

ISSN: 0970-4760

Studies in Indian Epigraphy

(*Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā*)

JOURNAL OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

A PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL

Volume XLVIII



2023

Published by

The Epigraphical Society of India
Mysuru

Studies in Indian Epigraphy

(Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā)

JOURNAL OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

A PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL

Volume XLVIII

2023

Editor

P. N. NARASIMHA MURTHY

Assistant Editor

S. KRISHNAMURTHY



Published by

**The Epigraphical Society of India
Mysuru**

Studies in Indian Epigraphy (*Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā*), Volume XLVIII, 2023
Edited by Dr. P. N. Narasimha Murthy, Published by The Epigraphical Society of India, Mysuru.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Prof. Y. Subbarayulu Professor (Retd.) Department of Epigraphy and Archaeology Tamil University Thanjavur	Dr. T. S. Ravishankar Director Epigraphy (Retd.) Sanskrit and Dravidian Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India Mysuru	Dr. G. S. Khwaja Director Epigraphy (Retd.) Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India Nagpur
Dr. Subrata Kumar Acharya Professor (Retd.) Dept. of History Rawenshaw University Cuttack		Dr. Susmita Basu Majumdar Professor Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture University of Calcutta, Kolkata

First Published 2023

© The Epigraphical Society of India, Mysuru

The responsibility of the facts stated, opinions expressed or conclusions reached is entirely that of the author of the articles. The Editor, Asst. Editor and Editorial board accepts no responsibility for them.

For copies:

The Secretary, ESI
C/o Archaeological Survey of India
Sankranti Circle, Hebbal 2nd Stage, Mysuru - 570 017

Email: epigraphicalsociety@gmail.com
<https://www.epigraphicalsociety.com>

ISSN 0970-4760

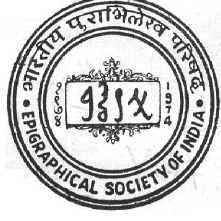
Price: Rs. 400/-

Membership Fee

Patrons	: Rs. 10,000/- and above
Individual	: Rs. 4,000/- (Life); Rs. 400/- (Annual)
Institutional	: Rs. 8,000/- (Life); Rs. 800/- (Annual)
Student Member	: Rs. 2,000/-

Note: Student Membership is for a period of five years, or the member starts earning, whichever is earlier.

Cover : Hansi Stone Inscription of Prthviraja - II (housed in the National Museum of Scotland in Switzerland).



**THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA
MYSURU**

**XLVIII ANNUAL CONGRESS, 2023
ANDHRA KESARI UNIVERSITY**

**General President
Prof. Subrata Kumar Acharya**

**Dr. K. V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture
Dr. Rajashekarappa B.**

**Honorary Fellow
Prof. M. G. S. Narayanan**

Office Bearers

Chairman	: Dr. K. Munirathnam
Vice- Chairmen	: Dr. P. N. Narasimha Murthy Dr. Subrata Kumar Acharya
Secretary	: Dr. Meka Venkata Raghavendra Varma
Asst. Secretary	: Sri Jai Prakash
Editor	: Dr. P. N. Narasimha Murthy
Asst. Editor	: Dr. S. Krishnamurthy
Treasurer	: Sri. J. Veeramanikandan

Executive Committee Members

Dr. P. Shanmugam, Dr. S. V. Padigar, Dr. D. M. Nagaraju, Dr. M. R. Raghava Varier,
Dr. D. P. Dubey, Dr. Anuradha K. Ranade, Dr. Swapna Samel, Dr. Anil Kumar R.V.,
Dr. Krishnendu Ray, Dr. Susmita Basu Majumdar, Dr. Vedachalam,
Dr. Shahnawaz Alam, Dr. Suman Jain.

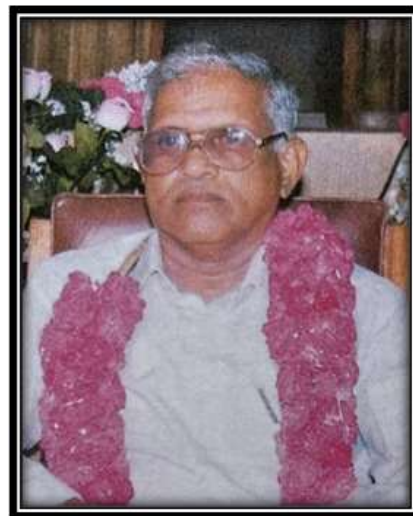
OBITUARY



Dr. C. S. Vasudevan (02/03/1963 – 26/11/2022) Professor, Dept. of Ancient History and Archaeology, Kannada University, Hampi, is an esteemed member of The Place Names Society of India and The Epigraphical Society of India. He post-graduated in M. A. Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras with Gold medal and awarded Ph. D. for the title Temples of Andhra Pradesh under the guidance of Prof. Ajay Mitra Sastri, Nagpur University. He did Post-Graduate Diploma in Archaeology from School of Archaeology, ASI, New Delhi and subsequently from School of Archaeology, London. His area of interest is archaeology, art, architecture, painting, medieval history (Vijayanagara) and cultural history. He contributed immensely to the field and published many books, research articles and won prestigious awards viz., Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshit Prize, University of Madras, Madras, 1988 and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Fund Award, New Delhi, 1988. His immense contribution to the temple architecture of Karnataka resulted into publication of three volumes in Kannada viz., *Encyclopaedia of Temples of Karnataka: Haveri District (1999)*, *Gadag District (2007)* and *Raichur District (2007)*, published by Prasara, Kannada University, Hampi. Excavation at Hampi, the famed capital city of Vijayanagara empire was carried out under his directorship in collaboration with Department of Archaeology, Museum and Heritage, Govt. of Karnataka. The results of which can be seen in the *Report on the Excavations at Hampi (1991 – 2010)* in two volumes. He also authored the books *The Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh (1999)* and *Temples of Andhra Pradesh (2000)*, *Tanks of Hampi Environs (2001)*, *Karnatakada Pramukha Nadigalu (2010)* and *Hampi – World Heritage Area – Guide Book (in English and French)* in 2015. He edited *Sri Puspanjali – Dr. C. R. Srinivasan Commemoration Volume (2004)* and *Mukkode – Collection of Research Articles Jaina Culture (2011)*.

It is very unfortunate that the academic fraternity has lost him due to a tragic accident he met with on the night of 26/11/2022, while coming back from attending conference of Karnataka Itihasa Academy, at Hornadu, Chikmagalur district, Karnataka. His passing away leaves a huge void to the field of historical research. We pray that the almighty God blesses the departed soul with salvation.

Prof. S. S. Ramachandra Murthy (12/07/1939 – 30/08/2023) started his career as Epigraphical Assistant in the Office of the Government Epigraphist, ASI, Ootacamund, in February 1965. He took over as Deputy Superintending Epigraphist in 1978. Later he joined as Reader in Epigraphy in the S. V. U, Oriental Research Institute, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati in 1982 and became Professor of Indian Culture in the same University. He was responsible for the reorganization of the Department of Indian Culture as the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of which he is the founder Head and Professor. Later he became Registrar of National Sanskrit University (Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha), Tirupati (1997 – 1999). After his retirement he was associated with the “Agama-kosa Project” in the same university. He was the founder Secretary of The Place Names Society of India and also founder member of The Epigraphical Society of India. As an epigraphist, working in ASI, he extensively toured Rayalaseema and brought to light many new inscriptions, studied and published them. Based on the inscriptions, he has brought to light new topics related to folk culture and place names. He was awarded Ph. D. for the title *A Study of Telugu Place Names (Based on Inscriptions up to the 13th century)* under the guidance of Prof. S. V. Jogarao, Department of Telugu, Andhra University. He published it as a book and it is the most standard book for Onomastic study of Andhra Pradesh based on the inscriptions. It has gained a remarkable reputation all over the world. His immense contribution to the field of epigraphical, onomastics and historical research is invaluable. We pray that the almighty God blesses the departed soul with salvation.



Dr. Pulavar. S. Raju, an eminent Epigraphist and Historian of Kongu Research Centre; Former Head, Department of Epigraphy and Archaeology, Tamil University, Thanjavur, is an esteemed member of The Epigraphical Society of India. His contribution to the epigraphical and historical research, especially of Kongu region is invaluable. We pray that the almighty God blesses the departed soul with salvation.



CONTENTS

	Page No.
Editorial	
1. Presidential Address <i>Swapna H. Samel</i>	1-11
2. Dr. K.V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture: Epigraphic Records on Migrant Brāhmaṇas of North India to Early Medieval Odisha <i>Subrata Kumar Acharya</i>	12-35
3. 80th year of Kadamba Vijayotsava – An appraisal <i>P. N. Narasimha Murthy</i>	36-41
4. Understanding the Material Aspects of the Religions of the People of Early Bengal from the Epigraphic Texts (Up to 1300 CE) <i>Krishnendu Ray</i>	42-49
5. Measuring System in Medieval Tamil Nadu (8th to 15th centuries CE) <i>P. Balamurugan</i>	50-58
6. Who were the scribes? - A Study of the Prākṛit Inscriptions of the caves at Kuḍā. <i>Yogini Aatreya</i>	59-68
7. Mukkatarapeta Inscription Revisited <i>Smita Halder</i>	69-71
8. Hānsi Stone Inscription of Pr̥thvīrāja - II <i>Jagdish Parshad</i>	72-78
9. Rare Jain Inscriptions of Varanasi (with special reference to Parśvanātha temple) <i>Priyanka Singh and Suman Jain</i>	79-83
10. Veṭṭathunād Copper-plates <i>S. Rajendu</i>	84-88
11. Revolutionizing Inscription Conservation: The Bengaluru Inscriptions 3D Digital Conservation Project <i>Udaya Kumar P. L. and Jayasimha P.</i>	89-91
12. The Chiefs who ruled for Five centuries - Gummanayaka Palya Rulers and their Telugu inscriptions <i>Malapaka Indira</i>	92-97
13. Status of Women in Post Mauryan Society - An Epigraphic Study <i>Arpita Chatterjee</i>	98-101
14. Shedding Light on the Malpractice of Counterfeit donation Charters. <i>Anuradha K. Ranade</i>	102-106
15. Kānherī Inscriptions as a Source for re-writing the Socio-economic and Cultural Life in Western India during the first millennium CE. <i>Abhidha Dhumatkar</i>	107-109
16. Inscriptions from Pilar Church: A Study <i>Deepak Suryawanshi</i>	110-111

17.	Incarnations of Viṣṇu in Cambodia: An Epigraphical Study	112-119
	<i>Manmohan Sharma</i>	
18.	To reject or not to reject -A reappraisal of some western Gaṅga inscriptions	120-126
	<i>Nihar Ranjan Patra</i>	
19.	Ultimate aim of king Aśoka as reflected in his Inscriptions	127-135
	<i>Ashwaveer W. Gajbhiye and Chandrashekhar S. Patil</i>	
20.	Peringāssery Inscription: A Spellopicture in Brāhmi of c. 200 BCE	136-144
	<i>Jee Francis Therattil</i>	
21.	Cow Donations in India	145-151
	<i>Rekha V. Gore</i>	
22.	The Making of Rājatalāka Caves: A New Light on Kanheri Inscription	152-154
	<i>Sanjay Paikrao</i>	
23.	Decipherment of Indus Script by retracing Brāhmī Script	155-164
	<i>Somesh Chandra Shrivastava</i>	
24.	New Brāhmi Label Inscriptions from Manjeera Valley in Telangana	165-168
	<i>M A Srinivasan and Ch. Niveditha Shalini</i>	
	Book Reviews	169-172
	List of contributors	173-174
	General guidelines for authors	175-177
	Membership form	178

Editorial

It is really with a sense of pride and satisfaction that we are placing in the hands of our members the 48th volume of the Society's journal.

The Journal is devoted to the publication of original research papers of the scholars who participated in the deliberations held in the 47th Annual Conference hosted by the Department of AIHC and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. That the Society has been able to bring out its journal for forty-eight years now, without any break, is no mean achievement. This has been rendered possible due to the cooperation and the support we have received from the Office-Bearers and Members of the Executive Committee, besides the members of the Society.

We express our sincere thanks on behalf of the Office-Bearers and Members of the Executive Committee to Prof. Suman Jain, Head of the Department, Dr. Priyanka Singh, Asst. Professor and their colleagues, students and research scholars in the Department of AIHC and Archaeology, BHU, Varanasi, for making it possible to hold the 47th Annual Conference at the prestigious Banaras Hindu University, without whose efforts the Conference would not have achieved a grand success.

The members of the Society deeply mourn the sudden demise of Dr. C. S. Vasudevan Professor, Dept. of Ancient History and Archaeology, Kannada University, Hampi, Prof. S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, Professor (Retd.), Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati and Dr. Pulavar. S. Raju, an eminent Epigraphist and Historian of Kongu Research Centre, whose contribution to the epigraphical and historical research is immeasurable.

We are thankful to Prof. (Mrs.) Swapna H. Samel, Principal, SICES's Degree College, Ambarnath, Maharashtra for the Presidential Address. Our special thanks to Prof. Subrata Kumar Acharya, Professor (Retd.), Department of History, Rawenshaw University, Cuttack, Odisha for his thought-provoking address in Dr. K. V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture.

It is heartening to note that in the Executive Committee meeting held on 05/11/2022 on the occasion of 47th Annual Conference, an important decision to make the journal "A Peer-reviewed Journal", has been taken. Efforts are also being made to get the journal in the UGC-Care list.

It will be of interest to note here that Mrs. Durga Sethuraman, daughter of Sri N. Sethuraman, an engineer turned businessman and a well-known epigraphist, recently launched a website (<https://sethuramanepigraphist.com>) which is a digital library containing the works of her renowned father. Scholars and readers can make use of the invaluable data available in the website.

Our special thanks to Sri G. Srinivasa Rao, Photo Officer and Sri G. Vasanth Kumar, Photographer Gr. II, ASI, for making the volume press-ready by designing it in In-design software.

We sincerely thank Dr. Meka Venkata Raghavendra Varma, Secretary and Sri J. Veeramanikandan, Treasurer, who has spared no pains in maintaining the correspondence and accounts of the Society systematically. We are also thankful to Sri Aditya Kr. Singireddy

and Sri C. Manikantan, Epigraphists, ASI for proof-checking. We are highly thankful to the Members, Office-Bearers, Executive Committee Members and well-wishers who have helped the Society to remain vibrant.

Mysuru

28th November 2023

P. N. Narasimha Murthy

Editor

S. Krishnamurthy

Asst. Editor

Presidential Address

Caste element in the Epigraphic records of Maharashtra from the Śātavāhanas to the Yādavas

Swapna H. Samel

Stratification and segmentation are fundamental features of Indian social system. In Vedic *Varṇa* classification, the Hindu society is divided into four ranked non-hereditary functional *Varṇas* namely Brahmins, Kṣhatriyas, Vaiśhyas and Śūdras. Hindu society since Vedic times had recognized this fourfold division into *Varṇas*. The untouchables were considered to be outside the *Varṇa*. They formed the fifth category, those were theoretically, textually and doctrinally kept outside this classification but factually, contextually and existentially were an integral part of the local community. [Battelle Andrew 1965: 92.]

Modern scholars in India suggest that during Rigvedic period, caste was profession based and quite liberal, not static or difficult to change as misunderstood and misinterpreted by some scholars. It was possible for local groups to move in local hierarchy through the capture of political power, acquisition of land, trade and migration to other regions. It underwent a sea of change with the passage of time. Majority of historians and social scientist believes theory of *chaturvarṇa* has originated from Indo-Aryans and was based on mere division of labour. The origin of the caste system in India is shrouded in mystery. Vast data are available about the origin of the caste, the nature and function of caste system, structure of caste organization, status and dynamics of caste system. The most predominant and widely popular theory traces it to the Aryan invasion of India and links it to the process by which the invaders could subordinate the indigenous inhabitants and integrate them as peasants and slaves within a stratified society. [Gail, Omvedt: 11]. This system considers the caste system, as a universal phenomenon in the traditional or the Hindu theory of caste. Its sources are to be found in the sacred texts of Hinduism and in the social and ethical codes of the Hindus.

Maharashtra as a regional entity has existed from ancient times. However, the boundaries were not very definite and did not exactly correspond to the modern area of the state. It is one of the regions in the country, which has had a persistent historical tradition, at least from 3rd century BCE. It is generally believed that the region was penetrated by the Brahmanical culture around 7th century BCE (Bhandarkar 1928: 16) with sage Agastya said to be the first one to cross the Vindhya. It is debatable whether the rules of Nandas, Mauryas and Śūngas extended to Maharashtra, though one of Aśoka's edicts has been found from Sopara of Thane district. The picture at the dawn of history is hazy in this part of the country as in most parts. The definite history of the region begins with the Śātavāhanas, the first local rulers of the region, who controlled Maharashtra and northern Karnataka with Paithan as the capital.

When we look at the political history of the region the prominent dynasties that ruled in this area during medieval period, all except the Yadavas and probably the Rashtrakutas in their early career, had their capital or centre of power outside Maharashtra, in north Karnataka. Other minor families that had their seats of power within Maharashtra were local families with limited sphere of influence and possibly ruled in feudatory capacity.

In this work Epigraphic sources from Maharashtra, will be focused to trace the caste and class system that prevailed in the region. We propose to use the epigraphic records of the period in order to search and ascertain the practice part of the theory of law prevalent in ancient India, in the period under study. It is true that the references relating to pure law or ordinances are very few and mostly indirect or stemming as corollaries from the main.

Many related inscriptions are available from this region. A list of these inscriptions is prepared from the material published so far. Though the present study pertains specifically to the caste and class, all the available inscriptions, right from the period of Sātavahānas, are analysed for a meaningful understanding of the caste and varṇa system during the proposed period of study. Only the inscriptions that record the caste and profession and/or various donations endowed on the various occasions have been included. The data provided by the inscriptions is classified into specific categories of find-spot, location, donor, donee and nature of profession for generating the type of information aimed by the present research.

What is Caste? There are different opinions of scholars on origin of the caste system. It has also been proved that there is no religious sanction to the caste system. Treating caste and *varṇa* system interdependent has not yielded any satisfactory explanation to its origin. The scholars are ambiguous while defining the caste system. It is clear that the castes did not emerge from the *varṇas*. *Varṇa* system is like a pyramid whereas caste system is occupation based and the social status of the castes depended on the priorities of the society. Thus, the castes did not emerge out of *varṇa* system.

Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri says in this regard that, "...as various occupations became hereditary, they formed the castes. To adjust the various castes in Varna system, Smṛiti's considered Anuloma (marriage of lower Varna woman with high Varna man) and Pratiloma (marriage of high Varna woman with lower Varna man) marriages being responsible for emergence of the various castes. However, the attempt seems to have failed as people mentioned their own professional castes in various donations inscriptions." Shastri further states that these occupational castes had played a major role in the economics of that times. According to Dr. Shastri, while referring to the donation inscriptions in early Buddhist caves of Maharashtra while explaining emergence of many Śūdra dynasties in the country which otherwise were prohibited from holding the royal authority as per Smṛitis. It is a well-known fact that numerous Śūdra kings are mentioned in *Mahābhārata*, *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Manusmṛiti*. During this period almost all the occupational professions were controlled by the non-Vedic masses to whom Vedics referred as Śūdras. There is a mention of money lenders, artisans, landlords, peasants, knights, traders, sea farers, service providers and soldiers in many inscriptions. Most importantly, warrior was never ever a permanent class in Indian society. Such profession couldn't have been compulsorily hereditary. It was occupation of choice, unrelated to the Vedic *varṇa* system simply because they were not part of it.

The earliest available inscription found in Maharashtra are Aśokan edicts. This is the evidence of Mauryan rule over the region (Pitanikas) and reflects that officials were from Maharashtra. The main feature of the caste is every caste has hereditary profession. To form a caste the first prerequisite is to have a profession that could be continued traditionally for

livelihood. And if we go back to the prehistory of the humankind, we will find there were no professions except foraging and hunting.

It is difficult to find out the origins of the Indian caste system and its true nature because most of the scholars tried to find its source in Vedic system. The *Manusmriti* was intended to regulate only the Vedic religion. The commands those appear against Śūdras were limited to the only those people who were non-Vedic and in service of the Vedic people. Rest of the people, those were designated as Śūdras by the Vedics, in fact, belonged to the various clans and preserved their identities with their ancestral clan names and occupations. The donative inscriptions of the Sātvahāna period evidences this fact that the people of those times too preferred to identify themselves by their profession. Rather the term Śūdra is absent wherever the people have given their own identification. The scholars should have noticed this bare fact that the Vedic and Hindu religion are two distinct entities and they shouldn't have mixed both!

In Rigvedic age there was absence of hereditary caste system but there was existence of classes. There existed three classes, Brahmin, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, these were occupational groups. In later Vedic period, which also consider as assimilation of Dravidians in Aryan system of law, according to Purushasukta we could see that professional classes further extended to persons of four skills in the society and the varṇa system - Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Śūdras. Varṇa denotes the social order independently of actual distinction of colour. Caste system after 6th century had lot of changes in it, practice of which was unjust in nature.

The earliest inscriptions in Maharashtra are the edicts of Aśoka. Western India received the message of Buddha during his own lifetime. It is reflected through the contemporary literature also. Patronage of Buddhism by Aśoka resulted into the spread of Buddhism in India and abroad. After the Third Pataliputra Council of Buddhism, the efforts made by the missionaries of Theravada Sangha resulted into the massive spread of Buddhism in India and Maharashtra was no exception to it. Buddhist monk started travelling to Maharashtra and by 200 BCE. Buddhist community started using the excavated dwellings in the hilly regions of Maharashtra. It boosted the spread of Buddhism in Maharashtra. There is a detailed description in the Pali chronicle about the missions sent to various parts of India and to Ceylon. It mentions that Yonarkkhita was sent to Apranta (Northern Konkan) and Mahadharmarakkhita to Maharatta plateau which was part of Maharashtra. For patronaging Buddhist monk, donors from all walks of life supported the hewing of caves in Maharashtra Hence we find ample references of inscriptions in these caves which is important part of our study. The downfall of Maurya empire appears to have been followed by a reaction in favour of old Vedic rituals. Satkarni II proclaimed his suzerainty by performing two ashvamedha yajnya, one rājasuya and number of minor sacrifices (Yazdani 1952: 132). By the time of early Sātavāhanas with the coming of the Aryans there occurred a revolutionary change in Deccan. The earlier inhabitants either accepted the religion of the newcomers under certain limitations or retired to hilly regions and forest where they still practice their primitive rites. (Yazdani 1952: 140)

The successors of Mauryan in Deccan were the Andhra Sātvāhanas. The Sātvāhana dynasty is the first known historical dynasty of Maharashtra. Their rule extended over a major part of the peninsula and also extended to some part of Central India, who ruled for more

than four centuries and a quarter. (Ranade: 1) During the Sātavāhana period Maharathi and Mahabhoja played a prominent role (Gokhale 1991: 8). Mention of Maharathi and Mahabhoj denote the political positions. However in Deccan there were many local and tribal groups. One such group was Mandvas who are known from Kuda inscriptions. Interesting to note here is that Mandav Scadapalit calls himself as the Mahabhoja, which means Mahabhoj was his political power and title while Madavas his social group.

It appears that the religious conditions in Maharashtra were guided by the *Āpstambhadhramsūtra*. Brāhmaṇas of this *sūtra* were noticed in large number in Nasik, Pune, Sholapur and Kolhapur and other district of Maharashtra, Karnataka Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The Brāhmaṇas of this school are even now known for their Vedic learning. Buhler had dated the formation of this school before the 3rd century BCE perhaps in the 4th or 5th cent BCE. (Mirashi: 151)

Mehun stone inscription (825 CE) of the time of Rāshtrakuta Amoghvasa I, records the donation of *mahāsāmant* Narsighdeva. He had donated a village with all its revenues to the donee. Half of the village was donated to Sun God in the temple of Ugarāditya and remaining half village was given to Prabhākarabhaṭṭa the son of Bhaṭṭajodari who belonged to *Taitirīya* branch of *Yajurveda*. An interesting part here is that it specifically describes the donee as one who follows the religion as per the *Āpstambhadharmasūtra*. This donee belongs to Harit-gotra and Trividya lineage. This shows that as late as 9th cent CE the people in Maharashtra were guided and followed the religion as per *Āpstambhadharmasūtra*.

Here arises the question whether the Sātavāhana period witnessed the dominance of varṇa system or caste? The epigraphic data of this period reveals the fact that still the varṇa system was dominant. The Vedic religion, the philosophy of the *Upanishads*, Jainism and Buddhism became so naturalised. (Yazdani: 141). Sātavāhanas became more native than native born preachers. It can be proved by an inscription of Gautamīputra Satkarni at Nasik cave No-2 (*EI VIII*). A Sātavāhana prince proclaimed his opposition to the contamination of the four varṇas and insisted upon the pursuit of the triple object of human activity.

The Sātavāhana were Brahmins. In Nasik cave inscription Gautamīputra Satakarni is called *eka-Bamhaja*, i.e., a peerless Brāhmaṇa. This may be taken as Varṇa. Thus, the early Sātavāhana were the staunch followers of Vedic religion. Naneghat inscriptions records a number of sacrifices by Satakarni II and gifted cows, elephants and many as dakṣiṇa to the Brahmins which proves the great hold which the Vedic rituals had on their courts and entourage (*Gatha Saptshati*). Gautamīputra Satakarni is said to prefer to have put a stop to the mixture of four caste. Twice born could enjoy full rites. But his son Vāsisthiputra Satakarni married, during his (Gautamīputra) life time, Śāka Princess who was a daughter of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman. She afterward became a crown, Queen. This shows that foreigners such as the Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavas were welcomed to the Hindu fold. (Mirashi: 128)

In the inscriptions of cave no. 3 and 5 at Kanheri [Gokhale: 47-52] there are some architectural terms like *Uparakhita*-overseer, *selavadhaki*-stone-mason, *Kadhichaks*-Artisans, *Mithika*- Polisher. These inscriptions refer to the varṇa/caste/gotra/communities and families

in relation to donations and thus indicate the well-knit society. For example, Lohar in Kanheri inscription. We get references of Varna system from early historical period till Sātavāhana period in *Āpastambhadhramasūtra*. Any customs and traditions in society survive for few centuries with few modifications with the period.

Initially inscriptions give us stray references to detail routine works of Brahmins like performing religious rituals, teaching and safeguarding the customs and traditions. Very few references are got about studies of Veda and other religious literature. Majority of Sātavāhana inscriptions are about donations to Buddhist monasteries. Accepting the gifts and donations was the part of expected duties of Brahmins, but there were exceptions to it. The Brahmins who were not accepting the gifts were known as *apratigrahak* or *apratigrahin*. These Brahmins were aware of their status and position in the society. Vasishthiputra Pulumavi in his inscription at Nasik says that Gautamiputra Satkarni, is one such Brahmin who destroyed the ego and rowdiness of Kshatriyas [*Kshatriya-darppamardana*]. Over the period of time some of the Brahmins became traders and agriculturist. Another example of change of occupation is Charudutta of *Mrichchhakaṭika* who was mentioned as a trader. In many cases Brahmins as donee accepted the land grants; hence during 3-4th century CE many Brahmins become landlords. We get references of sale of land by Brahmin Varāhputra Aśvabhuti to Śaka Rishabhadutta at Nasik for 4000 silver *Karshāpana*.

There are stray references to Brahmins following Buddhism, but they did not forget their origin. An inscription at Kuda mentions that Aaitilu's wife Bhathila, a Brahmin *Upasak* gave donation to construct chaityagriha. Even in an inscription from Karle there is a mention that after embracing Buddhism, certain Prajajjya, a Brahmin continued with the title *śarman*.

All the three *varṇas* were expected to study Vedas, perform *yajna*, *yāga*, make donations, etc. Along with it, they were also expected to take some political, administrative and military responsibilities. There are references of Kshatriyas who were engaged in trade and commerce. Gajsen and Gajmitra two Kshatriya brothers were traders and they constructed *chaitya* and handed over to Bhadayaniya branch of Buddhism. Vaishya were also engaged in agriculture, cattle rearing and trade. We do get references of people engaged in various trade and skilled work. But very rarely there is a mention of their caste.

Throughout India, trade and industrial guilds were a common feature of economic life since very early times. They started out essentially as economic units to look after trade and commerce. The guilds were normally referred to as *Śreni*, *Puga*, *Gana*, *Kuta*, etc. The donations they made represented corporate gifts which were meant both for big and small works. *Dhanika*, guild of corn dealers is recorded in an inscription from Junnar, (Luder no.1180). Other guilds recorded in an inscription from western India are '*Gandhalika* (the perfumer), '*Malakar*' (florist), '*Suvarnakar*' (goldsmith), '*Selvadhakki*' (the stone Mason), '*Odayantrika*' (the manufacturers of hydraulic machines), '*Tailapishaka*' (the oil pressors), '*Kularikas*' (the potters), '*Kolika* (the weaver), '*Vamsakaras*' (bamboo workers) etc. (Ranade 2013: 71]

There is no Sātavāhana inscription referring to Vaishyas as caste, however profession traditionally attached to Vaishyas are known from inscriptions. If we assume that agriculture, industry, trade and commerce are their traditional professions, we get ample information from

term like *khetara* (*kshetra*) *khetam* (*kshetra*) related with agriculture. Thus traders and farmers were included in third class of the society.

The Buddhist fraternity at Kanheri was mainly supported by traders but still people from different sectors of society supported the daily needs of bhikus. Kanheri inscription has recorded three different mercantile professions – *seṭhi*, *nigama* and *vanija* (Gokhale: 15). *Seṭhi* were wealthy merchants, *nigama* were merchants who operated in marketing town and *vanijya* were traders. Business people of aristocratic lineage such as goldsmith, jewellers, traders, merchants provided permanent endowments in the form of fixed deposits. (Gokhale: 16). Here identity is disclosed by their profession and not by caste. Though we consider these professions as the profession of the Vaishyas.

The donations were made to meet the requirements of the monks and nuns residing there. We get references to the permanent deposits entrusted with the mercantile guilds and the interest accorded from that was used for the maintenance of the Buddhist fraternity. It records some permanent donations invested with some guilds of Kularikas, Tailpishakas and Odayantrikas. A Nasik cave inscription records the donation of some *Karshapanas* in fixed deposits, out of which some amount was to be spent on the cloths for monks residing in this establishment. (Luders No. 1139).

The fourth *varṇa*, Śudras were expected to do the manual and labourer work along with art and skills (*Yajnavalkyasmṛiti*, sloka 1 and 120). There is overlapping of the duties of Śudras and Vaishyas. According to Vidyneshwara, Deval expected duties of Śudras were farming, rearing the cattle's, trade and commodities, all kind of labour work, drawing, singing, playing the musical instruments. *Vayupuranam* [8,171] mentions that sculpting, handicraft and giving services to upper caste should be the means of earning for Śudras. *Śāntiparva* [295.4] mentions that services to upper caste, all kind of handicrafts and sale of goods were the duties of Śudras and means of earning. *Śankhasmṛiti* [1.5] also mentions that giving service to other *varṇas* and all kind of handicrafts are the jobs to be performed by Śudras. If we consider this as contemporary norms, then we must say all the menial labours engaged in honing of caves, engraving different objects belong to Śudra caste. The inscriptions of Sātavāhanas do not refer to them separately but creation of rock cut caves on larger scale under their patronage shows that Śudras played a prominent role in the society. This is evidence by the professional guilds of *selvadaki* guilds (stone mason) (Mirashi, Insc. 28, Kanheri caves of Yajna Satkarni)

Hence, we do find that many of the roles expected by Vaishyas were performed by Śudras as per sanctions mentions in *Dharmaśāstras*. It has elevated the social status of Śudras. We rarely find the references of Śudras in inscription, but in real sense many of artisans, farmers and labourers must be from the last two *varṇas*. Because of overlapping of the profession of last two *varṇas*, it is very difficult to trace the *varṇa* of the person. The names ending with *dāsa* may belong to the fourth *varṇa*. Nasik inscription does make the reference of donation of a cave to Buddhist Bhikkusangha by Mrugdasa. He was Koli by caste. One inscription from Kuda mentions a *Māli* (*Mālakar*) donating a water tank (*podhi*). It shows that even some of the people from fourth *varṇa* were prosperous enough to make big donations. In the inscriptions of Vākāṭakas there is a mention of 'datant', which may also belong to this *varṇa*.

Chamidars, Namidars are some of the names of *Senapati*. Many of the fourth varṇa were part of the army of the king. We can say that though the Dharmaśāstras assigned certain duties to a particular varṇas, in reality it was not strictly followed. Many of the communities like Nagare (Halik), Attar (Gandhik), Sutar (vardhak), Patharwat (selvadhik), Mali (Malakar), Sonar-Lohar (karmar Lohavani), Teli [Til pimpak], Vinkar [Kulrik] working for water management instrument (Odyayantrik). Many of the communities further had their own subdivision of the groups. Many of the groups mentioned above had come together in the form śreni. We do get mention of gurakhi [Abhir or Aahir] belonging to this sub-caste only. Many had reached the post of *Senapati*. We get an inscription on a purnakalash at Amravati mentioning donation by *charmākār* (shoemaker). In an inscription from Junnar, Madhukiya Malla and Golkiya Ananda had made donation to a Buddhist Sangha of Varanda. According to Bulher, Madhukiya is a Sanskrit word meaning Murdhak caste which belongs to Kshatriya varṇa and Golkiya may be a milkman.

Foreigners like Greeks and Persians also entered into Deccan, as we get epigraphical references at Nasik, Karle and Junner. Cave no. 17 at Nasik mentions son of Dharmadev, Indramitra had constructed the cave and in honour of his son Dharmarakshita, he donated it to Bhikhusangha. There are references to many Yāvanas who religiously made the donations to Buddhist monastery but continued with the Greek names. There was a need to place these foreigners in traditional Indian set up. Hence to accommodate them, Patanjali says that they were Kshatriyas and had no connection with Brahmins.

From 2nd century CE *varṇa* system dominated society as personal identification of a donor was mainly on the basis of their professions. In Maharashtra it appears that *Āpṣṭambhadharmasutra* was followed by large number of people. The epigraphic records of Sātavāhana throw some light on contemporary varṇa-vyavastha. By this time the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya caste among the Aryans are seen and the non-Aryan were relegated to the fourth caste i.e., Śūdra. The Sātavāhana records throw light on Brahmanas by its specific mentions, while other caste/classes are indicated directly or indirectly by their profession such as Kshatriyas are mentioned by their designation as *senapātī*, *pradhān*. The Vaishyas belonging to different professional group appears to be more dominant in the society as they patronised the creation of rock cut caves and monasteries. Maximum donations to it were from royalty and the Vaishyas i.e., the professional groups such as blacksmiths, goldsmith, carpenter, Vanij, traders, merchants and others. The Śūdras are not directly mentioned in the Satavahana inscriptions but it may be assumed that many of the members of the fourth class were engaged in skilled and unskilled work besides the services to upper classes. This clearly shows that the Sātavāhana period does not give us clear picture of caste system.

Maharashtra in post-Satavahana period witnessed revival of Brahminical faith. After the disintegration the Satavahanas, their feudatories such as Chutus in Kolhapur-Belgaum area and Mandvas in coastal Maharashtra became independent. Vākāṭaka rulers were all Hindus. Pravarasena II, the real founder of Vākāṭakas had performed many Vedic sacrifices such as *Agnishtoma*, *Aptoryama*, *Shodasin*, *Atiratra*, *Vajapeya*, *Brihaspatisava*, *Sadyaskra*, and *Ashvamedha* and majority of their grants are made to the Brahmins. However as far as ordinary Hindus were concerned, they had much more faith in Puranic, than Vedic deities. In their daily

life they used to perform the sandhyavandana and the five great sacrifices recommended by the smṛiti. From the time of Vākāṭakas there was a transformation in mode of recording donations i.e., from lithic to metallic, although recording on stone slabs was continued. The copper plate charters were given to individual Brahmans and main pattern of donation was land and village grants. Vākāṭaka records mention Brahmans with their personal identity where as other class/ caste/groups are not directly mention. We could clearly see change of profession as per choice, opportunities and inter caste marriages of Brahman to Kshatriyas, Kshatriyas to Vaishyas etc. during this period. The Brahmans on a large scale were seen taking up the profession of Kshatriyas. From the Vākāṭaka records commenting on the contemporary caste system is difficult as it does not throw direct light on contemporary caste or class system. However, in society three upper classes seems to be dominant and the record are silent on the functioning of the fourth varṇa

As Dr Altekar describes, profession also was not very rigidly determined by caste during Vākāṭaka period (Altekar et.al 1954: 315). Literature of that period gives many evidences to show how Brahmans were following non brahmanical profession and it is well supported by the information we get from the inscriptions, showing how some Brahmans were engaged in trade and commerce also. The case of Mantri-Vishnu, who was a Gupta feudatory in central India, shows how ambitious Brahmana families were and gradually made their way to the throne (Altekar et.al 1954: 317). The Kshatriyas in their turn are often seen following commercial and industrial pursuits. The Vaishyas were never a homogenous group even in earlier ages, so it was continued even in Vākāṭaka period also. During Vākāṭaka period the agriculturists, the merchants, the cattle-rearers, the smiths, the carpenters, the oil-mongers, the weavers, the garland-makers, etc., had developed into full-fledged caste-groups. They were more conscious of their own sub-groups than of their being members of the theoretical Vaishya caste (Altekar et.al 1954: 317).

In contemporary epigraphical records, Kāyasthas frequently figure, usually as professional writers. It is not very clear that they had developed into caste during Vākāṭaka period. Contemporary smritis do not mention them as a caste. *Smritis* of Vākāṭaka period like *Yajñavalkyasmṛiti* permit Śūdras to become traders, artisans and agriculturist. Many of them also enlisted in the army and rose to the position of captain and generals. Inscriptions of Vākāṭakas gives us some information about learning of Vedic Brahmins. During this period, we also do not get references of Brahmins with surname Trivedi, Chaturvedi or Dvivedi. There are references about gotras of Brahmins which throws light on educational merit of Brahmins.

In the post Sātavahāna period the Abhiras (3-4th cen), the Trikutaks (5th-6th century), the Rashtrakuta of Manpur, (4th century) the Kalachuri of Mahishmati and the Nalas ruled over Maharashtra. Gangas (5th century) Bhoj (4th-7th century), Maurya's of Konkan (5th-7th century) also ruled over Maharashtra. Records of these rulers are available but do not throw much light on existing class/caste system under their jurisdiction. However, it can be said that Brahmans remained significant group as maximum donations were made to individual Brahmans and establishment like agraharas. Kshatriyas could be traced through their designations and Vaishyas through their professions. However records are silent about the fourth class though they played significant role in the society.

The Chalukyas of Badami appeared on the political horizon of Maharashtra from middle of 6th century to middle of 8th century (550 CE- 760 CE). Pulkeshi II became master of Traimarashatrik as known from Aihole inscription (Indian Antiquary, vol.8. p.241). These were probable three regions of Maharashtra namely Vidarbha, Desh and Konkan. Records of Badami Chalukyas also throw light on donations to the Brahmans. They made grants during eclipses and performed vratas and danas prescribed in *smritis*. Kshatriya varna is depicted through the administrators, warrior community and royal designations, whereas few records refer to Vaishyas by profession. During this period different groups existed besides chaturvarnya system. (Shilpakar Chritrakosh, 2009: 394) Chambar, Koli, Dhobi were lowest classes whereas Chandals were outcaste. However inscriptional records of Chalukyas do not inform us about this and they refer to the Brahman donees on large scale and are silent about the members of fourth class.

The Rashtrakutas who succeeded Chalukyas of Badami ruled for considerably long period over Maharashtra. Deccan enjoyed high political prestige during their period. They held sway over the whole of the present Maharashtra between 753 CE and 973 CE. They had many feudatories, the Kalachuris, the Yadavas, the Shilahars, etc. Their records throw light on different caste groups such as Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas. Whereas contemporary *smritis* and Arab writer give more details about the caste system of the period. Besides the usual four castes there existed a number of other social groups for instance royalty formed a subcaste among the Kshatriyas, who were held in even higher regard than the Brahmans. Ordinary Kshatriyas were on a slightly lower level. The Vaishyas degenerated to the status of Sudras. At one hand we see that inter caste anulom marriages disappeared during this period. On the other hand epigraphic records highlight donations to the Brahmans on large scale. Under the Rashtrakutas there were Brahmin ministers who were in charge of war and peace. This shows that they accepted even the Kshatriya profession. (Yazdani: 309)

Interestingly the position of Śudras was considerably elevated. They were frequently enlisted in the army and many of them rose to military leaders and petty rulers. Shoe-makers, Bamboo workers fishermen and washer men were held in low esteem and regarded as semi untouchables. Sweepers and Chandala were considered as untouchables and had to live outside the cities and villages. However these details are not visible from the epigraphic data.

Structure of society under the Yadava was not different from that of the other regions in medieval India. It consisted of four main communities. The Yadava records refer to these communities and the profession followed by their members. Inscription speaks in glowing terms of the attainment of Brahmans in academic field. Arrangement was made for their maintenance by donating land to them. However, the inscription does not specifically mention the Kshatriya community as such. As in earlier period they are noticed through their designation. However it has been noticed that members of other communities also took up to administrative and military carrier. The Vaishya were engaged in trade, commerce and other vocation. They carried on business of various commodities in and outside of the state. They were generally known as *setti* and *vyvaharis*. Some of them were involved in the glossary business that came to be known as Vanis. There were merchants dealing in different articles for instance such as teli-the oil presser. Some inscriptions of the Yadava mention the chaturthavarna which appears

to stand for fourth or Sudra caste. There are many references in the inscriptions to the officer as belonging to the chaturthakula. [Ritti: 249]

Though theoretically, society was divided into four main varnas/caste. In practice there existed many subcaste and groups. Interestingly Shilahara record throws light on many such professional sub-groups which in succeeding centuries emerged as the sub caste. Shilaharas were the Kshatriyas. Kshatriyas are to be recognised by their designation such as mahasamant, Mirashi opines that samant, thakur and prabhu as mentioned in their records were probably the Kshatriyas. Kayasthas emerged as an independent caste group during Shilahara period. There are inscriptional records referring to these Kayasthas.

The agriculturist and traders formed the third group namely the Vaishyas. The traders had their mercantile group and played a significant role in village and city councils as well as in the temple management. Members of the fourth class were the Sudras. They were serving three upper caste/class groups. Besides Yajnavalkya refer to them as skilled artisans such as sculptors.

Thus, it has been observed that the inscriptional records from 2nd to the end of 13th century CE reflect to some extent the existing caste system. By and large there existed three upper classes and the lowest class of the Śudras. Sometimes the flexibility was witnessed in intermarriages, accepting profession of other class groups which were traditionally assigned.

It must be noted that the very purpose of donation charters was to record grants to Brahmans. Except for those to Buddhist establishments at different places. Among the donors the major role was played by royalty merchants and traders and also the people from all walks of life particularly whenever the donations were given to the Buddhist fraternity. In post Sātavahāna period donations were given to individual Brahmans and the group of Brahmans in agraharas and also to the temples. In succeeding centuries to the Brahmans were in the forefront in receiving the grants. Obviously other caste groups are not mentioned specifically and they are to be traced either based on their designation or profession.

Since the time of Sātavahānas till the end of the Yadavas the caste element as reflected from epigraphic record offer us some information but does not give us clear picture of its functioning. For the better understanding of the study of caste system in Maharashtra one has to compare epigraphic data with the literary data and other corroborative evidences.

Notes and References

- Ajaymitra Shastri, 1998, *The Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas: A Historical framework*,
- Anuradha Ranade, 2009, *Socio-economic Life of Maharashtra, 1100-1600 A.D.*, New Delhi.
- Betteille Andrew, 1965, *Caste class and power*, Berkeley,
- Bhandarkar R. G., 1928, *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*.
- Gail, Omvedt., [ed] 1982. *Land Caste and Politics in Indian State*, New Delhi,
- Mujumdar, Ramesh Chandra, Altekar A S, (ed) 1954, *Vakataka and Gupta Age*, Banaras.

- Ranade, 2013, Epignosis Vol.1, Issue 3.
- Ritti, 1973, The Seunas: The Yadavas of Devagiri, Karnataka,
- S. A. Jogalekar (ed.) 1956, Gatha Saptashati, Pune.
- Shah Viraj, 2009, *A Study of Temples of Medieval Maharashtra (11th to 14th Centuries CE) A Socio-Economic Approach*, Post-Doctoral report
- *Shilpakar Chritrakosh*, Vol. 1, Saptahik Vivek, Hindustan Prakash Sanstha, Mumbai, 2009
- *Shobhana Gokhale, 1991, Kaneheri Inscriptions, Pune.*
- V V Mirashi, 1981, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas.*
- Yazdani G, 1951, Early History of Deccan, Part I

Dr. K.V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture

Epigraphic Records on Migrant Brāhmaṇas of North India to Early Medieval Odisha

Subrata Kumar Acharya

I am deeply humbled by the honour bestowed on me to deliver Dr. K. V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture on the joint sessions of the 47th annual session of the ESI and 41st annual session of the PNSI held in this holy city of Varanasi. I profusely thank all the members of the executive committee of ESI for the trust reposed on me to do justice to one of the finest epigraphists of our country in whose name this memorial lecture has been instituted. Dr. Ramesh, as we all know, had immensely contributed for furthering the cause of epigraphical studies and researches in India. For more than four decades he incessantly pursued the epigraphical research and encouraged hundreds of budding epigraphists to engage themselves in deciphering inscriptions and in interpreting their texts and contexts. For today's lecture I have chosen a topic titled "Migration of Brahmanas of North India to Early Medieval Odisha (circa 9th-12th Century CE" which I hope will open definite perspectives of research.

It is commonly held that early Odisha remained outside the pale of the Vedic civilization. The *Dharmaśāstras* and the Puranic literature record that Kalinga along with Oḍra, Āndhra and Drāviḍa were mleccha countries¹, and prescribe that the brāhmaṇas who visited these countries were required to perform expiatory rites for purification. The Baudhāryana Dharmasūtra further declare that those who visited the countries like Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kalingas and Prānūnas should offer a Punaṣṭoma or a Sarvapṛṣṭi sacrifice, and particularly those who visited Kalinga committed the sin through their feet and sages prescribed that they should perform the purificatory rite of Vaiśvānara². Those brāhmaṇas, who permanently moved to these countries were regarded as unfit to participate in auspicious occasions and were not even invited to funeral repasts. In other words, the brāhmaṇas were considered as a degraded class on account of their residency in these countries. However, contrary to these injunctions, brāhmaṇas migrated to the non-Aryan tracts from very early times due to some reason or other. Although at this stage of our knowledge, it is very difficult to say precisely the date when the brāhmaṇas frequented to Odisha and began to settle here permanently, yet the edicts of Aśoka furnish us the evidence of their presence at least by the third century BCE. In Rock Edict XIII, Aśoka, the Mauryan emperor, expressed his deep remorse for the disaster that befell the brāhmaṇas, śramaṇas and other religious denominations during the Kalinga war. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela further bear testimony to the fact the brāhmaṇas comprised a respectable class in Kalinga. In his eighth regnal year after his success against the Yavanas, the king made a victory procession and distributed the spoils of his victory to all householders including the brāhmaṇas. The *Kuru-dharma Jātaka* affirms that when Dantapura, the capital city, suffered from a severe drought the king of Kalinga sent the brāhmaṇas to the king of Kurus for begging loan of the State elephant Añjana Vāsabha, who could produce rain. The same story is also found in the *Vessantara Jātaka*³. B. Das, "We can very well presume that the Brahmanas started migrating to Orissa during the period intervening between the composition of the Bhaudhayana Dharmasutra and the occupation of Orissa by the Mauryan

Emperor.”⁴

Coming to the early medieval Odisha roughly ranging from 4th-5th century CE to 12th-13th century CE we are on a surer ground to trace the migrant brāhmaṇas. Most inscriptions introduce the brāhmaṇa beneficiaries with their gotra and pravara affiliations, expertise on specific schools of the Vedas and their branches, place of origin and place of residence before being receiving land grants from their patrons. In the present article we have made a close analysis of one hundred and fifty epigraphical records of the period which reveal significant facts about the trend of migration and the economic and social status of the migrant brāhmaṇas during the period. While attempting such an analysis, one is confronted with the problem of identifying the exact localities from which they emigrated because on most occasions only broader territorial divisions like Madhyadeśa, Kāśmiradeśa, Puṇḍravarddhana, Rāḍha, Gaṅgavāḍi, etc., are mentioned and sometimes places of origin are specified without referring to the wide areas in which they situated. These are significant parameters to recognize the trend of migration from urban to rural or vice versa. There are instances where three to four generations of the family are mentioned but no information is furnished as to which person first left the original habitat. This aspect is singularly important to determine the possible causes of migration. Besides, early medieval Odisha is apparently the only region from where not a single instance of immigration of brāhmaṇa is recorded. In the present analysis we attempt to negotiate the source materials to investigate into all these problems and arrive at some sensible conclusions.

Phase I (4th-8th century CE)

Before going to the details of the trend of migration, it is imperative to know the process of donations made over to the brāhmaṇas. There is no such tangible evidence to substantiate the argument that the brāhmaṇas were invited by the ruling authorities from far off places for the purpose of giving land grants to them. On the other hand, it is apparently clear from the purport of the inscriptions that the brāhmaṇas were leaving their original homelands under some compulsions and coming to a relatively safer place and residing there for some time before being awarded with the grants. In this context, the term *vinirgata* is used in the sense of ‘hailing from’ or the original place of migration and *vāstavāya* is used in the sense of ‘resident of’ or the place where he resided. In some of the early copper plate inscriptions of Kalinga belonging to the Mātharas and early Eastern Gaṅgas up to the 7th century CE occasionally we do come across the brāhmaṇa grantees known to have resided at a particular place before being gifted away the land. But there is hardly any reference to their place of origin. A few copper plate grants of the Mātharas and their contemporaries state that the donees resided at places like Savara-bheṇḍa, Akṣat-āgrahāra, Koṇḍi-mañci and Pattuva-grāma which can be located within the Kalinga kingdom (modern Ganjam district of Odisha and Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh). In all these cases, the term 2 is used and, therefore, they could be local brāhmaṇas and not immigrants. The localities mentioned above are not identified properly but they seem to be rural settlements in Kalinga.

The Eastern Gaṅga charters (6th-8th century CE) also state the evidence of residence of the brāhmaṇa donees without making any reference to their place of origin. Some of the brāhmaṇas had taken up residence in the political headquarters or urban areas before receiving land grants. Thus, the donees of the Parlakhemundi plates of Indravarman of year 91/589 CE⁵, Chicacole plates of Devendravarman of year 183/681 CE⁶, Trilingi plates of Devendravarman of year

192/690 CE⁷ and Musunika plates of Devendravarman of year 306/804 CE⁸ were residents of Kaliṅganagara or Kaliṅgapura (or simply Nagara) which have been taken by scholars as one and the same, and identified with modern Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. It was the political headquarters of the Gaṅgas for several centuries. The rest of the places of residence are mentioned as Urāmalla (Urlam, Viskhapatnam district), Andorak-āgrahāra, Triliṅgi (Trilingi near Tekkali, Srikakulma district), Gorakhana, Eraṇḍa-palli, etc., which were mostly *agrahāra* or non-*agrahāra* villages. These places are frequently mentioned in the subsequent charters of the family and it is, therefore, legitimate to infer that the brāhmaṇas moved within Kaliṅga and sought patronage of the ruling authorities.

We come across two examples of the early 8th century CE where the brāhmaṇas are said to have been residents of Śṛṅgatik-āgrahāra included in Kāmarūpa-viṣaya and Ānandapura. Dharmalingesvara plates of Anantavarman of Gaṅga year 204/702 CE, declare that Viṣṇusomācārya the brāhmaṇa beneficiary was living at Śṛṅgatik-āgrahāra in Kāmarūpa-viṣaya at the time of getting the endowment.⁹ R.K. Ghosal, the editor of the charter, suggested that Kamarupa-visaya should not be in Assam. Possibly it could be an unknown district of ancient Kaliṅga. However, he did not put forward any reason to explain his view. Had it been a district of Kaliṅga, it would have been mentioned in other charters of the family. But we do not find any other record where the name of this district appeared and until further discovery, we incline to equate it with Assam and believe that Viṣṇusomācārya emigrated from Assam. According to Swati Datta, “The history of Kāmarūpa after the death of Bhāskaravarman in the middle of the seventh century, is rather uncertain. The dynasty of Śālastambha which immediately succeeded Bhāskaravarman has left behind neither literary nor epigraphic records. It is from references to them in the inscriptions of the later kings of Assam that something is known about them. From this it seems that Kāmarūpa may have been in a state of political confusion, in the days following the death of Bhāskaravarman, and before the family of Pralambha gained control. The migration of Viṣṇusomācārya may have occurred during this period.”¹⁰

Ānandapura is mentioned as a place of residence of several learned brāhmaṇas belonging to different *gotras* in the Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman of year 216/714 CE.¹¹ The *-pura* suffix establishes fairly that it was an urban centre and like Kāmarūpa it was never mentioned again in any other inscription of Kaliṅga. We, therefore, presume that this could be the same as Anandapura identified with Vadanagar in north Gujarat wherefrom the brāhmaṇas moved out and settled in Kaliṅga. Ānandapura, also spelt as Ānarttapura, is mentioned in at least four copper plate inscriptions of the Maitrakas of Vallabhi between the Gupta-Vallabhi era 270/589-90 CE and 352/671-72 CE. In most of these cases the brāhmaṇas moved out of Anandapura and took residence at Vallabhi or modern Vallabhapura or Vala near Bhavnagar in the Saurāṣṭra peninsula or at Khetaka or Kaira in Gujarat sometime before they received the land grants. It is quite possible that the brāhmaṇa families referred to in the Eastern Gaṅga record might have emigrated from Ānandapura in north Gujarat sometime towards the close of the 7th century CE before being endowed with land grants in 714 CE.

The Bonda plates of the Pāṇḍuvarṣī king Tivaradeva of Kośala (modern eastern districts of Chhatisgarh and western districts of Odisha) record a land grant to twenty-five brāhmaṇas in two groups.¹² The first group consisted of twenty brāhmaṇas who belonged to the Maitrāyaṇīya *śākhā* of the Yajurveda and in the second group there were five who belonged to the Chāndoga *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda. They are further stated to have been described as priests (*adhvaryu*) of the

Caraka branch of Yajurveda and Sāmaveda. The personal names of all the brāhmaṇas have been mentioned and out of them two in the first group are named as Yoraṅga-Viṣṇubhavasvāmin and Lāṭa-Phalihasvāmin. The prefixes Yoraṅga and Lāṭa are apparently territorial divisions and it is reasonable to assume that the donees were immigrants from these locations. Although Yoraṅga has not been mentioned in any records, Lāṭa is well known as a territorial unit in Nausari-Broach area of Gujarat. Very likely, Phalihasvāmin emigrated from Lāṭa and settled in the Kośala.¹³ The date of the inscription may be fixed in the late seventh and early eight century CE. In the seventh century CE we come across at least four examples where the brāhmaṇas of Maitrāyaṇīya branch of Black Yajurveda are mentioned and they all traced their origin to Ānandapura, Girinagara, Vallabhi or Lāṭa. The reason for which Tivaradeva patronised the Black Yajurvedic brāhmaṇas in his kingdom is not known. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that the beneficiaries of Bonda plates came from Gujarat.

It is not out of place to record here that the Palitana (in Kathiawar, Gujarat) plates of the Garulaka king Simhāditya that speak of a brāhmaṇa named Bappasvāmi who was a student of the Maitrāyaṇīya school. The inscription is dated in Gupta-Vallabhi year 255/574 CE and is one of the earliest to refer to the brāhmaṇa students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school.¹⁴ Slightly later in date the Kanasa (Puri district, Odisha) plate of Lokavigraha of Gupta era 280/600 CE also speaks about the brāhmaṇas of this school residing in the maṭha of Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka at Ekāmra, i.e., Bhuvaneswar for whose maintenance the king had made an endowment.¹⁵ Although the inscription does not mention about the place of migration of these brāhmaṇas, yet it is likely that they too immigrated from Gujarat.

Phase II (9th-10th century CE): Migrations from Eastern India

From the beginning of the ninth century the trend of the migration of brāhmaṇas to Odisha took a different turn. There was no incidence of immigrants from Gujatrāt or Malwa in western India. Rather more and more brāhmaṇas began to come to Odisha from wider areas like Rāḍha, Varendra, Puṇḍravardhana, Madhyadeśa, Śrāvastī-maṇḍala, Magaha(Magadha)-maṇḍala, Antarvedi and so on in north and east India. There are references to immigrant brāhmaṇas from specific well-known brahmanical settlements (*bhaṭṭa-grāmas*) in north India. Maximum number of immigrant brāhmaṇas came to different parts of Odisha during 9th-10th century CE and there was a gradual decline in their flow in the subsequent two centuries.

There are twenty-one examples in which we get the reference to the brāhmaṇas who left their original homes in Rāḍha (6), Puṇḍravaradhana (7) and Varendri (8) in eastern India and came to different parts of Odisha. These migrations took place during the period roughly from 800 CE to 950 CE. Of the six families that emigrated from Rāḍha, the earliest example came from Kaliṅga. Govindaśarman, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa belonging to the Vatsa gotra and a student of the Kāṭha śākhā of the Yajurveda emigrated from Uttara Rāḍha and received a land grant from the Eastern Gaṅga king Devendravarman in the year 308/806 CE.¹⁶ Name of the donee's native place could not clearly be made out. He received a village called Burujuna-grāma or Bukudravaka-grāma in Lohaśṛṅgara district. Similarly, another brāhmaṇa named Bhattaputra Eu, son of Sapu, belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra and a student of the Paippalāda śākhā of the Atharvaveda migrated to Bhaṅja kingdom of Kṣiṇjali-maṇḍala (modern Baud-Phulbani area) from his native place Navāḍā in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha during the reign of Śīlābhaṅjadeva who styled himself as a lord of both the Kṣiṇjalis. The date of Śīlābhaṅja can be fixed in the early part of the 9th century CE. The brāhmaṇa from

Rāḍha was endowed with the village of Vaṇḍāmūrā along with two other Atharvavedic brāhmaṇas migrated from Oḍradeśa.¹⁷ King Śilābhañja might have performed some propitiatory rites in his kingdom and had invited the Atharvavedic brāhmaṇas from Rāḍha and Oḍradeśa as ritual experts. The territorial division of Rāḍha comprised of the modern districts of Murshidabad, Birbhum and Bardhaman, Hoogly, Bankura and West Midnapur districts in the south-west of West Bengal. The river Damodara was probably the dividing line between the northern and southern halves of the kingdom.

In one of the records of the Śulkīs of Kodālaka-maṇḍala (modern Koala in Angul district), it has been stated that Paṁcuka, son of Hari and grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Vaghu, who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and was a student of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajurveda came from Tellaṅgala-bhaṭṭa-grāma in Rāḍha-maṇḍala.¹⁸ Kuladevapālabhaṭṭa, son of Devapāla and grandson of Samarapālabhaṭṭa belonging to the Uluka *gotra* originally hailed from Rāḍha and received the village of Palāmūnā in Kahāśṛṅga-viśaya from the Nanda king Devānandadeva of the Nanda dynasty ruling over Airāvatta-maṇḍala (western parts of Dhenkanal and Cuttack districts). Neither the gift village nor the district in which it was situated has been identified satisfactorily, but they should not be far from Jurerpur, the findspot of the plate, under Bantala P.S. of the Angul district.¹⁹ We have two more brāhmaṇa families hailing from Rāḍha during the reign of the Somavarṁśī king Janamejaya I. Bhaṭṭaputra Jātarūpa, son of Bhaṭṭaputra Śrīvatsa, belonging to the Kaunḍinya *gotra* and the Chāndoga *carāṇa* was an immigrant from Vallikandara in Rāḍha and resided at Meraṇḍā. He was gifted with a village named Vakratentali in Luputurā-khaṇḍa by king Janamejaya I.²⁰ Meraṇḍā and Vakratentali have been identified with modern Menda and Bantentuli or Bantentily to the west of the Sonapur town respectively. Similarly, Bhaṭṭaputra Ānandarūpa, son of Amṛtarūpa, belonging to the Parāśara *gotra* and the Chandoga *carāṇa* hailed from the village of Abhapasara in Rāḍha-maṇḍala and resided at Tarvveṅga before receiving a share from the gift village Jollamurā-grāma in Lupatturā-khaṇḍa.²¹ Jollamurā-grāma has been identified with modern Jhilimunda near Lupursinga under Dungripali P.S. of the Sonapur district. The gift villages in both the charters mention that they were situated in Luputurā-khaṇḍa, which has been taken to be the modern Lepta, ten kilometers from south-east of Bolangir town.

We have a total of fifteen examples which speak about the immigrant brāhmaṇas from Puṇḍravardhana and Varendra. We prefer to discuss these two wider areas of ancient Bengal together because at least two inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala tell us that Puṇḍravardhana included in Varendra-maṇḍala. Varendra was co-extensive with Puṇḍravardhana and the latter was admittedly an integral part of the former. In the Pāla, Candra and Sena records, we generally come across these two territorial units. During the Candra and Sena period, Varendra formed as an administrative unit under political division of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti. At any rate, the area bounded by the Padma in the south, the Ganges in the west and the Karatoya in the east comprised of the early medieval Varendra and Puṇḍravardhana territory. It included the modern districts of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna and Dinajpur in north-west Bangladesh.

