068, 5016, 5013, 4092), in some cases the number being as large as 60 (ASM 2769), 40 (ASM 5013), 27 (ASM 5016) and 20 (ASM 4092). There is also a grant in favour of some followers of the Chaitanya school (ASM 3203). We have a grant in favour of a brāhmaṇa strangely enough named Sūdra Kaṭaki (ASM 5013). We have several instances of original documents being damaged by various reasons

and replaced by fresh plates. The opening record, the Dubi plates, which originally recorded a grant made by Bhūivarman, were lost and consequently had to be renewed by his great-grandson Bhāskaravarman. The same is true of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman which seek to renew an earlier grant which was damaged by fire. In later times also we find such references. One such example is a copper-plate of king Sivasimha recording a land-grant to the Garaimāri *sattrā* which was issued in Śaka 1646 to replace an earlier plate which was reportedly destroyed in a conflagration (ASM 5081). But most of such later instances of the replacements were of a different kind and are interesting. The original document in such cases was of paper bearing a royal seal (*mohar patra*) and when it became worn out (*jirṇa patra*) in course of time it had to be substituted by a copper-plate (ASM 5089, 4097, 5004). It would follow from the foregoing examples, which have been picked up at random, that the present catalogue is very useful for the students of not only political history but also for research workers interested in the socio-economic and religious conditions in Assam through the ages and we hope this example would be emulated by other museum authorities in the country.

The value and usefulness of the *Catalogue* would have gone up with some sort of arrangement, chronological or regional, and we would like to recommend that Dr. Choudhury gives a serious thought to this suggestion when he gets an opportunity to bring out a second edition,

though we are conscious how rarely such an opportunity becomes available in the case of epigraphical publications.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Agrarin Structure of Central India and the Northern Deccan : A study in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions by Krishna Mohan Shrivastava. Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1987, pp. 135 maps 5. Price Rs. 110.00.

Even though the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas have been known for last over a century, they have, generally speaking, not been utilised as a source of the socio-economic history of Central India and the Deccan where the dynasty ruled primarily. Realising this desideratum and in view of the discovery of a substantial number of inscriptions of the dynasty since the publication of V. V. Mirashi's *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* as volume v of the famous *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* series, the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University, hosted a national seminar on the 'Age of the Vākāṭakas' in January, 1984, where a great deal of enlightened interest was noticed. While the proceedings of the seminar, edited by the present reviewer, are yet to be published, it is a matter of gratification that it has inspired some welcome publications and the present monograph by professor Shrivastava, a participant in the seminar, is a by-product of the discussions at the seminar.

The work consists of two chapters and seven appendices. The first chapter notes the geographical and topographical features of the territory under the Vākāṭ-

akas. The next chapter, which forms the core of the work, provides an overview of the Vākāṭaka economy with an emphasis on agrarian structure on the basis of the inscriptional evidence. For this purpose the author has depended primarily on place names occurring in Vākāṭaka records which reveal preponderance of rural settlements in the midst of a comparatively smaller number of urban centres. The author rightly sees the matrix of the earliest feudal tendencies during the two centuries of the Vākāṭaka rule. The work for the first time, offers as many as five maps accurately delineating the chronological and geographical distribution of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, settlements, both donated as well as those otherwise mentioned and administrative divisions. Detailed notes on these cartographic delineations claim a couple of appendices. These maps and notes on them are very useful and constitute a unique feature of the monograph. The remaining five appendices supply almost the latest information about the inscriptional data including the texts of most of the inscriptions discovered after the publication of Mirashi's aforesaid work. It would be seen from this survey of the contents that the work is highly useful to all students of Vākāṭaka economy and inscriptions.

