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(Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā)

JOURNAL OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

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Volume XLIX



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**The Epigraphical Society of India
Mysuru**

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Editor

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Cover : The Bhōgavati inscription from Srisailam, Andhra Pradesh



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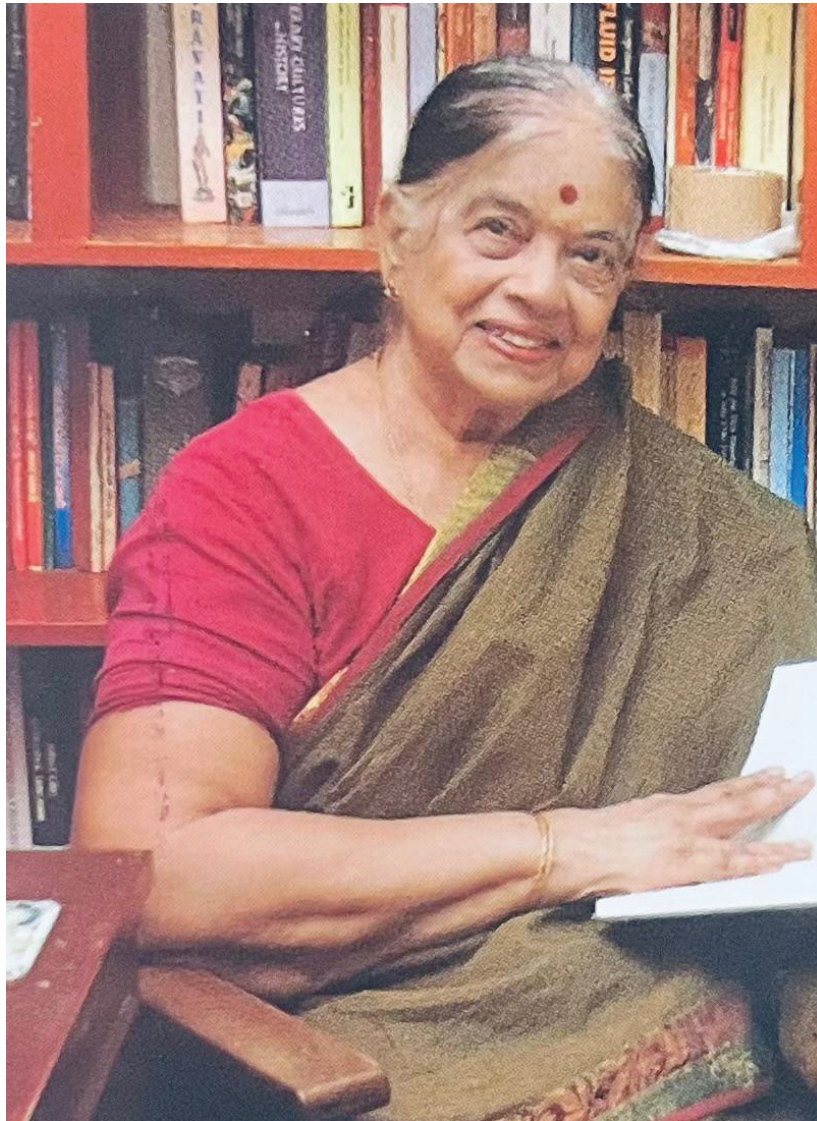
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On behalf of the Members, the Office Bearers and the Executive Committee Members, We offer our respectful tributes and pray the God Almighty to bless the departed souls with salvation.



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Dr. H. S. Gopala Rao



Dr. Keladi Gunda Jois

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Editorial	
1. Presidential Address: Epigraphic Records on Migrant Brāhmaṇas of Early Medieval Andhra and Karnataka <i>Subrata Kumar Acharya</i>	1-24
2. Epigraphic Evidences of Matrimonial Diplomacy During Guptas of Ancient India (321 – 467 CE) <i>Ramees Raja Beig and Gowar Zahid Dar</i>	25-28
3. India in the Achaemenian Inscriptions <i>Jee Francis Therattil</i>	29-34
4. The Four Chōḷa Inscriptions from Brihadēśvara temple at Thaṇjāvūr, Tamil Nadu <i>P. Balamurugan, Manikandan C and B. Charumathi</i>	35-39
5. Diffusion of Tamil Vaṭṭeḷuttu Scripts in Hill Region – Recent Findings <i>Kumaravel Ramasamy and Sudhakar Nalliyappan</i>	40-47
6. New Herostone inscription from Alavalli <i>Anil Kumar R.V. and R. Shejeshvar Nayak</i>	48-49
7. Earliest Telugu Lithic Record in Chandavaram <i>Bellamkonda Rameshchandra</i>	50-51
8. A History of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas: - An Epigraphic Study of Land Systems and Pattern of Brāhmaṇa Settlements from 6th – 9th centuries CE <i>Nihar Ranjan Patra</i>	52-61
9. A Hoard of Jaina Image Inscriptions from Śrī Pārśvanātha Digambar temple, Akōḍa, Madhya Pradesh <i>S. Krishnamurthy and Meka Venkata Raghavendra Varma</i>	62-69
10. Two Unpublished Inscriptions in Kaithi Script from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar <i>Pritam Kumar and Mukant Bishwas</i>	70-80
11. A Note on the Birth of the Gaṅgās of Tālakāḍ <i>P. N. Narasimha Murthy</i>	81-89
12. A Unique Mangala (Barber) Inscription from Andhra <i>D. Ramachandra Reddy and D. Venkateswara Reddy</i>	90-97
13. The Bhōgavati inscription – A study <i>Krishna Samsruthi V.</i>	98-99
14. Vākāṭaka linkages with Telangana: A preliminary investigation through epigraphical and archaeological sources. <i>M. A. Srinivasan and Niveditha Shalini</i>	100-104
15. The Makōṭaippalli at Anurādhapura <i>S. Rajendu</i>	105-111
16. Two Inscriptions of Chālukya of Kalyāṇa king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI <i>D. M. Nagaraju</i>	112-119

17.	Structure and Functioning of Ghaṭikasthānams in Early Medieval South India (600-1300 CE)	120-127
	<i>P. K. Sreekumar</i>	
18.	Early Brāhmī and Telugu Inscription from Gaṭṭusingaram in Peddapalli district, Telangana	128-130
	<i>B. Muralidhar Reddy, Sriramoju Haragopal and Ravinder Reddy</i>	
19.	Irrigation tanks sustained through ‘Dashabandha’ system described in the inscriptions.	131-134
	<i>S. Jaikishan</i>	
20.	Telugu Copper Plate Charters from Tamil Nadu: A Study	135-143
	<i>G. Vijaya Lakshmi</i>	
21.	Epi-Philately: A Way to Endorse Epigraphy Through Philately	144-149
	<i>Yogini Aatreya and Ajit Vartak</i>	
22.	Festivals and Epigraphs: Donors, Temples and Social Cohesion	150-156
	<i>Y. Shiva Shankar Kumar</i>	
23.	Two unpublished inscriptions from Bapatla district, Andhra Pradesh.	157-160
	<i>Yesubabu M.</i>	
24.	A Telugu Inscription of Matsyās of Oḍḍādi from Pātālēśvara temple in Jagannātha temple Complex, Pūri, Odisha.	161-164
	<i>D. Surya Kumar</i>	
25.	Siddēśvar temple Inscriptions from Chinchvāḍa, Pune	165-66
	<i>Aditya Kumar Singireddy</i>	
26.	Looking for the Material Background of Indian Drawings and Inscriptions from Socotra (circa 1st to 5th Centuries CE)	167-175
	<i>Krishnendu Ray</i>	
27.	Elephant Walk – A Rare Practise in Royal Land Donations in Medieval South India	176-179
	<i>S. Chandnibi</i>	180-183
28.	Yerṛajarla inscription of the Yādava Chakranārāyaṇa Sārangapāṇidēva	
	<i>D. Surya Kumar</i>	
29.	Memorial Stones of Stephen Babington: The Judge who sacrificed his life to save the people of Thane	184-186
	<i>Rupali Mokashi and Pankaj Samel</i>	
30.	Dr. K.V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture: A Tribute to Dr. K. V. Ramesh	187-191
	<i>B. Rajashekharappa</i>	
31.	Contribution of Sir Walter Elliot to Indian Epigraphy	192-207
	<i>Konda Srinivasulu</i>	
	List of contributors	
	General guidelines for authors	
	Membership form	

Editorial

It is really with a sense of pride and satisfaction that we are placing in the hands of our members the 49th 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 48th Annual Conference hosted by the Department of History, Andhra Kesari University, Ongole, Andhra Pradesh. That the Society has been able to bring out its journal for forty-nine years 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. M. Anji Reddy, Vice Chancellor, Prof. B. Hari Babu, Registrar, Andhra Kesari University, Prof. D. Venkateswara Reddy, Associate Professor & Dean, CDC, Andhra Kesari University, who shouldered the entire responsibility as the Local Secretary of the Conference and his colleagues. We express our special thanks to Prof. B. Rama Chandra Reddy, Associate Professor (Rtd.), Department of History, Kanchi Mamunivar Government Institute for Postgraduate Studies and Research, Puducherry and Prof. Konda Srinivasulu, Head (Retd.), Department of History, C.S.R. Sarma College, Ongole, for making it possible to hold the 48th Annual Conference at the Andhra Kesari University, without whose efforts the Conference would not have achieved a grand success.

The members of the Society deeply mourn the demise of Prof. R. Champakalakshmi, renowned Historian, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, Dr. H. S. Gopala Rao, an eminent Historian and Epigraphist and Dr. Gunda Jois a scholar in the history of the Keladi dynasty.

We are extremely thankful to Prof. Subrata Kumar Acharya, Former Professor and Head, Department of History, Ravenshaw University, Cuttack, Odisha for his excellent thought-provoking Presidential Address. Our thanks to Prof. B. Rajashekharappa, Professor of Kannada & Principal (Retd), Government First Grade College, Chitradurga, Karnataka, for his memorable address in Dr. K. V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture.

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, Sri C. Manikantan and Kum. Charumati 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
25th November 2024

P. N. Narasimha Murthy
Editor

S. Krishnamurthy
Asst. Editor

Presidential Address

Epigraphic Records on Migrant Brahmanas of Early Medieval Andhra and Karnataka

Subrata Kumar Acharya

Esteemed Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow delegates and ladies and gentlemen.

At the outset, I express my deep sense of gratitude to the members of the Executive Committee for electing me as the General President of the 48th session of the Epigraphical Society of India. Indeed, I deem it a great honour bestowed upon me and accept the honour with all humility. I regard it more as a recognition to whatever little I have contributed in the field of epigraphy. Today, the session is being held in this historic city of Ongole which has a hoary antiquity and which was the heartland of ancient Karma-rāṣṭra. With definite inscriptional evidences of the place being controlled by the Sātavahānas, later many important dynasties began to expand their sphere of influence over this region. Of them mention may be made of the Viṣṇukunḍins, the Pallavas, the Eastern Cālukyas, the Coḷas, the Kākatīyas and many subsequent ruling dynasties.

When the invitation came to me to prepare the Presidential Address for the session my immediate choice was to look for some topics relating to the history and culture of undivided Andhra. After a week's time I decided to explore the possibility of preparing the migration pattern of the brahmanas in Andhra; and as the work progressed, I thought it wise to extend the premise to Karnataka as well. In the last session I had delivered Dr. K.V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture on the topic, "Epigraphic Records on Migrant Brāhmaṇas of North India to Early Medieval Odisha" and had in mind to study the pattern for the Deccan region in future. I now exploit the opportunity to present before you my address on the topic "*Migrant Brahmanas of Early Medieval Andhra and Karnataka*" for a learned audience mostly representing the three states. Incidentally, my first reference point in the discussion proceeds from an inscription from Ongole, quite befitting to the venue of this session. While working on the social history of the Deccan, I am fully aware of my limitations and expertise; and, therefore, do not make any tall claim for my scholarship. I am open to your suggestions and comments for improvisation of the contents and arguments inherent in this Address.

I

The first movement of the brāhmaṇas towards the south of the Vindhya seems to have been caused by a split in the faith among the Vedic seers. The succeeding settlements were made afterwards by ascetics and lay-brothers. It was the combination of the two sets of circumstances

that led to the slow Aryanisation of the south long before the rise of Buddhism, or the southward march of Jainism. Later on, after some advance was made in civilisation, emigration from other motives began to take place; until at least about the 1st century C.E., we find that it was the South that became the seat of revived brahmanism. Nothing definite can be said about the process of Aryanisation in Andhra and Karnataka, but the above narrative by and large is commonly held by scholars. Some of the rulers of early dynasties of Andhra were considered as brāhmaṇas. The Śātavāhanas described themselves as *ekabrāhmaṇa* meaning ‘unparalleled brāhmaṇas’. The subsequent ruling families like the Sālaṅkāyanas, Bṛhatphalāyanas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins who ruled over parts of the Andhra country too were considered as brāhmaṇas and possibly hailed from the north. The origin myth of the Kādambas of Banavāsi indicates that the royal family belonged to the brāhmaṇa *varṇa* and Mayūravarmaṇ, the founder of the kingdom, was originally addressed as Mayūraśarmaṇ. However, in the early medieval period the incidence of migration of brāhmaṇas to the Deccan region is more copious; and it is not always that the movement was made from the north to the south. There are cases where the reverse trend was apparently noticeable.

II

The Omgudu copper plate grant of Pallava Simhavarman of the fifth century CE furnish one of the earliest evidences recording the movement of the brāhmaṇas from Guntur to the Ongole-Nellore area in ancient Karma-rāṣṭra. The village of Omgudu now in Ongole taluk of Prakasham district was the subject of the grant given to Devaśarmaṇ of the Kāśyapa *gotra* and Chāndoga-sūtra. He hailed from Kuṇṭūra identified with modern Guntur.¹ Omgudu was very much in Karma-rāṣṭra identified with modern Nellore-Guntur area. A majority of the brāhmaṇas moved to this region under the Pallavas from Krishna-Godavari valley. Karma-rāṣṭra is known to us in the later epigraphs as Kamma-nāṇḍu. But attention may be drawn to the fact that it was still earlier known as Kaṁmāka-raṭha in the Jagayyapeta Prākṛit inscriptions of the Ikhāku king Sirivira Purisadata.² As will be shown below, the Prakrit Kaṁmāka-raṭha has been rendered in Sanskrit as Karmāṅka-rāṣṭra in an inscription of Pallava Kumāraviṣṇu III.

The Chura plates of Vijaya-Viṣṇugopavarman (identified with Viṣṇugopa III of the 5th century CE) record the grant of one hundred and eight *nivartanas* of land together with a house site (*gr̥ha-sthāna*) and a garden (*vāṭikā-sthāna*) in the village of Cūra in Kamma-rāṣṭra to Cesamaśarmaṇ, son of Vṛddhaśarmaṇ and grandson of Viṣṇuśarmaṇ belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and well-versed in the four Vedas.³ The gift land is said to have been bounded by the villages like Lakumbaṛu, Bākukūru, Melitāpam, and Nāgoḷāmi which have been identified

1 H. Krishna Sastri, “Two Pallava Copper-plate Grants”, *Epigraphia Indica* (hereafter EI), vol. XV, 1919-20, pp. 252-55.

2 G. Buhler, *Indian Antiquary* (hereafter IA), vol. XI, 1882, p. 258, text line 2.

3 C.R. Krishnamacharlu, “Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Visnugopavarman”, EI, vol. XXIV, 1937-38, pp. 137-43.

by T.V. Mahalingam respectively with Lagumbaru, Paguhuru, Pavaluru and Nagalla all in the Bapatala taluk of the Bapatala district.¹ The brāhmaṇa grantee was a resident of Kunduru, identified with modern Guntur.

The Chendalur plates of the Pallava king Kumāraviṣṇu (III) similarly refers to a brāhmaṇa donee named Bhavaskandatrāta of Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and Chāndoga *sūtra* and a resident of Adhirūpapullūr, who received a grant of 432 *paṭṭikā* of land in Cendalūra in Kavacakāra-bhoga a territorial division of Karmāṅka-rāṣṭra.² The inscription was issued from Kāñcipuram, the capital of the Pallavas. Cendalūr still retains its old name and is now situated in Ongole taluk of the Prakasham district. Karmāṅka-rāṣṭra is the same Kamma-rāṣṭra. The place of residence of the brāhmaṇa has not been identified. In the 7th-8th century CE, the same village was again granted to six Chāndoga brāhmaṇas of whom five belonged to the Kauṇḍinya and one to Kāḷabava *gotra*.³ Curiously enough their personal names have not been furnished but their native villages have been mentioned. The six brahmins seems to have hailed from six different locations viz., Kaṭūra, Vaṅgra, Kolḷipuro, Pidena, Kuriyida and Kodiṅkī. None of these places have been identified as yet. However, the above Pallava inscriptions explicitly point to the liberal patronage of the rulers towards the Chāndoga brāhmaṇas in the 5th-7th century phase, but as will be shown below, there was a shift in preference for the Taittirīya brāhmaṇas in the subsequent centuries.

Another brāhmaṇa named Kumāramaṇḍaśarman, son of Kumāraśarman and grandson of Kulaśarman of the Rathitara *gotra* and was a student of the Āpastamba *sūtra*, received the village of Reyuru situated in Mel-Muṇḍa-rāṣṭra from the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman.⁴ He was a resident of Kuravaśrī which has been identified with modern Krosuru in the Sattenapalle taluk of the Guntur district. Kuravaśrī was an important brahmanical centre is also known from the later Pallava and Cālukya records. Desai who edited the plates is of the opinion that there is a village of Royuru in Atmakur taluk of the Nellore district which might be identified with the grant village and that Mel-Muṇḍa-rāṣṭra formed a part of Karma-rāṣṭra and it comprised of the major part of Kovuru taluk and the adjoining areas to the north and south of the Nellore district.⁵ It may be noted here that Narasiṃhavarman issued this charter in his twelfth regnal year (c. 702-03 CE) from Kāñcipuram. It has been often argued that the social position of the brāhmaṇas guaranteed the safety from attacks of the neighbouring kings and their presence in the border regions, to a certain extent safeguarded the frontiers of the kingdom. The creation

1 Inscriptions of the Pallavas, Delhi, 1988, p. 85.

2 E. Hultzsch, "Chendalur Plates of Kumaravishnu II", EI, vol. VIII, 1905-06, pp. 233-36.

3 Ibid., pp. 236-41. The charter belonged to the Sarvalokāśraya, son of Viṣṇuvarddhana II, and it was issued in the year 673 CE.

4 P.B. Desai, "Royuru Grant of Pallava Narasiṃhavarman; Year 12", EI, vol. XXIX, 1951-52, pp. 89-97.

5 Ibid., p. 94.

of *brahmadeya* villages in the newly acquired territories or in the buffer zones can be viewed as an exploitation of the socio-religious status of the brāhmaṇas for diplomatic purposes on the part of the kings.

We have three more copper pate grants of the Pallavas which not only record collective land grants in north Tamilnadu but also mention about the places of their migration from the lower Krishna-Godavari deltaic region. All the three plates such as the Pullur¹, the Tandantottam² and the Pattattalmangalam³ were issued by Vijayanandivarman (c. 731-92 CE) in his reginal year 33 (764-65 CE), 58 (789 CE) and 61 (792 CE) and they record land grants to 108, 308 and 16 brāhmaṇas respectively. The names of the individual brāhmaṇas and the details about their *gotra*, native places, etc., have been mentioned in the charters. The Pullur grant makes us believe that the king registered the grant of the village of Nayadhiramaṅgalaṁ (named after the king's surname) which was newly created by clubbing together four villages namely, Nelli, Pullūr, Kuḍiyūr and Takkāru as a *brahmadeya*. Pullūr, one of the four gift villages, is identified with modern Pullur in the Polur taluk of the North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu and it is the same place wherefrom the plates were discovered. The other three villages are all nearby; and the river Cheyāru which is mentioned while specifying the boundaries of the gift land still flows in the North Arcot district. The Taṇḍantottam plates record a collective land grant of a village called Deyamukhamaṅgalaṁ (named after the king's surname) to the west of Taṇḍantottam in the Naraīyūr-nāḍu a sub-division of Coḷa-nāḍu. The brāhmaṇas were residents of Tandanttotam in Kumbakonam taluk of Tanjavur district on the southern bank of the Kaveri but hailed from different places. The third charter further registers a plot of land in Taḷikkorraṅguḍi village situated in Ārvala-kūrram in Coḷa-nāḍu and named it as Pattattāḷmaṅgalaṁ to several brāhmaṇas. Subrahmanyam Aiyer who edited the plates is of the opinion that since the villages in Ārvala-kūrram are mostly found in the Nagapatam taluk of the Tanjore district, Pattattāḷmaṅgalaṁ should be looked for in that taluk. Thus, the three charters mentioned above record land grants in Tanjore and North Arcot districts of Tamil Nadu.

The original places wherefrom the brāhmaṇas migrated to north Tamil Nadu have also been mentioned and the place names which recur are Kuṇṭuru/Kuṇḍuru, Kuravaśiri, Vaṅgiparū, Veṅgi, Uruppuṭṭūru, Kārambiccheḍu, Kombaru, Kāvaṇūru, Udumbūru, etc., which are identified by the learned editors with places situated in the Krishna, Guntur, East and West Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. Particularly, the Tandantottam plates furnishes some of the personal names of the donees along with their native villages which are situated in the Andhra country. It is not improbable that the migration could have taken place when the Pallavas shifted the scene of their activities from south Andhra to north Tamil Nadu.

1 T.V. Mahalingam, "The Pullur Plates of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla-Year 33", EI, vol. XXXVI, 1965, pp. 144-62.

2 T.V. Mahalingam, op. cit., 1988, pp. 289-313.

3 K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, "Pattattalmangalam Grant of Nandivarman", EI, vol. XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 115-24.

While the pattern of migration is apparently from the lower Krishna-Godavri valley to the North Tamil Nadu, at least one beneficiary in the Tandanttottam plates (serial number 51) seems to have been an immigrant from Daśapura, i.e., Mandasore in Madhya Pradesh. One interesting point of all the three plates is the introduction to these immigrant brāhmaṇas by the collective term *nalgur-narpappar* which has been interpreted by H. Krishan Sastri¹ as ‘good and poor’ brāhmaṇas. Interestingly most of these brāhmaṇas were students of the Āpastamba, Hiranyakeśin, Pravacana, Vāseṇi, Āvattamba *sūtras* of the Taittirīya branch of the Yajurveda.

Under the Pallavas, the movement of brāhmaṇas in the 6th-7th centuries was from the Guntur region to the Prakasham and Nellore districts and as has been noted above, all these places included in the ancient Karma-rāṣṭra. The lower Krishna valley was a bone of contention initially between the Pallavas and the Visnukundins and later between Pallavas and Eastern Cālukyas; and it is probably for this reason there was a southward movement of the brāhmaṇs to seek royal favour. However, in the 8th century, large scale exodus from the lower Krishna-Godavari valley took place and most of them preferred to move to north Tamil Nadu. But from the Vedic affiliation of the brāhmaṇas it appears that Vijayanandivarman preferred to populate the Taittirīya brāhmaṇas in his kingdom and invited them from Karma-rāṣṭra. The Pallava kings made collective land grants to the brāhmaṇas whom they invited from the Guntur-Nellore area and encouraged them to settle in selected places in the Tamil part of their kingdom. In the absence of any direct evidence of the preference of the ruler for the brāhmaṇas of this school, it is legitimate to infer that the preference was chiefly on grounds of some ritual necessity than anything else. Alternatively, this creation of brahmanical colonies in the outskirts of the kingdom was one of the processes for the spread of the Vedic learning and culture in the Tamil country during the period and acculturation of the area.

A good number of copper plate grants of the Eastern Cālukyas of the 7th -9th century CE give us an impression that the movement of the brāhmaṇas was made for very short distances. To cite a few examples, during the reign of Jayasimha II of the 7th century CE, Droṇaśarman moved from Vaṅgaparu (modern Vangipuram in Baptala taluk) to receive a land grant in the village of Penukaparu in Karma-rāṣṭra.² The gift village has not been identified but Karma-rāṣṭra roughly comprised of the Guntur-Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh. Another brāhmaṇa named Golaśarman belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and a student of the Āpastamba *sūtra* was a resident of Paranthūru identified with Parachuru in Baptala taluk received a village in Palli-nāṇḍu-viśaya or modern Palnad during the reign of Cālukya Vijayāditya I.³ The Tenali plates of Vijayāditya I record a land grant of the village called Śaṅcaramburu in Viḷānāṇḍu-viśaya to Devaśarman who was a resident of Kārāñceru (Karanchedu, Baptala taluk). He was

1 South Indian Inscriptions (hereafter SII), vol. II, 1891, p. 521.

2 E. Hultzsch, “Penukaparu Grant of Jayasimha II”, EI, vol. XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 313-16.

3 G.S. Gai, “Two Grants of Eastern Chalukya Vijayaditya I”, EI, vol. XXXVI, pp. 300-02; “The Alluvalu Grant of Vijayaditya I”, Epigraphia Andhrica (hereafter EA), vol. III, 1974, pp. 1-4.

a student of the Āpastamba *sūtra* and belonged to the Hārīta *gotra*. G.S. Gai, the editor of the plates, has identified the gift village with the locality near Tenali and Rapella in Guntur district. The Velambaru plates of Ammarāja Viṣṇuvarddhana similarly furnish the evidence of the movement of a beneficiary from Vemuru in Tenali taluk to Velambaru in Velanatipalli-*viṣaya* (Palli-*viṣaya* of Velanāḍu) corresponding to Tenali and Rapella taluks of Bapatla and parts of Guntur district. In all these cases, the movement was for very short distances within Krishna, Guntur, Bapatla, Narasaraopet districts of central Andhra Pradesh. The reason for the movement is not known but natural calamities like cyclones and flood situations might have been necessitated for the people to shift to other places. Besides, from the identification of the place names it is understood that the movements were from rural to rural set ups. We find hardly any example where the brāhmaṇas moving out of urban areas or political headquarters to rural locations or vice versa. In this connection attention may be drawn to two records of the time of Eastern Cālukya Viṣṇuvarddhana III which clearly state about the migration of brāhmaṇas from Vāṭāpi (modern Badami in Karnataka), the capital of the Western Cālukyas, to Veṅgi kingdom.¹

It is not out of place to record that an inscription of Śrīkaṇṭha Śrīmanohara, a member of Coḷa lineage, known as the Renāṭi Coḷas, who ruled over the region comprising parts of the Cuddapah and Chittoor districts invited some brāhmaṇas from central Andhra. A brāhmaṇa named Krāñja Guṇḍaya moved from Vaṅgiparu to receive a *brahmadeya* village of Karuvūru in Mūgavāḍi.² The gift village is not yet identified but Peda-Chappalli, the findspot of the charter, is situated in Kamalapuram taluk of Cuddapah district. It seems that he moved from Vaṅgipuram in Bapatla to Cuddapah district. The donee seems to have re-distributed the village among some brāhmaṇas whose names and *gotra* affiliations have been mentioned in the royal charter. Compared to the other parts of Andhra, the Rayalaseema region comprising of the modern districts of Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor failed to attract the brāhmaṇas from well-settled *agrahāras* because of the large concentration of aboriginal tribes and of the inhospitable geographical set up of the tract.

A charter of the Western Cālukya king Pulakeśin II (610-42 CE) dated in 631 CE refers to the movement of a brāhmaṇa from Nellore to Guntur region. From the charter it is learnt that a field of eight hundred *nivartanas* of land in the village of Irbuli in the district of Karma-rāṣṭra was granted to Vedaśarman of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and the Āpastamba *sūtra*. He was a resident of Mūgamūr.³ The adjoining villages of the gift land mentioned in the charter include Koṇḍaverupuru and Virupuru and they have been identified with Kondavidu and Virparu respectively in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district by Hultzs. Mūgamūr, the place

1 Indian Archaeology Report, 1978-79, 1981, p. 76.

2 P.V. Parabrahman Sastry, "Peda-Chappalli Plates of Srikantha Srimanohara Chola", EA, vol. IV, 1975, pp. 13-19.

3 E. Hultzs, "Koppuram Plates of Pulakesin II", EI, vol. XVIII, 1925-26), pp. 257-61; S, V. Padigar, Inscriptions of the Calukyas of Badami, Bangalore, 2010, pp. 34-36.

of the residence of the beneficiary has been identified with Mungamur in the Kandakur taluk of Nellore district. Thus, it cannot be said as a migration of brāhmaṇa family, rather it was a case of shifting of the family from one place to another place within the same territorial division of Karma-rāṣṭra. The record was executed by one Pṛthivīduvarāja, introduced as a great warrior. He has been identified with Viṣṇuvarddhana or Kubja Vuṣṇuvarddhana (624-41 CE), the younger brother of Pulakeśin II and the founder of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty.

However, there are a few instances where the brāhmaṇas were moving from the south to north. The Lula plates of Viṣṇuvarddhana further make us believe that Sarvvaśarman, son of Maḍiśarman and grandson of Vaśiśarman, a resident of Karacheru (Karanchedu in Bapatala taluk), was endowed with a land grant in the village Lūlā in Guḍavāḍi-viṣaya. The donee was a *brahmacārin* of the Āpastamba *sūtra* of the Taittirīya *śākhā* belonging to the Ātreya *gotra*. M.D. Sampath, who edited the plates, is of the opinion that Guḍavāḍi-viṣaya may be identified with the present Kakinada, Ramachandrapuram and Rajole taluks of the East Godavari district and Lūlā with modern Lolla in Ramachandrapuram taluk. From the Chimbuluru plates of Vijayāditya III we come to know that Veddayaśarman who was a native of Nadyala was gifted a land in the village of Chimbuluru in Gudrahāra-viṣaya. Nadyala has been identified with the place of same name in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. Although Chimbuluru is remained to be identified, Gudrahāra could be the same Gudavada in Krishna or Ramachandrapuram in East Godavari district. The grantee seems to have covered a distance from Kurnool in south-west Andhra to Krishna or East Godavari district in central Andhra.

In yet another example, we come across migration of a brāhmaṇa from Aihole in Karnataka to Eluru, the headquarters of Eluru district of Andhra Pradesh. The Eastern Cālukya king Sarvalokāśraya *alias* Vijayasiddhi (682-706 CE), son of Viṣṇuvarddhana and grandson of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, in his tenth regnal year granted two plots of cultivable fields each with twelve *khandis* in the village of Eluru in favour of a person named Śrīdharaśarman, son of Vennaśarman and grandson of Viṣṇuśarman of the Bharadvāja *gotra*.¹ The donee is stated to have been devoted to the performance of six-fold duties, a *brahmacārin* of the Taittirīya *śākhā*, and an immigrant from Ayyavolu, identified with Aihole in Bagalkot district of Karnataka. The date of the inscription is fixed in the year 692 CE. It is interesting to note here that the king registered this grant on the occasion of the *anna-prāśana* ceremony of his son Viṣṇuvarddhana.² It is very likely that the king had invited Śrīdharaśarman from Aihole for performing the *anna-prāśana* ceremony and donated the fields in Eluru as fees for officiating the ceremony. However, this is one of the earliest evidences which refer to the migration from Karnataka to Andhra.

1 B.V. Krishna Rao, "Eluru Grant of Sarvalokasraya, Dated 10th Year", Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society (hereafter JAHRS), vol. XII (1), July 1938, pp. 49-53.

2 Viṣṇuvarddhana has been identified with Viṣṇuvarddhana III who ruled the Eastern Cālukya kingdom of Veṅgi for thirty-six years from 719 to 755 CE.

In the post 9th century period, we come across a few brāhmaṇas who hailed from north and settled in central Andhra. The Eastern Cālukya king named Kali-Viṣṇuvarddhana (also known as Kali-Vittara) made an endowment of the tax-free land in Konderuvadi-visaya in favour of Paśupati-Bhagvatapada, a disciple of Amṛtasomācārya and a grand disciple of Bālasoma-Bhagavanta. The last-named pontiff was living in Gaṅgara-guhā and hailed from Ujjainī.¹ Kali-Viṣṇuvarddhana commenced his reign sometime in 852-53 CE. Balasoma probably migrated from Ujjainī in Malava (MP) and his grand disciple received a land grant in Koṇḍeruvāḍi district which is also known to us from many other charters of the Eastern Cālukyas as Koṇḍeruvāḍi or Kaṇḍravāḍi, Gaṇḍeruvāḍi, etc. According to Narasimhaswami, it was probably situated on the southern bank of the river Krishna comprising of the Repalle, Guntur and Sattenapalle taluks of the Guntur district.²

C.A. Padmanabha Sastry draws our attention to the Eastern Cālukya king Bhīma I who provided several gifts and house-sites near Ghantasala in Krishna district to the immigrants who hailed from Maharashtra.³ This also been referred to by N. Krishna Reddy.⁴ But we could not find the epigraphical reference to this. Hopefully, Sastry was referring to some unpublished record in his possession.

The Pithapuram plates of Vīra Coḍa (11th century CE) record the donation of a village named Vīracōḍacaturvedimaṅgalam by uniting three villages namely Mālaveli and Ponnattorra both in Prolunāṇḍu-viṣaya and Ālami in Uttaravarusa-viṣaya to 536 brāhmaṇas. From the personal names of a few donees such as Arulāra-daśapurīya-bhaṭṭa, Garuḍa-daśapurīya-bhaṭṭa, Kṛṣṇu-daśapurīya-bhaṭṭa and Rāma-daśapurīya-bhaṭṭa it may be inferred that these brāhmaṇas hailed from Daśapura (Mandasore, MP).⁵ These are some of the instances of associating the place names with the personal names of the individuals as was current then in south India. Krishna Sastri made an analysis of the personal names of the beneficiaries and has concluded that majority of names are of Tamil origin and mostly they came from Kanci, Cidambaram, Srirangam, Manimangalam, and so on in Tamil Nadu. Although Vīracōḍacaturvedimaṅgalam has not yet been identified, yet some of the neighbouring villages mentioned in the charter while specifying boundaries of the gift village, have been located near Pithapuram and Sarpavaram

1 H.K. Narasimhaswami, "Cheruvu-Madhavaram Plates of Kali-Visnuvarddhana", EI, vol. XXXVII, 1967, pp. 41-44. The gift land, it is said, was bought for gold from Droṇakurru-bhaṭṭa of the Kāśyapa gotra.

2 In the Bezwada plates of Bhīma I there is the reference to the movement of a brāhmaṇa from Ummarakaṇṭhibol to Kukkipāru in Uttara-Kaṇḍeruvāḍi-visaya (EI, vol. V, pp. 127—31). This visaya has been identified with the modern Vijayawada and Bandar taluks on the north bank of the river Krishna. For a detail discussion on the identification of Koṇḍeruvāḍi see EI, vol. XXXVII, p. 43.

3 C.A.P. Sastry, "Migrations with Reference to Andhra Country", Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India (hereafter JESI), vol. VIII, 1981, p. 49.

4 Ibid., vol. XIII, 1986, p. 45.

5 H. Krishna Sastri, "Pithapuram Plates of Vira-Choda", EI, vol. V, 1898-99, pp. 70-100.

by the editor. Thus, these grantees who settled in the Pithapuram area (in the Kakinada and East Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh) very likely migrated from their original homeland at Mandasore.

In some of the epigraphs of the 11th-12th centuries we come across the migration of Kashmir Pandits to Andhra. Mention may be made of the Panchalingala (Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh) inscription of Bhuvanaikamalla of Ś. 990/1068 CE which refers to the renewal of a gift made earlier by Vinaya-Satyāśraya to god Pañcaliṅgadeva. It appears to have comprised of the village Guḍigeri which was probably a hamlet of Kālpallī and formed a part of *sthala-vṛtti* of Pañcaliṅga on the south bank of the Krishna and the north bank of the Tuṅgabhadra. For the upkeep of the shrine and offerings to the deity a Kāśmira-panḍita (name not mentioned) was appointed by the king as *mahāsthānādhipati* (Superintendent) of the temple of Pañcaliṅga.¹ Guḍigeri, the village in which the gift included has been identified with Gudipadu in the Kurnool district. Thus, the brāhmaṇa whose original homeland was in Kashmir came to the Kurnool district some time before 1068 CE, the date of the record. We have another example of almost the same time from north Andhra where the Imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva ruled. The Mukhalingam plates of the king dated in Ś. 1030/1108 CE state that a village called Loḍalu in Gorusavāha-viṣaya of Kaliṅga was granted to Nāgabhaṭṭa and his four sons; and it has been mentioned that Nāgabhaṭṭa's father Utpala hailed from Kāśmiradeśa.² The gift village Loḍalu has not been identified but Gorusavāha is identified with modern village of Gurandi in Gajapati district of Odisha. The Kalahasti temple inscription further makes us believe that in the year 1155 CE and during the ninth regnal year of the Coḷa king Rājarāja II one Āryan Padumanan *alias* Kaṭṭiman who was a native of Kāśmirapura made a gift of ninety-six sheep for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the Śiva temple.³ Kāśmirapura has been identified with Kashmir and the brahmin seems to have been hailed from Kashmir and settled in Kalahasti in the Tirupati district of Andhra Pradesh. It is interesting to note here that these records address the Kashmir pandits as Āryans.

During the reign of Śambhu Coḍa (12th century CE), *Purohita* Ruciyakaśarman who was a *caturvedin* belonging to the Hārita *gotra* and the Āpastamba *sūtra* hailed from Ahichatra

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- 1 B.R. Gopal, "Panchalingala Inscription of Bhuvanaikamalla; Saka 990", EI, vol. XXXVI, 1965, pp. 139-42.
 - 2 N. Mukunda Rao, "Mukhalingam Plates of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga", EA, vol. IV, 1975, pp. 33-45.
 - 3 Annual Report Indian Epigraphy (hereafter ARIE), No. 146 of 1922. The same brahmin is also mentioned in two other records of north Tamil Nadu such as the Tiruppaleśvara (Tiruppalaivanam in Ponneri taluk of Chengleput district) temple and the Adipuriśvara (Tiruvorriyur near Chennai) temple inscriptions of the 14th and 17th regnal years of king Rājarāja II dated in 1160 and 1163 respectively. (vide ARIE, No. 345 of 1928-29 and No. 369 of 1911). In both these records the brāhmaṇa named Āryan Paduman *alias* Kattiman is said to have donated some buffaloes to the temple for maintaining the provision of burning perpetual lamps in the said temples.

and settled in Andhra. He was a teacher of the commentary on the three Vedas and of the Yajurveda and had performed different kinds of sacrifices. The Pachala-Tadiparu (Baptala taluk, Baptala district) grant of Śambhu Coḍa avers that the king had performed a sacrifice for begetting the children (*putr-ārthi-yajñam*) in front of the god Saṁmukha of Tāmrapura and in front of the god Agastīśvara of Kammeru and obtained two sons who were accordingly named Agastīśvara-coḍa and Saṁmukha-coḍa.¹ In the 50th year of his reign, he arranged for anointing both his sons as heir-apparent. In the same year on this occasion, he granted a village called Kumbhaḍūru on the Tuṅgabhadrā by dividing it into four parts. Two parts were given to the said two deities, the third part to Ruciyakaśarman, and the fourth part to the priests and servants of the temples. The gift village Kumbhaḍūru remains to be identified but as per the evidence of the record it should be searched on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā. Thus, the person travelled a long distance from Ahichatra or modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh to south-west Andhra. Ruciyakaśarman was apparently a ritual expert (*purohita*) who performed different kinds of sacrifices (*sarva-kratu-yājīn*) as well as the preceptor of the king. It can be inferred that the king had specifically invited him from Ahichatra to conduct the *putr-ārthi-yajñam* in front of the two deities mentioned above.²

From the Malkhapuram (Guntur district) stone pillar inscription of Rudramā, daughter of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati of Ś. 1183/1261 CE, it is known that Viśveśvara Śambhu, an influential member of the royal court, was an immigrant from Pūrvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha and the chief teacher in Goḷakī-maṭha in Dāhala-maṇḍala, the region between the Narmada and the Bhagirathi. Viśveśvara amalgamated two villages and named it Viśveśvara Goḷakī founded a temple called Viśveśvaradeva, a monastery, a college and a charity for distribution of food, a maternity home and a hospital there and settled sixty Drāviḍa brāhmaṇas and granted 120 *puṭṭis* of land for their maintenance. Some brāhmaṇas of Śrīvatsa *gotra* and the Sāmaveda who were natives of Pūrvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha of Gauḍa were appointed to supervise the accounts of the village and to maintain them in writing. The two gift villages namely Mandāramu and Velaṅgapuṇḍi are stated to have been situated in Kaṇḍaravāṭi-Velanāḍu, on the bank of the river Krishna. The villages have been identified with Mandadam and Velgapudi in Guntur district respectively by J. Ramaya Pantula who first edited the inscription.³ Thus, Viśveśvara Śambhu, the Śaiva pontiff, at first moved out of south Rāḍha corresponding to Bankura, Burdwan districts of West Bengal to Goḷakī *matha* in Dāhala *maṇḍala* comprising of the territories around Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. From there he seems to have migrated to the Kākatīya kingdom and lived in the modern Guntur district to the south of the river Krishna. He was also instrumental in inviting and populating Drāviḍa and Rāḍhiya brāhmaṇas to the newly created brahmanical settlement.

- 1 P.R. Srinivasan, "A Grant of Sambhu-Choda Year 50", EI, vol. XXXIX, 1972, pp. 205-10. Śambhu-Coḍa is stated to have been ruling the territory between Nellūru and Kaliṅga, residing at the town of Nelluha (Nellore).
- 2 According to Srinivasan, *putr-ārthi-yajñam* is probably the same as *putra-kāmeṣṭi-yajña* performed by king Daśaratha of the Rāmāyaṇa.
- 3 JAHRS, vol. IV, 1930, pp. 147-62.

Vinītaṛṣi, the spiritual preceptor of the Eastern Gaṅga king Devendravarman, hailed from Śrīparvata, i.e., Srisailam in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. At his request the king had donated a village named Sidhatā in Varāhavarttanī-ṣaya (Srikakulam district, AP) to one Kāteya who was a *ṛtvika* performing *pañcavratas*; and was a resident of Pālukā.¹ Pālukā has not been identified but it could be Palukuru in Banaganapalli mandal of the same district. It is very likely that Kāteya came from Kurnool district to Gajapati district in south Odisha. The inscription is not dated but Devendravarman was ruling over the Kalinga in the early decades of the 9th century CE.

Daṇḍimahādevī, the Bhaumakara queen, in the year Bhauma era 180/916 CE gifted away the village of Villagrāma in Pūrva-khaṇḍa of Varadā-khaṇḍa-ṣaya situated in Koṅgoda-maṇḍala to a brāhmaṇa named Dhavala of Viśvāmitra *gotra* who is stated to have been migrated from Viṅgipāṭaka.² Villagrāma has been identified with Belagam in the Athagarh taluk of the Ganjam district of Odisha and Viṅgipāṭaka with Vengi or Peda-Vegi in Eluru district of Andhra. Thus, Dhavala had moved out of the Eastern Cālukyan capital of Veṅgi and settled in Ganjam district.

In the early decades of the 10th century CE, another brahmin named Dāmodarabhaṭṭa, son of Bhīmasitabhaṭṭa of the Bharadvāja *gotra* and Vājasaneya *śākhā* migrated from Veṅgi and received the village of Khairondhi in Pratiṣṭhāna from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III (914-25 CE) in Ś. 836/915 CE.³ Mirashi identified the gift village of Khairondhi with Kaigaon near Pavarisangama, thirty miles from Paithan (ancient Pratiṣṭhāna) in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. The reason for his migration to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom is not known. C.A. Padmanabha Sastry is of the opinion that it is possible that donee Dāmodarabhaṭṭa who hailed from Viṅgi-ṣaya might have gone along with king Indra III who defeated the Eastern Cālukya king Bhīma I (892-921 CE) and subjugated his kingdom.⁴

Rājāditya, son of Kumāramūrti, was a brahmin general who served under the Eastern Cālukya king Guṇaga Vijayāditya III (849-92 CE). He was an immigrant from Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam roughly comprising of the present south of Andhra Pradesh and north of Tamil Nadu. In recognition of his valuable service on the battle field, Guṇaga granted an *agrahāra* village called Kāṭlaparu to him.⁵ His father Kumāramūrti was the commander of king Kāḍuveṭṭi (probably a Coḷa chieftain).

1 S.K. Acharya, “Bangalore Plates of Devendravarman”, in C. Margabandhu, et. al., (eds.), Pura-Jagat: Indian Archaeology, History and Culture, Latest Researches in Honour of Late Jagat Pati Joshi, 2 vols., Delhi, 2012, pp. 211-14.

2 F. Kielhorn, EI, vol. VI, 1900-01, pp. 133-40.

3 V.V. Mirashi, “Jambagaon Plates of Indra III, Saka 836”, EI, vol. XXXVI, pp. 223-38.

4 C.A.P. Sastry, JESI, vol. VIII, 1981, p. 49.

5 B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, “Andhra Brahmin Through Ages upto 1325 AD”, Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal, vol. XXXVI, Tirupati, 1993, p. 155.

The Karimnagar pillar inscription of Kākatīya Rudra I (1158-95 CE) dated in Ś. 1092/1171 CE further reveal that Gaṅgādhara belonging to the Ātreya *gotra*, was serving under the king as minister (*amātya*) and hailed from Velliki in Veṅgi-deśa.¹ Gaṅgādhara was appointed as the governor of Sabbi-nāḍu which corresponded to modern Karimnagar and Warangal districts in Telengana. The village of Vellaka-agrahāra in Veṅgi-viṣaya is also mentioned in the Hanumakonda (Warangal taluk) inscription of Rudra I as the original homeland of Govindarāja, son of Nārāyaṇa and grandson of Kommarāja.²

From the 11th century CE we regularly come across the evidences of migration of brāhmaṇas from the Karma-rāṣṭra or Karma-nāḍu to parts of Karnataka. The Alur inscription of the time of Western Cālukya Vikramāditya V (1008-15 CE) dated in Ś. 933/1010 CE introduces one brāhmaṇa general named *Mahasenāpati Veṇṇeyabhaṭṭa*, son of Diṇḍa Paṇḍita, who was endowed with a rent-free land to the north of Ālūr immune from all conflicts.³ Veṇṇayabhaṭṭa on receipt of the gift land re-donated the same to his preceptor Amaracāryabhaṭṭa of the Guheya monastery in Sirivuru in the presence of all the *mahājanas* of the village. Veṇṇeyabhaṭṭa is lavishly praised in the inscription as a learned poet in two languages⁴ and a favourite with kings of poets (*ubhaya-kavīndra kavirāja-vallabham*) and a favourite of the goddess of learning (*Sarasvatī-vallabha*) and the one who belonged to the Kamma-kula. The gift village Ālūr has been identified with modern Alur in Dharward district and Sirivuur with Sirur only five kilometres to the north and north-east of Alur. Kamma-kula in the record has been taken to be the same as Karma-rāṣṭra or Karma-nāḍu which roughly corresponded with south coastal Andhra⁵ and the family of Veṇṇeyabhaṭṭa might have been moved out of Andhra and settled in the Dharward district of Karnataka.

Another brāhmaṇa general named Jannamayya is said to have served under Cālukya Someśvara II (1068-76 CE) and he belonged to the Kamma-kula. From the titles like *mahasandhivigrahika* and *mahāpracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka*, it is understood that he was a high-ranking officer in the royal court. He constructed a temple dedicated to Tripuruṣa and gifted the village of Kaḷḷamanapaḷḷi to the deity with the consent of the king.⁶ Kaḷḷamanapaḷḷi, the gift village, remains unidentified, but it can be searched in and around Nidagundi, the provenance of the inscription, situated in Ron taluk of the Dharwad district. The epigraph is dated in Ś.

- 1 S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, *Inscriptions of the Kakatiyas of Warangal*, Bangalore, 2011, 39-44. Gaṅgādhara joined the service under Prola II (1116-57 CE) and became the *amātya* under Rudra I. He donated the village Diṇḍomḍu as an agrahāra to several brāhmaṇas. He built several temples for different deities in places like Dimdomdu, Anamakonda, Samvartakeśvara, Kāleśvaram, Mantrakūṭapuram and Nagarūru.
- 2 Ibid., pp. 61-65.
- 3 L.D. Barnett, "Alur inscription of the Reign of Vikramaditya V: Saka 933", *EI*, vol. XVI, 1921-22, pp. 27-31.
- 4 This may be interpreted as Sanskrit and Kannada or Telugu and Kannada.
- 5 P.B. Desai, *Basavesvara and His Times*, Dharwad, 1968, Appendix III, Note I, pp. 375-77.
- 6 *SII*, vol. XV, 1964, No. 2 (B.K. No. 207 of 1926-27), pp. 2-3.

996/1074 CE and very much mutilated. The family of Jannamayya might have migrated from Karma-rāṣṭra to Dharwad region sometime before the date of the inscription.

There is a third inscription dated in 1096 CE which speaks of two brāhmaṇa military officers (*daṇḍādhipa*), named Sarvvadeva and Cāvuṇḍa, belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* and Kamma-kula served under Cālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 CE).¹ The inscription was discovered from Shikaripur taluk of Shimoga district. It is very likely that the brahmin family travelled the distance from south coastal Andhra to Shimoga in Karnataka.

All the three epigraphs cited above belonged to the 11th century CE and tell us the migration of brāhmaṇas from Karma-rāṣṭra to Karnataka. In the subsequent two centuries we have more examples of similar kind from the records discovered from Dharward, Cittradurg, Hassan, Chikmagalur and Mysore districts of Karnataka. It is needless to present all of them here. But the trend of this migration seems to begin much earlier. Because we have ample literary evidences to prove that Karma-rāṣṭra was the home of the ancestors of many illustrious literary figures of Kannada. According to P. B. Desai, “Passing on to literature, Attimabee, patron of the reputed Kannada poet Ranna (993 A.D.), hailed from Punganur in Kamme Nadu of Vengi Mandala or province. Attimabee’s father Mallapa of Kamme Nadu was a patron of the eminent Kannada poet Ponna (c. 950 A.D.). Vengi province was also the home of the ancestors of two illustrious literary figures in Kannada, viz., Adikavi Pampa (941 A.D.) and Nagavarma I (c. 900 A.D.), Vengipalu in this region being their native village.”²

Thus, in the undivided Andhra there is no direct evidence of migration of the brāhmaṇas from far of places in the north India at least up to the 7th century CE. Most of the cases cited here establish internal migrations chiefly from the south bank of the Krishna to southern part of Andhra or North Tamil Nadu. The trend was also from rural-to-rural set ups. But in the 8th-11th century CE phase there was a sharp decline in the cases of *brahmadeya* villages in central Andhra and a rise in migration of brāhmaṇas, particularly the Kamma-brāhmaṇas, out of Andhra. This can possibly be accounted for the patronage of the Eastern Cālukyas towards the Jains. During this phase, we come across many instances where they were moving out to Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Odisha. A few examples of the presence of Kashmir Pandits in the epigraphs apparently indicate that they were populated not in central Andhra but in extreme south (Kalahasti, Tirupati district) and north (Mukhalingam, Srikakulam district).

III

Traditions preserved among the brāhmaṇas of Karnataka have it that the early brahmanical settlements in the region were made by the brāhmaṇas brought from Ahichatra. But there is an explicit reference in the Vadagaon Madhvapur (Belgaum district) memorial pillar inscription to a brāhmaṇa named Somayaśa who was a *maula* or indigenous inhabitant of Saketa (Ayodhya in UP)

1 Epigraphia Carnatica (hereafter EC) vol. VII, Shikaripur Taluq, No. 114, pp. 83-84.

2 Desai, op. cit., 1968, p. 376. This has also been maintained by N. Venkataramanayya in his work The Eastern Chalukya of Vengi, Madras 1950, p. 293.

came to Karṇāṭa.¹ The inscription was engraved on a pillar in memory of Somayaśa and belonged to the c. 1st -2nd century CE. Somayaśa is extolled in this epigraph as a scholar of Kāṭha śākhā and of Kāśyapa gotra, who had conducted as many as eight Vedic sacrifices including the Vājapeya and other wish-fulfilling rites. The Kadamba rulers of Banavāsi were instrumental in inviting a large number of brāhmaṇas to their kingdom and giving them free hold villages. This was chiefly done from the time of king Mayūrarman of Kadamba family of about the middle of the 8th century CE. The brāhmaṇas seem to have aided the rulers in their conflict with other adversaries and earned the confidence of the ruling chiefs. This is one of the important factors which led the rulers to invite them from different locations, grant them free hold land and populate them in their kingdoms. However, compared to other regions, direct epigraphical references to the brahmanical immigration to Karnataka is not so numerous.

The Gaonri plates (A) of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV (930-36 CE) of Ś. 851/929-30 CE is one of the earliest to furnish the information that a section of brāhmaṇas settled in the region were introduced as Karṇāṭaka brāhmaṇas.² The record though obliterated fortunately contains the most important data relating to the purport of the grant. The village named Payalīpattana situated in the western boundary of Mānyakheta, the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, was donated with the object of establishment of a charitable feeding house (*sattra*) for the maintenance of 1000 brāhmaṇas hailed from different locations. The proceeds of the gift village were to be utilised for feeding the brahmins. The record informs that the king had performed the *tulā-puruṣa-mahādāna* and after completion of this sacrifice (*tulā-puruṣādān=uttaratā*, l. 9) ordered the establishment of a *sattra* for feeding daily 1000 brāhmaṇas belonging to different denominations (*sahasra-brāhmaṇa-bhojana pratidinam pravartanīya-nimittā*, l. 21). Of these at least 360 are said to be Karṇāṭaka brāhmaṇas of Mānyakheta, modern Malkhed in Kalaburagi (formerly Gulbarga) district of Karantaka, most of whom were proficient in the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda.

Another charter of the same king dated in Ś. 852/930 CE aver the migration of a brāhmaṇa named Nāgamārya, son of Mahādevāyya, from Lāṭadeśa to Mānyakheta. Nāgamārya was belonging to the Māṭhara gotra and a student of Vaji-Kāṇva śākhā.³ The king granted the village of Kevuṇja, lying near the holy place of Kāvīkā (*Kāvīkā-mahāsthāna-nikaṭataravarttī*, ll. 52-53) situated in the district of Khetaka in Lāṭadeśa. The donee was originally a resident of Kāvīkā but at the time of grant he was at Mānyakheta and was subsisting at the feet of Vallabhanarendradeva, i.e., Govinda IV. Kevuṇja and Kāvīkā have been identified with Kimaj and Kavi respectively in Jambusar sub-division of the Baruch district of Gujarat. Lāṭadeśa is the name of the ancient country that corresponded roughly to the central and southern Gujarat and the region included Khetaka-maṇḍala or modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedabad district. During the reign of Kṛṣṇa II (878-914 CE), the province was recovered from a collateral Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and remained within the empire of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed.

1 S. Sankaranarayanan, "Vadagaon-Madhavpur Memorial Pillar Inscription of Somayasas, [DAY] 10082", EI, vol. XXXIX, 1972, pp. 183-88.