Like the Rāḍhiya brāhmaṇas, the Varendra brāhmaṇas too migrated to the hinterland of Odisha and received land grants from the rulers of the Śulkīs, Tuṅgas, Nandas and the Bhañjas. The Jokab plate of the Śulkī king Jayastambha of Bhauma era 130/866 CE makes us believe that Bhaṭṭaputra Keśarī belonging to the Maudgalya *gotra* immigrated from Puṇḍravardhana and resided at Vasiloyi before getting the rent-free land in the village of Jiralāṅga in the western division of the

kingdom.²² Later on a member of the same family is stated to have been come from Puṇḍravardhana received another village named Jokova situated in Karadaśṛṅga-*viṣaya* during the reign of the Nanda king Devānandadeva.²³ The same ruler had donated the village of Lamveva situated in the district of the same name to Bhaṭṭa Brahmadhara belonging to the Kṛṣṇātreya *gotra* and to the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. He is said to have been a member of the Bhaṭṭa community of Jamvama-Nārāyaṇapura in Puṇḍravardhana.²⁴ Jamvama-Nārāyaṇapura, the original homeland of the brāhmaṇa, has not been identified. But like the other brāhmaṇas of Mudgalya *gotra*, he too came from Puṇḍravardhana in north-west Bangladesh to Airāvaṭṭa-maṇḍala (parts of Dhenkanal and Cuttack districts of Odisha) in the late 9th or early 10th century CE. We have two more charters of the time of the Tuṅgas of Yamagartta-maṇḍala which record the emigrant brāhmaṇas. One of them named Bhaṭṭaputra Naraka, son of Sādhāraṇa and grandson of Balabhadra belonging to the family of Bhaṭṭaputra Nararakṣita and to the Gautama *gotra* came from Puṇḍravardhana and resided at Royarā before receiving a land grant in the village Maddhamanḍa-grāma.²⁵ The other Tuṅga charter records the registration of a deed in favour of Bhaṭṭaputra Devaśarmaṇ of the Kāśyapa *gotra* and the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. He was an immigrant from Mūthāutha in Varendri-maṇḍala and a resident of Sāvira-bhaṭṭa-grāma in Oḍra-*viṣaya*. The village Vāmāitālo situated in Tuṅkera-*viṣaya* was granted to him.²⁶ None of the place names mentioned in the charter has been identified, but B. Misra is of the opinion that Tuṅkera-*viṣaya* could be the same as Tonkour in Pallahara P.S. of the Angul district.²⁷ Only one dated inscription of the Bhaumakara queen Daṇḍimahādevī states about the migration of another brāhmaṇa from Puṇḍravardhana. As per the information of the Aravala plate of the queen dated in Bhauma era 183/919 CE, Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottamavṛddhi belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and to the Vājasaneyā *carāṇa* and Kāṇva *śākhā* was an immigrant from Puṇḍravardhana and a resident of Aravāla. He was granted the village of Aravāla in Teṇḍahāra-*viṣaya* in Uttara Tosāli. The village has been identified with Aravala, the findspot of the plate, in the Dharamsala PS of Jajpur district. Thus, in this case the brāhmaṇa beneficiary came from north Bangladesh to Jajpur region.

Interestingly the Bhañja inscriptions record at least seven instances where the brāhmaṇas came from Varendrī in north Bangladesh and settled in the Baud-Phulbani area in the hinterland of Odisha during the 9th-10th century CE. From the Tatarkela plates it is known that the king Śīlābhañjadeva had registered the village of Ṭaṭarikelā in Dkṣiṇapalli district in favour of a numbers of immigrant brāhmaṇas out of which two came from Varendri. Bhaṭṭaputra Divākara belonged to the Śaunaka *gotra* and he was a student of the Sāṃkhyāyana *śākhā* of the Bahvṛca *carāṇa*. Another brāhmaṇa was named Bhaṭṭaputra Śaṅkara belonging to the Agasti *gotra* and Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *carāṇa*. Both the brāhmaṇas were immigrants from Varendrī and settled in Ṭaṭarikelā identified with modern Tatarkela on the right bank of the river Mahanadi between Sonapur and Baud.

Four copper plate grants of the time of Raṇabhañja attest to the immigrant brāhmaṇas from Varendrī. (A) The Dasapall plates of the king mention that Bhaṭṭaputra Padmākara who was belonging to the Kṛṣṇātreya *gotra* and a student of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of Chāndoga *carāṇa* was an immigrant from Pecipāṭaka in Varendrī-maṇḍala and a resident of Burallā. He was endowed with two villages namely Hastileṇḍa-grāma and Pañcapalli included in Tullāsidgā-*viṣaya*.²⁸ The place-name Pecipāṭaka in Varendrī has not been traceable at present but there is least shadow of doubt that Padmākara was a native of Varendrī in north Bangladesh. Burullā and Hastileṇḍa have been tentatively identified respectively with Burula and Hathigarh in the Harbhanga PS of the

Baud district. Tullāsidgā has been equated with Tulasinga near Baud. (B) Paṇḍita Varada, the donee of the Orissa Museum plates of the king, was an immigrant from Tālabhṛtakī in Varendri-maṇḍala.²⁹ He was belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Chāndoga *carāṇa*. He was a resident of the village Vāriśāmā-grāma in Royarā-viṣaya and the same village was gifted away to him. Royarā and Varigrāma have been identified respectively with Rahila and Varigan on the right bank of the Mahanadi south of Binka. (C) The Phulbani plates of the king further furnish the information that the original home of Bhaṭṭaputra Dāmuṇighoṣa was in Droṇiāla in Puṇḍravardhana of Varendrī-maṇḍala.³⁰ He was belonging to Ariṣṭasena *gotra*. The village of Kokaṭi situated in Tulāsidgā-viṣaya was donated to him and it was very likely near Baud. (D) From the Samabalpur University Museum plates of the king it is evident that Bhaṭṭa Baladeva belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and to the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneya *carāṇa* was a native of Puṇḍravardhana-Mahāsthāna.³¹ He was endowed with a village called Campāmalli situated in Uttarapalli of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala. Puṇḍravardhana-Mahāsthāna is the same Mahasthana in Bogra district in Bangladesh. Campāmalli has been identified with Campamal near Birmaharajapur.

We have two more examples from the successors of Raṇabhañja who patronised immigrant brāhmaṇas from Varendrī. The Ganjam plates of Vidyādharaḥbhañja register the village of Mūla-Māchāḍa in Māchāḍa-khaṇḍa-viṣaya in favour of Bhaṭṭa Purandara who belonged to the Rohita *gotra* and the Vājasaneya *carāṇa*. He was an immigrant from Manmāṇā in Taḍisamā-viṣaya of Varendrī.³² Manmāṇā and Taḍisamā cannot be located at present. Māchāḍa is identified with modern Machakote in Badagada PS of Ganjam district. Another inscription of the time of Neṭṭabhañja, son of Vidyādharaḥbhañja, mentions the name of Aichadata of the Kāśyapa *gotra* who came from Tribhuvanapura in Varendrī and received a land grant in the village of Guṇḍa-pāṭaka included in Nānā-khaṇḍa-viṣaya.³³ None of the place names mentioned in the charter has been identified. But they may be located in and around Surada in Ganjam district.

Bhaṭṭa Manoratha, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and Baḥvṛca *carāṇa* was an immigrant from Vaṅga-kuti and a resident of Gandhaṭapāṭi and he received two villages namely Jaintamurā and Kumurukelā in Uttarapalli-division of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala from king Śatrubhañja.³⁴ It appears that the brāhmaṇa family migrated from Vaṅga or south and east of Bangladesh and resided at Gandhaṭapāṭi (identified with Gandharadhi near Baud) which was an important headquarters of the Bhañjas. The gift villages are in the Birmaharajpur P.S. of Sonepur district in the northern division of the kingdom. However, this is solitary example of a migration from south Bangladesh.

A consolidated narrative of the brahmanical immigration to Odisha from Rāḍha, Varendrī/Puṇḍravardhana and Vaṅga in modern West Bengal and Bangladesh unfolds a few important observations. First, the period of migration took place from 800 to 950 CE apart from one example that can be assigned to the 11th century CE. Secondly, the trend of migration reveals that most of them received land grants in the interior of Odisha, particularly in the sub-regional kingdoms held by the feudatory chiefs of larger polities. The two examples from the Somavamśī dynasty noticed above point to their migration to the middle Mahanadi valley when the Somavamśīs were trying to consolidate their position in the region. Thirdly, the Rāḍhiya brāhmaṇas were affiliated to various *gotras* like Vatsa, Kāśyapa, Uluka, Kauṇḍiṇya and Parāśara and were students of both Black and white Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda immigrated to Odisha in the 9th century CE. Most of them settled in the middle Brahmani valley and the middle Mahanadi valley in the interior of

Odisha. But the immigrant brāhmaṇas from Varendrī, Puṇḍravardhana and Vaṅga were affiliated to different *gotras* like Kāśyapa, Maudgalya, Kṛṣṇātreya, Agasti, Vatsa, Ariṣṭasena, Bharadvāja, Rauhita, and Śaunaka and were students of the different Vedic schools. While most of them were belonging to the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *carana* of the Yajurveda, some specialized in the Kauthuma *śākhā* of Chandoga *carana* of the Sāmaveda and some others in the Samkhyāyana school of the Bahvṛca *carana* of the Ṛgveda. We do not come across a single instance of the Black Yajurvedic or Atharvavedic brāhmaṇa coming from Puṇḍravardhana, Varendra or Vaṅga to Odisha during the period under review. Fourthly, an analysis of the place names of the original homelands of the immigrant brāhmaṇas suggests that only a few of them came from urban or semi-urban places like Mahāsthāna and Tribhuvanapura, while most of them migrated from rural brahmanical settlements. The term *bhaṭṭa-grāma* prefixed to the place names amply demonstrates this. Fifthly, the immigrant brāhmaṇas mostly received the land grants in the rural areas and were allowed to settle there. They were endowed with land grants either individually and collectively to settle in rural pockets apparently with an intention to spread brahmanical ideology of kingship and symbol as well as to expand the agrarian base.

Migrations from North India

Epigraphs under review unfold that Madhyadeśa, Śrāvastī-maṇḍala, Magadha-maṇḍala, Antarvedi and Kāśmiradeśa were the original homes of several donees or their ancestors. Each of them covers a wide area in north India. Madhyadeśa has been described as the original habitat of a number of immigrant brāhmaṇas in the inscriptions. The whole territory between the upper and middle Gangetic basin and the Yamuna-Chambal catchment area represented the heart of Madhyadeśa.³⁵ Śrāvastī-maṇḍala or Śrāvastī-deśa denoted the territory around Śrāvastī or modern Sahet-Mahet on the bank of the river Rapti in the Gonda district of UP. The entire region from Bahraich to Gorakhpur in northern UP on the left bank of the river Ghagra possibly comprised of this *maṇḍala*. Magadha-maṇḍala is the same as the ancient Magadha with its headquarters at Pāṭaliputra or modern Patna. Antarvedi or Antarveda represented the doab region between the Ganges and the Yamuna and Kānyakubja or modern day Kannauj in UP was probably one of its important centres.³⁶ But in an inscription of the Śūlkīs of the 9th century CE, Antarvedi tract is said to have been included in Magadha-maṇḍala.³⁷

Normally, the actual place of migration within the broader geographical division is mentioned in records. Thus, we have many examples from the 9th-10th century epigraphs which mention that the brāhmaṇa beneficiaries migrated from Śāluvi-grāma, Śrīvalla-grāma, Nadhura or Madhurā (Mathura), Palāśa, Nidhanti, Surādā, Ayodhyāpura, Khaḍuvāpalli, Bhadrpalāśī in Madhyadeśa. Except Mathurā and Ayodhyāpura, the rest of the places mentioned were rural settlements and some of them were brahmanical settlements (*bhaṭṭa-grāma*). But two copper plate grants of the time of Raṇabhaṅga of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala declare that the grantees were hailing from Madhyadeśa without referring to the actual place.³⁸ There are still certain instances where the place of actual migration is mentioned without referring to the wider region of Madhyadeśa. Takāri, Prayāga, Kauśāmbī, Hastigrāma/Hastipada, Kolāñca, Muktvastu, and Soṇabhadra are such well-known brahmanical settlements in Madhyadeśa wherefrom the brāhmaṇas in large number migrated to other places of India at least from the 9th century CE. While there are several examples where the place names remain unidentified and we are not in a position to ascertain as to the actual homeland of the immigrants. The place names are Jalamvura, Kommapira, Tāli, Vakhūḍa, Maddhila,

Bhaṭṭapāroli, Ilāpada, Āviddhā, Poḍhi, Khamvavaṇa, Ālapa-grāma, Dharmanagara, Bhaṭṭa Niroli, Catuvdhi, Muleri, Harapura, and so on. Some of these places might be in Madhyadeśa in north India. However, the incidence of migration from Madhyadeśa is highest among all the wider regions of India. It may be noted here that the other broader territorial divisions mentioned above excepting Kāśmiradeśa formed parts of Madhyadeśa and they can be studied here together. As such we have sixty-six examples wherefrom the brāhmaṇas moved out of the upper and middle Gangetic valley and found their way to Odisha during the four centuries roughly from the 9th to the 12th century CE. Out of this, forty-seven inscriptions belonged to the 9th-10th century CE, while the rest nineteen to the subsequent two centuries. The trend of migration was declining in the 11th-12th centuries.

In the following discussion, we have examined all the inscriptions of the Śulkīs, Tuṅgas and the Nandas, assigned to the 9th-10th century CE, and have identified that one brāhmaṇa or his ancestors came from Kolāñca, two from Muktāvastu, two from Hastipada and three from Antarvedi. Two more records reveal that the donees came from Nidhati and Surādā in Madhyadeśa. Vāvana who was endowed with the village of Candrapura in Goila-viṣaya by the Śulkī king Jayastambha was a native of Kolāñca and he was belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and a student of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Chāndoga *carāṇa*.³⁹ The Dhenkanal plate of the same king states that Ṛṣivaka, another brāhmaṇa coming from Muktāvasu/Muktāvastu, was given a village named Loṇapura.⁴⁰ Muktāvastu is again referred to as the native place of a donee named Lakṣyāditya of the Talcher plate of Vinītatūṅga.⁴¹ In both the cases the brāhmaṇas were belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*. In another inscription of Jayastambha, Govarahūtiśarman is said to have been an immigrant from Hastipada and he was belonging to the Yajñāḍha-Parāśara *gotra*.⁴² He received the village Kamesiṅgā in Tahakula-khaṇḍa of Kagūvimūlī district of Kodālaka (modern Koala in Angul district). Hastipada is also mentioned as the original homeland of Bhaṭṭaputra Śakrahūti belonging to the Yajñāḍha-Parāśara *gotra*. From the Tamra plate of the Devānandadeva it is known that he received the village Tamvāvarā (same as Tamra, the findspot of the plate near Narsinghpur in Cuttack district).⁴³ The personal names of the brāhmaṇas of the two charters as well as the *gotra* name evidently suggest that they belonged to the same family.

In yet another charter of king Jayastambha, three brāhmaṇas belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* and hailing from Vicchada in the Antarvedi tract of Magaha-maṇḍala were granted a village named Gatarei-Kopasiṅgā situated in Paścima-khaṇḍa of Kodālaka-maṇḍala.⁴⁴ Magaha-maṇḍala has been identified with Magadha-maṇḍala and Gatarei is the same as modern Gatarei under Parjanga PS of the Dhenkanal district, the find spot of the charter. Another brāhmaṇa belonging to the same family probably received a village named Śaḍāśṛṅga-grāma situated in Tālacera-viṣaya from the Tuṅga king Khaḍgatuṅga.⁴⁵ The Rakasabahala plate of Gayāḍatuṅga records another case of emigration from Antarāvādi same as Antarvedi. The three sons of Govinda belonging to the Nārāyaṇa *gotra* and students of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda received a village named Daṇḍaratikā in Tālacera-viṣaya (same as Talcher in modern Angul district) of Yamagartta-maṇḍala.⁴⁶

Nidhati in Madhyadeśa was the place of origin of the Bhaṭṭa Bṛhaspati of the Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha.⁴⁷ He belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and was a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. He was endowed with a village named Jharavāḍā-grāma in Goyila-khaṇḍa. From a copper plate grant of Gayāḍatuṅga it is known that Lakṣmaṇastambha emigrated from a place called Surādā in Madhyadeśa and got the village of Śaḍāśṛṅga-grāma in Tālacera-viṣaya.⁴⁸ Neither Nidhati nor Surādā has been identified but it is abundantly clear that they included in Madhyadeśa.

Similarly, one of the donees of the Talcher plate of Gayādatuṅga hailed from Śrāvastī and got a share of the village of Vāmāitāla included in Tuṅkera-*viṣaya*.⁴⁹ He was belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* and a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. In the Asiatic Society plate of the same ruler, Bhaṭṭaputra Dādo is stated to have been received a share of the gift village Toro-grāma. He was belonging to the Kauśika *gotra* and hailed from Ahichatra and was a resident of the Kuruvā-bhaṭṭa-grāma in Oḍradeśa.⁵⁰ It is interesting to note here that a brāhmaṇa belonging to Kauśika *gotra* emigrated from Ahichatra in Ś. 826/940 CE to the court of the Western Gaṅga king Nitimārga Ereyāṅga.⁵¹ Gayādatuṅga and Nitimārga were not far removed in point of time.

Kolāṅca, also spelt as Koḍrāṅca, was a famous brahmanical settlement of Madhyadeśa and the inhabitants were mostly belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*. The place was probably located somewhere near Śrāvastī or modern Sahet-Mahet region and the brāhmaṇas of the place were highly respected by the brāhmaṇas of Mithila. Muktāvastu is the same as Muktāvastu and in one of the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya I it has been stated that the place was situated in Śrāvastī and the brāhmaṇa was also belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*. It was also the native place of one of the grantees of the Talcher plate of Vinītatūṅga. The place was, therefore, very likely situated in Sahet-Mahet region. It has been mentioned as the place of origin of Śrīdharaśarma, the beneficiary in one of the inscriptions of the Pāla king Gopāla II assigned to the middle of the 10th century CE.⁵² Hastipada is the same as Hastigrāma or Hastipada-grāma mentioned in other inscriptions of early medieval period and it was included in Madhyadeśa. The brāhmaṇas of the locality were all belonging to Parāśara *gotra* and they were often called as Yajñāḍha-Parāśaras meaning experts in certain rituals or sacrifices. A copper plate grant of Śricandra (c. 925-75 CE) from Bangladesh clearly states that Śrīkaradatta, the brāhmaṇa grantee belonging to the Parāśara *gotra*, was an immigrant from Hastigrāma situated in Śrāvastī.⁵³ There is, therefore, least shadow of doubt that like Kolāṅca, Muktāvastu and Hastigrāma should also be searched in the vicinity of Gonda-Gorakhpur region, which formed a part of the ancient Śrāvastī or Śrāvastī-maṇḍala. Brāhmaṇa families native of Antarvedi tract which has been identified with the doab region between the Ganga and the Yamuna further moved out of their homeland and reached the interior Odisha in the 9th century CE. Ahichatra is the same as the modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh.

Five copper plate grants of the Bhaumakara queens ranging between 916 CE and 950 CE disclose the fact of migration of brāhmaṇas from different parts of Madhyadeśa to Tosali and were allowed to settle in different villages. Daṇḍimahādevī registered the village of Śāntiragrāma situated in Talamura district of Uttara Tosali in favour of Bhaṭṭa Māṇikyadeva belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *caraṇa* in Bhauma era 180/916 CE.⁵⁴ His original homeland was at Ṭakāri and at the time of the grant was residing at Dharmmapāṭi. In another copper plate of the same queen dated in Bhauma era 187/923 CE, another brāhmaṇa hailing from the same locality and belonging to the same *gotra* and *śākhā* received the village of Siṇḍāipadraka in Dakṣiṇa Tosali.⁵⁵ It may be noted here that Ṭakāri or Ṭakkāri was the original homeland of the brāhmaṇa donees and almost all of them were belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra*. In the Bhauma era 204/940 CE, queen Vakulamahādevī donated the village Choḍatavutsā in the district of Śravaṇakaṭikā of Uttara Tosali to Mahidhica (emended as Mahidhara) belonging to the Vatsa *gotra*. He was a student of Āśvalāyana *śākhā* of and an immigrant from Śrāvastā country.⁵⁶ Dharmamahādevī, the last Bhauma queen, donated villages in and around modern Angul and Taltali in Angul district to brāhmaṇas of Śāṇḍilya *gotra* coming from Kolāṅca.⁵⁷ Like Takari,

Kolāñca was also a brahmanical habitat in Madhyadeśa with the same *gotra* affiliation. Excepting Siṇḍāipadraka, the rest of the villages donated by the queens were in the middle Brahmani valley and the places like Śāntiragrāma, Talamul, and Taltalai are very much in the Angul district which formed a part of Uttara Tosali.

Another inscription of the Nala king Narendradhavalā dated in Bhauma era 189/925 CE makes us believe that the original homeland of the brāhmaṇa beneficiary was Hastipada. He was also belonging to the Parāśara *gotra* and the Vājasaneyā *caraṇa*.⁵⁸ For some time he resided at Bhīmapura, the capital of the Nalodbhavas, and then received a village named Saucapura from the king. Although Saucapura, the gift village, is not yet identified, Bhīmapura has been identified with modern Bhimanagar in Aska sub-division of Ganjam district. The fragmentary Banki copper plate grant assigned to the 10th century CE further avers that the immigrant brāhmaṇas from Kolāñca and Hastipada came to a place somewhere near Banki on the right bank of the river Mahanadi.⁵⁹

Chronologically, the inscriptions of the minor ruling dynasties furnish the earliest wave of migration of the brāhmaṇas moving out of their habitation and settling in the middle Brahmani valley. Subsequently the Bhaumakara queens granted villages to the immigrant brāhmaṇas in the same locality in the first half of the 10th century CE. Most of the brāhmaṇas moved out of Ṭakāri, Kolāñca, Hastipada, Muktāvastu, Śrāvastī, Ahichatra and other well-known brahmanical pockets of Madhyadeśa and settled in Odisha. The *gotra* affiliations of these immigrant brāhmaṇas were mostly Bharadvāja, Śāṇḍilya, Parāśara, Vatsa, Kāśyapa and Kauśika. Besides, most of them were students of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. Only occasionally we come across the brāhmaṇas proficient in the Āśvalāyana *śākhā* of the R̥gveda or the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Yajurveda or the Chāndoga *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda. The pattern of migration was always from the well-known brahmanical settlements in Madhyadeśa to the rural areas of early medieval Odisha.

It was during this time the Bhañjas in Khiñjali-maṇḍala and the Somavamśīs in Kośala allowed the immigrant brāhmaṇas from different places of Madhyadeśa to settle in their respective kingdoms. Most of the *agrahāra* settlements sprang up in the middle Mahanadi valley around Birmaharajpur, Sonapur and Baud area. The three Badhigrama plates of Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja disclose the fact that the brāhmaṇa families were immigrants from Ayodhyāpura (modern Ayodhya in Faridabad district of UP) in Madhyadeśa and all were belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* and were students of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *caraṇa*.⁶⁰ For some time they resided at a place called Hiṅgugā and then received the villages Tavoḍḍā-grāma, Kāmāriya and Hiṅgugā-grāma, all the gift villages are stated to have been situated on the bank of the river Sālaṅki (modern Salunki or Salki, a tributary of the Mahanadi). The Tatarkela plates of Śilābhañjadeva further make us believe that the village of Tatarikelā (identified with modern Tatarkela in Baud district) situated in the division of Dakṣiṇapalli of Khiñjali-maṇḍala was granted collectively to a number of brāhmaṇas hailing from different places.⁶¹ Some of them came from Ṭakāri, Hastipada, Śrāvastī, which were important brahmanical centres of Madhyadeśa, while some others came from Nāgapura (modern Nagpur in Maharashtra) and Khadali (not yet identified). The brāhmaṇas or their ancestors who migrated from Ṭakāri were belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, who came from Hastipada were belonging to Parāśara *gotra* and who came from Śrāvastī were belonging to the Gautama *gotra*. Ṭakāri in Śrāvastī-deśa was also the native place of the beneficiary in the Baud plates of Raṇabhañjadeva of year 58. Adris-Banerji who edited the plates is of the opinion that “the village of Ṭakāri in Śrāvastī and Ṭakāri in Madhyadeśa seems to be one and the same.”⁶² This

inscription gives credence to the fact that Takāri was in Śrāvastī country which was very much within the broader geographical region of Madhyadeśa and, therefore, it should be in and around the modern Sahet-Mahet region in north UP. Raṇabhañjadeva donated the village Turalla-grāma in Tullāśṛṅga-ṣaya to Bhaṭṭa Śubhadāma who belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *carāṇa*. For a short period, he was residing at Bhaṭṭa-Tarala in Oḍradeśa. Some other inscriptions of Raṇabhañja affirm about the donations to the brāhmaṇas hailing from Khaḍuvāpali-bhaṭṭagrāma⁶³, Srobhona/Sonabhadra⁶⁴ and Bhadrpalāśī⁶⁵ all situated in Madhyadeśa. Like Takāri and Hastipada, these places were also important centres of brahmanical settlements in the middle country wherefrom the learned brāhmaṇas emigrated to the middle Mahanadi valley. The brāhmaṇas who came from Khaḍuvāpali were belonging to the Maudgalya *gotra* and were students of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *carāṇa*; who came from Sonabhadra were belonging to the Nāga *gotra*; and the one who came from Bhadrpalāśī was belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*. Gandhaṭapāṭi was the place of residence of some of these brāhmaṇas. Khaḍuvāpali and Bhadrpalāśī are not yet identified but Sonabhadra is modern Sonbhadra on the left bank of the river Son in Uttar Pradesh.

From the middle of the 9th century CE immigrant brāhmaṇas from different parts of Madhyadeśa received liberal patronage from the Somavamśī rulers and began to settle in the middle Mahanadi valley. Bhaṭṭa Nanuka was a native of Pañcabhu in Kauśāmbī and he resided at a place called Kāsariṇā-nagara before receiving the village of Vasarulla from king Mahābhavagupta.⁶⁶ Pañcabhu remains unidentified but Kauśāmbī is well-known and it is situated near Prayag in Uttar Pradesh. The donee was belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* and a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā*. Another charter of the same ruler affirms that Cakradhara belonged to the Kapiṣṭhala *gotra* and was proficient in the Maitrāyaṇīya *śākhā*. He hailed from Madhura (which has been taken to be Mathurā) in Madhyadeśa and a resident of Ullakheṭa was endowed with the village Liñjira-grāma.⁶⁷ The brāhmaṇas were students of different branches of the Black Yajurveda; one professed in the Taittirīya and the other in the Maitrāyaṇīya *śākhā*. It is unintelligible why the ruler patronized the Black Yajurvedic brāhmaṇas hailing from Madhyadeśa. In the earlier phase (see Phase I above) we have listed a few instances of brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇīya school hailing from western India to different parts of early medieval Odisha. But in Phase II these are the only cases reported so far.

There are several inscriptions of the time of Janamejaya I which speak about the land donations made over to a highly learned brāhmaṇa named Sādhāraṇa, son of Śobhana, hailing from Takāri and residing at Turvunā. He belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *carāṇa*. In the first regnal year of the king, he received the village of Konnayillā situated in Nadītara-ṣaya⁶⁸, in the tenth year received Jollamurā-grāma in Lupatturā-khaṇḍa⁶⁹, in the twelfth year received Vādaveṅga together with a hamlet named Harṣadatta-pāṭaka in Kṣitiśamaṇḍapadhara-ṣaya⁷⁰, and in the thirty-first year of the king he was endowed with the villages of Raṇḍā, Alaṇḍalā, Tuleṇḍa-grāma and Arkigrāma, all situated in Kośaladeśa.⁷¹ In the charter issued in his first regnal year Bhaṭṭa Sādhāraṇa was called as an *amātya* (minister) but in the three Chaudwar plates issued in the thirty-first year, he was introduced as a *mahattara* and *mantri-tilaka* (chief minister). Sādhāraṇa wielded considerable power and position in the court of Janamejaya I and received several donated villages for rendering service to the king. This is a case in point where the brāhmaṇa was residing in the state capital but had landed properties in different parts of the kingdom. In the reign of Yayāti I, Śaṅkhaṇi was granted a village named

Candra-grāma in Dakṣiṇa Tosali. At the time of the grant, he was living at Śilābhañjapāṭi in Oḍra-deśa. He was an immigrant from Śrīvalla-grāma in Madhyadeśa, belonging to Ṭakkāri-Bharadvāja *gotra* and a student of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of Chāndoga *caraṇa*.⁷² Although Śrīvalla-grāma in Madhyadeśa cannot be located precisely at present, yet from the expression Ṭakkāri-Bharadvāja *gotra* it is apparent that he was originally a native of Ṭakkāri but later moved to Śrīvalla-grāma and thence to Oḍra-deśa.

Brāhmaṇas from Hastipada were also receiving liberal donations from the Somavamśī kings. From the Kalibhana plates of the king it is learnt that Bhaṭṭa Govinda, the brāhmaṇa beneficiary, came from Hastipada.⁷³ He was belonging to the Parāśara *gotra* and a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *caraṇa*. He received the village Jamvugrāma in Potā-viṣaya. The Bargaon plates of the king Janamejya I refer to the gift of the village Sakamrā-grāma in Kāsamvadā-viṣaya to an immigrant brāhmaṇa hailing from Hastipada and residing at Śāsana-sīnapalli in Kalleḍā-maṇḍala.⁷⁴ He was belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and a student of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā*. The Kudopalli plates of the time of king Bhīmaratha, assigned to the latter part of the 10th century CE, records the donation of the village Loisarā situated in Śīdāṇḍā-maṇḍala to Bhaṭṭaputra Nārāyaṇa who hailed from Hastipada and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā*.⁷⁵ It is pertinent to record here that although the brāhmaṇas native of Hastipada were all belonging to the Parāśara *gotra*, for the first time we come across their *gotra* affiliations to Kāśyapa and Kauṇḍinya in the charters of the Somavamśīs.

We have five more inscriptions of the family who emigrated from different places of Śrāvastī /Śrāvastī-maṇḍala. (a). Bhaṭṭaputra Devu who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and student of the R̥gveda *caraṇa* hailed from Mukṭāvathi (same as Mukṭāvastu) in Śrāvastī. He got a village Konnayillā in Kośala-deśa from king Janamejaya I.⁷⁶ (b). Kako, who belonged to the Kauśika *gotra* was an immigrant from Lekhadiya-grāma in Śrāvastī. He was endowed with a plot of land (*khaṇḍa-ksetra*) in the village Kudukulo in Oḍra-deśa from king Yayāti I.⁷⁷ (c). Bhaṭṭa Mahodadhi, who belonged to the Kauśika *gotra* and the Gautama *śākhā* hailed from Kāsīlī in Śrāvastī-maṇḍala and resided at Antarāḍī in Lavaḍā-viṣaya received the village of Deḷāḍelī in Telataṭa-viṣaya of Kośala-deśa from king Yayāti I.⁷⁸ (d). The same brāhmaṇa was donated another village Luttarumā in Telataṭa-viṣaya by Yayāti I in his twenty-eighth regnal year.⁷⁹ (e). Rāṇaka Rāchho, another brāhmaṇa belonging to the Kauśika *gotra* and a student of the Kauthuma *caraṇa* of Chāndoga *śākhā*, received a village named Gauḍasiminillī in Kośala from king Bhīmaratha, son of Yayati I.⁸⁰ He too was an immigrant from Kāsīlī-bhaṭṭa-grāma in Śrāvastī-maṇḍala. All the five copper plate grants belong to the 10th century CE. Kauśika *gotri* brāhmaṇas were mostly resided in the brahmanical village of Kāsīlī and all of them were probably belonged to the Kauthuma recension of the Sāmaveda. Gautama *śākhā* in two inscriptions mentioned above could be emended for Kauthuma. All these brāhmaṇa beneficiaries were settled in different locations of Kośala country and most of them were allowed to inhabit in the Tel valley.

Śāluvi-grāma⁸¹ was another location in Madhyadeśa wherefrom the brāhmaṇas emigrated to the Kosala-deśa during the reign of king Janamejaya I. The brāhmaṇa was belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* and was a student of the Baḥvṛca *śākhā* of R̥gveda.

As has been seen above, the affiliation of the immigrant brāhmaṇas to the Vedas and their *śākhās* and the *caraṇas* are usually indicated in the epigraphic records. *Caraṇa* meant a sect or a

collection of persons united in one school of a Veda. *Śākhā* implied the followers of a particular version of a Veda. A statistical survey of the immigrant brāhmaṇas of Madhyadeśa during the 9th-10th century phase makes it abundantly clear that out of the sixty-six cases considered here only two were students of the Black Yajurveda and both came to the court of Mahābhavagupta, one of the earliest rulers of the Somavaṁśī family and settled in the border of modern Odisha and Chhatisgarh. One was proficient in the Taittirīya *śākhā*, while the other in the Maitrāyaṇīya *śākhā*. White Yajurvedic brāhmaṇas were mostly favoured by the rulers and the latter made liberal donations to them and allowed them to settle inside their respective kingdoms. The Kāṇva and Mādhyandina recensions of the Vājasaneyā *carāṇa* of Yajurveda were mostly studied by them. We have a total of thirty such families who emigrated from different locations of North India and lived in Odisha. At least eleven families claimed to have been students of the Ṛgveda and they were proficient in different recensions like Baḥvṛca, Āśvalāyana and Saṁkhāyana. Similarly, there are ten examples where the Sāmavedi brāhmaṇas who came to Odisha from Madhyadeśa and almost all of them were students of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Chandoga *carāṇa*.

There are a good number of inscriptions which mention only the native places of the immigrant brahmana without referring to the wider area in which they included. We have noticed at least eighteen such cases which can be assigned to this phase. The inscriptions again belonged to the minor ruling families like the Śulkīs, the Tuṅgas, the Nandas as well as the Bhañjas and the Somavaṁśīs. The places of emigration are Kommapira, Tāli, Vakhūḍa, Maddhila, Paroli or Bhaṭṭa-Paroli, Ilāpada, Āviddhā, Poḍhi, Khamvavana, Baddhakuṭi, Niroli or BhaṭṭaNiroli, Catuvdhi and Muleri. There are a few instances where they are stated to have been moved out of the Traivedya family or Traivedya family of Dharmanagara, which are again difficult to locate. We are unable to correctly identify these place names but they appear to be brahmanical centres. However, the families settled in the kingdoms of the above ruling chiefs in the middle Brahmani and middle Mahanadi valley. Of these five were students of the White Yajurveda, five of Sāmaveda and three of the Ṛgveda; the Vedic affiliation of others are not mentioned in the charters. Like all other immigrants they too were granted plots of land or rent-free villages in rural areas.

Phase III (11th-12th century CE):

During this phase only twenty inscriptions tell us about the immigrant brāhmaṇas. Of these ten belonged to the reign of the Somavaṁśīs, six to the Bhañjas and four to the Gaṅgas and their contemporaries in south Odisha. Migrations were mostly made from different brahmanical centres of Madhyadeśa. The donee of the Maranjamura plates of Yayāti II (c. 1022-40 CE) hailed from Hastigrāma in Madhyadeśa and he received two villages called Vṛhad-bhusai and Maranjamura situated in Gandharavāḍi-maṇḍala which is the same as modern Gandharadhi in Baud district.⁸² Hastigrāma is also mentioned as the native place of the brāhmaṇa beneficiary of the Kandavindha plates of Uddyotakeśarī (c. 1040-65 CE), who was endowed with the village of Sārīma-grāma in Konteḍḍā-khaṇḍa.⁸³ The gift village has been identified with Sarion in the Sadar PS of the Dhenkanal district. In both the charters they are stated to have belonged to the Parāśara *gotra*. An inscription of the time of Yayāti II further avers that a Ṛgvedic brāhmaṇa belonging to the Gautama *gotra* came from Koṇṭijoṅga in Madhyadeśa and was donated a village named Vasantapura on the bank of the river Mahanadi.⁸⁴

It may be noted here that Kaṇṭijōṅga in Madhyadeśa was the native place of Udayakaraśarma, the donee mentioned in the Barrackpur copper plate grant of the Sena ruler Vijayasena (c. 1095-1158 CE).⁸⁵ This establishes beyond dispute that the brāhmaṇas moved out of this centre to Odisha and Bengal in the 11th century CE. The Sankhameri plates and the single plate from Mahada of the time of Uddyotakeśarī state about the migration of the brāhmaṇas from the broader geographical area of Madhyadeśa without referring to the actual place. They were belonging to the Kṛṣṇātreya and the Jātūkarṇa *gotras*, and were students of the Ṛgveda and the Yajurveda respectively.⁸⁶ While the grantee of the former received land grant in the Baramba area of the Cuttack district, that of the latter received a land grant in the Birmaharajpur area of the Sonepur district. From the Narsinghpur plates of the same king, it is evident that Śaṅkaraśarma and his uterine brother Balabhadraśarma belonging to the Gārgya *gotra* and students of the Ṛgveda were a native of Palāśagrāma in Tīrabhukti-maṇḍala and they were donated villages like Kontalaṇḍā and Lovākaṇḍā in Sarāva-khaṇḍa of Airāvaṭṭa-maṇḍala.⁸⁷ The donated villages are now located in and around Kantilo in Nayagarh district. Palāśa remains unidentified but Tīrabhukti has been identified with modern Tirhut in Bihar.

Four more inscriptions of the second half of the 11th and early 12th century CE furnished the evidence of immigrant brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa and Śrāvastī-maṇḍala who settled in western Odisha. The Nuapatna plates of the time of Janamejaya II (c. 1065-80 CE) state that two villages namely Dalahara and Vetrājōṅga and a plot of land in Tuṇḍima were granted in favour of a brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gotra* who hailed from Sonabhadra in Madhyadeśa. The gift villages should be searched from in and around Sonepur.⁸⁸ The Kamalpur plates of the time of Somavarmāśi Karṇa (c. 1100-1113 CE) further tell us that the donee belonged to the Hārīta *gotra* and he hailed from an unspecified place of Madhyadeśa.⁸⁹ He too received a village named Vadakela in Kōleḍā-maṇḍala which can be located near Birmaharajpur in Sonepur district. Two more brāhmaṇas belonging to the Kumāra-Hārīta *gotra* and students of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Yajurveda were allowed to settle in villages in Birmaharajpur area. In one inscription Udayakaraśarma is stated to have been the beneficiary who was endowed with a village⁹⁰ and in another grant his son Abhāvākaraśarma received two villages.⁹¹ It is stated that they too were immigrants from Mahuvali in Śrāvastī-maṇḍala and temporarily resided at Kamalapura (identified with Kamalpur near Birmaharajpur). Mahuvali in Śrāvastī-maṇḍala cannot be identified at the present stage of our knowledge.

There are six inscriptions of the Bhañjas belonging to this phase that supply the information about the immigrant brāhmaṇas. The Baud plates of Salonabhañja state that brāhmaṇa Mahādeva, son of Kṛṣṇa and grandson of Goula who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* came from Madhyadeśa.⁹² He was a poet and a minister and his father was an expert in the Yajurveda. He was donated a village named Nayaḍagrāma in Khātiyā-viśaya of Gandharavāḍi-maṇḍala. The gift village has not been identified but it can be somewhere near Gandharadhi in Baud district. Another Baud plates of Kanakabhañja, the grandson of Salonabhañja, disclose that Harivarmāśa belonging to the Parāśara *gotra* was a native of Hastigrāma of Madhyadeśa.⁹³ He was endowed with two villages namely Jamarapura and Sihapura which included in the division of Dharmapura. The northern boundary of the gift villages touched the river Tel; and hence they may be identified with the places on the right bank of the river Tel. From the two Antirigram charters of Yaśabhañja and Jayabhañja it is learnt that brāhmaṇa Jagadhara received land grants from the kings Komyanagrāma and Reṅgarāḍā, both situated in Khiṇjali-deśa.⁹⁴ By the 12th -13th century CE, Khiṇjalideśa was confined to Ghumsar (modern Bhanjanagar-Aska) region and, therefore, there is reason to subscribe that the villages were

in this area. The members of the brāhmaṇa family hailed from Ṭakkāri in Madhyadeśa and they belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and were students of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. Similarly, two inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Khjjiṅga-kotṭa make us believe that the brāhmaṇas coming from Śrāvastī and Soṇabhadra were allowed to settle in Singhbhum-Mayurbhanja area. Both the inscriptions can be assigned to this phase. The Balibandha plate of Śatrubhañja avers that the village Simvala was granted to Kāmadeva belonging to the Ālamvāyana *gotra* and the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. He was a native of Sāvatha or Śrāvastī.⁹⁵ An unpublished charter of another king of this family mentions that the brāhmaṇa beneficiary belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* hailed from Soṇabhadra.⁹⁶ The other details are not forthcoming.

The flow of emigrated brāhmaṇas from north India continued to south Odisha and north Andhra Pradesh is further proved from a few charters of the Gaṅgas and their feudatories. The Polasara plates of Arkeśvaradeva dated in Kaliyuga year 4248/1148 CE refer to endowment of the village of Valigrāma situated in Varttanī-ṣiṣaya to brāhmaṇa Vṛddhikaraśarman belonging to the Parāśara *gotra*. He was a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda and a native of Madhyadeśa.⁹⁷ Since he belonged to the Parāśara *gotra*, it is very likely that he was a native of Hastigrāma. The Valigrāma and Varttanī-ṣiṣaya have been identified with Belagam and Bartini respectively in the Kodala PS of the Ganjam district. Another inscription of Dānārṇavadeva record that the brāhmaṇa recipient of the village of Khaṇḍathā in Varttanī-ṣiṣaya hailed from Ṭakāri in Madhyadeśa and for some time resided at Paṭavāḍa-pāṭaka in Kontaravāṅga-ṣiṣaya of Dakṣiṇa Tosali.⁹⁸ He was belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. The Rayagada plates of king Dānārṇava further make us believe that two villages in Khemundi-maṇḍala were donated collectively to twenty-five brāhmaṇas headed by Bhaṭṭaputra Damana who came from Prayāga (modern Allahabad) and resided at Camukhaṇḍi.⁹⁹

Only one inscription of the main line of the Imperial Gaṅgas furnish the evidence of an immigrant brāhmaṇa who hailed from Kāśmiradeśa in Ś. 1030/1118 CE. During the reign of the king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, the village of Lodalū situated in Gorusovāha-ṣiṣaya was granted in favour of Nāgabhaṭṭa of Kāśyapa *gotra* who was an immigrant from Kashmir.¹⁰⁰ Neither the gift village nor the district in which it was situated has been identified. But it should be in and around Mukhalingam (Srikakulam district), the findspot of the plates. This is the singular instance of immigration from Kashmir to early medieval Odisha in the early decades of the 12th century CE.

Similarly, only one example registers a land grant to a brāhmaṇa hailing from Varendrī in north Bengal. The Hindol plate of Vīrapracāṇḍadeva declares that the king donated a village Vājapāṭṭi situated in Gokaṇa-ṣiṣaya to Bhaṭṭaputra Ugranandi who hailed from a Bhaṭṭagrāma called Gaḍo in Varendri.¹⁰¹ He was belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and a student of the Yajurveda. Gaḍo-bhaṭṭagrāma, the original place of the brāhmaṇa has not been identified but the suffix *bhaṭṭagrāma* confirms that it was a brahmin colony in north Bangladesh. In this case the brāhmaṇa had migrated from north Bangladesh to Vājapāṭṭi (somewhere near Hindol in Dhenkanal district).

As regards the study of the Vedic literature by the immigrant brāhmaṇas of the period, not a single student of any of the recensions of the Atharvaveda or Black Yajurveda is known to have come to Odisha and received land grants. Of the twenty brāhmaṇa beneficiaries discussed in this

phase, ten belonged to either the Kāṇva or the Mādhyandina school of the White Yajurveda; three to the Ṛgveda and only one belonged to the Sāmaveda. The rest of the examples do not furnish the evidence of the study of the Vedas by the grantees.

Discussion

The evidences of migration recorded above fairly establish that the movement of brāhmaṇas took place in three different stages. First, they moved out from their original habitat, then migrated to a location and resided there for some time and then after being donated a land or village by means of royal charter shifted to their new location. Thus, the order is maintained like this one is the 'place of origin', the second the 'place of residence' and third the 'place of settlement'. It merits attention here that migrations of brāhmaṇas did not take place as a result of invitation from the side of the rulers. Rather they emigrated under some compulsions and had their own preference of location. The invitation, if there was any, was extended only after they had already migrated and resided somewhere in the kingdom. Hence all migrations took place sometime before the land grants were registered in their favour. Most of them were granted plots of land or rent-free villages either individually or collectively in the rural areas. There are only nine instances which affirm the donations of more than one village. There is not a single instance of an immigrant brāhmaṇa grantee being favoured with more than three villages. The only instance where the brāhmaṇa was receiving three villages is recorded in a Somavaṁśī charter. King Yuvarāja Dharmaratha granted three villages to Paṇḍita Janapatiśarman in the latter part of the 11th century. Bhaṭṭa Sādhāraṇa, the chief minister in the court of Janamejaya I, was endowed with four villagers, of course, in three separate charters in the regnal year thirty-one of the ruler. We have at least twelve cases where the brāhmaṇas were granted land collectively and the rest were granted to individual brāhmaṇas. Of these only two cases can be assigned to Phase III while the rest belonged to the Phase II. The example of twenty-five brāhmaṇas hailing from Prayāga and receiving a donation of two villages during the reign of Dānārṇava in the 11th century is the highest number so far recorded.

The trend of migration was chiefly from rural-to-rural set ups; only occasionally we come across families coming from Śrāvastī, Ahichatra, Ayodhyāpura, Nāgapura, Mahāsthāna, Prayāga, Soṇabhadra, Mathurā, Tīrabhukti and so on which were probably townships or urban centres of the early medieval India. However, in most cases they moved out of their habitats like Ṭakkāri, Kolāṇca, Muktvastu, Hastigrāma, and other places which were purely brahmanical centres (*bhaṭṭa-grāma*) of north India and the inhabitants of each centre were said to have been affiliated to one specific gotra. There are a few cases where the immigrations took place from villages in Madhyadeśa but we are not able to identify the places. There is only one example of the early 12th century CE where the brāhmaṇa moved out of Kashmir and settled in the kingdom of the Imperial Gangas. The immigrants were endowed with rent-free villages in rural areas and at times were granted villages in forest and hilly tracts in the hinterland. The increasing incidence of settlement of brāhmaṇas in *agrahāra* villages by the ruling dynasties in middle Brahmani and middle Mahanadi valley admittedly mandates the priority of the rulers to legitimize their kingship in the hinterland. The other motive was to implement effective means for agrarian expansion and acculturation of the local people. Thus, on most occasions they were allowed to settle in the localities which did not have complex societal matrix and strong economic foundations. The brahmanical ideologies and symbols were disseminated with a strong appeal to pay loyalty to the kingship. But it appears that such large-scale immigration of north Indian brāhmaṇas to early medieval Odisha proves beyond

dispute that the rulers were preferring them for performing certain royal rituals; appointing them as royal preceptors or ministers in the court; allowing them to pursue their studies in different branches of knowledge like the Vedas, the Vedāṅga, the Smṛti, the Purāṇas, poetry, medicine, astrology, and other sciences; engaging them in temple rituals and managements; and so on. There is reason to believe that some of these immigrants were stationed in the political headquarters of the ruling chiefs though they had been granted land in rural pockets. Otherwise, it cannot be explained how a minister in the royal court or a royal preceptor who received land grants in rural areas was stationed in the political centre. The same argument is maintained in the case of the persons engaged in temple rituals and managements.

Amongst the kings of entire India, the rulers of early medieval Odisha patronized the largest number of immigrant brāhmaṇas roughly from the 5th to the 12th century CE. But their migration to Odisha in the 9th-10th centuries was maximum. The reasons for the migration are not difficult to appreciate. Compared to the PU, Bihar and Bengal, the demographic concentration was much less in early medieval Odisha. The abundance of land and water resources and the relatively peaceful political atmosphere of the region attracted them. Coupled with this, the requirement of the ruling chiefs for knowledgeable experts to perform rituals and sacrifices and to legitimize their rule in the interior of the kingdoms prompted them to populate these brāhmaṇas. The growing trend of erecting temples at different places further accelerated the process.

Evidences reveal largest concentration of immigrant brāhmaṇas in the interior of Odisha under the minor ruling dynasties. As has been stated earlier most of the brāhmaṇas were allowed to settle in the interior of Odisha mainly in the middle Brahmani valley and middle Mahanadi valley. This was the zone which separated the hilly interior with the plains of the coastal Odisha. It was also a buffer zone between the two larger polities like the Bhumakaras and the Somavamśīs which was parceled into smaller *mandala* states and time and again distributed and re-distributed among the feudal chieftains. With the proliferation of smaller kingdoms, the emerging political elites required legitimation and an administrative infrastructure as well as agrarian expansion. For all these purposes the immigrant brahmanas were preferred for their socio-religious status and erudition. This opened new opportunities and avenues for employment in the newly settled locations for the learned brahmanas. Moreover, the increasing incidence of settlement of the immigrant brāhmaṇas in this zone was a strategic move to safeguard the frontiers of the regional kingdoms from any threat. Given the social position of the learned brāhmaṇas, the rulers tried to create brahmanical settlements in these border areas that guaranteed the safety of their respective kingdoms. Viewed from this perspective, it appears plausible that it was more an exploitation of their socio-religious status for diplomatic purposes on the part of the rulers than regard for their erudition in Vedic scriptures and expertise in rituals and sacrifices.

The cause of migration from east and north India is largely due to the political instability. In the middle of the 8th century CE three important dynasties such the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas began to rule in three different regions. The Pālas were rulers of Bengal and Bihar, the Gurjara-Pratihāras with their initial hold over western Malwa expanded their authority over Kanauj in Ganga-Yamuna doab and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were originally ruling over the Deccan had wrested Ujjaini from the Gurjaras. These three powers entered a protracted struggle for control of Kanauj which meant control of the middle Gangetic valley for nearly two centuries. This is known as the tripartite struggle for supremacy. The first round of confrontation took place

among the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja (c. 778-94 CE), the Pala king Dharmapala (c. 775-805 CE) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva (c. 780-93 CE). The Rāṣṭrakūṭas had resounding victories against the other two adversaries and they had placed their own protégé in Kanauj. This led to another round of confrontation in the early decades of the 9th century CE between Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa II (c. 794-833 CE), Pāla Dharmapāla (c. 775-805 CE) and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (c. 793-814 CE). Throughout the 9th century the tripartite struggle continued and it weakened the Pālas more severely than the other two dynasties. In the 10th century the Pālas seem to have withdrawn from the contestation over Kanauj; and the tripartite struggle was reduced to a bipartite struggle between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is needless to narrate the whole thing here. But this continuous struggle rendered all the three powers feeble and the political unrest throughout the middle Gangetic valley in the 9th-10th century compelled emigrations from Varendra, Puṇḍravardhana, Rāḍha and Madhyadeśa which roughly corresponded Bangladesh, Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A natural desire for security, prospect of better living, and more settled life might have prompted several brāhmaṇa families to leave their original habitats and moved to safer places like Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, and Odisha. Of all these, Odisha attracted maximum number of brahmana families from north and east India.

Added to this political angle, there is one more reason why the brāhmaṇas moved out of Bengal and Bangladesh between 800 CE and 950 CE. The Pālas were great patrons of Buddhism and particularly Mahayana form of Buddhism. Their liberal donations and sustained support to the Buddhist establishments at Nalanda, Odantapuri, Vikramasila, Bodh Gaya (all in Bihar), Jagajjivanpur (Malda, West Bengal), and Somapuri (in north Bangladesh) might have been one of the reasons why the brāhmaṇas felt insecure and some of them preferred to migrate to distant places. In this context it is worth mentioning that after the fall of the Pālas sometime in the middle of the 10th century CE, there was a corresponding decline in the cases of brahmanical immigration from eastern India. From the period of Gopāla II individual brāhmaṇas whose families immigrated from other places got preference as recipients of land grants in north Bengal. Territories in the eastern Bengal slipped out of the Pālas and remained as a separate kingdom first under the Candras and then under the Varmans. There were also smaller kingdoms in Bengal. The Senas (c. 1096-1215 CE) who succeeded the Pālas were devout followers of brahmanical religion as opposed to the Pālas and, therefore, we hardly come across any brāhmaṇa family leaving its native place in Bengal.

It is pertinent to quote here that the Candra king Śrīcandra (c. 925-75 CE) in his Paschimbag copper plate grant makes it clear that even if he was a Buddhist follower, he came under the influence of the Vaiṣṇava teachers and other pontiffs of the *maṭhas* and created a brahmanical settlement (*brahmapura*) called Śrīcandrapura, evidently after his name, in Śrīhaṭṭa-maṇḍala (modern Sylhet) of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti and donated it in three separate blocks to the beneficiaries.¹⁰² Two blocks of land were granted to two categories of the *maṭhas* mentioned in the charter are Vaṅgāla-maṭha and Deśāntarīya-maṭha. Scholars incline to believe that Candradvīpa over which Śrīcandra's father became a king, was also known as Vaṅgāla-deśa and as such the Vaṅgāla-maṭhas were erected by the locals while the *Deśāntarīyas* were distinguished as outsiders who had founded the other mathas in Sylhet.¹⁰³ Besides, the charter also speaks about donations of 6000 equal shares of land made over to 6000 brāhmaṇas belonging to different *gotras* and *pravaras*. The creation of a huge brahmanical settlement by the ruler for the locals and outsiders and for several thousands of brāhmaṇas apparently indicates among other things that there was some discontentment among the brāhmaṇas of Bengal

because of the increasing patronization spree by the rulers towards Buddhist establishments for more than one hundred and fifty years and that the king was obliged to create a large settlement to pacify them with an intention to check their migration to other countries.

The factor for the outflow of the brāhmaṇas from the Gangetic valley in Phase III is largely due to the political instability in the region. The rise of the Gaznavid empire under Sabaktagin by the end of the 10th century and the intensity of the aggrandizement in north and west of India by his son and successor Sultan Mahmud between 1000-27 CE had devastated the entire region. His repeated incursions against Multan, Punjab, Nārāyaṇapur, Thāneśvara, Kanauj, Mathurā, Kaliñjara, Somanāth and others had disastrous consequences. The Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom was wiped off the political map of India and the provincial governors began to spearhead as independent rulers in different regions. The whole of north India was parceled into several smaller states held by the Tomāras, the Cāhamanas, the Paramāras, the Cāṇḍellas, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Kalacuris and others. They were not at peace with each other and their attempts to control over the fertile Gangetic valley very often led to political unrests. This was further fueled by the Turks who fully exploited the situation and succeeded in establishing a firm foothold in the entire north India. This disturbed political situation throughout the 11th-12th centuries might have impelled at least some brahmin families to immigrate from their original habitats in north India. We have records to prove that during this phase most of the brāhmaṇa families of Madhyadeśa migrated to different locations. There are several examples of brāhmaṇas migrating from Thāneśvara, Soṇabhadra, Ṭakārī, Hastigrāma, Śrāvstī, Himācala, Ahichatra, Kolāñca and other places of Madhyadeśa to Bengal, Odisha, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chhatisgarh and Karnataka. Of the twenty examples noticed in Odisha, at least eighteen came from Madhyadeśa and settled in different villages of Odisha. Again, a survey of the statistics of the number of immigrants during this phase goes in favour of Odisha. It is to be noted here that only one family from Kashmir came to the court of Coḍagaṅgadeva in the early 12th century but many others moved to the Coḷa kingdom in the south.¹⁰⁵

While putting under record the entire narrative of the immigrant brāhmaṇas to Odisha it is equally important to remember that there was not a single case so far obtained from the epigraphical literature regarding their movement out of Odisha. This was the only region which was preferred as the favourite destination for them to migrate and once settled they did not move out. In this connection, Swati Datta observed, “Coming to Orissa, it seems to have been the only region, which attracted a large number of Brāhmaṇas, although no emigrations from it are known. Insularity as a trait of the Oriyas till date at least the end of the mediaeval period, might have been a basic cause for this. It may also be suggested, that as Orissa had a number of ports, it was perhaps, an important trading centre. This brought wealth to the country, and consequently an increase of national income. This in turn, might have eliminated the need for emigration of the Brāhmaṇas from Orissa.”¹⁰⁶ The above observations of Datta are contradictory and, therefore, not tenable. On the other hand, the liberal patronage by the rulers towards brāhmaṇas and brahmanical ideologies, the relative political stability throughout the period, the respect for them in the society, the abundance of resources of land and water, the scope for better living and congenial atmosphere due to the emergence of temples and religious landscapes and the opportunities associated with them, and the dependence of the ruling authorities on them for performing elaborate rituals, running the administration and most importantly eliciting legitimation for political survival and so many other reasons might have prompted them to permanently reside in early medieval Odisha.

Notes and References:

1. *Mleccha*, in this context, is denoting to a foreign, barbarous, uncivilized, and most importantly a non-Aryan people and country.
2. G. Buhler (Tr.), *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, Oxford, 1882, *Praśna*, I, *Adhyāya* I, *Khaṇḍikā* II, verses 14-15. *Padbhyām sa kurute pāpam yaḥ kaliṅgān prapacyate | ṛṣyayo niṣkṛti tasya prāhur=vaiśvānaram haviḥ ||*
3. N.K. Sahu, *Kharavela*, Bhubaneswar, 1984, p. 104; *Jātakas*, II, pp. 367 ff.
4. B. Das, “Migration of Brahmanas to Orissa”, *JHR*, vol. XX, No. 1, pp. 62 ff.
5. J.F. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary* (hereafter *IA*), vol. XVI, 1887, pp. 131-34.
6. E. Hultzsch, *Epigraphia Indica* (hereafter *EI*), vol. III, 1894-95, pp. 130-34.
7. R.K. Ghosal, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (hereafter *IHQ*), vol. XX, 1944, pp. 232-36.
8. V.V. Mirashi, *EI*, vol. XXX, 1953-54, pp. 23-28.
9. R.K. Ghosal, *EI*, vol. XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 65-68.
10. Swati Datta, *Migrant Brāhmaṇas in Northern India, Their Settlement and General Impact c. A.D. 475-1030*, Delhi, 1989, p. 97. Also see B.K. Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam*, vol. I, Nowgong, 1951, pp. 108-09.
11. R. Subrahmanyam, *EI*, vol. XXXI, 1955-56, pp. 199-202.
12. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, vol. XXXIV, 1960-61, pp. 111-16.
13. Sircar, while editing the plates, deciphered the name of another grantee as Avanti-Vikramopādhyāya and suggested that he emigrated from Avanti in western Malwa. But A.M. Shastri very rightly read the personal name as Trivikramopādhyāya. (Vide *Inscriptions of the Sarabhapuriyas, Panduvamsins and Somavamsins*, Pt. II, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 102-06).
14. E. Hultzsch, *EI*, vol. XI, 1911-12, pp. 16-20.
15. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, vol. XXVIII, 1949-50, pp. 329-31.
16. B.Ch. Chhabra, *EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp. 73-78.
17. The Bhaumakara king Śubhākaradeva of the 8th century CE had invited two hundred brāhmaṇas, fifty from each Veda, and allowed them to settle in close neighbourhood of his capital at Guheśvarapāṭaka (somewhere near modern Jajpur). (R.D. Banerji, *EI*, vol. XV, 1919-20, pp. 1-8). This evidence is enough to establish the presence of Atharvavedic brāhmaṇas in coastal Odisha by the 8th century CE. For a detailed study of the Atharvavedic brāhmaṇas see S.K. Acharya, “Atharvavedic Brāhmaṇas: Settlements, Status and Confinement”, in D.P. Dubey (ed), *Epigraphy, Select Papers*, Proceedings of the 16th World Sanskrit Conference held at Bangkok, New Delhi, 2018, pp. 1-33.
18. H.P. Sastri, *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, (hereafter *JBORS*), vol. IV (2), 1918, pp. 168-71.
19. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, vol. XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 325-30.
20. B.C. Mazumdar, *EI*, vol. XI, 1911-12, pp. 93-95.
21. A.M. Shastri and S. Tripathy, *EI*, vol. XLIII (1), 2011, pp. 114-26.
22. S.K. Acharya, *Inscriptions of the Minor Ruling Dynasties of Odisha*, New Delhi, 2022, pp. 144-46.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-99.

24. K.C. Panigrahi, *EI*, vol. XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 74-82.
25. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI*, vol. XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 128-31.
26. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, vol. XXXIV, 1962, pp. 96-100.
27. B. Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, Calcutta, 1933, p. 40.
28. B. Bhattacharya, *JBORS*, vol. VI (2), 1920, pp. 266-79.
29. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI*, vol. XXXVII, 1968, 257-63.
30. S. Tripathy, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* (hereafter *JESI*), vol. V, 1978, pp. 115-25.
31. J.K. Sahu, *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, vol. II, 1978, pp. 5-13.
32. Hiralal, *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 282-300.
33. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 263-68.
34. B.C. Mazumdar, *JBORS*, vol. II (4), 1916, pp. 429-35.
35. K.K. Dasgupta (ed), *Topographical List of the Brhatsamhita*, Calcutta, 1973, p. 61n.
36. N.L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, second edition, Delhi, 1990, p. 8; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of the Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971, p. 303.
37. S.K. Acharya, *op. cit.*, 2022, pp. 146-49.
38. A.C. Banerji, *JBORS*, vol. XX (1), 1934, pp. 147-52; S. Tripathy, *Descriptive Topographical Catalogue of Orissan Inscriptions*, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 378-79.
39. H.P. Shastri, *JBORS*, vol. II (4), 1916, pp. 405-09.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 409-12.
41. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI*, vol. XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 128-31.
42. H.P. Shastri, *JBORS*, vol. II (4), 1916, pp. 412-17.
43. S.N. Rajaguru, *Orissa Historical Research Journal* (hereafter *OHRJ*), vol. XV (1-2), 1967, pp. 115-20.
44. S. Tripathy, "Two Copper Plate Charters of the Śulka Family from Odisha", in S.K. Acharya (ed.), *Studies on Odishan Epigraphy*, Delhi, 2015, pp. 72-86.
45. S.K. Acharya, *op. cit.* 2022, pp. 171-73.
46. S.K. Acharya, *JESI*, vol. XXXVIII, 2012, pp. 39-51.
47. H.P. Shastri, *JBORS*, vol. II (4), 1916, 400-05.
48. S. Tripathy, *JESI*, vol. VII, 1980, pp. 120-27.
49. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, vol. XXXIV, 1962, pp. 96-100.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-04.
51. K.V. Ramesh, *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 360.
52. P.N. Mishra and R.C. Majumdar, *JAS, L*, vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 137-44.
53. Benjamin J. Fleming, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. LXXIII (2), 2010, pp. 223-44.
54. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, vol. XXIX, 1951-52, pp. 79-89.
55. D.P. Dubey and S.K. Acharya, *JESI*, vol. XLII, 2017, pp. 69-81.
56. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI*, XXXVI, 1966, pp. 307-12.