Reference may, however, be made to certain biases and drawbacks, which could have been easily eliminated and not allowed to influence the conclusions. To begin with, the extent of the Vākāṭaka territory has been highly exaggerated. Inscriptions of the two known branches should have been classed separately, and

the jumbling of all the inscriptions into pre-Pravarasēna II, Pravarasēna II and post-Pravarasēna II periods does not seem to serve any purpose. As a corollary to the exaggerated notion of the extent of the Vākāṭaka kingdom excavated sites situated far away from the dominions of the dynasty are listed as falling under the Vākāṭakas (pp. 4, 10-11). *Āhāras*, *bhōgas*, etc., denote administrative divisions and cannot be regarded as classes of settlements (pp. 11-22, 42). Tewar has been distinguished from Tripurī (p. 4), and proto-historic (megalithic) excavations at Mahurjhari have been mentioned as belonging to the Vākāṭaka phase (p. 11), evidently by oversight. Political expansion has been confused with the settlement expansion (pp. 25-26). Sixteen out of a total of 134 settlements referred to in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions appear, on the basis of the suffixes (*Uttara-padas*), to be somewhat urban in character (p. 23), which is even now a fairly large number. Moreover, as noted by the author himself, the excavations at Mandhal, Rāmṭek and Nagara have yielded significant evidence about the urban development during the Vākāṭaka rule (p. 11). The Vākāṭakas were brāhmaṇas and can by no stretch of imagination be said to have been untouched by Sanskrit culture even to begin with (p. 27), even though their kingdom included many tribal elements. The use of Prakrit in the grant portion of the Wasim plates of Vindhyaśakti II and a plate of the Pandhurrṇa grant of Pravarasēna II was in keeping with the employment of Prakrit in their records by the early Pallavas who, too, were brāhmaṇas and consequently much importance need not

be attached to it (p. 28).

However, these and similar other drawbacks, which can be easily attended to when the author has an opportunity to revise it for a future edition, need not detract from the great value and usefulness of this otherwise commendable monograph which is the first one to be published on the subject.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Prāchīna Bhāratiya Abhilēkha-Sangraha - III : Maukhari - Pushyabhūti-Chalukya-Yugina Abhilēkha (Inscriptions of the Maukhari-Pushyabhūti-Chālukya Age) by Shriram Goyal. Kusumanjali Prakashan, Meerut, 1987, pp. 277, price Rs. 250-00.

Of late Professor S. R. Goyal has been very prolific and during the last less than eight years his numerous works in Hindi and English on a variety of Indological subjects have been published. Three of them are on epigraphy, and the present work is the latest in the series of epigraphical publications, the earlier ones being on pre-Gupta and Gupta inscriptions. The main value of the series, which has been well conceived and executed, lies primarily in the fact it has brought most of the early Indian inscriptions within easy reach of Hindi-knowing readers in general and serious post-graduate students and researchers offering Hindi medium in particular. To the best of our knowledge no such series exists in any Indian language, and for this Professor Goyal has earned the gratitude of a large number of students and scholars.

The work begins with an introduction outlining the political history of the dynasties whose inscriptions are incorporated in the volume, and dealing with the problem of the Harsha era where all the important views are examined in an unbiased manner and it has been demonstrated that the era commencing in 606 A.D. marked the accession of Harsha. The necessity of compressing the entire treatment within a short space of just 41 pages has resulted in this account being very brief, and the Chālukya and some other South Indian dynasties in particular have been treated extremely briefly while some of the ruling families whose inscriptions are included in the volume have been left out altogether.

Next follow the inscriptions of the Maukharis, Śaśāṅka, Harsha, Varmans (Bhāma-Nāiaka) of Kāmarūpa, Later Guptas, other North Indian dynasties and chiefs, Dakṣiṇāpātha, Bādāmi Chālukyās and Far South in a classified manner. However, while practically all the records of the Maukharis, Śaśāṅka, Harsha, Varmans of Kāmarūpa and Later Guptas, being small numerically, are included, the same cannot be said regarding the inscriptions of other ruling families both of the North and South which are available in a very large number. Thus, of the Chālukyās of Bādāmi only seven records are incorporated, and of the Far South, only three records, *viz.*, two of the Pallavas and one of the Pāṇḍyās, find a place. In regard to the Dakṣiṇāpātha inscriptions proper chronological order is not observed in some cases: the Śarabhapurīya records (nos. 60-61) follow those of the Pāṇḍu-vamśins (nos. 58-59). And though the title