2 K.N. Dikshit, "Three Copper-plate Inscriptions from Gaonri", EI, vol. XXIII, 1935-36, pp. 101-13.

3 D.R. Bhandarkar, "Cambay Plates of Govinda IV; Saka Samvat 852", EI, vol. VII, 1902-03, pp. 26-47.

The Gattavadi (Nanjangud taluk, Mysore district) plates of the Western Gaṅga king Nītimārga-Eregaṅga of Ś. 826/940 CE record the registration of a village called Śiva-ayyamaṅgala in favour of Śivāryya, son of Keśava and grandson of Śrīdhara, of Kauśika *gotra* and Viśvāmitra and Aghramarṣaṇa *pravaras* and who was a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā*. What is important in the context is that the inscription records in verses 15-18, that the village Tāṇagunūru in Vanavāsa-*viṣaya* was already populated by the brāhmaṇas who hailed from Ahichhatra, identified with modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh, and there lived a community of brāhmaṇas who were constantly engaged in the study of the Vedic lore, in the performance of the Vedic sacrifices, and in the study of the science of the *ātman*.¹ Although Tāṇagunūru has not yet been identified², yet Vanavāsa-*viṣaya*, which is the same as modern Banavasi in Sirsa taluk of Uttara Kannada district of Karnataka, is well known as the capital of the Kadambas; and very likely the brāhmaṇas settled there were invited by the Kadamba kings. This piece of information apparently corroborates the tradition maintained by Kannadiga brāhmaṇs. The donee of the charter belonged to this community of brāhmaṇas who originally hailed from Ahichatra. The identification of the gift land Śiva-ayyamaṅgala has not been made and there is very possibility that it was located near the findspot of the plates. If this assumption is conceded then the brahmiṇ beneficiary hailed from Banavasi to Mysuru region. The donee in his turn divided the gift land into 120 shares and gave away sixty shares to mostly brāhmaṇas and retained the remainder for his sons and grandsons.

Even in the subsequent period Ahichatra was one of the important places wherefrom the brāhmaṇas were brought into Karnataka from time to time. In this connection attention may be drawn to an inscription of the Mysore district dated in 1162 CE which explicitly declare that the *agrahāra* of Ahichatra in the north was an ornament of the world; and that the Gaṅga kings having gone there during victorious expeditions brought at least fifty chief brahmins for the increase of their own fortune.³ In yet another inscription of 1200 CE it has been stated that Mukkanna Kadamba, the lord of Banavāsa and many other countries, seeking for brāhmaṇas in the south (*dakṣiṇāpatha*) and not finding any proceeded without further delay to the north and having worshipped the Ahichatra *agrahāra* succeeded in obtaining thirty-two learned brāhmaṇas purified with 12000 *agnihotrins* and sending them to Karnataka.⁴ These brāhmaṇas were allowed initially to settle in outskirts of the city of Banavāsa and later moved to the great *agrahāra* at Sthāṇugunḍa, which the king had founded in the tract. The place was renowned for the god Praṇameśvara and

1 K.V. Ramesh, *Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas*, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 358-68; B.L. Rice, EC, vol. XII, Mysore, 1904, Supplement, Nanjangud (Nj.), No. 269.

2 There is village called Talgund in the Shikarpur taluk of the Shimoga district which seems to be the same as Sthānakundūra (Sanskrit) which figures in the early Kadamba inscriptions of about 501-50 CE (EC, vol. VII, Shimoga, Sk. No. 176); as Sthānakundūr in an inscription of 1028 CE (ibid., vol. VIII, Sk. No. 177); as Tāṇagundūr in inscriptions of 935, 1091 and 1107 CE (ibid., vol. VII, Sk. No. 194, 332, 178, 192); and as Tāṇagundūr in an inscription of 1048 CE (ibid., vol. VII, Sk. No. 120). For more details, see EI, vol. XII, 148-49.

3 B.L. Rice, *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part II, Mysore, 1898, pp. 96-97; EC, vol. IV, Hn. No. 137.

4 B.L. Rice, *Inscriptions in the Shimoga District*, Part I, Mysore, 1907, pp. 120-22; EC, vol. VII, Sk. No. 186.

where the image of Caturmukha (Brahmā) encircled by five *lingas* was set up and which was acclaimed as a *tīrtha*. Sthāṇugunḍa is the same as Tāṇagunḍur of other inscriptions; and may be identified with Talgund in the Shikarpur taluk of the Shimoga district.

There are sufficient instances to suggest that some brahmin families migrated from Bengal to Karnataka. The Kolagallu inscription of Ś. 889/967 CE mentions that a *brahmacāri* named Gadādhara who installed the images of Kārttikeya and other deities and founded a monastery at Kolagala was an immigrant from Tada-grāma in Varendrī. Gadādhara is described in the inscription as a *lohāsanī* (ascetic) belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and as a crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country. The inscription belonged to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khotigga (967-72 CE).¹ The place has been identified with Tara lying at a distance of twenty kilometres south-east of Dinajpur now in Bangladesh. Kolagallu is a railway station in Guntakal-Hubli section which may be identified with Kolagal of the inscription. Thus, Gadādhara was an immigrant who came all the way from Dinajpur in Bangladesh to Guntakal-Hubli area in Karnataka. From the high praise bestowed upon him it is presumed that he was an ascetic of high repute. According to Rao, “We do not know when this celebrity came from Varendrī to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Kṛṣṇa III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere, took place in A.D. 963-64.”² In the same inscription it has been mentioned that Madhusūdana, the composer of the record, was a *dvija* of Karmāra-kula and his ancestors emigrated from Ṭarkāri, modern Takari in the north-west of Gaya.

It is known from an inscription that the Western Cālukya king Taila II performed a *mahādāna yajña* (sacrifice) called *Brahmāṇḍa-kratu* and granted a free hold village of Modeyanūr (the village is also referred to as Moditanagara) to Revaya Dvedi Chaṭṭopādhyāya Somayāji, who officiated the sacrifice. He was a Sāmavedi brāhmaṇa belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*.³ The inscription is dated in first year of the king which is fixed at 973 CE. From the surname Chaṭṭopādhyāya, it is presumed that he was an immigrant from Bengal and more precisely from Rāḍha (south and south-west Bengal) where these brāhmaṇas belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and studied the Sāmaveda resided. Modeyanūr, the gift village, has been identified with Madinur in Koppal district of Karnataka. Thus, it can be concluded that a few Rāḍhiya brāhmaṇas migrated to western Karnataka in the 10th century CE.

The Western Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla *alias* Vikramāditya VI registered the gift of

1 N. Lakshminarayana Rao, “Kolagallu Inscription of Khottiga; Saka 889”, EI, vol. XXI, 1931-32, pp. 260-67.

2 Ibid., p. 262.

3 P.B. Desai (ed.), A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad State, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 18, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 57-60. The donee bestowed the same estate to twenty brāhmaṇas (mahājanas), set up a temple in honour of the god Traipuruṣa (Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya) in the centre of the place, installed the deity in the shrine, and made provisions for the worship of the deity. The same stone slab contains two more inscriptions in Kannada language and script and they are dated in 1136 and 1190 CE. These two inscriptions further record renovations of the temple and additional provisions made for the worship of the deities.

a village named Pippalagrāma to Bhīmanātha in his twenty-fourth regnal year corresponding to 1099 CE.¹ Bhīmanātha is introduced in the record as Bhīmasenāpati who was not only the chief minister (*mahā-pradhāna*) of the king but also attained the highest position among the ministers for his erudition and elocution.² He belonged to the Ātreya *gotra* and his ancestors lived on the banks of the river Vitasta (Jhelum) and hailed from Himācala. Among his personal attributes, the record mentions that he was an ornament on the face of Kashmir (*kāśmīra-viṣaya-mukha-maṇḍanaḥ*, l. 10). His great grand-father Āditya-bhaṭṭa was renowned for his learning in Vedic exegesis and philosophy. His grand-father was Śīyu-bhaṭṭa who was an *agnihotrin* and his father was Valla-bhaṭṭa. Bhīmanātha obtained the village of Pippalagrāma from the king and constructed temples for all the gods including Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa; and for the maintenance and daily worship of these temples and for feeding the students and ascetics residing in the Sarasvatī-maṇḍapa, he made a gift of 500 *nivarttanās* of land from Pippalagrāma. Pippalagrāma the gift village has been identified with Hippalgaon in the Bidar taluka of Bidar district in north Karnataka. The ancestors of the beneficiary thus originally hailed from Himacala or the Himalayas in Kashmir and settled in north Karnataka.

A few Paramāra inscriptions of the 11th -12th century CE furnish the evidence of migration of brāhmaṇas from Karnataka to north. In this connection mention may be made of the Dipalpur (Indore district of Madhya Pradesh) plates of Bhojadeva dated in Vikrama Samvat 1079/1022 CE. The object of the charter is to record perpetual bestowal of a plot of land in the village of Kirikaikā situated in the region to the west of Ujjaini (modern Ujjain) in favour of Vacchala, son of Bhaṭṭa Sośvara. Vacchala was of the Ātreya *gotra*, with three *pravaras*, namely Ātreya, Ārcanāyana and Syāvāśva and belonged to the Bahvṛca *śākhā* and hailed from Mānyakheta.³ Kirikaikā is the same

- 1 V.B. Kolte, "Ganeshvadi Inscription of the Time of Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla, Year 24", EI, vol. XXXVIII, 1969-70, pp. 291-304.
- 2 Bhīmanātha received the honour of the feudatory titles of pañca-mahāśavda and mahāsāmanatādhipati and bore the title of mahāpracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka. He has also been referred to as sauvidallānām=adhiṣṭhāyakaḥ (i.e., an officer of the service in the harem). One Bhīvaṇayya is mentioned in an inscription in a temple at Hunasi-Hadadali in Kalaburagi district of Karnataka dated in the twenty-third year of the Cālukya-Vikrama era or 1098 CE. (P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957, pp. 241-48.). In this inscription, he is styled as mahāpradhāna (Chief Minister), maṇevergaḍe (Superintendent of Records), saḥavāsigal-adhiṣṭhāyaka (Leader of the Saḥavāsis), pattaḷe-karaṇa (Commissioner of Records), manneyar-adhyakṣa (Head of the Subordinate Chiefs) and daṇḍanāyaka (Commander of the Forces). Bhīvaṇayya is no other than Bhīmanātha of the grant of the Śambhu-Coḍa. A Kannada inscription from Lakshmesvara in Dharwar district, Karnataka also refers to this Bhīmanātha. It is dated in the twenty-seventh year of the Cālukya-Vikrama era or 1102 CE and records some gifts made by one Mādhava-bhaṭṭa who was a very loyal servant of Bhīma (also mentioned as Bhīvaṇayya), who is none else but Bhīmanātha of the Pachala-Tadiparu plates. The inscription mentions all the epithets of Bhīmanātha including his nativity in Kashmir in the phrase kāśmīra-viṣaya-mukha-maṇḍanaḥ in ll. 9-10 as referred to in the charter of Śambhu-Coḍa. (L.D. Barnett, "Three Inscriptions of Lakshmeshwar", EI, vol. XVI, 1921-22, pp. 31-35).
- 3 H.V. Trivedi, *Copus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (hereafter CII), vol. VII, pt. 2, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 45-48. Also see R.G. Ojha, "New Plates of king Bhoja in the Indore Museum [Vikrama] Samvat 1079", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 305-15.

as the modern village Karki on the Chambal (ancient Carmaṇavatī) about ten kilometres from Dīpalpur, the findspot of the plates, and sixty-five kilometres from the holy city of Ujjain. H.V. Trivedi suggested that Bhojadeva issued this grant in course of his return from a successful invasion in which he had killed many enemy warriors and the donation was by way of an expiation of the same on the Chambal.¹ At any rate, the brahmin moved out of his ancestral home at Malkhed in Karnataka to Ujjain region in western Madhya Pradesh.

Two more copper plate grants of the sons of Yaśovarman make us believe that the brahmins migrated from Karnataka to western part of Madhya Pradesh. The fragmentary Ujjain plate of Jayavarman, son of Yaśovarman, had granted the village of Māyamoḍaka connected with Vaṭakhetaka, thirty-six to a person whose name is unfortunately lost but he was belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. The donee is stated to have hailed from Adriyalaviddhavarī included in Dakṣiṇa-deśa (*dakṣiṇa-deś=āntapāṭiḥ*, l. 16) and was living in Rāja-Brahmapuri at the time of the execution of the grant.² Māyamoḍaka has not been identified but Vaṭakhetaka has been identified by H.V. Trivedi with Barkheda about ten kilometres south-east of Bhopal or it may be the village Barkhedī, situated twenty-seven kilometres further south of Barkheda.³ Another Ujjain plate of Lakṣmīvarman, another son of Yaśovarman, speaks of confirmation of an earlier grant originally made by his father in the (Vikrama) year 1191 or 1135 CE on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony in honour of *Mahārājādhirāja* Naravarman (father of Yaśovarman).⁴ The record states that the villages of Vaḍauda belonging to Suvāsaṇī and Uthavaṇaka, belonging to Suvarṇaprāsādikā both situated in the Rājaśayana-bhoga in the Mahādvādasaka-maṇḍala were originally gifted away by Yaśovarman to the householder Dhanapāla, son of Viśvarūpa and grandson of Thākura Mahirasvāmin, a Karṇāta brāhmaṇa from the south (*dākṣiṇātyāya karṇāta-brāhmaṇa-dviveda*, l. 12). He was a student of two Vedas, and a follower of the Āśvalāyana *śākhā* and who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* with three *pravara*s and was an immigrant from the place Adrelaviddhavarī. Lakṣmīvarman confirmed this grant in the Vikrama year 1200 or 1144 CE. The territorial division of Mahādvādasaka roughly comprised parts of the modern districts of Vidisha and Bhopal. Rājaśayana is the same as modern Raisen which is about fifty kilometres from Bhopal. Suvāsaṇī appears to be no other than the modern village of Siwasni, lying about thirteen kilometres west of Raisen. There is a village called Baro to the northwest of Siwasni which may be identified with Vadauda.⁵ In both the above two epigraphs the native place of the grantees seems to be the same and both the persons belonged to the same *gotra*. Hence, we incline to believe that the same brahmin is probably referred to in both the records. What led the Kannadiga brahmin to emigrate to Ujjain-Bhopal region is not known. But the occasion of funeral ceremony mentioned in the records prompts us to suggest that Dhanapāla was invited to conduct the funeral ceremonies of Naravarman and Yaśovarman in 1135 CE and 1144 CE respectively and was rewarded with the gift of villages as fees for officiating the rites.

1 Ibid., p. 47.

2 F. Kielhorn, "Three Ujjain Copper-Plate Grants of the Rulers of Malava", IA, vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 345-53.

3 Trivedi, op. cit., p. 132.

4 Kielhorn, op. cit., pp. 351-53.

5 For details of the identifications of place names see H.V. Trivedi, CII, vol. VII, pt. II, p. 136.

The Ganjam plates of Śatrubhañja of Bhauma era 198/934 CE mention that the village Kanvabāḍa in Vodakhaṇḍa-visaya was granted to a brahmin named Bhaṭṭa Bappi, son of Bhaṭṭa Kesi and grandson of Samiyappa who was an immigrant from Śrīkheḍa of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a resident of Oḍḍiṇḡa.¹ He was belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, Āṅgīrasa and Bārhaspatya *pravaras*, and a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. The place name Śrīkheḍa in Dakṣiṇāpatha or Deccan region is not yet identified but it was apparently indicating some place in the Deccan. The beneficiary came to the Ganjam district of Odisha and received a land grant from the Bhañja king. It was during this period the Rāṣṭrakūṭas launched several expeditions in south India and this unstable political situation might have led some brahmin families of south to migrate to different regions.

Two more copper plate grants discovered from the Ganjam district of Orissa supply the information that a brāhmaṇa named Bappana received land grants from two different kings such as Kīrttirājadeva² and Netṭabhañjadeva.³ The former was probably a scion of a less known line of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty while the latter was a member of the later Bhañja family. On palaeographical grounds both the plates can be assigned to the 12th century AD. Bappana was the son of Bhaṭṭa Guheśvara and the grandson of Bhaṭṭa Santoṣakara belonging to the Viśvāmitra *gotra*, Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda and he had three *pravaras* and five *anupravaras*. In both the records the donee is said to have come from Gaṅgavāḍi, which is obviously the same Gaṅgavāḍi in the former Mysore state.⁴ It is generally held by scholars that the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas of Kalinga were members of the branches of the Gaṅga and Kadamba dynasty of south India respectively. Even some of the Śvetaka Gaṅga kings assumed the title Nandagirinātha and claimed as migrated from Kolāulapurapaṭṭana.⁵ Nandagiri is identified with Nandidurg while Kolāulapura is the same Kolar in Karnataka. Thus, some of the ruling families of Orissa like the Eastern Gaṅgas, the Śvetaka Gaṅgas and the Kadambas ruling over parts of south Orissa and north Andhra Pradesh traced their ancestry to the main line of rulers in the former Mysore state. It is, therefore, natural for the brāhmaṇas to immigrate to this region in search of better prospects and livelihood.⁶

Western Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI granted the village of Nirugunda situated in the seventy of Vikkiga forming part of the territory of the five hundred of Kokali to

- 1 S.N. Rajaguru, "The Ganjam Copper Plate Grant of Satrubhanja Deva of the Year 198", Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol. IV, No. 3 & 4, 1956, pp. 67-76.
- 2 S.N. Rajaguru, "The Phulasara Copper-Plate Grant of Kirttiraja Deva", JAHRS, vol. III, pt.1, 1928, pp. 30-40.
- 3 C.R. Krishnamacharlu, "The Jurada Grant of Nettabhanjadeva", EI, vol. XXIV, 1937-38, pp. 15-20.
- 4 One of the Draksaram temple inscriptions of the time of Rājārāja (1076-77 CE) refers to the place-name Kalumgoloni Gaṅgavāḍi as the original home of the donor named Mallirāju. (SII, vol. IV, No. 1064). N. M. Rao interpreted it as Gaṅgavāḍi situated in Kalinga. (Kalinga Under the Eastern Gaṅgas, Ca. 900 A.D.-1200 A.D., Delhi, 1991, p. 80).
- 5 P. N. Bhattacharya, "Badakhimedi Copper-Plates of Indravarman", EI, vol. XXIII, 1935-36, pp. 78-80; C. C. Das Gupta, *ibid.*, vol. XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 165-71.
- 6 For a detail discussion on this see S.K. Acharya, "Brahmanical Immigration to Orissa from South India", The Journal of Orissan History, vol. XXI, Bhubaneswar, 2008, pp. 94-99.

three hundred brahmins of diverse *gotras* and fully versed in diverse Vedic schools, hailing from Drāviḍa country (*drāviḍa-deś-āgatebhyo*, l. 62).¹ The king gifted away this village at the request of two persons namely, Palata and Pāṇḍya, in the twelfth Cālukya-Vikrama year corresponding to 1087 CE. The same village together with another adjoining hamlet called Kṛṣṇapallikā were granted to the same brāhmaṇas numbering five hundred in the forty-eighth Cālukya-Vikrama year corresponding to 1123 CE. Nirugunda the gift village may be identified with Nilagunda in the Harpanahalli taluk of the Bellary district of Karnataka, which is the find spot of the plates under discussion. Kṛṣṇapallikā cannot be identified at present, but it was in close neighbourhood of Nilagunda. This is an example where the Drāviḍa brāhmaṇas migrated from some part of Tamil Nadu and settled in Bellary district of Karnataka.

Unlike brāhmaṇas of other parts of India, the brāhmaṇas of Karnataka from very early times were addressed in the epigraphs as Karṇāṭaka-brāhmaṇas; and they were distinguished from Kamma-brāhmaṇas of Andhra, Karhad-brāhmaṇas of Maharashtra and Dravida-brāhmaṇas of Tamil Nadu. Many brāhmaṇas came to Karnataka after receiving invitations from the ruling kings. The reason being to officiate the sacrifices like the *tulāpuruṣa-mahādāna* and other similar sacrifices or funeral ceremonies of the ancestors of the rulers or sacrifices for begetting progeny or for expiation rites for self. On completion of the sacrifices, they were rewarded with land grants as fees (*dakṣiṇā*) for officiating the rituals. Some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers who endowed collective land grants in close proximity of the political headquarters of Mānyakheta, This can be explained as a political design to get administrative support for the kingdom as well as to avail their assistance as ritual experts for religious and ceremonial occasions. It can also be viewed from the perspective of forging a basis of *jajamāni* relationship between the ruling sovereignty and the priestly appendage. However, with the decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, we notice that there was an exodus of some of these priests/scholars to move to some other places for better economic prospects and patronage. The migration of Karnataka brāhmaṇas from Dakṣiṇāpatha and Gaṅgavāḍi to Mālava and Kalinga in the 11th-13th century phase may be viewed from this angle.

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- 4 *Inscriptions of the Pallavas*, Delhi, 1988, p. 85.
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- 19 Viṣṇuvarddhana has been identified with Viṣṇuvarddhana III who ruled the Eastern Cālukya kingdom of Veṅgi for thirty-six years from 719 to 755 CE.
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- 22 C.A.P. Sastry, "Migrations with Reference to Andhra Country", *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* (hereafter JESI), vol. VIII, 1981, p. 49.
- 23 Ibid., vol. XIII, 1986, p. 45.
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- 31 S.K. Acharya, "Bangalore Plates of Devendravarman", in C. Margabandhu, et. al., (eds.), Pura-Jagat: Indian Archaeology, History and Culture, Latest Researches in Honour of Late Jagat Pati Joshi, 2 vols., Delhi, 2012, pp. 211-14.
- 32 F. Kielhorn, EI, vol. VI, 1900-01, pp. 133-40.
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- 35 B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, "Andhra Brahmin Through Ages upto 1325 AD", Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal, vol. XXXVI, Tirupati, 1993, p. 155.
- 36 S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Inscriptions of the Kakatiyas of Warangal, Bangalore, 2011, 39-44. Gaṅgādhara joined the service under Prola II (1116-57 CE) and became the amātya under Rudra I. He donated the village Dimḍomḍu as an agrahāra to several brāhmaṇas. He built several temples for different deities in places like Dimdomdu, Anamakonda, Samvartakeśvara, Kāleśvaram, Mantrakūṭapuram and Nagarūru.
- 37 Ibid., pp. 61-65.
- 38 L.D. Barnett, "Alur inscription of the Reign of Vikramaditya V: Saka 933", EI, vol. XVI, 1921-22, pp. 27-31.
- 39 This may be interpreted as Sanskrit and Kannada or Telugu and Kannada.
- 40 P.B. Desai, Basavesvara and His Times, Dharwad, 1968, Appendix III, Note I, pp. 375-77.
- 41 SII, vol. XV, 1964, No. 2 (B.K. No. 207 of 1926-27), pp. 2-3.
- 42 Epigraphia Carnatica (hereafter EC) vol. VII, Shikaripur Taluq, No. 114, pp. 83-84.
- 43 Desai, op. cit., 1968, p. 376. This has also been maintained by N. Venkataramanayya in his work The Eastern Chalukya of Vengi, Madras 1950, p. 293.
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- 46 D.R. Bhandarkar, "Cambay Plates of Govinda IV; Saka Samvat 852", EI, vol. VII, 1902-03, pp. 26-47.
- 47 K.V. Ramesh, Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 358-68; B.L. Rice, EC, vol. XII, Mysore, 1904, Supplement, Nanjangud (Nj.), No. 269.
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- 52 Ibid., p. 262.
- 53 P.B. Desai (ed.), *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad State*, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 18, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 57-60. The donee bestowed the same estate to twenty brāhmaṇas (mahājanas), set up a temple in honour of the god Traipuruṣa (Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya) in the centre of the place, installed the deity in the shrine, and made provisions for the worship of the deity. The same stone slab contains two more inscriptions in Kannada language and script and they are dated in 1136 and 1190 CE. These two inscriptions further record renovations of the temple and additional provisions made for the worship of the deities.
- 54 V.B. Kolte, “Ganeshvadi Inscription of the Time of Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla, Year 24”, EI, vol. XXXVIII, 1969-70, pp. 291-304.
- 55 Bhīmanātha received the honour of the feudatory titles of pañca-mahāśavda and mahāsāmanatādhipati and bore the title of mahāpracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka. He has also been referred to as sauvidallānām=adhiṣṭhāyakaḥ (i.e., an officer of the service in the harem). One Bhīvaṇayya is mentioned in an inscription in a temple at Hunasi-Hadadali in Kalaburagi district of Karnataka dated in the twenty-third year of the Cālukya-Vikrama era or 1098 CE. (P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957, pp. 241-48.). In this inscription, he is styled as mahāpradhāna (Chief Minister), maṇevergaḍe (Superintendent of Records), sahaṇvāsigaḷ-adhiṣṭhāyaka (Leader of the Sahavāsīs), pattaḷe-karaṇa (Commissioner of Records), manneyar-adhyakṣa (Head of the Subordinate Chiefs) and daṇḍanāyaka (Commander of the Forces). Bhīvaṇayya is no other than Bhīmanātha of the grant of the Śambhu-Coḍa. A Kannada inscription from Lakshmesvara in Dharwar district, Karnataka also refers to this Bhīmanātha. It is dated in the twenty-seventh year of the Cālukya-Vikrama era or 1102 CE and records some gifts made by one Mādhava-bhaṭṭa who was a very loyal servant of Bhīma (also mentioned as Bhīvaṇayya),
 who is none else but Bhīmanātha of the Pachala-Tadiparu plates. The inscription mentions all the epithets of Bhīmanātha including his nativity in Kashmir in the phrase kāśmīra-ṇṣaya-mukha-maṇḍanaṇ in ll. 9-10 as referred to in the charter of Śambhu-Coḍa. (L.D. Barnett, “Three Inscriptions of Lakshmeshwar”, EI, vol. XVI, 1921-22, pp. 31-35).
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- 57 Ibid., p. 47.
- 58 F. Kielhorn, “Three Ujjain Copper-Plate Grants of the Rulers of Malava”, IA, vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 345-53.
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- 62 S.N. Rajaguru, “The Ganjam Copper Plate Grant of Satrubhanja Deva of the Year 198”, *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. IV, No. 3 & 4, 1956, pp. 67-76.
- 63 S.N. Rajaguru, “The Phulasara Copper-Plate Grant of Kirttiraja Deva”, JAHRS, vol. III, pt.1, 1928, pp. 30-40.
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- 65 One of the Draksaram temple inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja (1076-77 CE) refers to the place-name Kalumgoloni Gaṅgavāḍi as the original home of the donor named Mallirāju. (SII, vol. IV, No. 1064). N. M. Rao interpreted it as Gaṅgavāḍi situated in Kaliṅga. (Kaliṅga Under the Eastern Gaṅgas, Ca. 900 A.D.-1200 A.D., Delhi, 1991, p. 80).
- 66 P. N. Bhattacharya, “Badakhimedi Copper-Plates of Indravarman”, EI, vol. XXIII, 1935-36, pp. 78-80; C. C. Das Gupta, *ibid.*, vol. XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 165-71.
- 67 For a detail discussion on this see S.K. Acharya, “Brahmanical Immigration to Orissa from South India”, *The Journal of Orissan History*, vol. XXI, Bhubaneswar, 2008, pp. 94-99.
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Epigraphic Evidences of Matrimonial Diplomacy during Guptas of Ancient India. 321 - 467 CE

Ramees Raja Beig and Gowar Zahid Dar

Abstract: The Gupta epigraphs have immense historical significance to understand the matrimonial history of Gupta kings. In this paper, an attempt has been made to understand the matrimonial diplomacy of Gupta rulers from Chandragupta I to Skandagupta. The condition of royal women and how these matrimonial diplomacies acted as apostles of peace and helped in strengthening the Gupta Empire, has been discussed.

Keywords: Matrimonial, Chandragupta I, Samudrāgūpta, Līchchhāvīs, Inscriptions.

The nature of Indian polity played a significant role in shaping society. The nature of politics being precarious led to changes in tastes and preferences at different ages. Generally, constant threats of foreign invasions and internal revolts led the people to desire sons as major preferences rather than daughters. Throughout the history of ancient India, the birth of the girl child was considered an unwelcome event, unlike the son, who was considered the more valuable asset. The basic thought behind this was the nature of boys who were considered an economic asset, living with their parents and one who did not migrate like daughter to the family of others after marriage. The importance of the male child was so much desired that even the religious texts like Ātharva Vēda contain the charms and rituals to ensure the birth of a son in preference to that of a daughter¹. But we have the Brihadhāranyaka Upanishad recommending certain rituals to a householder for the birth of a scholarly daughter² as well, but it is clear that these rituals were not as popular as Pūmsāvana. But this does not mean that daughters were considered as a source of trouble, rather daughters too had an important role to play in society. They were considered a thread connecting the friendly and rival families through matrimonial relations.

Daughters, especially in royal households, were essential to establishing a good relationship between ruling houses. The nature of these matrimonial relations played an important role in strengthening the ancient Indian kingdoms in general and the Gupta empire in particular. The events which unfolded after these relations can be seen as watershed moments in the history of the Gupta period. While understanding the history of the Gupta empire it seems that, like conquests these matrimonial alliances also helped in strengthening and expansion of the Gupta empire.

The founder of the Gupta dynasty Chandragupta I seem to possess little area under his possession. Pūranās mention, “The king of the Gupta family will enjoy all territories along the Ganges, and their might will spread not only over Magadha country but also beyond as far as Prayag and Sāketa.”³ Interestingly, numismatic evidence of Chandragupta depicts the matrimonial

1 *Atharva Veda*, tr., Tulsi Ram, Vijaykumar Govindram Hasanand Press, Delhi, 2013, Ch. III, 23,; Ch. VI, 11.

2 *The Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*, tr., Swami Madhavananda, Swami Yogeshwarananda Advita Ashram, Al-mora, 1950, VI, 4, 27.

3 Allan., *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. xix.

alliance between the house of Līchchhavis and the Guptas. The Līchchha vi princess Kumāradevi was married to Chandragupta I which can be seen from numismatic evidences of the Gupta empire. The legend on coins and titles from inscriptions about the Līchchhavis indicate the importance of this marriage.

What happened to the kingdom of Līchchhavis in North India after this marriage is completely unclear. It is more likely that Kumāradevi was the only child of her father and the Līchchhavi kingdom was probably incorporated with the Gupta kingdom. That seems to be the main reason why Chandragupta I assumed the title Mahārājādhiraja instead of Mahārājā unlike his father Ghatōtkācha and grandfather Srīgūpta.

Based on these generalisations, it seems that after the marriage between the two houses, the Līchchhavis house was merged with the Guptas. Samudragupta seems to have two main objectives while mentioning himself as Līchchhavīdūhita. The first objective was to pacify Līchchhavi nobles and officials and the second was to show them that they constitute an important part of the Gupta family. The proudness can be sensed from the title which is the only one in Gupta inscriptions where a monarch of such fame mentions himself as Līchchhavīdūhita. Thus, Līchchhavis played an important role in strengthening the Gupta rule.

The epigraphic records like the Allahabad pillar inscription mention a number of Aryavarta rulers who were defeated by Samudragupta. Among these defeated rulers of Aryavarta, the Nāgas constituted the most important group. The house of Nāgas was important in the political circle of Gupta kings despite mention them as ‘exterminated’¹ there are historical facts which corroborate that the house did not collapse rather, the Gupta kings tried to pacify them by marrying their daughters. They constitute an important group of the Gupta nobility. Chandragupta Vikramāditya has Nāga princess Kuberanāga as his wife who gave birth to Prabhāvatīgupta- the princess who later was married to Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena II. The marriage of Chandragupta I and Kuberanāga indicates that although Samudragupta exterminated the Nāga rulers, he failed to restrict their influence. Instead of putting an end to the Nāga house, the Guptas brought them under the matrimonial alliance to end the enmity and bring much-needed stability to the empire.

Another matrimonial relation can be indirectly seen in Bhiṭāri and Junāgadh Rock inscription which shows that Kumāragūpta I too married an Nāga princess. Line 6 of the Bhiṭāri inscription of Skandagupta, mentions, “Who, with enemies conquered by strength of (his) arm, established again the sovereignty of the House that had turned adrift when (his) father had repaired to heaven; (and) delighted because he had one, he approached (his) mother whose eyes were full of tears just as Krishna did Devaki when he has slain (his) foes.” The comparison of Skandagupta and his mother with Krishna and Devaki clearly shows that the enemies were closely associated with his mother, probably her brothers. Further, if we compare this line with stanza 2 of the Junagadh Rock inscription of Skandagupta, some important historical insight can be found. Verse 2-3 of the Junāgadh inscription mentions as: “And next, Victorious forever, is Skandagupta, whose chest is clasped by

1 D.R. Bhandarkar, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, ed., A.S.I., New Delhi, 1981, pp. 203-220.

321- 467 CE

the goddess of wealth; who had developed valour through his own arms and has become overking of kings; who forged an order with an effigy, namely, Garuḍa, which rendered, devoid of poison, the Serpent (Bhūjgā) Rulers who uplifted their hoods in pride and arrogance; who is the abode of Kingly qualities, is of profuse glory; (and) who, when his father attained to the companionship of the gods, humbled down his enemies and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bound by the waters of four oceans and with thriving border countries.” As Bhūjgā is synonymous with Nāgas, the conclusion here is irrefutable that there was a rebellion in the Gupta Empire set up by Nāgas, which was crushed by Skandagupta. As we know, Chandragupta II was married to a Nāga princess named Kuberaṇāga, so there is a possibility that Kumāragupta I also had a Nāga wife whose brothers rebelled against the Gupta rulers immediately after the death of Kumāragupta I. So, two rulers of the Gupta line Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I were married to the Nāga family. After the death of Kumāragupta I they opposed the rule of Ghatōtkacha and Skandagupta and the latter succeeded in crushing their revolt. Nāgas constituted an essential part of the Gupta family and their house seems to have been important in strengthening the Gupta rule till the rule of Kumāragupta I.

Another matrimonial alliance which secured the Gupta empire from the Southern side and acted as a buffer state, was the marriage between the house of Vākāṭakas and Guptas. The daughter of Chandragupta II and Kuberaṇāga, Prabhāvatīgupta was married to Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena II. This matrimonial alliance seems to be a watershed moment in the history of both families. After the death of Rudrasena II, the throne passed into the hands of Prabhāvatīgupta who acted as regent of her two minor sons. The power and prestige she possessed can be seen from her Poona plate inscription¹, which mentions her Gupta gotra as Dhārāna and retained the Gupta name as a suffix despite being married to a Brāhman family of Vākāṭakas with Viṣṇuvraddha-gotra. The alliance seems to be responsible for increasing the strength of both of the houses.

A standing female figure holding a fly whisk in hand appears on the aśvamedha type coins² of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, as per the tradition the queen was supposed to bathe and fan the aśvamedha horse. The oval sealings of Dhruvasvaminī with a seated lion and an inscription depict the queen as brave as a lioness. Legends like these show that although the women in this period were generally considered inferior to men, the royal women have a role to play in the society according to the circumstances and situations, with the passage of time they proved themselves competent while dealing with the affairs of the state.

Similarly, the mother of Skandagupta from Naga lineage is compared to Devaki, the mother of Krishna after her brothers revolted against the sons of Kumāragupta I. Although they are compared with serpents but their sister (mother of Skandagupta) is depicted as pious lady. The women as queens are mentioned mostly associated in donative inscriptions along with their sons or husbands. Their images as donees seems to show their humanistic and pious character. The women are mentioned especially in donative inscriptions donating and making arrangements for

1 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. V, 1963, pp. 5-9.

2 R.C. Majumdar, *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, Peoples Publishing House, 1981, p. 11.

the needy and hungry people. There are inscriptions which mentions number of provisions which were made available at various places by royal women.

Interestingly the women of the Gupta dynasty had retained their clan names. We have the reference of Kuberaṇāga and Prabhāvatīgupta who despite being married to Gupta and Vākāṭakas families respectively, retained their clan names. The Vākāṭakas queen Prabhāvatīgupta mentions herself as Dhāraṇasagōtra but she continued to call herself Gupta which is clear from the suffix of her name. These suffixes should be considered as feminine of their clan names and although the ruling families continued to call themselves Brāhmanas but the females continued to stick to their clan names which was possibly to retain their lineage.

Conclusion

The nature of polity in ancient Indian history preferred sons over daughters. But it seems that if sons were preferred to protect the family during wars, the daughters were considered as apostles who could avoid war by bringing two rival royal houses together. This diplomacy sometimes helped in strengthened the control of the ruler, but sometimes it backfired. Royal women played an important role in strengthening the Gupta empire. The matrimonial alliances which took place during the Gupta period seem to have worked and helped the rulers strengthen the Gupta power and record it in the annals of ancient Indian history.

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[illegible]

and it means ‘this (is) Sindhi’⁴. The pronominal expression *iyam* in Old Persian means ‘this’⁵. *Iyam* (इयम्) is a singular nominative case frequently met with right from Rigveda having the same meaning, but feminine.

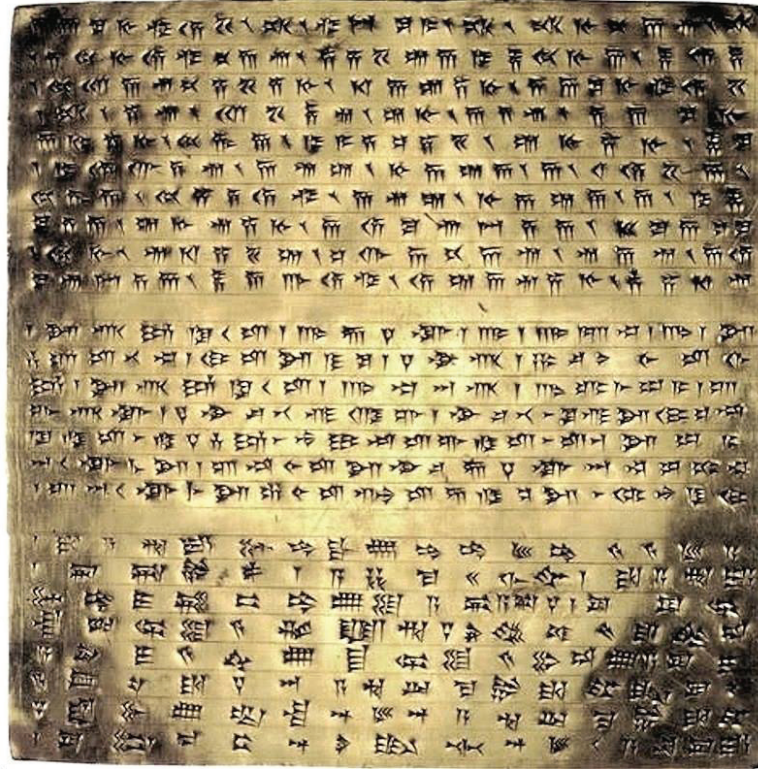


Fig. 2. Trilingual inscription of Darius in gold (DPh).

The nasal ‘n’ before consonants was omitted in the Old Persian written in Ariyā⁶ script and thus it inherits the pronunciation as *hinduuya*. There is no ‘n’ in Gāndhāra also which is written as *ga da ra*. The Elamite⁷ portion of the trilingual indications of people on the tomb of Artaxerxes II (line 13, A2Pa Elamite) provides us with the Elamite version of the Old Persian word *hinduuya* as *hinduś*. This should be the name by which Sindhi is known among the Elamites. Here; the third language is Akkadian⁸, and the usage is *induu* (line 13, A2Pa Akkadian).

Hinduva is the word used in the gold and silver tablets from Hamadan (line 6, DH). The same is the word used in the two gold tablets and the two silver tablets discovered in a box in the northeastern corner of the Apadana (line 7, DPh). The foundation tablet from Susa (line 44, DSf) also has this word on it. $\llcorner \text{𐎧} \text{𐎧} \text{𐎧} \text{𐎧} \text{𐎧}$ ⁹ (*ha i da u va*) is *Sindhu*. As in the case of *Hinduuya*, the nasal 𐎧 (*n*) before the consonant 𐎧 (*da*) was omitted. It should be noted here that even though a single alphabet for *du* is available ($\llcorner \text{𐎧}$), separate alphabets 𐎧 (*da*) and $\llcorner \text{𐎧}$ (*u*) are used here to express *du*. All these three inscriptions are from the period of Darius the Great who ruled between 522 and 486 BCE.

Hinduś is the word used in the inscriptions at the tomb of Darius the Great (line 25, DNa), on the terrace wall of Persepolis (lines 17 and 18, DPe), on the stone tablets from Susa (line 24, DSe), on the glazed brick from Susa (line 10, DSm), on the marble slab from Susa (DSv) and in the

Daiva Inscription of Xerxes (who ruled from 486 to 465 BCE) on stone slabs from Persepolis and Pasargadae (line 25, XPh). $\langle\text{𐎧}\rangle \langle\text{𐎠}\rangle \langle\text{𐎡}\rangle \langle\text{𐎢}\rangle$ ¹⁰ (*ha i du u š*) is what exactly is inscribed and here also the nasal $\langle\text{𐎢}\rangle$ (*n*) before $\langle\text{𐎡}\rangle$ (*du*) was omitted. *Hinduus* is the representation of Sindhu¹¹.



Fig. 3. Sindhi in the statue of Darius the Great.

Hindoya is the word used in the statue of Darius the Great which was carved in Egypt. While all the other inscriptions we discussed are in Cuneiform script, this is in Hieroglyphics – the script Egyptians are familiar with. HnDOY is what is inscribed vertically inside the spiked cartouche without the horizontal base (usually depicted as a tangent line).

Here we could see the specific usage of *n* (*n*) also which is totally absent in its Cuneiform counterpart. Even though the phonogram for *i* (*I*) is up for grabs in Hieroglyphics, it is not made use of here in between *H* (*h*) and *n* (*n*). This peculiarity cannot be observed as an isolated instance. Even the word Darius is inscribed in this statue without the phonogram for *i*. The depiction seen at the bottommost portion (inside the cartouche) is the determinative / ideogram for ‘foreign land’.

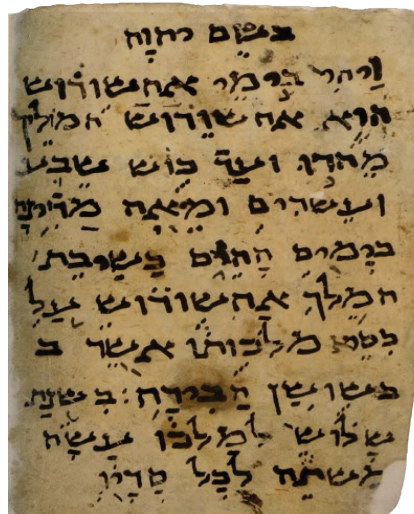


Fig. 4. Opening page of the Book of Esther. Manuscript from Cairo Geniza cache.

As a person could be seen depicted atop the cartouche, and because the word ends with y, Hindoya can be considered as representing Sindhi (nationality) rather than Sindh (nation) in the Egyptian lingua franca. This is somewhat compatible with Hinduuya appearing in the Cuneiform inscriptions where the meaning is Sindhi. Whether the ‘s’ – ‘h’ transformation was already prevailing in Egypt by this time, or that it was introduced only by the Achaemenians during this period is yet to be ascertained. This is the sole known instance where a Hieroglyphic depiction of Sindhu could be observed.

There is a reference in Hebrew הֲדַחַּי (hdhāū) in the Book of Esther in Tanakh – The holy book of Jews – where Ahasuerus¹² is mentioned as ruling an empire spanning from Sindhu to Ethiopia. In the specimen at the digital collections of Younes & Soraya Nazarian Library, University of Haifa, it is seen towards the end of line 3 of the text (apart from the heading).

Here ה (h) and ד (dh) are seen spirantized¹³, whereas ה is non-spirantized which is pronounced as ū. We can observe a Kamatz sign (ֿ) beneath the voiced dental fricative ד (dh), thus imparting the phoneme ‘ā’. Even though ‘n’ is available in Hebrew, it’s not utilised here, as in the case of Cuneiform inscriptions.

Word	Script	ha	i	na	d	da	dh	du	ā	u	ū	o	y	ya	va	ś
hiduuya	Cuneiform	𐎲	𐎠					𐎠𐎺		𐎠				𐎠𐎶		
hiduva	Cuneiform	𐎲	𐎠			𐎠				𐎠					𐎠𐎶	
hiduūś	Cuneiform	𐎲	𐎠					𐎠𐎺		𐎠						𐎠𐎶
hnduś	Cuneiform	𐎲		𐎠				𐎠𐎺								𐎠𐎶
nduu	Cuneiform			𐎠				𐎠𐎺		𐎠						
hndoy	Hieroglyph	𐎲		𐎠	𐎠							𐎠	𐎠			
hdhāū	Hebrew	ה					ד		ֿ		ו					

Table 1: Concordance of the alphabets, phonograms and phonemes used.

The representation of the words cited above which are transliterated reflect the way they are written and not the way they are read. Phonologies in the Persian, Egyptian and Hebrew of those times determine how it is read from what it is written. The absence of certain vowels in the written form will be compensated while reading. Some alphabets have inherent vowels which enables the reader to read in a better way.

As in all three languages and all their occurrences are in unison in having ‘ha’ at the beginning of the word, we can be sure that it is ‘ha’ and not ‘sa’ with what the word is beginning as prevailing among all three. Likely, as ‘u’ or ‘o’ is present after ‘d’ in all the languages and all the occurrences, we can conclude that Hindu is the Persian counterpart of the word Sindhu during the Achaemenian period. The Egyptian counterpart of Sindhi is Hindoy (written as hndoy) which is slightly different from the Persian counterpart Hindūya (written as hiduuya). The absence of ‘I’ in Egyptian and ‘n’ in Persian inscriptions needs to be considered only as phonetic and phonemic peculiarities. These constitute some of the earliest occurrences of the word representing Sindhu known from the outside world.

References and notes:

1. a. 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 (hakhaamaniś) means ‘allegiant people’. 𐎧𐎡𐎹 (hakha) is the Persian counterpart of Sanskrit सख (sakha). 𐎠𐎶 (maniś) is the Persian counterpart of Sanskrit मनुष्य (manushya). Jan Tavernier provides us with the meaning in unison with what is expressed by other scholars keeping in mind the isolated 𐎠𐎶 (mana) from 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 (maniś) thus concluding ‘having the mind of someone allegiant’. Jan Tavernier, 1.2.20, page 17, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period* (ca. 550-330B.C.) *Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Peeters, Leuven, 2007.

b. 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 is seen transliterated frequently as hakhāmanaiś. I am inclined to the usage of na + i = ni and not nai. To express nai it should be na + a + i. In inscriptions, a is not there in between na and i. So, it should be read as hakhāmaniś only.

2. Aramaic was the lingua franca of the Achaemenian Empire. ‘For effective diplomatic communication among the provinces of the empire, Aramaic, a non-Iranian language, as a lingua franca, was chosen. It was a natural choice and a practical one: Aramaic was already widely spoken in the Levant, Egypt, and Western Iran and its alphabetic script was much easier to learn and write than the complicated Elamite or Akkadian cuneiform’. Aramaic as a Lingua Franca during the Persian Empire (538-333 BCE), Chul-hyun Bae, *Journal of Universal Language* 5, March 2004.

3. Herodotus records the event: “Of the greater part of Asia, Darius was the discoverer. Wishing to know where the Indus (which is the only river save one that produces crocodiles) emptied itself into the sea, he sent a number of men, on whose truthfulness he could rely, and among them, Scylax of Caryanda, to sail down the river. They started from the city of Caspatyrus, in the region called Pactyica, and sailed down the stream in an easterly direction to the sea. Here they turned westward, and after a voyage of thirty months, reached the place from which the Egyptian king, of whom I spoke above, sent the Phoenicians to sail around Libya. After this voyage was completed, Darius conquered the Indians and made use of the sea in those parts. Thus, all Asia, except the eastern portion, has been found to be similarly circumstanced with Libya” (paragraph 44, Book IV – Melpomene, *The Persian Wars*, a translation of the *Histories* by George Rawlinson, The Modern Library, New York, Random House Inc., 1942).

4. a. Translators are in the habit of providing India as the translation for the word Hind. But we know clearly from the narration by Herodotus that the region more or less the present Sindh is the region that is meant by using Hind in these inscriptions. “Eastward of India lies a tract which is entirely sand. Indeed, of all the inhabitants of Asia, concerning whom anything certain is known, the Indians dwell the nearest to the east and the rising of the sun. Beyond them the whole country is desert on account of the sand” (paragraph 98, Book III – Thalia). Thus, we have to infer that the Thar Desert defined the natural boundary of ‘India’ in the east.

b. The regions beyond the desert were unknown at least to the Greeks of that period. The same picture is reflected in the observation “In India, which, as I observed lately, is the furthest region of the inhabited world towards the east” (paragraph 106, Book III – Thalia). We can confirm that the region denoted by the word ‘India’ in those times is nothing more than the region surrounding the Indus River extending up to the Thar Desert in the south and south-east, river Sutlej in the east and the mountain ranges now known as Sulaiman Range [in Pakistan] in the west. Contemporarily, the natives called their country Sindhu, as evident from the citation in Ashtādhyāyī (4.3.093). Rigveda does not explicitly refer to Sindhu as the name of a place.

c. Asko Parpola is of the opinion that the Proto-Iranian sound change from ‘s’ to ‘h’ occurred between 850 and 600 BCE. (page 100, chapter 9: The Rigvedic Indo-Aryans and the Dāsas, The Roots of Hinduism: The Early Aryans and the Indus Civilization, Oxford University Press, 2015).

d. Jan Tavernier, 1.3.15, page 26, Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330B.C.) Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts, Peeters, Leuven, 2007.

5. Jan Tavernier, 1.4.14.1, page 39, Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330B.C.) Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts, Peeters, Leuven, 2007.

6. We know the name of the Old Persian Script used in this period as 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿 (ariyā) from line 89 of column 4 of the Behistun Inscription by Darius the Great. It consists of thirty-six signs indicating syllables and eight ideograms for the words king, country (2 variants), good, God, earth, and Ahuramazda (3 variants). A slanting wedge 𐎶 is used as a word divider.

7. Language spoken by Elamites, who inhabited the regions of Khūzistān and Fārs in Southern Iran.

8. East Semitic language that was spoken in ancient Mesopotamia.

9. As in the case of 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿 (hakhāmaniś), there is no 𐎠 (a) in between 𐎠 (d) and 𐎡 (u) of 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿 (hiduv). Thus, I feel that Hiduv shall be the correct transliteration and not Hidauv.

10. 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿 is hiduús and not hiduś as the cuneiform alphabets used are 𐎡 (du) and 𐎡 (u). du + u = duu.

11. Jan Tavernier, 1.3.14, page 26, Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330B.C.) Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts, Peeters, Leuven, 2007.

12. Ahasuerus can be Xerxes I (the Achaemenian who ruled from 486 to 465 BC), Artaxerxes I (465 to 424 BCE), Artaxerxes II (404 to 358 BCE) or Artaxerxes III (358 to 338 BCE).

13. i.e. without the dot which is called dagesh le

The Four Chōla Inscriptions from Brihadēśvara temple at Thaṇjāvūr, Tamil Nadu

P. Balamurugan, Manikandan C & B. Charumathi

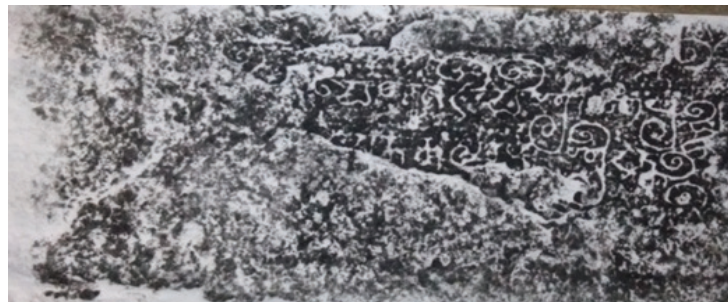
Abstract: The present paper gives details of four Chōla inscriptions found in different places in the prakāra of the Brihadēśvara temple at Thaṇjāvūr, Tamilnadu.

Keywords: Thaṇjāvūr, Brihadēśvara, Chōla, Rājarāja I, Rājendra I.

The Brihadēśvara temple at Thaṇjāvūr is considered as one of the best architecture in South India. The major part of the temple constructed and consecrated by the Chōla king Rājarāja I (985-1014 CE), is famous for Dravidian temple architecture, Chōla frescoes, iconography and the tower (*vimāna*). The main shrine consists of the *garbhagriha*, *ardhamaṇṭapa*, *mahāmaṇṭapa* and *mukhamaṇṭapa*. The sub-shrines are Nandi, Chandēśvara, Ganēsha, Karuvūrdēvar, Subramanya and Brihannanāyaki. Of these sub-shrines, Chandēśvara shrine, found close to the north of main *vimāna*, was constructed during the time of Rājarāja I. The other sub-shrines in the temple complex were added later. Besides the sculptures and paintings, very lengthy and big epigraphs are engraved on the temple walls and pillars. It provides interesting information about the history of the Tamil rulers viz., Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Vijayanagara, Thaṇjai Nāyakas and later, the Marāṭha rulers, the most important of whom is Sarafoji. So far, 130 Tamil inscriptions are noticed in the temple. There are 64 inscriptions of Rājarāja I, 29 of Rājendra Chōla I, 1 inscription of Kulōttuṅgachōla I and Vikramachōla, 3 inscriptions of Pāṇḍya king Konērinmaikoṇṭān, 2 inscriptions of Tirumalaidēva and Dēvarāya I, 1 of Achutappa-nāyakka and Mallappa-nāyakka. There are 10 Marāṭhī inscriptions which are attributed to Sarafoji II. One of the Marāṭhī inscription mentions that Sarafoji Mahārāja consecrated the temple in 1802, executed elaborate repairs to the shrine of Ganēsha, Subramanya, the goddess Brihannanāyaki, Dakshināmūrthi and Chandēśvara.

There are 21 fragmentary inscriptions in the temple complex. Of these, one belongs to the Pallava King Nandhivarmaṇ (II) found on the east inner wall of the Mahāmaṇṭapa in the temple. Apart from this the Chōla king Parāntaka I and Ādithya II inscriptions are also found built into the wall of the temple. It was known that there was a temple in this temple complex before Rājarāja I. After the temple got ruined, the king Rājarāja I elaborately built a big temple named as Rājarājēsvaram.

The Thanjavur temple inscriptions were first copied during the year 1891, published in *South Indian Inscription* volume II by E. Hultzsch, the first epigraphist in India. Later several scholars have copied rest of the inscriptions in this temple. The present paper gives details of four Chōla inscriptions, found in the different places in the *prakāra* of the temple.



Pallava inscription at Thanjavur temple

The first two inscriptions are found on a *niche* in the north *prakāra*, backside of the Brihaṇṇāyaki shrine of the temple. The first inscription was issued during 29th regnal year of the Chōla king Rājārāja I and 3rd regnal year of Rājēndra I (1012-1044 CE), who was the son and successor of Rājārāja I. It records the gift of *Māṅgalya* (*Tāli*) in gold weighed two *kaḷañjarai* measured by the temple measure *āṭavallāṇ* donated to the goddess Umaparamēśvarī by Nakkaṇ-Tōṇri of Ārrūr, an officer of this Rājārājēsvaram temple. Further this inscription mentions another gift named *paṭṭaikārai* a kind of jewel in gold weighed *mukkāle-mūṇru-mañjāṭi*, donated to the same goddess. It was measured by the same temple measure. This gift was donated by Ravibālūr, a *vellālan* of Sāttankuḍi in Vaṇṭalai-Vēlūrkkūrāram in Arumolīdēva-vaḷanāḍu, who was one of the servants, engaged in engraving inscriptions in the temple.