57. P. Banerji, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereafter *JASB*), vol. XVII (3), 1951, pp. 245-50; G. Das and K.C. Panigrahi, *IHQ*, vol. XXI, 1945, pp. 213-22.
58. S.S. Iyer and S. Tripathy, *EI*, vol. XLI, 1975-76, pp. 148-53.
59. S.N. Rajaguru, *Odisara Itihasa* [History of Odisha] (Oriya), Cuttack, 1985, p. 451. Rajaguru suggests that Rāmadeva could be another name of Śubhākaradeva II, the Bhaumakara king.
60. S.K. Acharya, *Copper-plate Inscriptions of Odisha: A Descriptive Catalogue*, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 291-93 and 306-07.
61. S. Agrawal, *Two Copper-Plate Grants from Western Odisha*, Menda, 2001, pp. 1-14.
62. *IHQ*, vol. X (3), 1934, p. 475.
63. R.D. Banerji, *EI*, vol. XII, 1913-14, pp. 325-28.
64. S.K. Acharya, *Journal of Odishan History*, vol. XXX, 2017, pp. 45-54. Srobhona is probably a corruption of Śravaṇabhadra mentioned in a later inscription of Paramāra Bhoja of year 1017 CE (D.C. Sircar, *EI*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 215-18). It is also called as Sonabhadra in an inscription of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II of year 1128 CE. (V.V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV (2), 1955, pp. 423-29). This was the native place of another brāhmaṇa family as mentioned in an unpublished copper plate grant of the Bhañja king of Khjjiṅga-koṭṭa. In all these cases the brāhmaṇas were belonging to the Vatsa gotra.
65. B.C. Mazumdar, *JBORS*, vol. VI (4), 1920, pp. 418-86.
66. S.K. Acharya, *JESI*, vol. XXXIX, 2013, pp. 26-48.
67. L.P. Pandeya, *EI*, vol. XXII, 1933-34, pp. 135-38; A.M. Shastri, *op. cit.*, 1995, pp. 296-300. A.M. Shastri and S. Tripathy, *EI*, vol. XLIII, 2011, pp. 91-114.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-26.
69. *Ibid.* pp. 126-37.
70. J.F. Fleet, *EI*, vol. III, 1894-95, pp. 345-51.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-55.
72. D.C. Sircar and P.C. Rath, *IHQ*, vol. XX, 1944, 237-44.
73. S.K. Acharya, *op. cit.*, 2022, pp. 276-78.
74. F. Kielhorn, *EI*, vol. IV, 1896-97, pp. 254-59.
75. D.C. Sircar and P.C. Rath, *IHQ*, vol. XX, 1944, pp. 245-50.
76. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI*, vol. XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 189-91.
77. G.M. Laskar, *JASB, NS*, vol. I, 1905, pp. 7-8 and 16-18.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-12 and 19-23.
79. J.F. Fleet, *EI*, vol. III, 1894-95, pp. 355-59.
80. S.N. Rajaguru and M.P. Dash, *OHRJ*, vol. XI (3), 1962, pp. 192-97.
81. A.M. Shastri, *op. cit.*, 1995, pp. 276-84.
82. S. Tripathy, "Kandavindha Copper-Plate Charter of Mahabhavagupta IV Udyotakesari, Year 3", in R.K. Sharma and Devendra Handa (eds.), *Revealing India's Past (Recent Trends in Art and Archaeology)*, Prof. A.M. Shastri Commemoration Volume, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 288-95.

83. S.K. Acharya, *op. cit.*, 2022, pp. 288-90; P.M. Nayak, *Inscription of Orissa with Special Reference to Subarnapur*, New Delhi, 2011, 98-105.
84. N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, reprint, Kolkata, 2003, pp. 57-67.
85. A.M. Shastri, *op. cit.*, 1995, pp. 354-57.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-93.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 358-61.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 362-65.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-24.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 337-40.
91. K.C. Panigrahi, *EI*, vol. XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 276-79.
92. S.N. Rajaguru and S. Tripathy, *OHRJ*, vol. XVI (3), 1967, pp. 14-30.
93. S. Tripathy, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, vol. VI, 1974, pp. 202-14.
94. S. Tripathy, *Descriptive Topographical Catalogue of Orissan Inscriptions*, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 547-48.
95. This inscription is not yet edited.
96. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, vol. XXVIII, 1949-50, pp. 63-67.
97. S. Tripathy, “Khajurapada Copper Plate Charter of Danarnavadeva of Jhadakhanda-Desa”, in S.V. Padigar and V. Shivananda (eds.), *Pratnakirti: Recent Studies in Indian Epigraphy, History, Archaeology and Art: Essays in Honour of Prof. Srinivasa Ritti*, vol. I, New Delhi, 2012, pp. 116-23.
98. S.K. Acharya, *op. cit.*, 2022, pp. 329-32.
99. N.M. Rao, *Epigraphia Andhrica*, vol. IV, 1962, pp. 58 ff.
100. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI*, vol. XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 63-65.
101. D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, Calcutta, 1973, pp. 19-40.
102. From the Madanpur copper plate grant of Śrīcandra, we come to know that the king had registered a land grant in favour of a brāhmaṇa who is called as *eka-deśa-bhava* which has been rendered as ‘an inhabitant of the king’s own country’. (*EI*, vol. XXVIII, 1949-50, p. 58, text line 35).
103. For a detailed study of the migration during this period see B.P. Mazumdar, “Epigraphic Records on Migrant Brāhmaṇas in North India (A.D. 1030-1225)”, *Indian Historical Review*, vol. V (1-2), 1978-79, pp. 64-86.
104. S. Chandni Bi, “Kashmir in Tamil Epigraphs”, *JESI*, vol. XXXIX, 2013, pp. 74-82.
105. Swati Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14.

80th year of Kadamba Vijayōtsava – An appraisal

P.N. Narasimha Murthy

Abstract: A number of inscriptions mostly copper-plates have come to light from time to time, which provide sufficient source material for reconstructing the history of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi. For the present study we have taken up the earliest of the Copper plate inscription from Halasi of Yuvarāja Kakusthavarma (390 CE) for discussion. The record has many faceted values in the history of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi. Of these, one point is chosen for discussion here and that is the 80th Vijayōtsava year.

Keywords: Banavāsi, early Kadambas, Halasi, Palasika

Early Kadambas of Banavāsi played an important role in the history of Karnataka. The first hero and the founder of this dynasty was Mayūraśarma who became a Brahma-Kshatriya by discarding Kuśa-grass and taking sword into his hands for saving the dignity and honour of his people. A number of inscriptions mostly copper-plates have come to light from time to time, which provide sufficient source material for reconstructing the history of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi. As time passed on from the time of Mayūraśarma so the kingdom began to spread over a wide area covering the entire coast and northern parts of Karnataka. To begin with Banavāsi became their capital. Earlier the Chuṭus had made this city their capital which by that time had become famous by the name *Vaijyantī Pura*. Under the Kadambas it became “*Vijaya-Vaijyantī Pura*”. The extension of the kingdom prompted the administration to have another capital for the sake of better administration. Palasika became the second capital. Banavāsi is now a village in the Sirsi taluk of Uttara Kannada district. Palasika is now called Halasige [Halasi], a village, in Khānāpura taluk of Belgaum district. Before becoming a political centre Banavāsi was a centre of the Vedic and Jaina religions. The missionaries sent by emperor Aśōka spread here Buddhism and the city of Banavāsi became a great centre of Buddhism. Whereas Palasika [modern Halasi] from the very beginning remained a centre of Jainism. It prospered under the patronage of the Kadambas. The Kadamba kings built Basadis here and made munificent grants for daily worship and maintenance of Jaina monks belonging to Śvētapaṭa [Śvētāmbara], Nirgrāṁtha [Digāmbara] and Yāpanīya *sanghas*.

We have a number of copper-plate inscriptions issued by the Kadamba kings coming from this place. For the present we have taken up the earliest of the copper plate inscription from Palasika for discussion. Since no inscription earlier to this is discovered so far from this place the present Copper Plate inscription is considered as the first record of the place¹. The record has many faceted values in the history of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi. Of these, one point is chosen for discussion here and that is the 80th *Vijayōtsava* year. Strangely we note that this being the only inscription referring to the celebration of 80th *Vijayōtsava* –Victory Day². The record never gives any other information regarding this Day. Hence early scholars have thought that this 80th *Vijayōtsava* may refer to the date of establishment of the Kadamba rule at Banavāsi. As Mayūraśarma is considered as the founder of

this dynasty so *Vijayōtsava* celebration must have begun from the date of his coronation. Since, for long time the genealogy and chronology of the early Kadam̃bas were in a confused state scholars did not take much interest in knowing about the exact year of 80th *Vijayōtsava*; as a result, its date of commencement too remained in dark. On the basis of the fresh data made available with the discovery of new inscriptions many scholars tried in their own way for providing a correct genealogical account. In this respect the names of N. Lakshminarayana Rao, R.S. Panchamukhi, M. Govinda Pai, P.B. Desai, Srinivasa H. Ritti, B.R. Gopal and G.S. Gai need be mentioned here³. Though many worked on genealogy the problem of chronology remained. Much of the problem could be solved with the discovery of inscriptions belonging to the reign period of Kakusthavarma, Śāntivarma, Mṛigēśavarma and Ravivarma.

Of the above-mentioned scholars two have almost succeeded in setting right the problem of Genealogy and chronology of the early Kadam̃bas. They are Dr. G.S. Gai and Dr. B.R. Gopal. Their views are as follows-

(1) **Dr. G.S. Gai⁴**

Mayūraśarman	- 320-345 CE
Kamgavarma	- 345-360 CE
Bhagīratha	- 360-385 CE.
Raghu	- 385-400 CE.
Kakustha Varma	- 400-430 CE.
Śāntivarma	- 430-450 CE.

Dr. B.R. Gopal⁵:

Śivaskandavarma

Vīraśarma

Bandhuśēna

Mayūraśarma	- 325-345 CE.
Kamgavarma	- 345-365 CE.
Bhagīratha	- 365-385 CE.
Raghu	- 385-405 CE.
Kakustha	- 405-430 CE.
Śāntivarma	- 430-455 CE.

[Note: For the sake of present study the above account has been restricted up to Śāntivarma only.]

The above account of both the scholars, indicate a difference of 5 years. Since the genealogy

and chronology had become a knotty problem for long time the difference of 5 years is negligible. It is hoped that with this much information we can try to know about the 80th victory year as stated in the undated Halasi Copper Plate inscription. Both Dr. G.S. Gai and Dr. B.R. Gopal think that this record belongs 400 and 405 C E., respectively. According to them these dates are the first regnal year respectively of the king Kakustha Varma and hold the opinion that Kakustha made a grant of land to Sēnāpati Śṛitakīrti who saved the king from a severe danger to life. But this conclusion does not solve the problem. The inscription clearly tells us that Kakustha made a land grant to Sēnāpati Śṛitakeerti when he was Yuva-rāja⁶. Whereas in either 400 or 405 CE Kakustha was a crowned king not remained as a Yuva-rāja. Thus, none of these dates can be considered as the 80th Victory date. This inevitably makes us to think of a date prior to 400 CE. Since no clue can be obtained by the early predecessors of Kakusthavarma inevitably we have to go back to the time of Mayūraśarma, the founder of the dynasty.

According to G.S. Gai, Mayūraśarma ascended the throne in 320 CE⁷. B.R. Gopal holds the view that 325 CE is the date of coronation of Mayūraśarma⁸. According to them with the accession to the throne Mayūraśarma declared his victory over the imperial Pallavas; that sounds very much either 320 or 325 as the First year of Victory. From that year onwards the Kadāmbas went on celebrating “Vijayōtsava” very regularly. From 320 or 325 CE if we are to calculate the 80th year of Victory would be 400 or 405 CE. As stated already on these dates Kakustha Varma had already become a crowned king. Who could dare call a king Yuvarāja? But the record has mentioned that Yuvarāja Kakustha made a grant. The record being genuine we cannot find fault with the composer. Now we have to think of a date prior to 400 CE for the 80th year of victory. This inevitably makes us to think of a date prior to 320 CE. This takes us back to the life of Mayūraśarma prior to his accession to the throne.

Talagunda inscription tells us that Mayūraśarma went to the Ghatika of Kāñchī for studies along with his guru Vīraśarma⁹. For long time it was felt that the relationship between the two was of Guru (teacher) and Śishya (student). The discovery of Gudnāpura inscription of Kadāmba Ravivarma has helped us in setting the genealogy of the early Kadāmbas upto Ravivarma. This inscription informs us that Mayūraśarma was the son of Bandhuśēna who in turn was the son of Vīraśarma¹⁰. This clearly indicates that Mayūraśarma was properly educated by his father Bandhuśēna and grand-father Vīraśarma before going to Kāñchī for higher studies. But both the Talagunda and Gudnapura inscriptions do not tell us as to when Mayūraśarma went to the Ghatika of Kāñchī along with his Guru and grand-father Vīraśarma. Here again we are put in difficulty to arrive at a decision regarding the First Vijayōtsava of the Kadāmbas which in turn helps to decide the 80th year of Vijayōtsava.

The Tālagunda inscription tells us that Mayūraśarma was involved in a skirmish with the Pallavas resulting in his flight from the Pallava capital as a fugitive¹¹. The verse no. 14 of this inscription which describes the incident runs as follows:

Yō-antapalan-Pallavēndrāṇām sahasā vinirjisya sam yugē |

*Adhyuvasa durgmamataavi Śrī-parvatadvāra samśritam ||*¹²

Scholars who edited this inscription first has described the meaning of this verse as - “after giving the slip to the Pallava frontier guards Mayūraśarma retired to the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata (the sacred Śrīśaila in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh)”¹³. This identification has been properly refuted by Dr. K.V. Ramesh. He says that this identification of Śrīparvata with Śrīśaila appears to be far off the mark. Further on, the Talagunda inscription itself tells us that his Pallava adversaries, when once they had felt the impact of Mayūraśarma’s prowess and had realised the political advantages that would accrue to them if only they had him for an ally, not only patched up their differences but also crowned him ruler of the territory bordered by the waters of the Western sea and bounded by the Prehara¹⁴.

If Mayūraśarma really belonged to Śrīśaila (of Andhra Pradesh), a place very near east coast, how could the Pallavas make him king of a region along the West Coast? How could the people of this region accept a stranger as their king imposed on them by an alien authority? Dr. Ramesh says that it will be only reasonable to suppose that Mayūraśarma, as a result of his conflict with the Pallavas, fled to the thickly forested and impregnable and strategic Malenāḍu-Kanara region, being his own native ground, from where, with the assistance of the local powers and population, he could successfully keep at bay Pallava attempts at suppressing him. It is also only natural that when the Pallavas found out that they could not dislodge him from that region, they merely solved the problem by proclaiming him the rightful master of all that territory. It is thus clear, that the Śrīparvata of the Tālagunda inscription should be searched for somewhere in the Malēnāḍu-Kanara region”¹⁵. Continuing his argument Ramesh says that it will be worthwhile to examine whether some hilly land-mark in the Malēnāḍu-Kanara region itself could have been meant by the reference to Śrīparvata as the region to which Mayūraśarma fled. For a beginning, one may venture to point out that Śīśila, a village in South Kanara district, is only the corrupt form of the Sanskrit name Śrī.”¹⁶

Getting clue from the views of Ramesh I made a thorough survey of Beltangāḍi Taluk and the village Śīśila. This village, covered by thick forest and three high mountain ranges, is even to-day strategically located impregnable place. The confluence of three mountain ranges later on provided scope for the emergence of the “three parvata” line of the Kadam̄bas besides being the “Śrīparvata” of the Tālagunda inscription and made it known to the scholars in a National Conference held at the very sacred centre of Śrīśaila of Andhra Pradesh¹⁷. Dr. P. Parabrahma Sastry, a noted scholar and epigraphist from Andhra made a very good comment on the paper and said that the present view of the scholar is correct.

In the above discussion we get two clear cut stages of Mayūraśarma’s fight with his Pallava adversary before being anointed by the enemy himself – (1) Staying at Kāñchī Ghaṭikā as a student ; studying carefully the administration, policies and programmes of the Pallavas and also their strength and weakness, and having been insulted took sword while throwing Kuśa grass and

slipping out of the Pallava frontier, despite fighting with the Pallava frontier guards and entering safely a thickly wooded and strategically impregnable area where he got the care of his people. This happened to be a very important incident in the life of Mayūraśarma to be remembered for ever. (2) Though Mayūraśarma, facing all ads, reached a safe place where he got protection from his people, the Pallavas continued to harass him. This forced Mayūraśarma to carry on guerrilla war for some time against the Pallavas from his forest hideout. Having failed to defeat, the Pallavas followed a conciliatory policy by accepting Mayūraśarma as the rightful king of the region washed by the Western Sea.

The two stages of development have brought to a compact period where we could hope for a solution to the problem. Though the Tālagunda inscription informs us of Mayūraśarma going to the Ghaṭikā of Kāñchī along with his grand-father-Guru it never gives us the date of his visit and period of stay in Kāñchī. Yet it may be viewed that he went to Kāñchī quite early and must have lived there for at least 4-5 years. Probably this took place in 305-306 CE. When his study was almost coming to an end he became a rebel because of ill treatment. His successful escape from Pallava territory might have taken place around 310 CE. This became a ‘‘Great Escape’’ of a fugitive which put the Pallava power to shame. Though Mayūraśarma successfully kept at bay the Pallava forces, the first event became very important in his life. His associates rejoiced over the incident which made them celebrate it in a grand manner. There after it became an event of honour to be celebrated every year. On the basis of this surmise, it can be said that CE. 310 becomes the First Year of Victory when people celebrated ‘*Vijayōtsava*’. On this basis CE 390 becomes the 80th year of victory. This date holds good with the information found in the First Halasi Copper Plate inscription. On this date Kakusthavarma was still a Yuvarāja and had just been rescued from a dangerous situation by Sēnāpati Śṛitakīrti. Raghu, the elder brother of Kakustha, was then on the Kadam̄ba throne. Perhaps he found Kakustha a strong competitor to the throne with ability and intelligence. This must have made the ambitious Raghu to plan against the life of Kakustha. Sēnāpti Śṛitakīrti proved equally great and intelligent in foiling the plan of king Raghu and saving the life of Yuvarāja Kakustha. Kakusthavarma proved worthy of this incident for during his reign period (400-430 CE.) the Kadam̄ba power reached the apex of glory. Having saved by the Palace intrigue Kakusthavarma, the Yuvarāja, rewarded Sēnāpti Śṛitakīrti properly.

Conclusion:

By this first Halasi Copper Plate inscription we come to know of the early achievements of Mayūraśarma. His escape from the Pallava imperial cage was a great success which put the Pallava power to shame. This incident became worthy of being remembered with fun fare annually. The first year of it was 310 CE. The Halasi copper plate makes us believe that it had become customary to celebrate Vijayōtsava annually. As Yuvarāja, Kakusthavarma celebrated the 80th Vijayōtsava Day [Victory Day]. For Yuvarāja Kakustha it became a special occasion to rejoice as he had been virtually saved from a danger, probably arising out of ‘*Palace intrigue*’, by Sēnāpati Śṛitakīrti.

This resulted in not only Yuvarāja Kakustha celebrating the 80th Vijayōtsava but also making it memorable by issuing a charter after honouring his life saver. The Halasi first copper plate of Yuvarāja Kakusthavarma can thus be assigned to 390 CE. The dates assigned to the reign period of each Kadamba king from Mayūraśarma by Dr. G.S. Gai are proved correct by the present discussion.

Notes and References

1. B.R. Gopal: ``*Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*`, Vol. I (1984), No. 3.
2. *Ibid*: Text – lines 8-10.
3. Gopal: *Corpus* – pp. 39-46.
4. G.S. Gai: ``*Studies in Indian History, Epigraphy and Culture*`, Shri Hari Prakashana, Dharawada, 1992; pp. 29-38.
5. B.R. Gopal: ``*Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*` Vol. I (1984), Introduction; – pp. XXIII-XXX.
6. *Ibid*: No. 3. Text lines 8-10.
7. G.S. Gai: 1992, pp. 29-38.
8. Gopal: *Corpus*- pp. XXIII-XXX.
9. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII.
10. B.R. Gopal: ``Gudnapur Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarma`, in *SRIKANTHIKA*, pp. 61-72; Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri Felicitation Volume, Ed. K.V. Ramesh (et.all.), 1973, Mysore.
11. K.V. Ramesh: ``Notes on Some Imperial Dynasties of Karnataka`, article in ``*SRIKANTHIKA*`` (1973) pp. 98-102.
12. *Ibid*: P. 100.
13. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII; p. 28.
14. K.V.Ramesh: ``*SRIKANTHIKA*`, 1973 pp. 100-101.
15. K.V.Ramesh: ``*SRIKANTHIKA*`, 1973, P. 101.
16. K.V.Ramesh: *Ibid*: 1973, P. 101.
17. P.N. Narasimha Murthy: Article in ``*Studies in Indian Place Names*``- Journal of the Place Names of Society of India, Vol. 10. (1989), pp. 94-98.

Understanding the Material Aspects of the Religions of the People of Early Bengal from the Epigraphic Texts (Up to 1300 CE)

Krishnendu Ray

Abstract:

We find the inscriptions of early Bengal to have been discussed for understanding the social, economic, political and cultural including religious activities of the people of the region. Their religious beliefs and activities are usually focused on scriptures and doctrines. But historically it appears that human activities, particularly religious practices are hardly possible without resorting to material artefacts. They have made (emphasis added) divine images, decorated them, worshipped them, and built-up temples for them for practicing their religious beliefs materially. Therefore, the present paper attempts to materially understand their religious practices by inter-textually studying the inscriptions of early Bengal up to 1300 CE.

Keywords:

Early Bengal, Materiality of Religion, Text and Inter-textuality

From as early as the Mehrgarh days (c.7000 BCE) historically, humans through the social processes of interaction, cooperation and assimilation, appear to have been mutually related to one another in order to survive. In doing so, they have used and changed material artefacts like plough, beads and also developed non-material artefacts like religious beliefs and values for living in the world through the ages (Prown 1982: 1-2) as attested by several early Indian sites such as Harappa (Pakistan), Atranjikhhera (Uttar Pradesh) and Pāṇḍurājār Dhibi (West Bengal) etc (Chakravarti 2013: 8-39). Both these physical and non-physical artefacts show the visible signs of human intelligence, skills, thoughts and ideas. With these they have located and developed the land of their settlement and thus its locale (Cresswell 2015: 12). Early Bengal also was no exception to this. At this point it should be noted that in the period under review Bengal did not witness as such. Instead, we find a number of place-names which collectively represent early Bengal. These places are such as Puṇḍravardhana and Varendra (Bogura, Rajshahi, & Dinajpur dists, Bangladesh), Gauḍa (parts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Murshidabad and Maldaha districts, West Bengal), Raḍha (north-western Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah dists, West Bengal), Vaṅga (Dhaka, Faridpur, sometimes Comilla, Noakhali, Jessor, Khulna dist. Bangladesh) and to the south of Vaṅga was Vaṅgāla, Samatāṭa (south-eastern part of Bangladesh) and Harikela (Chattogram) (Bhattacharyya 1977: 41-71; Mukherjee 1975: 116; Ray 1993: 101, 115-6, 119-20, 122, 114).

It is to be noted that the name Bengal essentially represents one whole geographical space / territory. It is people who have characterized different parts of that very whole space with their diverse artefactual activities through times. Probably, according to their age-old artefactual experiences, they have spatially developed “cultural variables” (Chattopadhyaya 2003: 49) and named those parts of the landmass as mentioned above. Thus, they have developed their society and culture through the ages. Of this process of making society part and parcel are their religious practices.

Historiographical Relevance

Information about the religious practices of the people of early Bengal are usually known from literary and or epigraphic textual records as discussed by scholars like R. C. Majumdar (1971: 350 ff), Nalini Kanta Bhattachali (1972), Pushpa Niyogi (1980), B. M. Morrison (1980), Kunal

Chakrabarty and many other scholars (2018: 271-96, 292-4). Our attention has been drawn to the Buddhist canonical text *Āṅguttara Nikāya* (c.2nd century BCE) referring to the two persons namely Dharmadattā and Rishinandan as having gone from Puṇḍravardhana to Sāñcī and contributed to the construction of the gate and railing of the *Stūpa* at Sāñcī (Ray 1993: 495). In other words, this religious practice is known from a literary text. According to the Jaina text *Kalpa Sūtra* (c. 2nd century BCE), Jainas were settled in places such as Puṇḍravardhana, Tāmralipta (Toluk), Koṭīvaṛṣa (Dinajpur) in early Bengal (Jacobi 1884: 288). The purpose might have been to practice religion. Once again, a literary text provides the required information about the Jaina religious practice. The practices of religious rites such as *Pañcamahāyajña* (five daily observances) (*Brahmayajña*, *Pitṛyajña*, *Bhūtayajña*, *Daivayajña* and *Manuṣyayajña*) and *Agnihotra* (oblations thrown into fire) are well known. According to the *Āpastambha Dharmasūtra* and *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, every householder is advised to perform the rite of *Agnihotra* twice a day (Bhattacharya 1990: 8, 97; Olivelle 2006: 112-3). The rite of *Pañcamahāyajña* along with *vali*, *caru* and *satra* was practiced as known from a Damodarpur Copper-Plate inscription of early Bengal. But the actual sense in which *Pañcamahāyajña* was used in the epigraph is not known (Willis 2009: 97, 100). Epigraphic records of the post-Gupta Bengal point out the establishment of the god Ananta Nārāyaṇa in the forest area of Suvvūṅga *biṣaya* (district) along with several Brāhmaṇas with rent-free lands (*agrahāra*) (Basak 1919-20 / 1982: 311-5; Sircar 1966: 10). In fact, religion is commonly understood from doctrines, scriptures such as Vedic *Samhitās* concerned with rites and ceremonies, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Dharmasūtras* like *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*, *Dharmaśāstras* such as *Mahābhārata* (c.4th century BCE-4th century CE). Religion is also conceived of in the sense of *śiṣṭa* signifying one who has no desires etc (Kane 1997: 2, 6-7, 971).

Materiality of Religion

Along with this understanding it is equally important to note that the word religion is also used as a verb “to tie, the practice of religious beliefs or ritual observance of faith” (Webster 1996: 1212) understandably in holding human life (Nye 2008: 4). Thus, we pray, meditate, worship, believe, build temples or shrines as worship centres, make divine images, decorate them with jewelleries, need materials like clay, stone, bronze, utensils, flowers, food etc, require the cooperation of the concerned image-makers, the help of the priest for consecrating the deity, the help of the masons for building the religious architectures and of the artisans for their decoration, need wealth through donations or grants as land grants for maintaining these buildings, images and worshipping materials. As part of cultural activities human activities (Nye 2008: 20) require these physical things for the performance of religious worships. Thus, material religion involves the relationship between religious beliefs and devotional objects like a divine image in the physical world. So, in early Bengal we find the practice of religions to have been related not only to text-based religious doctrines, ideas and formal teachings, but also to spaces, objects and performances as well (Hutchings and Mackenzie 2017: 4-5; Morgan 2010: 14). In this regard some information about religious practices related to objects and spaces are available from some relevant inscriptions of early Bengal during the period chosen. This sets the aim of the present essay.

The Aim of the Article

The required information for the present exercise may be available from literary and epigraphic texts as well as also from archaeological objects. These material objects also constitute texts (Dhavalikar 2006: 1; Mukherjee 1990: 47, sl. 10, plt. XX, fig. 10; Wilson 2012: 342) providing the relevant information about the religious practices of the people of early Bengal. Thus, the

present article is inter-textually attempted to understand the material aspects of the religion of the people of early Bengal up to 1300 CE. Therefore, the concept of inter-textuality may briefly be stated in order to suit the context of the present article.

Inter-textuality

The inscriptions, mentioned above, make out the fact that the author was familiar with the affairs of performing religious sacrifices and also the divine establishment in the forest region. Thus, through these inscriptional texts the author was linked with the other textual sources in which such knowledge had emerged in some forms. Therefore, inter-textuality is apparently a way of explaining a text which focuses on words and or concepts borrowed from other texts. In view of this, the writer of the above epigraphic text presumably read the preceding texts or borrowed words from prior texts. Thus, the meaning of a text is derived not from the creation by the author but from its linkage with other textual sources either preceding the writer or during the process of creating a text (Zengin 2016: 301-02). The inscriptions of early Bengal also have been discussed at length for understanding their meaning according to the changing historical contexts through the ages. Both the linguistically composed texts like the *Mahābhārata* as well as the non-linguistically constituted material artefacts like the plough convey human thoughts, ideas and experiences they have materially gained from their artefactual uses actually through time and space. To this the people of early Bengal were also no exception. Therefore, in addition to these scholarly endeavors attempts may be made in order to understand the material aspects of the religions of early Bengal studying the relevant epigraphic texts inter-textually.

The Thrust Area

To begin with, mention may be made to a fourth century CE rock inscription from Susuniya, (Bankura dist.) of early Bengal. The inscription reads *Mahārāja-śrīcandravammanah krtiḥ / ckrasvāminah dosagraṇatisṛṣṭah* (Sircar 1965: 351-2). Significantly enough, the image of Chakrasvāmi (Viṣṇu), established by a local king probably in a temple in Rāḍha, may remind one of Lokeśvara-Viṣṇu with snakehood established in a rural Śiva temple based on an old temple as old bricks are seen nearby the temple (Bandyopadhyaya 1971: 38, 96; Haque 1992: 96). To note, the Lokeśvara-Viṣṇu image is seen holding something like discus (cakra) on the lotus in its hands (Bandyopadhyaya 1971: plate). The event of establishing the Lokeśvara-Viṣṇu image in a temple might have been recorded as ckrasvāmi in the inscription. A fifth century CE inscription from the Bogra district of northern Bangladesh (Puṇḍravardhana) refers to the fact that Viṣṇu as Govindasvāmi was housed in a temple (Bhagavato govindsvāmino devakule). The epigraph points out that three kulyavāpas (land measurement unit) of fallow land (*khilakṣetra*) were provided for the maintenance of the temple as well as the worship of the deity with perfumery, incense and lamp (*gandha-dhūpa-dīpa*) (Sircar 1965: 357, text-lines 7-8). The two of the fifth-sixth centuries CE inscriptions from Damodarpur of the Dinajpur district of Rajshahi, Bangladesh point out the fact that Viṣṇu as two *avatāras* (incarnation) namely Kokāmukha-swāmī and Śvetavarāha-swāmī was worshipped in a temple at a place called Dongagrama on the summit of the Himalayas and the worship was also supported by donating lands and other materials (Basak 1919-20/1982: 115, 139-40). The phenomenon of this institutional worship of the god as Kokāmukha-swāmī might have led the later day author of the Puranic text according to Nihar Ranjan Ray (Ray 1993: 498) to note it in the text. A sixth century inscription from Gunaighar area of Samatata conveys the message that Viṣṇu was worshipped as Pradyumneśvara (another incarnatory form) in a temple (*Pradyumneśvara-devakula-*

kṣetra) (Sircar 1965: 345, text-line 30). But the devotees of this god are not known from the Guṇaighar record. Significantly enough, a Puṇḍravardhana inscription of the year 5 points out that one *Mahārājādhirāja* named Prdyumnabandhu ruled during the sixth-seventh centuries and the second part ‘bandhu’ of his name Prdyumna + bandhu might have been synonymous with Kṛṣṇa (Griffith 2015: 15, 32). If that be the case, then this *Mahārājādhirāja* named Prdyumnabandhu might have been a devotee of Pradyumneśvara as known from the Guṇaighar epigraph. The seventh century inscription from Ashrafpur near Dhaka refers to the *vihāras* and *vihārikās* which might have been provided separately to the Buddhist monks and nuns for their religious practice (Laskar 1906: 90). The two seventh century inscriptions from Śrīhaṭṭa (modern Sylhet region) bring out that with the support of the local ruling authority a few divinities such as Sūrya, Kinnar, kuvera, etc, particularly Ananta Nārāyaṇa were established in a temple by clearing the forests. Probably, in order to support the religious practices related to the worship of these divinities many Brāhmaṇas with lands as *agrahāras* (rent-free land) in connection with two villages namely Paṅga and Vāpikā were settled there (Basak 1920-21/1982: 308, 311; Chattopadhyaya 2017:26). In other words, the religious practices related to the temple-based divine worships in ancient Śrīhaṭṭa were substantially supported by settling the Brāhmaṇas and probably also the villagers. Epigraphically it also appears that towards the close of the eighth century CE the maintenance of the worship of the god Nunna-Nārāyaṇa (Ananta Nārāyaṇa?) in the temple and the concerned religious practices was supported with the royal provisions of four villages and a market-place (*haṭṭikā*) (Chattopadhyaya 2017: 24-5; Kielhorn 1896-97/1979: 243-54). Thus, the support of the villagers and the resource from the market were probably ensured in order to maintain the Vaiṣṇava temple and also the worship of the god thereof. This material support to the Vaisnava temple was influenced by the Pāla king Dharmapāla’s belief to increase the religious merit of their parents and their own as recorded in the inscriptional text (*Mātāpitror=ātmanas=ca puṇy-ābhibrddhaye*) (Kielhorn 1896-97/1979: 250, text-line 50). Another eighth century vase inscription from Harikela points out the fact that on behalf of the local ruling authority a huge amount (33 *pāṭakas*, land measuring unit) of land was provided obviously to support the maintenance of the Buddhist religious practices in the monastic space (*vihāra*) in Harikela named Haritaka-Dharmasabhā-vihāra (*ekādaśa-pāṭakān---evam dvāvimśati pāṭakān---Haritaka-dharmma-sabhā-vihāre bhagavad-Buddha-dharmma---*) (Bhattacharya 1996: 241, 243, text-lines 6-7; Ray, 2003: 80). In the vase inscription it has been significantly noted that some socially oppressed (*niryatita*) people also donated lands (25 *pāṭakas*) to the Buddhist worship centre and thus they were related to the religious establishment. Apparently, the Haritaka-Dharmasabhā-vihāra was materially supported and socially and politically related. A ninth century Maldaha district (West Bengal) museum copper-plate inscription mentions the construction of a *vihāra* in the town named Nandadirghika for the religious practices, the provisions of food, seats, beds, medical treatment (*pūjana-lekhāpana-ady-arthe cīvara-piṇḍapāta-śayan-āsana-glāna-pratyāya-bhaiṣajya--*) (Ramesh et al 1977-78/1992: 22, text-lines 42-3). The evidences of this epigraphic text are interestingly supported by the artefactual texts constituted by the monastic architecture and several sculptures as found from the site of Jagjivanpur of the Maldaha district (Roy 2012). It thus appears that these materials were understandably provided to support the religious practices of the spiritually venerable personages (*Prajñāpāramit-ādi-sakala-dharmma-nettri-sthānasya Ārya-avaivarttika-Bodhisatva-gaṇasya-aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa--*) (Ramesh et al 1977-78/1992: 22, text-lines 41-2). As a worship centre the Jagjivanpur monastic organization seems to have been linked with its surrounding human settlement (Panja, 2018: 219). In the tenth century in Samatata we find that one merchant named Lokadatta made his Vaisnavite belief materially visible

by causing the inscribed blackstone image of Lord Nārāyaṇa (*kīrtiriyam Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭārakākhyā*). The merchant's belief was to increase the spiritual merits of himself and parents (*Mātāpitrorātmanaśca puṇyaśo abhibrddhaye*) (Bhattachali 1972: 84-5). This religious belief-centred activity of Lokadatta might have been influenced by the Vaisnavite leanings of people from the earlier days as apparent from the above. Therefore, he caused the Viṣṇu image to be made of stone linguistically inscribing his belief for acquiring religious merit. For, sculptural evidences also are indicative of religious beliefs and practices of people (Mishra et al, 2017: 102). The point is materially supported by several inscribed divine images (10th -12th centuries) and also an inscribed pillar we have from different parts of early Bengal. These are represented by Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī, Umā-Maheśvara, Sūrya, Buddha and Jaina Chandraprabhā (Ghosh 2015: 1-17; Sanyal 2009: 306, 308-9). Through these inscribed material things, the donors introduced their socio-religious identities in connection with their practicing beliefs in the gods and goddesses for acquiring religious merits (*puṇya*). Significant to note at this point, the donors' preference to the installation of mostly the images of Viṣṇu, particularly as Mādhava, as mentioned by Ghosh (2015: 1-17), may be cognitively (feeling / leanings to the god) and behaviourally (the image installation activity) indicative of their religiosity (Mokhlis 2009: 79) in and affection (Morgan 2018: 56) for Vaiṣṇavism. For, we know that Mādhava is emanated as another form from Vāsudeva, one of the pañcavīras (five heroes) of the Vṛṣṇis (Haque 1992: 39; Schrader 1916: 41). Thus, Mādhava is synonymous with Viṣṇu and the Vaisnavite inclination of others might have inspired the donors to dedicate the image of Mādhava. At the same time it is also to be noted that the assemblage of the elements of people (that is, the dedicators, the scribe, the image-maker), religious beliefs and or religiosity, objects (that is, images of stone, slate and bronze) and spaces (Meyer et al 2010: 209; Morgan 2021: 20, 76) is essential and these elements, mutually complementary to each other, have made the religious practices materially happen for acquiring merit, as known from the above epigraphs.

We have several other epigraphic records of early Bengal of which a few may be mentioned in support of the aim of the present essay. These are such as a tenth century Chandra copper-plate inscription of the Chandra king Śrīchandra (Chattopadhyaya 2017: 43-4, 48, f.n.68, 55-6), two eleventh century Chandra inscription of Laḍahachandra (Sircar 1973: 41-9, 51-5), Śaivācārya Mūrtiśiva's Praśasti inscription from Bangarh (South Dinajpur, West Bengal) (Goswami 1996: 267-75) and Sena king Vijayasena's Deopara *Praśasti* (eleventh-twelfth century) (Majumdar 1929: 43, 52, verse 26). The relevant evidences from these epigraphic texts support the fact that the practice of religion is hardly possible without material objects.

Concluding observations

Therefore, it appears from the above that people have practiced religion as a verb (Nye 2008: 8; Ray 1993: 477ff) by doing religious practices based on their religious beliefs. We find them to have thought of divinities; made or caused to be made material images according to their religious beliefs; designed spaces, erected, decorated and maintained architectural buildings, and deployed the required things like food items, flowers and services of other people also. Thus, they have facilitated the practice of their religion in embodied forms. Although we have views of religion through religious scriptures, ideas, doctrines, moral teachings, the aesthetic aspects of religious architectures, and divine images, it is difficult to overlook the material aspects of religion. These include performances which indispensably require not only human but also non-human entities as well.

References:

- Bandyopadhyaya, Amiya Kumar. 1971. *Bāṅkurā Jelār Purākīrti. Bengali*. Calcutta: Purta Bibhag
- Basak, Radhagovinda. 1919-20 / 1982. "Tipperah Copper-Plate Grant of Lokanatha: The 44th Year". *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XV (19), pp. 301-15.
- *Ibid.*, "The Five Damodarpur Copper-Plate Inscriptions of the Gupta Period". *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XV (7). pp. 113-45
- Bhattacharyya, Amitabha. 1977. *A Historical Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval Bengal*, Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar
- Bhattacharya, Gouriswar. 1996. A preliminary report on the inscribed metal vase from the National Museum of Bangladesh. In Debal, Mitra ed. *Explorations in Art and Archaeology of South Asia: Essays Dedicated to N. G. Majumdar*. Calcutta: 237-47.
- Bhattacharyya, N. N. 1990. *A Glossary of Indian Religious Terms and Concepts*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications
- Bhattachali, Nalini. Kanta. 1972. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Varanasi: Indological Book House
- Chakrabarti, Kunal. 2018. *Brahmanical Religions*. In *History of Bangladesh Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (up to c. 1200 CE)*. Ed. Abdul Momin Chowdhury and Ranabir Chakravarti, Vol.2, Society Economy Culture. Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, pp. 271-96, 292-4
- Chakravarti, Ranabir. 2013. *Exploring Early India Up to c. AD 1300*, Second Edition, Delhi: Macmillan Publishers Indian Ltd.
- Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal. 2017. *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*. Reprinted. Delhi: Primus Books
- -----2003. *Studying Early India Archaeology, Texts and Historical Issues*, Delhi: Permanent Black
- Cresswell, Tim. 2015. *Place an introduction*, Second Edition, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell Publishing Ltd
- Dhavalikar, M. K, 2006. *Architecture and Society*, Kolkata: Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India
- Ghosh, Ranjusri. 2015. *Lecture Delivered in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, University of Calcutta 05. 10. 2015: 1-17
- Goswami, Niranjana. 1996. A note on an inscribed portrait-statue of Murtisiva from West Bengal. In Debal, Mitra ed. *Explorations in Art and Archaeology of South Asia: Essays Dedicated to N. G. Majumdar*. Calcutta: 267-75
- Griffiths, Arlo. 2015. "New Documents for the Early History of Pundravardhana: Copperplate Inscriptions from the Late Gupta and Early Post-Gupta Periods". *Pratna Samiksha*. New Series. Vol. 6: 15-38.
- Haque, Enamul. 1992. *Bengal Sculptures Hindu Iconography up to c. 1250 A.D.* Dhaka: Bangladesh National Museum
- Hutchings, Tim and McKenzie, Joanne (eds.). 2017. *Materiality and the Study of Religion The Stuff of the Sacred*. Abingdon.

- Jacobi, Herman. 1884. *Jaina Sutras*, Part I, Kalpa Sūtra, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Kane, Pandurang Vaman. 1997. *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, Part I & II, Third Edition, Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
- Kielhorn, F. 1896-97 / 1979. “Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva”. *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. IV (34): 243-54.
- Laskar, G. M. 1905-07. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Vol. 1 (6): 85-91
- Majumdar, R. C. 1971. *History of Ancient Bengal*, Calcutta: G. Bharadwaj & Co.
- Majumdar, Nani Gopal. 1929. *Inscriptions of Bengal*. Vol. III. Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society
- Meyer, Birgit, Morgan, David, Paine, Crispin Brent Plate, S. 2010. “The Origin and mission of Material Religion”. *Religion* Vol. 40: 207-10
- Mishra, Susan. Verma and Ray, Himanshu Prabha. 2017. *The Archaeology of Sacred Spaces The Temple in Western India 2nd Century BCE –8th Century CE*. London and New York: Routledge: 102-56.
- Mokhlis, Safiek. 2009. Relevance and Measurement of Religiosity in Consumer Behavior Research. *International Business Research*. Vol. 2 (3): 75-84 (<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/42385940>).
- Morgan, David. 2021. *The Thing About Religion An Introduction to the Material Study of Religions*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina
- -----, 2018. *Images at Work The Material Culture of Enchantment*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- -----(ed.). 2010. *Religion and Material Culture The Matter of Belief*. London: Routledge
- Morrison, Barie. M. 1980. *Political Centers and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*. Jaipur-Delhi: Rawat Publications
- Mukherjee, B. N, 1990. *Kharoshṭī and Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī Inscriptions in West Bengal (India)*, Calcutta: Indian Museum
- -----, 1975. “The Original Territory of Harikela”. *Bangladesh Lalit Kala*. Vol. 1 (2): 115-19
- Niyogi, Puspa. 1980. *Buddhism in Ancient Bengal*, Calcutta: Jijnasa
- Nye, Malory. 2008. *Religion: The Basics, Second Edition*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Olivelle, Patrick. 2006. *Manu’s Code of Law A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmasāstra*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Panja, Sheena. 2018. Jagjivanpur and Bangarh: Nothern West Bengal. In Mominchowdhury Abdul and Chakravarti Ranabir (eds.). *History of Bangladesh Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives* (up to c. 1200 CE). Volume 1. Archaeology Political History Polity. Dhaka: 211-23
- Prown, Jules. David. 1982. “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method”. *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 17 (1), pp.1-19 (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1180761>)
- Ramesh, K. V and Subramonia Iyer, S. 1977-78/1992. “Malda District Museum Copper-Plate Charter of Mahendrapaladeva, Year 7”, *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XLII (2): 6-29

- Ray, Krishnendu. 2003. “Prācīn Harikeler Upojātīy Samāj O Haritaka Dharmasabhā Bihār”, *Itihās Anusandhān*. Vol. 17: 79-84.
- Ray, Niharranjan. 1993. *Bāṅgālīr Itihās Ādi Parva (in Bengali)*, Calcutta: Dey’s Publishing
- Roy, Amal. 2012. *Jagjivanpur Excavation Report*. Kolkata: Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Government of West Bengal
- Sanyal, Rajat. 2009. “Dedicatory Inscriptions of Mahendrapala: A Fresh Appraisal”, Gerd, J. R Mevissen and Banerji, Arundhati (eds.). 2009. *Prajñādhārā Essays on Asian Art, History, Epigraphy and Culture in Honour of Gouriswar Bhattacharya*. New Delhi: 302-18
- Schrader, Otto. F. 1916. *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā*. Madras: Adyar Library
- Sircar, D. C Dr. 1973. *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, Calcutta: Sanskrit College
- ----- . 1966. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass
- ----- . 1965. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*. Calcutta.
- *Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*. 1996, New York: Gramercy Books
- Willis, Michael. 2009. *The Archaeology of Hindu Ritual Temples and the Establishment of the Gods*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Wilson, Adrian. 2012. “What is a text?” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 43: 341-58 (https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256857211_What_is_a_text)
- Zengin, Mevlude. 2016. “An Introduction to Intertextuality as a Literary Theory: Definitions, Axioms and the Originators”. *Pamukkale University Journal of Social Sciences Institute* 25 (1), pp. 299-326 (10.5505/pausbed.2016.96729)

Measuring Units In Medieval Tamilnadu (8th to 15th Centuries CE)

P. Balamurugan

Abstract:

This paper examines and explains the various measuring units of linear, weight and volume, mentioned in the inscriptions of medieval Tamil Nadu, issued between 8th – 15th centuries CE for specifying the quantity/dimension of the consumable or non-consumable items donated. The study is useful in understanding the nature of transaction and socio-economic parameters.

Keywords:

Linear, Volume, Weight, Tamil Nadu, Measuring units.

There are several inscriptions mentioning various measuring units of linear, weight, volume, number and time. These units were generally expressed while making grants to the temple. Many inscriptions register the donation of land, gold, silver, copper, pearls, money, ghee, oil, rice, millets, paddy and other consumable and non-consumable items for the maintenance of the temple. Each of these gifted items is found with some measuring units to express their values. The study of these units would give valuable information on the nature of transaction and socio-economic parameters. The study of measurement systems has been undertaken by several scholars in South India such as Venkaya and Hultzh (1892), Subbarayalu (1981, 2012), Shanmugam (1987), Jagadish (2005), Karashima (2006) and Selvakumar (2018) studied the measurement system and expressed their view on the nature of the system. This paper attempts to strengthen their studies with additional inscriptional data to explain the different measuring units found in various Tamil inscriptions between 8th century CE to 15th century CE.

Tamil Nadu witnessed inscriptions from 6th century BCE onwards and most of the inscriptions are label inscriptions expressing the personal names and it could not provide any other information. The majority of the cave inscriptions also contain information on the nature of the gift made to the Jains. There is hardly any gift granted to Jain monks except the execution of Jain beds. The earliest inscription datable to 4-5th century CE found at Pulankurichchi that expressed about the existence of brahmadeyam in Tamil Nadu also fails to record any measuring units. Several excavations conducted in Tamil Nadu met with a large number of brick structures with specific size as one observed in Arikamedu, Kaveripattinam, Keeladi etc., suggest that there was a standardized units of measurement prior to 8th century CE. The lack of sufficient data has limited us in exploring Early Historic period. The emergence of Pallavas and Pandyas in northern and southern Tamil Nadu respectively paved a way for the establishment of temples. The land grants and other forms of gifts necessitated expressing the units. In addition, the state attempted to measure the land to levy the tax so as to generate revenue for the state. Thus, the occurrence of measuring units started appearing in the inscriptions.

Linear Measurement

A number of standard linear measures are found in the inscriptions, but it varied from region to region. The existence of varied forms probably the state does not want to disturb the prevailing

system as it may create a certain amount of uncertainty among the people. Within the linear measurement, there are two categories: 1) micro units for measuring the small objects and 2) macro units used for measuring long distances. The terms *tōrai* and *viral* are the sub-units of *muḷam*. A *muḷam* is the total length from the tip of the middle finger/fist to the elbow. It generally occurred in the context of measuring the dimensions of the sculpture. Sometimes *muḷam* was also used to measure the house site (*SII*, XXXVIII, no: 14). The unit of one *muḷam* (cubit) consists of two *chāṇ* (spans) one *chāṇ* (span) consists of ten or twelve *virals* (fingers). One *viral* is equivalent to eight rice corns called *tōrai*. The length, breadth and height of the small objects could be measured with these measuring units. Whereas, the larger areas like lands could not be measured with this unit or one may say it would take longer time to measure. Therefore, they created a larger measuring unit (land measurement rods) by multiplying the *muḷam* and they were popularly called as *kōl*.

Most of the land measurement rods (*kōl*) were found in the multiplication of span, foot and cubits. The rods are mentioned as *nilamaḷavu-kōl* and *tiruvulakalanta-kōl* (*ARE*. 232 of 1953, 97 of 1926). These rods differed in their length as they were based on a human foot. There are a number of scales found in the inscriptions such as 9 feet rod, 12 span rod, 12 feet rod, 16 span rod, 16 feet rod, 18 feet rod, 21 feet rod, 24 feet rod, etc. These scales are found with the name of the king or name of village, territory, deity names, nature of the land, etc.

A Pandya inscription referred to a rod of 24 feet as *Sundarapāṇḍiyaṅkōl* (*SII*, V, no: 446). The exact length of some of the rods used in the survey is known from the marking engraved on the temple walls. Thus, the length of a *nilamaḷavu-kōl* is 12.9 feet at Siyamangalam, 12 feet at Idaiyalam and 16 feet at Kottur (*SII*, VII, no: 440, *ARE*. 313 of 1939, 206 of 1935). The purpose of these markings is for the use by the local administrators and people to standardize and check the rods that they used for measurement and to create new rods based on the standard whenever needed (Selvakumar, 2018, pp.154-160). More than 40 measurement rods with the name of king and gods were noticed. It suggests that the ruler attempts to standardize the land measurement.

The standard scale of linear units varied from place to place. The area measurement has shown that, the land was classified based on soil fertility, water facility and cultivation of crop. These classifications are mentioned in the inscription as *taram* (grade). The term *taram* was used to denote the fertility of the soil. It was made for the purpose of tax assessment, found in the inscription after 1000 CE. The classified lands were called as *taramperṛa* and unclassified as *taramili* in the inscriptions (Shanmugam, 1987, p.73).

Inscriptions carrying the name of the rods

Place	District	Name of Scale / Rod/Measurement	Period	Reference
Uttaramallur	Chingleput	15 span, 7 ½ span	933	<i>SII</i> , VI, no: 292
Padi (Tiruvali-dayam)	North Arcot	16 span	1000	<i>SII</i> , III, no: 181
Tiruvédikkudi	Thanjavur	10 span	1000	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 626
Tiruvorriyur	Chingleput	12 span, 16 span	1000	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 105
Tiruvadandai	Chingleput	16 span	1012	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 272
Tiruvallam	Chingleput	Chirampalakōl	1016	<i>SII</i> , III, no: 54
Tiruverumbur	Tiruchchirappalli	Mālikaikōl	1017	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 99
Virinchipuram	Vellore	16 span	1017	<i>SII</i> , I, no:127

Place	District	Name of Scale / Rod/Measurement	Period	Reference
Tiruvorriyur	Chingleput	16 span	1021	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 127
Solapuram	North Arcot	16 span	1032	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 344
Tiruvorriyur	Chingleput	16 span	1046	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 220
Sivankudal	Chingleput	16 span	1071	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 282
Sholinghur	Chennai	<i>Kaḷani-aḷakkum kōl</i>	1100	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 873
Takkolam	North Arcot	16 span	1100	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 1381
Tiruppanandal	Thanjavur	12 feet	1100	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 45
Tiruvallam	North Arcot	12 feet	1100	<i>SII</i> , VI, no: 435
Narasingapuram	Chingleput	16 span	1105	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 246
Kovilangulam	Ramanathapuram	24 span	1118	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 397
Tenkarai	Madurai	<i>Irāi-irukkum kōl</i> , <i>kaṭamai irukkum kōl</i>	1200	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 293
Tirukkachchiyur	South Arcot	16 span	1200	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 187
Tirumalavadi	Tiruchchirappalli	12 feet	1200	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 642
Tirunelveli	Tirunelveli	24feet, <i>Sundarapāṇṭiyaṅkōl</i>	1200	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 446
Tirunelveli	Tirunelveli	<i>ūr-kaṭamai irukkum kōl</i>	1200	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 432
Tirunelveli	Tirunelveli	<i>Mēlvēmba-nāṭṭukōl</i> , 18 feet (16 x 16 is equal to one ma)	1200	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 411
Tiruvonnainallur	South Arcot	16 span	1200	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 170
Aruppukkottai	Virudunagar	16 span	1205	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 414
Kunnandarkoyil	Pudukkottai	9 feet	1217	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 370
Uttattur	Tiruchchirappalli	14 feet, 16 feet and <i>Vilakkaṭikol</i>	1232	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 500, 501
Chidambaram	Cuddalore	<i>Chokkachiyaṅkōl</i>	1261	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 215
Aruppukkottai	Virudunagar	16 feet	1286	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 410
Manimangalam	Chingleput	<i>Nārāyaṇan Aḷavukōl</i>	1300	<i>SII</i> , VI, no: 264
Tirupparankunram	Madurai	<i>Malaikkūṭikōl</i>	1300	<i>SII</i> , IV, no: 372
Nagar	South Arcot	12 feet	1339	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 303
Nerumbur	Chingleput	<i>Nāṭṭalavukōl</i>	1347	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 273
Tiruvadandai	Chingleput	<i>Nāṭṭalavukōl</i>	1356	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 287
Tiruvengavasal	Pudukkottai	16 feet	1400	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 241
Tiruvaiyaru	Thanjavur	18 feet	1428	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 554
Tenkasi	Tirunelveli	21 feet, 24 feet	1462	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 10
Atti	North Arcot	18 feet	1526	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 299

A particular portion/square area of the land was called as *vēli*, *mā*, *kuḷi*, *kāṇi* and *muntirikai*. *Muntiri* is the basic unit when it multiplied by half was *kīl-arai*. When *muntiri* multiplied by *muntri* was called as *kīl-kīl* and next value was *kīl-kīl-kīl*. Generally, a *vēli* consisted of 2000 or 2056 *kuḷi* and one *mā* is equivalent to 256 or 510 *kuḷi*, a *kuḷi* being a square of one rod (Subbarayalu, 2001, p.32).

If one take the 24 feet rod (*Sundarapāṇṭiyankōl*) as an example then one *kuḷi* consists of 576 sq.ft. (24x24=576 sq.ft) and *mā* is equivalent to 147456 sq.ft (576x256= 147456 sq.ft. or 3.38 acre/1.36 ha or 576x510=293760 sq.ft or 6.74 acre/2.73 ha) and a *vēli* comes to 26.45 acres or 10.70 ha. Some inscriptions mention big areas too. A Chola inscription of Rajadhiraja I found at Alangudi in Thanjavur district, mentions that the land extent of that brahmana village was 4126 *vēli* (*SII*, VI, no: 438). A Vijayanagara inscription of Achyutadevamaharaya states that 2000 *vēli* of land was gifted in the village Panaithangal in Chengattu-kottam for the merit of the king (*SII*, XXXVI, no: 256). The other measuring units referred to in the inscriptions are *chey* (*vēli*), *thaṭi*, *paṭṭi*, *pāṭakam* and *cheruvu*. The Chola inscription of Rajendrachola I, from Tiruvorriyur mentions one *paṭṭi* of land is equivalent to 1000 *kuḷi*, measured by 12 span rod. In Tondaimandalam the measure of *paṭṭi* and *pāṭakam* were popular. After the conquest of the Cholas, *vēli* was also used in this region.

The following table gives the details of *kuḷi* with their equivalent values.

Unit	Equivalent Unit	Rod/Scale	Dynasty/ King	Date/ CE	Reference
<i>kuḷi</i> 256	<i>mā</i> 1	<i>Viḷantaikōl</i>	Rajaraja I	1007	<i>SII</i> , VII, no:142
<i>kuḷi</i> 1000	<i>Paṭṭi</i> 1	16 span	Rajendrachola I	1012	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 272
<i>kuḷi</i> 2000	<i>vēli</i> 1	16 span	Kulottunga Chola I	1072	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 131
<i>kuḷi</i> 128	<i>mā</i> 1	16 feet		1100	<i>SII</i> , VI, no:439
<i>kuḷi</i> 100	<i>mā</i> 1	12 feet	Kulottunga Chola I	1100	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 702
<i>kuḷi</i> 510	<i>mā</i> 1	...	Rajarajachola II	1177	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 428
<i>kuḷi</i> 522	<i>mā</i> 1		Rajendrachola III	1217	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 425
<i>kuḷi</i> 256	<i>mā</i> 1	9 feet	Kulottungachola III	1217	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 370
<i>kuḷi</i> 160	<i>mā</i> 1	...	Rajarajachola III	1238	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 160
<i>kuḷi</i> 512	<i>mā</i> 1	<i>Chaturakōl</i> (Square rod)	Kopperusinga deva	1267	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 228
<i>kuḷi</i> 256	<i>mā</i> 1		Virapandya	1276	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 237
<i>kuḷi</i> 256	<i>mā</i> 1	16 feet	Kulasekara Pandya	1286	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 410
<i>kuḷi</i> 256	<i>mā</i> 1	24 feet	Nayakka	1504	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 168

The above table indicates that 256 sq.ft consists of one *kuḷi* almost standardized from the time of Rajaraja I in Tamil Nadu as he controlled the entire landscape of Tamil Nadu. He took a major initiative in measuring the land for tax assessment. However, the local measurement might have also continued but used in the local context for the sake of understanding.

Weight Measurement

The weight measures are classified as *kaḷañju*, *mañjāṭi*, *kunri*, *mā*, *palam* and *kaisu*. These terms of measurement are used to weight gold and other objects. Generally, the weight measuring stones are called as *kal*, found along with the title of king, name of the god and place in the inscriptions. The Chola inscriptions of the king Rajaraja I at Thanjavur, mention the details of gifted ornaments, while each of the gifts is stated to have been weighed by ‘the stone called ‘*Āṭavallāṇ*’ (*SII*, II, no: 1). This was evidently a standard weight for gold, or a set of such weights made of stone and preserved at the shrine of the god *Āṭavallāṇ*, who was also called as *Dakshina-mēruviṭaṅkaṇ*. There

are some other weighing stones referred in the inscriptions such as *danmakattalaikkal*, *ūrkal*, *kāsukal*, *kuṭiṇaikal*, *ūrāṭukal*, *chokkachiyaṅkal*, *tiruvellaraikal*, *nagarakal*, *parakēsarikal*, *madurāndakan māṭaiyōṭuvokkum kuṭiṇaikal*, *paṇṭārakkal*, etc.,

The weight of a *kaḷaṇḍu* consists of twenty *maṇḍāṭi*, one *maṇḍāṭi* of two *kuṇṇi* and one *kuṇṇi* weight about two grains. One *palam* of two *maṇḍāṭi*, a *kaisu* was equal to one-fourth of a *palam* (SII, II, p.408). A Chola inscription from Kilappaluvur in Tiruchchirapalli district mentions a pot known as *kalasapāṇai* weighted in 70 *nirai* by the measure of *cheruviṭai*. The Varaguna Pandya (862 CE) inscription at Ayyampalayam in Madurai district, refers a weight measure as *kāṇam*, which might be considered as the next measure of *maṇḍāṭi*. *Kāṇam* as a weight measure is found only in the Pandya region (SII, 14, no, 22). In other areas the term *kāṇam* is used to denote coins. Thus, a detailed study of various units of weights will help us to understand the economic growth that happened during a particular period and region.

The following table gives the details of weight measures.

Place	Period	Name of Weight	To measure	Reference
Kandiyur	850	<i>Ūrāṭukal</i>	gold	SII, V, no: 572
Srirangam	900	<i>Paṇṭārakkal</i>	gold	SII, IV, no: 519
Valikandapuram	976	<i>Nagarakal</i>	gold	SII, XXXII, no: 56
Tiruvellarai	979	<i>Tiruvellaraikal</i>	gold	SII, III, no: 132
Kanchipuram	997	<i>Danmakattalaikkal</i>	gold	SII, I, no: 146
Tiruverumbur	1001	<i>ūrkal</i>	gold	SII, XXXIV, no: 122
Somur	1008	<i>Kāsukal</i>	gold	SII, IV, no: 391
Thanjavur	1011	<i>Ādavallāṅkal</i>	gold	SII, II (I), no: 1
Tiruvaiyaru	1014	<i>Kuṭiṇaikal</i>	gold	SII, V, no: 514
Thanjavur	1014	<i>Dakshinamēruvidāṅkaṇ</i>	Gold and pearls	SII, II (I), no: 3
Tiruvorriyur	1041	<i>Paṇṭārakkal</i>	gold	SII, XXXVIII, no: 140
Tirunagesvaram	1042	<i>Danmakattalaikkal</i> , <i>Kuṭiṇaikal</i>	gold	SII, VI, no: 33
Kanchipuram	1075	<i>Madurāndakan māṭaiyōṭuvokkum Kuṭiṇaikal</i>	gold	SII, III, no: 66
Tiruvarur	1118	<i>Kuṭiṇaikal</i>	gold	SII, V, no: 457
Tiruvamattur	1200	<i>Chokkachiyaṅkal</i>	gold	SII, XII, no: 181
Perur	1200	<i>Parakesarikal</i>	gold	SII, V, no: 229

Volume Measure

The volume measure can be divided into two parts as grain measure and liquid measure (*mukattalaḷavai*). All the volumetric measure for grains is measured in terms of heaped measure. Oil and other liquids are measured by struck-mode. The *kōṭṭai* is the biggest measure unit for grains and fluids. The standard unit of grain measure was *kalam*. Thus, *cheviṭu* was the lowest fraction of a *kalam*. Most of the gifts are donated with the measure of *nāḷi* and *paṭi*. Therefore, *nāḷi* is considered as a standard measurement for oil and other liquids. Further, the unit of *cheviṭu* is the lowest unit for liquid measure.