of the volume sets the Early Chālukya period as the lower chronological limit, the Ellora plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga, who uprooted the Chālukyas, are included (no. 56). Only some representative records of the Maukharis (nos. 4-6 and 9-10), the Banskhera plate of Harsha (no. 19) and the Bādāmī inscription of Pulakeśin I (no. 62) and the Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakeśin II (no. 64) are treated and translated with full details, while in the case of remaining records only the text is given with some introductory remarks. All this is evidently due to the self-imposed necessity to compress so many epigraphs in a single volume. However, the choice of the inscriptions is indeed happy, and by going through these records one can gene-

rally get a good dependable idea of the period concerned. Some representative illustrations, as in the first two volumes, would have added to the value and usefulness of the work.

This is the only work of its kind in Hindi, and we take this opportunity to congratulate Professor Goyal for this excellently produced book. We hope he would continue to enrich our knowledge by his future writings. The publisher also deserves our appreciation for a decent flawless production of this kind of work which demands meticulous care and attention.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

PLATE I

TABLE 1

SOME BRĀHMĪ CONSONANTS:

UNASPIRATED & ASPIRATED

<u>cha</u>	<u>chha</u>	<u>ṭa</u>	<u>ṭha</u>
च	छ	ट	ठ

<u>da</u>	<u>dha</u>	<u>ḍa</u>	<u>ḍha</u>
ड	ढ	ጶ	ጷ

<u>pa</u>	<u>pha</u>
प	फ

TABLE 2

SOME KHAROSHTĪ CONSONANTS

UNASPIRATED & ASPIRATED

<u>ga</u>	<u>gha</u>	<u>ja</u>	<u>jha</u>
-----------	------------	-----------	------------

ग	घ	ज	झ
---	---	---	---

<u>ta</u>	<u>tha</u>	<u>da</u>	<u>dha</u>
-----------	------------	-----------	------------

त	थ	ड	ढ
---	---	---	---

<u>pa</u>	<u>pha</u>
-----------	------------

प	फ
---	---

TABLE 3

KHAROSHTĪ VOWELS

<u>a</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>u</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>o</u>
अ	इ	उ	ए	ओ