It is interesting to note that this inscription mentions about the shrine of female goddess Umaparamēśvarī whose idol was installed inside the temple complex during the reign of the Rājārāja I, but at present there is no image of Umaparamēśvarī in the temple. In that shrine instead of a goddess a Śivalinga had been replaced during later period. In front of this shrine, during the Vijayanagara times they constructed a new temple separately for goddess named Brihaṇṇāyaki in the temple complex. So, that goddess Umaparamēśvarī was replaced as Brihaṇṇāyaki in later period.



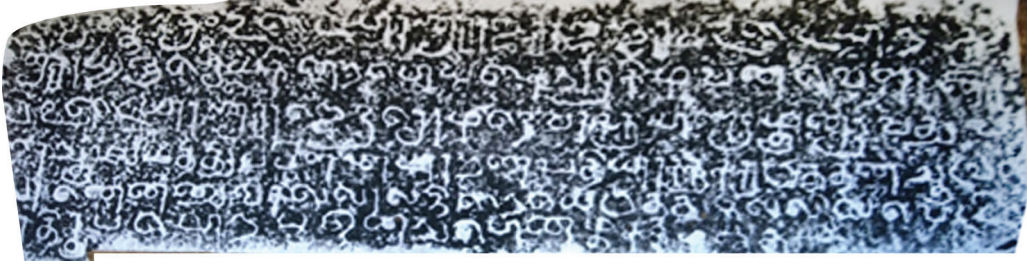
Inscription No. 1



Inscription No. 2

The second inscription engraved on the right side of the first inscription in the same place was also issued during the 3rd regnal year of the Chōla king Rājēndra I. It records the gift of a bronze pot weighted by the scale of *tilākkōl* and *tarācu* in the temple measure *āṭavallāṇ*. The weight scale was known as *nīrai*. This epigraph registers that a bronze pot weighed *mukkāle-mūṇru-mañjāṭi* and a bronze pot head measured three *palam* was donated to the goddess Umaparamēśvarī by Nakkaṇ-Tōṇri of Ārrūr.

The third and fourth inscriptions are found on a *niche* in the west *prakāra* near the Vināyaka shrine. The third inscription issued during the 3rd regnal year of the Chōla King Rājēndra I mentions the donation of a golden flower to the god Gaṇapati in the temple complex. This golden flower weighed three *kaḷaṇḷju* was donated by an official named Kiḷavaṇ-Vēlaṇ of Poigai-nāḍu to the temple.



Inscription No. 3

The fourth inscription was also issued in the same regnal year of the king Rājēndra I. It records the gift of bronze image of Bandicoot rat (*Peruchāli*), a *vāhana* of the god Gaṇapati by Ādithaṇ-Sūryadēvaṇ *alias* Teṇṇavaṇ-mūvēndavēlaṇ of Poigai-nāḍu. The bronze image of Bandicoot-rat measurement was register in the inscription. It was measured by the linear measure of cubit. The detailed measure of the bronze bandicoot rat is given below:

Rat (Vādāthi-Kēsandam)	: Height 9 viral (finger)
	: length 3/4 mulam (cubit) and 1 viralarai
Vīmam	: Height 5 viral
	: length 1/2 mulam (cubit) and 4 viralarai
Būdam	: Height 8 viral
	: length, both the closed finger of handin size.



Inscription No. 4

These inscriptions mention the weight measure as well as cubit measures. The weight measures were classified as *kaḷaṇḷju*, *maṇjāṭi*, *kuṇri*, *mā*, and *palam*. These terms of measurement are used to weigh gold and other precious invaluable objects. The gifted ornaments and objects weighed by the stone called 'āṭavallāṇ'. 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

Of the linear measurements, there are two categories i.e., micro (small objects) and macro units (long distances). The micro unit of amuḷam 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 site². 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 tōrai³. The length, breadth and height of the small objects could be measured with these measuring units. The terms tōrai and viral are the sub-units of muḷam.

Inscription No. 1:

- ### Inscription No. 2:

1. *svastiśrī uṭaiyār śrīrā-*
2. *jarājēsvaram uṭaiyārkkū*
3. *śrīkāryañceykinra ā-*
4. *rūruṭaiyān nakkān tōnri ālaiya*
5. *ttu umāparamēsvariyārkkū uṭaiyā*
6. *r śrīrājendrachōladēvarkkū yāñtu mū-*
7. *nrāvatuvarai kututta venkalamun tā-*

3 Kanakkatikaram

8. *vum āṭavallāṇ eṇṇun tilākkōlāl*
9. *nirai eṭuttu kallil veṭṭiyaṇapaṭi veṇkala maṇ-*
10. *ṭai oṇru nīrai nārpattu muppalam tarācuk ka-*
11. *lacappānai oṇru nīrai aimpatten palam*

Inscription No. 3:

1. *svastiśrī: uṭaiyār śrī rājarājesvaram uṭaiyārku*
2. *śrīkāryaṇ ceykiṇra poykaināṭu kiḷavaṇ vēḷāṇ*
3. *śrī uṭaiyār śrī rājendrachōḷadēvarkku yāṇṭu mūnrāvatu va-*
4. *rai ālaiyattuppiḷlaiyār kaṇapatiyārkkuk kuṭuttana āṭaval-*
5. *lāṇeṇṇuṇ kallāl nīraiyeṭuttu kallil veṭṭi-*
6. *na tirupporpū oṇru poṇ mukkaḷaṇcu*

Inscription No. 4:

1. *śrīkāryaṇ ceykiṇra poykaināṭu kiḷavaṇ ātittan sūryanāṇa tēṇṇavaṇ mūvēntavēḷāṇ*
uṭaiyār
2. *śrī rājendrachōḷadēvarkku yāṇṭu mūnrāvatuvarai uṭaiyār kōyilil ālaiyattuppiḷlaiyār*
kaṇapatiyār-
3. *kku vāhanam peruccāḷiyākac ceytu kuṭuttatu uṭaiyār kōyili muḷattāl aḷantu kallil*
veṭṭiyatu vatāṭi-
4. *kēcāntam oṇpatiṭṭru viral ucarattu mukkaḷ muḷamē oru viral nīḷattu uṭkarukkoṇṭu*
cempiṇāl ceytupaṇ-
5. *ṇi nīṇratākac ceytu kṭutta peruccāḷi oṇru itu ēri nīṇra aiviralarai ucarattu eḷuviral*
akalattu aria muḷa-
6. *mē nālviralarai nīḷattu vīmam oṇru itu paṇṇuvāṇākac ceyta vātātikēsāntam eṇ viral*
ucarattu iraṇṭu kai-
7. *aṭaittākac ceyta pūtam oṇru itu ēri nīṇra itiṇōṭuṇ*

Diffusion of Tamil Vaṭṭeḷuttu Scripts in Hill Region

- Recent findings

Kumaravel Ramasamy

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Abstract: Herostone and rock inscriptions discovered in recent times in Tamil Nadu indicate that Vaṭṭeḷuttu script was prevalent in the society during the Pallava period. There was a tendency to assume that Tamil script became widespread in the hill regions only during the Cōḷa period. But hero Stone inscriptions found at Eastern Ghats in recent times showed that the use of writing in the hilly regions existed to some extent even before the Pallava period. The aim of this article is to try to explain how the use of Vaṭṭeḷuttu is spread in the hilly regions from the fourth century to the eighth century CE and its socio-economic, geographical implications through recent findings.

Keywords: Memorial stones, Vaṭṭeḷuttu script, socio-economic history, early writings, Pastoral society, hilly regions, Pallava script, Cōḷa script, Toru Pūcal, cattle trade, Tamil script, Tolkāppiyam, Sangam literature, Makēntiravarman, tribal people, Pūlāṅkuṛicci inscription.

Introduction:

Herostone and rock inscriptions discovered in recent times in Tamil Nadu indicate that Vaṭṭeḷuttu script was prevalent in the society during the Pallava period. Hero Stone inscriptions recorded at Sengam, Dharmapuri and Pūlāṅkuṛicci inscription are the primary evidence of this. These inscriptions are recorded in the inner land area of Tamil Nadu. In this scenario, there was a tendency to assume that Tamil script became widespread in the hill regions only during the Cōḷa period as there was an increase in the trend of tribal people joining the mainstream of society. At that time, the government also supported the spread of writing in Tamil calligraphy. This is the main evidence that the government has taken its mandate to bring it to the people and it has been considered as a reason for social change. Even in the inland areas, where there are abundant inscriptions on stone blocks, Tamil linear script is in abundance during the Cōḷa period. But hero Stone inscriptions found at Eastern Ghats in recent times at Melpatti, Sentharapatti, Vathalmalai, Periya Vathalapuram, Eretti, Bargur etc. showed that the use of writing in the hilly regions existed to some extent even before the Pallavā period.

Preliminary studies on Tamil Vaṭṭeḷuttu script.

Studies on epigraphy in India began in the latter part of the nineteenth century CE. Burnell (1874), Buhler (1896), Ojha (1918), A.H. Thani (1963) were pioneer researchers in this field. D.A. Gopinathrao (1910), D.N. Subramanian (1957), C. Sivaramamurthy (1966), Airavatham Mahadevan (1966), T.V. Mahalingam (1967), Nagasamy (1968), K.G. Krishnan (1974, 1983) has done studies on the grapheme of Tamil Nadu. In the context of development of Tamil Nadu graphemes, - there is a detailed study done by Govindaraj R. (2006), on the development of Vaṭṭeḷuttu in period wise.

In Tamil Nadu, since sixth century BCE Tamil Brāhmī script is used for writing and is mainly seen on the potteries. Stone with Tamil Brāhmī script is available from fourth century BCE. The script engraved on stone can be traced back to the archaic Tamil Brāhmī form without undergoing any major change till third century CE. Even though there are some changes, they are not totally different from the Tamil Brāhmī format. But in the Pallava period especially in the herostone inscriptions from the Simhavarman period, the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script is being used. During the intervening two centuries, the forms of Tamil writings met a kind of change. Inscriptions recorded at Ammankoil Patti, Arachalur and Pūlāṅkuṛicci are the evidence of transition of Tamil Brāhmī grapheme's next stage of evolution. There are various opinions among scholars regarding the evolution of Vaṭṭeḷuttu script. Burnell says it's a unique growth. Buhler says it is a sweep pattern of Tamil Brāhmī script (1896). Gopinatha Rao says that Vaṭṭeḷuttu developed from Tamil Brāhmī. The recently discovered Arachalur, Pūlāṅkuṛicci inscriptions, Irulapatti, Kottayur, and other hero stones inscriptions confirm the evolution from Tamil Brāhmī to Vaṭṭeḷuttu. It is worth mentioning here that in the word *Sutta-nanru* documented in the Kotaiyur hero stone inscription of 6th century CE, the letter 'su' is similar to Tamil Brāhmī and other letters are in Vaṭṭeḷuttu. Even though other scripts such as Grantha and Tamil developed from Tamil Brāhmī, only the development of Vaṭṭeḷuttu grapheme can be seen continuously from Tamil Brāhmī. The other two can be seen to emerge only from about the beginning of the seventh century CE.

Socio-cultural factors in the spread of Vaṭṭeḷuttu :

The spread of inscription is seen as spread of power. The discovery of writing is said to have brought about a great revolution in human society. In Tamil Nadu, the use of Vaṭṭeḷuttu was widespread in Thondai-mandalam, Pandiya-mandalam and Kongu-mandalam. Especially from the medieval periods, inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu found in Thondai-mandalam and Dharmapuri region is vital. Hero stone inscriptions found in the area speaks about cattle fighting and village boundary disputes. These are the cultural documents of groups based on a pastoral economy. Pallavā rule prevailed in the area where most of the hero stones are found.

The Pallavas used the Tamil grapheme for their official records and the Grantha for writing Sanskrit. However, inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu can also be found in the hero stone inscriptions found near Pallava capital. This shows the impact of Vaṭṭeḷuttu among the people. There are various opinions about the spread of Vaṭṭeḷuttu. Most probably it has spread through trade and more specifically through those who restricted themselves as cattle traders after the decline of trade during the Sangam period and settled in Nadukal (Hero stone) region. These hero-stones were erected in highways and gathering places (market) in towns. As such, Dr. R. Poongundran (2017), rightly remarks that merchants were mentioned in the hero stones of sixth to eleventh century. During the Sangam era, the tradition of establishing hero stone with sculptural depiction of the warrior and inscription in honour of the warriors who fought to protect their clan is widely popular in the "*Mullai tinai*" region. This seems to have eventually become popular due to the development of cattle trade and disputes related to it. Hero stone inscriptions from Chitrameli Periyannattar, Veerasetti, etc. of in tenth century CE, document the death of the warrior due to cattle fight disputes (*thoru meetal poosal*).

Recent discoveries

In Tamil Nadu, many hero stones are being discovered and the role of volunteer groups, researchers and research students is tremendous. Since 2020 Yaakkai Heritage Trust has discovered and published more than 10 hero stones with Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions. Among them, the hero stone inscriptions found at Sendarapatti, Bargur and Vathalmalai have received the attention of the research community for its historical importance and hence they are discussed in this paper.

Sendarapatti Hero stones

The recently discovered five hero stones with Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions of 6th century CE in Sendarapatti, Salem district are a proof that explains the political environment prevailing in Pachamalai and Kollimalai areas (Kumaravel Ramasamy, (et.al), 2021). It is well known that this period witnessed the beginning of foundation of imperial Pallavā dynasty by kings like Simmavarman and Simmavishnu. However, from these hero stones it is known that there existed leaders of separate ethnic groups like Neelakandarisar who ruled the above mentioned areas, which served as a main access route to enter the central territory of Tamil Nadu. All the five inscriptions begin with the name Neelakandarisar, but the regnal year is not indicated anywhere. This ruler is also mentioned in the hero stones found from Thondamanur in Sengam area and Melsiruvalur (near Kallakurichi) which are erected in the thirtieth and twenty-fourth regnal year of Simmavishnu respectively. It refers to a battle that took place at a trade bypass region in the mountain range. Two more local leaders viz., Porsathanar and Ponnlundhannar, who started the battle, are known from Melsiruvalur and Thondanur. It is interesting to note that the inscriptions on the hero stones from Melsiruvalur and Thondanur are in local colloquial form, but that of Sentharapatti is in classical grammatical form of Tamil. The fact that the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script was used to write classical grammatical form of Tamil in a region that was not under the rule of the Pallavās, shows its popularity among the people.

Transliteration

Hero stone-1

1. *Nīlakaṇṭaraicar marumakkaḷ poyttalai āṛ cēvakaṇ āṇai tōṭṭi mēl*
2. *paṭai vanta ṇāṇru eṛi*
3. *ntu paṭṭāṇ po*
4. *ṇkil vi*
5. *ṇṇaṇ.*

Hero stone-2

1. *Nīlakaṇṭaraicar*
2. *marumakkaḷ*
3. *poyttalai āṛ cēvakaṇ āṇaitōṭṭi mēl paṭai vanta ṇāṇru*
4. *eṛintu paṭṭāṇ muṇṇa nakka*
5. *ṇ*

Hero stone-3

1. *Nīlakaṇṭaraicar marumakkaḷ poyttalai āṛ*
2. *cēvakaṇṭāṇaitōṭṭi mēṛ paṭai vanta ṇāṇ*
3. *ru eṛintu paṭṭāṇ kō*
4. *ḷi vaṭukan*

Hero stone-4

1. *Nīlakaṇṭaraicar marumakkaḷ poyttalai āṛ cē*
2. *vakaṇṭāṇaitōṭṭi [paṭai] vanta ṇāṇru*
3. *eṛintu*
4. *paṭṭā neru*
5. *maikoḷ*
6. *ḷi cellaṇ.*

Vathalmalai Stones:

Recently, four hero stones with Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions have been recorded atop the Vathalmalai in Dharmapuri district. The first hero stone of the reign of Pallavā king Mahendravarman records its erection in honour of two warriors who fought with the enemy in the battle to defend the town. It is very rare to find a single stone erected in honour of two warriors. The two warriors are shown with half-dresses and loincloths on their waists, holding a bow in the left hand and a short sword in the right hand. The inscription records the king's names as Mayindravarman, Echuvavarman, which are colloquial Tamil terms of the local people for Mahendravarman and Parameswaravarman, which are vernacular terms.

Bargur Hero Stones

These three hero stones with inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters have been discovered recently at Eeretti in the Bargur hills of Erode district. Of these one inscription, reading “*Turakaiyulḷāru kal*” belongs to the fourth century CE, and seems to mention that the warrior in whose memory the hero-stone was erected hailed from a place named Turakaiūr. The second inscription reading “*Karumatac-cāṭṭaṇ kal*” belongs to the fifth century CE, and records the erection of the hero stone in memory of a person named Karumatac-cāṭṭaṇ. And the third inscription, which is highly damaged, belongs to 10th century CE.

Pudur Herostone (Javvadu hills)

This hero stone inscription of Simmavishnu era found in Vedyappan temple at Melapattu village, Tirupathur district written in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters records the death of a soldier named Paṇāṅkōtai pakkāṇ, in a cattle fight (*Toru pūcal*) (Ramesh.R. 2013). It is interesting to note that *Malaipadugadam* (*Pattu pāṭṭu*) refers to the practise of erecting hero stones in Naviramalai and Javvadu hills. This shows a continuity of the tradition of Sangam age to erect hero-stones to those who lost life in cattle fighting in the subsequent periods. Even though the name of the king is

mentioned as Simhavishnu Pallavā, who ruled in the sixth century CE, the palaeography of the inscription shows that it belongs to eighth century CE. Compared to Pallavā period, a large number of inscriptions of Cōlā period are found in the Javadhu Hills.

Transliteration

Ciṅka viṇṇa parumar...

1.
2.
3.
4. *Paṇaṇ*
5. *Kōtai pak*
6. *Kāṭaṇ pa*
7. 8. *Ṭṭāṇ*

Periyavathalapuram and Chinnavathalapuram Hero stones:

Of the six hero stones recently discovered in Periyavathalapuram and Chinnavathalapuram in Dharmapuri district five are in Vaṭṭeḷuttu script (Mutharasu. A. 2020). Of these two were written during the period of Mahendravarman and three bear the names of local tribal leaders only, such as “Kōṇ korra pāṇṭiya ēṇāti”, “Kūttappāṭi cāṇṇār”, “Ōlōkkaraiyaṇ”. These speak of incidents like cattle fighting (*Toru pūcal*), Village fight (*Ūr eṇṇinta pūcal*), etc. These inscriptions with colloquial terms show the spread of writing along the banks of the Kaveri among the forests of the Eastern Ghats.

Periyavathalapuram Hero Stones Inscription: Transliteration

Hero stone-1

1. *Kōvicaiya mayēntira pa*
2. *rumaṇku yāṇṭu patiṇṇāru āva*
3. *tu cirumallāru*
4. *paṇṇanā*
5. *ṭu āḷa*
6. *kaḷḷūr*
7. *ūr toru*
8. *koṇṭa nā*
9. *ṇru paṭṭā*
10. *ṇ mukkū*
11. *ṭar kōṭa*
12. *ṇ*

Hero stone-2

1. *Kōviceya ma*
2. *yēntira parumaṇku*
3. *muppattu nālkā*
4. *tu paṇṇaṇāṭu cīruḷiyārā*

5. *ḷa koṭi koṇṭal koṇṭārōṭu*
6. *..... Paṇa vaṇār*
7. *ṭṭiyār*
8. *kīrantai*
9. *mokkaṇ*

Hero stone-3

1. *Svastisrī ōlōkkarai*
2. *yaṇ āḷa maṅkalam*
3. *uṭaiyāṇ kāviti*
4. *cīrraṇ*
5. *makaṇ vē*
6. *mpaṇ*
7. *taṇ ū*
8. *rerrī*
9. *ṇ paṭ*
10. *ṭāṇ*

Cinnavathalapuram Hero stone inscriptions Transliteration

Hero stone-1

1. *Kōṇ korra*
2. *pāṇṭi ēṇā*
3. *ti āru*
4. *makkaḷ po*
5. *rkantaṇār*
6. *paṇṇanāṭā*
7. *ḷa māta*
8. *ṇ kanta*
9. *maṅkala*
10. *vaṇ paṭṭāṇ*

Hero stone-2

1. *Kūttap*
2. *pāṭic*
3. *cāṇṇrār*
4. *kkitu*
5. *ceytā*
6. *r*

Conclusion:

The recent discovery of hero stone inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu script datable from 4th to 7th century CE, in high mountain ranges with high altitudes and densely forested areas such as Bargur Hills (1000 meters above sea level) Vattalmalai (1050 meters above sea level), Sentharapatti (300

meters above sea level) Pudhurnadu (900 meters above sea level) and Periyavathalapuram (400 meters above sea level), which are all landscapes covering many ancient historical divisions in different directions of Tamil Nadu, reflects the fact that writing in Vatteluttu script was widespread even in the high mountain ranges and it puts to an end to the hypothesis that writing spread to the hill regions only during the Cōlā period. These inscriptions reveal the life of the people dwelling in the hills having livestock as the base of their economy and also show the kind of political and commercial relationship they had with the major ruling power such as the Pallavas. The study of palaeography of the script establishes the evolution of Tamil Brāhmī into Vatteluthu and the language shows usage of both local colloquial form and classical grammatical form of Tamil. Some of the inscriptions found in the hilly regions are less aesthetically pleasing, with errors and indistinctness.

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Hero stones from Bargur

Pudur Nadu



Periavathalapuram



Sentharapatty



Vathalmalai



Periyavathalapuram

New Hero Stone Inscription from Ālavalli

Anil kumar R. V.

R. Shejeshvar Nayak

Abstract: The present paper examines a recently discovered heroestone inscription from Ālavalli in Hosannagara taluk, Shimoga district, Karnataka of 16 century CE written in Kannada language and script.

Keywords: Ālavalli, Kannaḍa, Karnataka, herostone.

Ālavalli or Āluvalli is a small hamlet in Hosannagara taluk of Shimoga district, Karnataka, situated 47 km from taluk and 40 km from district headquarters. The present hero-stone inscription set up to the left side of a house belonging to Sri Gangadharappa, found during my official visit is being edited here for the first time with the kind permission of Director (Epigraphy). This inscription as per my knowledge remains unpublished. The inscription engraved on a rough granite measuring 4.8. ft height, 3. ft width contains 6 lines of writing in two panels and is damaged in some lines. It is in well versed Kannada language and characters of 16th century CE.

Text

Panel-I

1. *Siddhārththi savatsarada / māgha śu 3 guruvāradalu //*
2. *savaṁtādipati / nāganāykarā maga Bayarenā-*
3. *ykaru svarggastarādalli ku(kō)ḍe saṁgava nāyakitiyū*
4. *kaṇṇayu // ku(kō)ḍe svarggada surigōndaru / mahā śri*

Panel-II

1. *yī mugadali . . . jana maga nāgōjanu / kētōjanu mā-*
2. *ḍida mastiya kallu . . .*

It records the erection of the stone by Nāgōja and Kētōja in memory of the decease of a hero Bayarenāyaka, son of *savaṁtādipati* Nāganāyaka in a battle and performance of *sati* rituals by his wives Saṁgava and Kaṇṇayu of Ku(kō)ḍe.

The hero stone has three sculptural panels. The lowermost panel depicts the hero seated on the horse, well dressed and ornamented, with a person holding the *rāja chattri*, indicating royal status of the hero. To the right of the hero can be seen a soldier with weapon in hands defending himself. The middle panel shows the figure of the hero sitting in *padmāsana* on a palanquin and two celestial nymphs taking him to heaven. The topmost panel shows the scene of hero along with his two wives sitting in *padmāsana* in front of the Śiva linga being worshipped by a Śaiva pontiff. Cow and sucking calf is depicted at the far right of the panel and the figures of sun and moon can be seen at the top. This hero stone inscription is significant, as it is one of the best examples for earlier phase of local chieftains.

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Earliest Telugu Lithic Record in Chandavaram

Bellamkonda Rameshchandra

Abstract: The present paper discusses a Telugu inscription from Chandavaram in Andhra Pradesh which can be considered as the earliest Telugu record datable to 8th-9th century CE.

Keywords: Chandavaram, Andhra Pradesh, Telugu.

Chandavaram, situated on the left bank of the river Gundlakamma, 2 kms away from Singarayakonda, was a Buddhist establishment of Theravada sect. The State Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh conducted excavation at the site of the *mahāvihara* and brought to light a *mahāstūpa* built of two terraced platforms, an apsidal *chaityagriha*, votive-stūpas, drum slabs and forty cells for the usage of the residing monks.¹ The present record, which is damaged and incomplete, written in Telugu language and early Telugu characters of 8th- 9th century CE in 7 lines is found engraved on a boulder of a Siva temple² nearby. The beginning lines are missing. The information given by the inscription is very meager and only portions of imprecatory passages are preserved in the ending lines, which states that the person who infringe the grant are deemed to commit the sin of destroying Baranasi (i.e. Varanasi) and 1000 tanks and killing 1000 cows.

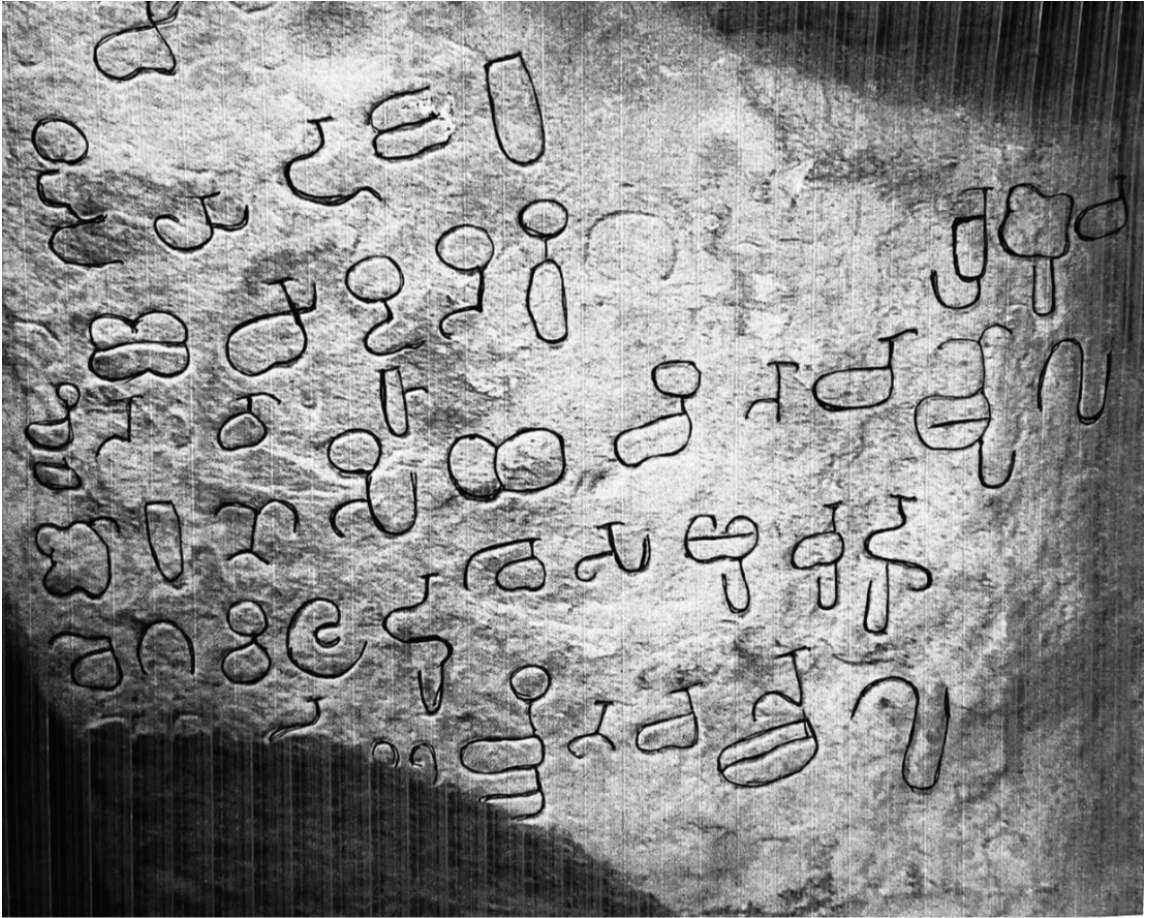
The record is important from the palaeographical point of view as it is the earliest lithic record in Telugu that has come to light in the Prakasam District of Andhra Pradesh. The palaeography of the inscription resembles Indukuru inscription³ of Chola Maharaja. Here an archaic form of letter *la* (𑖫) is noticed, which was first found in the Kattacheruvu copper plate grant of Harivarma (5th century CE)⁴ and in the Chamaluru inscription of Prithvivallabha Vijayaditya Chola⁵ (8th Century CE). The letter *la* (𑖬) exhibits a bit advanced in form which resembles the letter *la* of Balapanuru⁶ (𑖭) and Addanki (𑖮)⁷ inscriptions of 9th century CE. The letter *la* (𑖯) retains its archaic shape. The medial *i* sign is depicted in a simple round circle. The medial *u* sign is usually written beneath the letters like *bu*, *mu*, *vu*, *ru*, *lu*. But in one instance medial *u* sign exhibits its archaic shape as seen in the letter *ru* (4th line) which starts from middle of the vertical to the right. It is interesting to note that in the word *vanṛugu* (lines 5 and 7) which is made up of two words *vanṛu* and *agu* the initial vowel of the later word is dropped instead of the final vowel of the former as obtained in *sandhis* formed of *u* and *a* at present.

Text

1. . *ma* .
2. . *ddiyaḷajara*
3. . *ṛamudiniki [dha].. krabu[va]*
4. *hhina varu*
5. *Bāraṇasi ḷachhina vanṛugu*
6. *vegavilaḷu veseruḷu*
7. [*rachhina vanṛugu*

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Telugu inscription from Chandavaram

A History of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas: An Epigraphic Study of Land Systems and Pattern of Brāhmaṇa Settlements from 6th - 9th centuries CE

Nihar Ranjan Patra

Abstract: This article is the first in a series of papers which will deal with all aspects of the history of the early Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga. Theories of early medieval state formation, royal legitimation, religious integration, taxation & revenue and even the existence of a distinct period of ‘early medieval’ in Odishan history can only be determined based on detailed regional and sub-regional studies. This series will deal with the sub-region of Kalinga and try to extract as much data as possible for the reconstruction of the historical processes during 6th – 9th centuries CE. Land systems & pattern of Brāhmaṇa settlements are two of those attribute which constitute the subject matter of the present paper.

Keywords: Eastern Gaṅgas, Srikakulam, Brāhmaṇas, *viṣaya*, Kalinga, land systems, settlement patterns.

Introduction

Studies on land systems and settlement patterns of Brāhmaṇa donees during the post-Gupta period in India are manifold. Same can be said for the case of Odisha as well. Regarding land systems, we have several articles and books beginning with a paper by R. S. Sharma (1960).¹ As far as settlement patterns of Brāhmaṇa donees are concerned, the pioneering study by Upinder Singh (1994, 186-243) is remarkable.² However, a dedicated monograph dealing with a comprehensive history of the early Eastern Gaṅgas, focusing on socio-economic and cultural aspects of Kalinga, is still a desideratum. This paper, the first in the series, aims to survey the land systems and settlement pattern of Brāhmaṇa donees as delineated in the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga from 6th – 9th centuries CE.

Sources and their Nature

In this study, a total of 47 charters of the early Eastern Gaṅgas and their subordinates have been taken into consideration. They have been arranged chronologically (Table 1). The dates of 3 inscriptions which have been revised in light of emendations by S. K. Acharya (2002, 112-13, 139) are star (*) marked. Column 6 of the table contains the modern locations of the gift villages as identified by the editors of the inscriptions and scholars like D. K. Ganguly (1975), Parmananda Gupta (1973) and N. Mukunda Rao (1991). The mandals and tehsils, which contain the modern locations of the gift villages, have been located in the districts as formed after the latest district reorganisation exercise (2022 for Andhra Pradesh and 1994 for Odisha) to achieve accuracy in locating the villages. The dates in column 2 have been worked out considering the initial year of the Gaṅga era to be 498 CE.³

1 Also see Mishra 2011.

2 S. P. Nayak (2008) has studied patterns of land donations from 500 – 1000 CE for Srikakulam district only.

3 Vide *Epigraphia Indica* (hereafter *EI*), 26: 326-36; 27: 192.

a. Land Ownership:

That the king was not the owner of all land is indicated by several inscriptions. Inscription nos. (hereafter referred to as just no./nos.) 4 & 8, which belong to the category of ‘gift after purchase’ type of inscriptions whereby the king either granted land to the donee after purchasing (...*agrahārika sākṣāt kr̥tvā*.../...*agrahārika-sākṣāt bhū-kr̥tvā*...) it himself or confirmed the grant upon the donee after the donee had purchased it (Acharya 2009), show a change in proprietorship of land. In our present study, there are at least 11 cases, where the land grants were actually made over to the Brāhmaṇa(s) or deities. Inscription no. 1 states that the village of Jijjika was made an *agrahāra* and divided into 2 equal shares (*saṁvibhājy-ārddhena*, l. 15) and each of the donees was given one half. Similarly, nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 17, 35, 38, 39 inform us that 6 *halas* of cultivable land + 4 *niveśanas*, 2½ *halas*, 1 *hala*, 3 *halas*, 1 *hala*, 1 *hala* + *udaka-mārga* + *niveśana*, 1 *hala*, 200 *halas* + *taṭāka*, *khaṇḍa-kṣetra* + 4 *hiḍas*, of land within the village(s) mentioned were given away to the donee(s) respectively. Also, no. 43 states that the village of Pagaḍākheda was divided into 12 unequal shares (*vytti*) and granted to 12 Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras*. It is interesting to note that in the case of No. 38 the 200 *halas* of land and a *taṭāka*, that were donated to a Brāhmaṇa, actually belonged to a cultivator named Roku (?) (*roku-kuṭumbina dui-sada-hala-bhūmi-....taṭākena sahita*, ll. 20-22).

Thus, we observe 2 types of land ownership in Kalinga during this period – private and royal. All inscriptions studied, except the 11 cases mentioned in the above paragraph, point to the private ownership of land. The cultivators (*kuṭumbina*), Brāhmaṇa donees and temples seem to be the proprietors. The cultivators are the owners of land (except in nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 17, 35, 38, 39 & 43) as the charters never tell them to surrender their proprietary rights to the new grantees; it only instructs them to show proper courtesy and respect and pay all the dues, which were previously paid to the state, to the new beneficiary (Gopal 1961, 251-52). As such, lands granted to donees were in already settled regions, not in waste lands. Brāhmaṇa residents (*agrahārika*) also seem to be owners of land in 9 cases. In nos. 4 & 8, the land was purchased from them before a re-donation whereas in nos. 5, 13, 17, 35, 38, 39 & 43, the king transferred the proprietorship from himself to them. Temples are indicated as owners of land in nos. 3 & 6. In the separate 11 instances cited in the above paragraph, the king seems to exercise direct royal control over some tracts of land as he was able to transfer his proprietorship to others. The suggestion by Upinder Singh (2016, 492) that some parts of land were under direct royal control and private ownership prevailed outside these parts is most appropriate as some villages in the Kroṣṭukavarttanī district were made over to the donees by the king (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 17, 35, 38, 39 & 43) whereas some villages of the same district were purchased from the existing inhabitants (Nos. 4 & 8).

b. Land Types:

The term *kṣetra*, which is usually taken to denote cultivable land, is used only 6 times in the inscriptions of Eastern Gaṅgas (nos. 4, 5, 6, 13, 39, 44). Even in these cases, not all refer to cultivable land. *Kṣetra* is used in no. 6 to indicate land containing the king’s tank while it is used

to refer to a cultivator in no. 44 in the compound *kṣetrakaraḥ* (l. 22). However, as most of the inscriptions are addressed to the cultivators, it can be inferred that most of the village(s) donated were included in cultivable areas. In no. 39, an explicit reference to cultivable land is made in ll. 16-17 as ...*karṣaṇa-yogya-bhumi*.....

The term *gartta*, which means a trench or a pit, is stated as a boundary in all the instances of its mention (nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 32, 33, 41, 45). Similarly, the terms *vanarāji* (nos. 18, 19, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 45, 47), *vana* (no. 4) and *araṇya* (nos. 8 & 28), meaning forest, are used to denote boundaries in all their instances of mention. A sole reference to *gocara*, indicating pasture land, is referred to in no. 27 as a boundary.

c. *Land measures:*

The term *hala* as a measure of land is used in nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 17, 35 & 38. It literally means a plough, hence indicating a measure of land that can be ploughed conveniently by one plough or one pair of bullocks annually. However, the exact area specified by a *hala* cannot be determined satisfactorily yet (Acharya 2000, 253-54). S. K. Acharya (2000, 258) also suggests that the measure of *muraḥa*/*muraya* is indicated in nos. 37 & 39, though they are not mentioned in the inscriptions.

Settlement pattern of Brāhmaṇa donees¹

A total of 53 village(s) or parts thereof were donated by the Early Eastern Gaṅgas during this period. 24 (~45%) of those can be located in Srikakulam district. Moreover, nos. 27 & 28 state that the gift villages were located near the village of Sidhathā. If V. V. Mirashi's suggestion that Sidhathā is the same as modern Siddhantam in L.N.Peta mandal of Srikakulam² is correct, then the gift villages of these 2 inscriptions will also have to be located in Srikakulam district. This brings the total no. of villages donated in Srikakulam to be 26 (~49%). 11 (~21%) villages donated can be located in the Vizianagaram district. 2 (~4%) of the gift villages can be located in the Ganjam district.

The modern locations of rest 14 villages (~26%) of nos. 2, 7, 19, 20, 24, 30, 31, 33, 38, 40, 41, 43 cannot be identified at the present state of our knowledge. It would be hazardous to opine on the exact location of these villages based on only the findspot of the charters as they are often far removed from gift villages mentioned (e.g., nos. 25, 26, 42, etc.).

The above statistical analysis shows that most of the villages were donated near Kaliṅgaṇaṇam, the capital of the Eastern Gaṅgas, identified with modern day Mukhalingam on the west bank of the river Vamsadhara. From 6th – 7th century, when 17 charters were issued (nos. 1 – 17), 5 villages (nos. 1, 3, 4, 10, 13) were donated in the coastal mandals (or tehsils) whereas 7 villages (nos. 5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17) were donated in the relatively interior mandals. In the next two centuries, when 30 charters were issued, 5 villages (nos. 18, 29, 32, 36, 42) were donated in the coastal mandals whereas

1 The references to the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram & Ganjam in this section denote the undivided districts of Andhra Pradesh and Odisha.

2 *EI*, 30: 26.

13 villages (nos. 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 37, 44, 46) were donated in the relatively interior mandals. Although this observation does not take into account those villages which have either not been pinpointed in the mandals due to lack of information or not been identified at all, it lends support to S. K. Acharya's (2018, 34, 44-47) remarks that members of ruling families of various dynasties during this period were making collective land grants to the temples and the Brāhmaṇas very close to their political headquarters. This also holds good for grants to individual Brāhmaṇas as well. Collective land grants to the learned Brāhmaṇas of various *gotras* can be observed during our entire period of study (Acharya 2018, 29-30, 34-35).

The 2 *viṣayas* of Varāhavarttanī and Kroṣṭukavarttanī seems to be favoured by the Gaṅga kings for donations of villages. A total of 9 villages were donated in the district of Varāhavarttanī (nos. 3, 5, 9, 17, 19, 21, 27, 28, 35, 45, 47); Kōluvartanī is the same as Varāhavarttanī as Kōlu is the Telugu for Varāha (boar). Similarly, 7 villages were donated in the district of Kroṣṭukavarttanī (nos. 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 18). The village of Tāmaraceruva in the Varāhavarttanī-*viṣaya* seems to be very popular for donations among not only the Early Eastern Gaṅga kings but also the kings of the Later (Imperial) Gaṅga line. In all the cases of its donation, multiple learned Brāhmaṇas were settled in this village – an unknown no. in the 7th century (no. 9), 300 in the 8th century (no. 21) and 500 during the time of Vajrahasta III in the 11th century. The village of Siddhārthaka, also in the Varāhavarttanī-*viṣaya*, was donated twice – once in the 6th century (no. 5) and later in the 7th century (no. 17). The other district in which villages were donated more than once is Galēla-*viṣaya* (nos. 37 & 46) where 3 villages were donated in the 9th century. The headquarters of the district, i.e., Galēla (or Galahella) itself was donated to a learned Brāhmaṇa and his students in the 8th century (no. 23).

Conclusion

To sum up, we observe prevalence of both royal and private ownership during the rule of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas. Brāhmaṇas too, seem to be the landowners, in addition to the cultivators and temples. Charters included in our study do not show much variety in types of land as is found in the inscriptions of Śailodbhavas and Bhaumakaras. Land measurement was undertaken by the rulers and *hala* seems to be the most popular unit of measurement of land. The Gaṅga rulers granting most of the villages in the undivided Srikakulam district, especially in the interior mandals of the district, shows that they were keen to settle learned Brāhmaṇas very close to their political centres in order to use their services for the day-to-day functioning of the administration of the kingdom.

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Table 1: Villages granted by Early Eastern Gaṅgas (6th – 9th century CE)

S. No.	Date (in CE)	Name of the territorial Division	Villages granted in the Division	Modern Location of the Village	Reference
1.	537-38	Vōṅkāra-bhōga	Jijjika	Jarjangi, Kotabommali mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Jirjingi plates of Indravarman, G.Y. 39, <i>EI</i> , 25: 281-88.
2.	562-63	Dāgha-pañcālī-viṣaya	Pratiṣṭhā-pura	Unidentified	Ponnuturu plates of Samantavarman, G.Y. 64, <i>EI</i> , 27: 216-220.
3.	576-77	Varāhava-rttini-viṣaya	Rōhaṇaki	Ronanki, Srikakulam mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Narasīngapalli plates of Hastivarman, G.Y. 79, <i>EI</i> , 23: 62-67.
4.	578-79	Kroṣṭuka-varttanī	Hoṇḍevaka	Near Urlam, Narasannapeta mandal, Srikakulam dist. (?)	Urlam plates of Hastivarman, G.Y. 80, <i>EI</i> , 17: 330- 334.
5.	585-86	Varāhava-rttini	Siddhārtt-haka	Siddhantam, L.N.Peta mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman, G.Y. 87, <i>EI</i> , 3: 127-130.
6.	585-86	Kroṣṭuka-varttinī	Haribhaṭa	Somewhere in Srikakulam dist.	Santabommali plates of Indravarman, G.Y. 87, <i>EI</i> , 25: 194-198.
7.	589-90	Devanna-pāñcālī	Dantayav-āgū	Unidentified	Parlakhimedi plates of Indravarman, G.Y. 91, <i>Indian Antiquary</i> (hereafter <i>IA</i>), 16: 131-134.
8.	595-96	Kroṣṭuka-varttanī	Kettaṭa	Somewhere in Srikakulam dist.	Urajam plates of Indravarman, G.Y. 97, <i>EI</i> , 37: 159-162.
9.	626-27	Varāhava-rtanī-viṣaya	Hoñjeri	Somewhere in Srikakulam dist.	Chicacole plates of Indravarman, G.Y. 128, <i>IA</i> , 13: 119-122.
10.	631-32	Kroṣṭuka-vattanī	Tōṭavāṭakā	Thotada, Narasannapeta mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Andhavarām plates of Indravarman, G.Y. 133, <i>EI</i> , 30: 37-42.
11.	635-36	Kūraka-raṣṭra	Bhukkuk-ura	Bukkuru, Palakonda Mandal, Parvathipuram Manyam dist.	Purle plates of Indravarman, G.Y. 137, <i>EI</i> , 14: 360-363.

<i>S . No.</i>	<i>Date (in CE)</i>	<i>Name of the territorial Division</i>	<i>Villages granted in the Division</i>	<i>Modern Location of the Village</i>	<i>Reference</i>
12.	636-37	Koroṣṭa-ka-pāñcāli	Tālamulā	Somewhere near Korsavada, Pathapatnam mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Chicacole plates of Indravarman, G. Y. 138, <i>IA</i> , 13: 122-124.
13.	651-52	Rūpyavat-ī-viṣaya	Tuṅgannā	Peddaturam/Chinnatungam in Santabommali mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Tekkali plates of Indravarman, G. Y. 154, <i>EL</i> , 18: 307-311.
14.	681-82	Kroṣṭuka-varttanī	Poppaṅgi-ka	Poppaṅgi, Sarvakota mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 183, <i>EL</i> , 3: 130-134.
15.	682-83	Pushyagiri-pāñcāli-viṣaya	Haduvaka	Adaba, Paralakhemundi tehsil, Gajapati dist.	Dharmalingesvara plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 184, <i>EL</i> , 26: 62-65.
16.	690-91	Koroṣṭa-ka-pāñcāli-viṣaya	Navatula	Nowthala, Sarvakota mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Trilingi plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 192, <i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i> , 11: 300-303.
17.	693-94	Varāhava-rttanī	Siddhārtt-haka	Siddhantam, L.N.Peta mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 195, <i>EL</i> , 13: 212-16.
18.	702-03	Kroṣṭuka-varttanī	Tālathēra	Talatariya, Jalumuru mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Dharmalingesvara plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 204, <i>EL</i> , 26: 65-68.
19.	714-15	Varāhava-rttanī-viṣaya	Kālamaḍa-Śākuna	Unidentified	Andhavarman plates of Anantavarman, G. Y. 216, <i>EL</i> , 31: 199-202.
20.	719-20	Phareya-bhukti	Chikhalikā	Unidentified	Santabommali plates of Nandavarman, G. Y. 221, <i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</i> , 2(3 & 4): 185-89.
21.	749-50	Varāhava-rttanī-viṣaya	Tāmarace-ruvu	Somewhere in Srikakulam dist.	Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. [2]51, <i>IA</i> , 13: 273-276.

22.	752-53	Dāvadām-adavam-viṣaya	Tuḍavam-āśiṇā Puḍitā Soligamu-ḍuḍā	All villages somewhere in the Cheepurupalli mandal, Vizianagaram dist.	Vizagapatam plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 254, <i>IA</i> , 18: 143-146.
23.	758-59	....	Galahella	Galavalli, Bobbili mandal, Vizianagaram dist.	Galavalli plates of Rajendravarman, G. Y. 260, <i>EI</i> , 40: 286-90.
24.	2 nd half of 8 th cent.	Vīlaṅgad-idāga-viṣaya	Rodisirā	Unidentified	Chikiti plates of Rajendravarman, <i>Sri Jag-annath Jyoti</i> , 10: 74-81.
25.	2 nd half of 8 th cent.	Dāvadā-viṣaya	Cirkudi	Somewhere in the Cheepurupalli mandal, Vizianagaram dist.	Munjeru plates of Anantavarman, <i>Prof. K. A. N. Sastri Felicitation Volume</i> , Madras, 1971: 117-24
26.	802-03	Tirikaṭu-viṣaya	Medelāka	Medaveedu, Madugula mandal, Anakapalli dist.	Alamanda plates of Anantavarman, G. Y. 304, <i>EI</i> , 3: 17-21.
27.	804-05	Sakala-Varāha-varttanī	Musunika	Unidentified	Musunika plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 306, <i>EI</i> , 30: 23-28.
28.	9 th cent.	Varāhava-rttanī	Yāmivāṭaka	Unidentified	Bangalore plates of Devendravarman, <i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i> , 9: Bn 141.
29.	9 th cent.	Puṣkarīṇi-viṣaya	Virīṇika	Somewhere near Srikurmam, Gara mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Chicacole Plates of Devendravarman, <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society</i> (hereafter <i>JAS</i>), <i>Letters</i> 18(1): 17-20.
30.	9 th cent.	Bhomkar-a-bhoga-viṣaya	M a h e ś v a r a - vā(ṭaka?)	Unidentified	Mahesvara Va (-) plates of Devendravarman, <i>Epigraphia Andhrīca</i> (hereafter <i>EA</i>), 5: 10-13.
31.	806-07	Lōhadha-ṅgara	Puruṣṭhanā Puruṣjvanā	Unidentified	Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 308, <i>EI</i> , 23: 73-78.
32.	808-09	[Rū]pavar-ttanī	Ni[y]ino	Probably somewhere in Tekkali mandal, Srikakulam dist.	Tekkali plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 310, <i>EI</i> , 18: 311-313.

S. No.	Date (in CE)	Name of the territorial Division	Villages granted in the Division	Modern Location of the Village	Reference
33.	811-12	Kṛṣṇa-maṭṭamba Dāpu-pāñcālī Jāmbōṭṭa- pāñcālī	Pāṭṭali (or Pādali) Kuśasaṅk-ira Arali	Unidentified Unidentified Unidentified	Pattali plates of Yuvaraja Rajendravarman, G.Y. 313, <i>EL</i> , 32: 201-06.
34.	812-13	Nidijeru-ṣiṣaya	Nāmpali	Nārayanapuram, Balijipeta mandal, Parvathipuram Manyam dist.	Nampali plates of Yuvaraja Rajendravarman, G.Y. 314, <i>Journal of Oriental Research</i> , 9: 59-63.
35.*	833-34	Varāhava-rttanī	Dantapura	Variously identified in different parts of Andhra Pradesh by different scholars	Dantapura plates of the time of Rajendravarman, G.Y. 335, <i>EA</i> , 5: 14-17.
36.	840-41	[Śaila]-ṣiṣaya	Tāmvaddi	Tamvada, Laveru mandal, Sri-kakulam dist. (?)	Mandasa plates of Rajendravarman, G.Y. 342, <i>ARIEp</i> , 1917-18: A 13.
37.	848-49	Galela-ṣiṣaya	Tāru-grāma	Tarapuram, Rambhadrapuram mandal, Vizianagaram dist.	Chicacole plates of Satyavarman, G.Y. 351, <i>IA</i> , 14: 10-12.
38.	856-57	....	Siṇicaraṇa	Unidentified	Tekkali plates of Anantavarman, G.Y. 358, <i>EL</i> , 26: 174-77.
39.	9 th cent.	Kimṭṭaka-varttani- ṣiṣaya	Dvikātha-dha	Somewhere in the Sri-kakulam dist. (?)	Chicacole plates of Anantavarman, <i>JAS, Letters</i> , 18(1): 47-52.
40.	2 nd half of 9 th cent. (?)	....	Hossaṇḍi	Unidentified	Parla-kimedi plates of the time of Vajrahasta, <i>EL</i> , 3: 220-224.
41.	881-82	....	Perhaps Jadyālā Kṣetra (the passage is defective)	Unidentified	Kalahandi plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta, G.Y. 383, <i>EL</i> , 31: 317-22.
42.	2 nd half of 9 th cent.	Kalinga-maṇḍala	Siviḍi	Cheedivalasa, Polaki mandal, Sri-kakulam dist.	Temburu Plates of Anantavarman, <i>Studies in Indian Epigraphy</i> , 25: 106-109
43.	4 th quarter of 9 th cent.	Narendra-ve-bhoga	Pagaḍākh-eḍa	Unidentified	Nirakarpur plates of Udayakhedi of the time of Devendravarman, <i>Journal of the Bihar Research Society</i> , 35(1-2): 1-10.

44.	4 th quarter of 9 th cent.	Mādhūpa-maṇḍala	Kōlāḍa	Kulada, Bhanjanagar tehsil, Gan- jam dist.	Doora plates of Udayakhedi, <i>EL</i> , 41: 61- 67.
45.	4 th quarter of 9 th cent.	Kōluvart-anī-[viṣaya]	Nāpitavāt-aka	Somewhere in the Srikakulam dist.	Nāpitavataka grant of Ganga Devendravarman, <i>EL</i> , 34: 189-192.
46.	891-92	Galēla-viṣaya Hōmva-viṣaya	Nūmkapāṭaka & Baḍavaḍā Cintacēḍu	Nūmkapāṭaka has been identi- fied with Nookalavada, Balijipeta mandal, Parvathipuram Manyam dist. Chintada, Bobbili mandal, Viz- ianagaram dist.	Galavalli plates of Manujendravarman, son of Devendravarman, G. Y. 393, <i>EL</i> , 31: 187-191.
47.	895-96	Sahakōlu-vartanī-[viṣaya] (same as Kōluvartan-ī- viṣaya)	Kandaliv-āḍa	Somewhere in the Srikakulam dist.	Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman, G. Y. 397, <i>JAS, Letters</i> , 18(2): 77-81

A Hoard of Jaina Image Inscriptions from Śrī Pārśvanātha Digambar temple, Akōḍā, Madhya Pradesh

S. Krishnamurthy

Meka Venkata Raghavendra Varma

Abstract: Historical research would be incomplete without a proper analysis of epigraphs, as it is the foremost of the sources that give a first-hand authentic information of the past, be it in any aspect viz., socio-religious, economic, cultural and political. Among the various materials on which the epigraphs are found engraved, images form a class of its own, and a study of which reveals not only the religious spirit of the age, but also the social and political condition from the array of information recorded in it. The present paper examines inscriptions engraved on 5 stone and 7 bronze images of Jaina *tirthāmkara* kept and worshipped in the Śrī Pārśvanātha Digambar temple at Akōḍā in Bhind tahsil and district of Madhya Pradesh, spanning over a period of about 400 years, from the late decades of 12th to late decades of 15th century CE.

Keywords: Akōḍā, Aranātha, Bronze, Chandraprabha, Jaina, Mahavīra, Nāgarī, Pārśvanātha, Sanskrit, Supārśvanātha, Yantrapaṭṭa.

Introduction

Akōḍā, situated in Bhind tahsil and district of Madhya Pradesh is situated 118 kms from the state capital Bhopal. In the year 2017-18 during the course of epigraphical survey in the region, the second author visited the Śrī Pārśvanātha Digambar temple and collected photograph of the inscriptions engraved on 5 stone and 7 bronze images¹. The group of images was donated over a period of 400 years from the late decades of 12th to late decades of 15th century CE. An analytical study of these inscriptions, written in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters will shed light on the socio-religious conditions, which prevailed in this region. In the following pages is discussed the iconographical features of these images followed by text and gist² of the inscriptions engraved on them.