The units of volumetric measure met with in inscriptions are *kalam*, *tūṇi*, *kāṭi*, *patakkū*, *kurūṇi*, *marakkāl*, *nāḷi* or *paṭi*, *uri*, *uḷakku*, *ālākku* and *cheviṭu*. Of these, *kāṭi* is found only in the Pallava and Chola territories, until 10th century CE in the inscriptions. The references to *kāṭi* are found in a Pallava inscription of Nandhivikramaparmar (750 CE) at Paiyanur in Chingleput district. It registers an agreement made by the village assembly (*Gana*) of Payinur to remove annually the silt from the big tank of the village for the interest on 6400 *kāṭi* of paddy received by the standard measure of Poṛkāl (*SII*, XII, no: 34).

Generally, one *kalam* consists of three *tūṇi*, one *tūṇi* (*kāṭi*) of two *patakkū*, one *patakkū* of two *kurūṇi* or *marakkāl*, one *kurūṇi* of eight *nāḷi* or *paṭi*, one *nāḷi* of two *uri*, one *uri* of two *uḷakku*, one *uḷakku* of two *ālākku*, five *cheviṭu* consist of one *ālākku* and one *cheviṭu* of three hundred and sixty of paddy. A Pandya inscription (900 CE) refers two *ālākku* is equal to value of one *uḷakku* (*SII* vol. XII, no: 29).

Kōṭṭai is the biggest measure noticed in the inscriptions after 14th century CE in Tamil Nadu. At Tenkasi, Visvanathasvamin temple inscription of Parakrama Pandya (1461CE) record fixes certain rates and collection of taxes on various services from the granted lands at the rate of half a *kōṭṭai* per *mā* crop (*SII*, XXXVIII, no:13).

Kalam is a widely used volumetric measure. An inscription of Alangudi in Thanjavur district in the period of Chola king Rajadhiraja I records the measure of 200333 *kalam* of paddy from the 4126 *vēli* of land. It is the largest number of *kalam* referred to in the inscriptions in Tamil Nadu (*SII*, VI, no: 438). *Kāṭi* is another volumetric measure noticed in inscriptions. The measure *Kāṭi* is frequently found in the Pallava region from 700 to 1000 CE. *Tūṇi* is the equallent measure of *kāṭi*. The term *tūṇi* is found in the Chola, Pandya and some other inscriptions of Tamil Nadu.

Different types of volumetric measuring scales are found as listed below:

Place	King	Century CE	Name of measure	Measuring Articles	Reference
Paiyanur	Nandhivikki-ramaparmar	750	<i>Porḱal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 34
Lalgudi	Nirupadunga-varman	850	<i>Nārāya nāḷi</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 61
Tiruvorriyur	Nirupadunga-varman	850	<i>Karunāḷi</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 70
Tirumukkudal	Nirupadunga-varman	850	<i>Ayanpaṭi</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 75
Tiruvorriyur	Aprajitavikramavanmar	900	<i>Uḷakku</i> = <i>Viṭṭēlvitukukal</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 89
Tiruchchen-durai	Parantaka I	930	<i>Sūlanāḷi</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXII, Appendix, no: 2
Anaimalai	Parantaka	939	<i>Aiṇāḷikal</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , III, no: 106
Tirunelveli	Virapandya	950	<i>Kaṭārattu sūla uḷakku</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 451
Pallimadam	Virapandya	955	<i>Chōḷiya nāḷi</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XIV, no: 80

Place	King	Century CE	Name of measure	Measuring Articles	Reference
Ramanatha-puram	Virapandya	958	<i>Chōlāndaka nāḷi</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XIV, no: 88
Valikanda-puram	Sundarachola	961	<i>nārāyam</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XXXII, no: 56
Tiruvadandai	Aditya II	964	<i>Añālīkal</i> , <i>Eṇṇālīkal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 264
Kanchipuram	Rajaraja I	997	<i>Rājakēsari</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , I, no: 146
Tirumalavadi		1000	<i>Sembiyaṇmādēvi marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 638
Takkolam	Parakesari	1000	<i>Arunālīkkal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 1375
Takkolam	Rajakesari	1000	<i>ūr-paṇḷavarakal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 1366
Tiruvorriyur	Virarajendra	1000	<i>Rājakēsari</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 128
Kilappaluvur	Kopparakesari	1000	<i>Nārasanāḷi</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 608
Tiruvadandai	Rajaraja I	1004	<i>Kachchipēṭu niṇra marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 267
Tiruvaiyaru	Rajaraja I	1007	<i>Uḷakaviṭaṇkaṇṇāḷi</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 516
Thanjavur	Rajaraja I	1014	<i>Rājakēsari</i> = <i>Āṭavallān marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , II(III), no: 65
Tiruvadandai	Rajaraja I	1014	<i>nārasakal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 260
Takkolam	Rajendra I	1015	<i>Rājakēsari nāḷi</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 1378
Tirumalavadi	Rajendra I	1028	<i>Paṇṭāra nāḷi</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 635
Thanjavur	Rajendra I	1034	<i>Āṭavallāṇ marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , II (I), no: 20
Thanjavur	Rajendra I	1036	<i>Rājēndrasingaṇ marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , IV, no: 223
Tiruvorriyur	Rajendra I	1041	<i>Karanaividāṇkaṇ marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 139
Tiruvorriyur	Rajendra I	1041	<i>Rājakēsari marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 140
Tiruvorriyur	Rajendra I	1043	<i>Arumōḷidēvaṇṇāḷi</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 1354
Kanchipuram	Rajadhiraja I	1045	<i>Arumōḷidēvaṇ marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , IV, no: 867
Tiruvorriyur	Rajadhiraja I	1045	<i>Arumōḷidēvaṇ</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 142
Tiruvorriyur	Virarajendra	1068	<i>Arumōḷidēvaṇ</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 228
Tiruvorriyur	Kulottunga I	1076	<i>Kōyirkal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 216
Kamarasavalli	Kulottunga I	1096	<i>ūrkal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 73

Place	King	Century CE	Name of measure	Measuring Articles	Reference
Tirunelveli	Kulottunga I	1100	<i>Rājakēsari</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 436
Tiruvorriyur	Kulottunga I	1103	<i>Arumolīdēvaṇ</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 118
Chinnakanchipuram	Vikramachola	1125	<i>Chilavalakkumarumolīnaṅgai marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , III, no: 80
Ratnagiri	Kulottunga III	1198	<i>Adichathennāli</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 185
Mannargudi		1200	<i>Maṭakkupaṭi, Oṭṭuppaṭi</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , VI, no: 43
Tiruvonnainallur	Kopperunsingadeva I	1200	<i>Aṭikai nāyakaṇ marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 135
Tirunelveli	Sundrapandya	1200	<i>Aṇavaradaṇ</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 447
Tiruvonnainallur	Kopperunsingadeva	1200	<i>Arumolīdēvaṇṇāli</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 122
Vriḍḍhachalam	Kopperunsingadeva I	1200	<i>Dēvasirayaṇ nāli</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 118
Muttur	Virarajendra	1226	<i>Toṭṭalakkum nāli</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 166
Tiruvengavasal	Sundarapandya I	1227	<i>Nāṭṭu marakkāl</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 235
Aruppukkottai	Sundarapandya I	1230	<i>Iṭikaikal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 412
Padi	Rajaraja III	1232	<i>Tiruñānasampanda nāli</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXVI, no: 214,
Chidambaram	Kopperunsingadeva	1261	<i>Seṇṇaṭaikal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 215
Chinnakanchipuram	Kopperunsingadeva	1261	<i>Ariyaṇṇavallāṇṇāli</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 212
Tirukkoyilur	Kopperunsingadeva	1261	<i>Uḷakalandaṇṇāli</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 213
Kanchipuram	Vijayagandagopala	1265	<i>Tiruvēgampa nāli</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , IV, no: 350,
Tiruvorriyur	Vijayagandagopala	1271	<i>Chilavu nāli</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XXXVIII, no: 243
Tiruvonnainallur	Kopperunsingadeva	1274	<i>Arumolīdēvaṇṇāli</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , XII, no: 242
Tiruvarangulam	Kulasekara deva	1300	<i>Paṭikkal</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 274
Tirukkalukunram	Sundarapandya	1300	<i>Rājakēsari nāli</i>	liquid	<i>SII</i> , V, no: 480
Tiruvarangulam	Virapandya	1306	<i>Cheppu nāli</i>	grain	<i>SII</i> , XXXIV, no: 302

The above evidence of land surveys, measuring weights and liquids were common in the inscriptions from the time of 8th century CE. Different types of measuring scales were used and it seems, different measures were adopted in different localities. These measurements were created for the purpose of revenue. The number of items involved in the transactions reflects the nature of economic activities and also the accumulation of wealth. All the transactions were mostly related to temple activities. The other transactions not related to any temple activities were not documented or engraved on the temple walls. Thus, the nature of available data restricted our full understanding of the unit of measurement. However, the available data clearly suggests the prevailing measuring system and its regional and chronological variations.

References

1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (ARE), Archaeological Survey of India.
2. Jagadish, 2005, *Measurement System in Karnataka (A.D. 325 to 1700)*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bangalore
3. Karashima, N., 2006, KAI in the Description of Land-extent in Chola Inscriptions: Effort to Build a Centralized State by Rajaraja I, *AdhAram*, Vol. I, pp. 45-48
4. Selvakumar, V., 2018, "Measuring and Ordering the Space: Linear Measurement Rods (Kol) of Medieval Tamil Nadu", *History Today* No. 19, New Delhi, pp.154-160.
5. Shanmugam, P., 1987, *The Revenue System of the Cholas 850-1279*, New Era Publications, Chennai, p.73.
6. *South Indian Inscriptions volumes* (SII), Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
7. Subbarayalu, Y., 2001, "Land Measurement in Medieval Tamil Nadu", *Studies in Cola History*, Panpattu Veliyittagam, Madras, p.32
8. Subbarayalu, Y., 2012. *South India under the Cholas*, Oxford University, New Delhi
9. Venkaya, V., and E. Hultzh., 1892 Introduction, *SII*, Vol. II, Parts I and II, Archaeological Survey of India, Madras, pp. 1-41

WHO WERE THE SCRIBES?

A Study of the Prākṛit Inscriptions of the caves at Kuḍā.

Yogini Aatreya

Abstract:

The author of this paper attempts to take a deeper look at the twenty-six Prākṛit inscriptions of the caves of Kuḍā situated in the present-day Raigaḍ district of Maharashtra. The paper focuses on the aspects of orthography and calligraphy, the role of scribes and also try to compare the inscriptions of different classes to get a fair idea about the engraving styles seen in these caves. The methodology used here can be replicated in other caves in Western India.

Keywords:

Kuḍā, Inscriptions, Orthography, Calligraphy, Engravings, Scribe.

The caves of Kuḍā are situated in the present-day Raigaḍ district of Maharashtra. It is a complex of 27 caves, located on the west of the Rajpuri creek. The caves are affiliated with the Buddhist faith. The Prākṛit inscriptions in these caves are bold, crisp, and clear. They also record donations from distinct types of classes that seem to have existed in those days, the royalty, the clergy, and the laity (Dalal et al 2017-2018).

In this paper an attempt is made to take a deeper look at the twenty-six Prākṛit inscriptions of these caves, with special focus on orthographical aspects such as study of the diacritical marks used to emphasize vowels in the letters and calligraphical aspects used to define the style of lettering, whether they were neatly engraved or not. In the course of discussion, the role of the scribes who engraved these epigraphs shall be studied. An attempt is also made to compare the inscriptions of different classes to get a fair idea about the engraving styles seen in these caves.

To begin with, the inscriptions by the royalty are examined. The royal donations were made by the members of the Mahābhoja dynasty. The Mahābhojas controlled the regions in and around the present-day town of Maṇḍāḍ in the Raigaḍ district of Maharashtra between first century CE. and second century CE. (Bankar 2008). The mention of this dynasty directly comes from the inscriptions of Cave 7, 11, 12, and 13 (Dalal et al 2017-2018).

These inscriptions have been carved after preparing the surface for carving. Of these inscriptions nos. 14 and 17 have been neatly engraved and have good relief. They are situated at prominent places like above the water tank, and the veranda, respectively. Inscription nos. 18 and 19 have uneven engravings and can be missed if the viewer does not know where to look for them (Burgess and Indrajī 1881).

Coming to the letters and diacritical marks used in these four inscriptions, it can be observed that inscriptions nos. 4 and 17 have identical engravings. Inscription no. 18 resembles the previously mentioned inscriptions but has a broad-looped variety of the letters *cha* and *ma* which is not seen in them (A. H. Dani 1997). Apart from this minute difference, these inscriptions share similar engraving. The amount of space left between the letters of these inscriptions also seems to be

the same. Inscription no. 19 stands as a unique example in this lot. It's letters do not match the calligraphy of the previously discussed inscriptions. The letters are closer to each other. It can be thus, said that there were two sets of hands working on these inscriptions.

The next set of inscriptions to be analysed are the ones that contain donations from the clergies. Monks and nuns made these donations. These inscriptions have been spotted in caves 5, 15, and 16 (Dalal et al 2017-2018). Here, in this lot, the surface has only been prepared for inscription no. 23. All the other inscriptions, nos. 4, 5, 24, and 25, have been carved directly. Despite this, all of them have been intricately carved. The reliefs of inscriptions nos. 4 and 24 are not good compared to the remaining inscriptions. These inscriptions have succumbed to weathering activities too. Inscription nos. 5, 23, and 25 have been engraved in prominent positions like the veranda, the wall near the door, and the entrance, respectively (Burgess and Indrajī 1881). The letters show proximity to each other in style. Calligraphically, all the inscriptions have been engraved by a scribe who is well-versed in his or her craft. A slight difference however can be noticed in the diacritical mark for the vowel *i*. In inscription nos. 4, 5, and 24, the diacritical mark for *i* has been represented by a right curve variety whereas in inscription nos. 23 and 25 it has been shown using the left curve variety (A. H. Dani 1997). The diacritical mark for the vowel *ī* in inscription no. 23 is quite peculiar. In inscription no. 25, the diacritical marks for *i* and *ī* are less curvy compared to the other inscriptions whereas, in inscription no. 5, the lower extensions of letters are curvier than any other inscription in this group. In inscriptions nos. 5, and 23, the letters have been engraved close to each other compared to inscriptions nos. 4, 24, and 25. Having said this, based on the orthography, inscriptions nos. 4, 5, 24, and 25 are alike and inscription no. 23 stands to be a unique example of this lot. Thus, it can be said that, like in the previous class, here also two sets of hands were at work.

The last set of inscriptions contain donations done by laity. These donations have been made by a scribe, a physician, a daughter of a minister, an ironmonger, wives, gardeners, merchants, and traders. These inscriptions have been found in Cave 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23 and 24 (Dalal et al 2017-2018). The inscription nos. 1, 9, 13, 15, 20, 27, and 28 have been inscribed on a prepared surface whereas inscriptions nos. 2, 16, 21, 26, 29, 30, and 31 have been directly inscribed. All these inscriptions have been intricately carved. Inscriptions that were engraved on prepared surfaces along with inscriptions nos. 16, and 29 have good relief and have been placed at prominent positions like the entrances, courtyards, verandas, windows, walls near the door and water tanks (Burgess and Indrajī 1881).

A similarity in maintaining space between each letter from this set of inscriptions can be seen. It is only in inscriptions nos. 15, and 16 that the letters have been placed closely. The letters of these two inscriptions are seen to be alike. Both these inscriptions have a frame around which the letters have been engraved.

In inscriptions nos. 1, 2, 9, and 13, it can be noticed that the letters are identical to each other. A minor change can be noticed in the marking of *ī*. The mark for *ī* on *ja* in inscription no. 1 and inscription no. 13 slightly varies. In inscription no. 13, one can observe the left curve and right curve variety of engraving the diacritical mark for *i* (A. H. Dani 1997). These forms can be previously spotted in inscriptions nos. 4, 5, and 24. Another peculiarity that can be spotted is that the donor in inscriptions nos. 1, 2, and 9 is a person named Shivabhūti who works as a scribe.

The inscription nos. 21, 26, 28, 29, 30, and 31 can be grouped based on their orthography and

calligraphy. The curves of the round letters, the straightness of the straight letters, and the diacritical marks used in these six inscriptions are uniform. A unique representation of the diacritical mark for *i* can be seen in inscription no. 30 present in the letter *va*. Inscription no. 20 stands out as a unique example of this lot, whereas the orthography and calligraphy of inscription no. 27 match with inscription no. 23, discussed previously. Here, we can see three sets of hands working for engraving these inscriptions.

The content of these two inscriptions, inscription no. 3 from Cave 5 and inscription no. 22 from Cave 14 is not clear because of which they cannot be classified into any class (Burgess and Indrajī 1881). Inscription no. 3 from Cave 5 has been directly and neatly engraved on the surface of the wall. It has a good relief. This inscription can be found above a water tank. The letters of these inscription are properly spaced. The letter *ḍha* has a peculiar form in this inscription. It is the rounded variety of *ḍha* (A. H. Dani 1997). The calligraphy of this inscription matches with the inscription nos. 1, 2, 9, and 13, discussed previously. The vowel mark for *ī* seen in inscription no. 13 on letter *sa* can be seen in this inscription on letter *ḍha*. Inscription no. 22 from Cave 14 does not have a prepared surface. It was engraved directly on the wall above the water tank. It has been engraved neatly and had a good relief. The inscription currently is in bad state due to weathering. The letters have equal space between each other. Comparing it with the earlier discussed inscriptions, its calligraphy matches with inscription nos. 15 and 16. Like these two inscriptions, a frame like structure can be seen within which the inscription was carved.

With the above-stated observations, it can be said that the inscriptions falling in the purview of this paper have been neatly engraved irrespective of the surface preparations. It can be seen that three peculiar types of marks are used for indicating the diacritical mark for *i*. They can be seen in inscription nos. 1, 13, and 30 on the letters *ja* and *va*, respectively. Another interesting thing seen in the letter form is that, across all the inscriptions, the diacritical mark for *i* on letter *la* remains the same. It is the left curve variety that is constant (A. H. Dani 1997).

When the inscriptions being analysed based on their engraving rather than classes, a pattern seems to emerge. There are a total of six groups that be created taking the calligraphy and orthography into consideration. Group A consists of inscription nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 24, and 25. Group B consists of inscriptions nos. 15, 16, and 22. Group C consists of inscription nos. 21, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31. Group D consists of inscription nos. 23 and 27. Inscription nos. 19 and 20 are solo evidence hence, they form two separate groups, Group E and F.

The following table displays the inscriptions in group wise manner:

Group A

S. No.	Name and number of the Inscription (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)	Finding Spot of Inscription (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)	Class of Inscription (Dalal et al 2017-2018)
1.	Inscription 1 from Cave 1	Entrance	Laity class Donor: Sivabhūti, a scribe
2.	Inscription 2 from Cave 2	Courtyard	Laity class Suggested donor: Sivabhūti, a scribe
3.	Inscription 3 from Cave 5	Water tank	Not indicated

4.	Inscription 4 from Cave 5	Entrance	Clergy class Donor: Sātimitā, a nun
5.	Inscription 5 from Cave 5	Veranda	Clergy class Donor: Padumanikā, a nun
6.	Inscription 9 from Cave 6	Veranda	Laity class Donor: Sivabhūti, a scribe
7.	Inscription 13 from Cave 7	Veranda	Laity class Donor: Somadeva, a physician with his sons and daughters
8.	Inscription 14 from Cave 7	Water tank	Royal class: Donor: Maṇḍava Kumāra, son of Sivama, the chief of the Maṇḍavas.
9.	Inscription 17 from Cave 11	Veranda	Royal class Donor: A daughter of the Mahābhōjas
10.	Inscription 18 from Cave 12	Veranda	Royal class Donor: The Daughter of Hāla, the Royal Minister
11.	Inscription 24 from Cave 16	Veranda	Clergy class Donor: A female disciple of Boḍhī
12.	Inscription 25 from Cave 16	Veranda	Clergy class Donor: Sapilā, a nun

Group B

S. No.	Name of the Inscription (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)	Finding Spot of Inscription (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)	Class of Inscription (Dalal et al 2017-2018)
1.	Inscription 15 from Cave 9	Veranda	Clergy class Donor: Bhayilā, wife of the Upāsaka Ayitilu
2.	Inscription 16 from Cave 10	Courtyard	Laity class Donor: Sivapirita, the son of a gardener
3.	Inscription 22 from Cave 14	Water tank	Not indicated.

Group C

S. No.	Name of the Inscription (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)	Finding Spot of Inscription (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)	Class of Inscription (Dalal et al 2017-2018)
1.	Inscription 21 from Cave 14	Water tank	Clergy class Donor: Vasula, a merchant.
2.	Inscription 26 from Cave 16	Water tank	Laity class Donor: Mugudā, a gardener.
3.	Inscription 28 from Cave 18	Veranda	Laity class Donor: Vasulaṇaka, a merchant.
4.	Inscription 29 from Cave 19	Water tank	Laity class Donor: Vasulaṇaka, a merchant.

5.	Inscription 30 from Cave 23	Window	Laity class Donor: Sivadatā, the mother of Pusaṇaka and second (daughter or wife of Veśamita), the trader.
6.	Inscription 31 from Cave 24	Door	Laity class Donor: Asāḷamita, Achaladāsa's son, the trader.

Group D

S. No.	Name and number of the Inscription (Burgess and Indraji 1881)	Finding Spot of Inscription (Burgess and Indraji 1881)	Class of Inscription (Dalal et al 2017-2018)
1.	Inscription 23 from Cave 15	Door	Laity class Donor: Rāmadata, the Adhagachhaka, son of Ahila
2.	Inscription 27 from Cave 17	Water tank	Laity class Donor: Nagā, a householder

Group E

S. No.	Name and number of the Inscription (Burgess and Indraji 1881)	Finding Spot of Inscription (Burgess and Indraji 1881)	Class of Inscription (Dalal et al 2017-2018)
1.	Inscription 19 from Cave 13	Window	Royal class Donor: Vijayānikā, daughter of Mahābhoya, Sādakara Svdaṃsaṇa

Group F

S. No.	Name and number of the Inscription (Burgess and Indraji 1881)	Finding Spot of Inscription (Burgess and Indraji 1881)	Class of Inscription (Dalal et al 2017-2018)
1.	Inscription 20 from Cave 14	Window	Royal class Donor: Vijayānikā, daughter of Mahābhoya, Sādakara Svdaṃsaṇa

Thus, it can be stated that the inscriptions cannot be stylised based on the classes they belong to as each group has a set of all the three classes. There is no watertight compartment of scribes. It depended on the scribes that were hired by the donors for engraving. The idea of royals having a separate scribe is not seen in most of the inscriptions here, except for inscription no. 19 from Cave 13. These six groups of inscriptions nowhere claim to have done by six different people. They are plainly classified based on their orthography and calligraphy.

Hence, by trying to understand the role of scribes who engraved these inscriptions, epigraphs can be looked at from a different lens. The methodology used in this paper can be used at other places having donations by various classes of people. Studies like this shall help seekers of the past to comprehend the social psyche of people who live in ancient times.

Acknowledgement:

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Abhijit Dandekar for his guidance. I am deeply indebted to the stalwarts James Burgess and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji for publishing the Cave Temples of Western India and Ahmed Hasan Dani for publishing Indian Palaeography. It is because of these immense contributions by them that I could undertake this endeavour. I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Mrs. Aparna Aatreya, Mr. Arun Rao, and Mr. Santosh Pandey for their constant support and assistance.

References:

1. Bankar, Amol. 2008. "Mahabhojas of Aparanta (West Coast)." Journal of Oriental Numismatics Society 15-24.
2. Dalal et al. 2017-2018. "The Hippocampus of Kuda: A Mediterranean Motif which validates the identification of the Indo-Roman port of Mandagora." Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology 13-14: 70-86.
3. Dani, Ahmad Hasan. 1997. Indian Palaeography. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
4. Burgess and Indraji. 1881. Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India with Descriptive Notes &c. Vol. X, chap. 1 & 2 in Archaeological Survey of Western India (Volume X), 1-21. Bombay: Government Central Press.
5. Visvanathan, Meera. 2014. "From "Lekhakha" to "Kayastha": Scribes in Early Historic Court and Society (200 BCE to 200CE)." Indian History Congress 34-40.

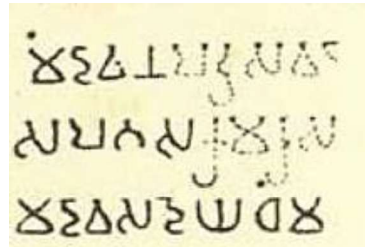


Fig. 1: Inscription 14 from Cave 7 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

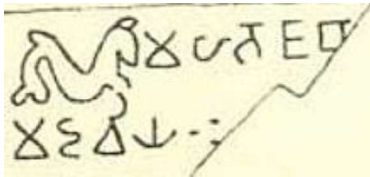


Fig. 2(A): Inscription 17 from Cave 1 **Fig. 2(B):** In situ image of Inscription 17 from Cave 11

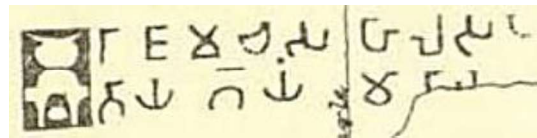


Fig. 3: Inscription 18 from Cave 12 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

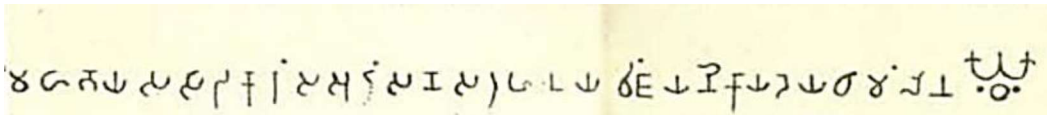


Fig. 4: Inscription 19 from Cave 13 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

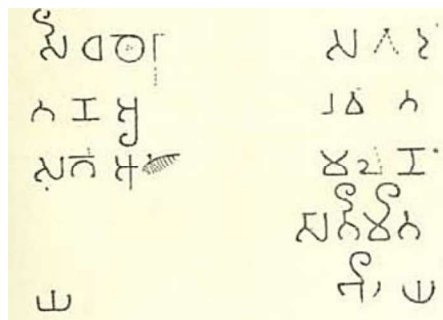


Fig. 5: Inscription 4 from Cave 5 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

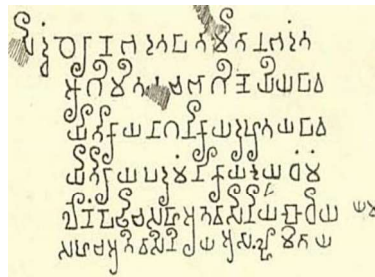


Fig. 6: Inscription 5 from Cave 5 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

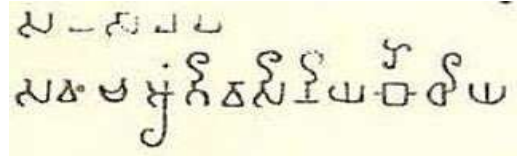


Fig. 7 Inscription 24 from Cave 16 (Burgess and Indraji 1881)

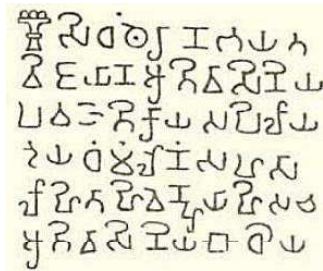


Fig. 8(A): Inscription 25 from Cave 16 **Fig. 8(B):** In situ image of Inscription 25 from Cave 16

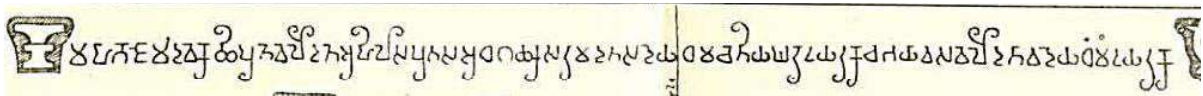


Fig. 9(A): Inscription 23 from Cave 15 (Burgess and Indraji 1881)



Fig. 9(B): In situ image of Inscription 23 from Cave 15 (Burgess and Indraji 1881)

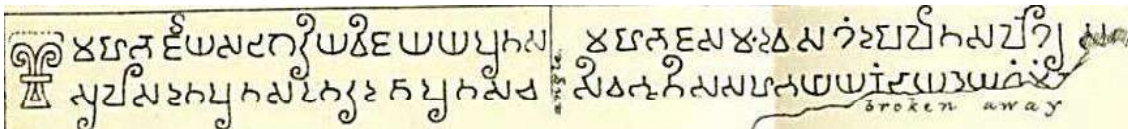


Fig. 10(A): Inscription 1 from Cave 1 (Burgess and Indraji 1881)



Fig. 10(B): In situ image of Inscription 1 from Cave 1



Fig. 10(C): In situ image of Inscription 1 from Cave 1

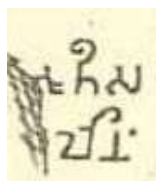


Fig. 11: Inscription 2 from Cave 3 (Burgess and Indraji 1881)

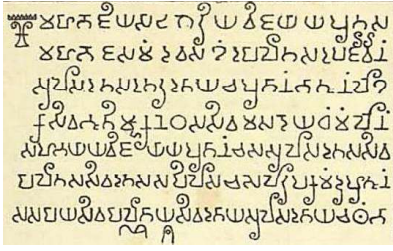


Fig. 12(A): Inscription 9 from Cave 6



Fig. 12(B): In situ image of Inscription 9 from Cave 6

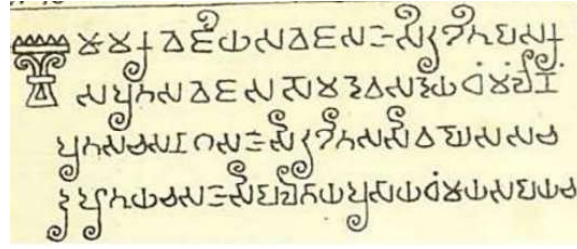


Fig. 13: Inscription 13 from Cave 7 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

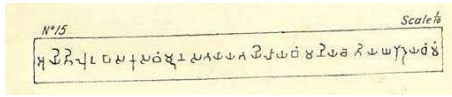


Fig. 14: Inscription 15 from Cave 9

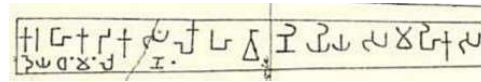


Fig. 15: Inscription 20 from Cave 14

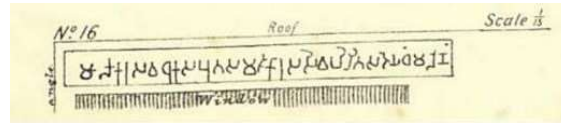


Fig. 16(A): Inscription 16 from Cave 10 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)



Fig. 16(B): In situ image of Inscription 16 from Cave 10

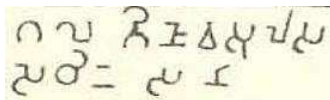


Fig. 17: Inscription 21 from Cave 14

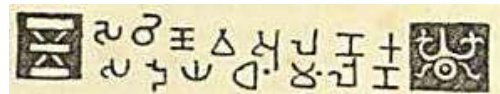


Fig. 18: Inscription 28 from Cave 18

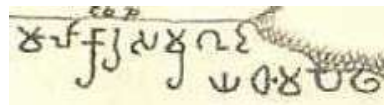


Fig. 19: Inscription 26 from Cave 16 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

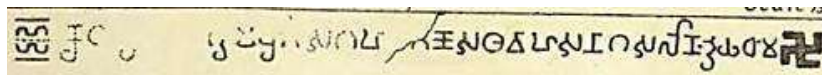


Fig. 20: Inscription 27 from Cave 17 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

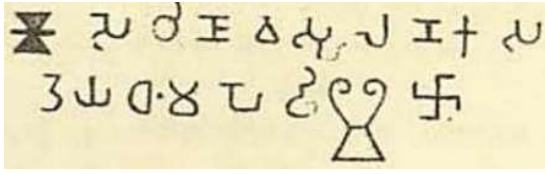


Fig. 21(A): Inscription 29 from Cave 19



Fig. 21(B): In situ image of Inscription 29 Cave 19

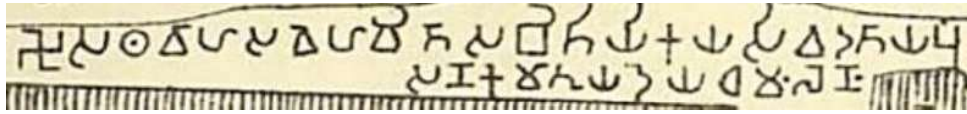


Fig. 22: Inscription 30 from Cave 23 (Burgess and Indrajī 1881)

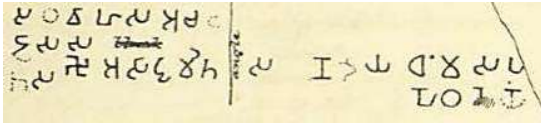


Fig. 23(A): Inscription 31 from Cave 24



Fig. 23(B): Image of Inscription 31 from Cave 24

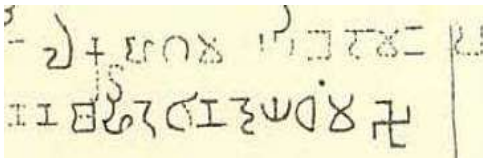


Fig. 24: Inscription 3 from Cave 5

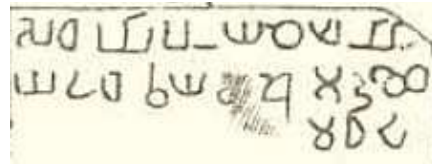


Fig. 25: Inscription 22 from Cave 14

Mukkatarapeta Inscription Revisited

Smita Halder

Abstract:

An engraved slab found from the village of Mukkatarapeta in Karimnagar District, Telangana was published by K. Munirathnam in *JESI*, Vol. XLV. According to the author the inscription refers to the Sātavāhana prince Hakusiri. In this article the present author has suggested some observations regarding the reading and analysis of the inscription and disagree to take the person mentioned in the inscription as Hakusiri as the prince Hakusiri of Naneghat inscription. Hence, this article tries to provide with a fresh interpretation of the inscription.

Keywords:

Epigraphy, Early Historic Inscriptions, Hakusiri, Donation.

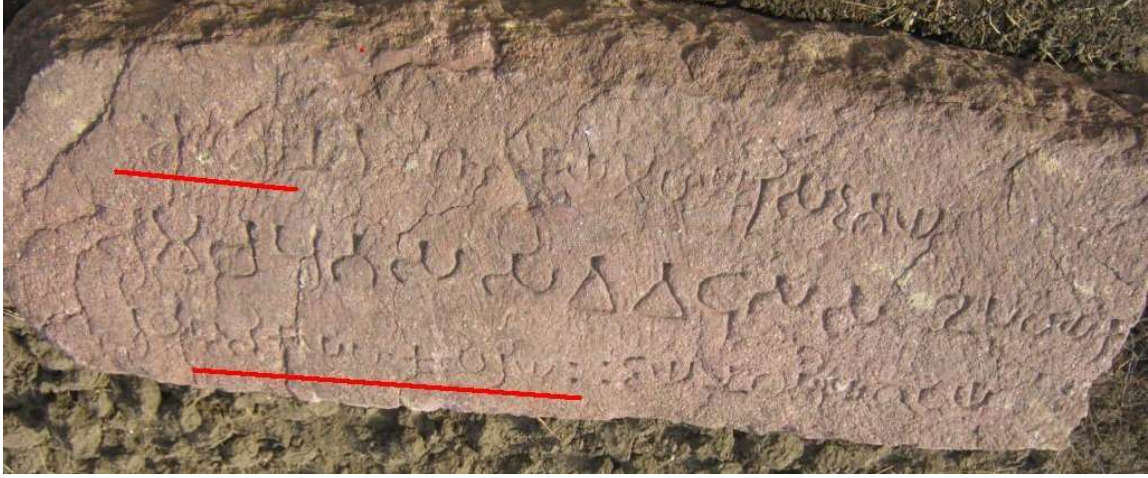
An engraved slab, found from the village of Mukkatarapeta in Karimnagar District, Telangana, has been published in *JESI*¹. This inscription is written in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters of 1st century CE. According to K. Munirathnam, it records “the gift of an image of Upaṭha-Yakini and an umbrella to Nāgasiri and Gōpi by Sivavaṭu, son of a minister (*amacha*) named Data hailing from Mahāpuri and grandson of Nabhatha belonging to Ahimaka (Asmaka), probably when bālaka Hakusiri was administering the region.”

Reading by K. Munirathnam:

1. *Ahimakā Nabhaṭhi bāli(la)kāya Mahāpurisa Datāya*
2. *amachaputasa Sivavaṭusasa Upaṭha Yakiniya cha deya*
3. *chatha bāli(la)kāya Hakusiriya 1 deya Nāgasiriya Gōpiya*

I am indebted to Dr. Munirathnam for sending me a photograph of the inscription along with a photograph of its estampage. I am also thankful to Dr. S. Krishnamurthy for providing me with the published article in *JESI*. After an observation on the inscription, I would like to differ slightly from the previous author; hence, on the basis of fresh reading and interpretation, I would like to explain the inscription as follows –





New Reading:

Line 1: Ahimakānabhathībālikāya maha(ā)purisadatāya

Line 2: amacaputasa sivavaṭusa sa(vaḍha) pathāya kaniya ca deya

Line 3: catha bālikāya hākusiriya ī deya nāgasiriya (or māga(dh)iya?) gōṭhiya

Here, the words in the first and third line is clearly written as *bālikāya* and case ending used with all the words *bālikā*, *datā* and *hākusiri* clearly suggests that these words are feminine in nature. Hence, taking the words as *bālaka*, *data* and *hākusiri* (as masculine) as suggested by Dr. Munirathnam is difficult to accept.

The first word of the inscription i.e., *Ahimakānabhathī-bālikāya* probably stands for the identification of the person Mahāpurīṣadattā after her native place (i.e., daughter of *Ahimakānabhathī*). According to K. Munirathnam this place can be identified with Aśmaka – the region comprising modern districts of Nanded, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Warrangal, Hyderabad, and Medak districts of Telangana with its capital at Bodhan in Nizamabad district. However, from the article it is not clear on what ground the place is being identified with Ahimaka.

The word *kaniya* probably derived from the word *kanīyas* that means a younger sister of a wife; younger son or daughter². In Prakrit³ also *kañiā* stands for junior.

In the last line the word *catha* can be either umbrella as suggested by the previous author or it can be a *satra* as in this region we observe frequent use of *ca* instead of *sa*. For example we may cite the name Cimuka instead of Simuka.

As mentioned above that according to K. Munirathnam the word from third line is *bālakāya* instead of *bālikāya* and he identified Hākusiri of present inscription with Kumāra Hākusiri of Naneghat cave inscription. However, as it is already mentioned before that the word used in feminine form, hence, she has no relation with Kumāra Hākusiri.

After a careful observation of the photographs provided by K. Munirathnam, it seems that there are two possibilities for the word *nāgasiriya* – one, it is *nāgasiriya* as mentioned by Munirathnam or the word is *māgadhiya* as photograph of the inscription shows that there is a stroke towards left to the letter *na* (of *nāgasiri*) which makes the letter like *ma*. However, here it should be

mentioned that another *ma* used in this inscription is quite different from this one. Besides the *ma*, there is little space of placing a *ri* between *si* and *ya*. Also in the last word it seems that the letter is not *pi* but *ṭhi* as the base of the letter seems almost round. Hence the reading could be *nāgasiriya gōṭhiya* or *māga(dh)iya? gōṭhiya* instead of *nāgasiriya gōpiya*.

Therefore, the inscription probably records that Mahāpurishadattā, the, daughter of Ahimakānabhathī [identity after the place name] (and) Sivavaṭu, the son of the minister, together with Hākusiri, the younger sister of his wife/ younger daughter, of the Nāgasiri clan⁴ [or Māgadha clan] donated an umbrella or a *satra*.

Hence, it is now difficult to accept that the inscription for the first time referring to Aśmaka in Telangana region. Besides, identification of Aśmaka region, which was one of the sixteen *mahajanapadas*, with northern Telangana, and taking Hākusiri, as the ruler of the region⁵ is also difficult to accept. We need further evidences to identify Ahimakānabhathī region. However, if we consider the affiliation to the Māgadha clan, it could be placed somewhere in the Ganga valley.

Notes and References:

1. Munirathnam, K., Landmark Brahmi Inscriptions from Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. XLV, 2020, p.118.
2. Williams, M. Monier, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, London, 1960, pp. 248-249
3. *kaṇā > kaniya*
4. *goṣṭhī* (*ṭṛtiyā* singular number = *Gōṭhā > Gōṭhīya > gōṭhiya*)
5. Munirathnam, K., *op.cit.*

Hansi Stone Inscription of Prthviraja - II

Jagdish Parshad

Abstract:

The Chauhan dynasty is very important in northern India. A stone inscription of Prthvirāja II, dated Samvat 1164, housed in the National Museum of Scotland in Switzerland is largely ignored in contemporary historical investigations. This research paper has emphasized the Chauhan dynasty within that context in an attempt to highlight the stone inscription's contribution to North India.

Keywords:

Hānsī, Prthvirāja, Kilhaṇa, Hammīra, Rāma, Chāhamāna

In 1825, Captain E. Fell published a translation, without any transcript, of this inscription in the *Asiatic Research*¹ but could not speak on the find spot. After that, in 1827, Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod published a summary of this inscription with remarks thereon in the *Transaction of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.² In this inscription he mentioned that Prthvirāja, sprung from the lineage of Chauhan, was sovereign of the earth (*Mahī-pati*). The brother of his mother was Kilhaṇa, of the Grahilote race, a glorious warrior. The inscription was originally found at Hānsī, district Hisar in Haryana state, but regarding its exact original find-spot there, Tod says as follows:

“The inscription, which I obtained through the kindness of my friend Colonel Skinner, had been saved from the general wreck of these hells, by the materials being taken to erect a small Musleman place of worship; and this slab was built into the wall in a reversed position. It was afterward presented to Marquis Hastings; but as it reached this nobleman at a very busy period of his career in 1818, I know not what became of it.”

The third time it was published by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary* in February, 1912.³ He tried to give a detailed introduction and the text of the inscription. But he had made many mistakes in the text. But none of these attempts has proved successful, and a correct and accurate account together with a transcript of it is still a desideratum, therefore, a need to publish here.

The stone inscription is lying in the Royal Scotland National Museum in Edinburgh. Two excellent digital photographs of it had been sent to me in September of this year by the Director of the Edinburg Museum.⁴ And it is from these photographs, I edited this inscription and reproduced it here.

The inscription contains 22 lines of writing in Nāgari characters, the language is Sanskrit; partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses are numbered, but very great carelessness is shown in this respect. It is full of solecisms. We thus have rangāni instead of rangān in line 2, vijaya-vara-kareḥ instead of vijaya-vara-kariṇaḥ, in line 8, and so on. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are: (1) the use of v for b and (2) the doubling of the consonant in conjunction with a preceding r. with regards to lexicography we have only to note the *deśi* word *gaḍha* employed in line 11. Attention may be drawn to the sign for ṛī occurring in *ṛiksha-yūtha-patithiḥ*, line 12.

The record opens with an obeisance to some goddess whose name is unspecified. This

shows that the stone slab inscription was originally in the temple of the goddess. Then follows a verse that invokes the blessings of the god Murāri. Verse 2 informs us that there was a king of the Chāhamāna lineage called Pṛthvīrāja and his maternal uncle was one Kilhaṇa, who, according to the next verse, belonged to the Guhilauta dynasty. The verse following tells us that thinking of Hammīra⁵ who had become the cause of anxiety to the world, the king put Kilhaṇa in charge of the fort of Āsikā, doubtless known as Hānsi. From verse 5, we learn that Kilhaṇa erected a *pratoli*, i.e., a *pol*, or gateway⁶ which with its flags set Hammīra as it were at defiance. And near the gateway were constructed two *koshthakas* or granaries (verse 6). Then we have a prose line (lines 9-10) speaking of a letter sent to him by Vibhīshaṇa. Verse 7 with which the letter begins, says: “the lord of demons (Vibhīshaṇa) who has obtained a boon from Rāma, the crest-jewel of the lineage of Raghu, respectfully speaks thus to Kilhaṇa staying in the fort (*gaḍha*) of Āsī.” The next verse says: “In the work of building the bridge we both assisted the leaders of the monkeys and bears. And you (Kilhana) have written saying that to you the lord of Pañchapura,⁷ probably Pinjaur, a very old town near Kālkā. He (the ruler of Pañchapura) saved his kingdom by surrendering a valuable pearl necklace, and offering homage to Chauhān ruler.⁸ In the verse following Pṛthvīrāja is compared to Rāma and Kilhaṇa to Hanūmān. In verse 10 Vibhīshaṇa bestows nothing but conventional praise on Kilhaṇa. Verse 11 refers to having burnt Pañchapura, and captured but not killed its lord. Verse 12 again is simply eulogistic, but in the verse following with which the letter ends, Vibhīshaṇa requests Kilhaṇa to accept the string of pearls or even Laṅkā but promise safety to him. Then again follows a prose line (lines 19-20), which, by the way, informs us that this string of pearls was presented by the ocean to Rāmabhadra when he was intent upon constructing the bridge. Verse 14-15 states that there was one Valha who belonged to the Doḍa race and who was a subordinate of Kilhaṇa and that son was Lakshmṇa under whose auspices the *praśasti* was composed. This is followed by the date which is Thursday the 7th of the bright half of Māgha of the (Vikrama) year 1224 (25 January, 1168 CE).

It will be seen from the above account that this inscription is a *praśasti* and its object is to describe Kilhaṇa's the conquest of Pañchapura and its chief. Kilhaṇa was maternal uncle and feudatory of the Chāhamāna sovereign Pṛthvīrāja. Pṛthvīrāja II died before the end of the Vikrama year 1226, probably without leaving any issue.⁹ The ministers, therefore, offered the throne to his uncle Someśvara, the only surviving son of Arjorāja. This Pṛthvīrāja is not the celebrated Pṛthvīrāja who fought with and was captured by Shihābu-d-Din Ghūr in 1192 CE, as Tod supposes. Because, for this Pṛthvīrāja we have dates ranging only from 1182-92 CE, whereas the date of our inscription is 1224 Samvat (1168 CE). Pṛthvīrāja of this record must therefore be the same as the Pṛthvīrāja who preceded Someśvara. Kilhaṇa, we are expressly told, was put in charge of the fort of Āsī or Āsikā, i.e., Hānsī, to check the progress of Hammīra, i.e., of course, the Muhammadan emperors. There can be no doubt that Muhammadans were at this time attempting to pour into India. This is also clear from the Delhi-Siwālik pillar inscription of Samvat 1220 (1164 CE) wherein the Chāhamāna Visaladeva is represented to have exterminated the Mlechchhas and made Āryāvarta what its name signifies, i.e., an abode of the Āryans.¹⁰ It was, therefore, urgently necessary to put a stop to this by appointing a brave and clever personage to the charge of the Hānsī fort, especially as it was on the route to India. Tod says: “Asīgarh is celebrated as the scene of the contest between the Hindus and early Muhammadans. It was by this route, that most of Shahābuddīn's attempts were made to wrest the throne of Hind from Pṛthvīrāja; and often did the warriors of the mountains of Kabul find their graves before Āsī. Even now it presents the appearance of a great sepulchre all around but especially to the west. The town of purity, on the Sutlej, to Bhatner and Fatehābad, to Āsī and Delhi.”¹¹ From these words of Tod's the importance of fortifying and maintaining the fort

of Hānsī towards the close of the Chāhamāna supremacy is quite clear; and what is equally clear is the necessity of keeping a strong hold on the Sutlej mentioned by Tod, which can be no other than Paṁchapura of our inscription. Probably the chief of Paṁchapura about this time did not owe fealty to the Chāhamāna dynasty, and it was, therefore, absolutely indispensable to put him down and take possession of his city. This explains why the capture of Paṁchapura and its chief is considered so important in the inscription.

The praśasti was composed by one Lakshamaṇa, who was, we are told, a Ḍoḍa by race. The Ḍoḍa have been given a place by Tod in his list of thirty-six royal races of Rajasthan,¹² but he tells nothing about them. I believe they are the same as the Ḍoḍs or Ḍoḍias, a clan of the Paramāras. The province in Rājputānā now called Hāḍoti was originally held by them and was wrested from them by the Khichīs of Gagroṇā, who in their turn had to give it up to the Hāḍās after whom the province was so-called. In the time of Mahmud Ghazni, Meerut, Bulandśahar, etc., were held by the Ḍoḍa, of whom Haradatta was the most pre-eminent. Ḍoḍs are now found as Jāgirdārs near Lāvā in Tonk.

Text

Metres:

Verses 1, 4, 5, 6: Sragdharā; Verses 2, 3, 9, 10, 13, 15: Anuṣṭubh; Verses 7, 8, 11, 12: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; Verse 14: Vasantatilakā .

1. Om̐ lldevyeinamah̐ llvaktram̐ sākshādvitīyohimaguritibhujam̐ pārijātasyavallī I
kāpyanyasyetitūṅgam̐ sta-
2. nataṭamaparebhasyakum̐bhasthalīti llmanthakshabdhārṇṇavārṇṇaḥ prakāṭ
itapihitsrīṇi paryāyavṛtyā llakshmyāḥ raṅgānitarkeiranupa-
3. dhivimṛśanpātuyushmānmurāriḥ ll [1] ll chāhamānānvavejātaḥ pṛthavīrājo
mahīpatiḥ Itanmātuśchābhavadbhrātā kilhāṇaḥ kirttivarddh-
4. naḥ ll [2] llgūhilautānvayavyoma-maṇḍaneikaśarachchhaśī llgāmbhīryaudārya
saundarya- guṇaratnamahodadhiḥ ll 3 llmatvā hammīra-vīram̐ nikhila-va-
5. sumatīśalyabhūtaṁ prabhūtaṁyogyosau vīragaushṭhī-nipuṇa tara matiḥ
śātrulakshmī bhujāṅgaḥ lprādādrājanya-chūṇāmaṇikiraṇagaṇāsanjanirddhavatapādo
6. bhūpastasmeiprahṛshṭo viśadaguṇanidherāsikādurggamugram̐ll4ll
tasminḍurgesvabuddhayyā nikhilaripuchamū murddhinavinyasya
pādāmra[mya-pro]ttūṅgaśrīṅga-vya[ti] kara-
7. vaśatobhagnamārggoshṇaraśmeh̐ ll re rehammīr vīrakvasatavamahimā nirdiśanti
dhvajāgreirdivyākāra-pratoḷi hṛdayamivabhuvonirmitā kilhaṇena ll5ll
8. āstām̐ tāvatpratoḷi tadupavirachitaṁ koshṭhakadvandvamatatprochchairālānayugm
am̐ vijaya [vara]kareḥ śātrulakshmyāśchasahma I manyesyaivārthisārtha-prakaṭa-
9. surataroḥ kilhaṇasyaprakaśam̐ mūrttasruṭayyatkathaṅkojagati [vijayate]
vikramaikonayogyah̐ ll6ll kincha [ā] kimuchyatesya pratāpa
10. mātām̐yatmāṁ yatkr̥tenīśāchara-chakravarttinā vibhīshaṇenāpyesha. . .
prahitolekhaḥ ll tadyatha ll lankāyām̐ raghuvansāmauktikamaṇe ll
11. rāmasya pādāmbuja[dhyā]nāllabdhavaronīśācharapatiḥ sapraśrayaḥ sādaram̐
divyāsigadha [va]rttinam̐ dṛḍhabhujam̐ Chaṇḍapratāpoddhataṁ satkīrtiyā ll
12. dhavalīkṛtatribhuvanam̐ śrīkilhaṇam̐ bhāshate ll7ll kāryam̐
Setunibandhaneraghupaterātrind ivam̐ samyataiḥ sārddherm̐ vānara raksha
[yūtha]patibhiḥ
13. sāhāyāmāvām̐ sthitau I tasmātpañchapurādhipāyavibhunā dattā ki[lai]
kāvalirmahyam̐ sāpi purī tvayā tulikhitaṁ [pa]tram̐ svahastam̐kitaṁ ll8ll

14. prthvirājo mahārājo rāmosausanśayaṃ vinā | hanumānniśchitaṃ vīra
bhavānadbhutavikramaḥ ||9|| gūhilaūtvāyējāstena lunamāntavedrśaṃ
15. kaliḥ kālona kopyastisatyam dharmmaparāyaṇaḥ || 10 || kathamanyatha || dagdham
pañchpuram hatāḥprati[bha]ḍhā baddhastadiśastvayā kanthe vīraniveśyavā-
16. hu[yuga]lam sannaddhavāmjiṣṭhitaḥ | etatsarvvamasāṃpratam tavapunah
sachchhauryavidyā ānidhesamvaddharyyogravishadrumo pi mahataṃ Chhettum
nasamyujyate || 11 ||
17. utkhāta-pratiropaṇam [kṛtav]tā mālinyamunmārjjitam
satyam kshatriyapuṅgavenabhavata kundāvadātam yaśaḥ | prāptam yavadayam
nabhastalamalam Pradyo ||
18. tatebhāskaroyāvadnavabhidas[ta]the yamavanivārramnidhirvartate || 12 || punah
punah kimum [sve] svevachastathyaṃ śṛṇushva me | svīkarttavyāthavā lankā
19. deyaṃ patramathābhayaṃ ||13 || iyaṃ chaikāvali ratnakareṇa
setubandhodyatāyarāmabhad rāyasvagāmbhīryaguṇam parirakshatā upayanīkṛtya
ḍhau-
20. kitāsīt || api cha [I] dodānvayesaṃabhavatkilavalhanāmā satyaikabhūrnikhilaśatru-
chamū-nihantā śrīkilhaṇasyapadapankaja-chancharika-||
21. stasyāṅgabhūranupamobhuvilakshmaṇākhyah || 14 || so trapraśasti-nirmāṇe
bhaktyādhyakshapadesthitaḥ | sarvvadā svāmichittagyolakshmaṇaḥ savva-
lakshmaṇaḥ ||15||
22. saṃvat || 1224 māghśuklasaptamyam gurau || niḥ panneyam ||

Translation

V. 1. Om! Salutation to the Goddess. The face is, evidently a second moon, the arm is the creeper of Pārijāta, or a wonderful one of another. The lofty projection of the breast is the frontal lobe of the forehead of an elephant! The buttocks, visible and concealed by repetition of movement, (appears as) the water of the ocean agitated by churning. May the guileless Enemy of Mura (Kṛshṇa), thus pondering over the limbs of Lakshmi by means of conjectures, protect you.

V. 2. Born in the Chāhamāna lineage (was) Prthvirāja, the lord of the earth. Of his mother, there was a brother, Kilhaṇa, the augmentor of fame.

V. 3. (He was) the sole autumnal moon, for adorning the sky (in the form) of the Guhilauta lineage; and an ocean of the jewels of virtues (such as) profoundness, liberality, and beauty.

V.4. Realising that the valiant Amir had become a powerful dart for the whole of the earth and that he (i.e. Kilhaṇa) possessed a keener intellect amongst the entire assemblage of heroes, and was a (veritable) gallant for the royal fortune of the enemy, the king, whose feet were copiously washed by the contacted with the multitude of rays from the crest-jewels of the hosts of kings (doing homage) having become pleased (with him) entrusted the strong fort of Āśikā to (his care) who was a treasure of splendid virtues.

V.5 In that fort which obstructed the passage of the sun on account of the assemblage of lovely and very lofty pinnacles, Kilhaṇa, having a gateway of charming form, the very heart of the earth as it were, which by means of the multitude of the flags was proclaiming – “O Valiant Amir where is that greatness of yours.”

V.6. Let alone the gateway! This pair of rooms, built nearby, is eminently a pair of lofty tying posts for the excellent elephant of victory and an abode of the enemy's royal fortune. It appears to be the visible manifestation of Kilhaṇa's prowess, who is the heavenly (desire-granting tree) for the horde of suppliants. Moreover, what to say of the greatness of his glory for whose sake, even Vibhīshaṇa, the imperial ruler of the demons has sent a letter, which is as follows:

V.7. "The lord of the demons, who possesses humility, and who has obtained a boon in Lankā, by meditating on the lotus-like feet of Rāma who is the pearl of a gem of the race of Raghu, respectfully addresses the illustrious Kilhaṇa, who is stationed at the wonderful fort of Āśikā, whose arms are strong, who is full of fierce majesty and who has whitened the three worlds by means of his excellent fame.

V.8. The job of building the bridge, for Rāma, (was accomplished) by the lords of the hosts of monkeys and bears, actively engaged day and night. We too stood for help. Therefore, the Lord (Rāma) gave to the lord of Panchapura, indeed, the necklace, and that city too to me, while you have written this letter marked by your signature.

V.9. Mahārāja Pṛthvīrāja, is without doubt, that Rāma. O hero, you are verily Hanumāna of wonderful prowess.

V.10. You have been born in the Gehlot (Guhilauta) lineage, that is why, there is none like you, in the Kali age, who is truly devoted to righteousness.

V.11. Panchapura has been burnt, the opposing soldiers have been killed, and its Lord, who was sitting on a fully equipped horse, has been captured after you placed your pair of arms at his throat. But then all this has no relevance to the present time. But then, O treasure of true bravery and knowledge, it does not become great to cut down even a tree of virulent poison, after having nurtured it.

V.12. (You have) completely wiped-out ill will, by performing the reinstatement of the uprooted. Truly, fame glittering like Jasmine, has been obtained by you who are a Kśatriya of prominence, (which will last) as long as the sun illumines the surface of the sky, and as long as this earth and the ocean exist.

V.13. Why repeat our, again and again, speech. Listen to the truth from me. Either Lankā should be accepted by you, or a charter of freedom from danger should be granted. And this single string of pearls has been offered by the ocean as a present to the noble Rāma who was intent on building the causeway and safeguarding the virtue of his profundity completely. Moreover:

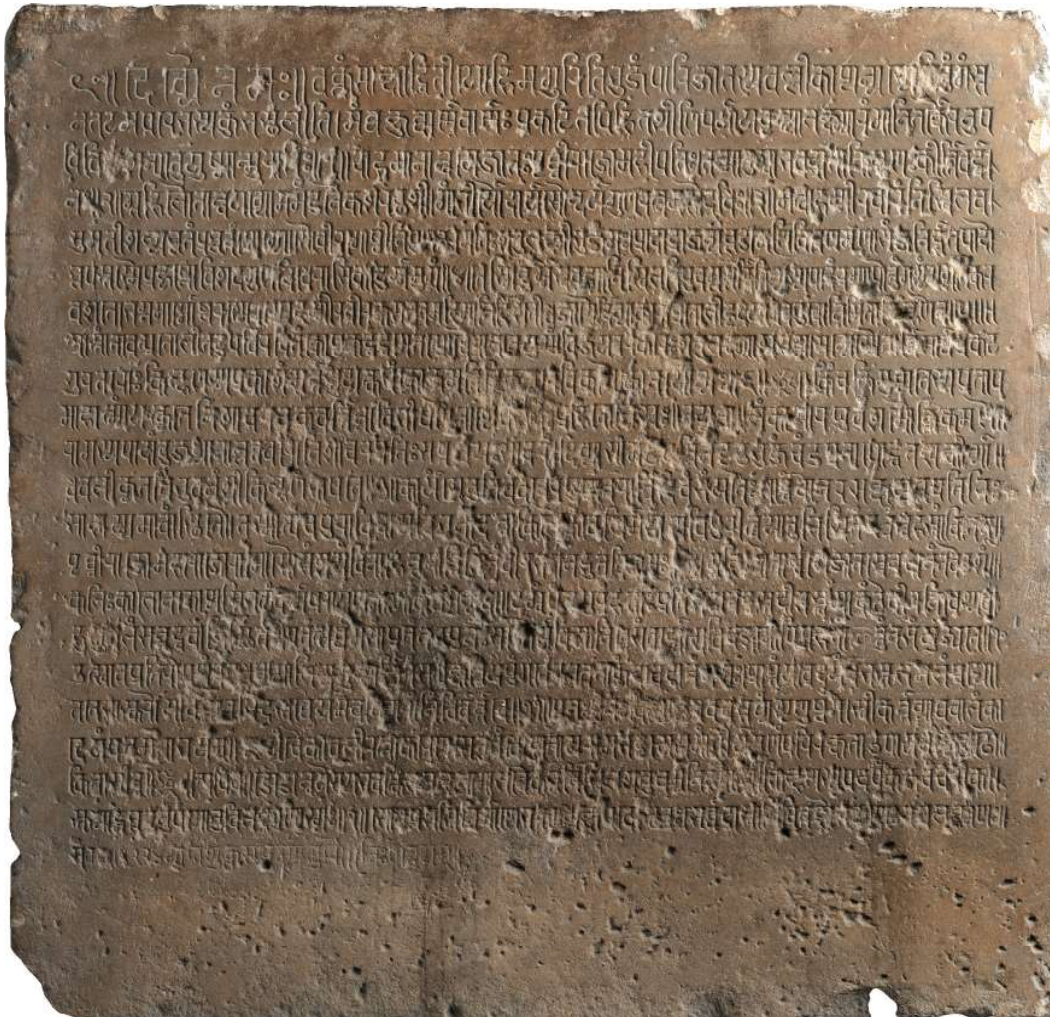
V.14. It is said indeed that in the Ḍoḍa lineage there flourished Valha, the sole ground for courage, and the destroyer of the entire armies of the enemies. Sprung from his body, is the bee of the lotus-feet of the illustrious Kilhaṇa, famous on this earth as Lakshmaṇa.

V.15. He, Lakshmaṇa, who always knows the mind of his master, (and is) possessed of all (auspicious) marks, is in occupation of the post of supervision in the composition of this eulogy, out of devotion.

In the (Vikrama) year 1224, (month of) Māgha, on the seventh lunar day of the bright fortnight, on Thursday (25 January, 1168 CE), this has been accomplished.