PLATE II

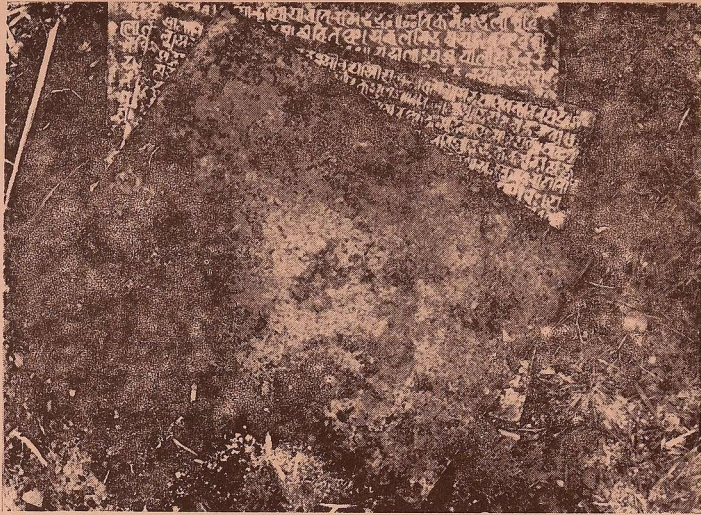
SAHASARAM COPPER-PLATE OF VIKRAMADHAVALA, VIKRAMA 1251

राजा प्रवेगि... विह... प्र... क... ॥ १ ॥
 ... ॥ २ ॥
 ... ॥ ३ ॥
 ... ॥ ४ ॥
 ... ॥ ५ ॥
 ... ॥ ६ ॥
 ... ॥ ७ ॥
 ... ॥ ८ ॥
 ... ॥ ९ ॥
 ... ॥ १० ॥
 ... ॥ ११ ॥
 ... ॥ १२ ॥
 ... ॥ १३ ॥
 ... ॥ १४ ॥
 ... ॥ १५ ॥
 ... ॥ १६ ॥
 ... ॥ १७ ॥
 ... ॥ १८ ॥
 ... ॥ १९ ॥
 ... ॥ २० ॥
 ... ॥ २१ ॥
 ... ॥ २२ ॥
 ... ॥ २३ ॥
 ... ॥ २४ ॥
 ... ॥ २५ ॥
 ... ॥ २६ ॥
 ... ॥ २७ ॥
 ... ॥ २८ ॥
 ... ॥ २९ ॥
 ... ॥ ३० ॥

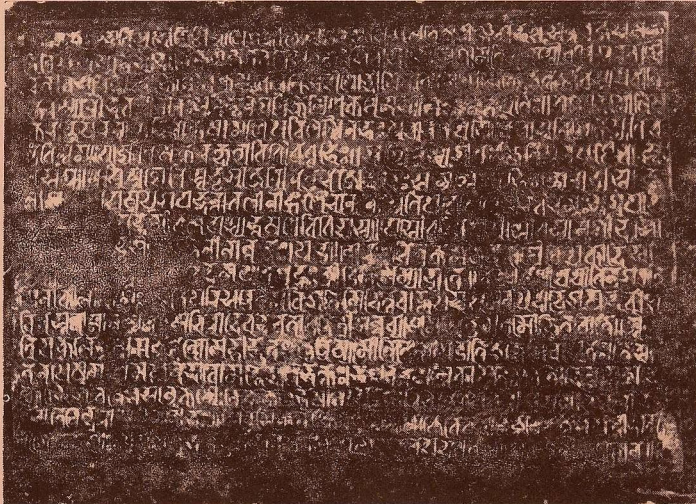
... ॥ ३१ ॥
 ... ॥ ३२ ॥
 ... ॥ ३३ ॥
 ... ॥ ३४ ॥
 ... ॥ ३५ ॥
 ... ॥ ३६ ॥
 ... ॥ ३७ ॥
 ... ॥ ३८ ॥
 ... ॥ ३९ ॥
 ... ॥ ४० ॥

PLATE III

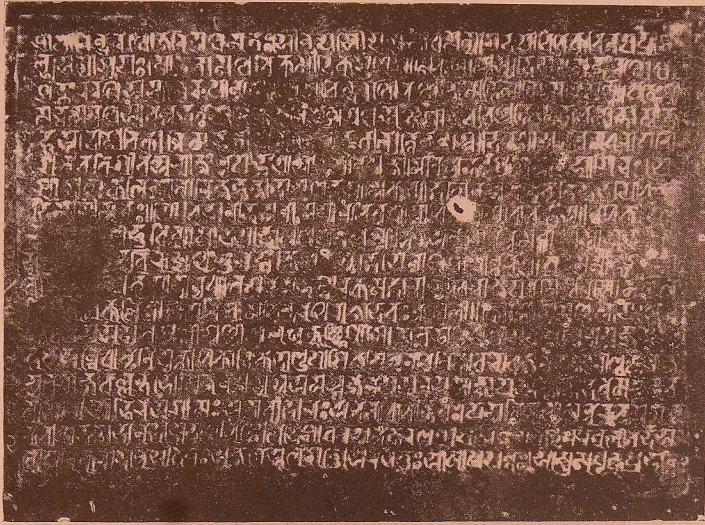
BANPUR PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI INDRARATHA : GENERAL VIEW