Image no. 1 – Mahāvīra, dated 1177 CE

This stone image (fig. 1) of *tirthāmkara* is standing in *kāyōtsarga* posture on a rectangular pedestal, with a triple *Chhatrāvali* above the head and leaves of *chaitya-vriksha* hanging on its either side. The hair of the Jina is shown in the form of two bands with a tuft at the crown. The elongated earlobes, long arms reaching up to the knees and a small *Śrīvatsa* symbol carved on the chest are the general features of the image. There is a two lined inscription in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters carved on the pedestal and one line each carved on either side of the image on the stele portion. It records the perpetual obeisance by Nimbadeva, son of *Sādhu* Jalha, Mahīpāla, son of *Sādhu* Kumara and Ujavanapāla on the 3rd day in the bright half of a month (not specified) in the year *saṃvat* 1234 (*ARIEp.* 359 of 2018). The inscription reads as:

1. *Samvatu 1234 Śrī Sādhu -*
2. *Jalhe putra Nimbadeva||*
3. *Sādhu Kumaraputra Mahīpāla |*

Madhya Pradesh

4. *srī. . . Ujavanapāla nityam praṇamanti*
5. *gāṇe*

Image no. 2 – Pārśvanātha, dated 1300 CE

This bronze image (fig. 2) of Pārśvanātha is seated in *padmāsana* posture, with the hands placed in *dhyāna mudra*. The hair of the Jina is shown in the form of two bands with a tuft at the crown and is seen dangling beautifully at the nape. The elongated earlobes and a small Śrīvatsa symbol carved on the chest are the general features of the image. The seven-hooded serpent Kamaṭha rises up canopying the *tīrthāṃkara*. Above this a *prabhāvalī* is depicted with a triple *Chhattrāvali* placed at its middle and leaves of *chaitya-vriksha* hanging on its either side. Below the pedestal of the image can be seen two serpents with their body intertwined. On either side of the *tīrthāṃkara* starting from the base can be seen a pair of images. At the lower portion on the proper right and left stands gracefully, the *yaksha* and *yakshi* viz., Padmāvati and Dharanendra. At the middle portion a pair of *tīrthāṃkara* standing in *kāyōtsarga* posture and at the top a pair of pontiffs seated in *padmāsana* is depicted. On the pedestal in the middle portion can be seen a small figure, which could be image of the donor. The pedestal has an inscription in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters (fig. 2 a and 2 b), which mentions the installation of the image of Varamhadeva (Brahmadeva) by *Sādhu* Nārāyaṇa belonging to Lambakamchuka-gaṇa on Friday, the 8th day in the bright half of the month of Phālguna in year saṃvat 1357 (*ARIEp.* 360 of 2018). The inscription on the pedestal reads as:

1. *Siddham Saṃ [13]57 Phāguṇa sudi 8 sukrā*
2. *Lambakamchuka Sādhu Nārāyaṇa ta ja*
3. *Varamhadeva pratimā pratishṭhā*

Image no. 3 – Pārśvanātha, dated 1301 CE

This bronze image of Pārśvanātha (fig. 3 a) is seated in *padmāsana* posture with the hands placed in *dhyāna mudra*. The tuft of hair crowning the head of the Jina, elongated earlobes and a small Śrīvatsa symbol carved on the chest are the general features of the image. Canopying the head of the *tīrthāṃkara* is Kamaṭha, the seven hooded serpent. When viewed from back, the body of the serpent can be seen bent at three points. Above this a *prabhāvalī* is depicted with a triple *Chhattrāvali* placed at its middle and leaves of *chaitya-vriksha* hanging on its either side. Two *tīrthāṃkaras* are shown in *kāyōtsarga* posture on both sides of the main deity and on both sides of the head of Pārśvanātha, two other pontiffs are shown in *padmāsana*. On the pedestal in the middle portion is probably depicted an image of the donor. Owing to the worn-out condition of the image, minute details of coiffure and physical features could not be identified. The dorsal portion of the image bears an inscription (fig. 3 b) engraved along the rims, in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters, registering the installation of the image by a lady Hirā, wife of Ratanu on Wednesday, the 3rd day in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year saṃvat 1358 (*ARIEp.* 361 of 2018). The inscription reads as:

Samvatu 1358 Vayasasha sudi 3 Budhago Ratanu bharajā (bhāryā) hirā

Image no. 4 – Pārśvanātha, dated 1331 CE

This bronze image (fig.4) of Pārśvanātha is seated in *padmāsana* posture with the hands placed in *dhyāna mudra* with a seven hooded serpent sheltering him. The tuft of hair at the crown of his head, the elongated earlobes and a small *Śrīvatsa* symbol carved on the chest are the general features of the image. Inscription is partially damaged and is written in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters engraved on all the four sides of the pedestal of the image. From the extant portion it seems to record the installation of this image by a person Bhurājabaraja on Friday, the 9th day in the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year saṁvat 1388 (*ARIEp.* 362 of 2018). The inscription reads as:

1. *Samvat 1*
2. *388 Jēshṭha*
3. *śudi 1 gure*
4. *Bhurāja baraja*
5. *ye*

Image no. 5 – Pārśvanātha, dated 1355 CE

This bronze image of Pārśvanātha (fig. 5 a) is seated in *padmāsana* posture with the hands placed in *dhyāna mudra*. The elongated earlobes and a small *Śrīvatsa* symbol carved on the chest are the general features of the image. Canopying the head of the *tīrthamkara* is Kamaṭha, the seven hooded serpent. When viewed from back, the body of the serpent can be seen with a graceful curve. Above the *prabhāvalī* is depicted a triple *Chhattrāvali* placed at its middle and leaves of *chaitya-vriksha* hanging on its either side. Attached to the base of the *prabhāvalī* are seen on the proper right and left the *yaksha* and *yakshi viz.*, Padmāvati and Dhāranēndra seated probably in *ardhaparyankāsana*, with a hooded-serpent canopying them. On the pedestal in the middle portion can be seen a small figure, which could be image of the donor. On the back of the image along the rim of the *prabhāvalī* is an inscription (fig. 5 b) written in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters recording the installation of the image by *Sādhu* Vedarasī along with his wife Gāyiti and their sons Dharamū and Karamū of Ikshvāku lineage and belonging to Kāshṭasaṁgha on Saturday, the 12th day in the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year saṁvat 1412 (*ARIEp.* 363 of 2018). The inscription reads as:

1. *Sam 1412 Jēshṭha sudi 12 śanau*
2. *Śrī Kāshṭasaṁghe Ikshvākuvamśa sã. Vedarasī bhāryā Gāiti putrau Dharamū karamū ||*

Image no. 6 – Pārśvanātha, dated 1386 CE

This bronze image (fig. 6) of Pārśvanātha is seated in *padmāsana* posture, with the hands placed in *dhyana mudra*. The elongated earlobes and a small *Śrīvatsa* symbol carved on the chest are the general features of the image. The seven-hooded serpent Kamaṭha rises up canopying the *tīrthamkara*. Above this a *prabhāvalī* is depicted with a triple *Chhattrāvali* placed at its middle and leaves of *chaitya-vriksha* hanging on its either side. Attached to the *prabhāvalī* at the base on either side are two *tīrthamkaras* in *kayotsarga* posture and above them are two pontiffs seated in

padmāsana. On the pedestal in the middle portion is probably depicted an image of the donor. The pedestal on the front and back side carries an inscription (fig. 6 a and 6 b) in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters, registering the installation of the image by a person Dauram Sāha, son of Jaisiḍhi, on Wednesday, the 13th day in the month of Jyeshṭha in the year saṁvat 1443 (*ARIEp.* 364 of 2018). The inscription reads as

1. *Samvatu 1443 Jēshṭha su-*
2. *di 13 budhau*
3. *Jaisiḍhī*
4. *putra Dauramasāha*

Image no. 7 – Pārśvanātha, dated 1417 CE

This bronze image is similar to image no. 3 in its form (fig. 7a). On the back side along the *prabhāvalī* on the four sides is engraved an inscription in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters (fig. 7b), which mentions the installation of the image by Kshema-kīrtideva along with Suśīlā, wife of Sādhu Vīradau and Raigo, wife of Abhaidyau belonging to Kāshṭasaṁgha on the 13th day in the bright half of the month of Māgha in the year saṁvat 1474 (*ARIEp.* 365 of 2018). The inscription reads as

1. *aṁ 1474 māgha sudi 13*
2. *Śrī Kāshṭā(shṭa)saṁghe Kshemakī-*
3. *rttidai(de)vāh sā Vīradau bhāryā Suśīlā putra Abhaidyau bhāryā Rai-*
4. *go putra vasā*
5. *vaṇu*

Image no. 8 – Supārśvanātha, dated 1491 CE

The inscription on the pedestal of the stone image (fig. 8) of Supārśvanātha seated in *padmāsana* posture, canopied by a five hooded snake records the perpetual obeisance by Jīvarāja Pāpaḍīvāla in the presence of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Jinachandra of Mūlasaṁgha on the 3rd day in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year saṁvat 1548 (*ARIEp.* 366 of 2018). The inscription reads as:

1. *Samvat 1548 varshe Vaisasha sudi 3 Śrī Mūkasamgha bhaṭṭāraka*
2. *Śrī Jinachandradeva saha Jīvarāja pāpaḍīvāla nityaṁ para[praṇamati]*

Image no. 9 – Pārśvanātha, dated 1491 CE

The inscription on the pedestal of the stone image (fig. 9) of Pārśvanātha seated in *padmāsana* posture, canopied by a seven hooded snake records the perpetual obeisance by Jīvarāja Pāpaḍīvāla in the presence of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Jinachandra on the 3rd day in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year saṁvat 1548 (*ARIEp.* 367 of 2018). The text of the inscription reads as:

1. *Barasha matā varasha sudi 3 saṁmata 1548 rājā Sā –*
2. *saṁja bhaṭṭāragaja Śrī Janachandra matra Jīva-*
3. *rāja pāpaḍīvāla . . .*

Image no. 10 – Chandraprabha, dated 1491 CE

The inscription on the pedestal of the stone image of Pārśvanātha seated in *padmāsana* posture is partially damaged. From the extant portion it seems to record the perpetual obeisance by a person (name lost) belonging to Kāshṭa-saṃgha on the 3rd day in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year saṃvat 1548 (*ARIEp.* 368 of 2018). The text of the inscription reads:

1. *Samvat 1548 mīti Vaiśākha sudi 3*
2. *Udata Kāshṭasaṃghe*

Image no. 11 – Aranātha, dated 1492 CE

The inscription on the pedestal of the stone image (fig. 10) of Aranātha seated in *padmāsana* posture is partially damaged. From the extant portion it seems to record the perpetual obeisance by a person *thākura* Garasharājā on the 3rd day in the year saṃvat 1549 (*ARIEp.* 369 of 2018). The text of the inscription reads:

1. *Sammata 1549 varasa mata basada tena 3 samudāyā jītaya hara-*
2. *rasajī jagā Śrī thā garasha rājā Sōsadha sarā*
3. *ja pāpata neja punadama jasā*

Image no. 12 – Pārśvanātha, dated 1497 CE

The inscription on the pedestal of the bronze image (fig. 11) of Pārśvanātha seated in *padmāsana* posture, canopied by a seven hooded snake records the perpetual obeisance by *Sādhu* Āla and his wife Dorānasī along with their son *Sādhu* Vālapa, his wife Jātapasī and grandson *Sādhu* Bhojāgabā Kamābhajā, his wife Kānavu belonging to Kāshṭa-saṃgha, Goila-gotra and Yasasena-anvaya on the 3rd day in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year saṃvat 1554 (*ARIEp.* 370 of 2018). The text of the inscription reads:

1. *Sam 1554 varshe vaiśā-*
2. *sha su. 3 Śrī Kāshṭhāsaṃghe bha. Śrī Yasasenadevah tadāmnāye Goila gotra sā. Āla*
3. *bhā. Dhorānasī putra sā. Vālapa bhā. Jātapasī putra sā. Bhojāgabā kamābhajā*
4. *bhā. Kānavu nityam praṇamati ||*

Discussion

This hoard of 5 stone and 6 bronze images donated over a period of 400 years belong to different centuries and are dated as *saṃvat* 1234 (1177 CE), 1357 (1300 CE), 1358 (1301 CE), 1388 (1331 CE), 1412 (1355 CE), 1443 (1386 CE), 1474 (1417 CE), 1548 (1491 CE, 3 images), 1549 (1492 CE) and 1554 (1497 CE). The donations are made in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha, Jyeshṭha, Māgha and Phālguna, in the decreasing order of their popularity. Among the 12 images 08 are of Pārśvanātha, 01 is of Supārśvanātha, 01 is of Chandraprabha, 01 is of Aranātha and 01 is of Mahāvīra. It is interesting to note that in an inscription (image no. 2), Pārśvanātha has been named as Brahmadeva.

11 of the images are donated by men and only 01 (image no. 3) is by a lady. Regarding whether the image was donated individually or as a group, it is found that, 01 image (no.7) was

donated by a man along with two ladies, 01 image (no.1) was donated by a group of 3 men, 01 image (no. 5) by a householder along with his family members, 01 image (no. 12) by both husband and wife along with their family members of two generations. The remaining 08 images are individual donations. Women donors identify themselves as wife and men donors as son, prefixed with title such as *thākura* and *sādhu* (image no. 11).

Only 06 images mention the occupation of the donors in its inscription. They belong to affluent family and are either merchants or village heads, as known from the title prefixing their names such as *sādhu* and *thākura*. 05 of the images are donated by donors who identified themselves as merchant or son of a merchant and 01 image by a village-head.

The sectoral affiliation of the donors is known only from some inscriptions as Lāmbakaṁchukaṇa, Kāshṭa-saṁgha, Mūla-saṁgha, and Yasasena-anvaya. Only 02 inscriptions mention the name of the preceptor as Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Jinachandra belonging to Mūla-saṁgha.

The personal names of men known from these inscriptions are Abhaidyau, Āla, Bhojāgabā Kamābhajā, Bhurājabaraja, Dauram Sāha, Dharamū, Garasharājā, Jalha, Jaisiḍhi, Jīvarāja Pāpaḍīvāla, Karamū, Kshema-kīrtideva, Kumara, Mahīpāla, Nārāyaṇa, Nimbadeva, Ratanu, Ujavanapāla, Vālapa, Vedarasī and Vīradau. The personal names of women known from these inscriptions are Dorānasī, Gāyiti, Hirā, Jātapasī, Kānavu, Raigo and Suśīlā.

Notes and references

1. The inscriptions are being edited here for the first time with the kind permission of Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India.
2. Gist of the inscriptions is listed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 2017 – 18*, Inscription nos. B 359 – 370.



fig. 1



fig. 6a



fig. 6b



fig. 2



fig. 2a



fig. 2b



fig. 3a



fig. 3b

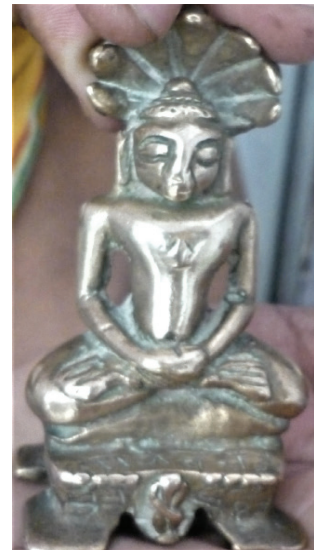


fig. 4



fig. 5a



fig. 5b



fig. 6



fig. 7a



fig. 7b

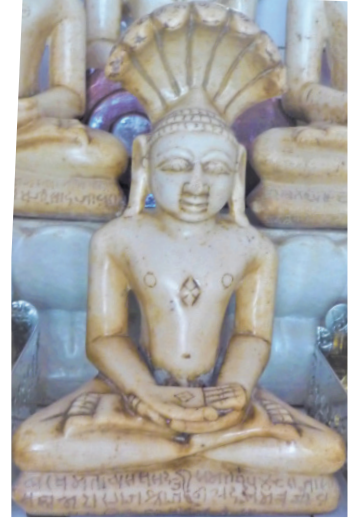


fig. 9

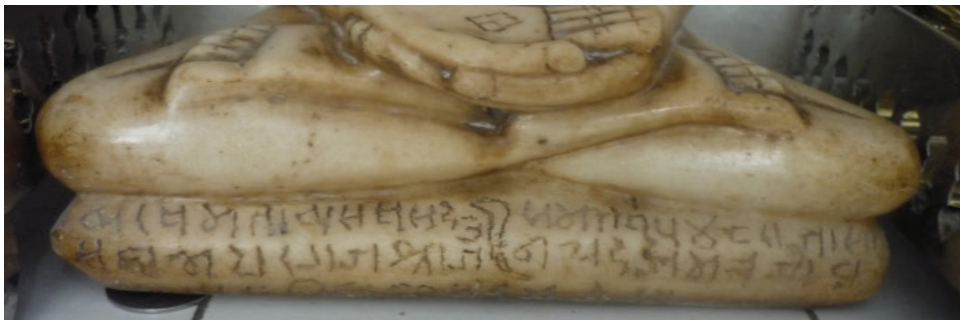


fig. 8



fig. 10



fig. 11

Two Unpublished inscription in Kaithī script from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar

Pritam Kumar

Mukant Bishwas

Abstract: The Kaithī script is a historical script which was popular in northern and eastern India. From 18th century CE through the early 20th century CE, it served as a conventional script for a diverse range of languages including Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Magadhi, Maithili, Bajjika, Angika, Urdu, Persian, Bengali, and Hindi. In fact, the Kaithī is a regional script which is being used till date mostly in Bihar. Recently, the authors of this article have noticed two unpublished inscriptions in Kaithī script, one from Ghazipur district of Uttar Pradesh and the other in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar. The primary focus of this research paper lies in the decipherment and interpretation of these inscriptions from epigraphical and paleographical perspectives, emphasizing their historical significance. Understanding the methods of dating used in these inscriptions, such as Phasalī Saṃvat, Vikrama Saṃvat, and Bāṅglā Saṃvat, adds another layer of historical depth to the research.

Key Words: Inscriptions, Unpublished, Kaithī-Script, Bengali Era, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Phasalī Saṃvat, Vikrama Saṃvat, Eastern India etc.

Introduction

Recently, two stone inscriptions have come to light which are being identified as inscribed in the Kaithī script by the authors of this article. One was discovered from the village of Bhitari, in Ghazipur district of Uttar Pradesh (Figure 1), two years ago, during digging work for the construction of the Purvanchal Expressway. Fortunately, Dr. Sachin Kr. Tiwary captured a photograph of the inscription and forwarded it to the authors for deciphering. The inscription is engraved in nine lines on the surface of the stone-slab. The other stone inscription (Figure 2) was found attached to the lintel of the *garbhagrha* in a small shrine at the complex of Bateshvar Temple (also locally known as Bateshvar Sthan) situated (Map 1) in the district of Bhagalpur, Bihar. This inscription has been re-explored by Dr. Jalaj Kumar Tiwari. A few months ago, Shiva Kumar Mishra forwarded photographs of some stone inscriptions, along with this, to the first author for deciphering. The inscription also inscribed in nine lines whereas five lines are in Bangla script and the rest of the four lines are in Kaithī script. Though language and scripts of the inscription are different, content is same. In 1948, Rev. Swami Pranavananda has reported this temple inscription in an article entitled ‘The site of the Royal University of Vikramashila’ published in the ‘*The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*’ Vol. XXXIV (III-IV). He has mentioned in the article as written in Bengali and Pali (Pranavananda 1948: 85). But the information given by him is incorrect as it is not in Pali. However, for a long time this inscription has not attracted the attention of the scholars and not deciphered. The two inscriptions hold significant archaeological and historical implications, potentially shedding light on linguistic and cultural aspects of the regions where they were found.

The Kaithī script is also called as Kāyathī or Kāyasthī and the word ‘*Kaithī*’ was derived

from the Sanskrit word ‘*Kāyastha*’ which refers to the scribal caste who are mainly engaged in the upkeep (i.e. author, writer, composer, engraver etc.) of land and administrative records in northern region of India. The script was used as a second script in the former North-Western Provinces, Bihar and Awadh (including present Uttar Pradesh) and also Odisha to write administrative, personal and legal matters (Pandey 2007: 13, Kumar 2019: 14). The British colonial authority recognized Kaithī as a distinct script. In 1880s, the law courts of Bihar and Government of Bengal established the Kaithī script as the official script (Grierson 1899: 1, Pandey 2007: 1, 15).

Inscriptions in Kaithī script are insufficient to establish its origin. Most probably the script has its origin between the transitional phase from Kutila to Nagari script along with the other scripts like Tirahuta, Bengali, Modi, Gujrati etc. contemporary (Kumar 2023: 89). On the basis of the Kaithī script’s structural and geographical distribution, it is classified among the eastern group of scripts used for the New Indo-Aryan languages; which also includes Bengali, Maithili and Odisha (Salomon 2003: 69, Pandey 2007: 13). Sinha (1972) opines that it developed from Eastern Nāgarī script, but he did not set any timeframe. (Sinha 1972). Ojha (1918: 130) stated that the Kaithī script is actually a slightly modified form of Nāgarī script. On basis of paleographical studies, it can be seen that most of the letters of it without *a*, *kha* and *jha* are generally similar to Nāgarī script. The Kaithī script is differentiated from Devanāgarī by the loss of the headline and varying degrees of modifications in the characters, but most of the shapes are strongly related. The missing headline makes Kaithī script a non-joining script. The Modi script, Gujrati script, Mahajani script etc. are closely similar to Kaithī script (Grierson 1908: 338, Březina 2007: 11, Pandey 2007: 39-40, Jha 2019: 94-95) and most probably all of these belong to same family. According to the extension and popularity, this script has been divided into three category: (i) Mithilā Kaithī, (ii) Magadh Kaithī and (iii) Bhojpurī Kaithī (Ojha 1918: 130).

Bryne (1911: 175) reported inscribed stone door-frame in Kaithī characters from Srinagar of Bihar in the *Bengal District Gazetteers Bhagalpur*. It is read as *Magaradhaja Jogi 100*. Tiwari (2022: 72-78) thinks that this the earliest evidence of Kaithī character. On the basis of palaeographical features of it and the archaeological remains of the site from where the inscription was discovered, the inscription can be ascribed to the early medieval period (c. 12th-13th century CE). Grierson 1908: 338, Březina 2007: 11, Pandey 2007: 39-40 Some scholars like Grierson (1899), Sinha (1972), Das (2010), Kumar (2019) and so on have studied an initial work such as documentation, historical perspective and features of this script. Further researches on the origin, development, epigraphical and paleographical feature of Kaithī script are required. During the reign of Sher Shah Suri¹ (1486-1545 CE), Kaithī script was used in the official documents which give us a clear idea that it had developed into a self-determining and important writing system from 16th century CE (Srivastava 1974: 2, Pandey 2007: 13). And finally from 17th century CE, the Kaithī script was well-established as a medium for literary production especially in manuscripts (Gupta 1967: 31, Pandey 2007: 13). By this time, this script had spread beyond the clerical domain and was adapted for general usage.

1. He was originated from Afganisthan and the founder of Suri (or Sur) empire in India. He took control over the Mughal Empire in the year 1540 CE after defeating the second Mughal emperor Humayun (1530-1540 and 1555-1556 CE).

We can find the use of this script in the Bihar and UP region till date.

Bhitari (Saidpur) Stone-Slab Inscription

Text

1. *sana 1242 sama(m)[va]-*
2. *ta 1891 mā.*
3. *agahana sudī*
4. *135 sampana so*
5. *panahaluai*
6. *taluka mahamu-*
7. *dapura-hathīnī*
8. *paragana(ā) sae-*
9. *dapura bhītārī*

Translation

[On the] 1st, 3rd [and] 5th [day of the] bright fortnight [of the] month of Agrahāṇya (November-December) [in the] Phasalī (Fasli) Saṃvat (Harvest Era) 1242 (i.e. 1834 CE) [and in the] Vikrama Saṃvat 1891 (i.e. 1834 CE), [this community work] has been completed [by someone(s) at the village of] Panahaluai [in the] taluka Mahamudapura-Hathīnī [under the] paraganā of Saedapura Bhītārī.

Bateshwar (Bhagalpur) Temple Stone-Slab Inscription

Text (in Bengali Script)

1. *tārīkha 1 bhādra 1272 sālā*
2. *śrī śrī o(m) kālī(ī)mātā apanāra*
3. *mandīra āpane banāyā mathuv(r)ānātha*
4. *gopta o b(v)iśvambhara sena ṭahala bājāyā*
5. *sāḥ chāpatā jelā hugali*

Text (in Kaithī Script)

1. *tārīkha 1 bhādo sa __ 1272 sālā*
2. *ka(ā)līmātā apanā ma(ñ)dīla āpane banāā mathurā-*
3. *nātha gupta ja vo bīśabhara saina ṭahala bajāā*
4. *sākīna chapatā jīlā hugalī*

Translation (Bengali and Kaithī portions combined)

[On the] 1st day [of the month of] Bhādra [in the] Bengali year 1272 (i.e. 1865 CE), [the] temple [of] Kālī-Mātā was established by [the grace of the goddess] herself [and] Mathurānātha Gupta and Vīśa[m]bhara Saina, resident of Chapatā [in the] district of Hugalī [who took the responsibility

to] announce the construction [of the temple of the goddess].

Discussion

The Bhitari (Saidpur) stone-slab inscription and the Bateshwar (Bhagalpur) Temple stone-slab inscription both are dated inscriptions. Three dating system have been used in these two inscriptions. These are: Vikrama Samvat, Phasalī (or Fasli) Samvat (Harvest Era)¹ and Bāṅglā Samvat (Bengali Era). In eastern India, the Phasalī Samvat was introduced by emperor Akbar (1556-1605 CE) in 971 Hijri Year (1563 CE). In fact, this dating system is a solar year of 365 or 366 days. This is also known as ‘Northern Phasalī Samvat’ (Röver 2018: 34). The official beginning of this era was, however fixed at the first autumnal equinox after Akbar’s accession. This year started when the farmer had collected his harvest and paid his taxes. The Phasalī Samvat was introduced in the whole of northern India, to the Vindhya Mountains in the south. The conquest of the kingdom of Khandesh had been Akbar’s last success in that direction. When emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658 CE) had conquered parts of India south of the Vindhyas, he introduced there this era in 1046 Hijri Year (1636 CE). This is known as ‘Southern or Deccan Phasalī Samvat’ too (Röver 2018: 34). The Bāṅglā Samvat (Bengali Era) is also a kind of Phasalī Samvat which was very popular in Bengal region (Ojha 1918: 192-193). This era is also known as ‘Bangābda’. The only difference between Bāṅglā Samvat and Phasalī Samvat is that it (Phasalī Samvat) starts from Ashvina month, and the Bāṅglā Samvat starts from the first month Vaishakh. And the Vikrama Samvat is a well-known and very popular era system in all over India from ancient period.

The Bhitari (Saidpur) stone-slab inscription holds two era. One is the Phasalī Samvat 1242 which corresponding to 1834 CE and the other is Vikrama Samvat 1891 which corresponding to 1834 CE. The Bateshwar (Bhagalpur) Temple stone-slab inscription holds one era system dated in the Bāṅglā Samvat 1272 which corresponding to 1865 CE.

Conclusion

Till now we have come to know about only a few number of inscriptions in Kaithī script mainly from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Bengal. They are: Shrinagar Stone Inscription (Bryne 1911: 175, Tiwari 2022: 72-78), Bihar Museum Inscription, Madhuvani Inscription, Vidyamandir Inscription, Bankura Inscription, Vashishtheshwar Temple Inscription (Bhagalpur), Deogarh Temple Inscription (Jharkhand) and the present two inscriptions we have deciphered. Most of the inscriptions are unpublished till date. An empirical survey of the region of Bihar, UP, Bengal is highly recommended to find out the Kaithī inscriptions as well as the manuscripts. There have a huge possibility to get a good number of evidence in this specific script. This will uncover the unknown regional socio-cultural history of this area and the further researches will also be able to give revive of this Kaithī script.

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











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Table 1: Palaeographic concordance of the two inscriptions (Alphabets)

From the Epigraphs	Eye-Copy	Romanization
		a
		ā
		i
		e
		ka
		kha
		ga

1 Personal communication (S.K. Mishra 2023).

2 Personal communication (S.K. Mishra 2023).

3 Personal communication (S.K. Mishra 2023).

4 Personal communication (Aurbindo Chattopadhyay, Professor in Bengali & Indology, Bankura University 2023).

5 Personal communication (B.L. Das 2023)

















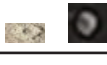


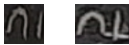




From the Epigraphs	Eye-Copy	Romanization
	च	cha
	ज	ja
	ट	ta
	त त त	ta
	थ	tha
	ड	da
	न न	na
	प प	pa
	ब	ba
	भ	bha
	म म	ma
	र र	ra
	ल	la
	व	va
	श	śa
	स स	sa
	ह ह	ha
	ॠ ॡ	ṁ






Table 2: Palaeographic concordance of the two inscriptions (Medials and Conjuncts with Example)

From the Epigraphs	Eye-Copy	Romanization
	ज॥	jā
	त॥ त॥	tā
	ड॥	dā
	न॥	nā
	भ॥	bhā
	म॥	mā

From the Epigraphs	Eye-Copy	Romanization
	𑀲𑀸	rā
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	sā
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	kī
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	jī
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	thī
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	dī
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	bī
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	bhī
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	rī
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	lī
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	gu
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	thu
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	pu
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	mu
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	su
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	hu
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	ne
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	sai
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	do
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	vo
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	so
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	saṃ
	𑀲𑀸𑀭	pta

Table 3: Palaeographic concordance of the two inscriptions (Numerals)

From the Epigraphs	Eye-Copy	Romanization
	१	1
	२	2
	३	3

	४	4
	५	5
	७	7
	८	8
	९	9

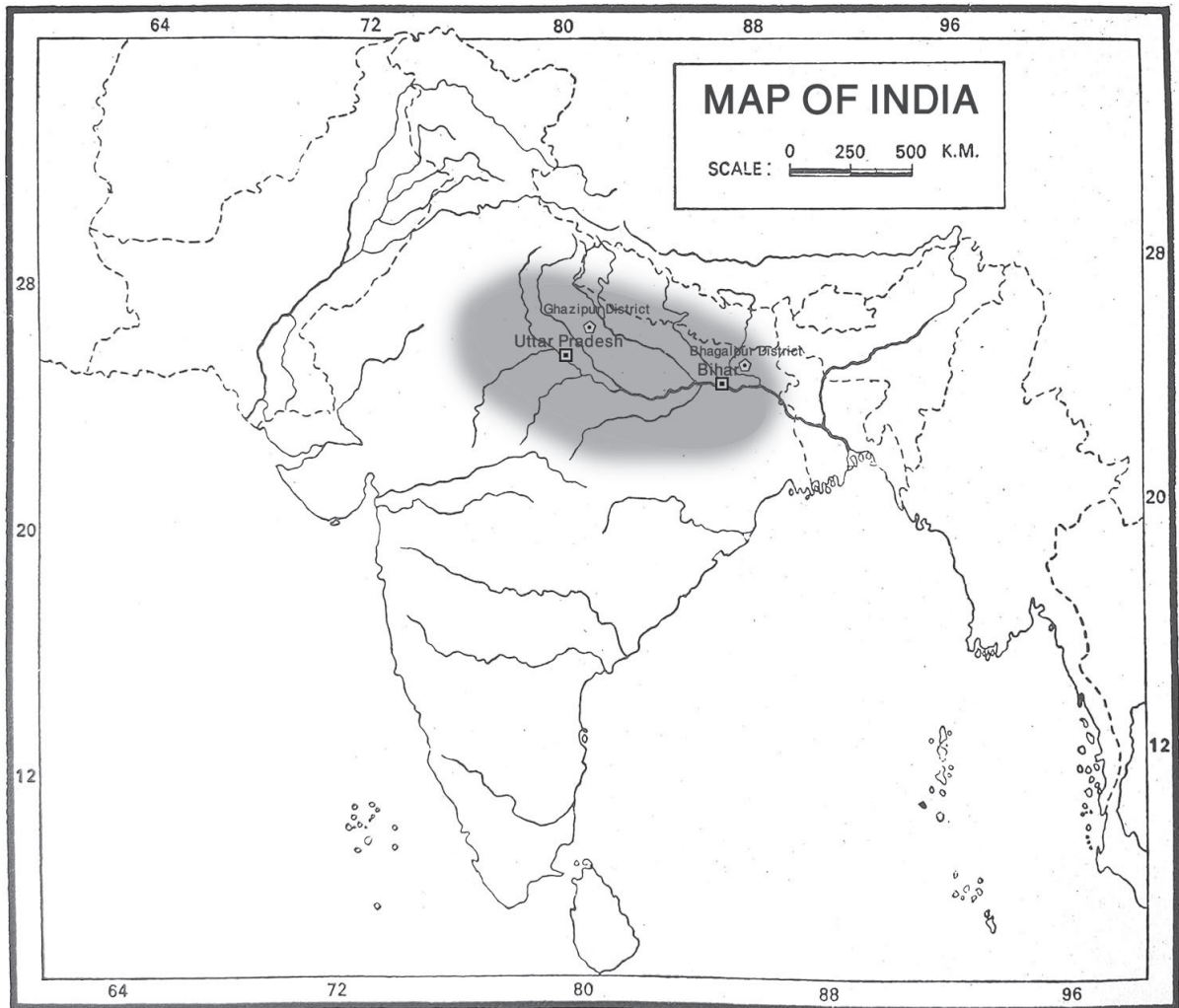
Acknowledgement

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Map 1: The Tentative Area of Extention of the Kaithī script with the Find-Spots of the Two Stone Inscriptions in Kaithī script

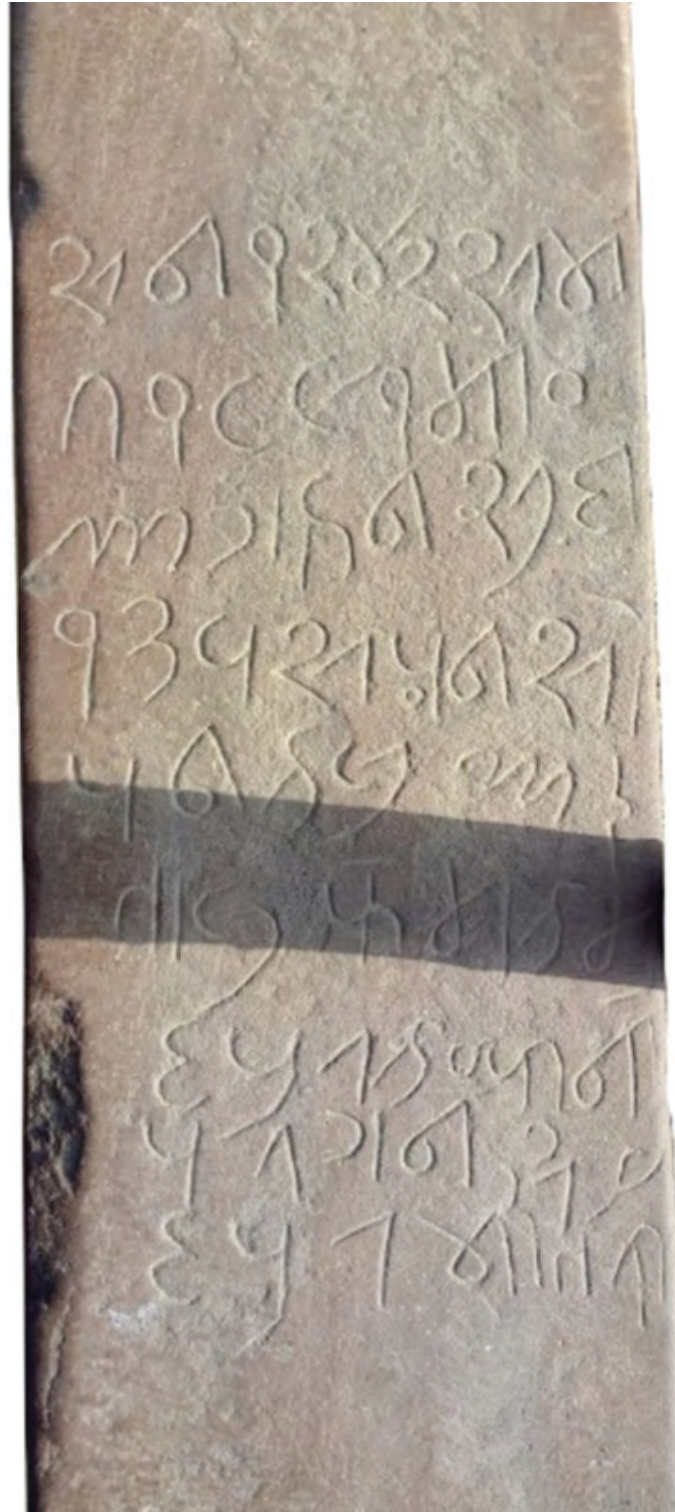


Figure 1. Bhitari (Saidpur) Stone-Slab Inscription (Photo Courtesy: Sachin Kr. Tiwary)

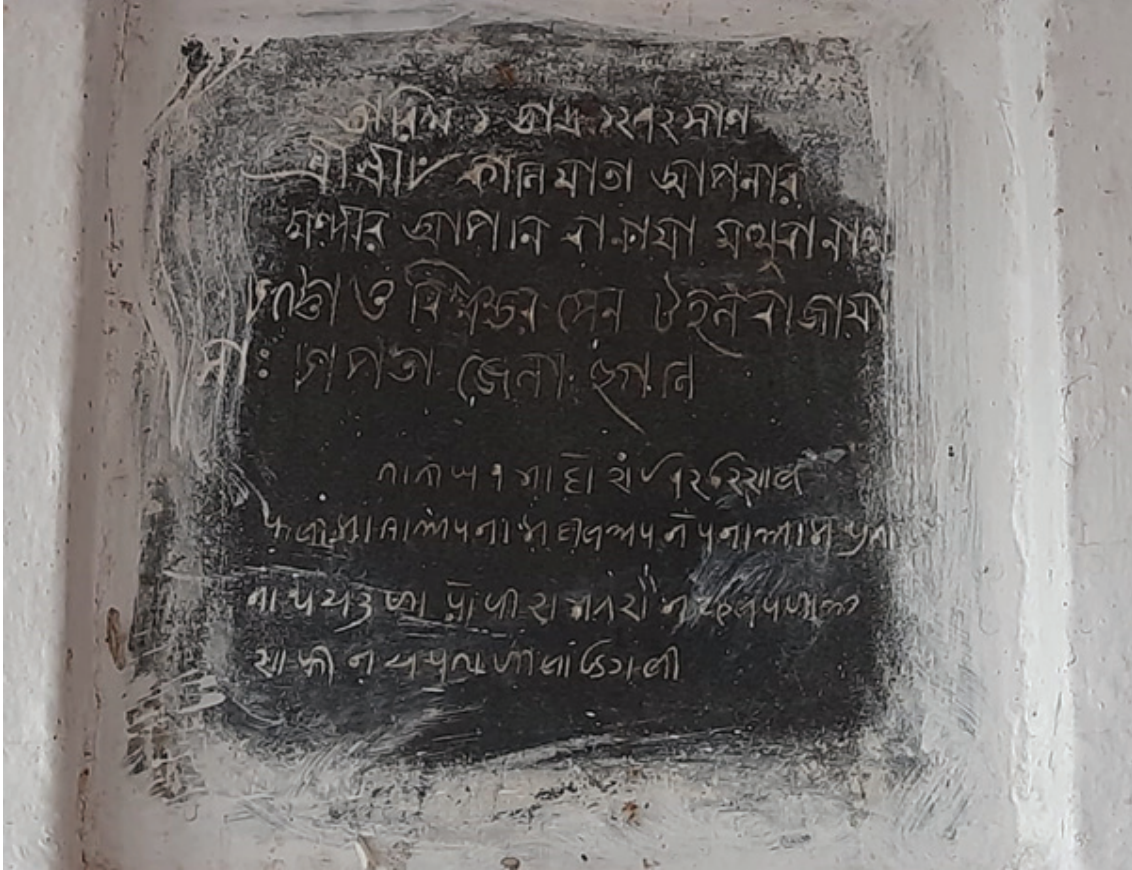


Figure 2. Bateshwar (Bhagalpur) Temple Stone-Slab Inscription

(Photo Courtesy: Jalaj Kumar Tiwari)

A Note on the Birth of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ

P.N. Narasimha Murthy

Abstract: The present article examines the various theories regarding the origin of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ which was one of the royal dynasties that had ruled Karnataka in ancient times. It also probes into the origin of the name Gaṅga and the question regarding the original habitat of these rulers.

Keywords: Gaṅga, Karnataka, Talakāḍ.

Karnataka was fortunate in witnessing the rule of two Royal families born simultaneously out of this land in ancient times. They were the Kadam̄bas of Banavāsi and the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ. Both have contributed a lot to the history and culture of Karnataka. When scholars began to write about the history of these two dynasties they experienced difficulties in deciding about the nature of their origin and date of commencement of their rule. This was mainly due to lack of proper source materials. This led to interesting arguments among scholars regarding the date and origin. Scholars like Dr. P.B. Desai, Dr. G.S. Gai¹ and Dr. B.R. Gopal² have at last succeeded in setting properly the genealogy and chronology of the Early Kadam̄bas of Banavāsi. The list of genealogy of the Early Kadam̄bas of Banvāsi did not grow long as their rule was brought to an end by the Chalukyas of Bādāmī in c. 540 CE. Afterwards many collateral branches of the Kadam̄bas grew in Karnataka. But they did not pose any problem for deciding the genealogy and chronology of the Early Kadam̄bas. Now, to a certain extent, we can think that this issue regarding the Early Kadam̄bas is almost settled and their rule extended from c. 320 CE to 540 CE. The family produced several great rulers like Mayuraśarma, the founder of the dynasty, Kakusthavarma, Śāntivarma, Mrigeśavarma and Ravivarma. Mayuraśarma, belonging to an orthodox Brahmin family which was expert in Vedic studies, forced by an incident that took place in the Pallava capital Kāñchi threw *kuśa* grass and took sword into his hands for safeguarding the honour of his people. He became a *brahmakshatriya* which resulted in the replacement of *śarma* to *varma*. This is vouchsafed in his Chandrāvalli inscription³. There after all his successors kept ‘varma’ as suffix to their name. Information culled out from their inscriptions proves that the Kadam̄bas were of local origin and the name ‘Kadam̄ba’ might have been obtained by the lone ‘Kadam̄ba tree’ that existed near their house.

Contrary to the history of the Kadam̄bas of Banavāsi we have the history of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ. Unlike the Kadam̄bas the Gaṅgas stayed in power for a long time and became contemporaries of the Kadam̄bas of Banavāsi, the Pallavas of Kāñchi, the Chalukyas of Bādāmī, the Rāshtrakūṭas of Manyakheta, the Chalukyas of Kalyāni and to a little extent the Chōlas till they were wiped out by the latter. This long period of existence in power has caused for the availability of numerous inscriptions both on stone and copper plate. They provide rich and varied type of information on various aspects of the history of the Gaṅgas. As and when the inscriptions have been brought to light scholars⁴ have tried to analyse their content as they understood. The most important points on which these scholars concentrated were the place of their origin, to which group they belonged and the date of origin. The present study is centred round these points with a view to arriving at truth.

The name Gaṅga

A number of views have been expressed about the name Gaṅga⁵. Scholars have used variety of sources for strengthening their views. They are in brief as follows: The queen of Bharata, son of king Hariśchandra of Ayodhya, took bath in the river Gaṅga and gave birth to a son called Gaṅgadatta who became the progenitor of the Gaṅga dynasty. This story is first mentioned in the Humcha inscription⁶ and later got repeated in the inscription from Shikāripura⁷. According to the Gaṅga inscriptions from Kalinga, Puruvasu son of Yayati did *tapas* and obtained a son from the river (goddess) Gaṅga. The child was named Gaṅgeya. He became the progenitor of the Gaṅga dynasty.⁸ These stories were developed during the 12th century CE. The main line of the Gaṅgas had vanished from the political arena almost 150 years before these stories developed. The first story, though mentioned in two inscriptions belonging to a very late period, lacks credibility. Same is the case of the second story which has a Puranic back ground declaring the Gaṅgas as people from North. According to Purale (1112 CE) and Humcha (1077 CE) inscriptions the Gaṅgas belonged to Ikshvāku-vamśa.⁹ B.L. Rice believes that the Gaṅgas belonged to Kanva-vamśa. M.V. Krishna Rao says that the Gaṅgas belonged to Ikshvaku-vamśa of Andhra origin.¹⁰ According to *Kongudeśa rājakaḷa* a Tamil work, the Gaṅgas were from Kongudeśa and settled in Talakāḍi¹¹. There is no coherence in these stories. And, since they have developed after the decline of the Gaṅgas, they lack credibility. Some inscriptions of Koṁgunivarma, the first king of the Gaṅga dynasty have described him as *Kāṇva-gotrod-bhava* and *Jahnviya-kula Bhaskara*.¹² All these statements are just poetical glorifications that do not speak of reality.

Similar statements and stories are there regarding the royal emblem of the Gaṅgas. This story is found mentioned in the Humcha (1077 CE) inscription. It states that king Vishnuvarma (Vishnu Gupta), ruling from Ahichhātrapura performed the *Aimdra-dhvaja puje*. Indra, the king of the *devatas*, pleased by this gave the king an elephant and renamed Ahichhātrapura as Vijayapura¹³. This elephant later on became the royal emblem of the Gaṅgas.

Influence of Simhanandi Āchārya

Another story has been knitted into the history of the origin of the Gaṅgas. According to it two royal brothers belonging to Ikshvaku-vamśa came down south in search of a place to rule. At Peruru they met the Jaina saint Simhanandi Āchārya. The *muni* blessed the royal brothers with a magical sword. The brothers became the disciples of the Jaina muni and cut a stone pillar into two with the help of the magical sword. Thereafter they built up a kingdom, which spread very fast and got the name Gaṅgavadi-96,000. Scholars like M.V. Krishna Rao, S.R. Sharma, P.B. Desai and others have accepted this as a true account¹⁴. This story appears first in the Kudlūru inscription of Gaṅga Mārasimha¹⁵ of 963 CE., when the dynasty was almost at the edge of disappearance. Even if the two brothers blessed by Simhanandi Āchārya are taken as Dadiga and Mādhava the story finds no place in the inscriptions issued by king Mādhava I, of the dynasty. It is said that the brothers came to Peruru from where they started their political activities. There are two places with same name; one in Cuddapa (Andhra Pradesh) and the other in Coimbatore (Tamil Nadu) districts. There is no reference to the existence of Jaina *muni* with the name Simhanandi Āchārya during the time of Gaṅga Mādhava I. The earliest evidence we get to this *muni* is in an inscription belonging to the

10th century CE.¹⁶ Further, it is strange to note that the *kshatriya* brothers came in search of a place to rule. Does it mean that they were homeless wanderers? Or, were they chased out of their own place? Scholars who have simply accepted this as a true account did not think of these possibilities. What history tells us is that in ancient times the *kshatriyas* extending their territory after defeating the neighbours and they were not after a place to rule. Hence the story lacks credibility. It was only a late 10th century fabrication by an intelligent court poet for a reward. All these opinions of the scholars have been properly scanned by Dr. B. Sheik Ali and find them unacceptable as they are based on information from inscriptions which belong to late 11th and 12th century CE, when the Gaṅgas were not in power¹⁷.

Dr. B. Sheik Ali, while setting aside the opinion of scholars which aim at projecting the northern or foreign origin of the Gaṅgas, views in a very pragmatic way by putting forward the local origin theory. The founders of the dynasty might have emerged out of an agricultural stock of local community. The fall of the Sātavāhanas created a political vacuum in South India in general and Karnataka in particular. The interest of the agricultural community was at stake. This led to the rise of the Pallavas in Kāñchī, the Gaṅgas in and around Talakāḍ and the Kadam̐bas in Banavāsi. The cultivators living in and around Talakāḍ chose their leaders and made them responsible for looking after their welfare. These leaders with the support of the local community established a small principality with Talakāḍ as their capital. A large community of Gaṅgadikāras live in a vast area stretching between Mysore and Bangalore. The leaders belonged to this community; hence the name ‘Gaṅga’ and their kingdom came to be called ‘Gaṅgavadi’. They were ‘the sons of the soil’¹⁸.

The opinion expressed by Dr. Sheik Ali is convincing. Recent research has proved that the Gaṅgas were of local origin. Their inscriptions are mostly in Kannaḍa script. The language is also mostly colloquial Kannaḍa which is present even to-day. If the Gaṅgas had come from north the language of those places would have been invariably mixed in the text of inscriptions of the Gaṅgas. So far no scholar has noticed such mixture of languages in the Gaṅga inscriptions excepting the use of Sanskrit, which was then the *lingua franca* of the country. This proves beyond doubt that the Gaṅgas were truly local Kannaḍigas. Yet, a question arises as to whether they actually lived in and around Talakāḍ and their community name became the name of the kingdom.

The epithets: Views of scholars:

Many scholars have tried to locate the place of origin of the Gaṅgas on basis of the epithets they possessed. The Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ possessed various titles; the earliest being *Kuvalāla-puravarādhīśvra*, *Nandagirinātha* and *Koṅgunivarma*. Based on this N.L. Rao and R.S. Panchmukhi¹⁹ think that the Gaṅgas originally belonged to Kolar region. This is vouchsafed by their title *Kuvalālapuravarādhīśvara*. They occupied the hill fort of Nandi, hence obtained the title *Nandagirinātha*. From here they moved West and occupied Talavanapura [Talakāḍ] which, later on became their Capital city.

Similarly, some scholars think of Kongu [Tamil] country as the original habitat of the Gaṅgas. That’s why the first Gaṅga king came to be called ‘Kongunivarma’. Arokiyaswamy the expounder of this theory is of the opinion that the Gaṅgas originated first in Perur of Coimbatore district and later moved to Kolār afterwards occupied Talavanapura and made it their Capital. Thus holds the

view that the Gaṅgas were of Tamil origin. The scholar has not illustrated the reason for the Gaṅgas to move from Perur to Kolar a far distant place and then reach Talakāḍ, a place in close proximity to Kongunāḍu. This only indicates a process of stealing the credit of achievements of early Gaṅgas.

It is mentioned above that these were the epithets POSSESSED by the kings of the Gaṅga family almost from the beginning. The normal procedure for getting an epithet was a king after defeating the neighbour or enemy king the victor used to seize the Royal emblem, the Royal flag and the epithet of the defeated king. If we find that the Gaṅgas possessed these epithets from the very beginning it only reflects that they occupied Kolar and Nandagiri [Nandi hills] in the east and Kongu country in the south only after defeating the rulers of the respective regions. As a mark of victory they not only occupied those territories but also got the epithets. If ever the Gaṅgas lived in the Kolar region first, there was no room for the Bānas to rise in power.²⁰ Mahalingam writes that the rise of Bānas in Kolar region was irksome to the Gaṅgas; hence, they defeated the Bānas and occupied their territory. This clearly indicates that the Gaṅgas did not belong to Kolar region. On the other hand they occupied that territory and thereby extended their kingdom in the east. Similar is the case for Kongu origin theory. The Gaṅgas waged successful wars and occupied the Kongu country. The problem is as to which place was occupied first by the Gaṅgas. In all probability the contiguity of the border of the kingdoms of Gaṅgavadi and Kongu kingdom must have been found a serious threat by the Gaṅga king. Hence, to safeguard the capital and the newly growing kingdom, the Gaṅgas aimed at occupation of Kongu country first and they succeeded in their attempt. The other reason for the first move was that there was no immediate danger from the Bānas whose capital Kuvalālapura was far away from Talavanapura [Talakāḍ].

The fall of Sātavāhanas created a ticklish political situation in South India. The rise of Kadamba power posed a threat to the western boundaries of the Pallavas. At the same time and very close to them, the Pallavas were watching the growth of the strength of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ. If Bānas were allowed to grow in power the danger would have come very close to their doors. The Pallavas in a political move for their safety indirectly allowed the Gaṅgas to defeat the Bānas and occupy their territory. In this respect Sheik Ali writes that it must have been the policy of Mādhava to overpower the least powerful of them namely, the Bānas.

Consequently he had his brother Dadiga who matured a plan of conquest of the Kolar territory which earned for him the title of ‘‘Confunder of the Bānakula’’ and the ‘‘forest fire to the stubble of Bana’’²¹; this opinion summarily dismisses the view of Panchamukhi and N.L. Rao that the Gaṅgas were of Kolār origin. This strengthens the view that the ‘Gaṅgas were of local origin’ and ‘sons of the soil’ as expressed by Sheik Ali. Yet the question whether they originated in Talakāḍ or any place around the region, remains. Let us probe into this matter now.

The present district of Mandya was the heart and hearth of the activities of the Gaṅgas since the commencement of their political life. It is but natural to expect a big role being played by the people of this region in the history of the Gaṅgas. This led me to take stock of the people and villages in all the seven taluks of this district. In the districts of Mandya and Hassan the name Dadiga is very popular. This indicates the influence of the name Dadiga, who was the brother of Mādhava I,

the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty. If ever Dadiga was a foreign name people of this region might not have given credence to it. People have given importance to two names and have cherished their memory by naming their progeny as Dadiga and Mādhava. They have even excavated tanks named after Dadiga as “*Dadigana kere*”. If the founders were of foreign origin it is doubtful that they would have created an impression of this kind of an everlasting nature. Thus it is proved that the Gaṅgas were of local origin. Then where exactly they originated?

There is a small river in Mandya district called Lokapāvani, which originates in the Basavanabetta hill in Nagmangala taluk. It flows through Pandavapura taluk and at Karighatta hill range of Sriragapattana taluk joins the river Kāvērī. In this river valley area there are two villages named Dodda Gaṅgavadi and Chikka Gaṅgavadi, located close to each other now in Nagamangala and Mandya taluks respectively. Agriculture is the most important profession of the people of these villages. Both the villages are very rich in folk tales. They celebrate annual festival for the local goddess in a very grand manner. At that time they sing a song glorifying the heroic deeds of two brothers of their community who built up a kingdom long back. This folk song is in close comparison of the heroic deeds of Dadiga and Mādhava whom we know as the founders of the Gaṅga kingdom. The agricultural community that lives in these villages mostly belong to Gaṅgadikara group. The place name and the folk tales knitted round the two heroes of this community bring our journey going in search of a place and community that caused the Gaṅga kingdom to a clear cut halt. The villages have provided the name Gaṅgavadi for the kingdom. The words Gaṅga and Gangeya found in their inscriptions indicate not the river Gaṅga of north India but river Kāvērī, which is considered as the sacred Gaṅga of the south. The brothers having originated in the Lokapāvani valley, moved along with the river belt to Talavanapura, situated in the banks of the river Kāvērī and made it their capital. The strategic nature of its location is very much suited to become a safe capital of a great kingdom. Apart from its political importance is a sacred religious centre named Gajāñanya kshetra. In ancient times the place was covered with thick forest where lived elephants in large number as it is even to-day. The Gaṅgas reaped very much from the bounty of this nature. The pride of the Gaṅgas depended on the strength of elephant force. As a natural corollary elephant became the sign of the Royal Emblem. This dispenses the *Aimdra-dhvaja-pūje* theory.