Notes and References

1. Captain E. Fell, "Sanskrit Inscriptions: II-Inscription from Hansi", *Asiatic Research*, vol. XV, 1825, pp. 443-446,
2. James Tod, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. I, London, 1827, p. 135.
3. D.R.Bhandarkar, "Some Unpublished Inscriptions: 3-Hānsī Stone Inscription of Prithvirāja [Vikrama] –Samvat 1224", *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLI, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, British India Press, Bombay, February 1912, pp. 17-19.
4. I am highly thankful to Director, Scotland National Museums, Edinburgh for providing colour digital photographs for me.
5. HariharniwasDvivedi, *Tomaro ka Itihas*, Bhag 1: Delhi ke Tomar, Vidya Mandir Gwalior, 1973, pp. 70-79.
6. Hānsī currently has a large gateway with two storerooms built on its eastern side for grain storage. A panel was affixed on the southern side, on which a man was fighting with a lion. He is dressed in a Rajasthani turban and wields a sword and a shield. It is a symbol of PrthvirājaChauhānarule over Hansi.
7. Some writers identified with Pañchapattana on the Satluj river. The inference is unjustified, because the Hānsī inscription, which mentions the submission of the ruler of Pañchapura, makes it clear at the same time the Afgān Amīr was an inveterate enemy of Prthvirāja II. He never submitted to the Chauhān ruler. It was, in fact, to keep off the Hammīra,
8. "a great source of trouble to the world" that the fort was strengthened.
9. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1959, p. 66.
10. Prthvirāja's last inscription is dated in the year 1226. His successor Someśvara's Bijoliā inscription is dated Thursday, the 3rd of the dark half of Phālguna V. 1226. (Dasharatha Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 67 & ff. 58).
11. Above, Vol. XIX, p. 218.
12. James Tod, *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. I, p. 135
13. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. I, 1920, p. 108 (S.K. Lahii & Co's edition).



Hansi Stone Inscription of Prthvirājā-II
(Source: National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh)

Rare Jain Inscriptions of Varanasi (with special reference to Parśvanātha temple)

Priyanka Singh and Suman Jain

Abstract:

This paper aims to study the inscription found in the Pārśvanātha temple situated about 5 km from Varanasi in eastern Uttar Pradesh and trace its relevance with ancient Kāśī.

Key words:

Pārśvanātha, Varanasi, Kāśī.

The Pārśvanātha temple is situated on the Bhelupura - Kamachcha road about 5 km from the center of Varanasi city in eastern Uttar Pradesh. It is dedicated to the 23rd Jain tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha and belongs to both the Śvetāmbara and Digamabara sects of Jainism. It was built by a noble named Udayrāja Khadgasena by acquiring land from Mahārāja of Vijayanagaram in 1868. It is believed that the present Jain temple in Bhelupura is the birthplace of tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. The temple has been renovated from time to time but the antiquity of the same goes back to ancient times. Presently there are three temples inside the compound, one belonging to Śvetāmbara sect and the other two are Digamabara temples. Śvetāmbara temple was built in 2001. This temple is in Western Indian Architecture style. This paper aims to study the inscription found in the Pārśvanātha temple and trace its relevance with ancient Kāśī.

Jain literature refers to Kāśī as an important Jain tīrth and it has been described in various Jain scriptures such as *Prajñā-Sūtra*, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Uttarādhyayana Chūrṇi*, *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, *jñātā-Dharma-Kathā*. Kāśī is mentioned as a *Janapada* and Varanasi as its capital in the *Jain Āgama Prajñāpanā*. It is also said that the boundaries of Kāśī touch Vatsa in the west, Magadha in the east, Videha in the north and Kośala in the south. Among the twenty-four tīrthaṅkaras, four were born in Varanasi. They are Supārśvanātha, Chandraprabha, Śreyāṁśnātha and Pārśvanātha. The seventh tīrthaṅkara Supārśvanātha and the 23rd tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha were born in Varanasi at Bhadainī and Bhelupura respectively whereas the 8th tīrthaṅkara Chandraprabha was born at Chandrapur, about 23 km from Varanasi. According to Achārya Jinaprabhusūri, the distance between Varanasi and Chandrapur was two and half yojana. The eleventh tīrthaṅkara Śreyāṁśnātha took birth at Simhapur (Sarnath). They attained the four *kalyāṇakas*- pre-birth (*chyavana*), birth (*janma*), initiation (*dīkṣā*) and wisdom (*kaivalya*) in Varanasi. Among the four tīrthaṅkaras, Pārśvanātha is regarded as the historical Jina and he founded *Chāturyāma Dharma*. These *Chāturyāma* are non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing and non-possession. The birthplace of Pārśvanātha is described in Jain text *Tiloyapaññati* (Upadhye and Jain 1956:210) written by Yativṛṣabha as -

Hayaseṇa vammilāhiṃ jādau hi vārāṇasīe pāsajīṇo| Pūsassa bahula ekkāasīe rikkhe visāhāe||

Pārśvanātha took birth in Varanasi on the 11th day of the dark half of Pauṣa month under Viśākhā *nakṣatra*. Aśvasena, the king of Kāśī was his father and Vāmadevī his mother. In *Varanasi-*

Kalpa of Vividhatīthakalpa, (JinVijay1934:74) Jinaprabhusūri described Varanasi in four parts. The first part was ‘Deva Varanasi’ where the Viśvanath temple was located and the worship of *Jinacaturvīmśati Paṭṭa* (stone images of twenty-four tīrthaṅkaras) was in practice. Second part was the Rajadhānī Varanasi. Third was ‘Madan Varanasi’ and the fourth was ‘Vijaya Varanasi’. It is noteworthy that the exact location of the third and fourth part of Varanasi has not yet been identified by scholars. Apart from the above, Jinaprabhusūri mentioned the *Chaitya* of Pārśvanātha near the water tank of Dandakhat which is presently identified with the Jain temple in Bhelupura area. During the reconstruction of Digambara Jain Temple in Bhelupura, many ancient Jain images, pillars and other artefacts of archaeological importance were discovered while digging for the foundation of the new temple in the compound. All the unearthed images, pillars and archaeological remains are preserved in the Pārśvanātha temple museum within the compound at Bhelupura. Among them, some images and one particular pillar have some inscriptions inscribed over them. Details of which are as under -

(1) Inscribed broken serpent hood of Pārśvanātha –

It is of much significance as the word ‘*Kamaṭha*’ is engraved over the serpent hood in Brāhmī script. The story of Pārśvanātha and Kamaṭha is very popular in Jain narratives and there are many different versions of this story. The intellectual discourse between Pārśvanātha and Kamaṭha has been mentioned in Jain text Tirthodgārikā (Sharma and Ghosal 2006:13) and Āvaśyaka Nirvyukti. Kamaṭha was a renowned *tāpas* during the time of Pārśvanātha. It is said that when Kamaṭha was performing Ajñānamulka Yajna, a pair of male and female nagas which were going to be sacrificed alive in the yajna was saved by Pārśvanātha. These serpent couple became famous as Dharaṇendradeva and Padamavatī in their next birth and were called Yakṣa-Yakṣinī. They are also referred to as Śāsanadevatā and Śāsanadevī of Pārśvanātha. According to the Jain tradition Dharaṇendradeva and Padamavatī protected Pārśvanātha from Kamaṭha’s *upasarga*. It should be noted that the above inscription has been mentioned by Dr. Sagarmal Jain in an article published in the journal Sramana, Vol. 2, 1990, but unfortunately the inscription is physically lost or eroded now.

(2) Standing image of Jaina tīrthaṅkara in *khadgāsana* posture (fig.1) -

It is hard to identify which of the *tīrthaṅkara* does it depict, because the *lanchna* usually present on the pedestal is not visible in this figure. The left cheek of the face is broken. The Srivatsa mark on the chest is clear but the cheek, eyes, forehead, genitals and toes are damaged. Small figures of four Jinas are carved on both the sides of the main image. Two Jinas on top and bottom of both sides respectively are carved standing in *khadgāsana* postures. On the top portion above the head of the image, a small image of Jina is carved seated in padmāsana posture. On either side of the head of the main image, two elephants in walking posture are depicted on full-bloomed lotus. On both sides of the feet, a devotee or donor couple sitting in *abhivādanamudrā* are paying obeisance to the main image of the Jina. There is a much-defaced inscription on the pedestal. Only few words could be deciphered from the inscription, which reads *Om Aipat si a...r*. Probably the image was installed in a Jain temple by a Jaina follower.

(3). Sandstone pillar (Fig.2) –

The upper part of this pillar bears an inscription. It was noticed for the first time by Prof. Sagarmal Jain, former Director, Pārshvanāth Vidyapeeth, Varanasi. The language of the inscription

is Sanskrit and the script belongs to transitional phase of Kuṭila-Nāgarī which was prevalent in northern India during 10th century CE. Based on the paleographic features of the script, it can be dated to 9th-10th century CE. Some of the letters of this inscription have been eroded. Only few words have been deciphered. Prof. Krishnadeva and Dr. T. P. Verma (Sramana 1990:84) deciphered the inscription as below:

*Om (mahārāja) rājaśrī Bhājadeva.....
.....kāritam*

Prof. Maheshwari Prasad (Sramana 1990:84) read the same as follows -

*Om (mahārāja) rājaśrī Bhājadeva mani
ka.....
haṭa śrī Kacchama (vi) (laṃ) kāritam*

The name Rājaśrī Bhājadeva as read by the above scholars seems incorrect. The correct word might be Bhojadeva. The name of the dynasty and genealogy of Rājaśrī Bhojadeva is not clear as some letters are worn-out. During 8th to 12th century CE, four kings by the name Bhoja ruled in different parts of northern India in which one Bhojadeva was mentioned in Āmaraṇa inscription (Choudhary 1954:318) of Śarangadeva found at Kāthiawad. This inscription dated V.S. 1233 records a grant of garden to Sumatisvāmi the fifth Jain *tīrthaṅkara*, by a prince and son of Chapotakaṭ Rāṇaka Bhojadeva. The period of this Bhojadeva is the second half of the 12th century CE. Two other Bhojadeva kings ruled in Parmar dynasty of Malwa region. Bhojaraja I son and successor of Sindhuraja ruled from 1010 to 1055 CE and he had ties with numerous Jain achāryas as documented in Jain texts whereas Bhoja II ruled in thirteenth century CE. It is noteworthy that the above-mentioned three Bhoja kings have no connection with Varanasi since their kingdoms are located in the Kāthiawad region. Another monarch named Bhojadeva is mentioned among the Pratihara dynasty kings of Kannauj. He was the grandson and successor of Vatsrāja of the Avanti clan of the Pratiharas who was succeeded by Nagabhata. Moreover, a reference of this Bhojadeva found in an inscription dated V.S. 919 (862 CE) from Jain temple at Deograh, Jhansi (Hultzsche 1897:309) records that, in the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭārka Mahārājādhiraja Parameśvara, the glorious Bhojadeva, the pillar on which the inscription was engraved was caused to be made near the temple of Śantinatha at Luachchagira by deva, a disciple of Āchārya Kamaldeva.. Other than this, a eulogistic inscription is also found from Gwalior. The *Prabhāvākacarita* and *Prabhandhakosh* (Bhardwaj 1995:53) provide information about this Bhojadeva. Hence, it is likely that the king Bhojadeva from Pratihara dynasty is the same ruler which is mentioned in Bhelupur Jain pillar inscription. He ruled during the latter half of the ninth century CE which is coinciding with the date of Varanasi inscription. Probably he had renovated this Jain temple.

Presently there are more than twenty Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jain temples in Varanasi and its surroundings. Of these Pārśvanātha temple is the most important. The excavated materials obtained from here generally range from fourth to tenth century CE. All the images and pillars excavated from here are made of sandstone of Chunār. Being the birthplace (*Janam Kalyanka bhumi*) of *tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha it is an important pilgrimage for Jain devotees. Jain follower from all over the country and abroad come here to worship in large numbers every year. Thus, Varanasi Janpada has been an important center of Jainism from the beginning. Many Jain temples and Chaityas were built here from time to time but unfortunately there are very few epigraphical records from Varanasi offering information about it.

References:

1. A.N. Upadhye and Jain Hiralal, 1956, *Tiloyapaṇṇati*, Sholapur: Jain Samskriti Samrakshaks Samgha.
2. Bhardwaj, Pravesh, 1995, *Prabandhkosh ka Aitihāsik vivechan*, Jaipur: Prakrit Bharati Akadami.
3. Choudhary, Gulab Chandra, 1954, *Political History of Northern India from Jain sources*, Amritsar.
4. Jain Sagarmal, 1990, “Pārśvanātha Janmabhūmi mandira Varanasi ka Puratattvik Vaibhav”, *Sramana*, vol.4, pp.77-87.
5. Jain Sagarmal, 2006, “Kāśī in Jaina Tradition”, R.C. Sharma and Pranati Ghosal, (ed.), *Jaina Contribution to Varanasi*. Varanasi: Jñāna- Pravāha, Centre for Cultural Studies and Research.
6. Kielhorn, F. 1897, “Deogaḍh pillar inscription of Bhojadeva of Kanauj, (Vikrama) Samvat 919” *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. 4, pp. 309
7. Jin Vijay, 1934, *Vividhatīthakalpa*, Śāntiniketan: The Adhisthana Singhi Jaina Jnanapitha.



Fig.1 - Inscription on the pedestal of a Jain *tīrthaṅkara* in Pārśvanātha temple museum



Fig.2 – Inscription on a pillar in Pārśvanātha temple museum

Vet̤ṭathunād Copperplates

S. Rajendu

Abstract:

This paper examines a set of two copper plates found from Naduvath Mana, Eranad taluk belonging to the Vet̤ṭathunād dynasty. One is in Vaṭṭeluttu and another in Grantha script. Both are in the Malayāḷam language.

Keywords:

Malayalam, Naduvath Mana, Vaṭṭeluttu, Vet̤ṭathunād,

The seashore villages of Tirur, Tanur, Caliyam, and Trikkandiyur in Malabar were part of the erstwhile kingdom of Vet̤ṭathunād. A set of two plates found from Naduvath Mana, Eranad taluk mentioned the name of the king of the Vet̤ṭathunād dynasty. This set is the first epigraphic evidence on Vet̤ṭathunād. The land deed is in Vaṭṭeluttu script and Malayalam language. I deciphered and published the text in work: *Vet̤ṭathunād Copperplates*.¹

The Kingdom:

The Māmāmkam festival was celebrated on the banks of River Niḷa from the early centuries of the first millennium CE. Scholars from all over India gathered here to debate the virtues of India. This caused a settlement culture in the nearby villages. Thus, the Vet̤ṭathunād contributed to various areas: mathematics, astronomy, literature, and Āyurvēda.

Language & Script:

Vaṭṭeluttu syllabary is normally a twenty-four- or thirty-character representation of different sounds.² The symbols for *ī*, *ṇ*, *l*, *ḷ* and *ṟ*³ are particularly taken from the Southern Brāhmi⁴ and Sri Lankan Brāhmi characters,⁵ some of which are not included in the Aśōkan or Mauryan Brāhmi syllabary.⁶ Vaṭṭeluttu was widely used in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of the Madurai region from the 8th century CE.⁷ The temple authorities in Kēraḷa adopted the technical terms used in the inscriptions from the Pāṇḍyan style.⁸ Thus, this system is also called *Cēra-Pāṇḍya Eluttu*.⁹

The Vaṭṭeluttu is also called *nāṇam-mōṇam*,¹⁰ due to its popularity to write Jain texts. Gopinatha Rao commented that ‘the name *Nāna-Mōṇa* is given to it (Vaṭṭeluttu) because, at the time when the alphabet is taught to children for the first time, the benedictory words, *namostu*, are begun, which are spelled *nama*, *mona*, *ittanna*, *tuna*, (that is, *na*, *mo*, and *tu*), and the alphabet, therefore, came to be known as the *nana-mona* alphabet.’¹¹

Major work on the decipherment of the Tarisāppallī plates and the Huzūr Copper plates also known as Tiruvalla plates, by Gopinatha Rao, reveals the privileges of the traders and land revenue system of the Cēra period.¹² Cēra kings introduced this script in their region for the permanent recording of various resolutions. As mentioned earlier, this script is taken from the inscriptions used in the Madurai region.

The wide use of Sanskrit terms in the Malayāḷam language needs the fifty-one alphabets.¹³ The scribes used a modified Pallava Grantha, a script used to write grants in Tamiḷakam from the 5th century CE.¹⁴ Therefore, the writers overcome the limitations of Vatteluttu syllables. Modified Grantha script, later known as Modern Malayāḷam script, is popularly used to write records and literature nearly three centuries ago. This was the period of Tunjath Ramanujan Ezhuthachan, father

of the Malayāḷam language. In fact, the tradition to blend Sanskrit words among local dialects is quite old.¹⁵

Evolution of Kōleluttu from Vaṭṭeluttu script:

Vast numbers of land-revenue manuscripts were written in each *nāḍus* or districts due to the rise of the local chiefs¹⁶ after the fall of the Cēra regime in 12th century CE.¹⁷ This affects the curvature style of the Vaṭṭeluttu script. The style of a few letters and numerals was changed, but it is not in a uniform format. For instance, the number 10 in Malabar is written as ‘k’ and ‘/’ in the Travancore region.¹⁸ L.A. Ravi Varma prepared a detailed chart on Kōleluttu script.

For instance, the script used in Cālūr copperplate¹⁹ written in 960 M.E.²⁰ is the later form of Vaṭṭeluttu, popularly known as Kōleluttu. The scribe used **N** for *ka*, **𑌕** for *kā*, **𑌖** for *ki*, etc. These types of scripts were formed in the late 18th century CE.

Plates:

There are two copperplates in the set: one in Vaṭṭeluttu and another in Grantha script. Both are in the Malayāḷam language. The first deed narrates the transaction of the Ponnēni temple from the king of Veṭṭathunād to the Brahman priest Naduvath Mana. The second document mentions the name Nathakan, a merchant owning land from the Brahman.



Veṭṭathunād Plate

Text:

Plate – 1 Side – 1

1. veṭṭattūr vīrarāja keraḷavarmanman ravivarmanman tīttu [||*] naṭuvatta nampūtiri
kaṇṭukāriyamāvata [*] namukkuḷḷa poṇṇeni kṣeṭravum devā
2. le koṭṭayum āyiratteḷunūrṛa toṇṇūrrompata poti pāṭṭattiṇṇa kaṇṭavum
empatiṇāyirattiṇṇa [po]ti karaiyum ato

Plate – 1 Side – 2

3. tu kūṭ uḷḷa malakaḷum atiluḷḷa aṭiyārum sthāṇamāṇaṇṇaḷum sambamdhanaṇṇaḷum kūṭi nām
karkkiṭaka vyāḷam meṭa ṇāyarriṇṇa
4. inna kaṇṭa piṭippata dravyam vāṇṇi nampūtirikka ūkam tannirikkunnu [*] atiranreyum
sthāṇamāṇaṇṇaḷuṭeyum vivaram [*] kiḷakka
5. kakkariṭoṭṭāl paṭiṇṇāroṭṭum tekka annikkunnu toṭṭāl vaṭakkoṭṭum paṭiṇṇāra kallirikkonna
tarakkal veḷuntāvaliṇṇu veḷḷa
6. kiḷakkoṭṭum vaṭakka āṇappan colayūṭe tekkōṭṭum innālatrukkakattuḷḷa maṇṇum malaiyum
kaṇṭavum karaiyum kunnum kūṭiyum nālarku

Plate – 1 Side – 1 (remaining lines)

7. piṭippata dravyam vāṇṇi ūkam tannirikkunnu [*] sthāṇamāṇaṇṇaḷuṭe vivaram [*] i
atrukkakatta keṭṭi toṭumveṭṭi vaḷappil kālum toḷum māṇum
8. minna aṇkacuṇkavum iṇeyum taḷayum aleyāṭṭapoṇṇum poleyāṭṭapoṇṇum
meṭṭirikka(?) pāṭṭam meppāṭṭam munniltali cirutaviḷi

9. aṇeyum acera cerakompa kaṭukkāpuḷli kaḷḷaṇeyum poleyāṭineyum aṭakki oṭakki
ūkam tannirikkunnu [*] yenna cenna kali [ka]ruveḷḷam taṇṇe yenna [||*]

Brief translation:

The king of Veṭṭathunād, Rāmavarman Kēraḷavarman, handing over the lands located at Ponneni in the Western Ghats, to the eldest Brahman of Naduvath Mana. Various rights and privileges of the king were also granted to the priest along with the land and the temple.

	ക	ങ	ച	ഞ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഉ	ഴ	റ
അ	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗		𑌘	𑌙	𑌚		𑌛		𑌜	1	𑌝	𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡
ആ			𑌗						𑌛				𑌝				
ഇ					𑌘		𑌚				𑌜			𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡
ഈ							𑌚										
ഉ					𑌘				𑌛	𑌞					𑌟		
ഊ									𑌛								
ഈ							𑌚	𑌛									
ഐ																	
ഔ										𑌜							
ഒ																	
ഓ	𑌕								𑌛							𑌜	

𑌕 𑌖 𑌗 𑌘 𑌙 𑌚 𑌛 𑌜 𑌝 𑌞 𑌟 𑌠 𑌡 𑌢 𑌣 𑌤 𑌥 𑌦 𑌧 - പൊതി 63-ൽ പട്ടിക: നടുവത്ത് ചെപ്പേട് - വട്ടെഴുത്തു ലിപിമാതൃക

Table of transliteration²¹

The Sanskrit-mixed Malayalam text Ālathūr Maṇipravāḷam is the contribution of Veṭṭathunād to Ayurveda. Trikkāṇḍiyūr Achyutha Piśhārody and Nīlakaṇṭha Sōmayāji contributed to medieval mathematics. Mēlpuṭhūr wrote Nārāyaṇēeyam, a Sanskrit kāvya in the 16th century C.E. The father of the Malayalam language, Tunjath Ramanujan Ezhuthachan also lived during this period. The art form called Kathakali is performed in Veṭṭathunād. Identifying and deciphering the set of plates is a significant landmark in Indian epigraphy and the history of Kerala.

References:

1. Rajendu, S. 2022. *Vettathunad Ceppedukal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram
2. 'Five long vowels, five short vowels, and seventeen consonants were mentioned in Tolkakkipaym, Eluttatikaram.' See: Kamil Zvelebil, *A History of Indian Literature*, X, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, p. 132; Dr. K.N. Ezhuthachan states that there are an equivalent number of scripts in Tamil and Vaṭṭeluttu, Bhasagavesanam, Collected Works, II, Thrissur, 1991, p. 6
3. ഇൗ, ണ, ഉ, ഴ, റ; Dr. K.N. Ezhuthachan: 'these (alphabets) are odd in Tamil and Vaṭṭeluttu.' *Tamilakatte Praceena Rekhakal*, Collected Works, II, Thrissur, 1991, p. 41

4. Identified the four sounds in Tamil Brāhmi by K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in 1924; article by Iravatham Mahadevan, published in <https://www.scribd.com/document/128403628/Recent-Discoveries-of-Jaina-Cave-Inscriptions-in-Tamilnadu>; K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, The Pandya country and its inscriptions, Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, pp. 275 – 300
5. Paranavitana, S. *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1970; is a remarkable collection of Brāhmi cave inscriptions in Sri Lanka.
6. Eugen Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925
7. The bulk of the early inscriptions employ the script known as Vaṭṭeḷuttu in Tamil parts and the Grantha in the Sanskrit parts., K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom: The earliest times to 16th century*, Madras, 1972, p. 6
8. See: Index No: B.31
9. For an instance, see: Index No: B. 31
10. *Namōstu-Jiṇatam* means praying in front of Jina, the lord of the Jains or Buddhists. S. Sanku Ayyar, *Keralavum Buddhamatavum*, Trivandrum, 1962, pp.35 ff
11. *T.A.S.*, I, p. 395
12. See: Index No: A.88, Also see: *T.A.S.*, II, pp. 173-207
13. To write സകലകുലവിമലതിലകിതകളുണ്ഡരം in Sanskrit-mixed literature, the poet used Grantha script; See: Tunjath Ezhuthachan, Adhyathma Ramayanam Kilippattu, manuscripts kept in the Tunjan Manuscripts Repository, Calicut University, A-List, Nos: 1 – 3
14. Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the other Indo-Aryan Languages*, Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 40–42.
15. 'മാണിക്യങ്കളി രഞ്ടിനാൽ' written in a Cōḷa inscription of Rājārāja I dated 998 C.E., Kailasanatha temple inscription, Sembiyan Mahadevi, *AOR* 498 of 1925. Elamkulam quoted this inscription as an example of early Maṇipravāḷam text. See K.N. Ezhuthachan, *Selected Essays*, I, Thrissur, 1991, p. 126
16. Raghava Variyar, M. R. 2015. *Malayala Lipi Carithram*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham Parabandhaval, XV, Edappal, p. 15
17. See: various *granthavaris* published; also by the researcher
18. See: Chapter V and Annexure of this work
19. Rajendu, S. 2019. Significance of the Cālūr Copper plates in Kēraḷa Epigraphy, paper presented at the *Annual Conference of the American Oriental Society*, Chicago, March 16
20. The date of this plate is ambiguous; the researcher followed the date of Elamkulam. See: P.N. Kunhan Pillai, Elamkulam, Cālūr Ceppedum Bhasha Gaveshanavum, S.P.C.S., Kottayam 1961.
21. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Trivandrum, Reprint, 1989.

Bibliography:

1. Two Copperplates found at Naduvath Mana, Eranad
2. S. Rajendu, *Vettathunad Ceppedukal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 2022
3. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala Carithram*, D.C. Books, Kottayam, 2013
4. Logan, William., *Malabar*, 2 vols, Madras, 1887
5. Logan, William. 1951. *A Collection of treaties, engagements, and other papers of importance relating to British Affairs in Malabar*. Madras: Superintendent Government Press.
6. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Calicut, 1996
7. Ward, Benjamin Swain, Peter Eyre Conner, and S. Raimon. 1995. *A descriptive memoir of Malabar of Leiuts. [sic] Ward and Conner*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Gazetteers

Revolutionizing Inscription Conservation: The Bengaluru Inscriptions 3D Digital Conservation Project

Udaya Kumar P. L.

Jayasimha P.

Abstract:

The article gives insight into “The Bengaluru Inscriptions 3D Digital Conservation Project”, an exemplary initiative undertaken by The Mythic Society, which showcases the transformative power of technology in preserving and studying inscriptions. The present research paper will study and explore the Persian epigraphs depicting the poetry of Umar Khayyam with an outline of the monuments/places of inscriptions.

Keywords:

Bengaluru, Mythic Society, Inscription, 3D Digital Conservation

Introduction:

In January 2021, The Mythic Society, Bengaluru, embarked on a pioneering endeavour known as the “Bengaluru Inscriptions 3D Digital Conservation Project.” This ambitious project aimed to digitally preserve, in high-resolution 3D, all stone inscriptions in the districts of Bengaluru Urban, Bengaluru Rural, and Ramanagara in Karnataka. With over 1500 inscriptions documented in various books within the project area, the initiative sought to address the pressing issues of inscriptions’ destruction caused by urbanization, ignorance, and apathy..

Preserving Our Heritage:

Initiated as an extension of the citizen-led initiative, “Inscription Stones of Bangalore,” which aimed to safeguard stone inscriptions within Bengaluru city, the project revealed that approximately 60 out of 175 documented stone inscriptions in Bengaluru were untraceable. Recognizing the need for a larger, more formal effort, the citizen group approached The Mythic Society, leading to the inception of the “Bengaluru Inscriptions 3D Digital Conservation Project.” With a dedicated team of five members and a planned investment of around Rs 3 crores, the project began its operations in January 2021.

Uncovering Hidden Treasures:

Extensive field surveys conducted by the project team confirmed that a significant portion, approximately 30-40%, of documented inscriptions were no longer traceable. To combat this loss, the project takes a multi-pronged approach. Firstly, it focuses on educating local communities about the importance of inscriptions, emphasizing their preservation. Secondly, the team works on relocating inscriptions from vulnerable and hazardous locations to nearby, secure, and publicly accessible places. Lastly, by leveraging cutting-edge 3D digital scanning technologies, the project aims to build highly detailed digital models of inscriptions.

Harnessing Modern Technologies:

The project breaks away from traditional epigraphy methods and embraces innovative tools

and techniques to enhance efficiency and quality. Instead of relying on outdated paper imprints or “estampages,” the project employs 3D scanning to create comprehensive digital models of entire inscription stones, including sculptures, symbols, and inscriptions. These digital models provide unparalleled accuracy, with a level of detail reaching an astounding 0.05mm, allowing for more precise readings and interpretations. Additionally, the 3D models enable the production of accurate physical replicas of inscriptions through 3D printing technology, ensuring their preservation even in the face of destruction or erosion. See “3D Digital Scanning of Epigraphs: In The Context of Bengaluru’s Inscriptions” in Vol 111, Issue No 3 of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for more about the method.



Fig. 1: 3D Scanning an Inscription

Embracing Technological Advancements:

The Bengaluru Inscriptions 3D Digital Conservation Project relies on cutting-edge technologies at every stage, from field surveys to inscription documentation. The team utilizes a commercial handheld scanner, the Artec Space Spider, to build 3D digital models. MeshLab, an advanced mesh processing software, aids in visualization and analysis of the digital models. The project’s digital data, encompassing 1500 inscriptions, is stored on a high-speed 175TB NAS storage system. Field surveys are made efficient using Epicollect 5, a mobile and web application that allows for seamless data collection, including GPS coordinates and multimedia.

Unlocking Epigraphic Potential:

Over the course of a year and a half, the project has achieved significant milestones. With

more than 1000 surveyed inscription sites, it provides precise information on the conservation status and locations of inscriptions, marking a first-of-its-kind effort in the country. The development of micron-accurate digital models for over 400 inscriptions ensures their preservation. These high-quality 3D digital models and accompanying images are shared freely (https://bit.ly/bengaluru_inscriptions), fostering collaboration, and advancing research in epigraphy and history. The project serves as a testament to the benefits of embracing modern methodologies and offers a beacon of hope for similar initiatives across the nation.

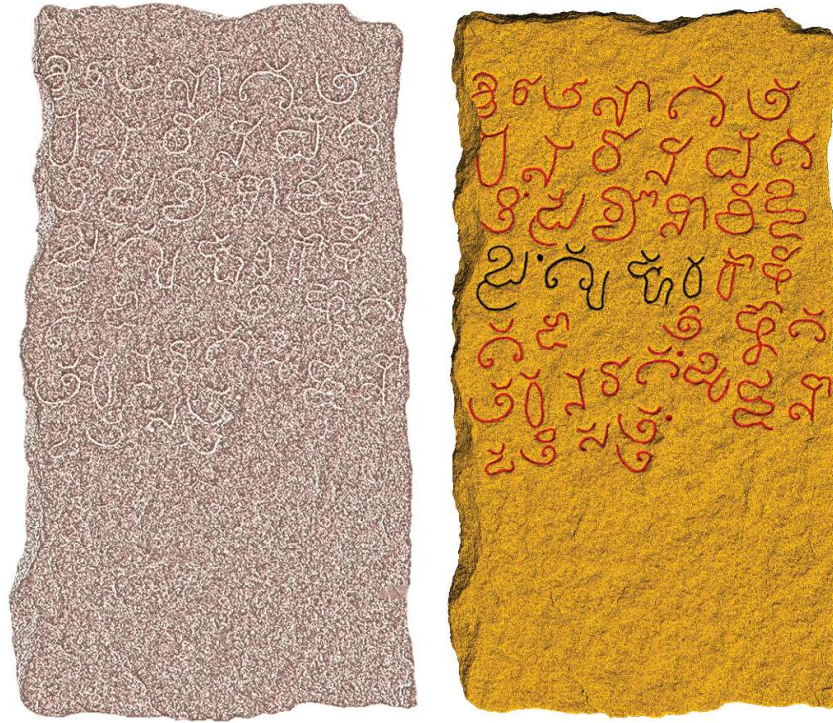


Fig. 2: A digital image of the 900 CE inscription mentioning Bengaluru

Conclusion:

The Bengaluru Inscriptions 3D Digital Conservation Project, an exemplary initiative undertaken by The Mythic Society, showcases the transformative power of technology in preserving and studying inscriptions. By combining extensive field surveys with cutting-edge 3D scanning and digital modelling, the project ensures the safeguarding of Bengaluru's valuable heritage. As the destruction of inscriptions remains a pervasive issue, it is our hope that this project serves as an inspiration for similar endeavours nationwide, safeguarding our past for future generations.

Empowering Epigraphic Research:

Through meticulous efforts, the project team has physically visited and verified over 1000 sites, digitally conserving more than 400 inscriptions to date. Remarkably, their endeavours have led to the discovery of over 100 previously undocumented inscriptions, shedding new light on Bengaluru's rich heritage. The project's findings and achievements are shared through publications in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* and an online public map (<http://bit.ly/inscriptionblr>), providing valuable information about the current conservation status and precise GPS coordinates of inscriptions within the region.

The Chiefs who ruled for Five centuries - Gummanayaka Palya Rulers and their Telugu inscriptions

Malapaka Indira

Abstract:

The present paper brings out the significant role played by the Paliagars during the Vijayanagara and later times in general and the Gummanayaka Palya rulers who ruled Bagepalli in particular. The Telugu inscriptions issued by these chieftains in their province also finds place in this paper. The Gummanayakana Palya chiefs were counted as the 'most loyal and distinguished chiefs' of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Their rule was peaceful and prosperous under the Vijayanagara power. The 19th Palyagar, Viradasappa Nayaka (1548- 1584 CE) remained stable with the Vijayanagara banner even after the Tallikota battle in 1565 CE when the other Palyagars were breaking free.

Keywords:

Gummanāyakapālya rulers, Kadiri, Bagepalli chiefs, Mahādanāyakas, Pālyagāra, chāvata śāsana, Dasavaṇḍa.

Introduction

History comprises the rise, growth and decline of thousands of empires. The process of formation of communities into tribes, city – states, minor kingdoms and mighty empires, their development under great administrators and the interminable wars waged by these statesmen and simultaneously the struggle of existence, until the time they completely disappear is a general phenomenon in any civilization. Babylonian, Assyrian, Greek and Egyptian empires rose, grew and declined completely either by destruction or by appropriation. India is not an exception with this process. The formation of mere tribes into the janapadas, the simple and smaller territorial divisions into mighty empires such as the Nandas, Mauryans, Guptas, Cholas and Vijayanagaras, their rise, the traces they left and the way they declined suggest that these empires came with short leases of life. Just like the civilizations of the western world, Indian kingdoms too, left huge temples and exquisitely carved sculptures as the traces for their existence. If not for these traces, these empires would have been forgotten long ago. One such empire that left permanent and profound traces of its existence, that influenced all the spheres of human life is the Vijayanagara kingdom. Its contribution is permanent in the fields of art, architecture, religion, literature and politics.

The Vijayanagara dynasty was founded by the brother band of five namely Harihara, Kampa, Bukka, Marappa and Muddappa in the second quarter of the 14th cen. CE. Within two decades of its foundation these brothers structured the empire on all sides. The present paper brings out the significant role played by the paliagars during the Vijayanagara and later times in general and the Gummanayaka Palya rulers who ruled Bagepalli in particular. The Telugu inscriptions issued by these chieftains in their province also find place in this paper.

Paliagars

Paliagars are the petty chieftains of India who were called as Palegadu in Telugu, Paleyagara in Kannada, Palaiyakkaran in Tamil and Palegar in Marathi¹. They held pollams or feudal estates. Initially, they were wild mountaineers who cleared forests and plundered lands for settlement. Later, they served as Cawilcars (watchmen) in the palaces. They were considered as the police officers as they protected their people and territories from rivals. In the course of time, they rose to power with

their loyalty and assumed different titles like Naiks and Gouds. During the early medieval period, they presented themselves as Rajas. The titles varied with the number of villages they commanded. According to Wilks' 'Mysoor, Poligars had command over 20 villages, whereas the Wodeyars are the governors of 33 villages'².

During the medieval period, Chitaldurg, Raidurg, Chikkaballapur, Doddaballapur, Devanahalli, Nandidurg, Madhugiri, Hoskote, Devarayadurg, Channarayadurg, Makalidurg, Tarikere, etc., were under the paliagarship. During the heyday of their rule, the Vijayanagara kings granted parts of their kingdom to the vassal chiefs for the ease of administration and for the military services at the times of war. The appointment of the vasal (doorkeeper), *dalavayi* (commander), or *thāmbula kārāṇdivan* (ceremonial betel bearer) as the chiefs of newly acquired regions are given to the most trusted family members and personnels because they are directly associated with the king and his administrative strategies.

The names given to these chiefs according to their region are also of considerable interest. Scholars opine that the chiefs who held the areas around Srirangapattanam, the viceroys were titled as Sri Ranga Raya. The title Nayaka was assumed by the chiefs of southern provinces like Keladi, Basavantapura, Tanjore, Madurai, Gingee, etc. Gowda or Gauni is assumed by the chiefs of Ballapur, Yelahanka and Sugatur. The Mysore chiefs are titled as Wodeyars.

The Paleyagars of Gummanayka Palya (1272 -1799 CE)

The Gummanayakana Palya fort is said to be the oldest fort in the Karnataka state. Establishment of this Palyagar dynasty traces back to the YSR Kadapa district of Andhra Pradesh (1272-1799 CE). This Palyagar kingdom ruled the provinces including the whole of Bagepalli in Mysore state and portions of Hindupur and Kandukur of Madras Presidency. Initially, they were the feudatories under the Hoyasala and the Vijayanagara rulers. After the disestablishment of the Vijayanagara kingdom, they sometimes ruled as independent rulers and at other times as vassals to the Mysore, Mughal and Maratha kingdoms.³

The Gummanayaka Palya clan was founded by Kadiripathi Nayaka in 1272 CE, a prince of the Cuddapah royal family who ruled a wide area with Devarajapalli as his capital. His son, Chinama Nayaka (1272 -1296 CE), named his principality after Gumma Reddy, an administrative chief, who bestowed his estates to Kadiripathi Nayaka. Gumma Nayaka (1296-1314 CE) the third ruler of this Palyagar chiefdom submitted to Anegondi chiefs and paid tribute and military services. For five decades, with the invasions of Muhammadan forces where the whole South India was under political turmoil, the Palyagar chiefs succeeded in protecting their provinces.⁴

Kadirappa Nayaka, the sixth ruler (1363-1388 CE) assisted the early Vijayanagara rulers to control the local Palyagars. For two centuries, the Gummanayakana Palya chiefs were counted as the 'most loyal and distinguished chiefs' of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Their rule was peaceful and prosperous under the Vijayanagara power. The 19th Palyagar, Viradasappa Nayaka (1548- 1584 CE) remained stable with the Vijayanagara banner even after the Tallikota battle in 1565 CE when the other Palyagars were breaking free.

Vasanta Nayaka in 1630 CE submitted to Kempe Gauda II of Bengaluru. The Palyagar chiefdom went into the hands of the Mughal empire during the reign of Bangara Timma Nayaka (1680-1728 CE). Kadirappa Nayaka III succeeded his father Bangara Timma Nayaka and switched adherence with the Marathas and paid heavy tribute. Narasimha Nayaka V submitted his territories to Murarirao Ghorpade first and later tribute to Hyder Ali of Mysore.⁵

Tippu Sultan with his extermination policy annexed several principalities and Palyapats.

Narasimha Nayaka VI failed in the requests and protests for loyalty for generations to the Mysore throne. The Gummanayakana Palya family fled from Bagepalli and relocated to Anantapur and Cuddapah districts of Andhra Pradesh. The whereabouts of this dynasty can make interesting future study. The Gummanayakana Palya rulers are mentioned in few articles and journals writing about history of the Vijayanagara rulers and their periods. Not many works are out about these loyal and vigorous Palyagar chiefs.

List of Gummanayakana Palya Rulers

S.NO.	Name of the Ruler	Period
1	Kadiripati Nayaka	1243-1272 CE
2	Chinnama Nayaka	1272 -1296 CE
3	Gumma Nayaka	1296 -1314 CE
4	Lakka Nayaka	1314-1346 CE
5	Kadarappa Nayaka	1363 -1388 CE
6	Singappa Nayaka	1388 -1457 CE
7	Dodda Vasanta Nayaka	1457 -1467 CE
8	Dodda Kadarappa Nayaka	1460- 1473 CE
9	Immadi Narasimha Nayaka	1473 -1482 CE
10	Kadarappa Nayaka II (Immadi)	1482 -1508 CE
11	Aggi Timma Nayaka	1508 -1514 CE
12	Vasanta Nayaka	1514 -16517 CE
13	Singappa Nayaka II (Immadi)	1517 -1521 CE
14	Narasimha Nayaka III (Mummadi)	1521- 1524 CE
15	Vasanta Nayaka II	1524- 1548 CE
16	Veeradasappa Nayaka	1548- 1584 CE
17	Vasanta Nayaka III (Mummadi)	1584 -1614 CE
18	Narasimha Nayaka (Nalmadi)	1644 -1680 CE
19	Bangara Timma Nayaka	1680 -1728 CE
20	Kadarappa Nayaka III	1728 -1740 CE
21	Narasimha Nayaka V	1740 - 1760 CE
22	Narasimha Nayaka VI	1765- 1802 CE

Telugu Inscriptions issued by Gummanayakapalya chiefs in Karnataka

The Gummanayakapalya chiefs issued more than hundred inscriptions as the subordinates of their superiors. They mentioned themselves as the mahādanāyakas in their epigraphs. Their inscriptions neither contain the invocations nor the imprecations. The year in which the grant is issued is stated in the first line itself which follows the details of the donor and the donee and the details of the grants at the end. The inscriptions are issued in both Telugu and Kannada languages in Telugu – Kannada script. It is very interesting to note that the inscriptions they issued are mostly to commemorate the death of the people died in local fights representing them and the servants who rendered services to the chiefs etc., which are useful to study the socio – cultural history of their times. Below is the list of the Telugu inscriptions issued by the Gummanayakapalya rulers in Karnataka.



The above inscription is found in the Lakshmi Narasimha temple in Gummanayakapalya.

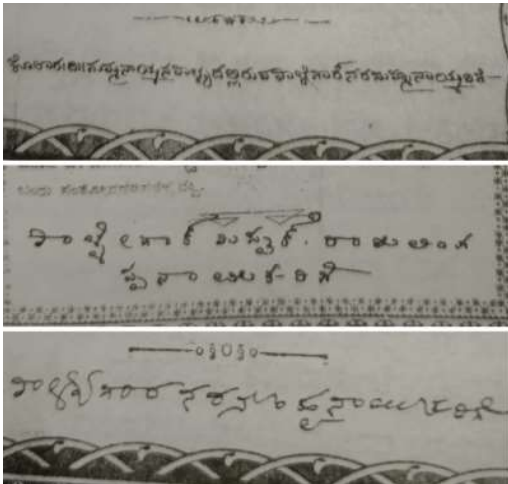
This contains only three lines in Telugu language which are as follows:

1. Śobhakritu samvatsara Āsviyuja suddha daśamilu Gummināyani kumā-
2. ra Nārasimhanivāri dādi ugrāṇam vāpa vubhayam yā
3. 4 amkanālu

S.No.	Source	Year	King / Donor	Purpose of the grant.
1	EC.X , Bg.14.	1573 CE.	Basava Nayini	Village grant.
2	EC.X , Bg.69	1625 CE.	Kadiramma	Village grant by kadiramma, mother of Narasimha Nayini.
3	EC.X, Bg. 28	1633 CE.	Gumma Nayani	Land grant to Mangala Nagappa.
4	EC.X , Bg.71	1636 CE.	Kadirappa nayini	Land grant to Mittemari Mekala Bomma a dasavanda for repairing and enlarging Liganu Vagu.
5	EC.X , Bg.73	1671 CE.	Narasimha Nayini	Land grant to archaka Muddavya of the god Kuntlur Bhairavesvara's of Bagepalli.
6	EC.X , Bg.74	1684 CE.	Peda Vasanta Nayini	Grant made by Peda Vasanta Nayini, village names are given, orders given to dig , cultivate crops whatever they want and enjoy free of all imposts. This grant had the signatures of the inhabitants, nayankara and account of the Nadu.
7	EC.X, Sp.111	1712 CE.	Tippa Nayini	Mudimadugu Village grant for the god Virabhadra of Ayyanapalli.
8	EC.X , Bg.78	1719 CE.		Garden grant.
9	EC.X , Bg.22	1736 CE.	Guramma Nayini	Land grant for construction of irrigational tank.
10	EC.X, Bg. 31	1738 CE.	Narasimha Nayani	Potula Doddi village is granted for the daily and seasonal festivals to support the archaka and other temple staff for god Parusha Venkatesvara.
11	EC.X, Bg. 52	1741 CE.	Narasimha Nayini	Land grant.
12	EC.X, Bg. 53	1741 CE.	Narasimha Nayini	Land grant.
13	EC.X , Bg.64	1743 CE.	Narasimha Nayini	Dalavayi Narasimha grants rights to collect taxes in Pedda Ballapuram, Chinna Ballapuram, Kondagiri etc to a person called Bhimana.

S.No.	Source	Year	King / Donor	Purpose of the grant.
14	EC.X, Bg. 50	1760 CE.	Vasanta Nayini	Land grant.
15	EC.X, Bg. 54	1760 CE.	Vasanta Nayini	Land grant.
16	EC.X, Bg. 55	1760 CE.	Vasanta Nayini	Land grant.
17	EC.X, Bg. 56	1760 CE.	Vasanta Nayini	Land grant.
18	EC.X, Bg.68	1762 CE.	Dalavayi Subbappa	Records the construction of a fort with bastions, japasale, and a stone summit.
19	EC.X, Sp.96	1769 CE.	Lakshmi Nayini	Lakshmi Nayini made a land grant to the lime burners through his Sarvadhikari (Sunnagantivaruru).
20	EC.X, Bg. 46, XVII, Bp.47	1774 CE.	Bommi Nayini	Bhasha patra for fixing achchakattu.
21	EC.X, Bg. 48	1774 CE.	Bommi Nayini	Bhasha patra for fixing achchakattu.
22	EC.X, Bg. 49	1774 CE.	Bommi Nayini	Bhasha patra for fixing achchakattu.

The Gummanayakapalya Saṁsthāna is established hundred years before the establishment of the Vijayanagara Kingdom. The territories like Bagepalli, Gorantla, Kandukuru etc. both in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka were under their rule. The Gummanayakapalya chiefs had names like Khadri Nayaka, Kadiripati Nayaka, Kadiri Nayani and Kadiramma in respect for their family deity Kadiri Narasimha who resides in Kadiri of Anantpur district in Andhra Pradesh. Their culture is a mixture of traditions from Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Their mother tongue was Telugu and they issued inscriptions both in Telugu and Kannada. Their inscriptions are of great significance to understand the linguistic and social conditions of the day.



Gummanayakapalya rulers claimed themselves as the Palyagars and Mahadandanayakas only



Ruins of the Gummanayaka Palya fort, Bagepalli, Chikkaballapura.



Ruins of the pushkarini belonging to the Vijayanagara period in Gummanayakapalya.

References

1. Sir James Murray, *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Vol . VII, Part II Oxford, p.1972.
2. Wilks. M, *Historical sketches of South India, in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor, from the origin of the Hindoo government of that state, to the extinction of the Mohammedan dynasty in 1799.* (Wilks' Mysoor), Vol.I, 1910, p.123.
3. Ramachandra Rao. P.B, *The Poligars of Mysore and their Civilization*, Bangalore, 1943, p.34.
4. Ramachandra Rao. P.B, *op.cit*, p.41.
5. Ramachandra Rao. P.B, *op.cit*, p.48.
6. *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes. X and XVII.

Status of Women in Post Mauryan Society - An Epigraphic Study

Arpita Chatterjee

Abstract:

Inscriptions are a very important source of history with certain distinctive advantages vis-à-vis other sources. This paper examines the epigraphic materials of the as well as literary sources to examine and corroborate the facts for understanding the status of women in the post-Mauryan period.

Keywords:

Maurya, Post-Maurya, Women, Inscriptions.

The intervening period between Mauryas and Guptas is one of a great historical ramification. It is marked by the advent of many foreign immigrants, emergence of smaller political entities, socio-economic transition, both at normative and empirical levels, realignments of religious and philosophical ideas and institutions. The decline of the Mauryan empire resulted in the rise of many ruling dynasties and intrusion of foreign invaders like Indo-Greeks, Śuṅgas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Western Kshatrapas, Kushāṇas, Sātavāhanas, Ikshvākus, etc. Weakening of the central power created a free atmosphere for the growth of Indian trade and commerce which took on an international form. This enhanced the social mobility and required some modifications in the current social code. It resulted in rewriting of the law books, now in versified forms. Thus, *smṛtis* of Manu and Yājñavalkya took the place of the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Grhyasūtras*. In religious field, Buddhism and Jainism continued to grow but Brahmanical religion got strengthened by the revival of Vedic sacrificial tradition and spread of new theistic cults like Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. In other words, we can say that the whole society underwent a transformation. In this changing scenario, women could not remain unaffected. There is thus a compelling need to assess the status of women in this period. For the sake of convenience, this period may be divided into two phases: Phase I: 2nd Century BCE. to 1st century BCE and Phase II: 1st Century CE. to 3rd century CE.

Phase I: 2nd - 1st century BCE:

Generally, the social status of women is better in tribal groups and the lower stratum of society because there, they are a working force. It is primarily the women of the upper strata who suffer various disabilities. However, this was not the case during the Post Mauryan period. Among the Brahmins, women like their male counterparts, took to the teaching profession, probably in large numbers. While giving feminine forms of Āchārya and Upādhyāya, Patañjali, the author of Mahābhāṣya mentions two words for each category, i.e., Āchāryā, Āchāryānī and Upādhyāyā, Upādhyāyānī.¹ Āchāryā was a lady teacher of high rank whereas Āchāryānī was the wife of an Āchārya. Likewise, Upādhyāyā was a teacher who earned by her teaching work, whereas Upādhyāyānī was the wife of an Upādhyāya.

In context to the royal class, they also enjoyed a respectable position. The Sātavāhana inscriptions speak highly of Nāgarīnikā, the queen of Sātakarnī-I. She associated herself with her husband in performing a series of 'Vedic sacrifices' and made large donations of coined-money and

cows.² Another lady associated with the royal family of Kalinga, gifted a cave to the Jain Arhats in Puri district of Odisha.³ Like-wise two ladies of Mitra family are described making donations for the construction of railings in Bodh Gaya.⁴

Women of householders and business classes were not lagging behind in spending for the religious causes. Bodhgaya inscriptions name four ladies for their gifts towards the constructions of the establishments in Bodhgaya (2nd cent. BCE).⁵ Bharhut inscriptions mention fourteen ladies for their donation. Some of them, were from distant places such as Ayamā from Vidisha; Gorakhitā from Nasik and Tisyā from Benakatak etc.⁶ At Sanchi, the number of lady donors increases to 327.⁷ Several of them were from the neighbouring places like Vidisha, Ujjain, Mahishmati etc. But Saṅghasiri, Tuṇḍā and Isidattā were from Pushkar in Rajasthan.⁸

Phase II: 1st - 3rd century CE:

The inscriptions of this phase from Nasik, Kanheri, Mathura, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda mention ladies making donations in connection with the construction of stūpas, *vihāras*, icons and making fixed deposits for the expenditure of religious communities, especially for food, medicine and clothes (*chīvara*). At Nasik, Gautamī Balaśrī, the mother of later Sātakarṇi who vanquished the Western Kshatrapas, has excavated caves for the residence of Buddhist fraternity and also made arrangements for their upkeep.⁹ Like-wise, several ladies of the ruling Ikshvāku family are described making large donations for the construction of Buddhist stūpas and *vihāras* at Nagarjunakonda. This is remarkable that the male members of this family were the followers of the Brahmanical religion.¹⁰ At Amaravati, we get only a few names of lady donors but almost in all the cases, the merit occurring is sought to be shared by the male associates of the family along with their mother, sister, wife and daughter.¹¹

At Kanheri, we get ten lady donors, out of them, two were nuns. From the royal families, were the wife of a Bhojaka and the daughter of a '*Mahārathi*'. The rest were house-wives of the house holders and trading class.¹² The purpose of their donations was mostly related to the excavation of caves and the water cistern. But sometimes, their gifts were also intended for the construction of a Stūpa¹³ and bathing tank.¹⁴ Some prosperous ladies at Kanheri, come forward to establish fixed deposits for the upkeep of the monuments and regular service in the Saṅgha, i.e., food and *chīvara*.¹⁵ Even when donations are made by the male members, they associate the whole family (*Saparivāra*) including their female family members such as mother, sister, wife, daughters and daughter-in-law. One inscription extends the list to granddaughters and great granddaughters.¹⁶

Mathura was a great religious centre of Buddhism, Jainism and the Brahmanical tradition, which could hardly had progressed without any donors. Here, the number of lady donors is quite good and they came from the different sections of the society. Lady Toshā has been mentioned in an inscription as establishing the images of Pañchavīras of the Vāsudeva pantheon.¹⁷ Others were seen working for the growth of Buddhism and Jainism. The Mathura inscription of the year 33 of *Mahārāja* Devaputra Huvishka, speaks highly of the qualification of nun Buddhāmitrā.¹⁸ It presents her as '*Traipitakā*', i.e., Master of the three *Pitakas*. The inscription also tells us about the importance of women in encouraging donations. Many of the donations made at the request of the nuns, prove their hold in the society.¹⁹ There were a good number of lady donors belonging to the trader families in Mathura. They belonged to the families of perfumers²⁰, bankers²¹, caravan leaders²², village head²³ etc. Further, some examples of lady donors belonging to the artisan class are

also found.²⁴ We also have examples of donations made by *gaṇikās*.²⁵ Most of these ladies, made donations to the Jaina sect.

The forgoing brief survey indicates that women held an honourable position in the Post Mauryan Society. The ‘*Gandharva*’ type of Marriage was accepted in the law books and must have existed as well. In the Jogimara inscription²⁶ at the Ramgarh Hill (Chattisgarh), the sculptor ‘Devadīna’ announces his love for *Devadāsī* ‘Sutanukā’. The script of Sutanukā Devadāsī is written in a different style which might have been scratched by Sutanukā herself as a gesture of the approval.

As for marriage, the ladies were free in the choice of religion, i.e., there are examples where couples followed different religions. We have seen that lady of the royal family at Nagarjunakonda, were making contribution towards the growth of Buddhism where as their men were the followers of the Brahmanical religion. Females in no way were discriminated in the family. When male members made donations, they usually associated the whole family including the female members.

The fact that ladies are seen making donations in their own capacity suggests that they had a strong financial backing to do so. The *gaṇikās* were free in terms of the economic matter because they were spending out of their own income. But for the women in family, the pertinent question to ponder over is whether the donation made by them, suggest their right to property? The law books clearly indicate that women were the sole masters of the *strīdhana*. Yājñavalkya gives daughter the right to parental property in the absence of her brothers.²⁷ He allows the wife to inherit the property of her husband, if he died childless.²⁸ A Mathura inscription²⁹ mentions a lady donor who introduced herself as the daughter of Dhanamitra and daughter-in-law of some person whose name can’t be read. The lady does not mention her husband’s name but reference to both her father and father-in-law, is an indication of her ‘right to property’ belonging to both of them. It may thus, be underlined that the above-mentioned lady presents a concrete example of ‘Yājñavalkya’ school of Jurisprudence.

Women were also engaged in different economic pursuits. A Mathura inscription³⁰ gives the reference of a nurse. A contemporary literature speaks of the lady *sārthavāha*.³¹ Grammarians attempt to distinguish between the lady teacher and the wife of teacher, suggesting that lady teachers were good in number. The inscriptions of this time, also testify to the learning and the scholarship of Buddhist nuns. It may lead us to conclude quite safely that the degree of female education was high in those days. It was indeed the education and the economic strength which made the status of women respectful in the post Mauryan Society.

It is strange that the inscriptions hardly mention any lady donors belonging to the royal family of Yavanas, Śakas and Kushāṇas, whereas the males are depicted as donating in substantial numbers. It is clearly suggested that the native women were holding a better position in the society than their foreign counterparts. However, there are only two cases where women belonging to the foreign clans were shown as donors. In Kanheri, a lady who was the daughter of *Mahākshatrapa* Ru..... (Rudradāman) and the wife of Vāsisthiputra Sātakarṇi, who has been mentioned in connection with the donation of a cave and water cistern.³² The former woman was making donations as a member of the Sātavāhana family (which she became after her marriage) and not as a member of the Mahākshatrapa family. This confirms what has been said about the tradition of the native women, i.e., their status was better than their foreign counterparts. However, it needs to be underlined that in another example where Dakhamitrā, the daughter of Kshatrapa Nahapāna is presented as the donor of the cave 33, should be taken as an exception.

References

1. Agnihotri, Prabhudayal, 1963. *Patañjali Kalina Bharat*, Patna, pp. 436.
2. Sircar, D.C., 1965. *Select Inscriptions, Bearing on Indian History and Civilization from the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.*, Vol. I, Calcutta, pp. 192-197.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.
4. Luders, H., 1984. A list of Brahmi Inscriptions (Appendix), In *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, eds. Sten Konow and V. Venkayya, Calcutta, pp. 95-97.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-97.
6. Luders, H. (ed.), 1963, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, part II, Ootacamund, pp. 16-35.
7. Roy, Kumkum, 1988. "Women and Men Donors at Sanchi: A Study of the Inscriptional Evidences", *Position and Status of Women in Ancient India*, Vol. I, ed. L.K. Tripathi, Varanasi, pp. 210.
8. Chaturvedi, Mohini, 2013. *Bauddha Upasaka: Ek Adhyayan*, Varanasi, pp. 17-22
9. Sircar, D.C., *op.cit.*, pp. 200-201, 203.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-237, 238.
11. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, 1984, Appendix, pp. 141-157.
12. Gokhale, Shobhana, 1991. *Kanheri Inscriptions*, Pune, pp. 15.
13. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 15, pp. 62.
14. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 43, pp. 98.
15. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 34, 43, pp. 88, 98.
16. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 33, pp. 86-88.
17. Sircar, D.C., *op.cit.*, pp. 122.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154
19. Burgess, Jas (ed.), 1892. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, Ins. No. XI, pp. 388 & Ins. No. XIII, New Delhi, pp. 388.
20. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Ins. No. XVI, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 203.
21. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, Ins. No. XI, pp. 382.
22. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. XXIX, pp. 395.
23. *Ibid.*, Ins.No. XI, pp. 387-388.
24. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, Ins. No. IV, pp. 383-384, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Ins. No. XXIII, pp. 205.
25. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVIII, Delhi, 1904, pp. 152.
26. Jain, Balchanda, 2005. *Utkirna Lekha*, Raipur, pp.172, Plate no. 54 (a).
27. Altekar, A.S., 1962. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization from Pre-historic Times to the Present Day*, Varanasi, pp. 238.
28. Kane, Pandurang Vamana, 1973. *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. III, Poona, pp. 702.
29. Luders, Heinrich, 1961. *Mathura Inscriptions*, Goltingen, Ins. No. 136, pp. 172.
30. Gupta, Chitralekha, 1988. "Rural-Urban Dichotomy" in the Concept and Status of Women: An Examination (From the Mauryas to the Guptas), *Position and Status of Women in Ancient India*, Vol. I, ed. L.K. Tripathi, Varanasi, pp. 194

Shedding Light on the Malpractice of Counterfeit donation Charters

Anuradha K. Ranade

Abstract:

Making charity endowment is a continuous practice in India. It is an important feature of the prevailing Indian religions. In the beginning, food, clothing etc. were the important items of *dāna* to the Buddhist monks. In course of time, the gifting of land took precedence over other items. It reflects the increased interest in agriculture and the fact that land was more attractive than other objects. Receiving land grants was highly lucrative as the donee's posterity could inherit the donated land and income from it. Naturally it gave rise to the malpractice of producing fake donation charters. Tendency of acquiring Land grant through fake donation charters proliferated. In the present paper an attempt has been made to discuss some observations such counterfeit donation charters in general by citing instances in Maharashtra in particular.

Keywords:

Charity, Counterfeit, *Dāna*, *Dakshiṇa*, Spurious,

Charity constituted an important feature of the prevailing Indian religions. The earliest literary sources i.e., the Vedic texts refer to the giving of *dāna*, *dakshiṇa* etc. to priests and Brahmins. *Dāna* refers to the act of giving, bestowing, granting, and yielding irrespective of what is being given and when. *Dakshiṇa* has a more specific connotation although its meaning remains almost ambiguous. It means a gift by extension of its meaning. It came to mean either a gift or a donation made to a priest or a sacrificial fee. Though it has been argued that it was never a salary or sacrificial fee, it has to be studied as part of economic system of the Vedic times. The later Vedic literature gives much information about the concept of *dāna* and *dakshiṇa*.

As a matter of fact, the earliest records of charity endowments were made assigned to the Buddhist Monasteries in Maharashtra. Of course, some of the inscriptional records of the Sātavāhanas are informative about the donation of cows and Kārshapanas to the Brahmins. These throw light on donation pattern, various items of endowments made as a means of earning *Punya* i.e., religious merit.

Deed of Charity Endowment:

As of known from the epigraphic records donations were made in the beginning to the Buddhist Monasteries as well as the Vedic followers for performing Vedic sacrifices in Maharashtra. In the beginning, food, clothing etc. were the important items of *dāna* to the Buddhist monks. When the Buddhist communities got established in the region, donations were made for the creation of the monuments i.e., *vihāras*, stupa, *chaitya-grihas*, water cisterns, pillars, lake, etc. Donations were made to meet the requirements of the monks and the nuns residing here. Afterwards, gifting of land, either a field, or a village for the maintenance of the Buddhist fraternity was seen. In course of time, the gifting of land took precedence over other items. It reflects the increased interest in agriculture and the fact that land was more lucrative than other objects.

Under the Sātavāhanas, gifting of land, either a field, or a village for the maintenance of

the Buddhist fraternity must have proved very fruitful. The monastic dwellers tilled these lands and the produce was given to the organization. In the succeeding centuries too, practice of charity endowments to the Buddhist establishments continued. Land grants to the Buddhist establishments were generally recorded on stone slabs. Under the Vākātakas majority of the copper plate charters record donations to the Brahmins individually or in groups.

The gifting of land to individual or a group of Brahmanas led to a new situation. In fact, land was the immovable property. A land gift was inheritable and alienable and therefore, this brought it under the purview of the legal system relating to the inheritance and sale of land. There arose the need of recording a land donation on a metallic piece, so it would remain with the recipient or his family even after his death. The record probably acted as the legal claim of the donee and his family.

Significance of Land Grants:

The significance of land donations was that, the donee's posterity could inherit the donated land and to that extent, it was not a momentary episode but an investment for future. Hence the record needed to be handy and of permanent nature. It mentioned donor, donee, and specific conditions if any. Further, in case of a royal grant, it was sealed and the edict mentions lineage of the king, identity of the recipient, the extent characteristics of the land gifted, the nature of the gift, and seal of the officials concerned with the grant. This brought change in the pattern of recording such donation from lithic to metallic, although, the practice of recording land donations on stone slabs did not disappear completely.