i



ii a



ii b

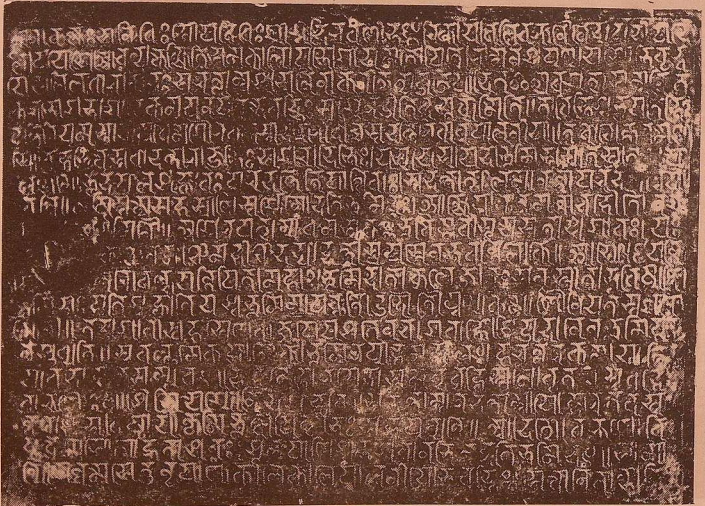


PLATE VI

THALIGRAM INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN LAKSHMIDEVI

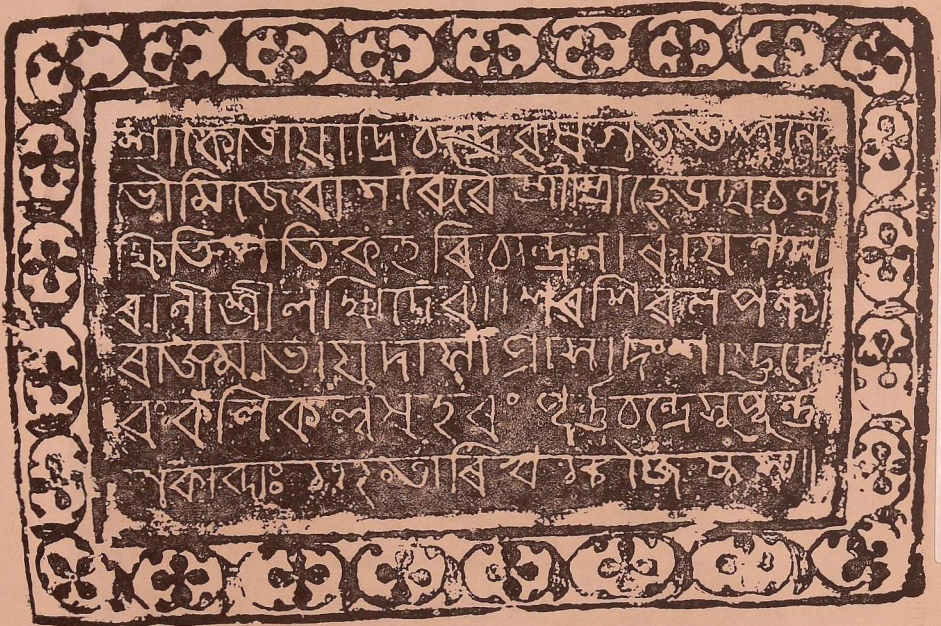


PLATE VII
A KHAROSHTI INSCRIPTION



PLATE VIII

AN INTERESTING YAUDHEYA SEAL FROM
NAURANGABAD



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𑀮𑀲

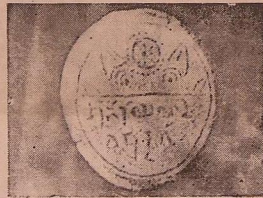
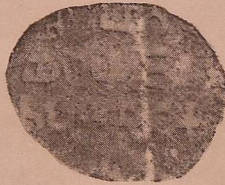
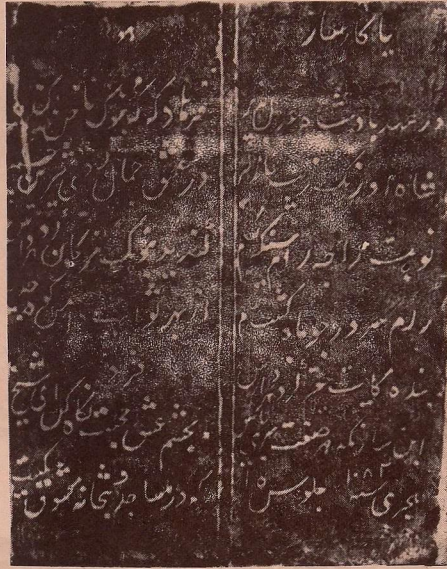


PLATE IX
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KACHCHHAWAHA CHIEF

MOZAMABAD RECORD, A.H. 1096