Date of the commencement of Gaṅga rule

There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the date of commencement of the rule of the Gaṅgas. Lewis Rice was the first to give his opinion in this regard. He holds the view that the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ began their political career in 2nd century CE. His view is based on the information found in the Kudlapura stone inscription²² of the reign period of Hoysala Narasimha I dated 21st August 1148 CE. It records the re-instatement of a grant made far earlier to the time of the Hoysalas. It says, at the beginning that the grants were made by Komganivarma *dharmamahādiraja* and mention him as *Prathama Gaṅga*. By this it becomes clear that Kongunivarma [Komganivarma] was the first Gaṅga King. But the problem comes next only. The record gives the date on which the Gaṅga king made a grant. The text of it is as follows:

1. *Svasti-mat-Konganivarma dharma-ma-*
2. *hadi raja prathama Gaṅgasya dattam saka*
3. *varusha gateshu panchavimshati 25 neya Su-*
4. *bhakritu Samvatsarasu Phalguna suddha pancha-*
5. *mi Sani Rohini Kasyapa gotrada Devakinanda-|na . . . “*

Lewis Rice has considered 25 as Śaka varsha. The cyclic year then was Subhakritu which occurred in Śaka 24. Here we get two dates viz., 103 and 102 CE respectively. On this basis Rice has opined that the Gaṅgas came into existence during the 2nd century CE. But the views of scholars differ here. Some hold the view that Kongunivarma ruled from 350 to 370 CE. According to Gopal 325 to 350 is the date of this king²³. The view of Rice is not supported by any evidence. Gopal has taken 25 as the regnal year. He says that the cyclic year Subhakritu occurred in Śaka 264 which corresponds with 342 CE. If calculated on this basis the first year of Kongunivarma's rule would be 317 CE. Since 325 CE has been taken as the first year, it is not possible to accept 317 CE, is the opinion of Dr. Gopal. It is strange to note that even the date 325 CE as suggested by Gopal is not supported by any evidence. I quote here the argument of Dr. Gopal. “The year cited may as well be a reference to the regnal year. If the dates assigned by us for the Kadamba rulers are to be accepted, the reign period of Kongunivarma would be 325–350 CE, and the regnal year cited would correspond to c. 350 CE. However, the cyclic year Subhakrit cited in the record corresponds to Śaka 264 i.e. 342 CE, which would even according to our dates, be the 17th–18th year of rule and not the 25th! Nothing definite can, there, be said about this. It is interesting to note that Kongunivarma is described here in as the first Gaṅga king²⁴.

We have to take note of two aspects here; firstly, naming Konganivarma as the first Gaṅga king. Since this is correct there is nothing to point it as interesting. Secondly, Gopal does not accept the date 350-370 CE, given by Lewis Rice. But he imposes a date 325-350 CE, on the basis of the Kadamba genealogy in the manner that it cannot be altered. In epigraphy no genealogy or chronology can remain permanent unless evidenced by proper records. In the case of present record, under study, if 342 CE, can be considered as the 25th year of rule of *Prathama Gaṅga*, his first year of rule would certainly be 317-318 CE. There is no need to tailor it to 325 CE and find fault²⁵. The difference between the two dates is just 7-8 years. The first Gaṅga king Kongunivarma [Konganivarma] might have ruled for a little longer period from 317 to 350 CE. There is no hard and fast rule to fix the reign period of a king between 20 and 30 years only. There are examples, in Indian History, of kings ruling over 40 to 60 years⁴⁴ [26].

Before concluding we need turn our attention towards the views expressed by Dr. K.V. Ramesh. So far it is believed that Mādhava I was the first king of the Gaṅgas. According to Ramesh Mādhava I was the son and successor of Kongunivarman. As a result Kongunivarman himself becomes the first Gaṅga king. The genealogy of the early Gaṅga rulers as per Ramesh is as follows: Konganivarman, Mādhava I, Harivarman / Aryavarman / Krishnavarman, Mādhava II / Simhavarman, Vishnugopa, Mādhava III, Avinita, Durvinita, Durvinita's sons- Muskara and Polavira, Muskara's son and grand-son Srivikrama and Bhuvikrama.²⁷

What had been considered as an epithet has now become a proper name and that too, of the first Gaṅga king. Ramesh, who has edited the inscriptions of Western Gaṅgas with erudite scholarship, has kept the name of Konganivarma on top of the Gaṅga genealogy very methodically.

He describes the military feats of Konganivarman in glowing terms. “The Western Gaṅga charters are almost unanimous in giving credit to Konganivarman for the establishment of the Gaṅga kingdom. He is uniformly described, at least from the time of Harivarman, in an intriguing phrase which reads *sva-khaḍg-aika-prahara-khaṇḍita-mahāśilasthambha-lābah-bala-parākrama-yaśah*. This phrase has not so far been properly understood and interpreted. Mahāśila is an ancient deadly weapon used as a missile, supposed by some to be a sort of fire-arm or rocket but described by the commentator on the Mahabharata as a cylindrical piece of wood studded with iron spikes [Monier Williams: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*]. It may be safely deduced from this that Konganivarman had successfully broken the devastating effect of this weapon in some battle, a feat which must have catapulted him to the status of a king. He is eulogised in the charters of his successors as one who had acquired much booty and fame through victories scored in many battles as one whose intelligence had become enriched by the study of various sciences. More than any ruling house of those days, the Western Gaṅgas seem to have devoted special attention to princely education, for the academic stature of all most all the rulers of that family is described in glowing, yet credible terms in their dynastic eulogy. He was succeeded by his son Mādhava I who is praised for his scholarly and martial accomplishments, for the patronage to the learned and for his extreme familiarity with the rules of polity. He is the first Western Gaṅga ruler for whom we have epigraphical records.”²⁸

The identification of Dr. K.V. Ramesh is vouchsafed by two very important inscriptions of the Gaṅgas. They are from Kaḍalūr²⁹ and Kuḍlāpura³⁰. Of the two Ramesh has looked into the contents of Kaḍalūr record. The reason behind it is that it belongs to the reign of Gaṅga Mārasimha and dated CE 962 December, 23. It gives a very good account of the genealogy of Gaṅgas up to Mārasimha. The first person who tops this list is *Śrīmān* Kongunivarman-dharmamahārāja. His son and successor is *Śrīmān* Mādhava mahādhirāja. Though not stated, since the name appears first in the list, Kongunivarman is taken as the first king and the progenitor of the Gaṅga dynasty.

Ramesh has not looked into the Kuḍlāpura stone inscription may be for the reason that it belongs to the period of Hoysala Narasimha I and dated 21st August 1148 CE. It states very clearly *Kongunivarman dharma mahārāja prathama Gaṅgasya*. Thus it is proved beyond doubt that Kongunivarman was the progenitor of the Gaṅga dynasty and not Mādhava I as believed by several early scholars. By this the problem of real founder and the genealogy of the Gaṅgas are solved. But, the problem of date remains.

B.L. Rice and B.R. Gopal have based their arguments on the basis of information found in the Kuḍlāpura stone inscription. It states that a grant made Konganivarman in his 25th year was reinstated by Hoysala Narasimha I in 1148 CE. Rice has considered the numeral 25 as Śaka year and on this basis opines that the Gaṅgas came to power in 2nd century CE. The contention of Gopal is that numeral 25 cannot be taken as Śaka year and in all probability feels that it can be taken as 25th year of rule of Mādhava I. He rejects this as it does not fall within the date fixed by him to Mādhava I. One is based on general information and the other arbitrary.

Dr. Ramesh has very carefully judged the contents of Bedirur grant of Bhūvikrama³¹ dated Śaka 556, the 25th regnal year of the king corresponding to 609-610 CE, the Mercara plates of Avinīta³² [*Ibid*: No 17]; here he accepts figure 388 as Śaka year corresponding to 466 CE, and the

Kudluru plats of Harivarma engraved in 9th century characters³³. He finds a big gap of 143 years between the Mercara Plates [CE 466] and Bedirur grant [CE 609]. As an act of finding a source to fill the gap he has put the Kudluru plates of Harivarma for further examination. The numeral mentioned in this record has been taken as 188 by early scholars. As an act of correcting the mistake he says that the numeral is 88 and not 188 as viewed earlier. This figure, he feels, only signifies the 88th year of the establishment of the Gaṅga kingdom. On this basis he opines that the Gaṅga kingdom was established 'around the middle of fourth century CE'³⁴. With this we have come very close to the views expressed by Dr. B.R. Gopal and Dr. K.V. Ramesh. The only difference between the two is about the real founder. Gopal has viewed Mādhava I as the founder while Ramesh has emphatically proved that it was Kongunivarma himself the real founder of the Gaṅga dynasty and his son was Mādhava I. There remains no dispute regarding the founder and the first Gaṅga ruler. According to Ramesh the 88 years need be spread over the reign period of the first three Gaṅga rules viz., Kongunivarma, Mādhava I and Harivarma. Contrary to the genealogy set by Ramesh to the early Gaṅgas Sheik Ali gives the following names in succession with duration of rule. Konganivarma Mādhava I (350-370 CE), Mādhava II also called Kiriya Mādhava, son of Dadiga (370-390 CE), his son Harivarma (390-410 CE whose son was Vishnugopa (419-430 CE)³⁵. This being a continuation of the old view sets aside the contents of Kadalur grant of Gaṅga Mārasimha dated 23rd December 962 CE

Dr. Ramesh, with his supreme knowledge over the contents and meaning of the early Gaṅga inscriptions, had come very close to the point of suggesting the exact date of the birth of the Gaṅga kingdom. But, he has left the matter inconclusive by saying the first 88 years need be distributed among the first three Gaṅga kings. Instead of allowing the matter drag further I wish to sort it out by balancing the view of Ramesh with the information found in the Kudlapura stone inscription. Since the record is genuine we need take cognisance of its contents. To begin with it states *Kongunivarma-dharma-mahādirāja-prathama-Gaṅgasya*. During the 25th year of rule he makes a grant which was reinstated by Hoysala Narasimha I in 1148 CE. Gopal has equated this 25th year to Śaka 264 corresponding to 342 CE. This would mean that Kongunivarma has started ruling his kingdom from about 317 CE. By this we can close the matter by saying that the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ came into existence somewhere between 310 and 315 CE. On this basis it can be viewed that Kongunivarma *prathama-Gaṅga* ruled the Gaṅga kingdom from c.315 to 345 CE. Dr. G.S. Gai has fixed c.320-345 CE as the reign period of Mayuravarma³⁶, the founder of the kingdom of Kadam̄bas of Banavāsi. The two dates suggested here suit the views of early scholars that both the kingdoms of the Kadam̄bas and Gaṅgas were born in Karnataka simultaneously.

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A Unique Maṅgala (Barber) Inscription from Āndhra

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Abstract:

The *Maṅgalas* are the traditional barbers of Andhra region and also served as musicians and surgeons during the pre-colonial period. They rose into prominence during the rule of Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagara period by way of remission of many taxes on them. There existed as many as 22 inscriptions from Āndhra region mentioning relief given to them from various taxes.

Keywords:

Barbers, Maṅgalas, Koṇḍōju and Timmōju, Tax Remission, Nasankōṭa inscription, Barber instruments.

The *Maṅgalas* are traditional barbers of Andhra region. As per Thurston, the community name *Maṅgala* derived from “the word *maṅgalam*, which means happiness and also cleansing, and is applied to barbers, because they take part in marriage ceremonies and add to the happiness on the occasion by the melodious sounds of their flutes (*nāgasaram*), while they also contribute to the cleanliness of the people by shaving their bodies”.¹ Nunjundayya and Ananthakrishna Iyer state that “the term *Maṅgala* (auspicious) is applied to them, as they are called to assist at auspicious ceremonies in various ways”.² Though Thurston informs that they are ‘said to be the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa by a Vaiśya woman’, Siraj Ul Hasan says that they are the descendants of one Maṅgal Mahāmuni, who was created by the Trinity from their foreheads, to serve as a barber. Hasan also cites three more legends according to which the earliest member of the community was created by the god/ gods.³ However, there is another myth current among the Nayindas, the barbers of Kannaḍa region. As per that Pārvaṭī, the consort of Lord Śiva was unhappy with the unkempt and unshaven face of Śiva and gave a hint to him. Then, Śiva created a person with a case of shaving implements from his left eye. He made a haircut and shaved Śiva and the god pleased and rewarded him with a set of musical instruments and he was the progenitor of the barbers.⁴ The primary occupation of the caste is hair cutting and shaving to the people and they also act as the village musicians. They were said to be a kind of surgeons during the pre-modern times. As one of the *Āyagars* of the village, the *Maṅgala* was entitled to receive rent free land in a village.⁵ The medieval inscriptions from Āndhra inform that they were employed as musicians in the temples and as such some temple lands were also assigned for their services. Though they were said to have accorded a social status equivalent to the cultivators as per tradition, they were subordinated to the peasant in the agrarian economy.

T.V. Mahalingam informs that “in the latter half of the sixteenth century the community of barbers received certain special privileges at the hands of (Vijayanagara) state. The exact reasons why the barbers were the objects of special favor from Sadāśiva and his minister are not known”.⁶

If Tenāli Rāma was believed as a historical person adorning the court of Krishṇadēvarāya and the stories relating him are true, the Maṅgala aspiration to rise in the social scale was nipped in the bud during the period of Krishṇadevarāya.⁷ However the details of the pacification process are not forthcoming. Mahalingam informs, while quoting H. Krishna Sastri, that ‘it is generally said that Rāmarāja was very much pleased with the barber Konḍōja for his skill in shaving the chin’.⁸ The Karnataka inscriptions state that Rāmarāja, the *kāryakartta* of the king Sadāśiva granted remission of taxes in favor of barbers on the representation made by Konḍōju, Timmōju and Bhadrōju.⁹ His general order to remit the taxes on the community was given effect by local chiefs within their jurisdiction as per the available inscriptional data.

Maṅgala (Barber) Inscriptions from Āndhra

As many as 22 published inscriptions referring to the remission of various taxes on the barbers are available from Āndhra region dating between 1544 CE and 1559 CE including two undated inscriptions of Sadāśiva’s reign. (Table) We come across two types of such inscriptions in Andhra i.e. the inscriptions issued by *Maṅgala* Konḍōju, etc., mentioning the remissions and the epigraphs issued by the local administrators citing the remission orders made by Rāmarāja. The Baṭṭepāḍu inscription 1548- 49 CE says that Chippagiri *Maṅgala* Timmōju, Konḍōju and Bhadrōju having pleased Rāmarāja, the barbers were exempted from taxes throughout the Vijayanagara kingdom.¹⁰ The Marella inscription of 1554-55 CE is more clear in informing that *Maṅgala* Timmōju and Konḍōju having done service to Rāmarāja and having made a request to the king, obtained a royal decree exempting the taxes throughout the country and inscriptions to that effect was set up (by them) in important places of the empire.¹¹ The inscriptions of Cuddapah district inform that at the orders of Rāmarāja, the regional administrator Nandyāla Timmarāju remitted the taxes on *Maṅgalas* in the presence of Viṭṭalēśvara on the banks of Tungabhadra.¹²

The confusing details elude us the exact relationship of Konḍōju, Timmōju and Bhadrōju and their native places. For example the Porumāmilla inscription mentions Konḍōju as the son of Kandanvōlu Timmōju¹³ while the Podili inscription mentions them as Chippagiri Maṅgala Timmōju, Konḍōju and Bhadrōju.¹⁴ It seems that they belong to Kandanavōlu (Kurnool) region and more precisely Chippagiri village. A number of remitted taxes payable by the barbers were mentioned in the inscriptions which included *Maṅgali Pannu* / *Kula Pannu* / *Kula Siddhayas* / *Jāti Pannu* (Tax on barber community), *Siddhayam* (Fixed tax/ fees), *Kānike* (Donation to administrator/ god), *Kadayam* (Compulsory tax?), *Veṭṭi* (compulsory free labour), *Vemi* (?), *Viralam* (Donation), *Dombari kāsū* / *Dombari Pannu* / *Āta Pannu* (Money payable to Dommaris), *Desidayam* (state share?), *Anuvrayam* (?), *Kāvali* (watch and ward tax), *Kaṭnam* (gift?), *Asavecham* (?), *Sankhyalitham* (?), *Kaṭṭa Mera* (tank tax) and *Koru* (share of agricultural produce). It may be surmised that though the Maṅgala effort to rise in the social scale failed during the Krishṇadēvarāya’s reign and the barbers of Vijayanagara period got remitted of the vexatious taxes at the orders of Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of Krishṇadēvarāya, during the reign of Sadasiva at the initiative of Konḍōju, Timmōju and Bhadrōju.

In their book '*The Mysore Tribes and Castes*' Nanjundayya and Ananthakrishna Iyer mentions that the barbers refer to 'Khaṇḍōji and Timmōji' and "on some occasions, *tāmbulas* are taken out in their names and given over to headman of the caste".¹⁵ Further, during one of the marriage related rituals namely 'Pūja of Simhāsana', "The betel leaves and nuts taken out of the heap are distributed, the first tambula going to the family god, the second to the progenitors of the caste, Khaṇḍōji and Timmōji."¹⁶ Such an honor is accorded them. Recently, Rajashekharappa, discovered the sculptures of Khaṇḍōji and Timmōji in the Chitradurga hills of Karnataka along with an inscription belonging to 18th century on paleographical grounds which mentions that Khaṇḍōji and Timmōji were the gods of Nayana Kshatriyas (barbers).¹⁷ Hence, it may be surmised that by the 18th century or before Khaṇḍōju and Timmōju were elevated to the status of demigods of the barber castes due to their beneficial deeds to the community.

Nāsanakōṭa Maṅgala (Barber) Inscription

Of the 22 *Maṅgala* inscriptions appeared in Andhra region during the Vijayanagara period especially in the reign of Sadāśiva, the inscription of Nāsanakōṭa, Dharmavaram taluk, Ananthapur district, is unique. It was issued on the tenth day of the bright Moon of Jyēshṭha month of cyclic year Parābhava of the Śaka year of 1468 corresponding to 10th May 1546 CE. The inscription states that during the reign of Sadāśivarāya and at the orders of Aliya Rāmappa, Koṭappa Nāyani gave remission of taxes namely *kula pannu* and *sidhayam* in all the *Bhandaravāḍa* (crown villages), *Dēvagrāma* (villages under temples) and *Agrahāra* (villages under Brahmins) that falls under his *nayankara* territory of Nāsanakōṭa for the merit of the ruler.¹⁸ At the top of the inscription the Sun and Moon were chiseled stating that it will endure perpetually. Below the inscription the implements used by the *Maṅgalas* (barbers) were engraved.¹⁹ H.K. Narasimhaswami, who edited the volume, identified them as 'a mirror, a razor, a pair of scissors and other instruments of the barbers'.²⁰ After a careful examination of the estampage of the inscription, the implements are identified as *Addam*, *Maṅgala Katti*, *Gorugōlu*, *Kattera* and *Sāna Rāyi*.²¹ All these implements are carried keeping in a bag namely *Maṅgala Podi* or a box known as *Maṅgala Peṭṭi*.

Description and Usage of the Implements

1. **Addam:** It is a round shaped mirror. It is used to show the face and hair of the client after shaving and hair cutting for the possible modifications and corrections.
2. **Maṅgala Katti:** It looks like a triangular shaped knife with haft, perhaps, with a sharp edge, which is used to shave the beard. It is different from the known barber's foldable razor of recent times. It seems that the foldable razor was a later addition after 16th century or later.
3. **Gorugōlu:** It is a finger sized flat thin iron piece with a triangular sharp edge and a point. It is a multipurpose implement used to cut the nails, cutting the wanes on the foot, making small cuts in minor surgeries and removing the pierced thorns with the point for both human beings and animals.

4. **Kattera:** It is scissors of different type, perhaps, used in the sixteenth century. Instead of using two blades for shearing the hair of now a days, the curved ends of this implement make us to believe that hair cutting was done with concave sharp edges at the top.
5. **Sāna Rāyi:** It is a whetstone to sharpen the implements used by the barbers. In the long usage, the sharpening stone will become concave shaped as seen in the estampage.

Nanjundayya and Ananthakrishna Iyer inform that the barbers carry their instruments like razors, scissors, a small stone (for sharpening), a leather strap, a nail-cutter, a looking glass and a cup for water in a leather pouch suspended under his left shoulder.²² In the present inscription, all the instruments except the leather strap and water cup are clearly visible. Hence, it can be construed that the leather strap and water cup were optional but not essential. One barbers' inscription from Śrīrāmpuram, Chitradurga district, Karnataka, also depicts four small engravings of their tools namely mirror, scissors, razor and sharpening stone.²³ Rajashekharappa mentions four unidentifiable small sketches in sculptured images of Konḍōji and Timmōji in the Chitradurga hills, which he doubts as the instruments of barbers.²⁴

Conclusion

So far we came across the tools used by the five artisanal communities viz. the goldsmith, the blacksmith, the brass-smith, the carpenter and the mason collectively known as the *Panchanānam vāru*, the *Panchalattārs*, the *Viśvakarmās* and the like, engraved on copper plate inscriptions in three such plates. Two of them were from Tamil region (North Arcot and Tiruchirappalli) and reported from Madras (Chennai) Museum presently in National Museum, New Delhi²⁵ and one from Karnataka (Bedadakōṭa/ Bīdar) presently in Telangana State Museum, Hyderabad.²⁶ For the first time, subjected to correction, we come across the engravings of all the implements used by the Telugu barber community namely the *Maṅgalas* in the Nāsanakōṭa inscription of 1546 CE during the reign of Sadāśivarāya of Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara kings. Since the figures of the implements are chiseled on a stone inscription associated with the *Maṅgalas*, the chances of forgery is remote. Hence, the Nāsanakōṭa epigraph needs to be considered as a unique *Maṅgala* (barber) inscription from Āndhra region for having five small images of their essential instruments as against that of four as the case of Śrīrāmpuram inscription of Chitradurga district, Karnataka state.

Table: Maṅgala (Barber) Inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh

Sl. No	Year in CE	Place	Tax Remissions	Ref
1	1544	Gajarampalli, Ananthapur Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu</i> (Tax on barbers), <i>Siddhayam</i> (Fixed tax/ fees), <i>Kānike</i> (Donation to administrator/ god), <i>Kadayam</i> (Compulsory tax?), <i>Vetṭi</i> (Free labour), <i>Virālam</i> (Donation/ tax), <i>Dombari kāsū</i> (Money given to Dommaris)	SII, XVI, 135

Sl. No	Year in CE	Place	Tax Remissions	Ref
2	1544	Miduturu, Ananthapur Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu, Siddhayam, Kānike</i> (Damaged)	SII, XVI, 136
3	1546	Chilamakuru, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu</i>	IAPCD, II, 178
4	1546	Porumamilla, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu</i>	IAPCD, II, 179
5	1546	Chapadu, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu</i>	IAPCD, II, 180
6	1546	Sankhavaram, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu</i>	IAPCD, II, 181
7	1546	Kalamalla, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu, Desidayam</i> (?), <i>Kānike, Anuvrayam</i> (?)	SII- XVI, 147
8	1546	Chilamkuru, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu</i>	SII- XVI, 148
9	1546	Mutukuru, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Magala Pannu, Dommari Pannu, Veṭṭivemulu</i>	SII- XVI, 149
10	1546	Nasanakota, Anantapur Dt.	<i>Kula Pannu</i> given by <i>Maṅgalis</i> and <i>Siddhayam</i>	SII- XVI, 150
11	1547	Nallaballi, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu, Siddhayam, Kānike</i> and <i>Kāvali</i> (tax on watch and ward)	IAPCD, II, 193
12	1547	Chintalaputturu/ Pushpagiri, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu</i>	SII, XVI, 163 and IAPCD, II, 194
13	1547	Tanguturu, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgala Pannu</i> ?, <i>Siddhayam, Kaṭnam, Veṭṭivemula</i>	IAPCD, II, 195
14	1547-48	Podili, Prakasam Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu, Parayalu</i> (etc.), <i>Veṭṭivemulu</i>	NDI- III, Podili (35), pp. 1195-1197
15	1548-49	Battepadu, Nellore Dt.	<i>Kula Siddhayas, Gavyam</i> (marriage fees?), <i>Kānike</i> (presents), <i>Veṭṭivemula</i>	NDI- I, Atmakur (17), pp. 217-218
16	1550	Belum, Kurnool Dt.	<i>Maṅgala Pannu, Kānike, Kaṭnam, Asavecham, Dommari Pannu, Siddhyam, Chelakatam, Veṭṭivemula</i>	IAPKD, II, 127
17	1551	Tangeda, Guntur Dt.	<i>Jati Pannu</i> (tax on caste of barbers), <i>Sankhyalitham, Asivecham, Āta Pannu</i> (Dommari tax?) in the shape of money (<i>Rokkalu</i>) and <i>Veṭṭi</i>	SII, XVI, 178
18	1554-55	Marella, Prakasam Dt.	<i>Kaṭṭa Mēra</i> (tank tax) <i>Koru</i> (share of agricultural produce), <i>Pannu, Kānike, Kaddayam</i> and <i>Veṭṭi</i> etc. taxes	NDI- II, Kanigiri (20), pp. 664-666

19	1558	Nemalladinne, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Kānike, Kaṭnam, Veṭṭivemulu, Dommari Pannu, Siddhayam Pannu</i>	IAPCD, II, 256
20	1559	K. Sugumanchipalle, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Kānike, Kaṭnam, Veṭṭivemulu, Dommari Pannu, Siddhayam Pannu</i>	IAPCD, II, 257
21	?Sadasiva	Bommavaram, Cuddapah Dt.	<i>Maṅgali Pannu, Kānike, Veṭṭi- --</i>	IAPCD, II, 277
22	?Sadasiva	Kistapuram, Nellore Dt.	-	NDI- I, Gudur (47), pp. 420-422

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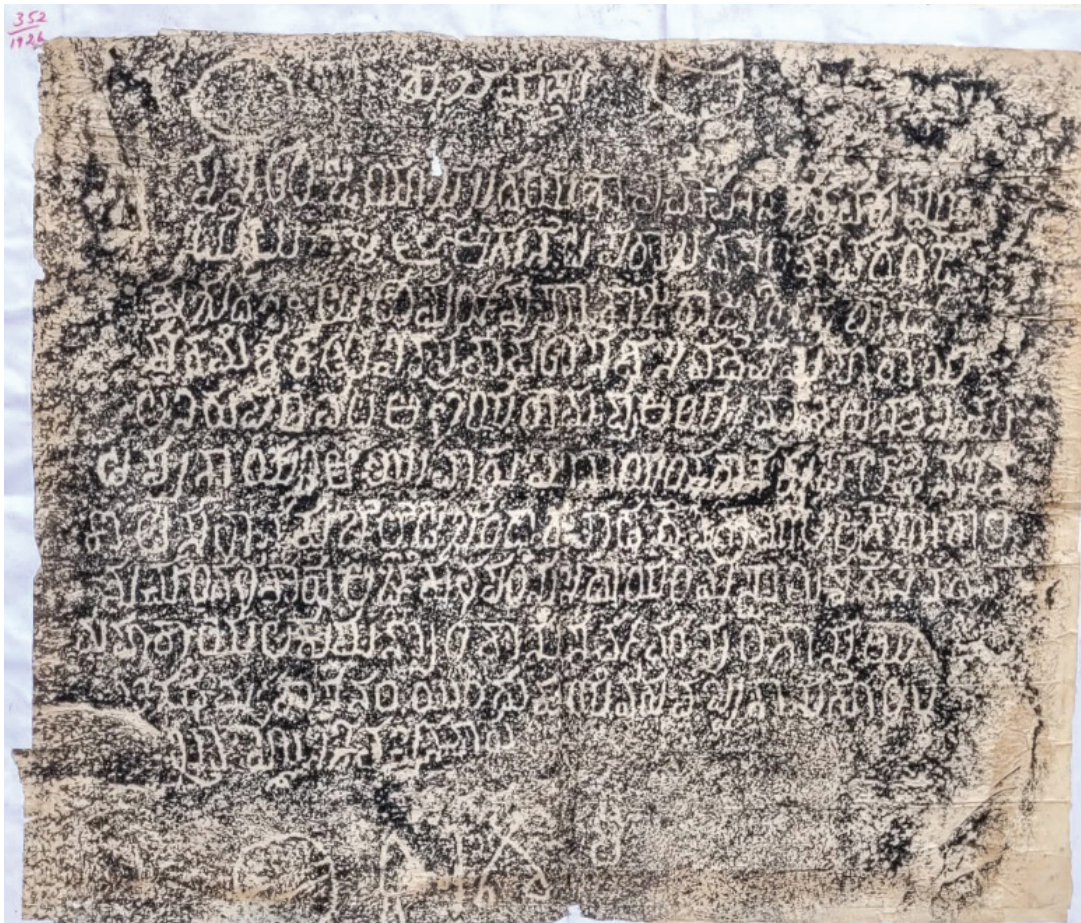


Fig. 1: Estampage of Nasanakota Inscription

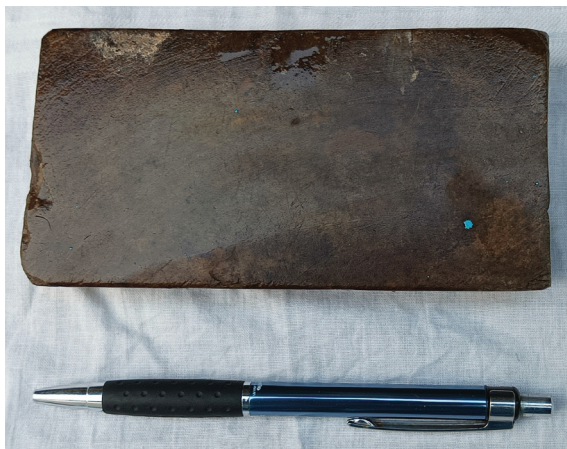
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4. H.V. Nanjundayya and L. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op.cit.*, p. 430.
M.P.R. Reddy, Ed., *Athavanavyavaharatantram: A Mackenzie Manuscript* (April 1802), Centre for Historical Studies, Kavali, Undated, p. 7. *Athavanavyavaharatantram* was a document drawn up in the 1802 A.D. by an anonymous author at the request of one of the earliest officers of East India Company, who desired to know the manner of the government that was obtaining in the Vijayanagara Empire.
5. T.V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, University of Madras, 1940, p. 248.
6. As per the story, one day Krishnadēvarāya's barber gave him a fine shave while he was asleep. Delighted with the shave, the king granted the barber a wish. The latter asked to be made a Brahmin. The king summoned his Brahmin priests and asked them to confer a Brahmin's status to the barber and promised, in return, to exempt them from taxes. But the barber's wish was not fulfilled due to the parody of Tenāli Rāma. While narrating the story, David Dean Shulman says that Krishnadēvarāya summoned the barber 'pacified him another way and sent him home.' David Dean Shulman, *The King and the Clown in South Indian Myth and Poetry*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1985, pp. 186-187 and see for the same story in David Dean Shulman, "A Kingdom of Clowns: Brahmins, Jesters and Magicians" in Meenakshi Khanna, Ed., *Cultural History of Medieval India*, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 8-9.
7. T.V. Mahalingam, *Op.cit.*, p. 249.
8. *South Indian Inscriptions*, (Henceforth *SII*), Vol. XVI, Nos. 256 to 262.
9. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopaul Chetty, Ed., *A Collection of the Inscriptions on Copper - Plates and Stones in the Nellore District*, (Henceforth *NDI*), Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1990 (First published in 1905), Part-III, No. Podili 35, pp. 1195-1197. It is the only available inscription of Andhra mentioning the name of Bhadrōju.
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11. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Cuddapah District* (Henceforth *IAPCD*), Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1978. Part-II, No. 178, 179 and 181; *SII*, XVI, 147, 148 and 149.
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15. *Ibid.*, p. 437
16. B. Rajashekarappa, *Ithihasa Kathana*, (Kannada), CVG Publications, Bangalore, 2001, pp. 153 ff.
17. *SII*, XVI, 150; See also, P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Rulers, Vol. IV, Telugu Inscriptions 1351-1665*, ICHR, Bangalore, 2009, No. 271, pp. 349-350. However, Parabrahma Sastry, the editor of the volumes mistakenly mentioned the find spot as Sasanakota Inscription of Sadasivaraya.

18. We thank Dr. K.Muniratnam Reddy, Director of Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore for generously providing the estampage of the inscription.
19. See the footnotes in *SII*, XVI, p.160.
20. We thank Mr. Talluri Satyanarayana, a traditional barber of Rājupalem, Prakasam district aged around 80 years for helping us in identifying the implements, knowing their exact names and usage.
21. H.V. Nanjundayya and L. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op.cit.*, p. 447.
22. We thank Dr. B. Rajashekharappa for sharing the estampage of Sri Rampuram inscription.
23. B. Rajashekharappa, *op.cit.*, pp. 153 ff.
24. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants*, Government Museum, Chennai, 2000 (First published in 1918), Private Grant 1 and 2, pp. 66- 68. They are presently located in National Museum, New Delhi with captions Tamil Copper Plate Inscription and Dhanushkodi Copper Plate Grant. For the pictures of the copper plates see https://museumsofindia.gov.in/repository/record/nat_del-56-121-13-25300 and https://museumsofindia.gov.in/repository/record/nat_del-56-121-16-22326 accessed on 18-11-2023.
25. For the photographs of the inscription see Eamani Sivanagi Reddy and Konda Srinivasulu, *Telugu Silpula Vaibhavam: Vamsa Charitra- Sasanaalu* (Telugu), Sri Viswajyothi Publications, Eluru, 2019, p. 404.



Gorugolu



Sana Rayi



Barber sharpening his Razor and Shaving (18-19 Centuries)

The Bhogavati inscription - A Study

Krishna Samsruthi V.

Abstract: This article tries to bring out the information about an inscription found in Srisailam, which reveals about the importance of renovating the water canals.

Key words: Embankment, Flower garden, Donation, Śrīśailam.

Śrīśailam, one of the famous historical places in Nandyāla district, Andhra Pradesh has gained prominence as an important pilgrimage center that has a combination of *Jyōtirlinga* and Śaktipīṭham at one place. Śrīśailam Nallamalla hills have many natural water sources like waterfalls, lakes, ponds, *kunḍams* etc. There are four important cheṛuvu's or ponds like the Brahmarāmbā pond located on the ancient walkway from Hyderabad to Śrīśailam, the Pedda-cheṛuvu on the way from Ātmakūru to Śrīśailam, Telugu Raya-cheṛuvu on the way from Yerragoṇḍupāleṁ to Śrīśailam and the Ēnugula-cheṛuvu located behind Śrī Brahmarāmbādēvī temple in north-west phase. The water flow that comes to this Ēnugula-cheṛuvu is called as Bhōgavatī. This Bhōgavatī water flows through the gōṣā/ā and Pañcha-maṭhas and joins the Ēnugula-cheṛuvu which in-turn flows over Siddharāmappa-kolanu and finally meets Pātāḷa Gaṁgā. The pond got its name as Ēnugula cheṛuvu i.e. “elephant’s pond”, because it is a habitat of elephants which used to frequently visit the pond to quench their thirst. At present this pond is not in use as the area is surrounded by houses and the drainage water from these houses goes into the pond. Some medicinal plants around the pond also perished. There are many inscriptions in Śrīśailam that tell us about the temple’s history. From whatever inscriptions discovered according to Sri. P.V. Parabrahma Sastri the “*Sarasaparamātmā*” inscription from Sārangadhara mutt is the earliest inscription that belongs to 7th century CE.

Recently the Śrīśailam Dēvasthānam while removing some encroachments found this inscription behind the Bramarāmbādēvī temple. The inscription has 24 lines of writing with symbols of Śivaliṅga, Nandi (the bull), Sun and Moon depicted at the top. It was engraved on Thursday 20th May of 1574 by Daṁṭikaṁṭi Liṁgapanna, official executive of Rāmarājayyadēva *alias* Rāmarāya, (the king of Śrīraṁgapaṭṇam, Karnataka), son of Tirumaladevarāya and a brother of the Penugoṇḍa ruler Aḷiyarāmarāya. The record mentions that upon noticing that the embankment of the Bhōgavatī pond got damaged, the pontiff Śrī Veeraśaiva Śāntabhikṣasāvrīti ordered Daṁṭikaṁṭi Liṁgapanna to repair the pond. He in turn has sent Rāmarāya’s official executive Samara Basavappa and his own official Ganganēni Gangappa to rebuild the Bhōgavatī embankment strongly to withstand any circumstances and in a way that even if excess water comes it can flow easily. On the embankment of the pond he also built a flower garden, for providing floral offerings to the god Śrī Mallikārjunasvāmī. The inscription further mentions that all the merit acquired through these pious works should reach his teacher and parents. The inscription ends with imprecatory verses.¹

Text

1. Śubhamastu svasti śrī jayābhyudaya śālivāhana śaka-
2. varshāmbulu 1496 agunēti Bhāva saṁvatsara Vaiśākha-
3. ba 30 [guru]vāraṁ śrī parvataṁ mīda śrī Mallikārjuna dēvuni prākāraṁ
4. kōṭa paḍamaṭanu Bhōgāvati nadiki purvāna kaṭa kaṭa khilamayi nī-
5. ru nilvakapōṁgānu śrīvīra śaiva śāmtta Bhikshāvritti ayyavāru āna-
6. tina | Śrīmadrājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Śrī Vīra Pratāpa Śrī Vīra –
7. Tirumaladēva maharāyaluṁgāri kumārūṁ -
8. ḍu Rāmarājayyadēva maharājulayyavāri kārya-
9. [kar]talaina Daṁ[ti]kaṁṭi Liṁgapaṇagāru ā Bhōgāvati kaṭa puna –
10. ruddhāraṇaṁgā kātukāluvalu tīrpiṁchi tama guruvu -
11. lakuṁnu tama talidaṁḍrādulakuṁnu puṇyaṁgānu puna-
12. pratisṭha Rāmarājayyavāri mudra Savaraṁ Basvappanunnu
13. tama mudra Gaṁginēni Gaṁgappanunnu aṁpi śēyimchina
14. Bhōgāvati punapratīṣṭha ā kaṭamīdanu cherlōnu sadā-
15. gānu śrī Mallikārjuna dēvuniki puvalatōṁṭa
16. ku āchaṁḍrārka stāyigānu samarpimchināraṁ gana-
17. ka yavurainānu rājulanu tagilikāni
18. tama sva icchagā[ni] tōṁṭa tīsukōṇatāyanā ta –
19. ma guruvulānu tama tallidaṁḍrādulānu kāsī –
20. lō gaṁgā tīramaṁdu gōbrāhmaṇavatha chē –
21. śina pāpāna pōvuvāru || svadattā dviguṇa –
22. mpuṇyaṁ paradattānu pālanam [!*] parada –
23. ttāpahārēṇa svadattaṁ nishpalam bha –
24. vēṭ | śrī śrī śrī [!*]

Reference:

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Vākaṭāka linkages with Telangāna: A preliminary investigation through Epigraphical and Archaeological sources

Dr M A Srinivasan

Ch. Niveditha Shalini

Abstract: This paper attempts to probe the gaps in Telangana history post- Sātavāhana period, especially the gap between Sātavāhana rule on one side and Vemulavada Chalukya rule on the other, in the polity of North Telangana, spanning about four and half centuries was consistently bothering.

Keywords: Telangana, Vākaṭāka, Hyderabad

Ancient history of Telangana has some gaps in terms of chronology and genealogies. This is partly due to lack of comprehensive explorations and excavations on one hand and analytical approach in writing the history on the other. This paper attempts to probe the gaps in Telangana history of post- Sātavāhana period. As it is very clear that part of Telangana, i.e., Krishna valley region and some areas of South Telangana were under Ikshvākus, Vishṇukundis and Bādāmi Chalukyas till early medieval period, there is no gap neither in the chronology of the region nor genealogies. But this is not the same regarding the scenario in North Telangana and part of South Telangana.

As we were probing into the historiography of Telangana, the gap between Sātavāhana rule on one side and Vemulavāda Chalukya rule on the other, in the polity of North Telangana, spanning about four and half centuries was consistently bothering. Who were the rulers in North Telangana or under which kingdom north Telangana was a part of? Though many historians suggested the possibility of Vākaṭāka rule, authentic evidences were not provided. Many scholars mentioned Hyderabad state (pre-Independence period) as part of Vākaṭāka kingdom, there was neither elaboration nor noteworthy research done in this regard. A few references in literary sources which are under circulation like Prabhāvatī Gupta, the regent queen of Vākaṭākas sending flowers daily to Śrīśailasvāmi (was it the Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam or some other Śrīparvatasvāmi as mentioned in Ikshvāku history?) is not validated by evidences.

Telangana's geography and history is inseparable from geography and history of Deccan. As in the entire historical epoch, starting from Sātavāhanas till Asafjāhis in Telangana, each period has connection with other parts of Deccan, i.e. Marathwada, Kalyana-Karnataka (formerly known as Hyderabad-Karnataka). This understanding paved the way to search for the linkages of Vākaṭākas in Telangana with the help of inscriptions in Deccan. In this process, the study of Vākaṭāka inscriptions provided two leads, first one is name of a village donated by Vākaṭāka king Dēvasēna; the second is the family origins of the ministers who served the kings of Bāsim branch of Vākaṭākas.

Inscriptional evidences leading to establishment of Vākaṭāka links

There are three inscriptions which lays clues in this quest are – (1) Hyderabad plates (or

Archaeological sources

Bidar plates) of Vākatāka Dēvasēna (2) Ajanta Cave inscription of Varāhadēva (3) Ghatōtkacha Cave Inscription of Varāhadēva.

The Hyderabad plates of king Dēvasēna of Bashim branch of Vākatākas, popularly known as Bīdar copper plates, is the first evidence in this quest. This copper plate inscription found in 1986, written in Sanskrit with Prakrit influence, dated 460 CE was edited by eminent epigraphist PV Parabrahma Sastry, who captioned it as ‘*Hyderabad Plates of VākatākaDēvasēna, Year 5*’¹ as it was accessed in Hyderabad. Importance of these plates is mention of a village named Velpakoṇḍā, the locations of which shall provide a lead in the quest of Vākatāka rule in Telangana. Originally these copper plates were found by a villager at Bechchali Taluk of Bidar district. A Bidri artist created imitational metal (Iron) plates based on these copper plates. Though the original copper plates are missing, the imitational plates are now kept in the Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Centre, Hyderabad. Thus these plates are known by both the places Bidar and Hyderabad.

Dēvasēna was the Vākatāka ruler seventh in the line of Bāsim (Vashim) branch of Vākatākas. Parabrahma Sastry identifies this as the ‘complete record of Dēvasēna and the earliest record which begins with the genealogical account from Vindhyaśakti I. Though another inscription of Dēvasēna is found, known by the name ‘India Office Plates of Dēvasēna’² it is incomplete and does not provide the genealogy of Bāsim branch of Vākatākas. These plates are engraved on three plates, held to a ring and soldered with a round seal bearing the legend ‘*Vākātākānam maharaja Śrī Dēvasēna*’ inscribed in southern type of late Brāhmī (box headed) datable to fifth century CE. Though written in Sanskrit prose, the Prākṛit influence can be seen in the names mentioned as *passé* for *pārśvē*, *puvva* for *pūrva*, *ssa* for *sya* and donee’s name *Raddochcha chātuvejja*. The date of the issuance of the grant is recorded as the 1st day of the 8th (fortnight) of the rainy season in the 5th regnal year of Dēvasēna, corresponding to approximately 455 CE. The main aspects of this inscription that is useful for the present study is the details of the boundaries of the village Velpakoṇḍā, which is useful for locating the village in the present times. The relevant lines in text of the inscription are as follows³-

1. mahārāja śrīpravarasena putrasya maharaja
2. Śrīsavva_2_sena putrasya vākātākānam dhammamahārāja
3. śrī Dēvasēnasya vacanā pasāpalakallassa aparapassa
4. sirimaṇḍapakassa uttarapasse k(u)ri(ṭha)kallassa puvva(p)a(sse)
5. doṇi(ṇṭha)massa dākkhiṇapasse velpakoṇḍā n(ā)ma grāmaḥ raddocca
6. cātuvejjassa carukanimitte sāmīladevena ahira(ṇ)ya

These lines mention the names of the donee, the granted village and its boundaries. It mentions that Devasena donated the village Velpakoṇḍā in ‘favour of one Raddochha, a scholar of the four Vedas (*cātuvejjassa*). The boundaries of the village on the four sides are- Pasāpalakallassa, Sirimaṇḍapakassa, K(u)ri(ṭha)kallassa and Doṇi(ṇṭha)massa. Parabrahma Sastry opined that, the suffix *koṇḍa* (Velpakoṇḍa) and *kallu* indicates that the villages are in the Kannaḍa-Telugu area. He even mentions about a village named Velpukonḍa, presently known as Zafargarh in Jangaon district. But he didn’t confirm this but also opined that a village with a similar name might have existed in the Bīdar region too. Interestingly he was zeroing on Karnataka and not Telangana.

The two inscriptions of Varāhadēva from Ajanta and Ghaṭotkacha caves provide genealogy and information about the native place of the Vākatāka ministers. The Ajanta cave inscription issued with the main context of commissioning a cave for Buddhist monks at Ajanta, gives eulogy of ministers Hastibhōja and his son Varāhadēva.⁴ The Ghatotkacha cave inscription⁵ leads us to the original place of the Vākatāka ministers called as Vallūra. Two verses in this inscription mention the native place of the family of the minister Varāhadēva who served continuously. Verses 3 reads *Asti prakāśō dishi dakshinasyām valluranāmnā (nām) ā brahmanassam- bhruthapunyakirthirvamshō mahiyamna(hi)thōmahadwi*⁶. It means that “In the southern country is well known a great race of most eminent Brahmanas named *Vallūras*, which (race) has accumulated religious merit and glory since (the age of) Brahma and is honoured by the great”. Verse 8 reads: *Dwijāsu chānyāsu sutanudārānsa (prāpa) vēdēshu samāptakaman valluranāmnā dishi dakshinasyāmadhyāpi yēsha(mva)sati (dwi) janām (nām)*⁷. It means “From other Brahmana wives he obtained sons who fulfilled their desires in mastering the Vedas – whose habitation named *Vallūra* is even now (well-known) in the southern country.”

Locating Velpukonḍa:

While editing Hyderabad plates, Parabrahma Sastry did not identify Velpukonda, and he even suggested exploring the village in Bīdar region in Karnataka⁸. His passing reference to Velpugonda as present Zafargarh⁹ do not sustain as the borders mentioned in the inscription does not match. Probe into other villages with the same name in Telangana yielded result. There are two other Velpugonḍas – one in Kamareddy district and the second one in Medak district. Further investigation and field exploration in Velpugonḍa (presently known as Yelupugonḍa) in Medak district yielded positive results.

Yelupugonḍa is a village located in Medak district, 67 km from Bidar and 117 km from Hyderabad. The borders mentioned in the Hyderabad plates are – Pasāpalakallassa, Sirimaṇḍapakassa, K(u)ri(ṭha)kallassa and Doṇi(ṇṭha)massa. Though all are not identifiable, one Doṇi(ṇṭha)massa can be identified with Doṇiguṭṭa or Dēvatalaguṭṭa which is one of the boundaries of Yelupugonḍa village even today. Though this is the one and only clue to identify the Vēlpakonḍa mentioned in the copper plates, it can also be said that this is the only evidence to further proceed in the exploration. This village also has some interesting findings too. Around five years back one copper plate (now missing) and a few bricks of bigger size, pointing out at early historic period were found on the hillock during a temple construction. Potsherds of early period were found scattered in the fields of the village. Tumbulēśvara temple of the Kākatīya period present in the village is the finest architectural marvel. These findings show the continuity of the village from early to medieval period.

Where is Vallūra, the native place of Vākatāka ministers?

While editing this inscription G. Buhler opined that this ministerial family belonged to the Vallūras, apparently a sub-division of the Malabār Brahmins. Mirashi differs with Buhler as the Malabar region is far off the Vākatāka core region. Mirashi opined that this family belonged to the

Archaeological sources

southern portion of the former Hyderabad state and even locates as Velur in present Karimnagar region. There is another Vēlūru in Siddipet district located 83 km from Yelupugonda and 56 km from Hyderabad. In the process of the archeological exploration in the village neolithic groves were found. Another village Nacharam, which is just 2 km from Vēlūru, has evidences of pre-historic rock art (at Bobbili Veeranna gutta) to medieval inscriptions. This is the testimony for the early historic evidence of Vēlūru and its surroundings.

Conclusion

Thus an attempt to corroborate the names, Velpukonda and Vēlūru mentioned in inscriptions with the present day locations is made in this paper which may facilitate rewriting and filling the gaps in Telangana history, especially the Vākatāka period which is an uncharted area. Preliminary leads in the form of Velpugonda in Medak district and Vēlūru in Siddipet district encourage us to further explore these villages and surrounding regions. Though Parabrahma Sastry edited Hyderabad plates formed the hypothesis for this paper, further study of Vākatāka inscriptions and field explorations took this probe from hypothesis to proposition level. Further investigations and field exploration at Yelupugonda and Vēlūru shall give some leads to establish Vākatāka linkages with Telangana in a more authentic way.

Acknowledgement: Thanks to Sri P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, Prof. V.V. Mirashi, B. N. Sastry, our colleagues in PRIHAH- Dr Surya Kumar, Dr S Jaikishan and members of Public Research Institute for History, Archaeology & Heritage (PRIHAH), Epigraphic Society of India, Om Prakash and villagers of Yelupugonda, Vēlūru and Nacharam.

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5. *Ibid*, pp 112-119
6. *Ibid*, p. 115
7. *Ibid*, p. 116
8. Sastry, Parabrahma PV, Hyderabad Plates of Vākatāka Dēvasēna, Year 5, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol 13, 1986, p 73, Epigraphical Society of India, Mysuru
9. *Ibid*



1. Hyderabad Plates of
Devasena 1



2. Hyderabad Plates of
Devasena 2



4. inscription at Nacharam1



5. Neolithic groves at Nacharam



3. Doni gutta at Velpugonda

The *Makōtai-ppaḷḷi* at Anuradhapura

S. Rajendu

This inscription at Anuradhapura was first reported by H.C.P. Bell in the *Archaeological Commissioner's Report* for 1893.¹ It was found from the Tamil ruins of the Northern sector of Anuradhapura. Krishna Sastri deciphered and published the text in *S.I.I.* Volume IV.² K. Indrapala edited the text and published it in 1968. This was written during the reign of king Sena Varman II of Anurādhapura (853-887 C.E.); contemporary to the Cera king Sthānu Ravi Kulaśekhara (844-870 C.E.) or his successor Rāma Rājaśekhara (871-883 C.E.) or Rāma's successor Kōṭa Ravi Vijayarāgadēva (883-913 CE.). The inscription is fragmentary and has two portions: the Sanskrit and Tamil parts. Lines 1 & 2 are missing. Total lines: twenty-six.

Text:

1. [Svasti Sri]
2.
3. *perumāṇaṭikaḷkku viḷakkon*
4. *ttir siṣṭa nāganāraiyaum*
5. ... *uṭaiyāraiyaum kilamā*
6. *amaippittuk [kontu itukku]*
7. ... *makōtaippaḷḷikku ceyta (tarma)*
8. (*mitarḱku nāṅku nāṭṭu tamilarilum ilant*)
9. (*tār*) *cettār-urai-illātar-urai-(pēcā)*
10. *tāru murrārai-uṭaiyā-(ruraiyā) ri*
11. *rilonrun koṇṭu ippaḷḷiyil nā(ṅka)*
12. (*l*) *ceyvippatākavum purāṅkarai ninra*
13. *tinukk mūnru nilaikk*
14. *ceyvātākavum amaittōm – itaṇukku nā(ṅku)*
15. *nāṭṭārālum amaikkapeṭṭa nālvarum mako*
16. (*tai*) *ppaḷḷiyil kammiyaurni kūṭi niṇru iddarmmam*
17. (*ko*)ṇṭu *celuttuvatāka vamaittuk kal*
18. *veṭṭiviṭṭom nāṅku nāṭṭōmum iddhar*
19. *rmattinukkuk kuṭṭiṇiṇrār kākkaiyaum nāyumāvār*
20. *kaiyu makōtai yūli tōrum nilavit taṇ (tami)*
21. *lar ceytamaitta tanmattait teṇṭirai cūl peru*
22. *nilattu nilavap porruvār kāṇmiṇō nirpa*
23. *pōtiṇiḷamarnta poṇṇiyaṇ pōlevvuyirk*
24. *kunt tīṭilaruḷ curakkun cintaiyāḷan ativarutan*
25. *kuṇrāta mātavan makōtaiyuru*
26. *dharmmapālan-ula(ṇ)*

Translation: ‘After donating a lamp for the Lord and installing the images of the illustrious Nākanār, and the lord (*uṭaiyār*) we made an endowment for the merit of those among the Tamils of the *Nāṅku-nāṭu* who have been lost and those who have died and also those who have become dumb or speechless (because of some calamity). The endowment will be made by apportioning (specified) shares of the assets of those persons (concerned and with contributions from their relatives). In respect of those who had reached the opposite shore (died?), (ceremonies) shall be conducted for three days at this temple (*paḷḷi*). The tasks specified in this endowment shall be carried out jointly by the four persons specifically appointed by the *Nāṅku-nāṭṭār* having set this stone inscription recording (the details about the) endowment. Those who violate the provisions of this charity shall be born as crows and dogs. The endowment (*dharma*) made by the Tamils (of the *Nāṅku-nāṭu*) will be maintained and praised in this wide world surrounded by the ocean, during successive ages. These are at Makōtai one Dharmapalan, a spotless ascetic, a firm adherent of the original and pristine dharma, whose flawless thoughts are full of compassion for the beings like unto the meritorious one who sat under the Bodhi (tree).’¹

Discussion: The endowment was made to the Makkotaippaḷḷi where some activities had to be performed for the merit of those who had suffered losses as noted earlier. These had to be performed jointly by the employees of the *Paḷḷi* (monastery/temple) and a group of four persons specially appointed by the merchant community, the *Nanku-Nāṭṭār*.² Scholars believe that the term *Nanku-nāṭṭār* means eighteen people from eighteen *nāḍus* or districts. But later Prof. M.G.S. Narayanan revealed that they belong to eighteen participants or eighteen people in a temple assembly. Thus *Nanku-nāṭṭār* possibly means four people. K. Indrapala has written: ‘The epigraph is the only record in the island which refers to the group called *Nankunāṭṭār*, those of the *Nankunatu*. The expression *nalkunāṭu* which is in Kannaḍa equivalent to the Tamil form *nāṅkunāṭu* is applied in inscriptions of Karnataka as the designation of a trading community associated with the Aihole. The same name was adapted by the Tamil merchant guild. Indications are suggesting that the Tamils of the *nāṅkunāṭu* referred to in the inscription from Anuradhapura had connections with the Cera country on the Malabar Coast.’³ The reference to the *Puttār* in the concluding portion of the inscription clearly shows that Makōtaippaḷḷi was a Buddhist establishment. The expression *Makōtai*, which forms the initial part of its name, is reminiscent of Kerala connections. A coastal town in Kerala known variously as Makōtai or Mahodyapattanam is described in epigraphy and literature. Perumal Sundaramurti mentions a locality called Makōtai in one of his hymns. Sundarar sang two hymns in praise of Śiva enshrined at Tiruvancikkalam in Makōtai. Based on a reference in the Periya-puranam, Makōtai is identified as Kodungallur.’⁴

The following are the findings of this study:

1. The inscription reveals the presence of the *Ceṭṭis* (traders) of the Cera capital Kodungallur at Śrī Lanka. This shows the overseas trade relations of Ceras. Another inscription found from Pagan, Burma earlier mentioned a merchant from Makotai, Kulaśēkhara Ceṭṭi.