In Maharashtra practice of donation charters in the form of copper plates began in post-Sātavāhana period. Under the Vākātakas, the copper plate grants were issued after they had been checked; each of them usually bears a certificate to this effect, as testified by the term *drisṭam* inscribed on the plate. Inaccurate plates were rejected. If it was land donation, land was carefully surveyed according to the measures determined by the state.¹

Owning agricultural land acquired much significance in ancient India as agriculture was the means of subsistence for people. The rulers used to donate the state land in their possession for various reasons. It is observed that sometimes they used to buy private land in order to donate it. The prime reason behind this appears to give land grants for the cause of religion. These grants were made to the religious institutions (Buddhist Monasteries, *Maṭhas*, Temples) and individuals (scholarly Brahmins individually and in groups in *agrahāras* for the performance of Vedic sacrifices and for their livelihood). The produce or revenues from that land were to be enjoyed by the beneficiaries. Another reason was to bring fallow land under cultivation so that it is tilled to increase agricultural produce. Thus, donating land played a significant role in providing surplus agricultural produce and income to the then increasing population.

Receiving land grant was highly lucrative as the donee's posterity could inherit the donated land. Thus, it was a source of income. Naturally it gave rise to many malpractices. In this way, practice of acquiring land grant through fake donation charters proliferated as many instances reveal. There is also an instance of cancellation of one such fake donation charter.

Generally, the donations recorded on the stone slabs were difficult to move from one place to another and any adulteration was difficult due to its engraving on the stone. However, when donation charters, particularly, scribed on the metallic pieces of comparatively smaller size, movable and

maintained by the descendants of the family as proof of the land donated to them became popular and as the land grants proved to be very lucrative; for gaining such benefits, counterfeit donation charters also came to be produced. Scholars, like Rajendralal Mishra, J.F. Fleet etc. have noticed many such fake donation charters. Fleet² has enlisted 59 such fake charters that were discovered by year 1901. Five of these are stone inscriptions and the rest are copper plate charters.

Producing counterfeit or forged charters is seen since ancient times. The greedy nature of human is the cause behind it. Generally, the donation charters record the grant of land or village, specific income from donated land, some cash or donations in kind etc. Sometimes when the original charter is not available, duplicate charters were produced to claim the rights over donated land. Sometimes, these were also produced to gain the benefits of the donation (ungiven). Fake record of donation was produced and the donations (ungiven/fake) are enjoyed by its producers. Moreover, donee's posterity could inherit the donated land. The fake charters came to be known as *Kutaśāsana* or *Kutāmra*.

For instance, Madhuvan inscription of Harshavardhana (dated 631-32 CE) clearly throws light on a *Kutaśāsana*. It mentions that a village grant, (*viz.*, Somakundika village) was enjoyed illegally by a Brahmana was taken away back by the Government³. However, what the punishment for this wicked act is not known. Manusmriti refers to such *Kutaśāsanas* and suggests the death sentence for it.⁴

During this period, in Deccan too, many counterfeit donation charters seems to have been produced. In the seventh century itself, in the name of Chālukya ruler Vinayāditya who reigned between Śaka 603 - 618 (CE 681- 696), many counterfeit charters were produced. For instance, copper plate charters of Kasar Shirsi (598CE), Kolhapur (598CE) Dharwad, Bellari and Dive-Agar, Bhojaraja's donation Charter of Śaka 410, copper plate charter of Khambha II, (dated 1001) who was a feudatory of the Chālukyas, etc., have come to light. These were noticed as fake/ doctored charters by epigraphists. But in those days, the fake donee and his posterity must have enjoyed the benefits from that. Following are some of the fake donation charters in Maharashtra.

S. No.	Details	Period mentioned in the record & actual period denoting fake nature of the record	Donation Pattern
1	Kasar Shirsi (Taluka Nilanga, Dist Osmanabad) copper plates of Vinayāditya	Śaka 520 (599 CE) Actual regnal year (CE 681-696)	A village <i>viz.</i> Valalt granted to Vasudev Dvivedi Bhatta
2	Pāli copper plates [presently in Bharat Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune]		Vāsudeva Ādi Brahmanas of Kannad Kula were granted village Ellapur in Karhaṭaka Sahastra Vishaya

S. No.	Details	Period mentioned in the record & actual period denoting fake nature of the record	Donation Pattern
3	Dive Agar copper plates		As per the charter, village Kollapur was granted to Keshav Dvivedi, Bhaskar Dvivedi Shankar Dvivedi and 3500 more Brahmanas.
4	Kolhapur copper plates	Śaka 520	Village Tavasgave was granted to Śrī Padmashiv Raul

Besides, Bellāri Copperplates, Koppal Copper Plates, Dharwād Plates, Madras Museum Plates etc. of Vinayāditya Chālukya are noticed as the Spurious donation Charters. Here, question arises that why many such fake charters were produced in the name of Vinayāditya? Was his government unaware to notice this malpractice? If the answer is no, then what action was taken against it? If the answer is yes, then why the Government was not alert about it and the malpractice continued.

In subsequent centuries too, some donation charters are noticed and proved as the fake. Some of these charters are: Mangalvedhe⁵ stone inscription of Kalachuri Permadidev (C. 1132 CE), Bhor copper plates of Khambha⁶- the feudatory of the Chālukyas, Chikurde copper plates of Chālukya Janamejaya, Marmuri copper plates of Veer Satyāśrayadeva, Miraj copper plates, etc. Scholars and epigraphists have identified these donation charters as counterfeit on the basis of various factors like: linguistic and grammatical errors, mis match between the age in which the charter is dated and the language (which belongs to later centuries) in the text of charter, differences in palaeography, mention of wrong chronological era or absence of mentioning any era, errors in genealogy of the dynasty, titles of the rulers, etc. Generally the data mismatches with the factual data as compared with the original charters of the same dynasty/ruler. Moreover, mathematical calculations too mismatch with the real calendar.

Now I shall discuss three counterfeit donation charters in Maharashtra. These are: Chikurde, Murmuri and Mīraj. These three are mere copies of each other. They were noticed as counterfeit.

- These are Sanskrit- Marāṭhī mixed charters and some Kannaḍa words too are used. Chikurde charter refer to Chālukya ruler Janamejaya Chakravarti while Murmuri and Mīraj charters refer to Chālukya Veer Satyāśrayadev.
- All three records do not mention any chronological era except *Samvatsara*. No Śaka era or any other era is mentioned.
- All three records mention that donation was made to Mūlasthānadeva. As per Chikurde and Murmuri records donation was handed over to Rām Gāvunḍa while Mīraj record mention donation was handed over to Saigolapa.
- Style of mentioning borders of donated lands is similar in all 3 records.
- The linguistic errors are seen, punctuation errors too are observed.

- It does not refer to any Śaka era. Moreover, it mismatches the dates (*tithi*) with the calendar. All records mention Bhava *Samvatsara*.
- All three charters mention similar curse (*Śāpavachana*) at the end.
- In general all are the mere copies of each other with minor changes. Certain data mismatch to the factual data. Grants do not appear to be the regular and officially issued charters and are treated as fake charters.

The spurious Bhor copper plate charter is worth mentioning. It was first edited by A. S. Altekar. Then Dixit has identified it as a fake. He opines –“It is evident that the grant is not a regular and officially issued charter and cannot be considered as indicating the existence of a feudatory Chālukya king in Śaka year 1001”. This charter mentions that Khambha, the donor belonged to the Chālukya clan. He made donation of village ‘Ving’ which was a Mahāsthān to some Brahmanas viz. Kumbhadev Bhaṭṭa, Gangalduver and others. The grant was made with certain rights and to maintain *Āchandrārka*. However, due to many factors, this charter is proved as a fake one.

A majority of these fake charters came into light in recent past as the epigraphical studies indicate. It is but obvious that in those days many persons and their posterity must have enjoyed the benefits of such fake donation charters. Such misappropriation of donation charters is a testimony of human greed and avarice. Owing to vested personal interests many such fake donation charters were produced.

Notes and References

1. Yazdani, G. *Early History of Deccan*, vol. I-VI, pp
2. Fleet, J.F., *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 30, pp.201-223.
3. Cited in Tulpule, S.G., *Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh*, (henceforth referred to as PMKL), Pune Univ. Publication, Pune, 1963, p.9
4. *Ibid*
5. *PMKL*, pp.344-347
6. Dixit, M.G., *E.I.*, Vol.23, 1935, pp. 99-100, *PMKL*, Insc. No. 60, pp. 315-318

Kānherī Inscriptions as a Source for re-writing the Socio-economic and Cultural Life in Western India during the first millennium CE.

Abhidha Dhumatkar

Abstract:

Kānherī caves, situated at Borivalī, near National Park is a Buddhist shrine, constructed over a period of more than six centuries is a home to all three sects of Buddhism- Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. Also being closer to the ancient emporia of Sopārā and Kalyāṇ, the caves house donative inscriptions by merchants and grants by Sātavāhana kings. This paper seeks to investigate the reflection of culture and commerce in Kānherī inscriptions.

Keywords:

Kānherī, Sopārā, Kalyāṇ, Pratiṣṭhāna, Donative Inscription.

Introduction

The name Kānherī is derived from the Sanskrit name Kṛṣṇagirī which means black mountain. Its version in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt “Kānherī” occurs in the Nāsik inscription of the Sātavāhana ruler Vasiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvī. The caves are situated at the distance of 10 kilometres to the southeast of Borivalī, the suburb of metropolitan Bombay (east, situated at the latitude 19° 12’ 18.00” N longitude 72° 54’ 13.79” E). The site is not very far from the ancient rich trade centres of Sopārā, Kalyāṇ and Chaul. There are hundred and four caves, water cisterns near the steps leading to the cave doors, well lit halls with windows of stone lattice, graceful sculptures, inscriptions and a burial gallery.

Kānherī must have been paradise for cave excavators, as they were occupied by Buddhist brotherhood from 1st century CE to 9th century CE. Most of the inscriptions here have been carved into rough and decaying rock surface covered with natural markings, mingled with letters, with the result that careful ink inscriptions are practically illegible. Some of the alphabets have faded and can be deciphered only by touching them. On the basis of the epitaphs in front of the burial gallery many scholars have concluded that, Kānherī was a great Buddhist educational centre in the Western India, supported by monks and traders. It has preserved the records of different dynasties which governed it from time to time.

The fragments of Ashoka’s eighth and ninth rock-edicts were found in the vicinity of Sopārā, while the fifth rock edict of Gīrnār mentions ‘Aparānta’, with Sopārā as important administrative centre. Kānherī lies in the beautiful natural surroundings apt for meditative life of monks. It was well connected with inland market towns like Nāsik, Ter and Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital city of the Sātavāhanas. The caves were established by Buddhist monks to propagate their faith. Satvahanas, during whose reign the construction of these caves began, ruled from the 1st quarter of the 1st BCE to the 1st quarter of the 3rd century CE. One of the Sātavāhana inscriptions at Nāsik referred to an uninterrupted access from Nāsik to Kānherī.

There is an inscription in the right corner of cave no.2 at Kānherī behind stupa that is partly beneath the standing figure of Buddha, saluted by nine persons. The inscription consists of six short and one long line and records five names in Sanskrit nominatives and ends with four Prākṛit names.

This inscription, the middle portion of which is completely damaged measures 40 cm x 15 cm. The length of the last line is 35 cm and that of the letters is 6 cm x 5 cm. It is in Brāhmī script of 6th century CE written in Prākṛit language. The inscription has registered the names of nine visitors as follows, Naṇṇha - a physician, Bhānū, Bhāskara, Bhāravi, Chelladeva, Boppai, Bhaṭṭa, Vesu, Suvai (Suvrati), According to scholars the visitors must be from south and from a sophisticated class of society and lovers of cultural life. One of the visitors was surely the great Sanskrit poet Bharavi.

Sopārā, the capital city of 'Śilāhārās' (close to the present Mumbai City) in the Sātavāhana period was the cultural center in ancient times. In the Śilāhārā period, the king Aparāditya sent Tejaḥkāntha from Śurpāraka to the literary conference in Kāśmir, which indicates the cultural glory of this ancient emporium.¹

Another inscription, on the back wall of cave number-2 above a long bench set against the wall, of two lines records the gift of a refectory 'Sāta' by Nākaṇaka, inhabitant of Naśik. This inscription measuring 70 cm x 25 cm and letters 10 cm x 6 cm is in Prākṛt with Sātavāhana Brāhmī character of 2nd century CE. According to the scholar Nāgarajū the word 'Sāta' might mean, a center of free distribution of food and water for the resident monks or more probably for the pilgrims who came to visit the holy Chaitya Hall which is situated just by the side of this cave.²

An inscription in cave no.2 near a small tank measuring 90 cm x 25 cm with letters 6 cm x 5 cm in Prākṛt language written in Sātavāhana Brāhmī of 2nd century CE states that the cistern, is a gift of the goldsmith Sāmīdāta (Svāmīdatta) of Kalyāṇ together with the community of ascetics and lay brothers.³

The inscription in front of the cave number 2, just above the cistern measuring 2.35 m x 99 cm with letters of 5.5 cm x 4 cm is a Prākṛt inscription written in Sātavāhana Brāhmī of 2nd century CE. This donative inscription notes that, the cistern was constructed by Puṇavasū, the son of a trader Chita from Kalyāṇ.⁴

The inscription, on the right gate of the Chaitya cave number 3, measuring 2.30 m x 1 m with letters of 10 cm x 5 cm is a Prākṛt inscription written in Sātavāhana Brāhmī in 2nd century CE. It records the name of the Sātavāhana king Gautam, who according to Dr. Shobhanā Gokhale is likely to be Yaṇashrī Sātakarnī. The Chaitya was excavated by the two brothers Gajasena and Gajamita for the monks of Bhadravāṇīya sect. It records the names of Buddhist monks such as, Achala, Gahala, Vijayamita, Bodhika, Dhammapāla and Seumla. There are references to architects like Uparakhita-overseer, Selavāḍhakī-stone mason, Kāḍika-Artisan, Mithika-Polisher. The inscription reveals that, the construction of the Kānherī Chaitya was begun by the merchants Gajasena and Gajamita and was completed by Pavita. There are names of Bhadanta Achala, Bhadanta Gahala, Bhadanta Vijayamita, Bhadanta Bodhika, Bhadanta Dhammapāla, Ānandputa Aparenūka. According to Dr. Shobhanā Gokhale, the name Ānada can be interpreted in the connection of another inscription with the name of his son Aparenūka and his relatives. In Kānherī inscriptions, the Prākṛit word 'Khatīya' can be interpreted as excavators and 'Mahākātaka' as a worker on walls for screening and plastering as well as 'Kamisa' as a leader of workmen.⁵

An inscription on the left-hand gate post of the Chaitya cave no.3, measuring 1.43m x 1.7 m, written in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt and Brāhmī characters of first century CE is similar to those of inscriptions of Nahapāna. This donative inscription has recorded various beneficial gifts which the donor bestowed on the monks at Kānherī and other places. This inscription has also brought to the

limelight the following facts: - Some additions might have been made to the Chaitya at Kānherī. A perpetual endowment was given, the purpose and nature of which has been lost. Three cells were added in the district of Sopārā (Sopārā khāre). A Chaitya, a hall of reception (upathānasala) and cells for the monks (ovaraka) were built in the Ambālikavihāra situated at Kalyāṇ. A Chaitya-gr̥ha and thirteen cells for the monks (ovaraka terasa) together with a perpetual endowment (akhayanivikha) were given at Paiṭhan. A meditation room (kuṭī) and a residential room (koḍhī) were erected at the Vihara of Sevuja, in the taluka of Paithan called Rājatālaka. A monastery (Saghārāmo) was built (Kārāpito) and endowed with a perpetual grant (akhayanivi). These and other meritorious gifts were made for his own benefit (Pu(natha)).⁶

An inscription under the standing figure of the Buddha on the inner side of the outer wall of the verandah between the left gate-post and the left colossal figure of the Buddha is of three lines. It refers to the carving of the image of the Buddha below which it is set the inscription. It measures 1 x 2.5 m. The letters are 5 cm x 3 cm and is written in nail headed Brāhmī script of the 5th century CE and Sanskrit language. The inscription notes that the image of Lord Buddha was gifted by the ascetic Sakya Buddhaghosa, the guardian of the great Gandhakuṭī and the pupil of the Dharmmavatsa, a teacher of the three Piṭakas and the followers of the religion of the divine Buddha.⁷

An inscription, under another seated figure of Buddha in pralāmba-padmāsana and dharmachakramudrā in the veranda of cave no.3, measuring 99 cm x 10 cm, letters 6.5 cm x 4.5 cm is in Brāhmī script of 5th century CE and in Sanskrit language. The letters from this inscription shows the resemblance with the letters of the inscription of Varāhadeva at Ajantā cave no.16. The inscription notes that it was meritorious gift of the Sākya monk Dharmagupta.⁸

An inscription of nine lines, cut into a plaster on the right side of standing Buddha which is sculptured inside the small chamber of the left side of the entrance of cave no.3 and measuring 19 cm x 12 cm, letters 3 cm x 1.5 cm is written in Sanskrit language and is in nail headed Brāhmī script of 5th century CE. The inscription seems to be meritorious gift of the leader Buddharakṣita. This is the only inscription of Kānherī which mentions that, may all living beings become the Buddha. Similar expression occurs in the Ajanta inscriptions.⁹

References

1. Burges James – 1964 Reprint – Buddhist Cave temples and their inscriptions. ASWL, IV, Varāṇasi.
2. Burges James- 1970 Reprint - Report on Elurā cave temples and the Brahmanical and Jain caves in Western India. ASWL V Varāṇasi.
3. Burges James and Indrajī Bhagawanlal – 1881 – Inscriptions from the cave temples of Western India. ASWL miscellaneous publication x Bombay.
4. Bird James – 1847 – Historical researches on the origin and the principle of Buddha and Jain religion, Bombay.
5. Burges J and Forgusson J. – 1960 Reprint – The cave temples of India, Delhi.
6. Sastri Hiranand – 1925 – Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey no. 20.
7. Davids Rhys, T W. and Oldenberg – 1965 – The Vinaya texts, Delhi.
8. Bapat P.V. – 1959 – 2500 years of Buddhism, New Delhi.
9. Dutt Nalinaksa – 1971 – Early monastic Buddhism, Calcutta.

Inscriptions from Pilar Church: A Study

Deepak Suryawanshi

Abstract

Goa was ruled by Portuguese for more than 450 years. Impact of their rule could not be erased. Many institutions evolved as per the Evangelical motives. There were many religious institutes which emerged in Goa with time. Each of them can offer unique narratives. Here the emphasis is on two tomb inscriptions from Pilar Church. (One is of Governor and another of a couple.) They are unique and not placed inside but at the entrance of the Church.

Keywords

Goa, Portuguese, Franciscans, Pilar Church, tomb, Governor, Christovam de Mello, Manuel Furtado E Mendes, Rosada Maria Lacerda, Dona Pascoala, Blessed Joseph Vaz and Father Agnelo.

The English, Dutch and Portuguese also contributed to the Indian legacy of inscriptions. The Portuguese ruled for more than 450 years. Goa was their capital and epicenter of all activities in the East. City of Goa is referred in ancient age by various names such as Gopakapatana, Gopakapuri, Govapuri or Gove. And Pilar was part of it. It is said that, Sanaphulla of Shilahara dynasty, (circa) 765 CE had established the city. It also enjoyed the status of principle seat of Kadamba Empire, but in the later ages it was raided by the Khiljis, Tughlaqs and destroyed by Honavar's Nawab Jhamaluddin in the year 1345 CE.¹

There were various religious orders (Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians) who came here for their Evangelical motives. The Franciscans erected the convent of Pilar in the year 1594. It is with 21 cells, cloister and a Church.² The monastery figures among Goa's most visited Christian pilgrim spot³. The Pilar Society has been serving the Archdiocese of Goa by running parishes of Agonada (where the original society was born), Sanguem, Rivona, Voddem, Colem, Anjuna and most recently Kanguinim.⁴ Frey Luisda Conceicao, General Commissar of the Reformed Franciscans of the Custody of the Mother of God had erected the Monastery with its adjoining church. D. Frey Cristovao de Sa Lisboa, Archbishop of Goa, on July 17, 1613, had laid its foundation stone.⁵ One can see statue of Our lady of Pilar in the church. The chapel containing tomb of father Agnelo is placed to the right of the Church.⁶ The society faced many challenges and changes in the passage of time. After the suppression of the religious orders in Goa in 1835, the Pilar Monastery was abandoned.⁷ There are two inscriptions at the entrance of the Pilar Church. The inscription at the entrance of Pilar Church with the 'Coat Of Arms'says,

SEPVLTVRA

DEDOCHRISTOVA O

DEMELL

NATVRALDEFVORAQ

VEYODA

RNOEM1690 F DESPO

...SDOCVPAROSPRIM

R.LVGARESDAINDIA

AGOVERNOVTRESVE

ZESEFALICEOAOS19

DEABRILDE1737

Translation -

Sepulture of Christovam de Mello, native of Tavora who was posted on first place in India as Governor and also second time, who expired on 19/04/1737.

At the Entrance of Pillar Church Building the second inscription is without Coat of Arms. It reads as,

SEPVLTVRADEMA

NOFIFVRTADODE

MENDODAEDESV

ASMOHLERESDO

NAMARIADELACE

RDAEDONAPASC

DESEVSHERDEIR

OS

Translation-

Sepulture of Manuel Furtado E Mendes and his spouse Rosada Maria Lacerda. Erected by Dona Pascoala and her heirs.

Conclusion

As seen in most of the inscriptions from Goa, the tombs in the Church premises belong to very special and influential people. Most of the tomb inscriptions in Goa are inside the church but that feature is absent here. At the very entrance of the Pilar Church building, one finds tomb of people like Governor. In this edifice picture inscriptions are also found. Two of them are of persons with religious heights, Blessed Joseph Vaz and Father Agnelo.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to Mr. Ulhas Prabhu Desai, (Taki, Goa), who helped in translating the inscriptions. Also I thank Father Cosme Jose Costa, Pilar Church Complex, Goa, for giving valuable time and guidance inspite of ill health.

References:

1. Fr. Cosme Jose Costa, The Heritage of Govapuri - A Study of The Artifacts: In and around The Pilar Seminary Museum, Pilar Publications, Goa, 2002, p.18.
2. Ibid., p.121.
3. Joel D'Souza, "The Grandeur of Pilar seminary", in Goa Today, Jan., 2001, pp. 28-30.
4. Goa Today, Jan., 2001, pp. 28-29.
5. T.V. Gune, (Director of Goa Historical Archives) Ancient Shrines of Goa Pictoria Survey, Department of Information, Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, Panjim (Goa), Feb., 1965, p.23.
6. Maurice Hall, Window on Goa, Quiller Press London, 2nd ed. 1995, pp.103-104.
7. Fr. Cosme Jose Costa, op.cit., p. 83.

Incarnations of Vishnu in Cambodia: An Epigraphical Study

Manmohan Sharma

Abstract:

Relations between India and Cambodia were established by traders, preachers and kings since ancient times, whose information is available from many inscriptions found there. Evidences of the spread of various branches of Hinduism, such as Vaishnavism, Saivism and Shakta, is available in many inscriptions. Some names of Vishnu were also used as titles and the rulers considered themselves as a representative of Vishnu and used to add titles like Varaha, Vasudev, Paramvasudev, etc., to their names. Govind, Narasimha, Hayagriva, Vamana, Varaha and Ram etc. are found written in the inscriptions.

Keywords:

Ke (number of Cambodian inscriptions), Hayagriva (horse-headed Vishnu avatar), Vamana (Vishnu avatar), Khmer (ancient language of Cambodia), Funan (ancient Cambodian kingdom in Chinese inscriptions), Kamrten (administrative position), Varaha (king's title).

Introduction:

The ancient Kamboja kingdom was more extensive than present-day Cambodia and included Laos, parts of Thailand and other regions in addition to the present-day Cambodia. Initially it was called Funan. It is believed that Brahmin Kaudinya from India went to Funan, married the princess Soma and established his kingdom there.¹ It was only after the establishment of the state by Kodinya that the Sanskritization of the native people started, in which the Indian lifestyle had a great influence. After that the practice of Indian art, religion, literature, social institutions etc., reached its peak due to the establishment of Hindu kingdom there for about 1300 years. Out of about fifteen hundred inscriptions found so far, many are in Sanskrit and some in both Sanskrit and Khmer languages.

Historically in Cambodia, the worship of Vishnu and Siva began almost simultaneously.² But Vishnu worship was done in three ways – Bhagavata Siddhanta, Pancharatra Siddhanta and Gopala or Radha-Krishna. The trend of Bhagwat and Pancharatra is found more in Cambodia. According to Majumdar, the practice of Vaishnavism started in South East Asia in about 5th century.³ During the period of Yashovarman I. Pancharatra, Bhagavata and Satavata were the main Vaishnava sects and many Vaishnava ashrams were built. A Vishnu statue was also found at Si-Thep in Menam basin. Prominent Vaishnava kings were Jayavarman II, Yashovarman, Indravarman II and Jayavarman III.

Two of the earliest inscriptions from Funan are Vaishnava. One of them describes the donation and prayer to Vishnu by Jayavarman 1st's (475-514 CE) queen Kulaprabhavati. It has 5 verses in Sanskrit. According to this inscription a golden statue of Vishnu was installed in Krumbnagar which was a town of Brahmins. A pond, an ashram and a house were also constructed there.

*ya: ujjanyogamatarkitamapiya: kṣīrodaśaīyyāgrheśeteśaṣabhujaṃga bhoga racanā paryyaṃ
prṣṭhāśrita:kukṣiprānta samāśrita tribhuvana onābhyutithata āmbhoruhora—śrījayavarmanopram
ahiṣṃsasvāminī rakṣatukulaprabhāvatī nāmnā prabhāvātkulabardhinī dṛṣṭirekevaya adrṣṭā jayena
jayavarmmaṇāviprāṇāṃ bhavanam kurumbanagareprā---kṛtvāyaṃpratimā suvarṇaracitām----*

Another inscription describes the establishment of the footprints of Chakratirtha Swami (Vishnu) by Gunavarman, son of Jayavarman and Kulaprabhavati.⁴ Thus, there is evidence of the worship of Vishnu statues and footprints in Cambodia from the beginning. During the reign of Jayavarman II (802 -834 CE) and Jayavarman III (854-877 CE) there was an unprecedented increase in the spread of Vaishnavism. During this period, many monuments of Vishnu were built on Mount Mahendra. An inscription shows that the sister of Bhava Varman I, the first king of the Chenla dynasty, donated copies of the Mahabharata, Ramayana and Puranas to the temple on the banks of the Mekong River.⁵ The period of Suryavarman II was the golden age of Vaishnavism. During this period, the Vishnu Raj doctrine replaced the Devaraja doctrine (Shaiva). The inscriptions of Angkor Thom mention *Vaishnavagrihas* where help was provided to sick and poor.⁶

Initial Work:

The first work on inscriptions of Cambodia was done by H. Kern in 1870 on a transcript prepared by M. Jules Harmand. The work on Sanskrit inscriptions was started by M. A. Bart and M. A. Bergaigne in 1885 by publishing the first volume. Early work on Khmer language inscriptions here was done by E. Aymonier in 1900-1904 and later by G. Coede's. From India the first work on these inscriptions was done by R. C. Majumdar in 1953 which contains details of 300 inscriptions. The largest of these inscriptions is in Sanskrit with 298 verses. It belongs to Rajendvarman (944-968 CE). This inscription uses 10 Sanskrit *chhandas*. The second inscription of the same ruler has 218 verses and an inscription of Yashovarman has 108 verses.⁷ According to one record, Yashovarman also wrote a commentary on the Mahabharata. In addition to the details of the kingdoms and kings, they provide deep information of contemporary political, social, economic, religious and cultural situation.

Research Objectives:

(1) To learn about the depth and breadth of Indian culture in Cambodia. (2) To gain knowledge of the details of Vishnu incarnations in the inscriptions of Cambodia. (3) To explore the popularity of Vishnu incarnations in Cambodia. (4) To gain knowledge of other elements of Indian culture through inscriptions.

Methodology:

To prepare this research paper, various materials obtained from the inscriptions of Cambodia have been studied. The translation made by different authors is made the main basis. Other findings of archeology like sculptures have also been used for verification. Finally, an attempt has been made to draw general conclusions.

Description of the incarnations of Vishnu in the inscriptions of Kambuja:

The research of U. T. W Anke, shows that they refer to Vishnu by various names. The names of Vishnu in these inscriptions end in many ways like, Ishwar such as Champeshwar, Harivansh Ishwar etc. Similarly, the word Nath is also found at the end of the name like Tribhuvan Nath, Trivikram Nath. In some inscriptions, the word Swami is found like Chakratirtha Swami, Vishnu Swami, Sankarshan Swami etc. Similarly, Adivaraha, Govinda, Narasimha and other names are also found.⁸ Names related to Vishnu are found on 77 inscriptions. Among these, the incarnations of Vishnu are mentioned in 14 inscriptions. Among them, 9 inscriptions mention Krishna and the names of Hayagriva, Narasimha, Vamana, Varaha and Rama are mentioned on one inscription each. Thus, among the incarnations of Vishnu, Krishna incarnation seems to be the most popular in Kambuj country. In addition to these, references to the combined form of Vishnu and Shiva called Harihara have also been found on 10 inscriptions. Although the origin of Harihara is the Rig Veda but the Puranas have more references and popularity of Harihara.⁹ No separate paper is available on the incarnations of Vishnu as found on these inscriptions. The following pages describes inscriptional reference in Cambodia to various *avatars* of Vishnu.

Hayagriva Avatar -

According to Mahabharata, once Vishnu was in Yog Nidra, at that time two fierce demons named Madhu and Kaitabh were born from his body. Both demons were very strong. They snatched the four Vedas from Brahma and entered the ocean. Brahma prayed to wake up Vishnu, after that Vishnu awakened and Brahma told him the whole incident. Lord Vishnu assumed the form of Hayagriva and entered the ocean. He caught the demons there and snatched the Vedas from them and gave them to Brahma and sent both the demons Madhu and Kaitabh to Yamloka.¹⁰ The episode is also given in Devi Bhagavata in different way.

Hayagriva's name is found in an inscription whose number is K 632. He is mentioned as Hayashir in it. This inscription was obtained from Prah Khan of Shiem Reap area. It is of Saka Samvat 1100 to 1199. Further details are not available.¹¹ In Hayagriva the head of a horse rests on a man. A statue of this type, which is from seventh to eighth century, was found in South Cambodia in worship. Its size is 30.5 x 9.8 x 7.7 cm. Some scholars also consider it as the form of Kalki avatar of Vishnu, but we do not find this opinion correct because in the belief of Kalki avatar, he is shown on a horse. Another statue of Hayagriva is also in the National Museum of Cambodia whose size is 134 x 44 x 30 cm. Its weight is 173 kg. It is made of sandstone. It was found from Kuk-trap village. According to GuyJhon, it dates back to the beginning of the 7th century.¹² Therefore, Hayagriva incarnation was recognized in South Cambodia from very early date.

Varah Avatar -

Vishnu took this incarnation to take the earth out of the water. According to Indian literature, a demon named Hiranyaksha had drowned the earth in the ocean. Because of which there was chaos everywhere. Therefore, Vishnu incarnated as Varaha and killed that demon and protected the earth.

(Srimad Bhagwat Purana 3.18.8,) This story is found in many Puranas along with Ramayana and Mahabharata.¹³ The word ‘Varaha’ is found in many inscriptions in Cambodia, which seems to be a title with names.

Probably the ruler considered himself as a representative of Varaha. This form of Vishnu is also depicted in the art of Cambodia. This form of Vishnu is shown on the left side panel at the entrance into the temple of Angkor Wat. He is holding the earth in his lap in the form of a woman. One of his feet is shown on the head of a demon named Hiranyaksha. On this panel, Brahma with a *kamandal* in his hand, along with Sun and Moon are also shown who are blessing Bhudevi. It is also believed that in the beginning Angkor Wat was called VarahVishnu Lok. In Cambodia’s inscription number K 636 ‘Parakamraten Adri Varah’ word is found which is considered as Adivrah. This is a small inscription which belongs to Saka Samvat 1100 to 1199 and was found in Sheim Reap region.¹⁴ In fact, Adri also means mountain therefore; Adivrah may be taken as Shri Krishna also who lifted Govardhan.

Inscription number K 91B is from Kuk preah in the Kamyongcham region. It belongs to the eleventh century of Saka Samvat. It has 30 lines. The words Varahvishnu, Govind and Param Shiva are written on it. Similarly, the inscription K 91C is also from this place, in which Prasad Bhoomi Vishnuvalaya is in the first line. This Vaishnavalay was established by Kavishwar Pandit Pragya, a theology teacher.

Narasimha Avatar -

This is considered the fourth avatar of Vishnu. In order to protect the devotee Prahlad, the son of Hiranyakashipu, Lord Vishnu took this incarnation and killed the demon. After very hard penance on Brahma, Hiranyakashipu got the boon that he may not be killed inside or outside, by man or animal, deva or demon, any weapon on land nor in sky.¹⁵ These conditions were fulfilled in the Narasimha avatar. There are many references to this incarnation in Indian literature, apart from both the epics, details of Narasimha avatar are also found in 12 Puranas.¹⁶ In Cambodia Kamrten jagat Narasimha is written in inscription number K 633.¹⁷ This is the title of King Jayavarman VII who considered himself universal king but considered himself as Narasimha i.e., fraction of Vishnu. This record belongs to Prah khan of Shiem Reap area. Beautiful depiction of Narasimha in the art of Cambodia found in Bentey Shrei temple which belongs to 10th century.

Vaman Avatar -

This is the fifth avatar of Vishnu. He is also known as Trivikram, Urukram and Indra’s younger brother Upendra. He entered the kingdom of king Bali in the guise of a Batuk Brahmin and made Bali pledge to donate three steps of land. Bali fulfilled his promise even after the warning of his Guru Shukracharya. Vamana spread his legs to all the three worlds and sent Bali to Patal Lok.¹⁸ The first mandala of the Rigveda contains the seed of this legend. ‘Trinippadavichkrame Vishnurgopaadabhya’ is found here.¹⁹ There are similar indications at other places in the Rig Veda.²⁰ Apart from this, details of Vamana avatar are found in Aittreya Brahmana, Ramayana, Mahabharata

and all the Puranas.²¹ There is also a separate Purana by the name of Vamana. Trivikrama is mentioned in a Cambodian inscription K 218 which dates back to the time of Rajendra Varman II.²² Here also this title of king is known. Trivikram is also found on the panel of Angkorwat temple measuring the universe by steps.

Ram Avatar -

He is considered as the seventh avatar of Vishnu. According to the Vayu Purana, Harivamsa Purana and Brahmanda Purana, Rama was born in the Treta Yuga of the twenty-fourth Chaturyugi.²³ Ramkatha is being propagated in different forms in India and many countries of the world through literature, sculpture, painting, dance art, music art etc. from time immemorial. Its base is Valmiki Ramayana which is called Adi Kavya. As far as the inscriptions of Cambodia are concerned, so far only one record K 637 has been found with the names of Ram, Sita and Lakshman. It was obtained from Prah Khan in Shiem reap region. In this, Kamrten Jagat Ramdev is written in the first line, Kamrten Jagat Laxman in the second and Varah Bhagwati Sita in the third.²⁴ It is clear that the legend of Rama was prevalent there. An entire corridor of the Angkorvat temple depicts all the major scenes of Ramayana. Similarly, in the Angkor Thom temple, Sita, Hanuman, Vishnu, Guruda etc. have been shown carved on the stones. The scene of Bali's slaying is also depicted in the temple built by Jayavardhana VI at Thom khom. The Valkantel inscription K359 suggests that the Rama story was popular in Cambodia. According to this inscription engraved by Somasharma Brahmin in 598 CE, he had arranged sufficient Dakshina (money) for the continuous recitation of Ramayana, Mahabharata and Puranas in Tribhuvaneshwar temple. He was the son-in-law of Virvarma and a scholar of Samveda.²⁵

Krishna Avatar -

He is considered the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. The popularity of Rama and Krishna is universal in various forms and mediums. Archaeological descriptions of Krishna in India range from the Besnagar Pillar Inscription²⁶ of 125 BCE to several texts in the literature including the Chhandogya Upanishad,²⁷ Yasaka's Nirukta, the Mahabharata, the Vishnu Purana, the Harivamsa Purana and the Bhagavata Purana. Get. His representation is found in many forms in art in India and outside. Marking of Vasudev Krishna Chakradhari and Balram Haldhar has been found on the coins of Agasthakolas.²⁸ In the first line of the Besnagar pillar, he has been described as Vasudev, the god of gods.²⁹ Description of Krishna is found on many inscriptions of Cambodia. The Prasatkhan temple dedicated to Krishna dates back to the time of Suryavarman I, although he was a follower of Bodha religion. Krishna and Vamana are shown carrying Govardhan near Prasat Nam Khem.³⁰ In the inscriptions of Cambodia, the names of Krishna are written as Madhuripu, Adrivah, (Govardhandhar) Govind, Purushottam, Harivanshwar and Param Vasudev etc. Govind has been written in the last two lines of record-K 91B.

K 51 is the oldest 7th century inscription on which the name Madhuripu is found. According to Jenner, this inscription belongs to the temple of Ba Phnom area, which is of 578 to 697 AD. It

mentions the donation of paddy fields, trees, slave dance etc. by Indra Datta to Sri Madhuripu deity.³¹ Here there is a clear reference to Krishna i.e., Vishnu killing the demon, Madhu Kaitabh. The 67 x 60 cm. inscription has 17 lines in Khmer language and two in Sanskrit.

In inscription number- K 274 D, Ta Phnom, Sheim Reap area, which belongs to Saka Samvat 1100 to 1199, the words Sri Harishikeshwar and Harivamshwar are found in this, which refer to Krishna.³²

In the K 563 inscription, which is from the 6th – 7th century, the name Kapilvasudev is found. It belongs to Phnom Srie place of Kompong Speu area. According to Jenner, this rock is 97 x 43cm. There are 13 lines on it, in which 2 are in Sanskrit and 11 in Khmer language. In the 8th line it is mentioned that, Narayan (Vishnu) and Sri Kapil Vasudev have been donated paddy fields, slaves, orchards, grasslands, coconut and almond trees etc. in charity. In line 11th the names of slaves are given.³³

The names Sri Vasudeva and Sri Kapil Vasudeva are found in the 2nd and 10th lines of K-100 inscription, in which donations are discussed to the temple of Sri Vikrampur at Phomkor in Kampong Cham region. Here there was a Siva temple of the 9th century of Saka Samvat.³⁴

Inscription number-K 412 which is of Lopburi (Lovepuri) Ayuthya (Ayodhya) and belongs to Saka Samvat 900 to 999 mentions the name Param Vasudev. It has 28 lines. This is the name of the donor who donated paddy field, dancer, singer/musician, two orchards, other goods, slaves and animals to the temple.³⁵

The name Govardhandhar, the lifter of Mount Govardhan has been found on the K 56 inscription, from the Prey Veng area and is of 9th century.³⁶ According to this inscription the idol was installed here by Nripendraokak in Yashodharapur during the reign of Rajendra Varman II. It has 48 lines. The statue of Govardhan Dhari of 7th century has also been found in South Korea. It is of Phnom Da style. It is so beautiful that it seems that the artist must have started work many years ago to reach here. This stone statue is 120 x 38.20 cm. It was discovered by Pierre Dupont in 1944 from Phnom Da, Angkor.³⁷

Conclusion:

From the study of inscriptions and other archaeological remains, we find that Vaishnavism was prevalent in the ancient Kambuj state. Hebalkar is of the view that science, art, literature and Indian beliefs such as heaven-hell, ashram system, incarnationism, worship and methods, Nirgun and Saguna worship etc. were also popular in the country of Kamboj.³⁸ Even today signs of splendor of Indian culture here and there are visible. Like India, the people believed in incarnation. The evidences of many incarnations of Vishnu are obtained from the inscriptions. Many kings considered themselves as a representative of Vishnu and used to add titles like Varaha, Vasudev, Paramvasudev etc. to their names. Rulers established Vishnu's temples, idols and Vaishnavalaya where apart from worship the poor were also given shelter. This recognition changed the art, culture and lifestyle

there. This also proves that India's influence and proximity to this state was very deep. In today's world, there is a great need for these relationships.

References:

1. R.C.Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambhuj, Calcutta, 1953, p.10*
2. D.Daweewarn, *Brahmanism in South-East Asia*, Sterling New Delhi, 1982p.32
3. R.C.Majumdar, p 18
4. D.Daweewarn, op.cit. p32
5. *Ibid.*p34
6. *Ibid.*p.34
7. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu colonies in the Far east*, General pub. Calcutta 1944, p. 207-8
8. U-Train Wongsathi Anake, *Sanskrit Names in Cambodian Inscriptions*, Unpublished thesis Pune Uni.2012
9. *Rigveda*, Brahnavarchasa, Haridwar2010,1.161.1,1.69.9
10. *Mahabharata* Geeta Press1994,12.347.24-75
11. *Corpus of Khmer Inscriptions*, sealeng.net. K 632
12. Guy John, *The lost Kindom: Hindu Buddhist sculptures of S.E, Asia*, Mertopolitan Museum of Cambodia, 2014, p.149
13. *Ramayana*(G.P).2.110, *Mahabharata* (G.P).3.102, 3.188
14. *Corpus of Khmer Inscriptions*, sealeng.net. K 636
15. *Bhagvat Puran* (G.P))7.3.35-37
16. Rama7.24, Bhag .7.8.18-19,
17. *Corpus of Khmer Inscriptions*, sealeng.net. K 633
18. *Vaman Puran*(G.P.), 98
19. *Rigveda*.1.22.16-21
20. *Ibid.*1.154.1-5
21. *Attareya Brah.* 1.1.3,3.2.18 *Mahabharata* 3.102,270, *Harivamsha*7,7
22. *Corpus of Khmer Inscriptions*, sealeng.net. K 218
23. *Vayu P.* 70.88, *Harivamsha* 2.104, *Bhagavata*9.10-11
24. *Corpus of Khmer Inscriptions*, sealeng.net. K 637
25. Jean Filliozt, *The Ramayana in S.E.Asian Sanskrit Epigraphy and Iconography in 'Asian Variations in Ramayana'*,2005),p 194.
26. Richard Saloman, *Indian Epigraphy-A guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit and other Indo-Aryan languages*, Oxford1998, pp.265-67
27. *Chhandogya Upanishad* 2.17.16
28. P.L.Gupta, *Bharata ke Poorvakalik Sikk*, V.V.Varanasi 2006, p.374
29. Archaeology on line heleodorasa/net/coloum 1 oct. 2020
30. D.Daweewarn, op.cit. p 34
31. Jenner manuai part xml.no.53

32. *Corpus of Khmer inscription* K -274D
33. Jenner manuai part xml.no.78
34. *Corpus of Khmer inscription* K -100
35. *Corpus of Khmer inscription* K-412
36. U. Train, *op.cit.* p .273
37. *Catalogue of National Museum* Khonmpenh K 1641
38. Sharad Hebokar *Bharatiya Samskriti kaa Vishva Samchar Suruch*, New Delhi 2010,p.23

To reject or not to reject - A reappraisal of some western Gaṅga inscriptions

Nihar Ranjan Patra

Abstract:

This paper is a reappraisal of three of the copper plate inscriptions of Harivarmma, the third monarch of the Western Gaṅga dynasty, which have been considered “spurious” by scholars. After a critical analysis of all the details of these charters, it will be shown that they are totally genuine and hence can be and must be used for reconstruction of the political and chronological history of the Western Gaṅgas. The paper will also bring out a case to relook into the epoch of the Śaka era from a fresh perspective, which will open up new avenues for chronological research of Indian history.

Keywords:

Taṅjāvūr plates, Kūḍlūr plates, Tagaḍūru plates, Gāwarwāḍ inscription, Hisse-Borala inscription, Śaka era, Śakānta era, Harivarmman, Western Gaṅgas, Palaeography.

Introduction:

The veteran epigraphist Dr. K. V. Ramesh’s corpus of Western Gaṅga inscriptions, viz., *Inscriptions of The Western Gaṅgas* published in 1984 has brought for the first time almost all the inscriptions of the dynasty in a single compilation which includes many inscriptions rejected by Fleet as “spurious”. This has greatly facilitated the study of the history of the dynasty. But despite being one of the most prolific epigraphists till date, Dr. Ramesh too, could not distance himself totally from the controversy between B. L. Rice and Fleet regarding the genuineness of some Western Gaṅgas inscriptions. He too, like Fleet, has regarded three of the inscriptions of the third monarch of the dynasty, Harivarmman, as spurious (Ramesh 1984, xxvi, footnote 1). Although he has used one of these “spurious” plates in his corpus to place the establishment of the dynasty in the middle of the fourth century CE (Ramesh 1984, liii-liv)! Nevertheless, the usefulness of the corpus cannot be underestimated.

This paper argues that those three charters of Harivarmman, which were declared “spurious” by Dr. J. F. Fleet and Dr. Ramesh, are actually genuine and they should be and must be used in the reconstruction of the political and chronological history of the Western Gaṅgas.

Taṅjāvūr grant of Harivarmman:

The Taṅjāvūr grant of Harivarmman (named Arivarmma in the grant) was published by J. F. Fleet in 1879 in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 212, with a lithograph. There, he declared it as a “forgery” citing the grounds for declaring it so from the arguments of Dr. A. C. Burnell’s “Elements of South Indian Palaeography”. Dr. Burnell has classified the alphabets of the Taṅjāvūr grant as belonging to the Northern Chera characters of the 10th century CE (Burnell 1878, 34-35). While

the reasons enlisted by Dr. Burnell (1878, 34 & footnote 3) for classifying the alphabets of this inscription to Northern Chera characters of the 10th century CE are totally correct, that does not explain the existence of the inscription itself. Why someone will take the pains to write this charter when the reigning king mentioned in it had long been dead? A point may be raised here that the grant was written to illegally acquire the land mentioned in it by a Brāhmaṇa. But then question arises as to why the Brāhmaṇa could not acquire it legally through a grant by a Chola monarch who was then ruling? Supposing a situation had arisen that the donee, who was in possession of the land, was required to produce the plates for verification by the officials and in such a situation, he made up the grant and presented it to them, it still does not explain the need of the donee to write and engrave the same formalised format¹ of the genealogy that is found in the Western Gaṅga grants, at least from the time of *Koḍuñjeruvu* grant of Avinīta (Ramesh 1984, 52-55 no. 15). Why go through all these troubles if one has to just produce a grant for verification by officials of a different dynasty? The most important factor that shows that this inscription is an original one is the fact that the name of the village granted to the donee, i.e., Orekoḍu, is identifiable. Rice (1909, 33) has identified Orekoḍu with today's Varakoḍu in the Mysuru Taluk of the Mysuru District. The inscription says that the village of Orekoḍu was in "Maisunāḍu-70". An interesting fact to note here is that a piece of land was granted for "worship, offerings, and perpetual lamp to God Mallēśvara in Nandigunda of Maisunāḍu" during the reign of Rājendra Chola². That means the Chola monarchs were indeed granting land for religious purposes in the same region in the 10th century. Hence the Brāhmaṇa of the Tañjāvūr grant had absolutely no reasons to forge the charter. Therefore, we have no reasons to declare this inscription as "spurious". Regarding the method of dating and the date of the inscription, we will discuss it further on.

Tagaḍūru plates of Harivarmman:

The Tagaḍūru plates of Harivarmman (correctly named Harivarmma in the grant) was published by B. L. Rice in 1894 in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. III, Nj 122 with a lithograph of it. Fleet has declared it a "spurious" grant³. We will discuss about the method of dating used in the inscription a while later. Regarding the palaeography of the inscription, the test letters of Fleet⁴, viz., *ka, kha, ja, ta, na, ba, ya, and ra* correspond to the "middle variety" of the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet of the 9th century CE as described by Georg Bühler⁵. The bad orthography is the same as that of the Tañjāvūr grant. The contents, on the other hand, are not at all suspicious. The *ānuvaṁśikapraśasti* and the *raja praśasti* portions of the eulogy of this grant are in total correspondence with the other genuine Western Gaṅga grants. The donee is mentioned in usual fashion. All other arguments which I placed for proving the Tañjāvūr grant a genuine one also holds good in case of this inscription as well. Moreover, the village granted to the donee, i.e., Appōgāl, is identifiable with today's Kollēgāla or Sattēgāla in the Chamrajanagar district. Kollēgāla and Sattēgāla are situated just about 12 km from each other and are very near to modern Talakāḍu, the capital of the Western Gaṅgas.

Kūḍlūr plates of Harivarmman:

The Kūḍlūr plates of Harivarmman (correctly named Harivarmma in the grant) was published

by R. Narasimhachar in 1921 in the *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1921 with a facsimile of it. Since it was published after the demise of J. F. Fleet, he had no opportunity to comment on it. Although R. Narasimhachar did not outrightly declare it as a “spurious” or a “forged” grant, he doubted its genuineness on the following grounds⁶ – discrepancy in the date given in the inscription, erroneous orthography, rough execution and bad palaeography. He says that the cursive form of the letter *kha* is used in the inscription. Fleet had said that this cursive form of *kha* never occurs before 800 CE⁷. In this argument, he was proved wrong by Bühler⁸, who showed that this cursive form actually appears in the “cognate Pallava inscriptions already since the 7th century.” But, keeping in view all the test letters *ka*, *kha*, *ja*, *ta*, *na*, *ba*, *ya*, and *ra*, Dr. Ramesh (1984, 10 no. 4) has rightly categorised this inscription as being engraved in the 9th century CE characters of the Kannada script. The reigning king Harivarman and his predecessors are mentioned in the usual fashion. The donee is also mentioned in usual fashion. And the arguments which I placed for proving the Tañjāvūr grant a genuine one also holds good in case of this inscription as well. Though I have not been able to pinpoint the village donated, i.e., Bageyuru, but considering the fact that it is said to be situated within “Baḍagarenāḍu-30” (identifiable with today’s Vaḍagere in Yelandur Taluk, Chamrajanagar district) and has the river Kaveri as its southern boundary, it is today probably Bannur (Kannada – Bannūru) and/or its adjoining area in the T. Narasipura Taluk, Mysuru district, which also has the river Kaveri to its south.

Thus, taking into consideration the bad orthography and late palaeography of the three inscriptions, we may call them “late badly drafted copies of original inscriptions”.

Before moving on to discuss the dates, we will just have a very brief analysis of some other objections which have been raised to show these three inscriptions as “spurious”. Fleet holds that some of the “spurious” grants of the Western Gaṅgas have dates which work out to be the eleventh century CE (he does not mention which are those grants), which is a time, according to him, when most of the “spurious” grants were produced⁹. Because that was the time when the lands granted to the donees were confiscated and in order to regain those lands, the donees forged the inscriptions! At first glance, this absolutely fantastic hypothesis seems to be true as we know that the Choḷas had indeed, by the beginning of the eleventh century CE, completely captured the Gaṅga territory and even renamed Talakāḍu, the capital of the Western Gaṅgas, as Rājarājapura (Rice 1909, 86). Fleet wanted to show¹⁰ the Choḷa occupation and the subsequent destruction of temples and confiscation of endowments by them as the reason for producing forged grants in the eleventh century CE by editing the Gāwarwāḍ inscription of Sōmēśvara II dated Śaka 993 and 994 which actually records the rebuilding of a Jaina temple which was “defied and damaged” by a Choḷa king during the reign of Sōmēśvara I. This inscription was ultimately edited by Lionel Barnett in 1919 in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 337 ff. with facsimiles because of an untimely demise of J. F. Fleet in 1917. This argument of Fleet is negated by the fact that the Gāwarwāḍ inscription is dated in the eleventh century CE while the three inscriptions I have discussed above are engraved in characters prior to the eleventh century. The Tañjāvūr grant is engraved in Northern Chera characters of the 10th century CE, the Tagaḍūru plates are written in the “middle variety” of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet

of the 9th century CE and the Kūḍlūr plates betray 9th century CE characters of the Kannada script. Thus, none of the 3 inscriptions fall in the period which Fleet *thinks* that the grants were forged. Fleet negates himself once more when he says that when the “genuine endowments were confiscated and of which the original title deeds were lost”, the donees forged title deeds to regain possession of those very endowments¹¹. If the endowments were genuine, whose original title deeds were lost, then how come the new copies of the same title deeds, which obviously betrayed modern forms of characters due to them being engraved centuries later, become “forgeries”? Dr. Ramesh (1984, xxxii-xxxiii) has raised an objection that since all the genuine early Western *Gaṅga* charters are dated only in regnal years while the Kūḍlūr plates are dated in Śaka era, it may be regarded as “spurious”. This argument is not tenable as for in the case of the 41 inscriptions of Vākāṭakas so far found¹², none but just one is dated in an era. That is the Hisse-Borala Stone-slab inscription of Dēvasena¹³, the penultimate ruler of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas, dated Śaka 380. This inscription is the only one of the 3 inscriptions of Dēvasena so far found which is dated in an era and for that matter, is the only one of the 5 inscriptions of the Vatsagulma branch which is dated in an era. This inscription was caused to be engraved by one Svāmillaḍēva, the Bidar plates of Dēvasena mentioned Svāmillaḍēva and the Thalner grant of Harisheṇawas also executed by the same¹⁴ Svāmillaḍēva. But he did not mention any era in the latter two. Still then, Hisse-Borala inscription is considered an authentic one, so much so that being the only Vākāṭaka inscription that mentions an era (without mentioning the regnal year), it has provided the firmest basis for the reconstruction of the chronology of the Vākāṭakas. The three charters of the Western *Gaṅgas* we are discussing also do not mention any regnal year.

Dates of the three inscriptions:

Lastly, we come to the dates mentioned in the inscriptions. The Tañjāvūr grant is dated in Śaka 169 elapsed, “*Prabhava*” *Samvatsara*, new moon day of *Phālguna* month, *Revatinakṣatra*, *Vṛddhi yoga*, *Vṛṣabhalagna* and *Bṛguvāra* (Friday). The Tagaḍūru plates are dated in Śaka 188 elapsed, “*Vibhava*” *Samvatsara*, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna* month, *Punarvasunakṣatra* and *Guruvāra* (Thursday). The Kūḍlūr plates do not contain any era, but are dated in the year *aṭṭā-asīti-uttaramāge*, *MāghaAmāvāsyā*, *Svātinakṣatra*, *Sūryagrahaṇa*, *Somavāra* (Monday). All these details are not at all verifiable if we use the epoch of 78 CE of the Śaka era. There exists an old epoch of the Śaka era which is used here in these 3 charters, and which verifies most of the details of the inscriptions. We know that these 3 and some other inscriptions of the Western *Gaṅgas* are dated in this old epoch of the Śaka era for as many as 16 inscriptions¹⁵ of the dynasty are actually dated in a different fashion than the above 3. Those 16 are dated in “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta*” era (era which began from the end of the Śaka era) while the 3 charters we are discussing are dated in “*Śaka-kāla/Śaka-varṣa*” era (era which began from the coronation of the Śaka king). Evidently, both are two different eras. This is something which no scholar, except Vedveer Arya, has noticed. For a detailed explanation¹⁶ on these two eras, see: Arya, Vedveer. 2017 “The Epoch of Śaka Era (A critical study of the epigraphic and literary references).” *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* XLII: 106-117. Using the old epoch of the Śaka Era in 584 BCE, the date of the Tañjāvūr grant works out to be 1 March, 414

BCE. By the southern luni-solar system, the year was *Prabhava*. On this day at sunrise (06:08 at Mysuru), the *tithi* was *Amānta Phālguna Amāvāsyā*, *nakṣatra* was *Revatī*, day was Friday. *Yoga* was *Indra*, No. 26 though. The southern luni-solar system of naming *Samvatsaras* is not as new¹⁷ as Fleet takes it¹⁸ to be.

Using the same old epoch of the Śaka Era in 584 BCE, the date of the Tagadūru plates work out to be 9 February, 395 BCE. On this day at sunrise (06:15 at Mysuru), the *tithi* was *Amānta Phālguna Śukla*10, *nakṣatra* was *Punarvasu*. The day was Thursday. Obviously, from the Tañjāvūr grant it follows that Śaka 188 was not *Vibhava*. Śaka 188 was *Vyaya*, according to the southern luni-solar system. But that does not invalidate the charter. Many genuine grants have dates, the details of which do not verify always.

Lastly, we have the Kūḍlūr plates. The Prākṛit phrase in it: *aṭṭā-asīti-uttaramāge* has normally been Sanskritised as *aṣṭāśīti-uttara-śata* and thus the charter is taken to be dated in the year 188. But this year does not help us to verify the date due to two reasons - (a) mention of *Jaya Samvatsara* and (b) mention of a solar eclipse. Following the Tañjāvūr grant, the year *Jaya* fell in Śaka 196. Even that year also does not verify the date because there was no Solar Eclipse, either in Śaka 196 current or Śaka 196 expired. So, we have to take “*aṭṭā-asīti-uttaramāge*” in its literal sense and deduce that it refers to the 88th year after the establishment of the Gaṅga rule. By the statement of *Koṅgudeśa-Rājakkal*, we get the establishment of the Gaṅga rule in Śaka 111 in the year *Pramōdūta* (or *Pramoda*)¹⁹, which is in total correspondence with the year given in the Tañjāvūr grant. So, 88th year from it would give Śaka 198. Using epoch of the Śaka Era in 584 BCE, Śaka 198 current gives us the year 387-86 BCE. And a partial Solar eclipse was indeed visible on 25 September, 387 BCE at *Talakāḍu* from 07:32:24 to 09:46:05. On this day at sunrise (05:59 at Mysuru), the *tithi* was *Amānta Āśvina Amāvāsyā*, *nakṣatra* was *Svāti*. Month cannot be *Māgha* as stated in the charters there was no eclipse in that month in the year 387-86 BCE. From the Tañjāvūr grant it follows that according to the southern luni-solar system, the year was *Durmukha*, not *Jaya*. Day was Monday. This solar eclipse cannot be verified using the epoch of Śaka era in 78 CE. Eclipses, especially Solar eclipses like the above, which are rarer than Lunar eclipses, are the strongest independently verifiable evidence to authenticate a grant.

Conclusion:

Thus, after an exhaustive survey of the three inscriptions of Harivarmma from all angles – palaeography, dating methods, contents, place-names, etc., we come to the conclusion that these three charters are absolutely genuine. Hence it follows that they must be used for the reconstruction of the political and chronological history of the Western Gaṅgas and should not be rejected as “spurious”. I also take this opportunity to make a remark on palaeography being used to declare many genuine records as “spurious” or “forgeries”. Dr. S. K. Acharya (2005, 14-15) has aptly put – “*Palaeography has little independent value. It is a variable factor.... It is precisely for this reason the over emphasis of the old palaeographers on the letter-forms as supplying chronological clues for ascertaining infallible dates have been set aside. The letter forms are not end in themselves.*”

The substance working on, the writing tool and the professionals representing different localities are some determining factors which largely governed palaeographical changes in a given locality and at a particular point of time.” The dates of the three charters worked out by me are no doubt drastically divergent from the prevalent views. They completely defy the present chronological frame work of the entire Indian history, not just of the Western Gaṅgas! To get a holistic picture in view of this, we need to discuss at length the various eras and their epochs once again, which is not possible here for want of space. Most importantly, the history and chronology of the contemporaries of the Western Gaṅgas will also have to be adjusted accordingly.

Acknowledgement:

Thanks are due to Shri K. V. Ramaprasad who helped me in identifying the villages mentioned in the Tagaḍūru and Kūḍlūr plates. He is an engineer based out of California, USA. His home state is Karnataka.

Notes

1. The format is: “*Śrīmaj-Jāhnavēya-kulāmala-vyōm-āvabhāsana-bhāskarasyasva-khāḍg-aika-prahāra-khaṇḍita-mahā-śilā-stambha-labdha-parā-krama-yaśasaḥ..... śrīmad=Harivaramma*”
2. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. III, Nj. 134.
3. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 72 & footnote 3.
4. Srikantha Sastri, S. 1952. Early Gangas of Talakad. Mysore: n.p. pp. 10-11.
5. Bühler, J. G. 1904. Indian Palaeography (hereafter Indian Palaeography). Translated by John Faithfull Fleet as an Appendix to the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIII. pp. 67 and plate VIII, 11-II; 12-II; 18-IV; 25-III; 29-III & IV; 32-II; 35-II, 36-II.
6. Mysore Archaeological Report, 1921, pp. 18.
7. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 162.
8. Indian Palaeography, pp. 67
9. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 73-74.
10. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 74 & footnote 2.
11. Ibid., pp. 74.
12. Twenty-Seven of them have been published in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. V. For sources and brief survey of rest fourteen, see Goyal, S. R. 2016. “Bearing of the Recent Epigraphical Data on the History of the Vakatakas.” In Abhyudaya: Recent Researches in Epigraphy and Numismatics (Commemoration Volume in Honour of Dr. K. V. Ramesh) (hereafter Abhyudaya), edited by T. S. Ravishankar and S. Swaminathan, 101-106. Delhi: Bhartiya Kala Prakashan.
13. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1 ff.
14. Abhyudaya, pp. 106.
15. Arya, Vedveer. 2019. Appendix VII - 2. Inscriptions of the later Gaṅgas dated in Śakānta era (78 CE). Vol. II, of The Chronology of India: From Mahabharata to Medieval Era, by Vedveer Arya, 584-586. Hyderabad: Aryabhata Publications.

16. Although Vedveer Arya's paper has the epoch of Śaka Era in 583 BCE, I have changed it to 584 BCE in view of the "Year Dating Conventions" of NASA. Śrī Arya has stated to me in a personal conversation that he has taken the year "0" of NASA as 0 CE. Hence this discrepancy. According to NASA, "x BCE" = " $-(x-1)$ " in the astronomical numbering system. The epoch calculated by him is thus totally correct and must not be viewed contrary to mine.
17. Arya, Vedveer. 2019. An overview of Indian eras. Vol. I, of The Chronology of India: From Mahabharata to Medieval Era, by Vedveer Arya, 140-142. Hyderabad: Aryabhata Publications.
18. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 170.
19. Taylor, William. 1847. "Translation of the Kongu-desa-rajakal." Madras Journal of Literature and Science XIV., pp. 7.