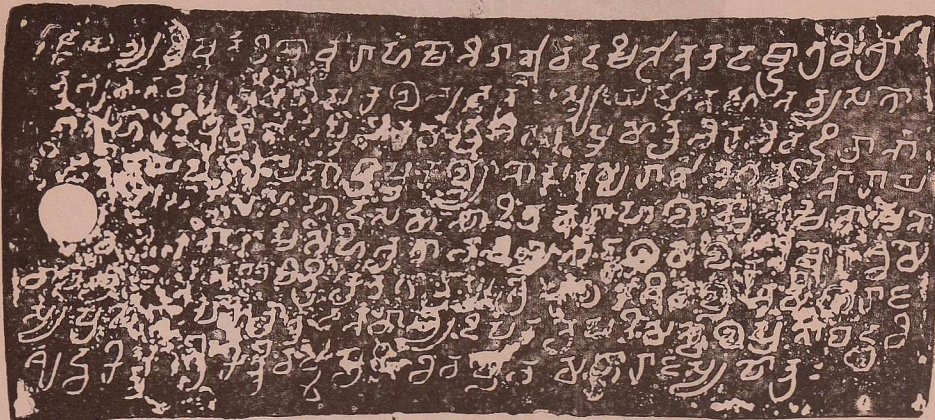


NIWAI INSCRIPTION, A.H. 1083

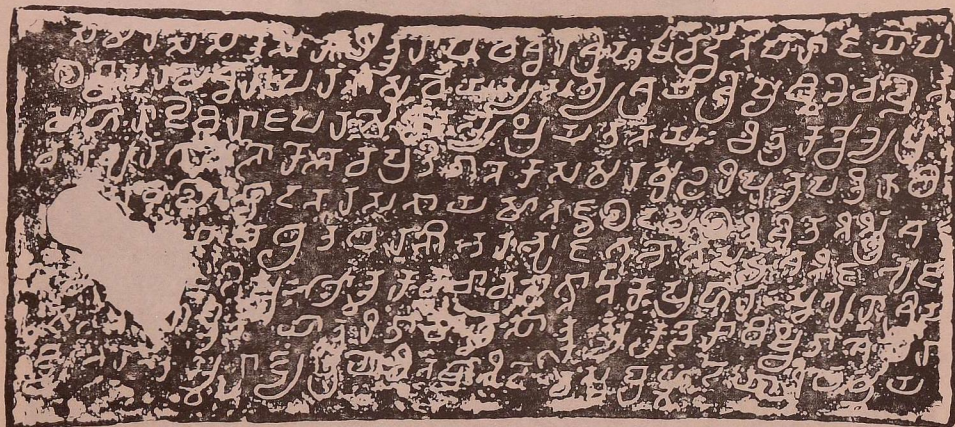


PLATE X
PEDDAVOLETI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA

i



ii a



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| 3 Dr. G. S. Gai | 8 Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra |
| 4 Dr. H. V. Trivedi | 9 Shri H. K. Narasimhaswamy |
| 5 Dr. K. D. Bajpai | |

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| Scholar to be honoured | : | Shri K. G. Krishnan |
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