1 K. Indrapala, Tamil Inscriptions from Sri Lanka, p. 113

2 K. Indrapala, Tamil Inscriptions from Sri Lanka, p. 114

3 K. Indrapala, Tamil Inscriptions from Sri Lanka, p. 113

4 K. Indrapala, Tamil Inscriptions from Sri Lanka, p. 113

2. The inscription is erected during the regime of king Sena Varman of Anuradhapura in the 9th century C.E., corresponding to the regime of three Cera kings: Sthānu Ravi, Rāma, and Kōṭa Ravi.
3. *Nāṅku-nāṭṭār* means the persons from *Nāṅku-nāṭu* or the four patrons of the *paḷli*.
4. The myths and legends of Mākōtai or Mahodayapuram narrate the debates of Buddhists with Arya-Brāhmaṇs. The condition was that those who failed could be sent outside. Thus the Arya-Brāhmaṇs punished and removed the Buddhists from the Cera country. The inscription reveals such an incident at Kodungallur.

In fact, from the mid-ninth century onwards we have inscriptions referring to Cēra rulers with their capital at Koḍungallūr.¹ A question arises here as to whether the Cēra rulers of Koḍungallūr were the successors of the early Cēras or not.² A concrete explanation cannot be given at this stage.³ Styled as *rakṣāpuruṣa*⁴ in medieval literature, this ruler, Narayanan claims, can be the successor of the early Cēras.⁵ An inference can be made at this juncture that Koḍungallūr became the capital of the Cēras essentially⁶ because the new ruler was installed there by the *nālu-taḷis*.⁷ The contention that the Cēra rule at Koḍungallūr was a consequence of the conflict between the Cēras and Cōḷas which drove the latter from Karuvūr to Koḍungallūr⁸ cannot stand the test of reason.⁹

Conclusion: The earliest reference to the early Cēra¹⁰ or Sangam Cēra¹¹ rule can be gleaned from

- 1 The term Koṭuṅkollūr is used in the NeḍumpuṇamTaḷi inscription (Index No. A.78). KoḍungallurBhagavathy was the deity of the Nāyar soldiers in Kēraḷa. They assembled in the temple once in a year on the Bharani Day of the Minam month.
- 2 We have only one reference to the assumption whether the Cēras of Makōtai were the successors of the Cēras of Karuvūr. The Keraḷōlpathy chronicle written in the 16th century denotes that the chieftains of nālu-taḷi invited a member of the early Cēras to Kodungallūr. See: K.U., p. 44
- 3 We have no inscriptional evidence regarding this comment on the invitation given to the first Cēra king.
- 4 As per the doctrines of the Ārya-Brāhmaṇs, the presence of a kṣatriya king or at least a chief appointed by the king is necessary to protect the yāgaas a rakṣāpuruṣa. V.C., p. 47
- 5 P.K., p. 89
- 6 The four taḷis(nālu-taḷi) are situated in and around Koḍungallūr; therefore, the rulers established their capital there. Another reason is the trade of the ancient Muciri port. For more discussions, see: 'Prominence of the Capital' in this chapter.
- 7 The patrons of the villages Ayirāṇikkūlam, Mūḷikkūlam, Paṇavūr and Irinjālakuda, the four grāmas situated around Koḍungallūr formed the nālu-taḷis. They were MēlTaḷi, Kīl Taḷi, NeṭiyaTaḷi and CiṇṇapurattuTaḷi, See: K.S.P., p.212
- 8 In the study of the Tarisāppaḷḷy copperplates, Prof. Kesavan Veluthat and Prof. M.R. Raghava Variyar suggest that the Cēra king fled to Koḍungallūr after a battle with the Colas. Tarisāppaḷḷi Paṭṭayam, p. 27
- 9 As mentioned earlier, there is no concrete evidence for their retreat to Koḍungallūr.
- 10 On the origin of the Cēras, NilkantaSastri said: "The learned Parimelalagar is inclined to make it the name, like Pandya and Cēra, of a ruling family or clan of immemorial antiquity and renown. The story of the eponymous brothers Cēran, Solan and Pandiyan is doubtless an instance of euhemerism." The Colas, p. 19. There is a tradition in Kēraḷa that the chiefs of NāluTaḷi invited a member from the Cēras of Karuvūr to take their patronage. K.U., p.17. Early Cēras and Later Cēras are also denoted as the Cēras of Karuvūr and the Cēra rulers of Kodungallūr. P.K., pp.31-2.
- 11 SangamCēras are mentioned in the inscriptions of Pugaḷūr, See: E.T.E., pp. 17-19

the publications of U.V. SwaminathaIyer.¹In 1887 he published *Patirruppattu*²which narrates the reference to early Cēra ruler Utiyan Cēralātan³ with his capital at Karuvūr near Tiruchirappally.⁴ The first known-king of Karuvūr was Karuvūr-Ēriya-Oḷ-Vāḷ- Kopperumcēral-Irumporai who ruled in the first century B.C.⁵ The release of the Sangam texts was accompanied by a series of companion volumes that threw a flood of light on the early Cēra polity.⁶ It gave a new dimension to South Indian history.⁷Following SwaminathaIyer, many scholars like N. Subrahmanyam⁸ made several studies and enriched the early Cēra historiography.⁹ Unfortunately, sources are silent between the 6th century and 8th century C.E. thereby creating a virtual vacuum in Cēra-Cōḷa-Pandya historiography.¹⁰This inscription from Śrī Lanka helps us to understand the overseas connections between the Ceras of Mākōtai and the Buddhist vestiges at Kodungallur.

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 - 2 G. VaidyanathaAyyar (Tr.), *Patirruppattu*, Malayāḷam Translation, KēraḷaSahithya Academy, Thrissur, 1997
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 - 4 Karuvūr is situated eight miles north to the Tiruchirappalli town. Narayanan identified the antiquity of an idol of the deity of the local temple.
 - 5 K.N. SivarajaPillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, University of Madras, 1932, Table III, 'The CēraGeneology', p. XXI
 - 6 In reverence to the scholarly contributions of U.V. SwaminathaIyer, the Foundation maintains a large collection of palm leaf manuscripts and books in their library at Chennai.
 - 7 Early historians like Eḷamkuḷam believed that the SangamCēras and the Cēras of Makōtai are the same; later Narayanan established theirchronology. See: P.K., pp.63-73
 - 8 N. Subrahmanianmade a brilliant classification of the Sangam literature in S.P.
 - 9 For instance;K.V. Ramakrishna, *Cattle Raiding in Sangam Age and Taḷi System in Sangam Age*, Kanaka-sabhai's work *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*(1904), T.G. Aravamuthan, *The Kaveri, Mukharis and the Sangam age* (The University of Madras, 1925). Publications by KēraḷaSahithya Academy and D.S.L., Trivandrum in the vernacular language are also worth mentioned.
 - 10 There was no ruling dynasty, except the Kalabhrasand other minor chiefs, during this period in Tamilakam. Therefore, this period is called the Interrugnum or dark period in the South Indian history. Now this view is debated. See: NilakantaSastri, *The Colas*, pp. 64, 101-2.

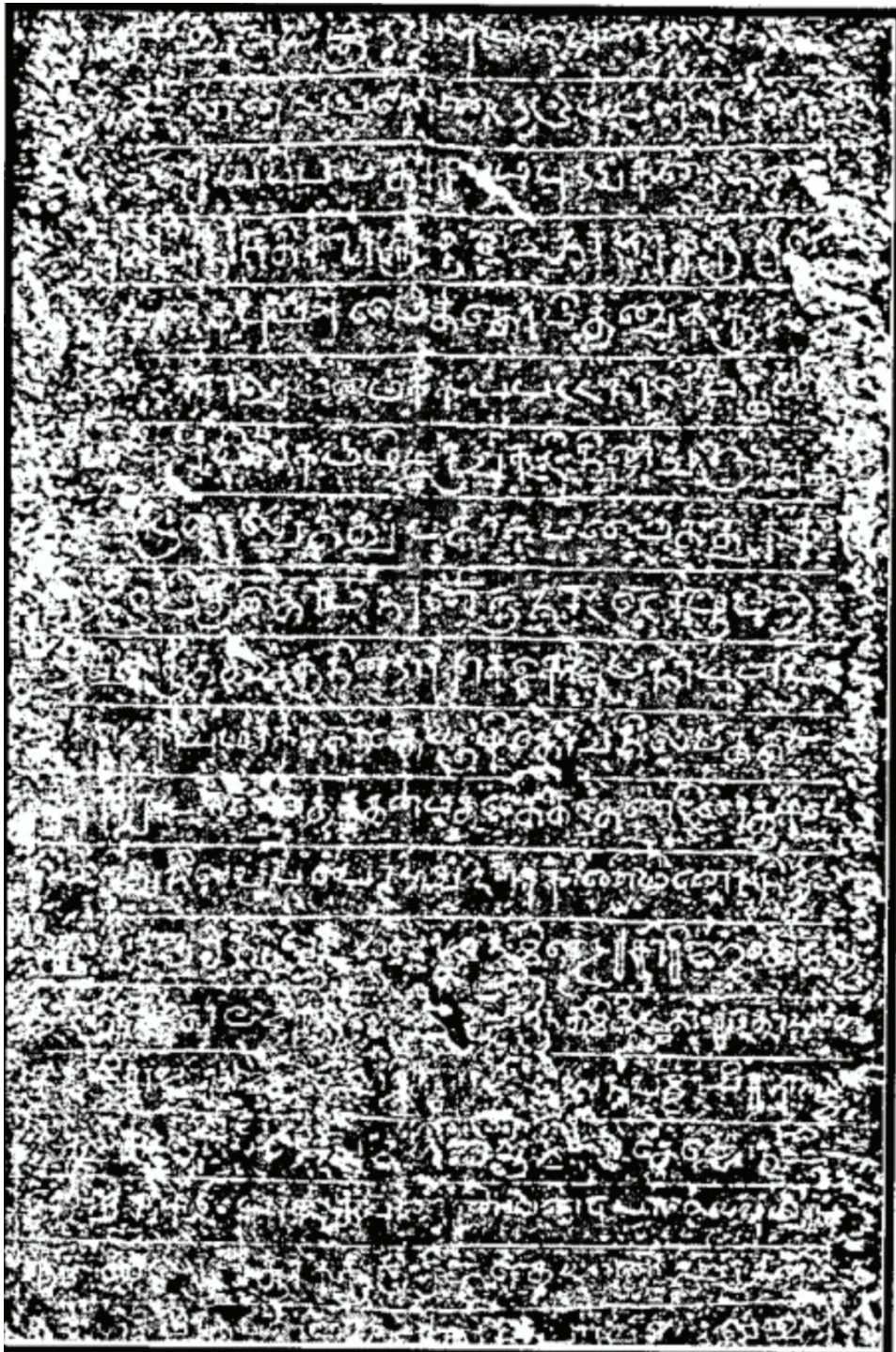
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Nankunattar inscription estempage

Two Inscriptions Chālukya of Kalyāṇa Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI)

D.M. Nagaraju

Abstract: The paper discusses two Kannada inscriptions from Māvalli and Tamburu, Kalghatgi Taluk, Dharwar District, Karnataka.

Keywords: Kannada, Māvalli, Tamburu, Tribhuvanamalla, Chālukya, Jaina *basadi*

The two Kannada records from Māvalli and Tamburu in Kalghatgi Taluk, Dharwar District, Karnataka being examined here are of the reign of Chālukya of Kalyāṇa king Tribhuvanamalla (i.e., Vikramāditya). Of the two, the one from the Māvalli (*ARIEp.* 1966, No. 407) is dated Chālukya-Vikrama, Visvāvasu, Mārgasira śu. 1[5], Thursday, Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkramaṇa, which corresponds to 1125 CE, November 12 (the saṅkramaṇa occurred on December 25). It records that when Kadamba Jayakēsi was ruling over Koṅkaṇa-900, Palasige-12,000 and Kavadaadvīpa savālakka, Barmanachayya, a minister of Hākiballaladēva (married Padmaladēvi, the elder sister of Kadamba Jayakēsi) caused to construct a Jaina temple and also made grants of land and an oil mill for service to the deity Śāntināthadēva installed therein, and for the feeding of Jaina ascetics. The grants were made after laving the feet of Vārishēṇa-Paṇḍitadēva of Mula saṁgha, Sēna gaṇa and Pogari-gachchha and after offering respects to Mahādēvanāyaka, Chiddaṇa and Padmaṇa.

The other record from Tamburu (*ARIEp.* 1966, No. 411) is dated Chālukya Vikrama, Viśvāvasu, Pushya śu. 4, Sunday Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti which corresponds to 1125 CE, December 27 (the saṅkrānti occurred on December 25). It refers to the emperor's son-in-law, Kadamba Jayakēsi, as ruling over Koṅkaṇa-900, Palasige-12,000 and Kavadaadvīpa savālakka and states that when Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Hākiballa, the husband of Padmaladēvi, the elder sister of Jayakēsi, was administrating Banavāsi-12,000, Barmachayya and his younger brother Rāchamalla-nāyaka, the two ministers of Hākiballa, caused to construct a Jaina basadi at Tammiyūru and that the former made a grant to the basadi after offering respects to Jayakēsi-daṇḍanāyaka and Mādirāja-daṇḍanāyaka and after laving the feet of Mēghachandrapaṇḍitadēva of Mūla-saṁgha and Sūrastha-gaṇa. Also records gifts by the Nakaras, Telligas and the Parṇōpajīvakas (i.e., betel-leaf traders?) to the same basadi.

The important of these two inscriptions is that it brings to light Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Hākiballaladēva, a hitherto unknown governor of Banavāsi-12,000. The inscriptions contains the interesting information that Hākiballa was the husband of Padmaladēvi, the elder sister of Kadamba Jayakēsi-daṇḍanāyaka and his younger brother is Mādirājayya-daṇḍanāyaka. From these records we learn that he was also known as Mādhavā-daṇḍanātha and Mādhavarāja-daṇḍanātha and had the title of mahāprachaṇḍa daṇḍanāyaka. These inscriptions attest to the eminent position he enjoyed in the Kalghatgi region for over a quarter of a century, from 1125 to 1156 CE.

Text – Inscription No. 1

- 1 Śri . . . na . . . ku . . . dē charitra . shi . . tana . . . dāpa samadhikam nelevī.kīrtikānte . . .
vanayachitta . . danagaṇāgraṇi sa . . . ka Bhū
- 2 vana . . . vimuktanima bhinva kaṇika pari
nati vi ravi . taramna gunanidhi . . . siromaniya . . .
- 3 . . . Śrīmatparmagamabhīrasvādhāvadāmoghalāchhanamjijyātraiḷōkyanāthasya Śāsanam
jinaśāsanam || Bhuyādāvīrasēna-
- 4 sya vīrasēnasya Śāsanam Bhuyādāvīrasēnasya Vīrasēnasya Śāsanam || ☉ Svasti
samastabhūvanāsraya
- 5 Śrīprithvīvallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaraparamabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśraya kuḷatīl
akam chālukyabharanam Śrīmattribhūvana ma-
- 6 lladē-vara vijayarājyāmuttarōttarābhivridhhi pravardhamāna māchandrarka-
tārambaram saluttamire || tatpāda padmōpajīvi
- 7 sahāyaneniparabbenāḷiyam || vritta || Aribhubhritkari simnarttijanamtāna śrāntabhāsura
akīrttipramadāpriyam ripukaravratama
- 8 Koṃkaṇachkravartitīḷakam Śrīmūrthinārayanam naranātha Jayakēsi dēvanesedaṃ
Kādamba Kaṇṭirava || 0 || Ākoṃkana Vobhayanūrumam Palasigepa-
- 9 nnichhāsiramūmam kavaḍidvipasavāḷakkamūmamnē-kachhatrdimdālutam sukhadinīti-
tanmahīśvaranīm piriyaḷu padmaladēviyamanōvallabham Hākiballadēva
- 10 nālutam sukhadinire Ilvrull viditamrūpiṭṭarātibrajakkevaṇḍi vrājakkarmma Saubhāgyada
nabhichamdrippa yōshijjnakke turagavradāḷi saṇigelalasam padadiṃ dātriyalentu
- 11 . dadhicha Śrīsutam tānenalatisayarēvantani Hākiballa || va || Ā maṇḍaḷika trīnētrana
Manōvallabha || Surati sadrupamam tāldida surakamjamemibinte vārāmgana
- 12 bantesevasurabhīkāntavatāratvva mādamtuditam Śrī Hākiballa prathutara hradayāvāsi
kottivaḷānamdade lakhāmdēvi vaṃdipratatige kanakā
- 13 rijanakalpakuḷjātege niratisaya shukhānubhavana vibhavege dhare yōḷvareya
Padmaladēvige nirantaram Hākiballanarasige satiyarunitatta jāte
- 14 Dēvigeputṭidaḷu mahāmanava māninītaḷake naṭṭane Padmaladēvi Visvavidyaniḷ
ayaikamāḷike yasam paripāḷike nīratnakarchhi kōtuka . . ratnamāli
- 15 Chamidadiṃ tatpradhānam || manamam Śrījinarāja chārucharaṇām- bhōjātaḷadōḷ nishṭ
eyimtanuvam Jainavishuddhamārga charite vyāpārādōlsamtatam ghana
- 16 .teyamdisthittiyōḷkōḍisajjanachi[nta]maniBarmmachayanesadamamyuktavarattākaram
|| jiniapādambhōjabramgam manacharitana pāraḷurtambhōdhi samvardhana
chamdrim nī
- 17 Rājyāmbhu jōṇīlanatigmajōti vistarita davalīya samgōtra vistāranurvvinutam Śrī Barm-
machhayam sukavisukaghaḷōpētabhūrōvvijātam || vru ||
- 18 Jyayakke gōtātkaḷitavavidanēka sudharmmade nānivahakke . . labhavyahara,
māhayatavva vivēka drāḷayōddhāra vaibhava ma

- 19 tatputraṃ || jananutaneṇdu satyayutanendu naranendu Jainapūjana sucharitrānendu
pu peya
- 20 sutanaṃ chaturvridha sūdāna samanvitaṃ nabaha nipāsa . . marggada sāntana shadguṇ
aṃgaḷa || Ka || Śrī sa . yamanisha dhegi dānana
- 21 tu sukratasthānaṃ Halsigenādādutāgi sakaḷajanamanahah prīti- karaṇa . . .
Bhāvabhavana salanātaratidēvige raṭisukhakaram saṃ[jāta] kalātāvana
- 22 . . . yyanōḍenalkademvannisuvem || Ā mahī [Bhushaṇadaṃte] baṃ || Dēvakulaṃgaḷ
im Jinagrahaṃgaḷinunnata saūdhashāḷeyim Śrivanitānivāsa va
- 23 . . . haṃgaḷim dēvanadī samānameni pūddhvātara Bhūvaḷayaṃ . . . dunnati . nevoḷ
evanaya . . . nābhirāmaṃ || Bhūnutapōga
- 24 . . . pārijāta saṃtānalavaṃgaḷugapana sāmvrani Bhūrjjanānava-māḷikāvakuḷ
akānanadim vamanenaṇdanam tānesedirppa Māvaḷli ma
- 25 . . lu || vru || Bhūdēvanvayavārdhī vardhana shāshāṃkarssajja . . . nruyaprādubharvarapāra
pāurusha guṇarṇnākaḷa kaūshalaruvetdōktādi purāṇa dharmma kathana
- 26 ṇa padmaṇah || vibhūgaḷu sāmānyade ha . . . chāgi berppadaranaṃtanidāmara . .
. matenu lakshmīgruha maṇḍanam nijamenippa . dānapada vā
- 27 nidhīdharmmadhuraṃdhranendu dhātinānāguṇa vistarade prabhū
Mādhirājanam . . . tra Narasiṃham sakaḷakaḷāparipurnnam Mādhirājadaṇḍa guṇa
- 28 nā . kshari tya ra || tatpradhāna || Anayavageṇaldu tṭisa enirppa
Mādirājanamanadanna pa
- 29 jja gajjananuta nōḷduvettanudi kīrtivadhū viḷāsavarddhana mahōstava . .
bhāvavibhavam sakaḷoruvi Iniraṃtaram || Śrī majjina samaya vyyē
- 30 titigakirana nakhiḷajana prēmōdhbhisī maṇtri sikhāmaṇi vikhyāta lakshmīgarmmaṃ
barmmaṃ || Antūmallade ||vru|| jinapātaṃ Ballirāja
- 31 mā yi Sāntivarmmatanayam Śrī gōpanaṇdirvrutiguru sūdhāyarsand jina nitānturṇ
Hākiballāvanipati patitam Barmmachayam tāya
- 32 Bāgavveyāgalkesedire nereyū . Bhūmipradēsha || jinamaṇdira mi ru
puruḥōtanamaṇdiradōḷu chalvam nāḷdire Saujanyaṇidānṇ . . .
- 33 jinavinuta Bar[mma]chayyanā puravaradōḷu jina Āryya patiguru tāyi tanayaram
jaganmadaḷanayya Dēvadāsaprabhua ta
- 34 tiyavamsha prādhīpaṃ vinayam Bhōrāsipārshvamṭana neḷa Banava yasha Śrī Tāl
aṃkāranarhatvvada yūganalinisēva sachharīkam || va || Āhra Tyā-
- 35 layachāryyarvvāshēṇamūnipatigaḷajagatprasiddha Sēnagaṇachāryavaryya prābhāmantend
oḍe || slo || arhata sāsana mūḷakhē saṃghē
- 36 Chāritranirmaḷa po sēnagaṇakhyē gachhē pōgarināmani || Anagham Jaināga vidhivi-
dugupti vyāptiyuktaṃ jnaśvaranam chāritra
- 37 Kamaḷamathanbhavya padmakarōdyaddinarachāritra chakrēśvarana yashōmaṇḍ
anadhanyanāsēna Jainarādhāntakani tatānarghanya-māṇikya paṭṭa
- 38 ra || Shrutasiddhāntagabhaṣṭimāli sakaḷēḷapāḷa chūḍamaṇidhyti virājita pādapadmayūgalam
. jyām palyakrajitanālmēyam yogi-bhūshanōnyatpada

- 39 kra . . . honnatiyaṁ sambhavasēnadēvanesedaṁ rāddhānti kāgrēsaram || guṇ
asampanana padmasēnaguṇavyāvṛttiyaṁ yōgi bhushanōnyatvada .
- 40 . . . tatvvajnanā chārāgama shabda lakshamaṇa shiksha vidanudhatv vāgamimeya . .
siddhānta-vidyā samarppaṇa yasamaṁ jagam-pōgaḷgu siddhānta chakrēshnam || ta .
- 41 || pati . . mōhamemba toḍarambide mānakāshāyamemiba tikeyakamba
muṛidudimḍriyavargga vishālī . . nam taḷidudu māyāmane .
- 42 Kā . . . rōrparagaṭṭi meṭṭi siḷḍirudu Nāgasēna muniyembamarōtkataganda sinduram ||
tatsadharmmāru || rodha sarbhisātpa prakaradōlenisal saṁdiḷḍānamtadu monōbala-
- 43 ḍyapaṭindrasuranala madhugāmbhīryyamabhōdiyaṁ koṅkumaṁdātashani
mōkshaniyanikki . . pemchandrakaiḷēndra tuṁgatvamanadimideyadu kīlamduvudene . .
- 44 supūjyavratimḍram [saka]lakammārāti . . sakanatanu . . Bhadra-kamṭiravavēṁḍram
vīlasachhē Jainadharmmāmbaradiva sakara kshīravārā . . .
- 45 . . . rādhīsatārādhīpavishada yōshōrājitaṁ . . dhūṭitīlakam Śrīvāsūpūjya-vratripatinegardam
Vishrvakaikapūjyaṁ || vru || kshitipūjyaṁ vāsūpūjya
- 46 . . . guṇayutaṁ vāsūpūjyaṁdharītri patichūḍāchumbika prakrama karma yūgam vāsūpūjyaṁ
. Kamḍrisiṁ nētrekshaṇa bāṇāchhi . . .
- 47 Pa . . . supūjya dharitristutanāda Vishvavidyāvidanenisida sēnānvvaya vāsūpūjya || tatsi-
syaru || Dhare pōgaḷuvudārya sēnaracha
- 48 Ma . . thavaṁ tatvva savistara vignanamanatyadaradiṁ [jina]muniparoḷu
mahōnnatarādaru || tatsadharmmaru || Chamdraprabha siddhāntigarindrabhēṁḍraduha . .
- 49 . . . shataṁdra praharanupamita munīṁdra sōma ḍaḷadōḷu || tatsadharmmaru ||
bhūnutana shēshavidyādānam vāchalyaniḷayōnana . .
- 50 . . . Śrīnārīramaṇiyantanenisuvanamana . . sēnamunīndra || tatsdharmmaru || Āvamja .
Kathā prabhandakapanāvāgujāḷadōḷu silkanintavamaṁmataḷa taṇḍa chaṇḍa vachana
- 51 . . dimḍāvōṁ kurggaliggōḷḷananya samayōdyadvā[di]yandaṁdare . . vidyadvaghama
. nesadaṁvāḍibhapaṁchānanam || tatsadharmmaru || Haranavishāḷa Bhāḷ
- 52 anayanarchhiyanuda dhvaga
. . tōdhurapaḷiya payōdhi mathanādhūtajāta samasta lōkasamhara . . . kara samākṛtiyaṁ
Nayasēnadēva vistaratara jalpakalpa sikhikalpamani
- 53 ritriyōḷu || tatsadhrmmaru || paravāchaḷa virōdhivāgashādagala ḷi Bhūdaravajra
paravāḍi satamana saṁghōdhbhutabhābhānudu . . vāḍipati..
- 54 nipam Mānikyasēnadigambara vistārīta kīrtti jainamata tasdharmmaru ||
shrutavidyavāsūpūjyasuta chāmmakamḍakēḷi virājitamkira . .
- 55 Haṇanagam sāhitya vidyasamanvitana prātīrtha bhavyabandu jinadharmma .
. dra janastutanādam munihanananagham vishvaṁ bhārā chakrodōḷ || jina samaya
samūddharana
- 56 gamam bhōnidhi sivanavaddhana vidhurtārhmjina pādapadam kalpajana nene
paṇḍitadēvaru || Upakaraṇamgaḷam paluvuṁ paḍedittu krutārthi- yāḍaḷaggasitaḍ
ye

- 57 gatiya Rājinamandirakke dharmma pareyashōkarōhiniya dindame || ta || . . . na
vibhuvārisēṇa munināthara . . tidhātri baṇṇisalu || gadya || svasti Śrīmachhālu-
- 58 kya Vikramavarshada Visvāvasusaṁvatsarada Mārgasira suddha [ekādasi]
Bhahavāramuttarāyaṇa saṁkramaṇa vyātipātaṁ kōdida punya tithiyōlu perggade Barm-
- 59 ma-
Chayya-nāyaka tanna basadiya Śhāntināthadēvaramga-bhōgakkershya-aggarhāra dānakke
vāchamdrarkkatāram naḍevantāgiralliya mahāprābhu Mahādēvanāya-
- 60 kaṁge Chiddaṇaṁgaṁ Padmaṇaṁga[m] pādapūjeyam koṭṭu sarvvanmashyamumāgipad
adu Śrīmanmūla saṅgada sēnagaṇḍa pūgarigachhada Śrīma-
- 61 duvārishēnapaṁḍitadēvara kālaṁkarchhi dhārāpurvvakam māḍi biṭṭa dharmamemtemdaḍe
ūrīm mūḍalu haṭṭageya bayala Gaḷagēsvaradēvara keyīm temka-
- 62 lu hiriya kōlagaradde mattalōndu mattamaḍaḇa baḷiya Hakkalosadiya bachhalīm haḍuvalu
matta eraḍu baḍagaḷeya haridatōṁta guṇiga matta ondu gāṇa-
- 63 vaṁdu || Ānegaḷda Barmma-chayyana mānini Jānakabegaḷu dati dēvige sanmānanidhi
yattimabbegetānemigil tānevandeya tāne pavitra || Gaṁgege tāne nirmmaḷeya
- 64 nippa negaḷteya nānta Bāgiyakkam garanōnadānanidhi Jaina shikhāmaṇi
Barmmachayyanāthaṁgavudāra vāridhi vivēka mahānidhi Shāntināthanūtuṁga yasham
- 65 samudavi-
sida jinadharmam puṭṭuvam padi || Antu puṭṭi || Surataru shākhegaḷoḷ kēsari kesaradōḷ
sudāmshūrashmigaloḷ nirabharavenipa guṇadōḷesedaṁ dhareyōḷ Śrīshā-
- 66 ntināthanu chitasaṁnātha || enisida Shāntināthana sahōdariyannuta rājiyakkanum dharanige
Jakkiyakkanu dharanige Jakkiyakka-nuvadēnesadirdharō rōpinoḷ Kalāpariṇati-
- 67 yōḷ Vivēkadōḷu dhārāteyōḷ Dhruṭiyōḷ mahatvvadōḷu surachira kīrtiyōḷ vinayadōḷ dharan
ītaḷaḷgradōḷ || śvasti Śrīmatchā-
- 68 lukya Bhūlōkavarishada piṁgaḷa saṁvatsarada Mārgasira suddha dvādasi
Ādivāramuttarāyaṇa saṁkramaṇa vyātipātakudida puṇyya tithiyalu perggade Barmma-
- 69 chayya-nāya-
kana basadige Śrīmatpānumgalla vaḍḍavyāvahāri Bandu-Varmmayyam-gaḷum
Śrīmattammiyūra Mādirāja-daṇḍanāyakage Narasiṁgedēvagam pādapūjeyam koṭṭu
- 70 hāramum sarvvanamasyamāge paḍedu Śrī Manmūlasaṁghada sēnagaṇa
pōgarigachhada Śrīmadvārishēṇa paṁḍitadēvara kālam ka
- 71 māḍi biṭṭa dharmmaṁtemdaḍe perggade Bammachaya-nāyakara kēyim temkalu
hiriya kōlagadde mattarōṇḍu || matta A
- 72 lu Bhurakandiyīm temkalu mattareraḍu || mattama basadige sumkaverggaḍe Nāran
ayya-nāyakanu Timmaṇayya-nāyakanu Mavaḷeya tāṇa
- 73 dalli poṁgepāgamam biṭṭaru peremgommāna pattamūma uḷḷupina heṇemgere visam
biṭṭaru || mattamā basadige Māvaḷeya-inuḷavatalada
- 74 iddu lekkakka vāgamu hēṇigōmmāna battamam biṭṭaru mattama basadige tōtigaru
tōṭamḍōḷu hāgamam biṭṭaru || priyadimdharmma si-

- 75 davaraggakum shūbham sampadam Gaye Gaṅganadi Vāraṇāsi Yamūnatiram Gūrūkshetra
Mādiyenipputtama tirthadōlu padapinam gōkōṭiyam saptakōṭeya tīshagram-
76 dha Rāmara pratatigoliduttudhva puṇyavaham || ☉ kshitipālardaṇḍanātha prabhūgaḷa
khila sumkādi pārmmamtragaḷu shāshvatamimti dharmam rakshipadalida-
77 Mahāpātakam bhīkarabhi kruta kumbhi pākamukhya prabaḷa narakadōlu sapta kōṭṭ
yayarabdi sthiyum nānākrumi shrēnigaḷa gadaṇadō-
78 lu niḍya molāḍutirppar || ☉ svadattam paradattam vā yō harēti vasum̐dharā shaṣṭirvarsha
sahāsrāṇi viṣṭāyām jāyatēh krimi || Jātōjana maga Mūddabammōja-
79 na maga Ālōja baradaru sthiram jiyaru || ☉ mamgaḷa mahā Śrī Śrī || Mādiyaṇa baredu
koṭṭa sashana ||

Text – Inscription no. 2

- 1 ☉ Svsti samastabhuvanāśraya Śrī Pṛithvivallabha mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara param-
abha-
2 tṭarakam|śatyāśrayakuḷatilakam|Chālukyābharaṇam|Śrīmatb Trailōkyamalla-dēvara
vijayarā-
3 jyamūttarōtarābhivṛiddhi pravardhamānamāchandrārkkatārambaram saluttamire | Kalyāṇ
ada nelevīḍina-
4 lu sukhasam̐katha vinōdadinarasu geyyūttamire || svastyarinnapaśiraśchhēda kruta
maṇḍāḷika makuṭa . . ma-
5 hā sāmanta mauḷilālita pādapaṇkajadvayam | Chālukya Vidyādharam | nakaḷam̐kacharitam
Śrī madiṇeva beḍem̐gadēvarbhakti pūrvvaka-
6 dim koṭṭa bhūmidāna[mī] dēvasvarūpamānantirdda mahā brāhmaṇam | chatussamudra
parivrutōrvvī maṇḍāḷa maṇḍitar, | shaḍgu-
7 nāmaṇḍitar | yamaniyamasvādhyāya dhyāna maūnānushṭāṇa parāyaṇar | Righaghana
samiraṇar | chaturvēdāshaṭā-
8 sana dharmma śāstrānyānigaḷ | Ālam̐ghyābhīmānigaḷ | Prabhumantrōtsāha śakti traya
virājitar | bhuvanaajanapūjitar |
9 lōkavikhyātar, Bhūvaḷayapūtar | manumārggē charitar, niśyēshaduritar | lachitāchārar |
anyāyadurar |
10 Enasūya satyar | śiṣṭa saṅgatsar | Abhinavayudhiṣṭrar, dushṭajana nishturar | mitrōpakārigaḷ
| śatru sam̐hārigaḷ |
11 Śāchānjanēyar | nirmmaḷikāyar | Śrīyadaḷavindiyamahājana nālnūrvvarūrōḍeyar
sannidhiyoḷu tatpāda-
12 padmōpajīvi kaguvaḷgimayyam māḍisida dharmmamgaḷu | Ūra naḍuvaṇa
piriyamaṇtapam̐ mūḍaṇa bādikalladēgulaṇ satram̐
13 satradamane | Ūra naḍuvaṇa śrīvāgila | modalāgi nimma chāraṇesadinanugrahadim̐ māḍ
ida dharmma manōppugoṇḍu-

- 14 rakshisuvudeṇḍu nālnūrvvara dāsi karuvanamaḡam bamma[rmma]yyam sāṣṭāṅgameṛaḡi
pōdevaṭṭu binnavam geydoppisi aṁtā dharmmakka
- 15 Śakavarsha 983neya plava saṁvatsarada pushpa suddha daśami Sōmavāra uttārayaṇa
saṁkrāntiyandu biṭṭa bhūmi satrakke sāli-
- 16 gāvegēriya baḷadalu sāntavoladalliya nālku vasatiyavareyoḷage karuva gēya nālku
pattiyallade allim teṅkaleraḍu
- 17 vasati sattrakke ere mattar 18 | Alim teṅka vasatiyuvare . . ere mattar 10 ṛoḷage dēvarggaṁ
erematta 5 matakke erematta
- 18 5 firttada kēreyalliya kisukāḍu mattaru 31 . . . ya vasatiyō pādiyim naḍeyisudu | dēvara
pūdōṇṭakke ka 700 inisum
- 19 ūrapa . . nateṛe . . mikkudu dharmmakke nālnūrvvara chāra vesadoḷneḍeyisuvantāḡi Karuva
Barmmayya nālnūrvvara dāsi | para-
- 20 nārī putram | gōtra pavitra | sivana dāsi | suputraḥ kuḷadīpakanenisi negaḷdam || inti
dharmmayam rakshisidātamge pannirchhāsira kavile-
- 21 ya kōḍum koḷaguma ponnōḷ kaṭṭisi kurukshētradōḷ dānamgēyda phaḷam | Ī dharmmayanaḷ
idātam bāṇarāsiyoḷekkōṭi tapōdhanara-
- 22 naḷida pañchamahāpātakam | svadattam paradattam vāyō harēti vasuṇḍarām shashṭirvarśha
sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyāmṛjāyatē kṛimiḥ ||
- 23 bahurbhirvvarsudhā bhuktā Rājabhissagarādhibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya
tadā phaḷam || sāmānyōyam dharmmasē-
- 24 turnnatāṇām kāḷē kāḷē pālāṇiyō bhavadbhiḥ sarvānētān bhāvinah prārtivēndrām bhūyō
bhūyō yāchatē rāmabhadraḥ
- 25 rara charaṇa kamaḷa bhaktam paramārtham karuvagu Puatram nirutam karuvara
barmmam bareyisidam bareda yella nī śāsanamam || Guligi mayyam Sōmanāthadēvanam
- 26 Shi svasti samasta guṇa saṁpannam | Śivapādashēkharam | Kaguvaguligi mayyam mattam
māḍida dharmmam | pūdāru | belemattaru | paḍaldānam | kanyādānam | kaviledāna | brā-
- 27 hmaṇarggam | sāviya kasṭadigaḷgam | nānā dēsigalgam anivāritam pādaraksheyam dānam
gottṭam | mattam prayāge | kēdāra | vargyatīrtham | gaṅge śrī parvvatam | sva .
- 28 midēvam | sivkaḷasam modalāḡintappanēka firthagaḷam mindu | dānam dharmmam
parōpakāragaḷam māḍi | dēvara Śrī Pādapadmaṅgaḷanārādisi mahāpū-
- 29 ruśam mōkshamam sādhisī tadanantaradōḷ vaikānta nivāsiyāḡi muktiyam sādhisida
mahāpurushana vaṁśakkella | Āyum śrīyumu-
- 30 ttarōttārabhivruddhi pravarddhamāna-māchandrārkkētārambaram sukhadim peḷchi
tannene taṇidu gōsāsamiḷdu peḷchi[rade] maṅgaḷa ||
- 31 dēvara vasati 1 satrada vasati 2 Ā [23] vasati . haḷa . . 4neya pramāthi saṁvatsarada Śrāvaṇa
śuddha 12 Sōmavāra Uttarāyaṇa
- 32 Saṅkramaṇadaṇḍu Śrī madaḷaviṇḍiya mahājanam nālnurvva svāmigaḷge karuvara
Hāchimayyana Herggade Mūlimayya pādapū-
- 33 jeyam koṭṭu sarvva bādā parihāra mānyavāḡi Śrī Gulugēśvara dēvargaṅgabhōgakke biṭṭa
bhūmi ūroḍe voladelu kaḍabana baḷadim māḍa-

- 34 sidha kaviyara Sōvimayyaṅgaḷa keyim baḍaga haḍavaḷara Ēchimayya nāyakuḥ satrakke
biṭṭa keyim teṅkaṇa mattarāḥu inti dharmma-
- 35 vaṁ pratipāḷsidavargge Vāraṇāsi Kurukshēṭradalu pannirchāsira Kavileyanaḷkarisi
vēdapāragarappa brāhmaṇargubhayamukhiyaṁ
- 36 koṭṭavaru inti dharmmavanaḷidavaru Ekōṭitīrthasthānaṅgaḷalubhayamukhi Kavileyam
brāhmaṇaru manaḷida mahāpātarkaru ||
- 37 © Svasti Śrī śaka 1191neya Vibhava saṁvachharada Vaiśākha su 15 Sō | svasti Śrī Maḍaḷ
aviṇḍiya nānu-
- 38 rvva svāmigaḷge Mallayana maga Sōmayya Nonambayyanū pādapūjeyam koṭṭu
- 39 Śrī Gulugēśvara dēvara sthānavanū [yā] satrada kēyi maneyanū sarvva bādhe parihārivāgi
Vijaya-
- 40 śrī mānyava hadadaru satrada keyya mādsi satrava naḍusuvaru ||

Structure and Functioning of Ghatikasthānams in Early Medieval South India

P. K. Sreekumar

Abstract: The present paper is an attempt to understand the varied features of *ghatikasthanam śalai* an institution in early medieval South India which played a meaningful role in imparting different knowledge systems in the socio-political conceptuality of early medieval South India. These *ślais* or *ghatikasthanams* might have acted as centres of higher learning, arts, martial training and the like.

Keywords: Ghatikasthanam, Ślais, Feeding House,

The term *ghatika/alai* has been interpreted differently by scholars from time to time and there is no unanimous opinion among them on its meaning. *Ghatika/Śla* and *Mahśala* came to be explained as an educational institution of higher learning. The inscriptional data, especially during the period from CE 1000 to CE 1300¹ substantiates that *ghatikasthanams/ślais* were located more in the South than the North. These centres of learning² by and large moulded the socio-cultural processes and acted as one among the major determinants in preserving the knowledge systems of the period. An officer having the authority of *ghatika* or recognised by *ghatika* is usually referred to as *ghatika-madyastha*³. *Ghatikyar* in Tamil means members of a *ghatika* managing its affairs⁴. Lexicographers explain it as *ranga sthalam*, *yajñā śla*/hall, *manthra śla*, *vidya śla* etc. Nilakanta Sastri defined *ghatika* as a 'centre of learned brahmins'⁵.

Early attempts to explain the term *ślai* by scholars like Hultzsch, regarded it as a hall⁶. Later Gopinatha Rao, the then Travancore Govt. Epigraphist attempting to interpret the phrase “*Kntalr Ślai Kalamaruthu arulina*” described *Ślai* as a feeding house⁷. Based on inscriptional data Elamkum P N Kunjan Pillai suggested that centres of higher learning in Keralam were commonly categorised under the title *Chlai*. Place names such as *Valiya śla*, *rya Śla*, and *Chla* still continue to exist in Thiruvananthapuram. He also indicated that *Śla* came into prominence as *pdhasla*⁸. R K Mukherji made a reference to *ghatika* or *ghatikasthna* as a place of public assembly for brahmins or a religious centre or an educational colony⁹. T.N. Subramaniam interpreted it as a centre of advanced knowledge systems¹⁰. There are also historians who suggest that *ślais* acted as alm-houses in early medieval South India¹¹. These bodies were variously known as *chatram*, *dharma chatra ślai* and *satra ślais*¹². Terms like *satra- śla*¹³ and *ttupurai* do appear in epigraphic data¹⁴. njanri Plates, an eighth century record of Bhgasakthi. states thus: “Being a devotee of Narayana he was eager to perform acts of charity such as construction and endowment¹⁵ of temples, tanks, *satras* and water stalls. “*Satra* stood as an establishment for making provision for lodging, feeding, clothing or nursing of the needy¹⁶. Later it seems that some of these *satra ślas* started manifesting a kind of sectarian nature i.e. feeding brahmanas of a particular sect such as *Vaishṇavas*, *Jaṅgamas*¹⁷ etc. Based on epigraphical data, it has been pointed out that specific provisions were made for feeding at all times without any obstruction to none. Food was given from Candlas to Brhmanas. In many of

the *ttupurais* the first preference was for the strangers i.e., not the local people. The document states that food to be offered to *ds̄ndaris/ parad̄sis*. On days when no *parad̄sī* turned up, those from the locality would be fed. This clearly shows that these *ttupurais* were open to all especially to outsiders and to local people as well¹⁸. The feeding house hypothesis was partly accepted by Prof. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai. Based on the phrase “*Kanthalur Salai Kalamarutha rulina*”, which appear in the Prthivapuram copper plate grant of the king Karunantadakkan, he took the term *kalām* for “a plate and by derivation a seat in the feeding house and consequently referring to free food facilities¹⁹”. Based on *Maṇipravāṇam* works M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat argued that *Śalais/Ghaṭikas* were attached to temples, and that they played a significant part in advancing the so called ryan political power and culture in South India²⁰. That the *cattas* and *bhattas* attached to *Śalais/Ghaṭikas* were instrumental in the development of brhamaṇism in the South. Further these *cattas* and *bhattas* evolved into an exceptional “para military organisation²¹”.

In the Tlagunda Pillar inscription of Kkuṭṣavarman, the Kadamba king makes a reference to the establishment of a *ghaṭika*²². The record may be perhaps the first to inform us since the period of the inscription is placed around fifth century CE. Later it is learnt that Mayra Śarman the famous Kadamba ruler went to Knchi *ghaṭikasthnam* as a student to get well versed in various knowledge systems. Ksakudi²³ Plates of Naṇḍivarman II (731-796) speaks about the meritorious acts he did for temples and *ghaṭikas*. The Vaikunta Perumal Temple inscription brings to our attention that the members of this *ghaṭika* played a meaningful role along with the *mahattaras* and *mlaprakṛithis* in the selection of the young prince Naṇḍivarman II Pallava Malla²⁴. The Tumbayanru Grant of Pulaksin II²⁵, a seventh century record is about the donation of *un̄hha vṛitti* of hamlet Mollala Kanru, to a certain Mvu Gaṇaswmi who was well adept in *Vda, Vednga and Ithihsa*, was engaged in *saṭkarmas*²⁶. He belonged to Indupura *ghaṭika* of which details are not furnished. The term *uchha vṛitti* means the gathering of the ears of the corn left on the fields by the reapers²⁷. In another record of the same king, the term “*Khaṭika-Kṣtram*” appear²⁸. In the Lakṣmīśvar inscription of Eṛeyamma i.e., Pulaksin II speaks about granting five hundred *nivarthanas* of land on the north side of *Puligere-Nagara* for the daily worship and offerings to *caitya* of Saṃgha-Jinndra (Nminatha). The term *Khaṭika-Kṣtram* crops up when the borders of the said land were donated²⁹. From this we can infer that the donated land belonged to certain *ghaṭikasthnam*. Further, Puligere-Nagara was a seat of Jainism. In all probability the said *ghaṭikasthnam* might have been under the command of Puligere-Nagara Saṃkha Jinndra. The eighth century document of Vthapi Chukya king Vikramaditya II at Kci³⁰ announces that the king Vikramaditya Saṭysraya captured Kci and after examining the priceless abundance of the Rja Siṃgsvara temple, returned these to the God. The Kci *ghaṭika* is referred to as a centre of charity and learning³¹.

An inscription from Ayyvole³² informs us about the *MahCaturvidya Samudya* comprising of five hundred members. To begin with this assembly might have acted as a chamber of vdic scholars which in due course evolved into a centre of advanced learning. Later we are informed about the Ayyvole Five hundred *Symikal* which emerged as a powerful merchant guild playing a meaningful role in transacting both overseas and inland trade. It is another topic of research to understand how

a council of scholars exercised control systems in matters concerning the conservation of rural resources, grew into a trade corporation in medieval times³³.

In another instance the term *Akhila Ghatikasthnam* appear in a document from Hoṭṭr, Dharwad district. This speaks about a *ghatikasthnam* at Poṭṭiyr of which the details are not furnished³⁴. A twelfth century record communicates about a *Mah Ghatikasthna* of Huvinabge, which might have acted as a great centre of multiple knowledge systems where learned teachers and students got themselves engaged in varied disciplines such as *Jythisha*, *Tharka*, *Bauddha Dars'ana*, *Vykarāṇa* etc. It is known that Hejara-pattana rose into a *MahGhatikasthna* and it operated from the temple of Nonamsvāra³⁵.

In another document dated CE 1172, we are told about an *lka-vikhytha-vgrda ghatikasthanam* of Kadelevada, situated in Bijapur district³⁶. A Sikaripur record of 1182 (Shimoga District), states that in Kuntaladsa there were many *ghatikasthnams* supporting *dharma* and *bhga*³⁷. We are not in a position to elaborate on aspects of these terms unless cross evidences are available to look in to. The period invites our attention to political tensions arising on the western coastal belt of the sub-continent. In another instance there are inscriptional data which makes an allusion to “64” *Ghatikasthnams*³⁸. It has been pointed out that these *ghatikasthnams* were said to have meaningfully involved in the “*mah-ndu- agirdu*”, (the Great Assembly/Congregation), along with many corporate bodies such as the merchant guilds and the like. We are informed that “the *mahndu* resembled the assembly of the Cītramli in that it cut across narrow, locality affiliations, though unlike *periyandu*, the *mahndu*, it is likely dealt primarily with commercial matters³⁹”. *Mahnadu* assembled on festival seasons and might have played an important role in deciding the prices or enforcing district monopolies⁴⁰. We do not know precisely the reciprocal relations in between *mahndu* and how the *ghatikasthnam* got activated. Further, scholars have suggested that the “the numbers eighteen, thirty-two, and sixty-four are conventional attributes to denote that the places where several in numbers⁴¹”.

A long record inscribed in prose and poetry illuminates us on a *sandh-vigrahika* who founded a *ghatikasthna*. This document shows that this *ghatikasthna* ⁴²rose in to prominence as a centre of excellence where three teachers for *sṣṭrs*, three for *Vedas*, teachers for *Bhaṭṭa-Dars'ana*, *Nysa* and *Prabhkara Dars'ana* stayed. From the term” *Slage* “used in the document it is evident that the staff as well as the students was to be fed and clothed out of the revenue from the *slage/slabhga* land⁴³. “A record of 1181 CE from Tarida (Bijapur district) shows that the *ācāryas* of the *ghatikasthanams* of the temples of Agasthīśvara, Kanagalīśvara and Mahālakshmī of Kolhāpūr and of Mahalingadeva of Gokake, as also the *elkotis* and *ganas* assembled in *mahamandali*, declared that the Gonka-Jinalaya which was attached to Rupanarayana-basadi of Kolhāpūr was part of the temple of Mulasthana Kalideva of Teridala⁴⁴”.

Taking up the study of *ghatikasthnams* /*slais* in Keralam, we do not possess much data to substantiate our views on the structure and functioning of these institutions. Scholars have pointed out that *slais* in Keralam came to be established by imitating the Buddha *Vihras* which acted as centres of excellence⁴⁵. It is also evident from the ninth/tenth century documents that *Sarasvatī*

Bhanddgras and *thura ślas* attached to the temples also came in to being. The names of some of the *ślas* which functioned in Keralam are the following: Moozhikkulam-*śla*, Thiruvalla *Śla*, Knthalr *Śla* Prthivapuram *Śla* and *Srī Vallabha Perum Chla*. *Srī Vallabha Prerum Chlai* ⁴⁶was constituted by *Srī Vallabha* who ruled *Pndyan* kingdom up to C E 862. The *ślai* was situated near Kanyakumari Temple at Kazhikkudi. For the proper functioning of the *ślai*, *nalkika* *urai per kalam* was to be arranged by the *athikris* and *kanṇṇis*⁴⁷. Rja Rja Cholan changed its name to Rja Rja Perum Chlai⁴⁸. In inscriptions it was written as “*Srī Vallabha Perumchlayana Rja Rja Perum chlai*” “However we do not know the exact nature and function of *Srī Vallabha Perum Chlai*.”

The Prthivapuram copper plate inscription of the y king Karunantatakkann dated CE 866, is about an endowment which speaks in detail on the nature of the organisation of the *ślai*⁴⁹. The revenue from the *ślabhgam* land has to be utilized for the maintenance of the endowment. Out of the 95 seats, separate *kalam*s were to be endowed to *Pavaliya caranam*⁵⁰, *Taiṭṭarya caranam* and *Talavakara caranam*. It is interesting to notice that strict checks were put on the *caṭṭar*, i.e. that they “being prohibited to bring arms in to the gatherings, from quarrelling within temple precincts, injuring one another or the tenants of the *salabhogam* and *devadanam* lands, playing dice within the temple and keeping concubines in their *madha* or residence ⁵¹”. The catalogue of curbs on *caṭṭar* throws light on the mode of behavioural patterns that by and large played a decisive role in the social processes of the period. Based on early medieval literary works the *caṭṭar* had become a decadent lot and they used to exaggerate about their valour, practised black magic and their presence was noticed in the “pleasure houses of *devadasis* or *tevadichikal* turned into courtesans. Their degeneration is marked by the 13th century ⁵²”.

The Moozhikkulam and Thiruvalla *ślas* provided hostel facilities for hundreds of *caṭṭar*. For noon meals alone 35 para rice was set a part is an example to show that how extensive was the institution⁵³. Keezmala Nṭtu Mluvakn and the Moolayil Nayattiyr made land donations comprising of thousands of acres of *ślabhgam* lands to these *ślas*⁵⁴.

Citations to Knthalr *Ślai* appear in thirty documents. But the location of the place Knthalr is mentioned in none of these data⁵⁵. Knthalr ⁵⁶rose into prominence even before CE 866 is evident from records. There are two theories attempting to locate *knthalr*. one theory points towards Vizhinjam and another situates Knthalr at Thiruvananthapuram. In the *Prthivapuram* record of the y king Karunantadakkan, it is specifically mentioned that all rules and regulations of Knthalr *Ślai* is also applicable to Prthivapuram-*Ślai*. From the statement “*Chralar Velaikkazhu Knthalr*” it is almost certain that *knthalr* is situated near the coastal belt⁵⁷.

In a literary work *Anantapura Varnnanam*, place names *Chla* and *Valiasla* do appear and are referred to as *Knthalr Śla*. In *Mathilakam Grantha Vari* the phrase “*kanthalur chalayil Ezhunnaruli*”, appear. In another record a reference to “*Kanthalur Sala Mahadevar Kovil* is noticed”. There is no certainty that *Chla* and *Valiya śla* were known as *Knthalr Śla*. Further wherever one come across a reference on *Knthalr*, it is often mentioned along with *Vizhinjam*⁵⁸.

The phrase “*Kanthalur Salai Kalam Arutha Aruliya*” has triggered much controversy among historians commencing from Nilakanta Sastri to M.G.S Narayanan. The term “*kalam*” attracted the attention of scholars to interpret it as “*marakkalam*” or ship. Gopinatha Rao clarified the expression in the sense that the *Chla* King “discontinued the *kalam* (by implication the feeding) in *Kndalr slai* (or the feeding house at *kandalur*).” *Arutha* ‘stands for destruction. Taking these into consideration Prof: Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai partly accepted the feeding house hypothesis. By tenth century, *knthalr* emerged into a cantonment of the *Chras* and therefore this centre came under repeated attacks from the *Chlas*⁵⁹. The term *Kalam* is understood to be a measure in *Thanjvr* delta and adjoining districts which varied from place to place⁶⁰.” The rate is expressed by the amount of paddy in *Kalam* or gold in *kazhanjū* per *vli* of land and ⁶¹.....the standard rate is roughly hundred *kalam* of paddy per *vli* of land but actually fluctuated between ninety-five and hundred... In villages where assessment is made in gold the rate varies between 5.321 and 9.991 *Kalanjū* of gold per *vli*⁶².” Taking into consideration on the above-mentioned facts on *Kalam*, which was in vogue during *Chla* economy, it becomes all the more obvious that the feeding house hypothesis remain an assumption only. From *Rja Rja Chla* to *Kulṭtunga Chla*, we are witnessing repeated attacks on *Knthalr Sla*. It seems rather un historical that the *chla* army was simply destroying the feeding houses of *knthalr* which emerged into a cantonment of the *Chras* by tenth century AD. Being an important nucleus of strategic activeness, *Knthalr* raised a possible threat to the *Chlas*. The *Chla* rulers who extended their political horizon from *Sree Lanka* to *Sree Vijaya* need not come to *knthalr* simply for the abolition of the feeding of the *caṭtar*. The aggressive strategy of the *Chlas* therefore was to cut off the revenue flow of the *Chras* which came to be expressed through the phrase *kalam aruppu*. Continuous conquests might have resulted in chopping the distribution networks of the *Chra* economic system.

Based on the above-mentioned facts the following inferences can be drawn.

It is apparent from the epigraphs that *ghatikasthnamis* began to proliferate in south India from seventh/eighth centuries to ninth/tenth and to twelfth centuries. The genesis of the *bhakti* cult was instrumental in many ways for the decline of the secular centres of learning. With the emergence of *Saiva* and *Vaishṇava mathas*, various sects began to surface in early medieval South Indian society. The *Psūpathas*, *Kpalikas*, *klamukhas*, *Vaishṇava* and *Sri Vaishṇava* sects commenced their aggressive and activated interventions in the socio-political and socio-religious spheres. Earlier *ghatikasthnamis* were open to all but once *mathas*, established their ties with the State, the secular character of *slais* started showing symptoms of decay. The inclusion of *Buddha Darsana* in *Slais* for students point towards the continuing impact of Buddhism. The teaching of *Buddha Darsana* in *ghatikas/slais*, might have used as a tool to undermine the very basis of heterodox doctrines and philosophies.