References

- Ramesh, K. V. 1984. Inscriptions of the Western Gangas. New Delhi: ICHR and Agam Prakashan.
- Burnell, A. C. 1878. Elements of South Indian Paleography. London: Trübner & Co.
- Rice, B. L. 1909. Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions. London: Archibald Constable & Co.
- Acharya, S. K. 2005. Palaeography of Orissa. New Delhi: D. K. Printworld (P) ltd.

Ultimate aim of king Aśoka as reflected in his Inscriptions

Ashwaveer W. Gajbhiye

Chandrashekhar S. Patil

Abstract:

It has been universally and unanimously recognized by the almost all historians and scholars that king Aśoka is the earliest stalwart avant gardi in the whole history of world who had not only laboured an outrance pro bono publico but also for the weal of whole living beings. The genuine testimonials of this claim are his own epigraphical records. He has done this on the line of *salus populi est suprema lex*. Present venture has been carried out in order to examine and justify the aforesaid claim critically along with his ultimate aim as reflected in his epigraphs as well as its reflections in political theories and relevance in modern age.

Keywords:

Aśoka, Edicts, Inscriptions, Judicial, Political, Social, Cultural, Pro bono publico, Equality, Global, World, Peace, Penal code, Loco parentis, etc.

Introduction:

Aśokan inscriptions are the direct and genuine sources of his history. In his inscriptions he recorded his activities and his deeds in various fields of human civilization which he had intended and carried out. Even today, Aśoka talks to anybody directly through his edicts who used to visit the world of his epigraphs. Anybody could fetch the ideas and his noble entrepreneurship which he had framed for the cause of the weal of whole living world. His inscriptions are largely classified as (1) Major Rock Edicts, (2) Minor Rock Edicts, (3) Separate Rock Edicts, (4) Pillar Edicts, (5) Minor or Separate Pillar Edicts and (6) Cave Inscriptions. His inscriptions have been found in large numbers in India, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan but within his domain. These are engraved in Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī, Aramaic and Greek script and in Aśokan Prākṛit, Aramaic and Greek languages. Large numbers of his inscriptions in India are in Brāhmī script and Prākṛit language. Inscriptions in Pakistan and Afghanistan are in Kharoṣṭhī, Aramaic and Greek script and bilingual. (Thaplyal, Kiran Kumar: December 2014:1)

Nomenclatures of his edicts have been done after the name of the sites where they are found. Prof. Shriram Goyal gives the names and number of copies of the edicts thus: (A) Major Rock Edict: These are in 14 numbers. The copies from 1st to 10th and 14th MRE found at 7 places (Girnār, Kālsī, Erragudi, Shāhbāzagaḍhī, Mānseharā, Dhaulī, and Jaugadha). It means $10 \times 7 = 70 + 7 = 77$; 1 copy of the 8th MRE found at Sopara = 1; the copies from 1th to 13th MRE found at 5 places (Girnār, Kālsī, Erragudi, Shāhbāzagaḍhī, and Mānseharā) means $3 \times 5 = 15$. (B) Separate Kalinga Edict: 2 copies from two sites (Dhaulī and Jaugadha) $2 \times 2 = 4$. (C) Minor Rock Edict: 1 copy of 1st Minor RE found at 15 sites (Brahmagiri, Siddhāpur, Jatinga Rāmeśwara, Māski, Govimaṭha, Pālakigunḍa, Erragudi, Rājul Mandagiri, Bairāth, Rūpanātha, Sahasarāma, Gujarrā, Ahaurā, New Delhi, Budhani or Pānagūrāriā) $1 \times 15 = 15$. (D) Bhābru or Calcutta- Bairāt Rock Edict: 1 copy = 1. (E) Major Pillar Edict: These are in 7 numbers. A copy of 1st to 6th MPE found at 6 sites (Delhi-

Toprā, Delhi-Merath, Lauriā-Arārajā, Lauriā-Nandanagadha, Rāmapūrvā and Prayag) 6 x 6 = 36. A copy of the 7th MPE found at 1 site (Delhi- Toparā) = 1. (F) Minor Pillar Edict: Prof. Shriram Goyal classified these edicts as Schism Edict, Queen's edict, and Pilgrimage edict. Schism PE found at 3 sites (Sāranāth, Sānchi and Prayāg). Queen's PE found at 1 site (Prayāga) = 1. Pilgrimage PE found at 2 sites (Rummindehī and Nigālisāgar) = 2. (G) Cave edict: These are in 4 numbers. 3 found at the cave of Barābar and 1 found at Budhani, = 4. (H) Bilingual edicts: These are found across north-western India. These are in 3 numbers and found at Taxashilā, Kandhāhar and Puledarunt. = 3. Total numbers of copies are 163. Aśoka is the only ruler in India who has issued inscriptions in such a large number. (Goyal Shriram:1988:417)

Classification of Aśokan edicts in context to its contents: In context to contents of the edicts or its subject matter the inscriptions of Aśoka may be classified into (1) Political (Injunctions) Edicts, (2) Religious Edicts, (3) Pro Bono Publico Edicts, (4) Miscellaneous or Corrigendum or Errata edicts etc.

(1) Political (Injunctions) Edicts

(a) Military policy and foreign relations:

Aśoka's military policy and foreign relation has been shown in his Major Rock Edict XIII and II. Military and foreign policy framed by king Aśoka were one of the distinguishing features of his rule. It was conceived and framed by himself and the same was applied to his statecraft as a medium of his political policy. His foreign policy is so modern one and exemplary even today on account of its everlasting relevance in order to establish cordial relations among different countries.

After accomplishing his epoch-making Kalinga military campaign, he renounced war policy for the establishment of peace and common brotherhood. He narrated worst consequences of war very vividly in his Major Rock Edict XIII which he observed and experienced himself during Kalinga war. Acknowledging the heart shaking and harrowing sorrows and miseries in the war consequences Aśoka abandoned the policy of conquest by war and instead of it he promoted and advocated the policy of conquest by Dhamma (further illustrated in detail the concept of Dhamma). (Hultzsch E.1925:69-70)

In the 2nd Major Rock Edict (Girnār text) Aśoka recorded that 'everywhere in his dominions as well as among his frontages rulers like the Cholas, Pāndyās, the Satiyapūtras and the Keralpūtras, as far as the Tāmbaparnī, Antiochos the Greek king, or even the neighbors of that Antiochos – everywhere have been made the healing arrangements by him in two kinds (namely) healing arrangement for men and healing arrangement for animals. Medicinal herbs also, both medicinal herbs for men and medicinal herbs for animals, where-so ever lacking, have been everywhere both imported and planted. Roots also and fruits, where-so ever lacking, have been everywhere imported and planted.' (Smith, Vincent. A.2008:160)

From the information given in the 2nd and 13th Major Rock Edict it comes to know that Aśoka had sent spiritual and royal ambassador to the distant countries such as Syria in western Asia, Egypt in Africa, Macedonia in Europe, Cyrene to the West of Egypt, Epirus and to the borderer states in southern India up to Ceylon. He sent them there with the message of loving kindness and peace, with the message of Dhamma along with medicinal help for both men and animals. This conveys his great and certain intention behind the carrying out of such deeds.

(b) Abstaining from Animal sacrifices, Protection of forests and Environmental life:

In this category of edicts, Aśoka, at all first, issued an injunction of banning of animal sacrifices in the religious rites and rituals along with killings of animals and birds committed in the kitchen for food with some exceptional relaxations. He not only sanction ban on the killings of living beings but also issued injunction of banning of socio-religious festivals and gatherings where immoral and anti-social activities were committed accompanied by animal fights, heavy drinking and feasting, including much consumption of meat and intoxicating drinks which he necessarily condemned on account of stigmatic and tarnishing outcomes in the gatherings. However, Aśoka gave relaxations to exceptional and good socio-religious gatherings and festival to which the king observed benevolent. (Smith:158-159 footnotes).

This kind of injunction and decree are found in the 1st Major Rock Edict (Girnar text) and in the 5th Pillar Edict. (Hultzsch, E.:1-2, 125-127) His injunction or decree in this case is slightly different in the 5th Pillar edict from what has been found in the 1st Major Rock Edict. In this edict, his decree is concerned to the protection of forests and environmental life. He clearly issued royal decree for the purpose and ordered thus- “Husks containing living animals must not be burnt. Forest must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings). Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.” (Hultzsch:125-127)

Glimpses of his strong appeals to the society is displayed in the 3rd, 4th, 9th (gentleness towards living creatures), and 11th Major Rock Edict as well as in the 2nd, 5th and 7th Pillar Edicts etc., (certain species are exempted from slaughter.....and complete abstention from killing animate beings and from the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures).

(c) Reforms and amendments in jurisprudence:

Aśoka has carried out substantial reforms and amendments in jurisprudence in order to carry through happiness and welfare of the many hundred thousand people of the country. This very important matter of jurisprudence is found in his 4th Pillar Edict and in the Separate or Provincial Edict II (Smith, V.A.) or (1st Separate Rock Edict at Dhaulī (Hultzsch). For the proper regulation and implementation of his expected jurisprudence Aśoka has appointed a special officer called Rājuka (Lājuka in some of his edicts). In order to perform their duty confidently and fearlessly in the matter of awarding judgment and punishment in judicial administration the Rājukas has been given full independence for the cause of fair and poetic justice for bringing out welfare and happiness of the people (Pillar Edict IV). In accordance with Aśoka’s desire the Rājukas have to abide by their duty honestly and they must be honest and responsible to their king. Aśoka has confident that the Rājukas also are eager to abide by their duty as expected by him in reverse. Justifying the place and appointment of Rājukas Aśoka gives the example of a skillful well-trained nurse and said- “For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent nurse, (thinking): ‘The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well’, so the Lājukas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people”. (Hultzsch:124-125)

However, Aśoka directed to his Rājukas and their subordinate officers in matter of awarding judgement and punishment in judicial administration unconditionally as it was desirable that- “there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishment” (Ibid) i.e., uniformity in judgement and punishment (Hultzsch:201-202).

Beside this he constituted the act in context to the revision and respite of punishment of the prisoners who had been awarded capital punishment thus- “To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted by me. (During that interval) the relatives in some cases will arrange for a revision in order to save their lives.” (Hultzsche:202). Again, it is mentioned in the 1st Separate Rock Edict or in the Provincial rock edict II that in the administration of justice a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment. In this case an order of cancelling the imprisonment is obtained by the officers accidentally while many other people continue to suffer. In this case the officers in charge of judicial administration must have to abide with impartiality unconditionally and not to fail contaminated with mens rea having envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, and fatigue. The officers in charge of judicial duty must not be having with these dispositions. (Hultzsche, E:95-96) It is also equally desirable that the restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause. (Smith, V.A.194-195)

(d) Concept of secularism and religious Tolerance:

The concept of secularism and religious tolerance is mentioned in the 12th Major Rock Edict clearly. Aśoka has proclaimed that he has

honored all ascetics and householders from all sects with gifts and with honors of various kinds. He wanted the promotion of essentials of all sects. He condemning strongly hate speeches directed that a man must have to guard his speech and not do reverence to his own sect and disparage that of another without reason and on improper occasion. Depreciation should be for specific reason only, because the sects of other people all deserve reverence for one reason or another. If the person is abstaining from hate speeches, he will promote the essentials of his own sect and simultaneously will be benevolent for another's sect. If he is acting contrariwise, he will cause danger to his own sect and of others'. For the purpose of monitoring the essentials of all sects and check on the hate speeches Asoka had appointed Dhammamāhāmātras - the censors of Dhamma. (Smith:182-183) The relevance of anti-hate speech directions issued by Aśoka in 3rd Century BCE coincided surprisingly today in the verdict of Honourable Supreme Court of India in context to hate speech. The Honourable Supreme court of India on Friday 21st Oct. 2022, told three states that the country is secular and directed three states to take action against people who deliver hate speeches. The court also asked the three states (Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand) governments to promptly register criminal cases against the culprits of hate speech without waiting for a formal complaint. The court said “The Constitution envisages a secular nation and fraternity among citizens, assuring the dignity of the individuals. The unity and integrity of the nation is one of the guiding principles enshrined in the preamble. There cannot be fraternity unless the members of the different community from different religions are able to live in harmony.” A bench of two justices including Justice K.M. Joseph and Justice Hrishikesh Roy has delivered this verdict.

(e) Loco Parentis is a Latin legal term which means “in the place of a parent refers to the legal responsibilities of a person or organization to take on some of the functions and responsibilities of a parent” It means a person who voluntarily puts himself as a lawful father of a child or a person who has taken responsibility to act on behalf of another person or to represent him. Aśoka has proclaimed that he is loco parentis of all the people in his domain. This important proclamation made by him is found in his 1st and 2nd Separate Edicts or The Borderers Edicts I (Kalinga Edicts) and the Provincial Edict II. In these edicts he clearly mentioned thus- “All men are my children and just I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men.” (Smith: 191, 194)

(f) Check on the ongoing state craft:

In order to check and balance on the ongoing statecraft in his domain properly Aśoka has made some sound provisions. This is mentioned in his 3rd, 6th Major rock Edict and in the Provincial Edict II etc. In the 6th Major Rock Edict Aśoka clearly mentioned and directed that he may wherever be he, must be keep in contact and must be informed about the affair of the people all times by the person appointed by him for the purpose. He declared that “And in all places I attend to the affairs of the people. And, if, per chance, by word of mouth I personally command a donation or injunction; or, again, when a matter of urgency has been committed to the high officers, and in that matter a division or adjournment takes place in the council, then without delay information must be given to me in all places, at all times. Such is my command.” (Smith:172) In the 3rd Major Rock Edict he has laid down provision for the transfer of Yūktas, Rājukas, and Pradeśikas all over the domain at the interval of every five years.

(2) Religious edicts:

There are some edicts of Aśoka found along with Burmese inscription of 11th century CE at Buddhagayā (Gajbhiye, Ashwaveer:2022:20-28) in Bihar which attests that Aśoka was not only a zealous Buddhist personally but also he had involved in the cause of Buddhism in every sphere of Buddhist activities. He publicly declared his faith in the supreme sacred trinity of three jewels popular formula of Buddhism i.e., Buddha, His Dhamma and Sangha. In the 2nd and 3rd Minor Rock Edict (Bairāt and Calcuttā Bairāt or Bhābru) he has expressed his pious faith in refuges as thus- “The Magadha king Priyadarśin, having saluted the Sangha, hopes they are both well and comfortable. It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma, and Sangha. Whatever, Sirs, has been spoken by the Blessed Buddha all that is quite well spoken.” (Hultzsch:171-173; Smith, V.A.154-156)

In the light of 1st Minor Rock Edict (Brahmagiri and Rūpnāth) he explained his performance of Dhamma practice and its fruit well. (Smith, V.A.149-15) In his edicts Aśoka clearly recorded his religious pilgrimage to the holy sites and his deeds during the pilgrimages. Accordingly in the light of 8th Major Rock Edict he visited ‘Sambodhi’(Buddhagayā) the place of enlightenment of Buddha. (Hultzsch:14) According to Rummindehī Pillar Edict he visited the Birth place of Buddha Śākyamūnī and erected a stone pillar in the memory of the birth of Buddha Śākyamūnī there. And because of the born of Holy One, King Aśoka exempted Lūmbinī village from other taxes except for 1/8th land revenue. Inter alia he visited the Stūpa of Buddha Kanakamana (previous Buddha) at the 20th year of his reign from his consecration and before that in the 14th reginal years he had renovated the same in double of its previous size. (Smith:221-224)

King Aśoka was not only a common follower (*upāsaka*) of Buddhism but also the unsurpassed benefactor and patron of the same. He had used to keep watch and ward on every daily ongoing activity of the Buddhists including male and female lay followers as well as monks and nuns. On account of his active indulgence in every kind of affairs he suggested and promoted the readings and contemplation of certain Buddhist scriptural texts for the lay followers as well as for monks and nuns. (Smith:154-155). In this connection when he had come across the wrong doing in the monasteries he directed to punish by expelling them from the monasteries and exiled such malevolent and wrong doors monks with the punishment of snatching out their ascetic robe and suspension from their ascetic life as a Buddhist anchorite. (Smith:215-220)

(3) Pro Bono Publico Edicts:

The edicts which were installed for the public instructions in a royal order, decree, directions and appeal in order to carry out welfare of people consisted the category of Pro bono publico edicts. Aśoka gives importance an outrance to the welfare and happiness of people irrespective of social status, sects and gender etc. This subject he recorded in his 6th Major Rock Edict (Girnār Text). He says in this edict thus- “For work I must for the welfare of all folk; and of that again, the root is energy and dispatch of business; for nothing is more essential than the welfare of all the folk. And whatsoever efforts I make, they are made that I may attain release from my debt to animate beings, so that while in this world I make some persons happy, they may win heaven in the world beyond. For that purpose, have I caused this scripture of the Law (Dhamma Līpī) to be written in order that it may endure, while my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may take action for the welfare of all folk.” (Smith: 172-173)

King Asoka’s welfare activities were not confined to human beings only but also it was equally applicable to the all the animate beings. For the shade to the comfort of men and animals he had planted banyan trees along the road side. For the comfort of men and animals he had planted mango groves, at every half kos he had dug wells, rest houses and numerous watering places have been provided by him everywhere across his domain for the enjoyment of man and beast. (Smith:210)

In the light of 2nd Major Rock Edict(Girnār Text), everywhere within the domain of Aśoka and across the frontages kingdom he had made two types of medical arrangement i.e. for men and animals, beside this he arranged the plantation of medicinal herbs everywhere wherever they did not exist along with the plantation of trees of roots and fruits wherever it is needed.(Smith:160-161) He had established charitable department of donation or alms and gifts for the needy in his domain everywhere.(Smith:209-211)

King Aśoka was the ruler of farsighted and foresighted caliber. He not only wanted to carry through the material welfare but also spiritual of all the folks. And his a outrance venture was for this. For the purpose he constituted a new portfolio of ‘Dhammamāhāmātras’. They were the Officers or Superintendents of Censor. They had to monitor, observe and propagate ‘Dhamma’ the Law of Pity and Morality. (Hultzsch, E:55-57) It was the concept of ‘right conduct and ethical behavior’. Aśoka’s welfare activities revolve round the doctrine of Dhamma. The philosophy of Dhamma and its concept was not the exact religion of Buddha though some ethical values resembled and coincided remarkably between the two. To follow the Dhamma of Aśoka in their daily life the people don’t need any religious ordination or rites and rituals recommended by any scriptural texts or by religious priests. Aśoka’s Dhamma meant right conduct and ethical behavior, to give reverence and proper treatment towards elders and teachers as well as towards the Brāhmaṇa and Shramaṇa ascetics. In reverse proper treatment of parents towards their children, proper treatment of teachers towards their pupil, proper treatment of Master towards their servants, and proper treatment of people towards their friends and relatives. Dhamma means nothing but the reverence and obedience of parents, teachers, elders and masters. Dhamma meant truthfulness, purity of mind, good deeds, mercy, charity, gentleness, and virtues. Non killings and protection of environmental life and living being is the Dhamma. Common brotherhood and love for each other is Dhamma of Aśoka’s concept. This very concept of Dhamma is recorded by Aśoka in his edicts everywhere. For the propagation and implementation of Dhamma, Aśoka gives clarion call and appealed himself strongly to all the people through his edicts, officers and Dhammamāhāmātras.

(4) Miscellaneous Inscriptions

(a) Dedicatory Cave Inscriptions: It consisted of the dedication of cave by king Aśoka in the Barābar hills and of his grandson Dasaratha in the Nāgārjuni hills to the ascetics of Ajivika sect.

(b) Epilogue or corrigendum edict i.e., Major Rock Edict XIV: This is the epilogue cum corrigendum or errata edict where Aśoka gives clarification about the intention of engraving edicts across his Empire. He also in this edict expressed the mistakes happened of grammatical and spellings on the part of engraver personnel owing to lack of their knowledge of grammar and spellings.

(c) Queen's dedication edict: The donation of mango garden or pleasure grove or alms houses by king Aśoka's second queen Kārūvāki the mother of Tīvarā has been recorded in this.

Discussion on the ultimate aim of king Asoka

Aśoka ruled his vast domain from BCE 272 to BCE 232 which sprawled across the territory between the northern mountainous range and southern territory of India as well as from the eastern sea to the western ocean of India. Aśoka could have proved himself as the earliest global spiritual, social-cultural and political leader having philanthropical sense. And there was a cause which proved responsible towards him and constrained him to be a great rationalist and philanthropist. Kalinga war was the cause for this happening in him, which was fought around BCE 261. It was the turning point of his career as Prof. Dr. Hemchandra Raychudhuri rightly says- "The Kalinga war proved a turning- point in the career of Aśoka and produced results of far- reaching consequences in the history of India and of the whole eastern world. The sight of misery and bloodshed in the Kalinga campaign smote the emperor's conscience and awakened in his breast sincere feelings of repentance and sorrow. It made Asoka intensely devoted to the practice of Dharma (morality and piety), the love of Dharma and the instruction of the people in Dharma. It also led to a momentous change in foreign policy. The emperor eschewed military conquest involving slaughter and deportation of people and evolved a policy of dharmavijay, "conquest by piety", in place of the old conquest by bows and arrows" (Majumdar R.C. and Others:2000:96)

The students of the history of law may know that as early as in 1214 CE, English people started movement to assure their rights and in 1689 the Bill of Rights was written consolidating the rights and liberties of English people.(Pandey, J.N. 2004:51) In France the same was engrafted in their Law Book in 1789 and later on the Americans incorporated the Bill of Rights in their Constitution.(Pandey:51) After the Second World War, U.N.O. also incorporated this in its Covenant in its Article-5 entitled, 'U. N. Declaration of Human Right, 1948' which says- "no one shall be subjected to torture as to cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."(Pandey: 51-52) The Constitution of India pari materia, in her Article 21 has also the strong provision of personal liberty.

All these things and the laws though are modern one for which the modern philanthropists and egalitarians fought, it would not be surprising to say without any exaggeration and bias that king Aśoka had fulfilled this thing ex aequo et bono in his judiciary before very long on the behalf of his government for the accomplishment of natural rights of men and fair justice (Rock Edict-V, First Separate Edict (Dhaulī), Pillar Edict- IV). Many constitutional provisions, which are laid down for the erection of welfare state, in the Indian constitution are reflected in the edicts of king Aśoka. While doing so, his personal belief, religion and communalism were not a matter for him. Ipso facto he was secular and a strong upholder of religious tolerance though personally was a zealous

Buddhist. He endeavored for the maximum benefit and happiness restlessly for all living beings without discrimination on the ground of social order, the high and the low, the poor and rich, servants and master, the far and near, and so on.

On the basis of available sources on Aśoka, he is a proved Avant garde of ancient character, in many ways, in Indian history. For example: the prevalence of a legal concept loco parentis is common in today's India, especially in political field and sometime in other fields. Loco parentis meant "in the place of parent" refer to the legal responsibility of a person or organization to take on some of the functions and responsibilities of a parent. It is commonly been seen in today's India that any political leader or person in the government or any industry or social or religious organization or NGO becomes loco parentis of any village or villages or any particular region and adopts the responsibility of the welfare and happiness of the people in context to their health, education, employment, etc. In Indian history, for the first time, king Aśoka had declared loco parentis himself of whole of his subjects in his domain. He had adopted the moral responsibility of welfare of entire population in his domain in every respect as his own children. Aśoka had carried through many innovative experiments as a strong reformist in the field of social, cultural and political aspects.

He reformed Penal Code, Human Rights Jurisprudence, Prisoners' rights, etc. He campaigned against superstitions and constituted legal provisions for the eradication of superstitious activities in society. He is the earliest monarch on record in the ancient history of world who not only promoted and accelerated the campaign of medicinal arrangement for men and animal alike but also the campaign of social forestry of medicinal herbs along with the trees of roots and fruits. He had made provisions for the protection of forests and wild life including small creatures. He is the only monarch on record in the ancient history of India who directed his entire government officials for the welfare of people and labored for the spiritual and material welfare and happiness. The most surprising and praiseworthy deeds for which he ventured and is credited also are that for the first time in the whole history of world, Aśoka is proved as the first monarch on record who labored for establishing cordial relation with the frontier's kingdoms and foreign rulers. He is the earliest Indian ruler who had framed foreign policy for common brotherhood and international peace, security and cooperation for the weal of the human world.

As a matter of fact, he is the father of earliest cultural globalization. For the purpose of propagation of his ideas of political, religious, and moral aspects he engraved and erected edicts at several places across his empire. His edicts were the longest data durable media of communication discovered by him and applied by him in his domain. The most important thing he carried out in his statecraft is the enactment of common or uniform official language and script in the form of Prākṛit language in Brāhmī script. There was no confusion or dispute on one or common or uniform official language during king Aśoka's reign. (*JESI*, Vol. 37:95-99) He has done all these things as genuine loco parentis considering the foremost responsibility of welfare of the people and all living being. He was, in many respect avant garde pristine ennobled character in Indian history.

In order to emphasize the importance of the subject it would be better to quote the two great persons, of whom; one is a great scholar of Indian history while another one is a great spiritual master of the present world. His Holiness (14th) Dalai Lama (Tenzin-Gyat-so) of Tibet and the winner of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize, says-

"Today more than ever before, life must be characterized by a sense of universal responsibility, not only nation to nation and human to human, but also human to other forms of life" (Bachelor Martin and Brown Kerry, 1944:15)

This is not just a simple statement delivered by His Holiness Venerable Dalai Lama! but this is a kind request to the whole human world! It is born out of his unconditional loving kindness towards all living being which is the very core of Dhamma- the supreme law of Buddha Sakyāmunī, the core of Lord Buddha's doctrines and teachings of right conduct and ethical behavior for the weal of oneself and everyone. If anyone go through the Aśoka's inscriptions, he or she would be acknowledging his magnanimity and greatness, his deeds and thoughts and the mission of his life which he fulfilled in 3rd century before Christ as a man, monarch and mentor.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says- "In Rock Edict VI, he (Aśoka) Says: "There is no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world. And what little effort I make is in order that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render them happy here and they may gain heaven in the next world", the words put in Italics here show exactly what ideal was before him. In the first place he feels that he is concerned with the whole world, the creatures in fact, not simply with men but with the whole animate world. And secondly, he feels that his supreme duty is to secure them not only temporal but also spiritual wealth." (Bhandarkar, D.R.1932:229)

Prof. A.L. Basham rightly concluded beyond all doubts and has given his obiter dictum on the ultimate aim of king Aśoka or his last destination in his life, thus- "It seems that Aśoka believed that, by setting an example of enlightened government, he might convince his neighbors of the merits of his new policy and thus gain the moral leadership of the whole civilized world. He by no means gave up his imperial ambitions, but modified them in accordance with the humanitarian ethics of Buddhism" (Basham, A. L.2000:54-57)

References and Notes

1. Thaplyal, Kiran Kumar, *Asokan Epigraphs: Their Form, Character and Contents* (Presidential Address, Epigraphical Society of India, Raipur Session, 19-21 December 2014), Directorate of Culture and Archaeology, Government of Chhattisgarh, Raipur.
2. Goyal Shriram, (1988), *Magadha-Satavahana-Kushana Samrajyon ka Yug* (Hindi), Kusumanjali Prakashan, Meerut.
3. Hultzsch, E., (1925) *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol.I, Inscriptions of Aoka, at the Clarendon Press, Oxford.
4. Smith, Vincent. A., (2008), *Asoka: The Buddhist Emperor of India*, Low Price Publications, Delhi.
5. Gajbhiye, Ashwaveer, (2022) *Freedom Struggle of Mahabodhi Temple: The Land of Enlightenment of Buddha, Wainganga Valley*, Nagpur.
6. Majumdar R.C. and Others, (2000), *An Advanced History of India*, Macmillan India Limited, Delhi.
7. Pandey, J.N. (2004), *Constitutional Law of India*, Central Law agency, Allahabad.
8. The Constitution of India.
9. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* (Studies in Indian Epigraphy), Vol. XXXVII, 2012, Mysore.
10. Bachelor Martin and Brown Kerry, (1944), *Buddhism and Ecology*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishing House, Delhi.
11. Bhandarkar, D.R., (1932), *Aśoka*, University of Calcutta.
12. Basham, A. L., (2000), *The Wonder that was India*, Rupa and Co, Delhi.

Peringāssery Inscription: A Spellopicture in Brāhmi of c. 200 BCE

Jee Francis Therattil

Abstract:

An enigmatic graffiti on a burial-associated undressed granite slab which got recovered from Peringāssery, Kerala, turned out to be the sole reported Spellopicture in Brāhmi, the earliest inscription from Kerala and the earliest inscription in the Telugu language. The peculiarities of the Brāhmi script which closely resembles its counterpart in the Bhattiprolu relic casket inscription paved the way to the dating of the inscription.

Keywords:

Peringāssery, Brāhmi, Graffiti, Spellopicture, Inscription, Idukki, Pattanam, Kerala, Muziris, Bhattiprolu, Telugu, Earliest, Ancient, Trade, Chathan, Chatharu, Sastha, Pey, Peyu, Chatharupeyu, Churni, Mangulam, Makothai, Kuttuvankothai, Arachallur, Tamatakallu, Arhat, Mandalam, Kalameḷutthu.

Peringāssery, in Idukki district of Kerala is situated on the ancient trans-ghatian trade route between two *pattanam*s¹ – the Muziris and the Madurai, about 250 km away. Two millennia ago, Pliny the Elder² referred to Muziris in his encyclopedic Greek work *Natural History* as *primum emporium Indiae* (the first trade center in India³). The sections of *Muziris Papyrus* (2nd century CE) recovered from Egypt show that the ship Hermapollon was carrying over 220 tons of merchandise⁴ worth about 1 Lakh Aureus⁵, the gold coin of the Romans. Madurai is the classical capital of the Pandyas. Both places have several citations in contemporary literature.

The undressed stone⁶ slab (19 x 15 x 6 cm max) (fig. 1) was recovered from the premises of the Government Tribal Higher Secondary School by the students in August 2009. More than 20 burial urns were also found nearby. The stone slab is now exhibited at Keralam - the Museum of History and Heritage, Thiruvananthapuram.

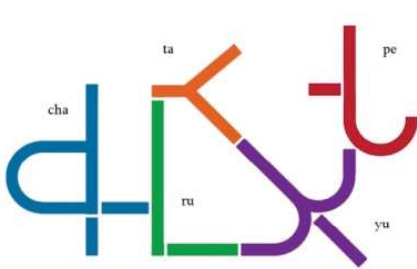


Fig. 1. The stone slab.



Fig. 2. The spellopicturised inscription.

The spellopictic⁷ Brāhmi graffiti (fig. 2) is deciphered⁸ as *chā ta ru pæ yu*. The *cha* here (𑀓) resembles only its counterpart in Bhattiprolu (Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh) inscription⁹ (c. 230 BCE) (fig. 3), where it is having a vertically downward stroke in its consonantal form itself. But *cha* in the predating Asokan Inscriptions is without the downward stroke leading us to infer that the

downward stroke in *cha* is to be observed as a typical chrono-geographical peculiarity. But the *cha* in *neduñchāzhiyān* (line 3) of Māngulam (Madurai district, Tamil Nadu) inscription¹⁰ (2nd century BCE) (fig. 4) is without the downward stroke.

The diacritical mark ‘a’ (the horizontal stroke to right) in Peringāssery inscription is neither from the top nor from the bottom but attached somewhere in between. In the Māngulam inscription also, we can observe that the diacritical marks which are supposed to be attached at the top end are not placed there, but a little bit downwards.



Fig. 3. Bhattiprolu Inscription.

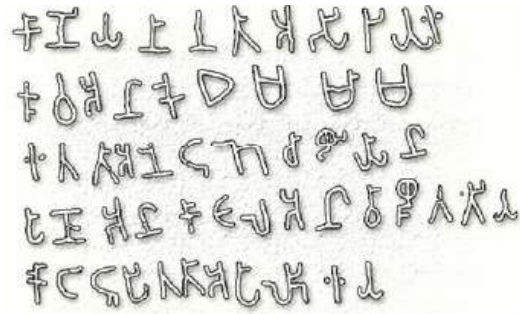


Fig. 4. Māngulam Inscription.

Thus, on paleographical grounds, we could infer that Peringāssery inscription belongs to a period in between those of Bhattiprolu and Māngulam Inscriptions – i.e., c. 200 BCE. The usage of the three-stroked rectilinear form of *ta* (人) which is the earliest form, rather than the latter two-stroked rectilinear/curvilinear forms is in support of this conclusion. Māngulam inscription uses the two-stroked rectilinear form of *ta*, whereas the Mākkothai [fig. 5] and Kuttuvankothai [fig. 6] coins¹¹ exhibit a curvilinear form of *ta* which represents a later stage.



Fig. 5. Mākkothai Coin.



Fig. 6. Kuttuvankothai coin.

The first part of the script we could isolate is *chātaru*. Chāthan (as a proper noun) can be met with some of the earliest Tamil literary works as well as in Brāhmi inscriptions. A potsherd¹² (1st century BCE) (fig. 7) from Quseir al-Qadim (Egypt) on the Red Sea coast displays ‘*chā ta n*’. Here *cha* is not having any downward stroke and the diacritical mark ‘a’ is from the top. *ta* is in the two-stroke rectilinear form.

A terra-cotta pot-stand¹³ excavated at Periya Thadāgam (Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu) (fig. 8) displays ‘*thæ va n chā ta ta n*’. Here also *ta* is in two-stroke rectilinear form and the downward stroke of *cha* is clearly absent. Here, we start seeing the usage of double *ta* unlike singular *ta* in all the previous inscriptions, imparting the realistic pronunciation. Arachallūr (Erode, Tamil Nadu) Inscription¹⁴ (3rd or 4th century CE) (fig. 9) also displays a name Thævan Chāthan (*tæ va n chā ta ta n* - last 7 letters). Here also we could see the usage of double *ta*, but now in the curvilinear form.



Fig. 7. Potsherd from Quseir al-Qadim.



Fig. 8. Pot-stand from Periya Thadāgam.

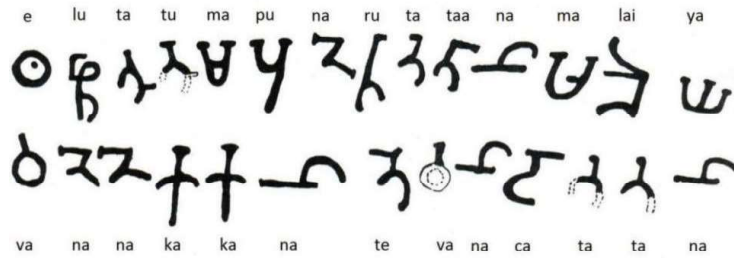


Fig. 9. Arachallūr Inscription.

Chāthan thus appears to be the most common proper noun in Tamil Brāhmi inscriptions and we have seen representations across these centuries. We could observe the frequent presence of Chāthan in classical Tamil literature also; especially in Chilappadhikāram and Maṇimækhalai.

Chāthan is having the prefix *tævan* in both Arachallūr and Periya Thadāgam Inscriptions. *Tævan* is the Dravidian counterpart of Pāli *dævan* (God). The word *dævan* could be seen in Aśokan inscriptions also. Just like *dæv/dævan*, *tævan* also is widely used as a surname - especially among the ruling class. But Thævan Chāthan we know from the Arachallūr inscription is clearly a merchant by profession from the usage ‘*va na na ka ka n*’. The prefix ‘*ma lai ya*’ denotes that he is in some way connected with the mountains. We have already seen that the trade route from Madurai or from Karūr (the Chera capital) has to cross the Western Ghats to reach Muziris which is on the west coast.

It is evident from Tamatakallu (Chitradurga District, Karnataka) Tamil Vattezhuthu Inscription¹⁵ that Chāthan¹⁶ started getting expressed also as Sāthan¹⁷ (*cha* instead of *sa*) by at least the beginning of the 6th century CE. The region east of the Sahya Mountains showed an affinity to use as Sāthan, whereas the region to the west of the Sahya Mountains continued the use of Chāthan until Shāstha¹⁸ was also got introduced at a later period. All these forms are still in use in Kerala. Thazhekād (Thrissur District, Kerala) Vattezhuthu Inscription¹⁹ dated 1024 CE refers to Chāthan Vadukan and Iravi Chāthan as traders of Manigrāmam.

Mānasāram²⁰ has in it a reference to *chāhantu*²¹ while discussing Jaina iconography. Chāthan may be the derivative of *chāhantan*, the Dravidian form of the Sanskrit *chāhantu*. Then: [Sanskrit] Chāhantu / Chāhantan [Dravid] → Chāthan → Shāsthan → Sātan. T. A. Gopinatha Rao suggests that *chāhantu* may be *chāranta*, i.e., *Arhat*. Here we should not hesitate considering without any presumption, the direct plain meaning of *Arhat*²² - deserving.

The second part of the script is *pæyu*. The meaning of *pæy* ranges from ‘soul’ to ‘dead-body’²³. As this stone slab is found associated with burial urns, and as we know from excavations that the urn was used for secondary burials, we could safely accept that *pæy* here represents ‘mortal remains’. The classical Tamil epic Maṇimækhalai²⁴ throws some light on the scenario of the burial ground Chakravāḷakkōttam²⁵ at Puhār, the capital of the Cholas. While mentioning the various noises heard, there were sounds made by different people like *chuṭuvōr* [those who burn]; *iṭuvōr* (those who drop); *toṭukulippaṭuppōr*²⁶ (those who bury in grubbed pits). *tāl̥vayin̥ aṭaippōr* (those who enclose inside cist); *tāl̥iyil kavippōr*²⁷ (those who transfer into urn).

In Tamil and Malayalam, in order to denote a masculine singular form, the word normally ends with *n* and for denoting a plural the word ends with *r*. But in usages where the word in masculine singular form has to denote respect, *r* is used instead of *n* at the end of the word. Thus, chāthan becomes chāthar to impart respect. But, in the inscription, it is written not as chāthar but as chātharu. The appearance of *ru* instead of *r* (in chātharu) and *yu* instead of *ya* (in *pæyu*) may be on euphonic grounds, the practice observed by Rev. Caldwell: ‘In the Dravidian languages, long *û* is sufficiently persistent; but short *u* is of all vowels the weakest and lightest, and is largely used, especially at the end of words, for euphonic purposes, or as a help to enunciation’²⁸. In grammatically written Telugu, every word without exception must end in a vowel; and if it has not naturally had a vowel ending of its own, *u* is to be suffixed to the last consonant²⁹. The combination of these two peculiarities is a clear indication of the influence of Telugu in this inscription. This in turn supplements the inscriptional peculiarity of *cha* exhibiting similarity with Inscriptions at Bhattiprolu which is in the Telugu region.

It’s interesting to note that a place bears the name Thævarupura (*tævaru* + *pura*) in the same (Idukki) district (*pura* means ‘abode’ and it should be differentiated from *puram* where it means ‘walled place’). The counterpart of this place’s name is Thævarapura (*tævara* + *pura*) in Karnataka (*a* instead of *u*). Thevarukunnu (*tævaru* + *kunnu*) is a place name found almost in all the districts of Kerala (*kunnu* is hill). All these infer to arrive to the conclusion that it is Telugu grammar which had influenced the casting of the inscription *chātarupæyu*. This is a clear indication of the influence of Bhattiprolu on both the script as well as the language of the author at Peringāssery.

We know that Bhattiprolu was a Buddhist centre having a *mahāchaithya* dating back to the 2nd or 3rd century BCE. Excavations by Alexander Rea in 1892 discovered a crystal relic casket containing *shārira dhāthu* of Buddha. But why should a person from Bhattiprolu come all the way to Peringāssery covering a distance of about 1,000 Km³⁰ some 2222 years ago?


The primary reason is the availability of merchandise which is in great demand in other places. Arthaśāstra³¹ refers to a pearl *chaurṇāyā*³² among precious articles to be received into the treasury. *chaurṇāyā* means ‘that which is got from Chūrṇi’. Chūrṇi³³ still retains its name as a tributary of Periyar – the same river on the banks of which the ‘emporium’ of Muziris³⁴ once situated. Production of pearls near Muziris is attested in Periplus Maris Erythraei (1st century CE)

also where it is referred to among the merchandise exported from Muziris: ‘pearls in great quantity and of superior quality’³⁵. Pearl was such an item in great demand in the ancient world that the imperial biographer recorded that Julius Caesar was led to invade Britain (55 BCE) in the hope of getting pearls³⁶. The value of the pearl Julius Caesar bought for Servilia is recorded as costing six million Sesterces³⁷.

Yet another merchandise, which is in great demand in other places, for which the southwestern slopes of the Western Ghats is having a monopoly is the black pepper. Arthaśāstra³⁸ testifies that black pepper (*maricha*) is to be used in the preparation of *arishtas*. Periplus Maris Erythraei (1st century CE) records that black pepper is a product of *Kottonara*³⁹. Traders collect merchandise from the places of its availability and deliver where it is in demand. The references in Arthaśāstra are proof of the trans-ghatian freight movements which got established during the 4th century BCE itself. The political identity of the Pāndyas and the Cheras got well-established at least by the 3rd century BCE which is evident from the references to the respective names in the Aśokan inscriptions⁴⁰. Several hoard of imperial silver punch-marked coins⁴¹ reported from this region bear testimony to the excess in outflow of merchandise over influx during trade in those centuries.

The arrangement of the letters making it touch each other so as to appear as a single figure imparts the whole calligraphy an enigmatic appearance, maybe denoting a particular stage of evolution of religious practices, but not reported from anywhere else. The intention might have been to link the letters so as to impart a ‘tantric’ appearance representing a primitive form of *mandala*⁴². This tradition is still in vogue in Bhagavati, Naga, and Aiyyappa Temples and is called *kaḷamezhuthu* (*kaḷam* and *mandala* are having the same meaning – field. *ezhuthu* is the traditional word for writing as well as for drawing). The festive season of the famous Shāstha Shrine at Sabarimala is known as *mandalakālam* (*kālam* is period).

References and notes:

1. *Pattanam* means ‘trade center’. Amarakōsham defines it as a ‘town’. *paṭṭa* is silk in Pāli (in Tamil *paṭṭu*). *aṇa* means arrive. So etymologically *pattanam* denotes a place ‘where silk arrives’ (as merchandise).
2. Roman Governor and Advisor to Emperor Vespasian. Lived between 23 and 79 CE. Published Natural History in 77 CE.
3. Pliny explains: ‘the most advantageous way of sailing to India is to set out from Ocelis. Utilising that port, it is a forty-day voyage, with the Hippalus blowing, to Muziris the first trading center in India.’ Book VI, Chapter 26.
4. Raoul McLaughlin, *The Roman Empire and the Indian Ocean*, Pen & Sword Books Ltd., 2014, England, Page 89.
5. Aureus (equivalent to 25 Denarii which is in silver) is 8.05 g of gold. So altogether weighing 805 kg.
6. Charnockite - a series of metamorphic rocks with variable chemical composition named after Job Charnock, a controversial administrator in the British East India Company.
7. Spellopicture is the term for a picture created by arranging its  spelling. Example: (fig. 10)

8. Jee Francis Therattil, paper presented at the International Conference on Archaeology of Burials organized by the Department of Archaeology, University of Kerala (Jan 2016). The paper got published in volume I (pages 181 to 185) of *The Archaeology of Burials: Examples from Indian Subcontinent*, New Bharatiya Book Corporation, Delhi (2020).
9. Brāhmi inscription on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket excavated at Bhattiprolu (Andhra Pradesh). ‘*arahadinanam gothiya majusa cha shamugocha tena kam yena kubirako raja amki*’ translated as ‘By the committee of the venerable Arahaditta, was given a casket and a box. The work is by him, by whom the king Kuberaka caused the carving to be done’. Arrow marks are pointed to the positions of *chā*. Kuberaka was ruling c 230 BCE. Now at Egmore Museum, Chennai.
10. As per Iravatham Mahadevan, Māngulam Inscription is the earliest Tamil-Brāhmi inscription. (*Early Tamil Epigraphy from the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.*, Volume 62 of Harvard oriental series, 2003, page 7). Now it is seen that Peringāssery Inscription predates Māngulam Inscription on paleographical grounds.
11. Unifaced portrait coins having Brāhmi script recovered from Karūr (Tamil Nadu), the capital of the Cheras (R Krishnamurthy, *Sangam Age Tamil Coins*, Garnet Publications, Madras). He attributes these coins ‘to a period starting from the third quarter of 100 BC to 100 A. D.’ (page 102). As *tha* is in a curvilinear form [and on the basis of some other peculiarities], I feel that these coins are minted not earlier than the 2nd century CE.
12. a. Janet R Johnson, Quseir Al-Qadim 1980 Preliminary Report, American Research Center in Egypt Reports, Volume 7, Chapter 12, Inscriptional Material, pages 259, 263 & 264.
b. Richard Salomon, “Epigraphic Remains of Indian Traders in Egypt”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 111, No. 4, pages 734 & 735.
13. a. Tamil Brahmi letters found in archaeological exploration; *Deccan Chronicle* dated November 2, 2016.
b. Megalithic site discovered near Thadagam, *The Hindu* dated November 9, 2016.
c. PSG Students Discover 2500-year-old artifacts in Periya Thadagam, Coimbatore. Simplicity (tech-media platform) dated November 9, 2016.
14. Reading and meanings differ among scholars. The last word *chā ta ta n* is the relevant one in this study. There is no dispute regarding this word. The last two words *thæ va n* and *chā ta ta n* is to be studied in unison with their counterparts in the recently discovered Periya Thadāgam Inscription.
15. a. The inscription reads ‘*elur modallar sāthan*’. Karnataka: 6th-century hero stone, Tamil Inscription restored in Tamatakallu, *The Indian Express* (web edition), 15th September 2021. <https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/karnataka/2021/sep/15/karnataka-6th-century-hero-stone-tamil-inscription-restored-in-tamatakallu2359027.html>
b. Even though Tamatakallu Inscription is reported in the volume 11 of *Epigraphia Carnatica* (1903) by B Lewis Rice, this portion at the right border of the stone got omitted. Recently Dr. B Rajashekharappa brought this out through his re-reading.

16. Place names in Kerala like: Chāthannūr, Chāthanallūr, Chāthanthara, Chāthamangalam, Chāthanādu, Chāthamattom, Chāthanāmkulam, Chāthangādu, Chāthankari, Chāthankāvu, Chāthankōttanada, Chāthankulangara, Chāthanpādu, Chāthanpāra, Chāthankōttupāra, Chāthanplapally, Chāthanthōttam, Chāthanchira etc. bears the testimony for the widespread Chāthan worship once prevailed.
17. Place names in Tamil Nadu like: Sāthankulam, Sāthankudi, Sāthanūr, Sāthanpāra etc.
18. Place names in Kerala like: Shāsthāamangalam, Shāsthāmcōtta, Shāsthavattam, Shāsthāmpāra etc.
19. T. K. Joseph, “Malabar Miscellany”, *The Indian Antiquary*, volume 57 (1928), pages 24-31.
20. Prasanna Kumar Acharya IES, *Mānasāra on Architecture and Sculpture* (1933), edited by Oxford University Press, Allahabad, India.
21. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume 2, Part 2, Jaina and *Bauddha Vestiges in Travancore*, pages 118 and 119.
 “Below the *simhāsana* must be the figures of (other) Jinas in a worshipping- attitude; these are the *Siddhas* (or *ādisiddhas*?), the *Sugandhas* (*Sugatas*?), *Chāhantu* (*chārhantas*, i.e., Arhats?), *Jana* (Jina?) and *Pārśvakas*; these five classes are known by the name of *Pañcha-paramēshṭins*. The complexions of these are respectively that of the *sphaṭika* (crystal), white, red, black and yellow. The central Jina figure should be shaped according to the *uttama-daśa-tāla* measure, whereas those of the *dēvatās* and the 21 *Tīrthaṅkaras* surrounding him in the other (*madhyama* and *adhama*) *daśa-tāla* measure. The body should be perfectly free from ornaments, but on the right side of the chest (a little over the nipple) there should be the *Śrīvatsa* mark of golden colour.”
22. a. ‘*Arhat*’ in Sanskrit means ‘one who is worthy’ (The Pāli counterpart is ‘*arahant*’). The state of an *arhat* is considered in the Theravada tradition to be the proper goal of a Buddhist. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/arhat>
 b. A Discourse on Paticcasamuppada by Mahasi Sayadaw (English translation done by U Aye Maung) cites that ‘The Buddha was called *Arahan* because of his conquest of defilements’ (para 2, chapter 10). <https://www.wisdomlib.org/buddhism/book/a-discourse-on-paticcasamuppada/d/doc2018.html>
23. Sreekandeswaram G. Padmanabha Pillai, *Sabdataravali Malayalam Dictionary*, pages 719 & 1546 (1967), SPCS Ltd. / NBS, Kottayam.
24. Might have been composed by Kūlavānikan Chāthanār in the first half of the first millennium CE.
25. *Chakravālāṃ* means zenith. *Kōttam* means walled place. It was an extensive burial ground with four guarded entrances and was called by the public *sudukāttukkōttam*. *Sudu* means to burn, *kādu* means forest (still cremation ground is known as *sudukādu*). This is a walled cremation ground amidst the wild growth of trees providing some sort of privacy and isolation from the surrounding places.
26. *Maṇimækhalai*, chapter 6, line 66.
27. *Maṇimækhalai*, chapter 6, line 67.

28. Rev. Robert Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages, Dravidian Grammar*, Part I, Sounds, Vowels, Pages 17 & 18.
29. *Ibid.* page 17.
30. It will take roughly 25 days if he walks 8 hours a day.
31. Composed, expanded, and redacted between the 2nd century BCE and the 3rd century CE. As per Patrick Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, Oxford UK: Oxford University Press, 2013.
32. Book 2 The Duties of Government Superintendents, Chapter 11 Examination of the Precious Articles to be Received into the Treasury. Page 101, *Kautilya's Arthashastra* Translated into English by R. Shamasastri.
 1. The Superintendent of the treasury shall, in the presence of qualified persons, admit into the treasury whatever he ought to, gems (*ratna*) and articles of superior or inferior value.
 2. *Támraparnika*, that which is produced in the *támraparni*; *Pándyakavátaka*, that which is obtained in *Pándyakavata*; *Pásikya*, that which is produced in the *Pása*; *Kauleya*, that which is produced in the *kúla*; *Chaurneya*, that which is produced in the *Chúrna*; *Mahéndra*, that which is obtained near the mountain of Mahéndra; *Kárdamika*, that which is produced in the Kárdama; *Srautasíya*, that which is produced in the *Srótasi*; *Hrádiya*, that which is produced in (a deep pool of water known as) *Hrada*; and *Haimavata*, that which is obtained in the vicinity of the Himalayas are the several varieties of pearls.
33. *Chūrṇi* means one which produces *chūrṇam*. *Chūrṇam* (Sanskrit) simply means powder. It's Pāli counterpart is *chuṇṇa*. But here, the meaning is very specific to the powder obtained by incinerating oyster shells. This *chūrṇam* in thick paste form (*chuṇṇāmbu* in *lingua franca*) is used widely with betel leaves for chewing as well as distemper for white-washing in thin paste form. The people who collect the oyster from the riverbed were locally called *mukkuvar* (means who drowns). Now this term is synonymous with fishermen community.
34. Jee Francis Therattil, "The Etymology of Muziris", Volume 38 (2014), *Numismatic Digest*, IIRNS [Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies] Publications LLP, Mumbai, India.
35. John Watson McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, page 137, in the translation of paragraph 56.
36. C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, paragraph 47, The Life of Julius Caesar.
37. *Ibid.*, paragraph 50. The *Sestertius* was introduced around 211 BCE as a small silver coin valued at one-quarter of a Denarius (and thus one hundredth of an Aureus).
38. Book 2 The Duties of Government Superintendents, Chapter 25 The Superintendent of Liquor. Page 170, *Kautilya's Arthashastra* Translated into English by R. Shamasastri.
 21. The preparation of various kinds of *arishta* for various diseases is to be learned from physicians.

22. A sour gruel or decoction of the bark of *meshasringi* (a kind of poison) mixed with jaggery (*guda*) and with the powder of long pepper and black pepper or with the powder of *triphala* (1 *Terminalia Chebula*, 2 *Terminalia Bellerica*, and 3 *Phyllanthus Emblica*) forms *Maireya*.
39. John Watson McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, page 137, in the translation of paragraph 56.
40. *ketalaputo*, *pādā* (second rock edict, Gīrnār), *kelalaputa*, *pamdiya* (second rock edict, Kālsi), *keradaputro*, *pamdiya* (second rock edict, Shābāzgarhi), *pārindas* (thirteenth rock edict, Gīrnār), *pamdiya* (thirteenth rock edict, Kālsi) and *pamda* (thirteenth rock edict, Shābāzgarhi).
41. These coins played the role of the very first coinage in this part of the Indian subcontinent for a few centuries until the arrival of the imperial Roman coins around the very beginning of CE. Fresh imperial Roman coins were found along with extremely worn silver imperial PMCs as contents of the same hoard. Eyyāl (some 60 km north of Muziris) Hoard (12 Aurei, 68 Denarii, and 37 silver imperial PMCs) recovered in 1945 is a typical example. Another one is Valuvally (some 15 km south of Muziris) Hoard which was founded in 1983 had in it Roman Aurei and imperial silver PMCs. The Angamāli (some 25 km east of Muziris) Hoard had in it 783 silver imperial PMCs.
42. A geometric configuration of symbols employed for focusing the attention of practitioners and adepts, as a spiritual guidance tool, for establishing a sacred space and as an aid to meditation and trance induction

Cow Donations in India

Rekha V. Gore

Abstract:

This research paper evaluates the types of cow donations and donors as found in various records and their significance. The records vary depending on the quantities donated and quality of the donors

Keywords:

Cow donation (*godāna*) types- prosperity- importance.

Defining *Dāna*

In keeping with Indian tradition, there has been considerable discussion and debate on exactly what constitutes ‘*dāna*’. Reviewing this debate, one finds that while *dāna* is a sub-set of giving, only ‘giving as per scriptural directions’ qualifies as *dāna*-proper.

Difference between *Dāna*, *Dakṣiṇā* and *Bhikṣā*

People often confuse *dāna* with *dakṣiṇā* and sometimes use the terms interchangeably. However, the two are completely different. *Dakṣiṇā* is a type of honorarium for services. The amount is not agreed in advance and cannot be negotiated. *Dakṣiṇā* does not qualify as *dāna*. There is no *punya* (merit) associated with *dakṣiṇā*. However, *dakṣiṇā* is required as covering fees for *dāna*, and is always added on as a sweetener after any act of *dāna* to a *Brāhmaṇa*. Similar to the case of *dāna* and *dakṣiṇā*, the concepts of *dāna* and *bhikṣā* are separate. The latter refers to alms given to the needy, always at the receiver’s request.

Importance of *Dāna*

The scriptural canon as well as literature have repeatedly emphasized on the importance of *dāna*. Hymns of the *Ṛgveda* pray for the well-being and prosperity of donors of cows, horses, and other meritorious things. *Atharvaveda* calls for collecting with a hundred hands, and giving away with a thousand. *Matsyapurāṇa* devotes an entire chapter in praise of *dāna* as a part of state policy. Here, *dāna* is heralded as the best approach amongst all. Generous *dāna* is said to help a person win both the worlds, adding further that there is no one who is beyond the influence of *dāna*. A generous donor is praised by all. Even persons who do not accept *dāna* themselves, are said to start acting favorably towards a generous donor. It’s stated that *dāna* made in one place has the capacity to influence people elsewhere. A generous donor is therefore loved like one’s own son.

According to *Atrismṛti*, *dāna* is the best friend of the donor. The *Rāmacaritamānasa* of saint Tulasīdāsa compares *dāna* with an axe in the battle of life— just as you slay enemies with a battle axe, so he says, you slay sins and hardships with *dāna*.

Types of *Dāna*

When the giving results in transfer of property from one person to another, it is treated as *dāna*. In some cases, the transfer might benefit more than one person. However, so long as the number of beneficiaries is fixed, the giving will be considered *dāna*. Additionally, the donor should no longer derive any benefit from the item donated. Some types of giving are not considered *dāna*. These include gifts to people who is otherwise required to support. Similarly, mutual exchange of gifts is treated as a cultural practice, but does not qualify as *dāna*.

Classification based on *guṇa*

According to *Bhagavadgītā* *dāna* can be classified into three categories, viz., *Sāttvika*, *Rājasika*, and *Tāmasika*. *Sāttvika dāna* is one that is made as a duty. It should be made after considering the time, place and the suitability of the receiver. The receiver should not perform any service or provide any benefit in return (*anupakāṛi*). Swami Ramsukhdas explains that this kind of *dāna* is really *tyāga*, i.e., relinquishment, in which nothing is desired in return. This type of *dāna* is not performed with the expectation of even *puṇya* in return. Seeking such *puṇya* will transform the *dāna* into *rājasika*. *Rājasika dāna* is made for getting some direct or indirect benefit (whether material or spiritual) in return. The parting (of property) causes pain or regret to the donor; or sometimes the *dāna* is given after some persuasion. *Tāmasika dāna* is made to an unsuitable person or without considering time and/or place, then it is called *tāmasika dāna*. Similarly, *dāna* made without showing proper respect or in an insulting manner, also becomes *tāmasika*. Another example of a *tāmasika dāna* would be where it is intended to cause bodily harm. In such a case, both the donor and the recipient are to be punished as for theft. It appears, therefore, that while the *Bhagavadgītā* encourages *sāttvika* mode of donation, the choice may vary from person to person depending on the dominant *guṇa* (*sattva/rajas/tamas*) in the person at the time.

Classification based on value assigned to *dāna*

There are multiple ways of making this classification. One depends on the item, and another on the size of the donation. However, a third depends on the purpose of *dāna*, and has been mentioned in several *purāṇas* as (1) *Jyeṣṭha* (Superior) *Dāna* given in order to achieve *mokṣa* (liberation) is considered the most valuable form. (2) *Madhyama* (Mediocre) *Dāna* given out of pity or kindness for others or for one's own kith and kin is considered to be of medium value. (3) *Kaniṣṭha* (Inferior) *Dāna* given to achieve one's own selfish ends is known as the least valued of all.

Classification based on quantum of *dāna*

The wide variety of *paurāṇik dāna* forms can be usefully classified into broad themes, based on the form or item being given. Let us consider a few important ones:

Mahā Dāna - Sixteen Mahā Dāna -

These have been described in great detail in *Matsya Purāṇa*. Each of these sixteen *dāna* is considered sacred, and is expected to enhance the donor's age and virtue, to absolve one of all guilt, and save him/her from nightmares. These appear designed primarily for royal donors, though in their simplified form, they could also be made by the rich. Each *dāna* is named after the key object which is donated. There are many rituals and ceremonies which precede the donation. The preparations start two days before the main day. The *dāna* itself is made on the third day. The donor is often bathed with sacred water, as part of the ceremony.

Gau Sahasra Dāna -

As the name indicates, this calls for donating a hundred or thousand cows, all with gold plated horns, and silver-plated hooves. Ten cows and a bull are required for the ceremonies. All should be similarly decorated, with additional golden bells around their neck. A gold representation of Śiva (as Nandikeśvara) is also required. Depending on the donor's capacity, gold ranging from 6.2 kg to about 186.6 kg is required for the Nandikeśvara and the ornamentation of cows, in addition to the silver for hooves. After the ceremonies, all the cows, the bull and the gold Nandikeśvara are donated, along with *dakṣiṇā*. A smaller version of this *dāna* involves donation of 100 cows, with a

smaller Nandikeśvara. For this, total gold required ranges from 620 grams to about 2 kg.

Hiraṇya Kāmadhenu Dāna -

Kāmadhenu is a divine cow, which emerged from the churning of the ocean. She is seen as provider of all material wealth and desires. This *dāna* involves donating a representation of Kāmadhenu, with a suckling calf. Both are to be made of gold, and studded with gems. They are decorated with gold and crystal ornaments, silver hooves, and silk covering. Along with this are various assorted items, such as a bronze milking bucket, stool, honey, sugarcane, etc. This *dāna* takes place in a *maṇḍapa*.

Kapilā Dāna -

Kapilā is a special type of cow, which has a yellow, white or reddish coat. Donation of such a cow is highly recommended, being considered equal to a donation of ten cows. The donor of such a cow, lives in divine worlds for thousands of years. The cow's horns should be covered with gold, and hooves with silver. Its tail should be adorned with pearls. A bronze pot for milking should be given along with the cow. Donating a thousand such cows is considered equivalent to a *Rājasūya Yajña* and ensures the donor a place in Śrī Kṛṣṇa's abode. According to several Purāṇas, the cows to be donated may be of following types:

(1) *Guḍa-dhenu*: cow made of jaggery (2) *Tila-dhenu*: cow made of sesame seeds (3) *Ghṛta-dhenu*: cow made of clarified butter (4) *Jala-dhenu*: cow made of water (5) *Kṣīra-dhenu*: cow made of milk (6) *Dadhi-dhenu*: cow made of curd (7) *Madhu-dhenu*: cow made of honey (8) *Rasa-dhenu*: cow made of sugarcane juice (9) *Śarkarā-dhenu*: cow made of sugar (10) *Kārpāsa-dhenu*: cow made of cotton (11) *Lavaṇa-dhenu*: cow made of salt (12) *Dhānya-dhenu*: cow made of rice or other grains (13) *Suvarṇa-dhenu*: cow made of gold (14) *Svarūpataḥ dhenu-dāna*: a real cow

The Sātavāhanas, especially Śātakarṇī and his queen Nāganikā were undoubtedly champions of the Vaidika Dharma and they demonstrate a firm belief in the Yajña Saṁsthā, which is its essence. The names of deities appearing at the beginning of the inscription following the detailed inventory of the Vaidika Yajñas is a testimony of the fact that the Vaidika Dharma was well established in the Deccan Region in the 1st century BCE. This was also the time when Buddhism was gradually rising as a dominant religion and by the first few centuries of the Common Era, the town of Junnar and its surroundings came under its influence.

We find inscriptions which state in detail the numerous Vaidika Yajñas that were performed by King Śātakarṇī and his queen Nāganikā. The lines mentioning the performance of the Vājapeya yajña signify the first victory achieved by Śātakarṇī. The performance of the Rājasūya yajña highlights the establishment of the kingdom by Śātakarṇī and the performance of two Aśvamedha yajñas implies that Śātakarṇī emerged as the unchallenged sovereign not once but twice. He also issued an Aśvamedha type of a coin to commemorate these yajñas.