The *Vaikunta Peruml* temple document communicates us that the *ghatika* attached to this temple selected the prince Nandivarman II Pallava Malla to the throne. In another instance we are informed that the *Vhapi* king Vikramditya received *Sivamandala Dksha* from his *guru*. References to *avabhṛtha snnam* appear in *Chlukyan* charters which informs the purification of the body of the

king, thus naturally pointing towards his tribal status. The *ghatikasthnam*s' active involvement in the state's affairs shaped the character of religion and society in early medieval South India.

However, the socio-cultural processes of South India got itself evolved into a meaningful realm of knowledge systems through the *ghatikasthnam*s /*slai*. The Brahmanical and heterodox⁶³ thought processes emerged into centres of erudition and enlightenment.

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Early Brāhmī and Telugu Inscriptions from Gaṭṭusingaram in Peddapalli district, Telangana

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Abstract: This paper deals with the newly discovered early Brāhmī inscriptions of 1st century BCE – 1st century CE and early Telugu inscriptions of 6th century CE in Sitammaloddi rock shelter near Gaṭṭusingaram village in Peddapalli district of Telangana. There are a total of nine inscriptions. One of these sheds remarkable light about *Kumāra* Akusiri (Hakusiri), a prince of the Sātavāhana dynasty, a new name *Sidha* Hāritīputra and *Kumāra* Saka Siri of Sātavāhana period. A name of herb Davana also noticed for the first time. Most of these inscriptions are of the early centuries and unveil Sātavāhana supremacy over this Āsmaka region.

Keywords: Sitammaloddi - Gaṭṭusingaram, Telangana, Nine Early Brāhmī and Telugu Inscriptions, Engraved and Written in red colour, *Kumāra* Akusiri, *Sidha* Hāritīputra Davana herb, *Kumāra* Saka Siri, Administrators.

The inscriptions are found engraved on the wall of a huge rock shelter known as Sitammaloddi situated on the hilltop at the height of 600 meters from the ground level in the dense forest near Gaṭṭusingaram village in Peddapalli mandal and district of Telangana. There are in total nine inscriptions (both label and single lined), of which four are engraved, filled with red ochre in its grooves and the other five have been written with red ochre at the height of five to six feet. Out of these, seven are in Brāhmī script and Prākṛit language of 1st century BCE-CE and two in archaic Telugu characters and language of 6th century CE. It is interesting to note that the shelter also has rock paintings of the Mesolithic and early Historic periods.

Engraved Inscriptions:

No. 1: The inscription written in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī characters of 1st century CE, reads *Sidha Hāritīputasa Kumārasa Aka(ku)siri Mitasa*, meaning: *Sidha* Hāritīputra, friend of *Kumāra* Akusiri. This Akusiri/Hakusiri can be identified with the Sātavāhana prince, son of Nāganikā and Sātakarṇi. who is mentioned in the relieve label inscriptions at Nāṇeghāṭ as *Kumāra* Hakusiri (Gupta 1976: 67; Mirashi 1981: part-II, 1 8-20; Shastri 1998: 102, III.1.5), in the inscription at Mukkaṭarāopēṭa, (Jagityal district, Telangana), which is about 50 km aerial distance from Gaṭṭusingaram., as *Bālaka* Hakusiri (Muniratnam 2020: 118; Haragopal 2022: 162) and in the inscription of Bhaṭapālīkā in Nāsik cave as *Mahā* Hakusiri (Mirashi 1981: 21-23). So the name Hakusiri has been mentioned with different prefixes at separate places but possibly it refers to the same person. This inscription sheds light on Hakusiri's position, i.e., *Kumāra*, a prince at the time of engraving the record and his association with a friend named Hāritīputra, who is mentioned for the first time here, providing

historical context to this individual within the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas. Further this inscription, along with Mukkaṭarāopēṭa record, establishes Hakusiri's administration in this Āsmaka region which was one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas*, thus enhancing the understanding of the political and administrative structure of the Sātavāhana dynasty, especially with regard to regional governance and interpersonal relationships during the 1st century CE.

No.2: This inscription in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī alphabet of 1st century CE, seems to be incomplete and can be read as *Īm Dakhā Mita(sa)*, meaning: of an efficient friend. It might be referring to *Sidha* Hārītīputra as an efficient friend of *Kumāra* Akusiri as mentioned in inscription No.1, since both are engraved close by.

No. 3: This inscription written in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī script of 1st century CE reads *Siri Davana Pavata Puva Sampāi*, meaning: opulence of (herb) Davana in the front part of mountain. In Prākṛit the word 'Davana' can be described as a distinctive herb and the prefix 'siri' might have been used with respect to the herb to show its specialty; since the preceded letters are not explicit, nothing more can be explained.

No. 4: This incomplete record in early Telugu language and archaic Telugu characters of 6th century CE, reads *Hakugarusa* Grabhaya, meaning to search. A small swastika symbol can be noticed engraved below the letter 'gra' within a half-circle connected to the alphabet and crescent at another end.

Painted Inscriptions:

No.1: This inscription in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī script of 1st century BCE is defaced and incomplete. It appears to mention some personal names. The text is as below:

- 1 - *minamkhā*
- 2 - *Jakunuḍikhā*
- 3 - - - - -
- 4 - - - ka sa

No. 2: This inscription is incomplete and is found written on a curved surface of the rock in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī characters of 2nd century CE. It reads *Kumārasa Saka Siri Puṭasa*, meaning: son of *Kumāra* Saka Siri (Śaka Siri). Some coins of Śaka Sātakarṇi are found from Tarhala, Brahmapuri and Coastal Andhra (Sarma 1980: 267), and whether this *Kumāra* Śaka Siri can be identified with Śaka Sātakarṇi yet to be decided with the further confirmed discoveries.

No.3: This inscription written in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī characters of 1st century CE reads *Sidha Hārītīpuṭasa* which refers to name of a certain individual. The same name also occurs in engraved inscriptions no. 1, though there is some stylistic variation of the letters used, except letter 'ha'. Further study is required to identify this Hārītīputra.

No.4: This inscription above No. 3 (painted) written in early Telugu language and archaic Telugu characters of 6th century CE reads *Hakavāru*, meaning: The Rulers /Administrators.

No.5: The inscription is completely defaced and illegible written in Prākṛit language and Brāhmī script of 1st century CE, reads: *Sara(te) Pu(tasa) - - - (ta)ra Si(ra) - (ta)sa - (e) Khami -*

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Early Brahmi and Telugu Inscriptions from Gattusingaram

Irrigation Tanks Sustained Through ‘Dashabandha’ System Described in the Inscriptions

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Abstract:

Agriculture is the oldest and primary occupation of this country, providing employment and facilitating the fulfillment of food, clothing, and basic needs for its people. All types of land owned by individuals and institutions were subject to collection of land revenue and it has been one of the primary sources of income for the state throughout history. Kings and their subordinates provided irrigation facilities by constructing tanks to aid in agriculture’s development and also considered its safety and maintenance, as irrigation forms the backbone of the economy. To better utilize the land, many tanks, reservoirs, canals have been built and older tanks and canals have been rehabilitated. An attempt has been made in this paper to focus on the maintenance, protection, and development of irrigation tanks of the age-old traditional system of ‘dasavandha’ or ‘dashabandha’ which prevailed in the Deccan based on inscriptions, contemporary records and Kaifiyths besides monumental secondary sources.

Keywords: Dasavandha, Dashabandha, Inām, Mānya

Dashabandha means making an *Inām* or gift about one tenth of irrigated land under particular tank or canal to the person who undertakes the construction of a tank.¹ This was paid to the keeper of the tank as *Dashabandha-Mānya* for the maintenance of the irrigation facilities under those particular tanks. The grain collected was spent only on the repairs and up keeping of the concerned tank. C. P. Brown mentions *Dasabandhamu* as land *Inām* (gift) granted to one who constructed a tank or canal.² “...an income called ‘*Dasavandha*’ levied on the cultivators, generally at the rate of one *kuncha* per each *puṭṭi* of the grass yield.” It is generally called as *puṭṭi kuncha* or *cheruvu kuncha*.³ Srinivasan states ‘Though the term *Dashabandha* or *Dasavandha* occurs from the very early times, one cannot fix with certainty, the correct meaning and interpretation.’⁴ Baden Pawl stated that “The *Dashabandham Ināms* were granted as a recompense to private individuals, who constructed tanks, wells and river canals by means of which the revenue of the state was augmented. The extent and the value of the *Inām* were in proportion to the capital expended on the work and the out turn in revenue.”⁵ In this sense *Dasavanda* or *Dashabandha* means a tenth part of a total sum. It was for both the purposes, that was an *Inām* or a gift to the builder who invests for the construction was granted one tenth of land and peasants were fixed with a levy to maintain and upkeep the tanks and tank canals. For the construction, maintenance and repair of irrigation works in the ceded districts in Krishna, Nellore, North Arcot and Salem these *Dashabandha Ināms* were continued in the British period.⁶

This custom of *Dasavanda* or *Dashabandha*, prevailed under the Western Chalukyas who dug number of irrigation tanks and canals and sufficient care was taken for its proper upkeep, annual repair of the bound, sluices, supply channels, removal of silt and raising the bound from time to time. They also appointed an officer to look after the irrigation called *udagarapōshan*.⁷ These irrigation

tanks maintained with the *dashabandha* system were under the village chief called *raṭṭaḍi* or *raḍḍi*, who used to collect the revenue under the particular tank or canal in the village. If we observe the origin of the word *reḍḍi* we can understand the hereditary rights of the *raṭṭaḍi* or *raṭṭaguḍi* or *raṭṭadikamu* means ‘a guardian of the land’ or ‘a town watchman of the land.’ Undoubtedly, they were having prospective rights over the *dashabandha*. We can find this term *raṭṭaḍi* or *raḍḍi* right from 7th Century CE.⁸ Shamiret (Warangal District) inscription of Western Chalukya dated Śaka 921 (999 CE) states that “the different people of Gadipāra- Agrahāra granted *dashabandha* to Atyapaseṭṭi, the younger brother of Vammaseṭṭi.”⁹ Another inscription of the same period at Cherial (Warangal District) of king Irivabedemga (Satyāśraya) dated Śaka 923 (1001-1002 CE), states that “the elder sister of Ayvabbadēvi (queen) granted a *dasavandha-mānya* to Cheriyaāla Kommaya and Gāvunḍa Malliya”¹⁰ The Perur Inscription issued by Peruri Manumallaya Nāyaka, a servant of Kandukūri Bhīma Chōḍa (1176 to 1200 CE) states that the *raṭṭaḍi* who is enjoying the *dasavandamu* should contribute two *rukaas* for the maintenance of the local temple.¹¹ Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya-VI in his Khazipet inscription stated that the collection of water levy from a tank was fixed to the cultivators. The cultivators had to pay...“one *khanduga* (a unit of measurement) for ten *Kaluga* for one water-bailing machine.”¹²

The Kakatiya of Warangal excavated several numbers of tanks. The inscriptions of this period contain wonderful descriptions of each tank, which was called as *Samudram* (Seas). They paid lot of attention in construction of irrigation tanks, canals and their maintenance. But this obligation was different under the Kakatiyas. The persons who were appointed for the purpose of maintenance of tanks and canals called *rattadi* or *raddi*, were granted “...an income called ‘*dasavandha*’ levied on the cultivators generally at the rate of one ‘*kuncha*’ per each ‘*putti*’ of grass yield.”¹³ But here the measurement mentioned was only 1/20 part but not 1/10 (20 *kuncha* makes a *putti*). K. Satyanarayana stated “The Kakatiyas introduced a new system of tenure called *Dasabandham*, according to which an *inām* or copyhold was granted to a person for repairing, maintaining or constructing a tank on condition of paying in money or kind one-tenth to the king.”¹⁴ The author wrongly interpreted that the *dasavandha* system introduced by the Kakatiyas, as it prevailed even before as several inscriptions of the Western and Eastern Chalukya mentions *dasavandha*.

The *dasavandha* system continued under The Reḍḍi and Velama kings. Several inscriptions of this period reveal this. It is said that “Vemareḍḍi distributed the land in charity under the Pedda Cheruvu of Ramatīrtham in Ammanabrōlu Sīma in Śaka 1257 (1350 CE) “*Pedda Cheruvu nīllu ī grāmālu gāka itaragrāmāillo paṇḍina dhānyānaku dashamshamunnu*”¹⁵

The lands of the Golcoṇḍa kingdom were fertile and had natural irrigation sources. Travelers eulogized its richness. Thevenot says that, “This province of Telenga is worth above ten million a year to the great Mogul.”¹⁶ Further he says, “...delighted travelers with their verdure, more than the fields of their kingdom, because of the rice and corn that to be seen every where, and the many lovely reservatories that are found in it.”¹⁷ Even the capital city of Qutb Shāhīs, Hyderābād was known as Bagyanagar- the city of garden. “There are many fare gardens in this town their beauty consists in having long walks kept clean and lovely fruit trees.”¹⁸

Ibrahim Qutb Shāh got built a big tank Hussein Sagar in Hyderabad city under the supervision

of Hazrath Hussein Shās Wāli, by spending 2 Lakh *Huns*.¹⁹ He also got constructed a big tank and established a village Ibrahimpaṭnam near Hyderābād City.²⁰ Amīn Khān, a noble under the Ibrahim Qutb Shāh, got constructed a large tank and found a populated village Amīnpura.²¹ Budwel reservoir is another tank near Hyderabad built by Mohammed Quli Qutb Shāh.²² A number of irrigation tanks of Qutb Shāhī period are very much in use even today.

The Qutb Shāhī kings of Golconḍa initiated irrigation development works as far as possible by encouraging the nobles, individual and institutions. According to a *Farman*, Sultān Abdullāh Qutb Shāh ordered his officer *Sarkhel* Sayed Muzaffar of Elgandal fort, 5 km from present Karimnagar District headquarters, to sanction a sum of 540 *Huns* (gold coins), to *Havalda* Menavi Baig for reconstructing sluice of the big tank at Sanigaram in 1664 CE. The Sanigaram tank inscription further mention that the sluice of Sanigaram tank was reconstructed under the supervision of Venkatapathi. He executed resettlement of the village customs and fulfilled the thirty Deva Brahmans ‘*vruthies*’ at this Narsimha Keshthra. These details are inscribed in, where a big tank exist even this day.²³

The Qutb Shāhī kings followed *darbast* (established customs) in all respects.²⁴ Several inscriptions of Qutb Shāhī period reveal ‘*Dasavandha*’ or ‘*Dashabandham*’. “Such encouragement took the form of either ‘*Dasabandha*’ or ‘*Kaṭṭu Koḍage*’ grants followed by the Vijayanagara kings. According to which a person who under took or executed the work was given a piece of tax-free land for tank which he constructed and also *Dashabandham* for its maintenance.

There are inscriptions with instructions for renovation for deepening the tanks and raising the height of the bounds. In certain places the income from lease fishery was set separate and utilized for the repair of the tank.²⁵ It was followed by the Vijayanagara kings and continued under the Qutb Shāhīs. The Qutb Shāhī kings encouraged private institutions and people to develop the irrigation facilities. They followed the custom of *Kuḍimarmattu* that was practiced under the Vijayanagara rule²⁶, in which repairs to irrigation tanks, canals and drainage works had to be performed by the joint labor of the village community.²⁷ Whenever a new tank was constructed at the same time the settlement was done by the administration adopting the local customs.

The Pānagallu inscription gives the details of the dilapidated Udayasamudramu tank, which was connected with Mūsi river canal. Udayasamudramu was renovated by expanding the sluice and canal. The canal was renovated and regulated through Thummulagūḍem, Nīrnemula, Dubbaka, Kakkirani, Akkinapalli village tanks. From there it reached Udayasamudramu tank. After filling the tank, the excess water was released through canal into the river Krishna. The canal was link to various small and big tanks on its way from Namile to river Krishna. This fact bears ample testimony to the existing practice of construction of balancing reservoirs. This Udayasamudram tank was also known as Udayāditya Samudram as it was constructed by Kandukūri Chōḍha king Udaya Chōḍa (1136 to 1176 CE), a feudatory of Kakatīyas of Warangal.²⁸ Rahamathullah who under took the renovation work on the orders of the king Ibrahim Qutb Shāh of Golconḍa in the year 1550 CE states the obligation of *Dashabandham* was implied to all the above said irrigation tanks.²⁹

An inscription, laid by Tejakhan Khudavand in 1678 CE, during the reign of Abul Hassan Tanisha, near a village tank at Mukthevaramu in Narsaraopet taluk, Guntur district, states that for renovating the tank and sluice all the beneficiaries of this tank should pay *Dashabandhamu* and

permanent arrangements were made for repairing and up keeping of the tank from time to time.³⁰

Alluri Kaifiyaths described that when the floods of the river Krishna swept off the Allure tank, *foujdar* of that region, renovated the bund and expanded the tank and renamed it as Jamal Kaṭṭa. He also arranged to collect one *khandika* (a measure of grain) from one *palla* (12 *sīrs*; 10 *khandikas* forms one *palla*) of grain, which was produced under this tank. The tax obtained from such collection was to be spent every year for the maintenance of the tank. The tax can be paid either in cash or kind.³¹

An inscription from Vellulla, Metpalli Mandal, Karimnagar District records that Juvvāḍi Dalapathi Rāo, the *Muthallegue* of Vengala Jagadeva, a Velma Chief, constructed the sluice of the Nāgula Cheruvu on the orders of his officer in Śaka 1535 (1630 CE) and resettlement was made with the same obligation.³²

Kandukuri inscription of Qutb Shāhīs mention that Vaddera community were appointed as *Nīrati Kāvali* to look after the irrigation tank in the village, i.e., its renovation, repair, taking out silt and also to maintain the canals and irrigate the lands in catchment area.³³ The *Nīrati Kāvali* was provided with *Mirāsi* (hereditary) lands for the extension of their services. Even today the *Nīrati Kāvali* is seen in most of the Telanaga villages.

The history of Qutb Shāhīs is replete with many such instances which demonstrated the commitment of the rulers to strengthen the irrigation system. This continued under the British rule. For the construction, maintenance and repairs of irrigation works in the ceded districts in Krishna, Nellore, North Arcot and Salem, these *dasabandham Ināms* were granted as recompense to private individuals, who constructed tanks, wells and river canals by means of which the revenue of the state was augmented.³⁴ The obligation of *Dashabandha* became burden to the peasants in later period as extraction of *Dashabandha*, became a tax in addition to the general land tax imposed for the construction of a tank.³⁵

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Telugu Copper plate charters from Tamil Nadu : A Study

G. Vijaya Lakshmi

Abstract: Tamil Nadu is a treasure trove for inscriptions written in different languages like Tamil being majority, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Marāṭhi etc. Migrations of people all over the country has taken place since ancient times as gleaned through the inscriptions. During the Vijayanagara rule, a large number of Telugu speaking people migrated to Tamil Nadu and their social, political, economic and cultural aspects are recorded in Telugu language. This paper aims to study the Telugu society through copper plate inscriptions written in Telugu language found in Tamil Nadu.

Keywords: *Pālayam*, Agrahāra, Gurupūjakattalai, Magamai, Maṭha, Talaikottutogai, *Nāyamkara*.

Historical Background: The earliest reference of Telugu speaking areas in the Sangam works is *venaḡam* which is mentioned as ‘the country where the language changes’ (*moli-pēyar-dēyam*)¹ From the middle of 6th c. CE in the history of South India there were mutual conflicts among the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, the Pallavas of Kāñchi, and the Paṇḍyas of Madurai. The Bādāmi Chalukyas besides their mainline established a more or less independent kingdom known as the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi under whose patronize Telugu emerged as an official language. Vengi Chalukyas maintained matrimonial alliances with the Cholas of Tamil Nadu. The Kalamalla inscription of Renāṭi Chōḷas, assignable to 575CE, is the earliest Telugu inscription² on stone and the Madras Museum Plates of Balliya Chōḷa, about the middle of the 9th century, is considered the earliest copper plate charter in Telugu so far discovered. The earlier copper plate grants are written in Sanskrit, a few charters like Aladankaram plates are written in both Sanskrit and Telugu as Sanskrit being the official language and Telugu is the local language of their ruling territories. The real amalgamation of cultures took place when Tamil country went under the Vijayanagara rule by ending the Muhammadan rule. During their rule a large number of Telugu migrations were encouraged into Tamil Nadu for administrative purposes and established new settlements. Hence, we can see inscriptions issued in Telugu as well Tamil. The subsequent rulers *viz.*, Nāyakas of Madurai, Thanjavur and Giṅji whose origin was from Telugu country patronized Telugu in a great manner. Their feudatories also continued Telugu in their *Pālayams*. In this background we find many Telugu inscriptions in Tamil Nadu.

Table - 1: Spatial distribution of Telugu Copper plate Charters from Tamil Nadu

Century	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	cyclic	Undated	Total
No of copper plate inscriptions	-	-	-	02	03	03	17	29	02	00	01	57

From the above Table, it is known that only a couple of charters in Telugu language were found in 14th century and it is interesting to know that they are the earliest epigraphical reference in Telugu language from Tamil Nadu giving details about the worship of lord Ranganāthasvāmi at Śrīrangam. The 17th and 18th centuries yielded 17 and 29 charters respectively, which were issued by kings, chiefs and merchant classes.

Table – 2: Dynasty wise

S.No	Dynasty	King	Number of Copper plate charters
1	Nāyakas of Korukonda	Mummadi Nāyaka	01
2	Velama Nāyakas	Mādhava Nāyakas	01
3	Vijayanagara - Sangama	Hariharaṛāy	02
4	Vijayanagara - Tuluva	Achyutarāya	01
5	Nāyakas of Madurai	Virappa Nāyaka	01
		Tirumala Nāyaka	01
		Visvanātha Chokkanātha Nāyaka	01
		Vijayaranga Chokkanātha	09
		Mangamma	06
		Mīnākshi	03
6	Nāyakas of Tanjāvūr	Vijayarāghava Nāyaka	03
7	Mughal	Faruqsiyar	01
8	Sētupati	Muttu Satya Raghunātha Sētupati	01
		Vijaya Raghunātha Sētupati	01
9	Mughal	Fauqshiyar	01
10	Tondaimān	Vijaya Raghunātharāya Tondaimān	01
11	Karveti Chiefs	Venkaṭa Perumāl Rāju	01
12	Kalakatola Vodaayar	Kalyāṇa Rangappa	01
		Muddu Vijaya Rangappa	01
13	Merchant communities		06
14	Others		14
	Total		57

Table- 3 Types of Copper plate charters: On the basis of the content, the charters can be classified into the following:

Grants	Village	Land	Income	Privileges	Other	Total
Number	19	18	10	03	07	57

The village grants are more in number and can be classified into two groups - Grants to temples and Grants to individuals (Brahmins)

Table - 3.1 Village grants to temples:

S.No	Donor	Year (CE)	Grant	Donee
1	Mādhava Nāyaka	1421	Torluri agrahāra	Ranganāthasvāmi temple, Śrīraṅgam ³

S.No	Donor	Year (CE)	Grant	Donee
2	Kalyāna Rangappa	1678	Amuttarangotta	Krishneśvara and Arunāchaleśvara temples ⁴
3	Muttusatya Raghunātha Sētupati	1680	Perungāḍu	Avudaiyaparamasvāmi temple
4	Faruqsiyar	1714	Kīlpuliyānguḍi	Ādivarāha temple
5	Vijayaranga Chokkanātha	1725	Ariyanapuram, Sevalugolam	Tiruppandāl <i>maṭha</i>

Sometimes the grant of village was made to get merit as seen from a copper plate charter⁵ of Muttusatya Raghunātha Sētupati in 1680 CE. It records the gift of a village to the deity Avudaiyaparamasvāmi as *gurupūjakattalai* by exempting it from all taxes. *Gurupūjakattalai* is a service which was performed to the deity for the merit of the king Raghunātha Sētupati and his brother. The Madras Museum plate of Faruqsiyar is interesting as it records the grant⁶ of the Mughal emperor to a Hindu temple. It is a bilingual charter of Telugu and Persian which records that Śrīnivāsādāsa, the Protégé of Todarmāl, a deputy of the emperor Parukusaha padusaha (Farrukhsiyar) at Delhi, granted the villages of Kīlpuliyānguḍi Puttur, Neḍunjēri and Malayambutu in Kavanar-*Sīma* situated in Chenji- *Prānta* in Tiruvaḍi *rājya* of Padaivīḍu *nādu* to the temple of Varāhasvāmin of Śrīmūshnam for conducting worship and festivals in the temple. The Kumbhakonam plates⁷ in possession of Tiruppandāl *maṭha* is interesting as it registers the renewal of gift of villages Ariyanapuram, Sevalugovam and Sitturu Sinnampatte, situated on the northern bank of the river Tambraparni and to the South of Madhura to *Nyayakam pandāram* for maintaining the daily worship and special types of worship in the months of *kārtika Vaisākha* and also for maintenance of the daily *annadāna* at Kasi.

Table- 3.2 Village Grants to Brahmans:

S.No	Donor	Year (CE)	Grant	Donee
1	Mummadi Nāyaka	1358	Kottallaparru	Bhaṭṭa Parāsara VII
2	Harihararāya	1414	Naruvuru	Uttamanambi
3	Vijayarāghava Nāyaka	1653	Alavelumangāpuram	Śrīvaishṇava Brahmans
4	Mahādeva Sarasvatī	1687		Rāma Śāstri
5	Mangamma	1695	Mangamāmba Samudram	Vidvānmahājanas
6	Vijayaranga Chokkanātha	1710	Raghunātha Samudram	Brahmins
7	Vijayaranga Chokkanātha	1718	Yadamgolam, Unnamgolam	Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita
8	Vijayaraghunātharāya Tonḍaimān	1732	Kīranū	Perayya
9	Venkaṭāchala Reḍḍi	1744	Abinamangalam	Giri Dhanushkōṭi Śāstri
10	Kumāra Venkappa Nāyani	1753	Venkaṭarāghavapuram	Brahmins

The earliest village-grant ⁸ engraved both in old Telugu and Sanskrit records that the village of Kottallaparru donated by Mummadi Nāyaka, the king of Teliṅga country ³ to Bhaṭṭa Parāsara VII was re-granted by the donee's mother to Śrī Ranganāthasvāmi temple, Śrīrangam. It seems Bhaṭṭa Parāsara enjoyed the village granted to him only for some time before his death and his mother who survived him seems to have thought of allowing the relatives of the deceased to inherit the village; but in the mean while she changed her mind and donated it to god Ranganātha, taking him as she says 'the greatest of all relatives'. It may be assumed that her relatives began to harass her for rights to property, which must have made her to take this decision.

The next grant made by Harihara rāya udaiyār, a chief in Tamil country during the Vijayanagara period. He granted the village Naruvuru⁹ to Uttamanambi in 1414CE. In 1653 CE the last ruler of Thanjavur, Vijayaraghava Nāyaka granted Alavelumangapuram¹⁰ as an *agrahāra* to srivaisnava brāhmins.

Three rulers of Nāyakas of Madurai made four village grants to different brāhmins. Queen Mangamma made two village grants to Brāhmins. The first grant¹¹ made in 1695 CE register the gift of the villages of Velagurichchi and Papangulam with their hamlets clubbed together and renamed as Mangamamba *Samudram* and divided into 122 shares among *vidvan- mahājanas* of various *gōtra*. Vijayaranga Chokkanatha made two village grants in 1710 CE and in 1718C respectively.. The first¹² records the gift of the hamlets Kallurani, Narttapatti etc., grouped together and called Raghunatha *Samudram* to several Brāhmans. The second¹³ is made in 1718 CE which records the grant of two villages *viz*, Yadayamgolam and Vunnamgolam to Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita. The above gifted villages were parts of Sambabaranellur *mākanam*, situated in Nattupuram lying the South of Tirunaveli attached to Madurai Samstanam in Pandyamandalam. The Pudukkottai Museum plates¹⁴ of Vijayaraghunatha rāya Tondaiman registers the gift of the village Kiranuru to Perayya, son of Yellamarasayya of the Srivatsa *gōtra* and *yajus-sākhā*.

A spurious record¹⁵ also comes in this study from Tirupandal *maṭha*. The charter register the gift of a village Abinamangalam situated in the Mallava nādu of Trichinapalli *chāvadi* to Giri Dhanushkoti Sāstri of Ramesvaram for maintaining the *annadāna* at Ramesvaram and Kāsi in 1744 CE by Venkaṭāchalareḍḍi, belonging to the fourth caste, while Venkaṭapatideva was ruling the kingdom from Ghanagiri (i.e. Penugonda) The gift village stated to have been situated in the Torayuru *nāyankaram*. The last charter in this category is dated in 1753CE which record the gift of the village¹⁶ Venkaṭarāghavapuram situated in Kakunamabadu to a number of brāhmanas of various *gōtra* by Kumara Venkappa Nayani.

Table - 4 Grants of Trade guilds:

S.No	Donor	Donee	Year (CE)	Measurement
1	Seven <i>nattārs</i>	Tiruvaduturai <i>maṭha</i>	1695	<i>magamai</i>
2	Cloth merchants	-do-	1726	Half <i>ma</i>

S.No	Donor	Donee	Year (CE)	Measurement
3	Merchants of 56 countries	Saraswathi pandaram	1727	
4	Chettimars and oddaiyars	Nilinalusvami	1768	<i>magamai</i>
5	Nadar community	Svamidesikar murthi	1777	<i>talaikottutogai</i>
6	-	Subramanya temple	1779	Income of village

The merchant guilds also made donations to temples. The copper plate charters at Tiruvaduturai *maṭha* records the corporate responsibility of the period. Six grants were found in possession of Tiruvaduturai *maṭha*. The first¹⁷ being, an agreement made by the seven *nattārs* in regard to the *Kudivāram* to be instituted as *magamai* in favor of religious pontiff under the leadership of Sengetappilai. The second¹⁸ is an incomplete charter which records an agreement in respect of gift made by the cloth merchants of the four countries. It is also stated that half *ma* of *Panam* is to be levied on the merchandise. It contains a number of signatories of the cloth merchant community. The third¹⁹ records an agreement between the merchants of fifty six countries and the *Sarasvati pandāram* of Tirumangalam peṭṭai in respect of the gift for conducting the first day festival of *chittirai - tiruvila* in thousand pillar *Mandapa* for the god Sundaresvarasvāmi and goddess Mīnakshi from the income levied on various merchandise in accordance with the agreement of fifty six countries. The fourth²⁰ records the provision made for midnight service anointment to the god Nilinalusvāmi and goddess Viśālākshi at Tiruppaiyinjili by the privilege holders *Chetṭimār* and *Oḍariyār*. The gift of *magamai* was entrusted to Ambalavanat- tambiram of Sivaprakasa Sannidi. The record is attested by Uravinrai of Mugavanur, Kōṭṭi Chetṭimarodaraiyar of Ayyanpeṭṭai. It is also stated that Vasalpradhani Nandiyapillai was ruling the place. The fifth²¹ records an agreement by the members of the Nādar community of Śivakāsi and pontiff Svāmideśikarmūrti. The members of said community are required to contribute certain amount as *talaikaṭṭu togai* for the renovation of the *gōpura*. The last grant²² contain the usual Vijayanagara Prasasti attribute to Kulaśekhara Atkondar and record the gift of income from the villages under the control of Atkondar at the rate of *kuruni* per *kalam* for renovation of *gōpura* and other services for god Subrahmanya at Tiruchchendur. The identity the king is not known.

Inter caste marriage: The Pannaipuram copper plates²³ is very interesting one as it speaks of inter caste marriage and the response of the community of the period which describes that Sirinagi, the daughter of Lebbe Gowda family enter into an inter caste marriage with Chennu of *chākala* (washer man) family. As *varnāntara vivāhas* are not permissible by the *Dharmasutras*, they were expelled from their own community. Later with the efforts of four Gowḍas of Penukonḍa the couple reunited with the family and also brought them into their community.

Table-5 Grants to feeding house: *Annadāna* is considered as a meritorious activity by the society and the rulers also felt it's their duty to feed the needy.

S.No	Donor	Grant	Year (CE)	Donee
1	Mangamma	Village	1696	Rangayya
2	Mangamma	Land	1701	Subbayya bhagavatar

S.No	Donor	Grant	Year (CE)	Donee
3	Kasi Yellarinayanimgaru	Land	1708	Sivadasu udasi
4	Vijayaranga chokkanatha	Village	1710	Sankara <i>maṭha</i>

There are four grants recorded for feeding house. Queen Mangamma made gift of the villages²⁴ Pambati, Pallavarendal and Ottaiyalangulm, situated in Pungavaḷanāḍu, south of Vaigai in Madhura-mandalam to Rangayya, son of Narasimhayya of *Sāṇḍilya* gōtra, Drahyāyana-Sūtra and Sāmasākha for running a feeding house at Kambukuḍi on the way to Sētu. The charter also states that Madhura-mandala was held as *rāyavumbali* by the Queen. The second is the land grant²⁵ for a feeding (*annadāna*) institute, to a certain Subbayya Bhagavata and Menti Vīrapratāpa by Vīra Venkaṭadeva Mahārāya, ruling at Ghanagiri. The third grant²⁶ register gift of land in Ilanji a village in Tenkasi *Sīma* to a certain Śivadāsu udāsi for a feeding charity for the merit of the king by Kāsi Yellari Nārāyaṇi with the permission of Rangasāyi nayani, son of *Dalakarta* Venkaṭa Krishnama nāyani. The king is stated to belong to the Kasyapa gōtra. Vijayaranga chokkanatha made village grants²⁷ to Sankara *maṭha* in 1710 CE.

Pearl fishery:

There are two references to the pearl fishery in the Telugu copper plate charters. The Tiruvaduturai *maṭha* copper plates record²⁸ the grant of the right of pearl fishery at Mannar and Tuttukkadi with a stipulation that thereon to be made over to At(a) Manabhasvamiyar as *Nāmanibandam* by Vijayakumara Mutturangasokkalinga Tirumalai Nayakkar in 1539CE. The Tirupperundurai also called as Adikailasa sivapura *kshētram* was Chaturvedi mangalam called Pavitramanikka chaturvedimangalam and also a *brahmadēyam* in Milalai-kurram in Pandyanadu. Some of the Signatories names are engraved in Telugu. The second reference²⁹ found in 1729CE which registers the grant made by Vijya Raghunatha Setupti of Ramanadhapuram. The Charter commences with the usual *prasasti* of the Sētupatis record a gift of income from the pearl fishery at Mannar to the goddess Sivayogi-nāyaki, the consort of Atmanathasvāmi at Tirupperundurai.

Religious Harmony: Queen Minkshi of Madurai Nāyaka is noted for her religious tolerance, which is evident from three copper plate charters from her period. She granted Samayavaram³⁰ village to Ramadullah Sayebu and Yelmandalkipuram³¹ for a mosque and a cash grant³² of 24 *rūkas* to Kasim Attar Sahib for the lightening of perpetual lamp in the mosque.

Grants to lamps: Lightening of lamp (*dīpārādhana*) is considered as very auspicious in Hindu society. People use to donate lamps and oil to get merit. The Tiruvaduturai *maṭha* copper plate³³ of 1883CE seems to record the provision made for the endowment for the lamp (*neyvilakku*) in Tiruvidaimarudu by Kalichetti Chinninachetti who belonged to the members of Nanjundesvarasvami of Velladi of Palakkaitucheri, It is also record the gift of festoon lamps (*tōranavilakku*) to god Mahalingesvara and also oil for burning lamps together with additional provisions made for Ayyan Gurukkal a priest of the temple.

Conclusion: The inscriptions that are studied in the present paper present brings interesting facts about the socio cultural conditions of the period. The kings and chiefs took a keen interest in developing the Hindu temples by granting villages and lands. But it is more interesting to know that they show no discrimination towards other religions as queen Minakshi made donations to *dargas* and Muslims in her country. Brahmins got more village grants compared to grants to temple. Trade guilds also patronize the temples by making rich donations. The society, though it is uncommon, accepted inter caste marriages. The religious harmony followed by the monarchs towards other religion, donations made to the individuals for their economic and social wellbeing as well the donations made to the religious and educational institutions make this study more interesting. All these present the ideal deeds of kings and queens of the Vijayanagara and Nāyaka period.

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Epi-Philately: A Way To Endorse Epigraphy through Philately

Yogini Aatreya and Ajit Vartak

Abstract

This research paper aims to blend in two separate yet multidisciplinary fields of Philately and Epigraphy. It focuses on the use of philatelic products to endorse the field of Epigraphy and Palaeography. The authors of this paper attempt to take an overview of how philately is being used to educate and create awareness in various fields. They aim to shed light on how Indian epigraphy can be greatly benefitted by the philatelic tools.

Keywords

Epigraphy, Philately, Endorsement, Stamps, Special covers.

Amongst the various hobbies of the recent past, stamp collection is one of the most unique ones. It gives liberty to curious minds to explore the globe, and understand various cultures, histories, geographies, politics, important discoveries, etc through one small piece of paper (Novoselov 2008). Derived from two Greek words, '*Philo*' meaning 'an attraction' and '*atelia*' meaning 'free from taxes', this word was coined by George Herpin in the 1860s (Williams and Williams 1958).

The study, collection, and appreciation of postal products like stamps (definitive, commemorative, special), envelopes, cards, aerograms, first-day covers, special covers, and special cancellations come under the scope of Philately (Potter et al. 2007). The idea of collection and release of philatelic products gained momentum in the late 19th and early 20th centuries because of which thematic releases became one of the most sought-after things in the philatelic world (Williams and Williams 1958). This augmented the philatelic exchange among enthusiasts all over the world (Novoselov 2008).

Interestingly, the use of these philatelic products gradually expanded beyond the realm of mailing services. Based on their extensive expanse, they are being used as educational devices by various fields like chemistry (Schreck 1986), food and nutrition (Bandhopadhyay 2017), geography (Proctor April 1965), Italian romanticism (Klein 2021), geology (Vartak and Vartak 2014), etc. They are used to imbibe a sense of curiosity not only among the younger ones but also adults. It acts as a visual aid and makes the subjects relatable. This particular part of philately where the abstract starts to take form can be of great assistance in making the field of Epigraphy engaging.

The field of Epigraphy is the backbone of Indian historical studies which has a unique history of its own. Contributions by various scholars and academicians belonging to different walks of life have made this field truly dynamic. Epigraphs can assist in understanding various aspects of life, politics, society, culture, economics, and philosophy of the past. Even though it is such a crucial source of history and archaeology, its study has taken a back seat. There are numerous reasons why it is not a forerunner when it comes to the study of the ancient past (Salomon 1998).

One of the pressing reasons why Epigraphy is deemed to be difficult is that one is not able to relate to this discipline. There seems to be a distinct barrier between the epigraphs and their interactors. This gap can be filled in with the help of Philately. Many countries like Syria, Cyprus, Egypt, France, Pakistan, etc, have been depicting their epigraphic heritage through their philatelic products and circulating it among the citizens across the world. The former country of Venda, currently the Limpopo province of South Africa issued a series of stamps between 1982 to 1990 on the theme of the history of writing. This series covered a range of writing systems from the earliest pictographs to the Arecibo message (Aatreya and Vartak 2023).

India has also released a few philatelic products that indirectly highlight its epigraphical heritage, but it still needs to come a long way to depict Indian Epigraphy and Palaeography properly. A commemorative stamp depicting Goddesses Sarasvatī in the foreground and the *devanāgarī* script – *Hindī* language manuscript in the background (Fig. 1) was released on 12th April 1975, to celebrate the first *Viśva Hindī Sammelan* (World Hindi Conference) (Colnect.com World Hindi Convention n.d.). Similarly, in a series of stamps issued on 27th July 1978 based on the theme of treasures from Indian Museums, a stamp depicting one of the gold coins of Kanishka was released (Fig. 2). The legend on the coin is not clearly visible, thus pushing Epigraphy in the background again (Colnect.com, Treasures of Indian Museums n.d.).

During the celebrations of the National Postal Week, the “Philafest” at Dehradun, a special cover was issued by on 13th October 2008 by the Uttarakhand Postal Department. This special cover gives us a glimpse of an importance epigraphical heritage (Fig. 3) The backdrop of this cover contains an embossed image of the rock edict of king Aśokā reported from Kalsi, near Dehradun in the background. A photo depicting the edict is also present in the foreground. The cover also has a special cancellation sign featuring the line drawing of the rock along with one of the edicts (Mishra 2017). A ‘*Samrāt Aśokā*’ commemorative stamp was issued by India on 24th October 2015, based on the theme of famous emperors of India (Fig. 4). The stamp depicts a sketch of King Aśokā along with the Vidisha lion capital pillar can be seen. In the background, a sketched image of the main stupa of Sanchi and an image of Buddha can be seen along with the letters of the *Brāhmī* script can be seen (Colnect.com Samrat Ashok (304-232 BC) Commemoration n.d.).

A special cover was issued on 18th March 2016 by the Madhya Pradesh Postal Department, depicting the image of the Gujarra minor rock edict of king Aśokā reported from the district of Datia (Fig. 5a). The special cancellation on this cover has the words ‘*Devānam Piyadasi*’ in Roman and *devanāgarī* scripts. (Fig. 5b) This cover has a small note on its hind side mentioning the importance of this inscription (A “Minor Rock Edict” of “Samrat” (or Emperor”) Ashok n.d.).

On 9th May 2022, a special cover was issued at Jaugada by the Odisha Postal Department based on the inscriptions of king Aśokā reported from Odisha (Fig. 6a). The special cover has an intriguing hexagonal design. All the hexagons are designed in such a way that they depict Ashokan edicts reported from Jaugada. However, the image in the hexagon placed in the top right, is not a rock edict of king Aśokā (Fig. 6b). It seems to have been wrongly placed here (Bolar 2022). This

discrepancy was identified by one of the authors of this paper. The image of the inscription placed in this hexagon is an inscription from cave number 3 of Kānherī situated in the Sanjay Gandhi National Park, Mumbai (Fig. 6c) (Gokhale 1991).

These are a few examples of the philatelic products released by India, where glimpses of Indian epigraphy were seen. However, these products are insufficient in even displaying the tiniest tip of the Indian epigraphic iceberg. Every aspect of Indian epigraphy whether it is its dynastic affiliations, mentions about the laymen and women of the ancient societies, the numerous surfaces on which one finds these records, or the contributions of scholars and stalwarts for the development of this field to be a forerunner in the Indian archaeological and Indological studies, can be disseminated to common men and women through the medium of philately.

Indian epigraphy and epigraphists, both need better representation in the philatelic world. If designed and curated with caution, involving experts of both disciplines, Indian epigraphy can get wider exposure through these products. Philatelic products act as an ambassador of one's country, culture, and heritage. They are innately designed in such a way that basic information can be presented in minimum words and space. This can grab the attention of enthusiasts, especially the younger generation within seconds.

Due to the multidisciplinary elements of both fields, they seem to blend in easily. By designing products around different themes of Indian epigraphy like important inscriptions from ancient and medieval India, major contributors to the field of epigraphy and palaeography, etc, Indian Epigraphy can be highlighted on the global level. Through philately, the field of epigraphy can become accessible and tangible. Through these products, the overall inquisitiveness in the laymen can be expanded and the field can be made relatable.

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Fig. 1: Commemorative stamp of the first Viśva Hindī Saṁmelan (India 1975)



Fig. 2: Treasure of Indian Museum - Gold Coin of Kanishka (India 1978)

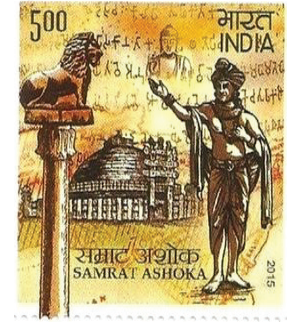


Fig. 4: Commemorative stamp of Samrāt Aśokā (India 2015)

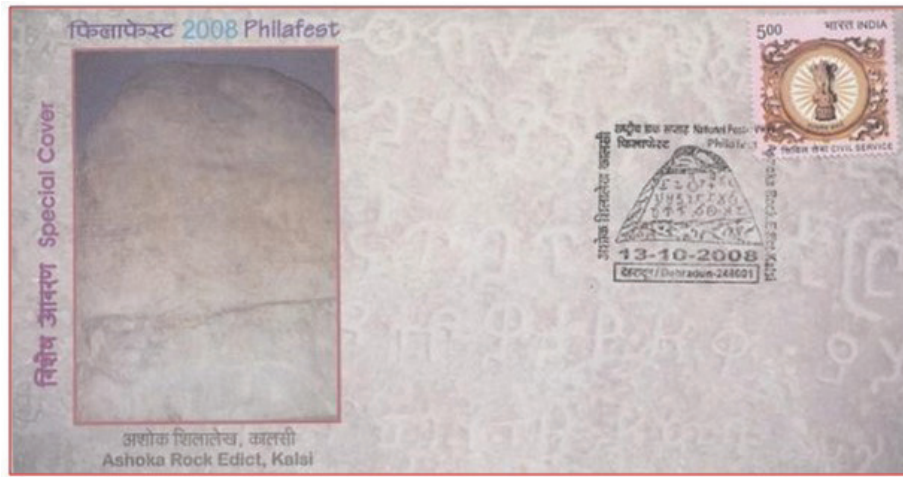


Fig. 3: First day cover depicting the Kalsi rock edict of King Aśokā (India 2008)



Fig. 5a: Special cover depicting the image of the Gujarrā minor rock edict of King Aśokā (India 2016)



Fig. 5b: Hind side of Special cover mentioning the importance of the Gujarra minor rock edict of King Aśoka (India 2022)



Fig. 6a: Special cover issued by Jaugada, Chatrapur district of Odisha based on the inscriptions of King Aśoka (India 2022)



Fig. 6b: Wrongly placed inscription



Fig. 6c: Inscription from the cave number 3 at Kānherī, Maharashtra.

Festivals and Epigraphs: Donors, Temples, and Social Cohesion

Y. Shiva Shankar Kumar

Abstract: This paper examines the role of festival as an agency in both facilitating and maintaining the socio-cultural fabric of the society through epigraphs of the erstwhile twin Godavari districts within the timeframe of 1000-1200 CE as the said period had witnessed enormous activity in social, cultural, and political spheres.

Keywords: - Festivals, Inscriptions, *Andhradesa*, Early Medieval Period, Cultural History

Introduction

Festival can simply mean, any occasion whose celebration is socially sanctioned and regulated by the customs. These occasions could range from ceremonial celebration of birth/death of an individual to a communal gathering that symbolises the social cohesion of the community. This dynamic nature makes it difficult to define what a festival is and what its components are, though these limitations have never become true hindrances for scholars working on festivals. An eminent anthropologist characterised festival as, “a periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview” (Falassi 1987: 4). The nature of scientific approach of the agency of festival has been evolving in social sciences and this knowledge has greatly influenced and refined the methods and approaches to evaluate the role of festival in shaping human consciousness and actions alike. In a bid to enhance the existing scholarship concerning festivals, this article attempts to integrate festivals into historiography by critically examining the integrative role they played in maintaining the socio-cultural dynamism of their times. The epigraphs from the selected temples of erstwhile twin Godavari districts within the time frame 1000-1200CE have been considered for this study given social, political, cultural, and religious (Krishna Kumari 1985: 206) advances of this period. The inscriptions of this study are indexed in the *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. IV, V and X; and *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IV.

Festivals and Individual

The temporality of festival would attract a wide range of behavioural patterns depending on the socio-economic structures of the day. These diverse behaviours may seem contradicting at their face value, and the normative justification given to those actions is the idea of ‘heaven’ (*moksha*) (Hanumantha Rao 1973: 221); but when stressed on their composition they reveal the rationale behind the phenomenon itself. This section would deal with such human behavioural pattern that is akin to festival by critically examining the individual case studies extracted from epigraphs. The inscriptions, in general, are issued on the eve of festivals (Hanumantha Rao 1973: 221) for the acquisition of ‘religious merit’ (*dharma*) to oneself, family, and patron and are of great value as they provide empirical information about the historical actors and their actions. The

total inscriptions of this study are 159 and are inscribed on the walls and pillars of various temples spread across the region of erstwhile twin Godavari districts. These temples are Bhīmēśavara (Drakshaṛāṁam), Kumara-rama Bhīmēśavara (Sāmarlakōṭa), Vāsukiravi Sōmēśavara (Jūṭṭiga), Vīrabhadhrēśvara (Paṭṭisīma), Svārṇēśvara (Gaṇapavaram), Rameśavara (Aḥaṇṭa), Maṇḍavya-Nārāyaṇa (Sāmarlakōṭa), Aruṇēśvara (Taḍikalapuḍi), and Aruṇēśvara (Ellūru- Inscriptions from pillars in a maṣjīd). The festivals on whose eve inscriptions were issued in the time frame of this paper include (Table 1): *Uttarāyaṇa*, *Dakṣiṇāyaṇa*, *Uttarāyaṇa-sankranti*, *Dakṣiṇāyaṇa-sankranti*, *Viśuvu-sankranti*, *Sankranti* (other)- *Mēṣa*, *Kanya*, *Tulā*, *Midhuna*, *Dhanu* and *Vṛścika*, Solar Eclipse, Lunar Eclipse, and Others- *Kārtika Paurṇami*, *Akṣaya tritīya* and *Śivarātri*. The quantified data of Table-1 revealed the share of festivals in terms of epigraphs inscribed on their eve. The festival of *Uttarāyaṇa-sankranti* (32.1%) has outperformed others in epigraphic data, and it is followed by another *Sankranti* namely *Viśuvu-sankranti* (21.4%). The former festival is widely celebrated among Telugu-speaking people, particularly in costal Andhra. This festival is symbolic of Telugu/ Andhra culture, and is vividly celebrated in contemporary times, just like in the past. This festival is popularly known as ‘*Makara-sankranti*’ or just ‘*Sankranti*,’ and it is celebrated for four days in the Pausha month of

List of Festivals from Inscriptions				
Festival	1000-1100CI	1100-1200CI	Total	Percentage
Uttarayan	1	16	17	10.7
Dakshina yana	2	0	2	1.3
Uttaraya na Sankranti	5	46	51	32.1
Dakshina yana Sankranti	0	14	14	8.8
Vishuvu Sankranti	0	34	34	21.4
Sankranti (Others)	2	14	16	10.1
Solar Eclipse	0	6	6	3.8
Lunar Eclipse	0	11	11	6.9
Others	0	8	8	5.0
	10	149	159	100

Table 1- Festivals of the Epigraphs (Source- Author’s own compilation)

Telugu calendar. Sankranti marks the transmigration of Sun from one zodiac to another one' and this event occurs in every month as per Indic religions. The festival of 'Uttarāyana-sankranti' marks the transmigration of Sun from 'Dhanu' to 'Makara,' which is why this festival is called as 'Makara-sankranti.' The next important festival as per Table-1 is 'Viśuvu-sankranti' (21.4%); it is celebrated when the Sun transmigrates from 'Meṣa' (Aries) to 'Vṛṣabha' (Taurus) which occurs in the 'Vaiśākha' month of Telugu calendar. This festival has been faded out of popular memory; though it seems to be an important festival in early medieval Andhra. The other *Sankrantis* like *Meṣa*, *Kanya*, *Tulā*, *Midhuna*, *Dhanu*, and *Dakṣiṇāyana* do feature in the epigraphs of this period. Festivals, apart from *Sankrantis*, include 'Kārtika Paurṇami', 'Akṣaya tritīya' and 'Śivarātri'; these three festivals are categorised as 'Others' (5%) in Table-1. The Solar (3.8%) and Lunar eclipse (6.9%) are also counted as festivals; both the eclipses are considered inauspicious, and temples remain closed during the time of the eclipse. Nevertheless, the time before and after eclipse is considered auspicious, and devotees flock to the temples to make prayers and offerings to gods.

The epigraphs are not just useful to sort out names of festivals and their frequency, they also serve as direct testimonies of human actions conceived and realised on the eve of festivals. These testimonies unravel the underlying human agency that ventures to claim spiritual, cultural, economic, and social interests through their engagements in ceremonial activities on the eve of festivals. One of such testimony come from an inscription (SII Vol. IV: 1120) in Bhīmēśavara temple at Drākshārāmam dated in the Śāka year 1073 (1151 CE), and was issued on the eve of *Kārtika Paurṇami*. The devotee who got this inscription happens to be a woman named Prōlammā, whose object to inscribe this epigraph was to register the gift of four metal lamps to the temple. These lamps were donated to the temple for the acquisition 'religious merit' (Dharma) for the donor (Prōlammā), her mother Sūramma, and grandparents Erakamma and Eriyamā Śeṭṭi. The festival of *Kārtika Paurṇami* is celebrated widely and vibrantly by people: who flock to temples for prayers, rituals, religious merit (*dharma*), and donations. Prōlammā, just like other devotees, had made a pilgrimage, in accord with the general psyche of her times, to Drākshārāmam. Also, the epigraph mentions that a few Bōyas were given the responsibility of pouring ghee, and lit lamps on regular basis. The pious-deed of Prōlammā on the eve of *Kārtika Paurṇami* may not have caught the attention of the composers of various texts of her time, as it was a norm for devotees to engage in such religious acts. The authors of the texts would rather focus on the decorations, ceremonies, and organisation of certain rituals by the rulers or the elite. But for history, it is of great importance to analyse and interpret the actions of diverse historical actors to re-construct the historical process of the time.

The epigraph left behind to us by Prōlammā is of great value as its content deals with how an individual of her times had conceived of, and pursued her deeds on the eve of a festival. The epigraphs issued on the eve of festivals, most of them, were about donations made by the donors; and objects of donations, along with the custodians of the donations. Though, most of the inscriptions are about donations made during festivals, there are epigraphs that deal with other kind of activities on the eve of festivals. An inscription (SII Vol. IV 1015) from the Śāka year 1006 (1084 CE) mentions

about the establishment of a *Satram* (Choultry) named after the reigning ruler Kuḷōttuṅga Cōḷā I on the eve of *Uttarāyaṇa-sankranti*. This act was carried out by Jayamma, daughter of Bētinayyā; and some land and a pond were donated for the *Satram*. The inscription also mentions about the commodities, gifted along, for the *Satram* to function immediately. Few Bōyas were assigned as custodians of the donation, for which they received 300 ‘*Inupāyēḍulu*’ (goats or sheep) (Iswara Dutt 1967: 37). Another inscription (SII Vol V: 209), issued on the eve of ‘*Viśuvu-sankranti*’ from the Śāka year 1120 (1198 CE) briefs about Guṇḍebōya and, his son Paḍēsēna. It seems that these two Bōyas, who hail from the village of Kumarupundi, have agreed to take up the responsibility of pouring ghee into the lamps. This suggests that father-son duo may have approached the Aruṇēśvara, temple of Taḍikalapūḍi to seek livelihood, for which, they were given the responsibility of pouring/supplying ghee on regular basis. Though, it cannot be certainly said of whether this inscription is of a donation or the temple employing the said persons, but it remains of truth to say that the deed was carried on the auspicious festival eve of Viśuvu-sankranti. There are many of such testimonies that the epigraphs have preserved, and the spatial limitations here prohibit from dealing with each one of them in detail.