1. Agnyādheya:

This is the first yajña that has been mentioned in the inscription. During this yajña, all the family members of the yajamāna have to bring the sacrificial fire to the altar accompanied by the Adhvaryu. This yajña lasts for a day and the queen made donations of **12 cows and one horse**, most probably to the officiating priest.

2. Anvārambhaṇiya:

This yajña too was performed for a day and **one cow was donated**.

3. Vājapeya:

The name Vājapeya has been completely obscured by the ravages of time, but the details of donations made during this sacrifice have survived. This sacrifice lasted for 17 days and the donations included **1700 cows**, 10 elephants, 17 pots and 289 bundles of cloth. The number 17 has a special significance in this yajña. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale comments that this is a unique instance where the three-digit number 289 has been numerically represented in an inscription (Gokhale, 2006: 75). This yajña is to be performed when the king accomplishes a grand victory and the performance of this yajña suggests that Śātakarṇī must have been victorious in a major battle.

4. Aṅgārika:

The duration of this yajña is 7 days and the donations made on this occasion consisted of **11,000 cows** and 1000 horses.

5. [name mutilated]:

When this particular yajña was performed, the donations made were of 24,000 Kārṣapaṇas, most probably to the priests and 6001 Kārṣapaṇas to the visitors.

6. Rājasūya:

The duration of this yajña was two years and the donations made on the occasion of this yajña included a cart with large heaps of grains, 10 good pieces of clothing, one horse, numerous one horse chariots and **101 cows**. The Rājasūya yajña was also closely linked to the political career of Śātakarṇī and his ambition for conquests.

7. Aśvamedha:

The Aśvamedha yajña was performed for 3 years. Śātakarṇī performed this yajña twice which implies that he had to establish his sovereignty twice and that there is a possibility that his supremacy may have been challenged after the performance of the first Aśvamedha yajña. The second Aśvamedha yajña, in all probability indicates his regaining his hegemony. Śātakarṇī extended the Sātavāhana rule beyond the Deccan Region and he was undoubtedly a great conqueror. In the inscription he has been eulogised as 'Pṛthvyāḥ Prathama Vīra' or the foremost warrior of the earth. The donations given during these sacrifices included a horse with silver trappings and decorated with gold ornaments, 14,000 Kārṣapaṇas and one cart with grains. Apart from these, a village was also donated and this is one of the first instances of the donation of a village to a beneficiary and this custom was continued by the later Sātavāhana rulers and became a common practice by the Gupta period. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions different types of Aśvamedha yajñas. Different varieties of animals – both wild and domesticated were to be brought to the yajña *vedi* and the wild animals were to let go after the fire was taken around them (Gokhale, 2006: 76).

8. Saptadaśātrātra:

This yajña was carried out over 7 days with donations of 1 horse with silver trappings, 10,000 Kārṣapaṇas and 17 cows.

9. Bhagaladaśarātra:

This yajña was to be performed for a month and 10,001 Kārṣapaṇas were donated on this occasion.

10. Gargatrirātra:

Lasting for 3 days, this yajña culminated with distribution of 301 garments to the guests who

had assembled for the *yajña*.

11. Gavāmayana:

Performed for a period one year, this *yajña* comprised of donations of 1101 cows, 101 Kārṣapaṇas to guests, 100 garments and a chariot.

12. Aṅgirasāmayana:

This *yajña* too had a duration of 1 year and **1101 cows** were donated on this occasion but this *yajña* has not been recorded in the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.

13. Śatātīrātra:

1101 cows were given in donation after this *yajña* but the mention of such a kind of *yajña* is not found in the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.

14. Aṅgirasatīrātra:

1102 cows were donated on the performance of this *yajña* which lasted for 7 days. No mention of this *yajña* is found in the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.

15. Chandopavamānātīrātra:

This *yajña* with a donation of **11,101 cows** was conducted for 3 days. There is no mention of this *yajña* in the Baudhāyana.

16. Trayodaśātīrātra:

This *yajña* lasted for a month and the details of the donation are illegible.

17. Daśārātra:

The duration of this *yajña* was 1 month and the donation consisted of **1101 cows**.

18. Āptoryāma:

This *yajña* lasted for 7 days and the details of the donation are unavailable.

19. Śaṭātīrātra:

The details of this *yajña* are not known from any of the sources.

20. Aṅgirasāmayana:

This was a *yajña* which was performed for 6 years and **1100 cows** were donated. This does not find a mention in the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.

21. Saptadaśātīrātra:

The duration of this *yajña* was 7 days and the donations made included **17 cows**, a decorated horse and 10,000 Kārṣapaṇas. This *yajña* too is not referred to in the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.

The inscription in cave no. 10 at Nashik mentions cow donations by the Western Satrap king Uṣavadāta— “Success! Uṣavadāta, Dinika’s son, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa, who has donated three-hundred-thousand cows, who has made gifts of money and tīrthas on the river Bārṇāsā, who has given sixteen villages to the gods and brāhmaṇas...”

Conclusion:

Cow Donation has historically been considered a meritorious and effective form of *dāna* owing to its capacity to positively impact all communities.



Dāna mentioned in Naneghat Inscription



Dāna mentioned in Nashik inscription, Caves no. 10

References:

1. *Varah Puran*. Ch.109.2-8 (Ved Vyas, 1982, p. 181). Also quoted in *Daan Mayukh* (Bhatt N. K., p. 181).
2. Clothes have been created by Shri Brahma for covering of people, and cotton cloth is the best amongst these (Hemadri, 1985, pp. 431-32).
3. *Varah Puran*. Ch.108.2-12 (Ved Vyas, 1982, pp. 180-81). Also see *Bhavishya Puran* as quoted in *Daan Mayukh* (Bhatt N. K., p. 181); *Bhavishya Puran*, Ch. 155 (Ved Vyas, 1995, pp. III:592-4).
4. *Varah Puran*. Ch.110.4-7 (Ved Vyas, 1982, p. 182). Also see *Bhavishya Puran* as quoted in *Daan Mayukh* (Bhatt N. K., p. 181).
5. *Varah Puran*. Ch.110.12-14 (Ved Vyas, 1982, p. 183). Also see *Bhavishya Puran* as quoted in *Daan Mayukh* (Bhatt N. K., p. 181).
6. *Daan Mayukh* (Bhatt N. K., pp. 182-83); Also see *Daan Khand* (Hemadri, 1985, pp. 436-37); *Bhavishya Puran*, Ch. 156 (Ved Vyas, 1995, pp. III:594-6).
7. *Vahni Puran* as quoted in *Daan Mayukh* (Bhatt N. K., p. 183).
8. *Vahni Puran* as quoted in *Daan Mayukh* (Bhatt N. K., pp. 182-83).

9. *Bhavishya Puran*, Ch. 151 (Ved Vyas, 1995, pp. III:576-80).
10. Various types of *dan* under this category have been described in Ch.73 of *Anushasan Parv*. (Ved Vyas, 2001, pp. 5695-700); See also *Daan Khand* (Hemadri, 1985, pp. 444-5).
11. See for example verse 33, *Anushasan Parv*, Ch. 71 (Ved Vyas, 2001, p. 5692); Also verse 42, Ch.73 of *Anushasan Parv*. (Ved Vyas, 2001, p. 5699).
12. *Kathopnishad* (2006, pp. 177-318) (2006, pp. 177-318). In another version of this story, Yam praises the people who make *Gau Daan*. *Anushasan Parv*, Ch. 71 (Ved Vyas, 2001, pp. 5689-94).
13. *Kathopnishad* (2006, pp. 177-318) (2006, pp. 177-318).
14. *Bhavishya Puran*, Ch. 158 (Ved Vyas, 1995, pp. III:598-600).
15. *Gaurd Puran*. Uttar Khand. Dharm Kaand. Pret Kalp. Ch. 47.25-36 (Ved Vyas, 2004, pp. 473-74). Also see *Brahm Vaivart Puran* as quoted in *Daan Mayukh* (Bhatt N. K., pp. 188-89); *Daan Khand* (Hemadri, 1985, pp. 473-76).
16. *Gaurd Puran*. Uttar Khand. Dharm Kaand, Pret Kalp. Ch. 47. 8 (Ved Vyas, 2004, p. 470).
17. *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, History: Ancient Period, Gazetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai
18. Mirashi, V.V., *Incriptions of the Vakatakas*, Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. V.

The Making of Rājatalāka Caves: A New Light on Kanheri Inscription

Sanjay Paikrao

Abstract:

The study of inscription in Indian cave temples is challenging phenomena. They help as to recast social and religious life of ancient period. The Kanheri inscriptions has solved the problem of nomenclature of Buddhist caves of Aurangabad.

Keywords:

Rājatalāka, Kanheri, Aurangabad, Silk Rout.

Kanheri is 10 km to the southeast of Borivali, the suburb of metropolitan city Mumbai (east longitude 72° 59' north latitude 19° 13'). The road which leads to Kanheri caves, goes through the national park. The name Kanheri is derived from the Sanskrit name, 'Krsnagiri' which means Black Mountain. The inscription in cave no.3 is in 11 lines, in which line number 8-9 are related to Aurangabad caves. For the first time the original name of Aurangabad cave as Rajtalaka has appeared his in this inscription. Dr. Shobna Gokhale discovered this inscription and published a book titled "*Kanheri Inscriptions*" in 1991. Scholars like, Dulari Qureshi, Pia Brancaccio have interpreted this inscription. However, there is scope to throw new light on this inscription. The inscription in Prakrit language mentions donation was given for construction of 13 rock cut cells in the Rājatalāka caves and refers to a donation of two types of caves (*kuṭi* - meditation rooms for monks and *koḍhi* - residential rooms for students.) at the Buddhist vihara located in Deccan. In those day Rājatalāka was a small village in Paithan district. This inscription has solved the problem of nomenclature of Buddhist caves of Aurangabad.

Aurangabad is a city in the Indian state of Maharashtra and is the administrative headquarters of Aurangabad district and is the largest city in the Marathwada region. It is located on trade route /silk rout and was connecting Paithan (Prathishan) to Sopara (Supraka) the ancient ports of India. The first reference to the Aurangabad caves is in the inscription in the great chaitya at Kanheri. The Aurangabad caves were carved in Satvahana period, and was known as Rajatalaka which means tank constructed by king (Deshpande,1959: 66). Located on a hilly upland terrain in the Deccan Traps, the Aurangabad caves are 12 rock-cut Buddhist shrines located on a hill running roughly east to west, close to the city of Aurangabad. The caves are divided into three separate groups depending on their location. These are usually called the Western Group, with Caves I to V (1 to 5), the Eastern Group, with Caves VI to IX (6 to 9), and a Northern Cluster, with the unfinished Caves X to XII (10 to 12) The carvings at the Aurangabad Caves are notable for including Hinayana style stupa, Mahayana art work and Vajrayana goddess. These caves are among those in India that show 1st millennium CE Buddhist artwork. (Aurangabad District Gazetteer1984:1)

In the period of Mughal king Aurangzeb in the area of university there was Mughal army camp and as the soldier complained about problems of mosquitoes, the king ordered to destroy the water tank and debris were filled in the tank.

The inscription (no. 6) on the left-hand gate post of the chaitya cave no.3 measuring 1.43m X 1.7m is in Brahmi characters of 2nd century CE in Prakrit language. The letters are bold and similar to those of the inscription of Nahapana. The narration of the inscription is very fluent and lucid.

Text

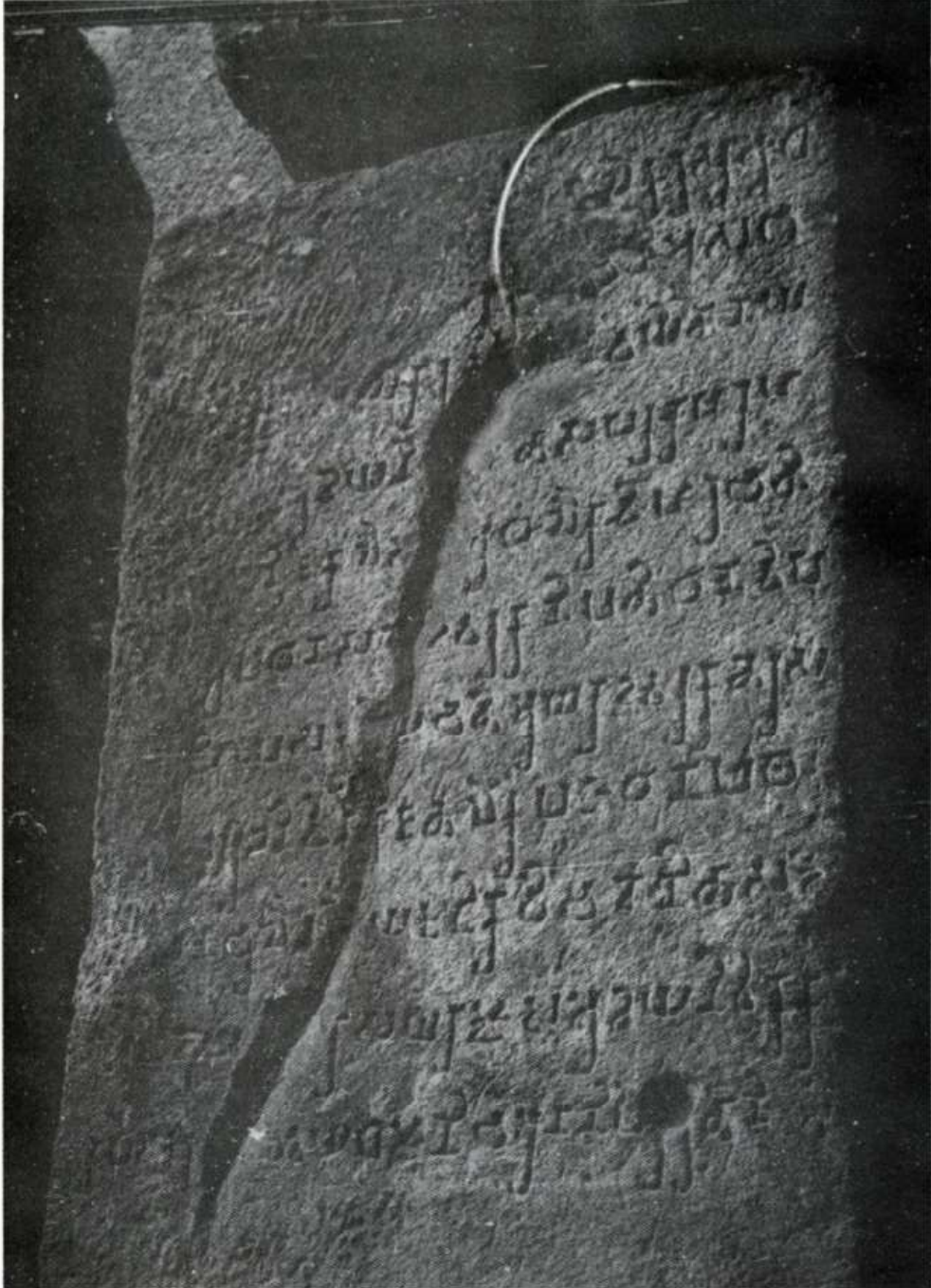
1. *khabhalākaresu adha.*
2. *a (Ka_) ch (e) tiasa bha*
3. () *Lakārasa ... (Pa) vayitāna ya*
4. ... *akhyanivi (da) tā Sopārākāvihare ha*
5. *(Lāni) ni 3 kalia (ne) Abhālikāvihāre cheti*
6. *upathānasāl (ā) ovarakāni paithāneviḥā*
7. *tigupasadri (ya) chetiaghara ovaraka terasa*
8. *sa-akhyanivikā Rājatalāka Pāithānapathe*
9. *sana chulika-yakuti kodhi cha khani ta sada*
10. *Sevājuya (vihā) re sanghramo sa-akhayaniviko kā*
11. *rāpitopu (nā) tha deyadhamāni cha anāni pi (kāri) tāni.*

Dr. Shobana Gokhale (1991: 52) stated that, at Paithan a *Chaityagriha* and 13 cells for the monks (*ovarakā terasa*) together with the perpetual endowment (*akhayanivikā*) were given (lines 6, 8). And in the taluka of Paithan, called Rājatalāka (?) a meditation room (*kuṭi*) and a residential room (*koḍhi*) were erected at the vihara of Sevājuya (?) (lines 8-10)

On this basis of above discussion, it is clear that, Kanheri inscription explain the story of creation of Rājatalāka caves, which can be identified with the Aurangabad caves.

References:

1. Bhattacharya Agnik.1998. *Inscriptions- A Major Source of Early Indian History.*
2. *Aurangabad District Gazetteer.*1984. Mumbai: Gazetteer Department.
3. Gokhale Shobhana.1991, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, Pune: Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute.
4. Ranade P.V.1966. *Rajtalakachi Rajnartiki: Aurangabad Lenyatil Ek Anupam Shilpat*, Aurangabad: Marathwada Diwali Ank, November.



Inscription No. 6 Cave No.

Decipherment of Indus Script by retracing Brāhmī Script

Somesh Chandra Shrivastava

Abstract:

This paper is a work to decipher the Indus script by establishing the link between Indus and Brāhmī. The Brāhmī script is well connected with Indus script which possessed 417 signs. Few of those signs when halved horizontally resulted into certain Brāhmī letters (chart 1). Few other signs when halved vertically resulted into another set of Brāhmī letters illustrated in (chart 2). A list of signs of the Indus script depicting various household agricultural implements and hunting gadgets converted to Brāhmī script as a whole are included (chart 3). Words formed are in Sanskrit language, signs on seals represent day-to-day articles pictorially, which on halving yield sets of Brāhmī script letters.

Keywords:

Horizontally halved pictographs, vertically halved pictographs, full pictographs

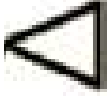






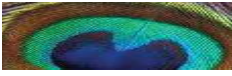








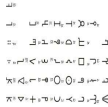



Introduction

Indus Script is not yet deciphered in the absence of bilingual text, but writing system in Indian subcontinent started with rock art of Chünārgarh and Bhimbetkā Panchmarhī, Gawilgarh, Chaturbhujnālā, Kaimur culminated to develop as Indus seals containing signs, convenient to control the apportionment of grain right at the threshing floor marked with clay tags that were then impressed with seals to identify ownership before the grain was transported to granaries or taken away by landlords as their share, leaving the rest as the share of tenant-farmers or wages to the cultivators. Later they became business seals containing names of cities where goods were transported. As one seal reads Harāpame meaning belonging to Harāpam old name for Harappā. It is here to note that all Indian and east Asian scripts are derived from Brāhmī Script. I have tried to fix the relation of pictures with pictographs deciphering it as logically derived to form the script which directly correlates to house hold articles of agriculture and hunting equipment present in Indus era. Here is my elaborated system of evolution of articles to Indus pictographs which in turn transformed to Brāhmī syllables. This clearly indicates that to develop one script language is required along with sketches of articles present in that time frame and that area. Script never dies of instead it changes its presentation. So for decipherment of any script it must be correlated to script and languages presently available in the precinct. Because present script and languages are evolved from the old languages and scripts. In this regard I humbly present my observations on Indus seals and their script. Many Brāhmī letters when added with its mirror image form the pictographs depicted in Indus Seals.

Methodology

Brāhmī script was well developed in 3rd century BCE in Pāli language which is derived from Sanskrit language. In this regard the proposed interpretations are based on the pictorial character of the signs and their probable functions as determined in the Sanskrit Dictionary of Vāman Shivram Āpte for the articles which resemble with the shape of their first letter in Brāhmī to find pictographic precursors of Brāhmī. The results were astonishingly similar to pictographs depicted in Indus seals. There are few Hindi letters still taught in basic education course with same pictographs as in Indus signs like *Kha* for *kharal* (Mortar), *Dha* for *Dhanush* (Bow), *Pa* for *Pīpal* (leaf), *Ma* for *Minam* (Fish), *Ra* for *Rassi* (Rope) and *Ya* for *Yashti* (trident) and *Ha* for *Hāñdī* (jar).

Chart 1 horizontally halved pictographs

S.No	Brāhmī Letter	Halved Indus Pictograph	Indus Pictograph	Picture	Sanskrit Name	English Name	Description
1					Esha.nah for e	Arrow Sign	This is lancet or arrow tip preserved from Indus articles. This is called as Esha.nah in Sanskrit meaning bā.nāgra.
2					Chandrakah for ch	Peacock's feather eye Sign	This is a picture of eye of peacock tail feather known as peacock tail feather eye sign in Sanskrit and represents cha .
3					Tulādharah for t	Bearer Sign	This is picture of bearer named in Sanskrit as tulādharah. the pictograph for tulādharah depicting Ta (dantavya).
4					Nirdātrah for n	Rake sign	A toothed head fixed to the end of a long (wooden) pole used for raking grain-sheaves and hay-stacks. The sign is near-identical with the Early Sumerian sign gal.
5					Yashti for y	Trident	This is a picture of trident named yashti in Sanskrit representing ya

S.No	Brāhmī Letter	Halved Indus Pictograph	Indus Pictograph	Picture	Sanskrit Name	English Name	Description
6.					s'ankhah for s'	Conch Sign	This is a picture of conch shell recovered as Indus articles named s'ankhah in Sanskrit representing s'a
7.					Bhastrih for bh	Bellow Sign	This is a picture of bellow used by blacksmiths to enhance the fire named bhastrih in Sanskrit representing Bha
8.					Mīnam for m	Fish Sign	This is a picture of fish named mīnam in Sanskrit representing Ma.
9.					Kāyā for k	Human Sign	This is human figurine representing Ka. This is human figure found on some seals

Chart 2 Vertically halved pictographs

S.No	Brāhmī Letter	Halved Indus Pictograph	Indus Pictograph	Picture	Sanskrit Name	English Name	Description
1.					Girih for g	Hill Sign	This is small hill named girih in sanskrit This is pictograph for girih representing Ga in Indus script
2.					Ur.ninābhah for u	Crab Sign	This is picture of spider called ur.ninābhah in Sanskrit

S.No	Brāhmī Letter	Halved Indus Pictograph	Indus Pictograph	Picture	Sanskrit Name	English Name	Description
3.					Dro.nih for d	Swing Basket Sign	This is a method by which water is lifted by means of a basket from the low channels or ponds which are by the side of the field. The basket is made of any cheap material for example leather, tin etc. The basket is slung by ropes on both sides Its Sanskrit name is Dro.nih representing Da(Dantavya)
4.					Jālkam for j	Window Sign	Jālkam for j Window Sign This is picture of window named jālakam in Sanskrit. Pictographs for window in Indus script Depicting Ja. This halved pictograph transforming to Brāhmī Ja
5.					Par.nah for p	Leaf Sign	This is a sacred pīpal leaf commonly known as par.nah in Sanskrit representing Pa
6.					Han.dikāh fo h	Jar Sign	This is a picture of pot of Indus era named han.dikāh in Sanskrit representing ha and visargah. Its halved pictograph is developed as Brāhmī Ha. Also used as visargah
7.					Anunāsik for cha varg	ña	This is abacus commonly known as angka.nanakah in Sanskrit language. This sign is mostly found before Chandrakah. Like in mañchah.

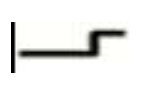



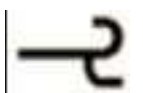



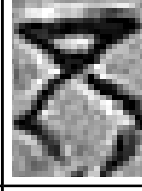










8.					Wing Sign	This is pictograph for Birds wings meaning of .dayanam in Sanskrit that is wings of birds representing .da (murdhanya)
9.				Sambādham for s	Vulva Sign	This is picture of vulva named sambādham in Sanskrit representing s.

Chart 3 Full Pictographs transformed to Brāhmī

S.No	Brāhmī Letter	Indus Pictograph	Picture	Sanskrit Name	English Name	Description
1.				Ankus'ah for a	Goad Sign	Ankus'ah is the article used to tame elephants and was prevalently available in Indus era. Pictograph derived from this developed hieroglyph for Indus A
2.				Chhatrākam for chh	Mushroom Sign	This is picture of mushrooms named chhatrākam in sanskrit. Representing Chha.
3.				Jho.dah for jh	Betel Nut Tree Sign	Jho.dah for jh Betel Nut Tree Sign This is a picture of betel nut tree named jho.dah in sanskrit representing Jha
4.				.Tankah for .t,	Edge of Axe Sign	.Tankah for .t, Edge of Axe Sign This is a picture of an axe named .tankah in sanskrit representing .Ta (murdhanya). This is similar to English alphabet C.

S.No	Brāhmī Letter	Indus Pictograph	Picture	Sanskrit Name	English Name	Description
5.				.Thālinīm for .th	Waste Belt Sign	This is picture of waist belt known as .thālinī in sanskrit representing .Tha (Mūrdhnya). This is represented by circle
6.				Tham for th	Shield Sign	This is a picture of shield of defense named tham in sanskrit representing Tha (dantavya).
7.				Dhanvah for dh	Bow Sign	This is archery bow used for hunting in Indus era named dhanvah in Sanskrit representing Dha (dantavya).

Discussion

Human civilization was well developed in the Indus Saraswatī settlement evolving from nomadic hunters to well-developed agriculture fortified with ploughing and irrigation tools. Since first publication of Indus seal by Alexander Cunningham 1875 many efforts have been made by scholars to decipher its language and script. Unfortunately, no bilingual inscriptions have yet been found to allow the Indus script to be compared to a known writing system. The early Harappan phase (c. 3500-2700 BCE), we find the earliest known examples of the Indus Script signs, attested on Rāvi and Kot Diji pottery excavated at Harappa. Based on the fact that only one sign is displayed on the pottery surface, these examples represent a premature stage in the development of the Indus Script. Its full development was reached during the Urban period (c. 2600-1900 BCE), when longer inscriptions are recorded. Thousands of inscriptions are known from some 60 excavation sites: most of them are short, the average length is five signs and none of them is longer than 26 signs.

Mr. Iravatham Mahadevan 1977 has worked on earlier described few signs and tried to work on pictures depicted in seals and tried to decipher on Dravidian line. He published a corpus of 3700 seals with 417 signs. Asko Parpola 1994 described some seals correlating with Tamil language and described certain numeral seals as cryptic writing like numeral three with fish sign as pliedes mrigs 'irās Naks 'atra. Numeral six with fish sign as kritikā

Naks'atra and numeral seven with fish sign as ura major on lines of Dravidian hypothesis. Whereas Sinha et al described various letters as complex Sanskrit vyanjanas like ndra, pri etc. whereas Mr. Natwar Jha and N S Rajaram 1998 tried to explain various letters differently on the basis of Sanskrit verses. Dr. K.S. Shukla tried to decipher certain scripts as Sanskrit religious verses.

Many scholars like G.R. Hunter (1934), S. R. Rao (1978), John Newberry (1980), Krishna Rao (1982) and Subhash Kak (1990), Argued some connection between Brāhmī and Indus Script. It is here to note that all Indian and east Asian scripts are derived from Brāhmī Script. But none of above tried to fix the relation of pictures with pictographs deciphering it as logically derived to form the script which directly correlates to house hold articles of agriculture and hunting equipment present in Indus era. Here is my elaborated system of evolution of articles found in cave paintings to Indus pictographs which in turn transformed to Brāhmī syllables.

Since the evolution of telencephalon in human brain it enhanced the analytical power of various observations perceived by our sense organs leading to adaptation and surviving adverse conditions. In this process it was essential to communicate the observations to fellow brethren to exert cumulatively for survival. First mode of communication was sign language. Subsequently the sound produced by larynx modulated with the help of tongue teeth palate and lips created a variety of phonetic notes, which were later divided as below

1 Kanthya:

All vowels along with ka varg and ha, which were spoken only by laryngopharyngeal modulations. (a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ai, o, au, an, ah, k, kh, g, gh, n, h)

2. Talavya:

These include cha varg and ya and sha these letters are spoken by tongue touching the root of teeth. (ch, chh, j, jh, ñ, y, s')

3. Murdhanya:

These include .t varg and ra and sha. These letters are spoken by tongue touching hard palate. (.t, .t, h, .d, .d, h, .n, .r, sh, .r)

4. Dantavya:

These include ta varga, la and sa. these letters are spoken by tongue touching teeth (t, th, d, dh, n, l, s)

5. Oshthya:

These letters are spoken with the help of lips include pa varg and va. (p, ph, b, bh, m, v)

These notes when spoken in combination by natural law developed language which was sanskrit by vyakarana is known as Sanskrit. All other languages widely classified as Indo-Aryan (Indian and east Asian languages) and Indo-Semitic (western languages of Graeco-Roman origin) are evolved from SANSKRIT

The third mode of communication was developed by Artists who used to sketch their visual observations in the form of linear diagrams known as pictographs. These pictographs when organized in the form of language were known as scripts. These scripts are classified as monosyllabic pictographs as Indus and Egyptian Pictographs or multisyllabic pictographs as Chinese Korean and Japanese scripts. Another script decoded in the form of cuneiform script is also monosyllabic in

nature.

This clearly indicates that to develop one script language is required along with sketches of articles present in that time frame and that area. Script never dies of instead it changes its presentation. So, for decipherment of any script, it must be correlated to script and languages presently available in the precinct. Because present script and languages are evolved from the old languages and scripts. Early expression of art in the form of graffiti on cave walls is found all over India as painted art like in Bhimbetkā of more than 35000 BCE to 10000BCE.

Brāhmī script was well developed in 3rd century BC in Pali language which is derived from Sanskrit language. In this regard it was mandatory to search Sanskrit Dictionary for the articles which resemble with the shape of their first letter in Brāhmī to find pictographic precursors of Brāhmī. The results were astonishingly similar to pictographs depicted in Indus seals. This led to read some of Indus seals with Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit language.

In late Indus script vowels got symbols attached to consonants or beside it. These were similar to vowel configuration of early Brāhmī script. There are monosyllabic seals, bi syllabic seals, tri syllabic seals and multi syllabic seals with Sanskrit and Prakrit languages.

Language of Indus seals is Sanskrit because majority of seals end on jar sign which denotes *visargah* for the subject name. second largely used ending sign is fish sign which denotes end of object name. to convert Indus pictographs to Brāhmī letters some are vertically halved like crab sign, leaf sign, vulva sign, jar sign etc. some others are horizontally halved like conch sign, fish sign, rake sign, peacock feathers eye sign etc. certain pictographs used as a whole like goad sign, waist belt sign, shield sign, human figurine sign etc. some pictographs left out like scorpion sign, dog sign. Indus script is read from the head end of the animal depicted on the seal. If animal is not present then read the script towards jar sign, fish sign or arrow sign as ending.

Amantramaksharam nāsti nāsti mulmanaushdham.

Ayogyah purusham nāsti yojakstatra durlabhah. - Vidur Nīti.

No letter in Sanskrit which has no meaning, no root is without medicinal value, no person is inept, but person knowing their use is rare. - Vidur Nīti.

Conclusion

All Indian and south east Asian scripts are evolved from Brāhmī script which is derived from Indus script which is developed from pictographs of house hold utensils and agricultural tools. This paper is a work to decipher the Indus script by establishing the link between Indus and Brāhmī. Indian civilization is continuation of Indus civilization there is no gap between the two civilizations. Language of Indus seals was Sanskrit because most of the seals ended on jar sign or fish sign which depicts end of subject words as *visargah* in Sanskrit language like Rāmāh, s'yāmāh and end of object words on fish sign as in *dwitiyā vibhakti* in Sanskrit like Rāmam, s'yāmam. Seals are read from head to tail of the animal on the seal. If animal is not present then read the script towards jar sign, fish sign or arrow sign as ending. This method leads to make Indus seals readable in Sanskrit language. With this decipherment I was able to read more than 700 Indus Seals used for variety of works like agricultural, business, medical treatment, legal and administrative seals.

Outline of Indus Civilization as depicted by Indus seals

Indian civilization is continuation of Indus civilization there is no gap between the two

civilizations. Indus Cities had three types of residences, large residences for Ks'atriyas(residences for administrative officers for easy mobility of knights and horse riders) middle class residences for Vais'ya Varna(businessmen) and small residences for s'udras(servants in slums) whereas Brahmins resided in foliage huts in Gurukul As'ramas . This system of Indus civilization was well acquainted with Aryan culture.

Language of Indus seals was Sanskrit because most of the seals ended on jar sign or fish sign which depicts end of subject words as visargah and end of objects on fish sign as in dwitiyā vibhakti. Seals are read from head to tail of the animal on the seal. If animal is not present then read the script towards jar sign, fish sign or arrow sign as ending.

The Readings of The Seals are as below.

1. Prominent city names found on Indus seals are Harāpam (Harappā), Kathūmā.d (Kāthman.dū,Nepāl), Unūā.d (Unā-Ropar in Himānchal Pradesh), Trisūrrah (Trisūr,Kerala) Sūrs'enas (Mathurā Uttar Pradesh), Ur (Ur , Iraq),Sūs'(Sūs'ā Iran) and Yerag (Yerevān , Armenian Capital).
2. Agricultural seals contain names *sars'an*(mustard), *māshah* (black gram),*yavat* (grains like barley), *ras'wan* (Garlic) *gavreem* (turmeric), *sūran* (yam) , *rasnagah* (rubber tree), *mārah* (thorn apple), *sukūvah* (lotus) which were sown (*Bapikh*) by permission of ploughing (*krish.temiomah*) by king and they gave 1/3rd crop to king (*sa.t-tray*) then distributing among themselves (*Sa.t-s'eshan*). This tax was waived due to less crop production (*unkarsh*).
3. Business seals contained script for cloth Industry in the form of thread (*sushmae*) used on handloom (*sutray*). Other Industry was selection of good pearls (*nanasuvri*) pierced with thread (*sushmae yatra nanayah*) making necklaces (*kan.the*).Business of beauty parlour was present with three beautifications (*trayah s'ringār*) namely hair setting(*rachnah*), body painting and tattooing (*patra.na*) and nail care with nail polish (*nakheramae*) making ladies *s'ubhnakāh* (having good nails). Prostitution (*vasūrāe*) was legalised by act on prostitution (*vasūram māe*).
4. Specially trained persons (*pa.tumankāh*) for good standards (*sumānakāh*) used to mark good standards with the seal showing good (*su*). Measurement of weights was made smallest mustard (*sars'an*) , barley (*yavat*), *ratti* (*vrintah*), 8 *ratti* equalled 1 *mashah*, 32 *māshah* equalled 1 *pichuyava*, higher weight measures were *sūrpah* equal to two *dro.nih* equal to 128 seer.
5. Other business seals were for mutton shops (*s'uram mekāh*), wool shops (*marumesha*), Fish Industry (*mīnmae*), whisky shop barley liquor (*kīyeriya*), horse trade (*charetrahnakāh*), sea foods seal (*charehemīrah*) water birds (*s'aram vayah*).
6. Legal seals had seal for under trial (*nirudhih*) for variety of crimes like crime of liquor (*rasahe ains'atah*),crime of birds (*vayahe ains'atah*), arson (*rains'atah*), keeping hostage (*sains'atah*),habitual criminal (*ains'atahan*), organised crime or gangster act (*pāpīshivadhi*),abetment crime (*pis'unam sah*) information seal (*sūchya*), confidential seal (*dhiksūchya*).

7. Punitive seals had disjuncture from shoulder joint (*chhachirūshah*), construction of twelve ponds (*mikhatra dwādas'ah*), construction of twelve ponds in pathway for elephants (*dwādas'amikhatras'atrirah*), limitation of business (*mimāe*)
8. Medical seals contained seal for wound (*rikih*), seal for inflammation (*oshah*), treated with turmeric poultice (*chiherah*), thorn apple (*dhatūra*), garlic (*ras'wan*), rock salt (*sarebhüh*), and liquor (*rasahe*). Seals for pregnant ladies (*sūshya*) consuming milk (*sūmah*, *payas*, *udhishī*), seals for toxicology (*jah*).
9. War seals have variety as warrior (*s'ūrah*) rides on white horse (*sitah vah*) collects detailed information (*sūchvrih*) goes to armoury (*s'ahyatra*) takes arrows with bow (*s'arah*), swords (*rish.tibhah*), battle axes (*paras'wah*), space arrows (*sumuhak*) and then makes ambush (*sayāyāh*) and seize (*pī.d*) the fort (*ri.n*).
10. Spiritual seals contain names of Shiva (Omah, s'ah, s'ambhüh, Sumerah, Sāmbah, Vrishūram), Parvati (Rambhah, Jayām Navay), Ram (Rāmah, Sūri Rāmah) Hanuman (Hanumae), Indrajit Meghnad (Satrārah), Süpnakha (Sürpankāh, s'ubhnakāh) Rādhā Krishna (Rādhikanu), Rādhā (Jaya Rādhena), s'ani (s'annae Namah).

Bibliography

1. Cunningham, Alexander (1875). Harappa. *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Years 1872-3*
2. Hunter, G.R. (1934), *The Script of Harappa and Mohen jo daro and Its Connection with Other Scripts*
3. *Indus script monographs* - Volumes 1-7 1980, John Newberry.
4. Parpola, Asko (1994), *Deciphering the Indus script* Cambridge, New York
5. Rao, S. R. *The Decipherment of the Indus Script* 1982
6. Natwar Jha, Navaratna Srinivasa Rajaram, 8 May 2008, *The Deciphered Indus Script*
7. Kak, S.C. 1990. *Indus and Brāhmī: Further Connections*
8. Iravatham Mahadevan, *Agricultural Signs in the Indus Script*

New Brāhmī Label Inscriptions from Manjeera Valley in Telangana

M A Srinivasan and Ch. Niveditha Shalini

Abstract:

The present paper examines six new Brāhmī label inscriptions found from Manjeera valley, Telangana.

Keywords:

Brāhmī, Manjeera, Prakrit, Telangana, Inscriptions.

A basic question is the beginning of the quest. Why is Asmaka Mahajanapada, which rose in Manjeera Valley, not thoroughly explored, though the capital of Asmaka Mahajanapada, Bodhan, is on the banks of the Manjeera River? Why does Kondapur, an excavated Satavahana site, stand alone in the Manjeera valley? The search for the answers to these questions shall fill some missing pages in Satavahana history and Buddhism. Explorations in Manjeera Valley shall link north and south Telangana, unveiling a larger and more precise picture of the early historical period of pre-Satavahana, Satavahana and the following periods.

Where is the Manjeera Valley?

Manjeera is a tributary of the Godavari, which originates in the Balaghat range of hills near the Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra, flows through Karnataka and enters Telangana. Manjeera flows through districts of Sangareddy, Medak, Kamareddy and Nizamabad and joins river Godavari at Kandakurthi.

Early historic sites in the Manjeera Valley

Kondapur of Sangareddy district is the most significant excavated site of the Satavahana period in the Manjeera River Valley. Department of Archaeology and Museums of the earlier state of Andhra Pradesh conducted some minor excavations at Kandi, Rekulapadu, Bousareddipalli, Kallepalli, Mantoor, Kohir, Indoor and Nirzappala. In all these sites, apart from other archaeological artefacts, Brāhmī label inscriptions were found on pots (Kondapur) and coins (Kondapur, Nirzappala). But for this, though Kondapur is a prominent site, no remarkable Brāhmī inscription was found in either excavations or explorations nearby. Thus, exploring Satavahanas' history in this region remained incomplete.

To get answers to the above questions, we started our fieldwork in the villages, mainly on the banks of the Manjeera River in the Medak and Kamareddy districts. Our field work was started in mid-2019, and by October 2022, i.e., in about four years, six Brāhmī label inscriptions were found in Manjeera Valley.

1. *Mādhavachhamda*

(On a rock boulder on the outskirts of the village on a hillock opposite the Chennakesava Temple Malthummeda, Kamareddy district)

These five letters of Prakrit in Brāhmi script found on the side of a rock in the Manjeera valley, date back to the 2nd century BCE. It seems to be the name of a person.

2. Three Brāhmi label inscriptions at the Buddhist rock shelter:

(On a rock shelter on the banks of Manjeera at Nagsanpalli village in Medak district)

This is located on one of the streams of Manjeera, which splits into seven streams here called Edupayala (seven streams). These label inscriptions are dated between 1st century BCE and 1st century CE. These inscriptions on the boulders read as ‘*Ō Namo Buddhāya*’, ‘*Damma*’ and ‘*Ō Jama*’, thus making it a Buddhist rock shelter. Though two among them belong to the Satavahana period, interestingly, one inscription, ‘*Damma*’, is typical Mauryan Brāhmi as we could see the same style of letters on the Asokan Pillar edict of Topra.

3. *Dēvānām* on Terracotta

(Kulcharam deserted village, Medak district)

Searching for the early historic habitation that could have supported the shelter mentioned above took us to a deserted village in between two streams of Manjeera, where a big surprise was waiting. Here, in the surface exploration, a terracotta object that looked like a slab piece was found on which ‘*Dēvānām*’ was inscribed in Ashokan Brāhmi style. This label inscription is unique in two ways. Firstly, the word ‘*Dēvānām*’ denotes the epithet of Ashoka. ‘*Dēvānāmpiya*’ is found only on the rock edicts to date, and finding it on terracotta makes this find exceptional. Secondly, the Ashokan Brahmi script makes this finding unique as this becomes the first clear evidence of the Mauryan period and especially Ashoka’s affiliation with Telangana.

4. *Himabuhi(di)yaon* a Stone Bowl

(Found on a hillock at Borlam, Kamareddy district)

A stone bowl inscribed in Prakrit language and Brāhmi script, which reads as *Himabuhi(di)ya*, is dated to the 1st century CE. This bowl seems to be the property of one *Himabuhi(di)ya*, who appears to be a Bhikkuni, as the word ‘Hima’ denotes. The surroundings of this hillock yielded some supportive pieces of evidence of the early historic period.

Conclusion:

First of all, finding six label inscriptions in surface explorations and not in any excavation is a clear indication that Manjeera valley can throw more and more evidence of Satavahana times and even pre-Satavahana period as the finding of terracotta objects of the Ashokan period reveals. Though a major Prakrit inscription in Brāhmi script is yet to be found, these six label inscriptions provide us with the words and letters of the common people, which can be concluded as ample proof for the spread of early historic life in Manjeera valley between 3rd century BCE and 1st century CE. It is noteworthy because, though no inscription issued by royals or the ruling class or of a religious institution was found, these simple label inscriptions record the history of the ordinary masses of early historic times. Last but not least, these label inscriptions dictate us to search for many more Brāhmi letters on the rocks, boulders and layers of the earth in the Manjeera Valley to rewrite the history of early historic Telangana more emphatically.

Acknowledgement:

Special thanks to the Epigraphical Society of India, Dr. Munirathnam Reddy, ASI, Dr. Surya Kumar, Mr. Y Bhanumurthy and Members of PRIHAH.



1. Brahmi Inscription at Malthummeda



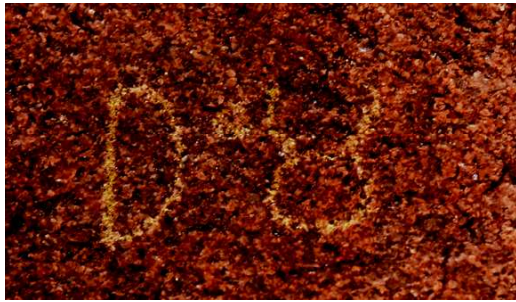
2. Brahmi Inscription at Malthummeda



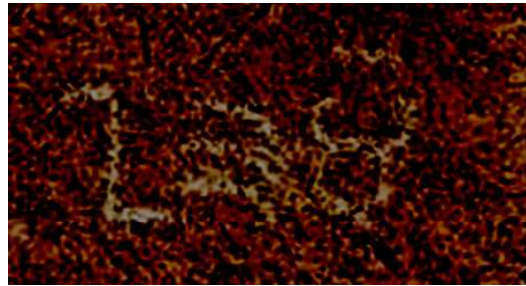
3. O Namo Buddhaya at Rock shelter Nagsanpalli 1



4. O Namo Buddhaya at Rock shelter Nagsanpalli 2



5. Damma at Rock shelter Nagsanpalli



6. O Jama at Rock shelter Nagsanpalli



8. Satavahana period Bowl from Borlam



9. Satavahana period Bowl from Borlam

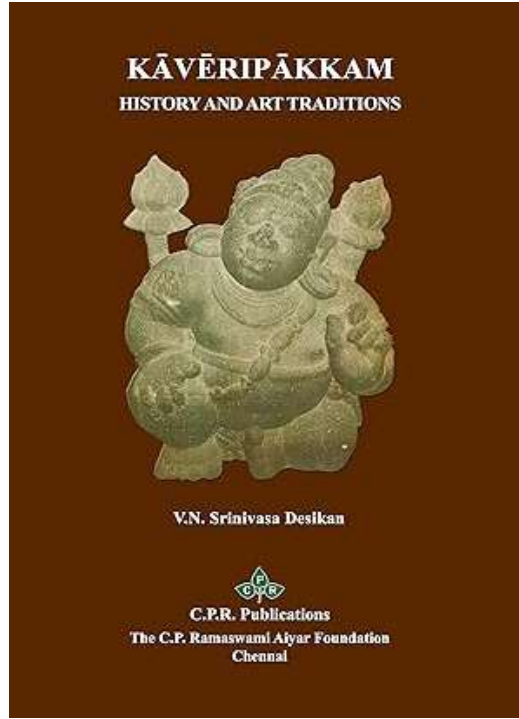


7. Terracotta inscribed with Devanagari

Book Review

Kāvēripākkam – History and Art Traditions by V. N. Srinivasa Desikan

S. Krishnamurthy



The book *Kāvēripākkam – History and Art Traditions* authored by Dr. V. N. Srinivasa Desikan, Retd. Assistant Director, Government Museum, Chennai and an esteemed member of the Epigraphical Society of India and the Place Names Society of India, published by C.P.R. Institute of Indological Research, Chennai, is a book par-excellence worth to be referred and treasured by not only the history enthusiasts, scholars, students, but the general public of the locality as well. A glance at this book reveals the importance of understanding regional micro level history. The book can be indeed called as a monograph discussing the history and culture of one of the important Brahmadēya villages created by the Pallavas in the 9th century CE and continued to flourish during the reign of the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara times.

The learned author through this book, made a tremendous effort in revealing the regional history, architecture and sculptural traditions that flourished in the ancient village of Kāvēripākkam (situated about 100 kms from the Tamil Nadu state capital Chennai on NH 48 and 30 kms from Kanchipuram) and the neighboring villages Tiruppārkkadal and Siṟukarumbūr, which according to inscriptional evidence are sub-urbs of Kāvēripākkam. By way of systematically analyzing the inscriptions found therein, could bring to light the regional administrative system of the past and the socio-cultural and economic life the region had witnessed through the ages. It is found that Kāvēripākkam is one of the few places where the mahāsabha, has functioned actively with all its various committees for over 1000 years from 8th – 16th century CE. From the inscriptions it is

known that a maṭha functioned in the village and it has been a center of learning. The author has very systematically made an architectural survey of 07 temples of Kāvērippākam, 04 temples of Tiruppārkkāḍal and 01 temple of Siṅkarumbūr in this work and also made an iconographical study of the sculptures found in the study area both in situ and those preserved in various museums. From the study of place names, the author has noticed that Kāvēripākkam, earlier known as Kāvidippākkam, is an old settlement of people dealing with accounts and revenues, associated with agricultural cum trading bodies. The book is appended with a chronological list of 66 inscriptions and sculptures found in the study area.

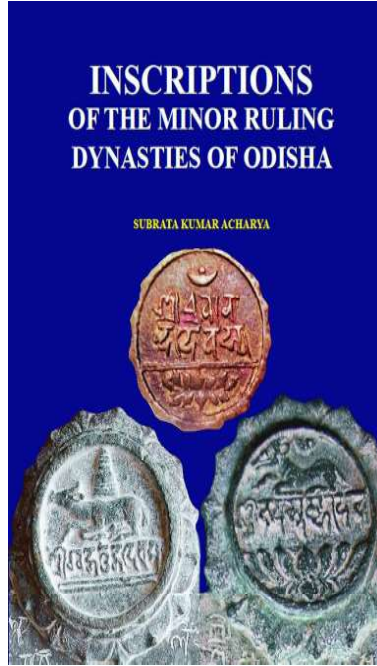
The well researched book can be taken as a model to undertake more such micro-level regional study of temples and inscriptions and thereby helpful in throwing welcome light on unravelling the importance of understanding regional history

Book Review

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MINOR RULING DYNASTIES OF ODISHA

Delhi 2022

Susmita Basu Majumdar



Inscriptions of the Minor Ruling Dynasties of Odisha by Professor Subrata Kumar Acharya published by Agal Kala Prakashan Delhi in 2022 is a welcome addition to rare series of books on hard core epigraphic studies. In this fast-declining phase of Indian Epigraphic studies wherein there are very few experts who can decipher, contextualize and cull out historical data and facts from this genre of sources is a welcome addition. This book not only deals with a rare group of inscriptions which are often neglected as they do not belong to any significant power groups of ruling elites as they belong to the so-called minor dynasties of the eastern coastal extremity of the Indian subcontinent but breathes-in fresh lease of life to Indian Epigraphic studies.

Such works belong to the same genre of volumes like the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* which was a compendium of all the inscriptions belonging to a single dynasty or a group of selected dynasties. Here the author has selected the region of Odisha and all the inscriptions of selected dynasties have been compiled which the author himself calls 'minor ruling dynasties' which ruled between c. 8th and 12th century CE. Here the author has selected the pattern followed by Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri for his volume *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Pāṇḍuvamśins and Somavamśins* and has provided texts and their abstracts rather than going for detailed translations and discussions. However, Mitra Shastri had divided his book into two volumes the first volume was introductory and the second had texts and abstracts Acharya here also follows the same but rather than dividing the book into two volumes it has been arranged in a single compact volume.

The introductory portion of the book deals with copper plate inscriptions of twenty dynasties that ruled in Odisha. It begins with a general introduction where the author introduces the readers to the concept of maṇḍala states and discusses their position in the early medieval political structure of Odisha and then moves forth to specific introduction of the twenty selected minor dynasties. These are the Śulkis, Tuṅgas, Nandas, Gaṅgas of Śvetaka maṇḍala, Amvāvāḍi-maṇḍala and Jhāḍkhaṇḍa maṇḍala, Nalodbhavas, Mayūras, Telugu Coḍas of South Kosala, Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Udayapura, of Parakula maṇḍala, Kolledā maṇḍala and Vāghra koṭṭa, Mātharas of Sidāṇḍa maṇḍala, Kāmbojas of Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala, Kadambas of Kaliṅga, Tailapas of Cikhalī-pāñcālī. Besides these are three records which are solitary records, two of individual rulers Jayasimha and Śāntikaradeva of two anonymous dynasties and the third one is a record of Vīrapraçaṇḍadeva of the Kulika vaṁśa. This portion is descriptive and is divided into twenty subdivisions where in each dynasty has been introduced in three to four pages at the most. This portion brings forth the physical description of the records adding notes on their language script, orthography, their seals etc. Besides this, in the descriptive mode the author adds notes on genealogy, chronology, their domain on which they enjoyed their power and other significant details like the process of regional state formation and its phases in 126 pages. The second segment of this book as has been already mentioned includes texts and abstracts.

This is not a mere compilation of previous works but there is one record which is a new addition, the Rayagada plates of Rāṇaka Dānārṇava, Year 15 and three more records that have been published by the author himself for the first time and they have been included in this volume. Besides this Acarhya who is a competent epigraphist adds his own alternate and corrected readings to several epigraphs as and when necessary, in the present volume. Though these are minor dynasties but Acharya has tried to evaluate their political and economic status vis-a-vis the so called major contemporary dynasties to assess the nuances of political powerplay and alliance formations.

There are four maps which have been prepared quite meticulously and add to the value of this wonderful work. The book has been produced very well by the Agam Kala Prakashan and the photographs of the plates are excellent. This is an excellent piece of work and more such publications in future are required to keep the art of epigraphy alive.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Abhidha Dhumatkar
HOD. History, Sathaye College,
Email: dr.abhidhadhumatkar@gmail.com
Ph: 9930858414</p> | <p>2. Anuradha K. Ranade
Principal (Retd.)
C- 540, Silver Residence, Lal Chowk Agra
Road, Kalyan West – 4231301 Maharashtra
Email: anuradharanade@rediffmail.com
Ph: 9820596112</p> |
| <p>3. Arpita Chatterjee
Associate Professor
Department of AIHC and Archaeology
Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
Email: arpitbhu25@gmail.com</p> | <p>4. Ashwaveer W. Gajbhiye
Research Scholar
Department of History
NH College, Brahmapuri,
Dist. Chandrapur, Maharashtra
Email: gfw.ashwaveer@gmail.com
Ph: 9096924808</p> |
| <p>5. Balamurugan, P.
Assistant Epigraphist
O/o The Director (Epigraphy)
A.S.I., Mysuru
Email: archybala@gmail.com
Ph: 9751722827</p> | <p>6. Deepak Suryawanshi
Guru Nanak College of Arts, Science &
Commerce, G.T.B.Nagar, Mumbai-37
Email: sadeepak@gmail.com</p> |
| <p>7. Jagdish Parshad
Assistant Director
Haryana Academy of History and Culture
Kurukshetra – 136118
Email: raojprasad@gmail.com
Ph: 9811701650</p> | <p>8. Jee Francis Therattil
PLRA F 43/1, Opp. KELTRON,
Panikker's F Lane,
Sasthamangalam, Trivandrum – 695 010.
E-mail: jeefrancis@gmail.com
Ph: 9526955900</p> |
| <p>9. Krishnendu Ray
Associate Professor
Department of Ancient Indian History
and Culture
University of Calcutta
Email: krishnenduray5@gmail.com</p> | <p>10. Malapaka Indira
Department of History,
Pondicherry University
Pondicherry – 605014.
Email: indirahydtpt@gmail.com</p> |
| <p>11. Manmohan Sharma
Formerly HOD History
Baba Mastnath Uni, Asthal Bohar,
Haryana
Email: manmohansharma2005@gmail.com</p> | <p>12. Narasimha Murthy, P. N.
Prof. of History and Principal (Retd.),
M. G. M. College, Udupi, Karnataka
Email: drpnnm@yahoo.co.in
Ph: 9980155890</p> |
| <p>13. Nihar Ranjan Patra
B.A. (Hons.) History, 2nd Year
B.J.B. (Autonomous) College
Bhubaneswar, Odisha – 751014
Email: patranihar2003@gmail.com</p> | <p>14. Niveditha Shalini Ch.
Public Research Institute for
History, Archaeology & Heritage, PRIHAH,
Telangana</p> |
| <p>15. Priyanka Singh
Assistant Professor
Department of AIHC and Archaeology
Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
Email: dr.priyankabhu@gmail.com</p> | <p>16. Rajendu, S.
Curator, Pathayappura, Panniyamkurussi
post, Cherpalchery – 679503
Palakkad dt., Kerala
Email: rahendu@gmail.com
Ph: 9961835168</p> |

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>17. Rekha V. Gore
History department
D.G. Ruparel College
Mumbai-400016
E-mail: dr.rekhagore@gmail.com
Ph: +91-7045287729</p> | <p>18. Sanjay Paikrao
Department of History & Ancient Indian
Culture, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
Marathwada University,
Aurangabad (Maharashtra)
E-mail: spaikrao265@gmail.com</p> |
| <p>19. Smita Halder
Independent Researcher
Kolkata
Email: halder.smit@gmail.com</p> | <p>20. Somesh Chandra Shrivastava
Retired Joint Director
Medical and Health Department
Government of Uttar Pradesh
Email: drsomesh.shrivastava@gmail.com
Ph: +91-9319038847, +91-7309971040</p> |
| <p>21. Srinivasan M A
Asst. Professor,
Potti Sri Ramulu Telugu University,
Hyderabad</p> | <p>22. Subrata Kumar Acharya
Professor (Retd.)
Dept. of History
Rawenshaw University
Cuttack</p> |
| <p>23. Suman Jain
Prof. and HOD
Department of AIHC and Archaeology
Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
Email: sumanaihc@gmail.com</p> | <p>24. Swapna H. Samel
Principal, SICES's Degree College,
Ambarnath, Maharashtra.
Email: dr.swapnasamel@gmail.com</p> |
| <p>25. Udaya Kumar P. L.
Project Director (Honorary)
The Bengaluru Inscriptions 3D Digital
Conservation Project
The Mythic Society, Bengaluru
Email: udaykumar.pl@gmail.com
Ph: 98452-04268</p> | <p>26. Yogini Aatreya
204, Cirrus A, Cosmos Paradise,
Opp. Devdaya Nagar, Pokhran Road No.1,
Thane (West), 400606.
Email: yogini.aatreya@gmail.com</p> |



THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA (REGD.)

C/o Archaeological Survey of India, Puratattva Bhawan, Sankranti Circle, Hebbal 2nd Stage, Mysuru – 570017

Website: <https://epigraphicalsociety.com> Email: epigraphicalsociety@gmail.com

GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The Epigraphical Society of India, annually publishes the proceedings of its Conference in its journal *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrika). It publishes recent studies and original research in the field of Epigraphy.

Title Page

The following information should be given on a separate page:

The title of the paper along with the names, affiliations, postal and e-mail addresses of all the authors.

Abstract and Keywords

Abstract is a summary of the content of the manuscript. Readers must know the most important points of your study which helps them to decide whether they want to read the rest of the paper.

Keywords are a tool to help indexers and search engines find relevant papers. If database search engines can find your journal manuscript, readers will be able to find it too. This will increase the number of people reading your manuscript, and likely lead to more citations.

Main Text

The manuscript must be in English language. The text should be typed in Times New Roman font (font size 12) and double-spaced not exceeding 10 pages (including both the sides) in A4 paper and it must be divided into sections and paragraphs. All headings and sub-headings should be marked in bold. Diacritical marks on all non-English words should be used and must be italicized. All references should be given at the end of the article (see the section under references). The footnotes, if used, should be numbered in Arabic numerals and be given at the end of the article. Acknowledgements, if any, is to be placed at the end of the paper before the references.

Method of transliteration**Vowels**

अ	a
आ	ā
इ	i
ई	ī
उ	u
ऊ	ū
ऋ	r̥
ए	e
	ē
ऐ	ai
ओ	o
	ō
औ	au
.	m̐
:	ḥ

Consonants

क	ka	च	cha	ट	ṭa	त	ta	प	pa
ख	kha	छ	chha	ठ	ṭha	थ	tha	फ	pha
ग	ga	ज	ja	ड	ḍa	द	da	ब	ba
घ	gha	झ	jha	ढ	ḍha	ध	dha	भ	bha
ङ	ṅa	ञ	ña	ण	ṇa	न	na	म	ma
य	ya	श	śa						
र	ra	ष	sha						
	ṛa	स	sa						
ल	la	ह	ha						
ळ	ḷa								
	ḷa								
व	va								

Illustrations - Tables, Figures and Plates

Each table should be cited in the text (Table - 1). The title and headings of the table should be included with each table and must be in bold.

Figures include line drawings, graphs and maps, must be cited in text as Fig. 1 (in bold) and include a caption. For example, Fig. 1: Map locating findspot of the inscriptions.

Plates include color or black and white photographs. Plate numbers must be cited in the text like (Pl. 1). The photographs must be in JPG format of high resolution and its soft copy should be attached separately along with the article. A separate file with details of all the plates included in the article has to be given as a list in Arabic numerals with caption. The format of writing caption is as follows: Varma, Kuṁbhāriya, Pl. 1: Inscription on the left wall of the devakulika in the Nēminātha temple.

References

The reference list should be prepared only with the references cited in the text. They should be complete and accurate in all details and typed after the text. All references should be arranged

alphabetically and chronologically by following the author date system of the Chicago Manual of Style. Abbreviations should not be used. When more than one publication of a single year by the same author are referred to, then these should be indicated by small alphabets (like a, b, c, d, etc. serially) added to the year, e.g., Verma, K. V. 1984a. Within the text, all references should be mentioned in parenthesis with only the surname of the author, the year of publication, and the page numbers, like (Verma 1998: 27-30). No comma or other initials should be given after surname. For two authors both surnames must be listed, eg. (Rao and Ramesh 1985: 8). In case of more than two authors, it should be as (Desai et.al. 1981) and in case of Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy it should be as (ARIEp., 2018-19: B 81). If the name of the author already occurs in the text, immediately before the citation, then only the year of publication and page number should be mentioned in parenthesis (e.g., K. V. Ramesh (1970: 80) states that . . .).

For Example:

Book:

Verma, T. P. 1998. The Development of Imperial Gupta Brāhmī script, New Delhi: Ramanand Vidya Bhawan.

Journal:

Subbarayalu, Y. 2017. “Tiruvindaḷūr Copper-plate Grant of 1053-56”. Studies in Indian Epigraphy XLII., pp. 43-55

Edited Volume:

Acharya, Subrata Kumar. 2020. Sarei Plate of Narēndrabhañja. In Heritage of Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Vol. II, ed. Pedarapu Chenna Reddy. Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation.

Unpublished thesis/dissertation:

Varma, Meka V. Raghavendra. 2011. A critical edition of Kāvyaadarpaṇa. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Pondicherry University.

Submission

Contributors are requested to send only soft copy of their manuscript (including figures, tables and plates) to the editor via email: epigraphicalsociety@gmail.com along with the declaration that this article/note has not been sent anywhere else for publication.



APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

**C/O Puratava Bhavan, Near Sankranti Circle,
Hobbal II Stage, Mysore-570017**

Email: epigraphicalsociety@gmail.com Mobile: 8892444428

To
The Secretary,
R.S.I., Mysore
Dear Sir,

I am desirous of becoming _____ Member of the R.S.I. and agree that, in the event of acceptance of my membership, to be governed by the Rules of the Society as provided for therein, as they stand or as they may be amended from time to time. I am furnishing my personal information as detailed below.

Name	
Father's Name	
Qualification	
Profession	
Special Interest Hobby	
Address for Correspondence with PIN code number	
Contact Numbers (Tel/Mob) Email id	
Subscription paid by M/D/DV Cash/Cheque (please add Rs.30/- Extra for outstation cheques)	
Proposed by**	
Seconded by**	

Place

Date

Signature

*Please state whether Individual Member/Life Member/Institutional Member

**The name should be proposed and seconded by a bonafide Fellow/Member of the Society as the case may be

<u>Subscription</u> Patrons	: Rs. 10,000/- and above		
Life Member Individual	: Rs. 4,000/-	Life Member Institutional	: Rs. 8,000/-
Student Member	: Rs. 2,000/-	Institutional (Annual)	: Rs. 800/-
Individual (Annual)	: Rs. 400/-		

Note Student Membership is for a period of five years, or the member starts earning, whichever is earlier

ACCEPTED/REJECTED

Secretary