All the three cases discussed above, have revealed that activities of utmost importance were being carried out on the eve of festivals, which hints human psyche of the day was conscious about domains of temporality. This temporal consciousness was not driven by lack of rational reflection over life, cosmos, and community. Rather, the reasons grounded for these diverse behavioural attitudes on the eve of festivals may have been shaped by the existing socio-cultural dynamics of the period, where individuals regularly strive to assert themselves in both social and cultural spheres. This empirical rationality of the participants/devotees may or may not be authentic, and an individual could not find any kind of material or spatial mobility by taking part in festivals. But by participating in festivals, an individual can alter his/her temporal sphere through the symbolic essence of locating oneself within the larger social and cosmological order. This assertive behaviour of individuals equips them with a ceremonial assurance of being part of the community/society, and to be optimistic of oneself by indulging in the customary activities prescribed for festivals. This optimism makes an individual more appreciative towards his/her life, and s/he seeks to protect it by involving in pious activities as they would grant high returns through ‘social solidarity’ that festivals institute.

Festivals and Social Cohesion

The solidarity festivals establish by captivating diverse social groups into its composition would be discussed elaborately in this section by analysing the identities of donors of the epigraphs. The social identities of donors are based on their names and titles, as the usual identity markers like ‘*Varṇa*’ and ‘*Jāti*’ are rarely mentioned in inscriptions. For instance, the names with suffix of ‘*Bhaṭṭa*’ and ‘*Peggaḍa*,’ in general, denote donors of Brāhmaṇa group. Moreover, a person can never have a single identity irrespective of the historical period, acknowledging this reality, the multiple identities of the donors as stressed in epigraphs are considered. This has led to overlapping

of number of inscriptions among social groups, and this brought the count of inscriptions to one-hundred and seventy-one, as some epigraphs are included in two or more categories. Also, those epigraphs that contain both imprecatory verses and issued by those associated with ruling houses viz. ministers, officers, and kin are included in the category of ‘Royal’ because of the royal affiliation stressed in respective inscriptions.

In Table-2, social groups of the donors are demarcated into six groups namely- Royal, Royal Associates, *Śeṭṭi*, *Brāhmaṇās*, *Nāyaka*, Women, and Unspecified. The category ‘Royal,’ also include, those donors who are, ‘*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*’ and ‘*Māṇḍalika*’ as they enjoyed considerable, if not absolute, autonomy in their internal affairs; and their patronage can be considered on par with ‘royal patronage’ (Kanaka Durga and Sudhakar Reddy 1992: 153). The next category of ‘Royal Associates’ is composed of epigraphs that are issued by individuals who associate themselves with a particular ruler or ruling house. This category is important as most of its inscriptions are also part of other categories in accordance with the multiplicity of identities stressed through their suffixes.

Social Groups of the Donors from Epigraphs				
Social Group	1000-1100 CE	1100-1200 CE	Total	Percentage
Royal	0	30	30	17.5
Royal Associates	3	36	39	22.8
Setti	0	12	12	7.0
Brahmana	1	10	11	6.4
Nayaka	1	21	22	12.9
Women	4	32	36	21.3
Unspecified	3	18	21	12.4
	12	159	171	100

Table 2- Social Groups of Donors (Source- Author’s own compilation)

Besides, this category has got most of the epigraphs (22.8%), and outnumbered all other categories including the ‘Royal.’ The reason behind this may not be mysterious as it is not uncommon for people to associate themselves with agencies of power and authority. Also, this category is not exclusive of kin of rulers and ruling houses, rather, it also contains individuals from ‘*Nāyaka*’ and ‘*Brāhmaṇā*’ groups. The categories of ‘*Nāyaka*’ (12.8%), *Śeṭṭi* (7%), and ‘*Brāhmaṇā*’ (6.4%) do have significant stake but not the level of that of ‘Royal Associates’ and ‘Royal’. The social group of ‘*Nāyaka*,’ in the context of early medieval *Āndhradeśa*, refers to a generic identity which could be achieved by engaging in military activity (Talbot 2001: 61). The most significant among the groups of Table-2 is the category of Women (21.3%) with thirty-six epigraphs coming exclusively from women donors who can be further delimited into three categories viz. ‘Royal’ (37.8%), ‘*Sani*’ (32.4%), and ‘Others’ (29.7%) (See Table-3). There are twenty-one inscriptions which cannot be included in any of the groups, and are pooled into the category of ‘Unspecified’ (12.4%). In the epigraphs of this category, the identities of the donors are hard to establish, and few of the names have been lost to history because of damage through erosion, and other activities.

Social Profile of Women Donors				
Group	1000-1100CE	1100-1200CE	Total	Percent.
Royal	1	13	14	37.8
Sanis	0	12	12	32.4
Others	3	8	11	29.7
	4	33	37	100

Table 3- Social Profile of Women donors (Source- Author's own compilation)

The evaluative study of inscriptions by categorizing them based on social groups has revealed that it was not just a tiny minority of elite who were taking part in festivals, rather, different kinds of social groups were actively claiming their stake in the composition of festivals. The social groups covered in the Table 2 might not be representing all the society, but they represent the fact that people from diverse social groups played role in celebration of festivals, and sheds light on their attitudes, behaviour, and perception. It also discloses that the agency of festival is not just reserved to some; rather it accommodated all those who sought to be part of it. It is this inclusive or accommodative nature of the agency of festival that has made it a dominating temporal element in human consciousness. This integral role of festival in binding diverse social groups together leads to social cohesion, and dynamic functioning of the society through socio-cultural fluidity. This fluidity enables festival, both as an agency and a temporality, to shape and influence the social, political, and cultural spheres of the society.

Conclusion

Festival has been an important sphere of human lives since times immemorial. Its role as both an agency and temporality has been appreciated by scholars from a long-time. This paper addressed two important questions of integrating festivals into larger historical processes, and to what extent are epigraphs are useful in re-constructing those empirical realities that are left behind by texts. The qualitative and quantitative analyses of the select epigraphs from erstwhile twin Godavari districts from 1000-1200CE have revealed the underlying consciousness behind the human activity on the eve of festivals. The making of a festival in early medieval *Āndhradeśa* was fundamentally guided by the informed human agency, where the participants sought to extract both meta-physical and physical: social and political gains from the temporality of festival. Further, the categorisation of the inscriptions into social groups in Table-2 has confirmed the 'inclusive' nature of festival, as the donors/participants of the epigraphs have come from diverse social background. The alluring nature of festivals captivated people from most of the society to become its stakeholders; and this appealing nature of festivals is vital for any society to maintain social cohesion.

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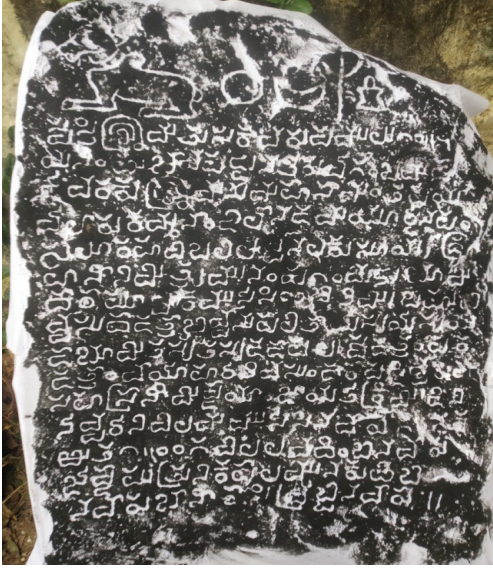
A Note on two unpublished inscriptions from Bapatla District, Andhra Pradesh.

Yesubabu M

Abstract: The paper highlights two recently discovered unpublished epigraphs from Bapatla district of Andhra Pradesh written in Telugu language and characters, of which one in the Bhīmēśvara temple in Paṅgulūru dated 1136 CE and the other in Rāmaliṅgēśvara temple in Chaṇḍalūru dated 1253 CE.

Keywords: Telugu, Paṅgulūru, Chaṇḍalūru, Bapatla, Andhra Pradesh.

The present paper is mainly based on the recently discovered two stone inscriptions from the villages Pangulūru and Chaṇḍalūru in Bapatla district (erstwhile Prakasam district) of Andhra



1. Svasti Śrīmatu śaka varushaṁbulu 1058 a-
2. gu nēṇḍu Bhāvapaṭṭaṇa tiruvēṅgaḷa mahā-
3. dēvaraku śrīmanmahā-sāmaṁta viya-
4. vēlārūkammaṁṭilōnadama-yūraina paṁ-
5. gulūruhavi-bali-archanalakusūryagra-
6. haṇa nimittamunam 10 ma(vu)ṭḷubhūmi-
7. dārā-pūrvakamusesiichchitimi | bahu-bhī-
8. rvasudhā-dattā-bahubhirvānu-pālitam yasya-ya-
9. syaya-
10. dā bhūmitasyatasya tadā phalaṁ | svadattam-
11. paradattamvāyoharētivasuṇḍarā
12. shastirvarushasahasrāṇi viṣṭāyām jāyatē krimihi-
13. nevvarēnivilayamusēsinavārugaṁgaka-
14. ruta 1500 gavilalavadhimchinavāru
15. jēshṭha putrunikapālamunakuḍichi-
16. navāru ||

This Telugu inscription is dated in Śaka year 1058 (1136 CE) and records the land grant of 10 *puṭḷu* in the village Paṅgulūru situated in Kammanāḍu for providing oblation, sacrifices and worship to God Śrī Tiruvēṅgaḷa(nātha) of Bhāvapaṭṭana by the *mahā-sāmaṁta* Viyavēlāru with libation of water on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There are two imprecatory verses at the end of

the inscription. One says that whoever obstructs grant, will incur the sin of killing 1500 cows on the banks of the river Ganges and also regarded as having eaten from the skull of his eldest son on the banks of the river Ganges.

Pradesh. The above two villages are located approximately 40 km from Ongole. The text and summary of the inscriptions are given below

2. Rāmalingēśvara temple inscription in Chaṇḍalūru



1. Svastisamadhi-gata
2. pañcha mahaśa
3. bdamahā-maṇḍa-
4. lēśvaraparama
5. mahēśvara pa
6. rahitabharita vi-
7. nayavibhūsha a-
8. numakoṇḍa pu-
9. ravarādhīśvara śrī
10. śvayambudēva
11. divya śrī pāda
12. padmārādhakapara-
13. bala-sādhaka śrī ma -
14. nmahā- maṇḍalēśva-
15. rakākatīyyaga-
16. ṇapatidēva ma-

17. hārājulupri-
18. dhvī rājyambu-
19. sēyuchumḍaṁgā ||-
20. vārisāmaṁttu-
21. ṇḍu svastisama-
22. stapraśastisahi
23. taṁ śrī aṁḍalē -
śvaram ativisha-
24. mahayārū-
25. ḍha pravuha- rēkhā-
26. rēvarṁta paraba-
27. ḷa kritāṁta śaraṇā-
28. gatavajra paṁja-
29. ra maṇḍa[īkarva-
30. mḍōḷi jīvarakkha (ksha)
31. viśsaṁkkamalla cha
32. kranārāyaṇa śrī
33. singadēvamahā-
34. rājulukabhyu-
35. dhayambugā ||
36. śaka varshambu
37. luvēyi nūṭa-
38. ḍebbha-dēdagu nēṁṭi
39. vaiśākha śuddha-
40. saptamī nādivā-
41. ramuna ||
42. 1175 gu
43. nēṁḍu
44. pūjārivri-
45. tti paṁḍremḍu
46. bāralakolanu
47. padmajiyya-
48. dēvajiyya-
49. lakuku 250
50. aṅgaraṅga bō-
51. gānakukshētra-
52. mu ku 2000-
53. ichhiri ma-
54. ṁggaḷa mahā-
55. śrī śrī śrī ||
56. ā kshētramu-
57. lōnanē kāse dā-
58. mōjunaku-
59. ku 60 yi ||

60. mēlunāyi -
61. ni nūmkaya-
62. kuku 100-
63. (ju) || dēvara dhī-
64. pānakugānu-
65. ma 1 || adi-
66. tya chaṁdrā ani-
67. lō nalaśśadyō-
68. bhyūmirāpō-
69. hridayaṁ ye-
70. ma śchha | aha ścha-
71. rātriśbaubē-
72. cha saṁdhyā dharma -
73. śsjānāti-
74. naraśyavittaṁ-
75. || svadattaṁ dvi-
76. guṇaṁ puṇyaṁ-
77. paradattānu-
78. pālanampara-
79. dattāpaharē -
80. ṇa svadattaṁ nish-
81. phalambhavēt ||

This is also a Telugu inscription engraved on the four faces of a stone pillar which is erected in front of Rāmalingēśvara-svāmi temple in Chandālūru. It contains 84 lines and issued in Śaka 1175 (1253 CE) while the king Gaṇapatidēva of Kākatīya dynasty was ruling from Anumakoṇḍa. It records that Śrīmaṇḍalēśvara Chakra Nārāyaṇa ŚrīSingadēvaMahārājulu made a vṛitti of 250 kuṇṭas to the Pujāris ŚrīPadmajiya and dēvajīyya, 2000 kuṇṭas of land for decorations and enjoyments to the deity Rāmalingēśvara-d#va. Out of that granted 60 kuṇṭas for kāsedāmōja (a stone-cutter), and 100 kuṇṭas for Mēlunāyani nūnkayya a temple servant.

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A Telugu Inscription of Matsyās of Oḍḍādi from Pātālēśvara temple in Jagannātha temple Complex, Pūri, Odisha – A Study*

D. Surya Kumar

Abstract: This paper examines a Telugu inscription of 12th – 13th century CE found in the Pātālēśvara temple within the premises of the Jagannātha temple complex at Pūri, Odisha, of the reign of Bhīmadēva IV of Matsya dynasty.

Keywords: Matsya, Telugu, Pūri, Odisha.

The Pātālēśvara temple is an important ūivate shrine situated in the northern side of inner courtyard of the famous Jagannātha temple complex of Pūri. This is one of the Ashta ūaṁbhūs or eight guardian (ūaṁbhūs) of lord Purushōttama [Jagannātha]. The other ūaṁbhūs are Lōkanātha, Markandēśvara, Yamēśvara, Nīlakantēśvara, Kapālamōchana, Bētēśvara, and Isānēśvara¹. The Pātālēśvara temple was erected 27 feet below the ground level and is having descending flight of steps leading to sanctum enshrining the Svayambhū ūivalinga². As the ūivalinga was erected below the ground level, not visible to the outwards, it is called “Pātālēśvara”³. The temple is ascribed to Anaṅga Bhīmadēva-II, the fifth king of the Gāṅgā dynasty, who is supposed to ascended the throne in 1192 A.D.⁴. This Pātālēśvara temple is famous for the inscriptions on the left door Jamb and left side wall of the main deula or temple⁵. Till date seven inscriptions in Oriya, Sanskrit and Telugu languages are copied and edited. Among them two are completely in Sanskrit; four are in Sanskrit and Oriya and remaining one is in Telugu language and script of 12th - 13th centuries⁶.

The epigraph is carved on the left side wall of the temple in 24x18 inches in size, just under an emblum of double fish, the royal emblem of the Matsya dynasty to which the donor belongs to. The Dibbiḍa plates issued by Arjuna-I of the same Matsya dynasty also has a ring and seal of double fish [vertical]⁷. In the opinion of Yaśhōdādēvi the Matsya dynasty might have some connection with pandyās whose emblum was also double fish⁸.

Earlier Dr. S.N. Rājaguru edited and published this epigraph under study in his “Inscriptions of Temples of Pūri”⁹. But some deviations are noticed in his reading. The A.S.I Mysore reported the same in A.R.E of 1985-86 bearing the No. B 252. Mr. Madhav.N.Katti, the editor, Chief Epigraphist, Mysore gave a brief note on this inscription¹⁰. In the wake of these facts, the present paper aimed at a detailed study of the inscription.

The inscription has 11 lines in Telugu language and script of 12th–13th centuries CE. The size of the letters are not uniform. Letters in lines 1, 2 and 9, 10, 11 are big when compared with 3 and 4. However in line 4 the letters at the end are smaller than those in the beginning. A few letters in line 3 are carved above the regular line. Some letters in lines 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are not clear.

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The inscription starts with “Svasti”. Lines 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are the usual *praśasti* of Matsya kings¹¹. Titles similar to the one used in this inscription can be noticed in the one found from Piṭṭagaḍḍa issued by ūrīmanmahāmaṇḍalēśvara Guṁḍḍapparāju of Matsya dynasty¹². In line 8 the purpose of the donation was pronounced i.e. to conduct the *Trilōchanayutsava* which has been considered as same with ‘*Nētrōtsava*’ which is held on the previous day or two days before the *Rathayātra* at Pūri. As per the traditions and belief, the eyes of the deities are affected with conjunctivitis owing to eating *Jambu* or *Jamun* (blackberry) and *baur* (plum) in excess¹³. Painters paint the idols except the eyes by using the indigenous colors – charcoal for black, the powder of the mother pearl for white and turmeric for yellow etc¹⁴. In this process the eyes of the idols are painted, while Brāhmins are chanting *mantrās* from *Ūgavēda*. This takes place a day or two before the *Rathayātra*. i.e. *òshāḍa pūrṇima* every year.

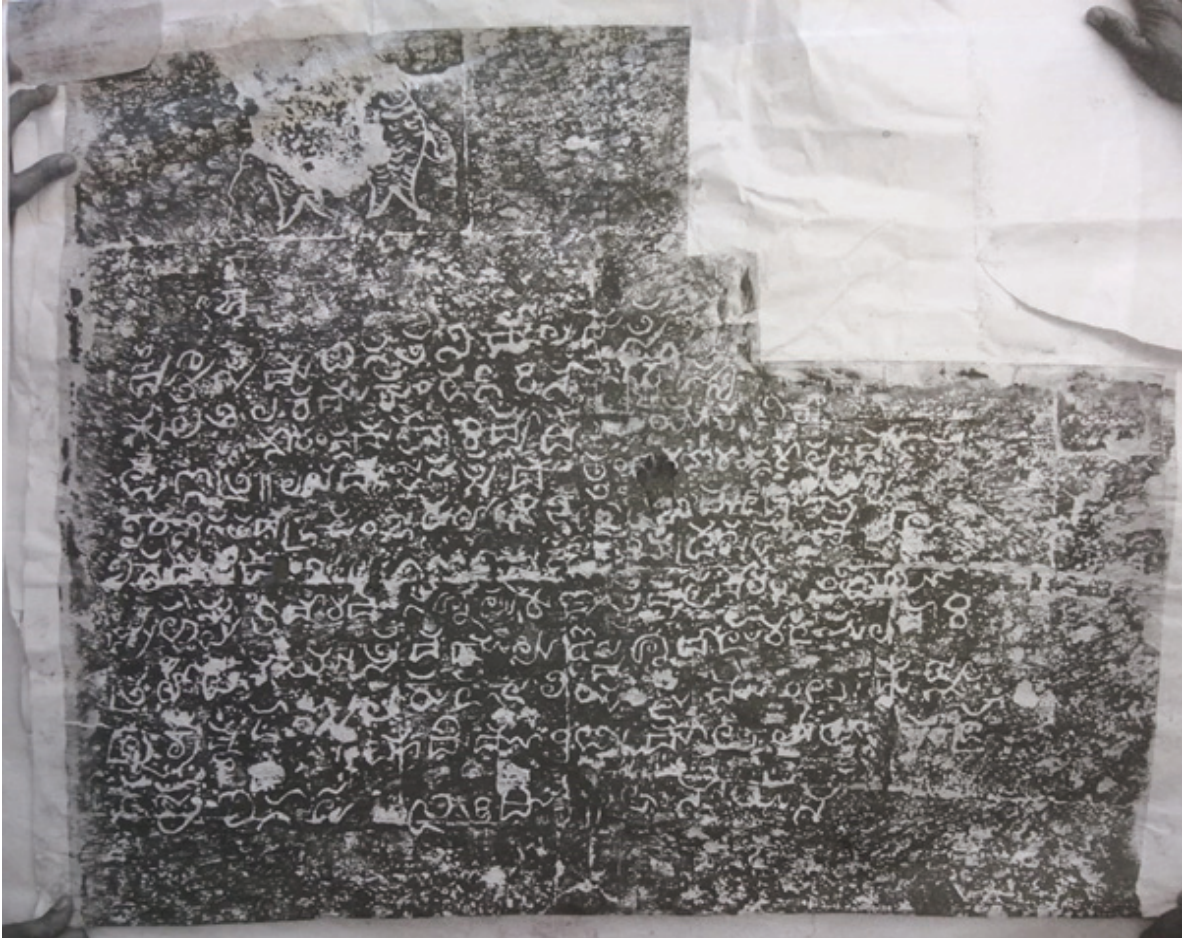
The donar’s name appear in line no.5. as Bhīmadēva (*mahārāja*) belongs to Oḍḍādi Matsya dynasty. This Oḍḍādi or Oḍḍavādi is identified with the present Vaḍḍādi, a village about 50 kms on northwest of Simhāchalam. The Eastern Ganga rulers after Anantavarma Gāṁga were not powerful, the political atmosphere of Kalinga area was conducive for the rise of new dynasties. One such was the Matsya dynasty of Oḍḍādi¹⁵, which means the beginning of the Oriyaland or Orissa¹⁶. It is noteworthy to mention here that the *zamindārs* of modern Māḍugula in Vishākapatnam district claim to be the descendants of Matsya dynasty and venerate fish¹⁷. The mythical ancestry of the Matsya dynasty states Brahma was born from navel lotus of Vishnu to whom Atri was born. Atri’s son was Kāśyapa in whose lineage Nāraṁga was born. One day while wandering in the sky he saw Matsya river, which rises from Mukuṁda mountains and descending to its bank. At that place he started his penance. So, as to disturb him, Indra sent Maṅjughōsha who became a fish by the curse of the sage. Their son was Satyamārtāṇḍa. Jayantasēna, the lord of Utkala came to be known about Satyamārtāṇḍa and married his daughter Prabhāvathi to him and appointed him to rule over the Oḍḍādidēsa¹⁸. Hence forth this dynasty ruled the Matsyadēsa for a period of two and half centuries from about 1200 to 1470 CE. The kings of the dynasty were great warriors and had important military successes for their credit. They contracted marriage alliance with many dynasties i.e., Pallavās of Vīrakūta, the Gāṅgas of Jantarnādu, Silavamsis of Nandapura. Their Kingdom occasionally extended up to Drakshārāma.

Regarding the donor Bhīmadēva mahārāju of the epigraph-the Dibbiḍa plates is the main source for the genealogy of the Matsya dynasty which gives a long list of kings. Prof C.Sōma Sunder Rao considered this as standard while editing the Piṭṭagaḍḍa inscription²⁰. Four kings named Bhīma in the list are Bhīma-I (5), Bhīma-II (11), Bhīma-III (18) and Bhīma-IV (21).

The date of the inscription under study is ūaka 1149 i.e 1227 CE Sarvajit Samvatsara. The date of Dibbiḍa plates issued by Arjuna-I is śaka 1191. i.e.1269 CE. The donor of the epigraph under study is earlier to Arjuna-I as the date of the inscription is earlier by four and half decades. So, Bhīma-IV son of Mankāditya and brother of Jayantha may be the donor of the epigraph. Yaśōdadēvi felt that Mankāditya was succeeded by Jayanta and was followed by Arjuna-I leaving Bhīma-IV aside for unknown reasons. But basing on the dates of the Dibbiḍa plates and the inscription under study we can conclude that Bhīma-IV is the donor of the present inscription.

1. Svasti samadhigata nirmala matsya
2. kuḷatilaka mukumdagirinātha kāśya
3. pagōtra nāraṅga mahārishyāṇvaya kalikā
4. la[dha]rmaja satya mārttāṇḍa ranaraṅga rāghava
5. śaraṇigata vajrapaṇjarul. Oḍḍādi Bhīmadēva[mahārāju]
6. śaka varishambulu 1149 Sarvajitu Bhādrapada māsa
7. bruhaspativāramuna ūripurushōttama dēvara...lu
8. Trilōchana yutsavamulu kolva ūrīchātura dāsula vāri
9. ūri Krushnadāsulaku [hajaliya]...mūṇṭi[majya]
10. [māmi] mūmḍu māḍalu a chāmdrā
11. ṛkka sthāyiga peṭitimi nāyana...ānamuna...

The inscription records the donation of three māḍās to Purushōttamadēvara to conduct the Trilōchana utsava of the deity by Bhīmadēva[mahārāju] of Oḍḍādi Matsya dynasty on Thursday of Bhādrapada māsa of Sarvajit, ūaka 11[49] i.e. 1227A.D. The gift was entrusted to ūrikrushnadāsulu of Chāturdāsa



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Cuddapah, Prof. S.K. Acarya, Odisha, Prof C. Somasundara Rao-Vizag, Dr.Ramesh Chandra-Repalle for their valuble suggestions and advices]

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A note on the Siddēśvara temple inscriptions from Chinchvāḍa, Pune district, Maharashtra

Aditya Kumar Singireddy

Abstract: This paper examines two recently discovered Marāṭhī inscriptions from Siddēśvar temple at Chinchvāḍa, Pune district, Maharashtra.

Keywords: Marāṭhī, Siddēśvar, Chinchvāḍa, Pune, Maharashtra.

The Siddēśvara temple at Chinchvāḍa in Pune district of Maharashtra is located near to the Mōrya gōsavi ghat on the bank of Pavanā river. Of the two inscriptions noticed in this temple, one is engraved on the top of the Nandi maṇḍapa and another above the main entrance of the temple hall

Inscription 1:

This inscription written above the main entrance of the Siddēśvara temple hall is in two lines in Nāgarī script and Marāṭhī language. It begins with obeisance to the feet of god Siddēśvara and mentions that the construction of the temple began in Śaka 1678, Dhātri, Aśvina 10 which corresponds to October 3rd, Sunday in the year 1756 CE and the construction was completed in Śaka 1679 (1757 CE).

Text

*॥ Śrī sidhhēśvara charanī tatpara nāthō rudramakula niratara prārambha- Śake
1678 dhā ॥*

॥ tru nāma savatsara asvina śudha 10 dasami samāpta śake 1679 īsvara- savatsara



Inscription 2:

This inscription written on the Nandi maṇḍapa of the Siddēśvara temple in Nāgarī script and Marāṭhī language seems to mention the construction of the maṇḍapa in Śaka 1724, Duṇḍhubhi, Āśāda 13 (i.e., July 27th, Tuesday, 1802 CE) Thus the Nandi maṇḍapa was built after 45 years of constructing the temple.

Text

1. *Śrī*
2. *Śrī śakē 1724 dumdubhī nāma*
3. *savacharē āśa || 13 ba sava . (na)*
4. *charanī pādā pāhēna sava . (t)asa*

**Acknowledgment:**

These inscriptions are edited here for the first time with the kind permission of Director Epigraphy, Mysore. I thank Sri Shyam kumar MTS, who assisted me to copy these inscriptions and Sri Anil dudhane who led me and helped me to this temple in the copying process and made things possible to copy these temple inscriptions.

Looking for the Material Background of Indian Drawings and Inscriptions from Socotra (c. CE 1st to 5th Centuries)

Krishnendu Ray

Abstract: The present paper is attempted to understand the material background which might have led the western Indian sailors to engrave their socio-religious status through inscriptions and drawing the symbols of religious importance at Socotra.

Keywords: Socotra, Berenike, Cave Hoq, Buddha, Buddhist, stupa,

Prelude

The early Indians (up to 1300 CE) are historically known to have not only realized their requirements, aspirations, desires, needs and wants (Hannan and Longair 2017: 8), but also practiced their religious beliefs using material objects like plough, bowls, boat, divine images such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, symbols like wheel (*chakra*), the phallus (*liṅga*, usually Śiva-*liṅga*), trident (*triśūla*) (Haque 1992). They have materially carried out religious practices including divine worships (Rashid 2008) in the religious architectures (Ray, Kulshreshtha, Suvrathan 2023) in both the inland and coastal areas of the country (Ray 2021). The purpose was to obtain divine grace for the successful completion of their worldly activities related to both the inland and coastal areas of early India for safely crossing the river or the huge ocean. For, both the west and east coastal lands of early India are also important, as arguably established now (Chakravarti 2020: 183-221), for understanding the past human activities of the country along historical lines through the ages. Thus, early Indians have developed the locale of a geographical place with their socio-economic or political or religious activities in connection with other places according to their changing necessities through times. Therefore, the locale of a geographical space is understandably more important than its location with respect to latitudes and longitudes on the surface of the Earth for understanding the place historically as well. These preliminaries may orient us to Socotra Island.

Location and Locale of Socotra

The Socotra island or Dioscorida or Dvīp Sukhādār (“Island of abode of bliss”) is geographically located within 12° N latitude and 54° E longitude, to the northeast of Cap Guardafui in Africa and southeast of Ras Fartak of Yemen coast (Schoff 1995—30. 133; Scholte and Geest 2010: 1508; Strauch 2012: 13). In terms of trading activities Socotra could be connected by two routes; one to the west via Muza at the mouth of the Red sea and the other to India via Barygaza (Bharugaccha, Gujarat) and Damirica (Malabar) on the west coast (Schoff 1995: 31: 34; Strauch 2019: 18, fig. 2.1). One Saṁghadāsa from Socotra is epigraphically known to have resided in Hastakavapra (*hastakavapra[stava](y)[a] sa[gha]dā[sa]*) (Strauch 2012: 52, 2:23). This evidence makes it clear that Socotra could be approached from Hastakavapra, another early historic port

of Gujarat (modern Hathab, near Bhavanagar, Gujarat) (Ray 2013: 73-84; 2023: 392-404). The island is influenced by the north-east winter monsoon and south-west summer monsoon (Scholte and Geest 2010: 1507) of the Indian Ocean. It has been archaeologically explored for a long time and its one of the most significant archaeological discoveries is the cave situated at the village of Hoq (commonly called Cave Hoq) in the northeastern part of Socotra's coast. The cave has yielded artifacts such as better quality clay-made incense burners of four types (four-lugged bowl, pan, box and bowl with no ornamentation) with charcoal and incense, the remnants of torches (used for lighting in the cave), footprints, seashells (probably for writing), pots, man-made water bowls and several epigraphs dated to the period between c.1st century BCE and 6th century CE (Rensburg 2019: 47-9; Strauch 2012: 223-30). It is also noted that some pottery sherds from Berenike seem to have been similar to Indian ones and thus, India-Berenike links have been assumed. Moreover, some decorated Indian sherds from Berenike have also been noted as similar to those from the Hoq cave (Strauch 2012: 224, fn. 5; Tomber 2000: 624-5). Therefore Socotra seems to have been commercially linked with the Roman port Berenike on the west and India on the east. This connects one to the fact that the island witnessed the presence of people from Egypt, Ethiopia, South Arabia and Western India (Strauch 2012: 540). Thus, the locale of the island seems to have been developed through human 'relationships and interactions' (Chakravarti 2009: 129-56; Cresswell 2015: 12-3). Naturally, Socotra has attracted the attention of scholars.

Scholarly Concerns about Socotra

In connection with understanding the diffusion of Buddhism in the west, Socotra figures in the scholarly discussion by Ingo Strauch who has argued to identify the people actually involved in the exchange of Buddhist ideas. Strauch has told that there were no Buddhist monastics in the island for the spread of Buddhism. Nor were there any Mahāyāna ideas in Socotra. The island witnessed simple religious practices by Buddhist traders and these were concerned with the *stūpa* (attribute of Buddha, Liebert 1986: 283) and the figure of Buddha (Strauch 2019: 35-6, 47). Following the presence of South Indian traders namely Hālaka, Viṣṇudata [Viṣṇudatta] and Nākada [Nāgadatta] with oil, meat and wine in connection with trade in Egypt during the early Christian era (Salomon 1991: 731-3), the presence of Indians at the meeting place of Socotra was not unlikely. For, no place can remain in isolation from other places in the social sphere. Their presence at Socotra is also supported by short epigraphic texts from there, which show Indian sailors (*nāvika*), to mention a few, namely Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha with Buddhist affiliation, Viṣṇudatta, Viṣṇu with Vaiṣṇava affiliation, Śiva, Rudra, Īśvara with Śaiva affiliation, who visited Socotra. Not only scripturally, they also recorded their religious affiliations symbolically (*triśūla* or trident, *stūpa*, *dharmacakra* or wheel of the law, *svastikā* or auspicious cross, *purnaghaṭa* or full vase) as well (Liebert 1986: 305, 74, 290, 230; Strauch 2015: 80-1; 2012: 356, 361-3). They seem to have visited Socotra or Dioscorida for trading purpose. In this regard, our attention is drawn to trade in Indian cloth, wheat, rice by some people from Barygaza and Damirica as the island did not produce grain, nor fruit and in exchange, they brought a huge quantity of tortoise-shell (probably valuable specimens) for making some useful articles. For, according to the Periplus, Socotra yielded varieties types of

tortoise shell (Casson 1989: 30:34; Ray 2015: 131; 139). Socotra being an important meeting place at the entrance to the Red Sea was strategically located between India's western seaboard and the Red Sea coastal port of Berenike and the Roman Empire on the west. In this 'maritime interlocking' (Chakravarti 2019: 359) context Indian sailors' involvement in the western Indian Ocean maritime trade is significantly recorded in the epigraphic texts from Socotra during the early historic time. And also it may be noted that the Buddhist drawings like *stūpa* from the Cave Hoq might have been influenced by a local stone-made Buddha head (c. mid-4th century CE) found from the Isis temple from the excavations at Berenike (Sidebotham et al. 2021: 18). Socotra is therefore known to have witnessed oversea trade and commerce in which early Indian merchants recorded their participation by way of inscribing not only their personal and fathers' names, but also their religious affiliations significantly through certain drawings on the wall of the Hoq cave of the Island. It may be noted that they resorted to the concrete object like the stone to manifest their religious affiliations and affinity.

But why did they make certain drawings considered as auspicious despite inscribing their personal names and fathers' ones on the stone of the Cave Hoq?

Materiality

In point of concrete object-based religious practice it is to be noted that materiality does not mean mere concrete things. Rather it includes space, things, performance and human sensation. Now, human sensation is a process which incorporates human senses, emotion and memory. Therefore materiality signifies a material setting in which human relationships to the divine power that is invoked are embodied by sensation, acting, feeling and interacting. In this compelling material condition belief in the divine power being invoked is to be studied (Morgan 2010: 8).

Discussion

As said above, the drawings made by the Indian sailors are the visible manifestations of their religious beliefs they had developed understandably from the material setting of their society of the time. The Andhradesa people are known to have done religious practices related to *stūpas*, footprints of Buddha (*padukā*), *triśūla*, *dharmacakra*, *svastikā* were worshipped by both poor and rich people with liquids, flowers and cloth during the early historic phase. It is highly significant to note that 24 silver coins from the Bhattiprolu *stūpa* were arranged in the form of an auspicious or lucky *svastikā* symbol (Gopalachari 1941: 115-6, fns. 113, 115; Liebert 1986: 290; Rea 1894: 12, plt. IV, fig. 13). The arrangement of these coins in the manner of *svastikā* symbol seems to have been due to the fact that coins facilitated trading activities in early India and therefore might have been considered auspicious. The auspiciousness of a coin may be supported by the Viṣṇukunḍin (c. CE 450-610) copper coin motifs such as humped bull, trident with two lampstands, a vase with two lampstands, conch-shell and wheel (Chattopadhyaya 1977: 191-5). The phenomenon of worshipping the Buddha's feet (*Buddhassa calaṇa-vandana* or Sk. *Buddhasya carāṇa-vandana*) by the monks was textually recorded in the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* (c. 2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE) by Hāla, one of the Sātavāhana kings (Basak 1971: 68, *gāthā* 4.8). Some people of the Deccan of the time seem to have worshipped Śiva as known from verses like 7.100 referring to *haram namata*, 1.69 mentioning

pāṇi-ggahaṇe (*pāṇi-grahaṇe*) *pavvaṇe* (*pārvvatyāḥ*)—*pasu-vaiṇā* (*paśupatinā--*) (Basak 1971: 16, *gāthā* 1.69, 153, *gāthā* 7.100). The text of the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* in its first *śataka* referring to *deva-ulam* (*deva-kulam*) reminds us of the fact that people of the time probably knew the religious structure where they performed their divine worships (Basak 1971: 15, *gāthā* 1.64). This may be materially supported by both Amarāvātī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which are well known to have yielded several man-made religious structures. Some people of the period also worshipped Viṣṇu as understood from the relevant verses of the text (to mention a few, 1.89 mentioning Rādhikā, 2.14 referring to Kṛṣṇa etc) (Basak 1971: 21, 26). The religious artifacts from Amarāvātī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may lead one to assume that people established their relations with the divine power by way of feeling, acting and sensation and in such material condition they prayed to divinity for grace (forthcoming). In connection with Socotra's relation with Hastakavapra (Hathab), as referred to above, a few common names, known from both Socotra and Hathab, such as Buddhāmitra, Devila, Varma, may be mentioned. They were also probably familiar with the worship of Viṣṇu. They manifested their Vaisnavite affinity through a brick-made stepped-well in the shape of a coil of snake at early historic Hathab. (Ray 2023: 398-9). The practice of this religious belief in Viṣṇu through the brick might have been recorded later in the seventh century text of the *Vaiṣṇava-Dharmaśāstra*. According to the text, Madhusūdana, another name of Viṣṇu, lay on the coils of the serpent Śeṣa {Olivelle 2018: 15, 49, 215 (*Prakaraṇa* 1. *Śloka*s 39-40)}.

It appears from the above that the people of the Deccan were probably acquainted with the votive *stūpa* which they conventionally and ritually worshipped as it contained the relics of the Buddha and thus, it became a symbol with its social influence on the believers who used it. We are also told that people during the period from the first century BCE through the second century CE focused their worship much on the *stūpa* (Fogelin 2003: 131; 2012: 283, 285). Understandably, the *stūpa* was worshipped in order to gain merits. The trident or *triśūla*'s association with Śiva is noted in the *Mahābhārata* (Giuliano 2004: 64). In other words, people had by the fourth century CE come to know of Śiva's *triśūla* as a ritual and sacred object. The Buddhist *dharmacakra* or "the wheel of the law" symbol with four/ten/six/eight spokes is well known to have been architecturally transformed into *stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Soundararajan 2006: 157-8, 200, relevant figs). The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa site no. 59 draws our attention to the architectural presentation of the *svastikā* symbol in a brick-made *stūpa* (Soundararajan 2006: 192, fig. 56). The architectural transformation of *svastikā* symbol might have been due to its being considered as sacred or auspicious. Interestingly enough, the sign of *pūrṇaḥaṭa* was materially shaped and decorated on the sides of the steps to a shrine as seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa site no. 24 (Soundararajan 2006: 416, pls. CXLB-CXLIA). Therefore it appears that these auspicious symbols being materially practiced as part of religious practices might have led the people of the Deccan by the third-fourth century CE to develop their religious beliefs based on those symbols. Accordingly, they might have believed these divine symbols as those of good fortune and prosperity.

Significantly, along with these sacred symbols we also find the boat to have been engraved on the stone of the Hoq cave. In this regard we have three ship engravings of which one was incomplete

from the three sites (2, 5 & 6) of the cave. But why was the boat engraved alongside the divine drawings? In this regard, a relevant reference from the Buddhist text *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (c. 1st century CE) may be taken into account. The text refers to the belief in a Buddhist god Avalokiteśvara as the saviour of the mariners fallen into the unknown perils of the sea (Dutt 1986: 294, 24.6; Ray 2015: 109). Probably by the first century CE the mariners had developed their belief in and prayed to Avalokiteśvara for safe journey across the sea. For, the sea fears were visually sculpted in a bas-relief (c. 2nd century CE) from Bhārhut *stūpa* (Chandra 1977: plt. IV; Kumar 2014: 239) showing a boat with three sailors being attacked by the whale. Obviously, this was meant for those who sailed across the sea. This is probably why Buddha was prayed to for safe oversea journey by a boat or a ship. In this connection a significant sculpture (c. 2nd century CE) from Amarāvātī *stūpa* may be taken note of. The sculpture shows that a boat with a seated sailor holding oars contained a cabin with a figure on a throne in the middle and a Buddhist monk with folded hands sat in front of the cabin (Chandra 1977: 226-7, fig. 9; Ferguson 1868: 188, plt. 68; Tripathi 2006: 27). Obviously, the boat facilitated overseas trading activities and accordingly so, might have been considered as auspicious. Thus, the experiences the mariners of western India gathered in connection with their overseas journey by a boat or a ship might have led them to draw a boat and also a Buddhist *stūpa* on the wall of the cave Hoq.

Thus, we find people to have materially practiced their Brahmanical and Buddhist religious beliefs. These practices are supported by religious artefacts from western India including Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvātī (Soundararajan 2006: 157-245). It is not unlikely that the Indian sailors were familiar with the practice of recording personal names and the members including parents of their families in connection with providing religious donations during the period from c. 200 BCE to 400 CE. This is supported by inscriptions from Mathurā, Bhārhut, Sānchi, Deccan caves, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Amarāvātī etc. (Luders 1912: 1-159; Sankalia 1942: 349). They seem to have also gathered experiences related to their respective religious practices through material objects. In this context it is not unlikely that they were familiar with the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha (Sankalia 1942: 351). Significantly enough, a few names from the cave Hoq may be referred to and these are such as Buddhanandin, Buddhmitra, Dharma, Saṃghadāsa, Saṃghanandi, Śarmmā, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇudatta, Viṣṇudhara, Viṣṇupati, Viṣṇubhaṭṭi, Viṣṇula, Viṣṇusena, Śivaghoṣa, Śivamitra, Rudradatta, Rudranandi, Rudrendra, Skanda, Skandabhuti, Skandamitra Sūryasiṃha etc. The suffixes *śarmmā*, *sena*, *bhuti*, *datta*, *dāsa* etc refer to their Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra varṇa affiliations (Strauch 2012: 354-9). The experiences related to the tendency of recording personal and family members' names through physical objects might have led them to record their religious as well as varṇa affiliations through their personal and fathers' names on the walls of the Hoq cave.

Significantly enough, in addition to the written messages they also drew certain religious symbols. But it is difficult to say exactly for what reason they did so. Rather the discussion may be closed with some humble observations in this regard.

Concluding Observations

The Indian inscriptions from Socotra certainly preserved the messages of the religious beliefs, preferences and values of the Indian sailors. At this point it is also to be noted that these epigraphic messages could be accessible to those who had access to both reading and writing. But, in early Indian literary (Bronkhorst 2002: 791-831) tradition *smṛti* (memorization) was preferred to writing. Moreover, the messages from inscriptional texts even after our period, that is, fifth century CE, were audibly communicated to others by way of informing (*viditamastu*) or notifying (*viññāpitam*) or understanding (*bodhayati*) (Banerji 1917–18/1982: 327, 330; Basak 1919–20/1982: 113–45; Chakravarti 2009: 19; Ray 2021: 1). These epigraphic clues may indicate that the written messages were made audible to the receivers. In other words, a written document was not accessible to many, but a few even after the fifth century CE. Therefore, it may be assumed that in our period some people could have an access to the written messages of the Indian inscriptions of Socotra. In comparison, a visual image could be a more effective medium than a written text for communicating its internal meaning / message. This is probably why a number of Indian symbols, materially believed in religiously through the ages, were drawn on the walls of the cave Hoq. In terms of representability and interpretability the Indian symbols drawn with their well-known physical attributes were more accessible or communicable (Pae 2020: 63) to the receivers. Divinities were apparently worshipped for ensuring security and prosperity in life. So also was the case with the Indian drawings of Socotra. These symbols were believably drawn probably in order to ensure the safe return journey from Socotra across the sea in particular and material gains in general.

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Elephant walk – a Rare Practice in Royal Land Donations in Medieval South India

S. Chandnibi

Abstract: This paper intends to examine the particular practice of *piṭāgai naṭantu*, i.e., to make a female elephant to walk around that specific village meant for donation noticed in the copper plate charters since Pallava times dealing with the creation of new *brahmadeyas* and *devadanas*.

Keywords: Piṭāgai naṭantu, Pallava, Chōla, Devadhāna, Brahmadēya, Vidyā Bhōgam, Palḷiccantam, Rayakōṭṭai, Kāsakkūḍi, Vēlūrpālayam, Bāhur, Tiruvalangāḍu.

Land grants to religious institutions and people related to holy places and its affairs by the kings was a general pattern of donation in ancient and medieval south India. Some of the Sangam literary sources do speak about land donation, and sacrifices performed by rulers. A Pandian king of Sangam period (300 BC-300 CE) whose name renowned for performing innumerable sacrifices prefixed his name with title Pal yācacālai Mutukuṭumi Peruvaḷuti, meaning one who performed multiple sacrifices. The Sātavāhana family the well-known rulers of Deccan from the early 2nd century CE too known for such deeds from the pages of history. Their succeeding dynasties of Pallavas, Cholas, Pandiyas and Vijayanagar rulers never abstained from making such donations particularly land grants.

As time passed on the items of donation got multiplied and the purpose of it also witnessed a shift upward, if a graph drawn. Goods like land, gold, money, livestock, and articles like lamps, vessels and jewelry etc. But the most surprising aspect is donation of humans, both men and women as service providers. Leaving apart all other donations let us deal with only land accorded to temples and Brahmanas. The land donated to temples or gods were known as *tēvatāṇam* (*Devadanas*) and the single or group of the community referred, the brahmanas as *brammatēyam* (*Brahmadeyas*) is a known common fact to all related to the field of research in Indological studies of these mentioned periods of time and epigraphy.

This micro study is about the process of this particular land donation and understand the way it differed in course of time from all other items. Land appears to be the first donation as for as Siva and Vishnu temples are concerned. The royal donations were at times villages together. The Brahmadeyas were the land donations made for the brahmanas as seen earlier. A peculiar pattern known as *piṭāgai naṭantu* could be noticed from the epigraphs since Pallava times. The Tamil term's nearest meaning is 'make the elephant to walk'.

When a ruler decided to create a *brahmadeya* or *devadana* then this custom of making the female elephant to walk around that specific village meant for donation was followed. Hence it is essential to surmise here about the practice; picking epigraphical evidences from the copper plates of Pallavas and Cholas dealing with the creation of new brahmadeyas and devadanas.

The first question that requires a brief is about *piṭāgai naṭantu*. The whole process in the way it was conducted is the female elephant was allowed to walk at its will with the assistance of a Mahut when they received the order from the monarch. The village and *nāḍu* heads besides the revenue officials too accompanied the elephant. All the places covered regarding all four directions are noted down by the concerned officials in minute details. The boundaries were demarked by planting milk bush and boundary stones. Thus, the whole large piece of land covered by the elephant would form the land donation by the king. The elephant reached its own place by the evening. Generally, the elephant walk began in the morning towards eastern direction then proceeded to south, followed to the west and concluded by touching the north. After this ceremony the donation was executed.

A Complete scrutiny of Pallava copper plates inform us that this practice was mentioned only in four copper plates in the whole Pallava period of three centuries viz., Rayakōṭṭai, Kāsakkūḍi, Vēlūrpālayam and Bāhur plates all falling in the 8th and 9th century CE more or less in the closing centuries of the dynasty¹. Now, getting in to details, the earliest reference is noticed in the Rayakōṭṭai inscription of Skandashishya Varman II in his 15th regnal year. He is considered to be none other than Narasimhavarman himself and this copper plate is supposed to fall around 750 CE. The contents of the copper plate speak about a *brahmadeya* created and accorded to some Mādhava Śarma Bhaṭṭan of Vatsa-gōtra. The gifted village was Carakkūr situated in Mēl Aṭaiyāru-nāḍu division of Paṭavūr kōṭṭam . The inscription goes like this.....

‘....Nāṭṭārkkum koṭṭattārkum eḷuti tirumukam aruḷcceytu viṭutaka atu kaṇṭu nāṭṭārum koṭṭārum toḷutu talaikku vattu kōvil karanttukum kōvil yānakkum munṇāy kallum kaḷḷiyum nāṭṭi koṭuttu viṭunta arayōlaippaṭi...’

‘....the order of the king was written and sent to the heads of Nadu and Kottam. They worshipped, received and carried on head. They further marked the boundaries with stick and milk-bush in front of the temple Karanam and temple elephant.....’

The description given in the copper plate informs us that the whole procedure was done in the presence of *karanam*, the temple head and temple elephant but do not deliberate any more details. *Karanam* is generally taken for village headship. But here the term *kōvil karanam* may particularly be assumed as a *karanam* for temple affairs. Apart from this it does not help us to make a clear picture of the process of *piṭāgai naṭantu* was carried out. It can be assumed in both ways either the procedure was ceremonially carried out in front of them involving as witness. Meaning they both, the person concerned and the animal were just present on the site and it was completed. The other possibility is that both the man and the temple elephant walked literally along the borders and was marked. Purely the epigraph leaves it to our imagination perhaps due to being the first instance. Anyway, the take home point for us is for the first time there was a shift in the process of donation where the temple head and temple elephant could be noticed.

1 Thirty Pallava Copper plates T.N Subramanyam, Tamil Historical Society Publishing-1, Chennai. The book is in Tamil language, but publishing year not found.

Next inscription is from Kāsakuḍi. This inscription is from Nandivaraman Pallava II issued in his 22nd regnal year which is about 753CE and this is the second inscription that mentions about the presence of elephant let us see what the copper plates tells us in detail. This was again a *brahmedeya* donation to Cheṭṭi Ranga Sōmāji. The land is located in Uttarakhand Sudhir. Royal Order has been referred to the *Nāṭar* of Uttarakhand Kōṭṭam it is mentioned but as per the sayings of, *nāṭṭu viyavan* Going round the area with the elephant the boundaries has been marked with stone and milk bush. In this copper plate we get the term *piṭāgai valam ceytu* which means ‘making the elephant to go round’ in this copper plate we do not get the information if the elephant was the temple elephant or not but the practice of going round with the elephant and marking the boundaries is very clearly said about.

The third copper plate that comes as a source for the presence of elephant in the process of making a *brahmadaya* is from Paṭṭathāl Maṅgalam in the time of Nandi Varma II on his 61st regnal year which is equal to 792 CE. In this copper plate also, it is very clearly mentioned that the *Nāṭṭar* worshipped and took it on their head, made elephant go round the borders and installed sticks and milk bushes as markers.

The last and final copper plate is from Bāhur. It is for *Vidyā Bhōgam* that is for the causeway of promotion of education during the time of Nirupatunga Varma on his 8th regnal year that is 877-78 CE. In this copper plate it is very clearly stated that the elephant was made to go round and the boundaries were marked as usual with sticks and bushes.

Thus, we have 4 inscriptions talking about the new process of taking female elephant around the borders and demark the boundaries as per the usual pattern with sticks and milk bushes. It is noted only in the first copper plate Rayakōṭṭai that the elephant belonged to the temple and in rest of the inscriptions no ownership of elephant is indicated. Despite still it can be assumed that the elephants belonged to the temples as maintaining an elephant is not anyone’s cup of coffee. Thus, the process of using the elephant in accorded *Brahmadeyas* and *Vidyā Bhōgam* are very much visible from the afore said inscriptions. Another point of interest we could note that it began in the second half of 8th century CE and continued in the ninth century also.

When we arrive to the time of the Chōḷas, we find 17 copper plates covering a time period of 922 – 1207 CE. Among them we find the presence of female elephant ceremonially walking around the borders of the donated land obviously in six copper plates right from the time of Parānthaka I onwards¹. The copper plates mentioning female elephant’s presence range a time period between 932- 1037 CE. This is a puzzle again whether we are supposed to assume that all the Chōḷa kings followed the practice in the 12th and 13th century or not as they are not mentioned in the copper plates despite the copper plates are available till the early phase of 13th century.

Among all the copper plates Tiruvalangāḍu copper plate of Rājēndra I (1018 CE)² appears

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- 1 *Chola Copper Plates*, Pulavar Magadevan, ISBN : 978-81-7090-4373, Tamil University Publication -394,2013, Chennai. This book is also totally in Tamil language.
 - 2 Ibid, pp 435-532.

to be the watermark of the utilization of the elephant walk. In that copper plate we find the minute details and description of the all four borders including turns that elephant took while walking, with the help of which one can easily draw a map of Tiruvalangāḍu village itself. The author's own experience in 2006¹ also reveal the same thus, we see the female elephant has been used in the ceremony invariably in *Devadhāna*, *Brahmadēya*, *Vidyā Bhōgam* and *Paḷḷiccantam*².

Now the question arises what may be the reason to associate a temple elephant or any elephant would be in a royal donation especially to the holy places and to the people attached. The reason obviously one can imagine is that to add more clout pomp and glory of the instance. Perhaps that was to present a bigger picture or a magnificent picture of the ruling apparently to the common public. It also dealt with the show of strength or power and stability of the empire. Thus, a new practice which developed just in the 8th century perhaps lasted till 13th century. Of course, it was not practiced by the Vijayanagar kings who came later on. That may be due to the shift in the purpose of donation from land to food donation and the reason may be the same to them.

At the same time, we should draw our attention to the saying of a book *Tolkāppiyam* grammar book written in the early Sangam era by *Tolkāppiyāṇār* mentions apart from human being the 6th sense was present in elephant and parrot. Further research scientific and epigraphic may or may not accept the idea. Moreover, we are aware that every animal has a territory small or big where they return back for night stay. In India no one could have missed the scene of street dogs barking and fighting as a stray dog enters their area or territory. The monarchs when used elephant were they also aware and used it with this conscience, is another quarry left unanswered. Thus, this article has more chances for future researchers to take up. But simple conclusion to us is that there existed a special practice of involving temple elephant perhaps as a representative of God in the process of donation by rulers of early mediaeval and mediaeval South India ranging from 8th century onwards to 13th century, while that was not seen in the other areas of present India.

1 S. Chandni Bi, Environs of a brahmadeya in the 11th century: Tiruvalangadu- a case study, Humankind, Vol. 2, pp 47-58. International Journal for Mankind, Museum, 2006, Bhopal. ISSN 0973-3124.

2 Donations made to Buddhist and Jaina holy places were known as *Paḷḷiccantam*

Yeṛṛajarla Inscription of Yadava Chakranārāyaṇa Sāraṁgapāṇidēva

D. Surya Kumar,

Abstract: This paper examines an inscription noticed in the premises of Gaṅgamma temple at Yeṛṛajarla, Prakasam district, Andhra Pradesh, issued by Chakranārāyaṇa Sāraṁgapāṇidēva of Chakranārāyaṇa dynasty in Śaka 1178 (1256 C.E.).

Keywords: Yeṛṛajarla, Prakasam, Andhra Pradesh, Chakranārāyaṇa, Sāraṁgapāṇidēva, Yadavas.

The inscription being examined here is noticed in the premises of Gaṅgamma temple at Yeṛṛajarla, a small village located 8 kms to the Northwest of Ongole, the headquarters of Prakasam District. Around 2009-10, my friend Dr. Konda Srinivasulu sent me a photograph of this record and later an estampage of it was taken by ASI and listed in the *Annual Report of Epigraphy for the year 2013-14* with the number B.37.

The inscription is much eroded and worn out and many letters and words are unintelligible. The inscription was inscribed on both sides of a big stone and it consists of 26 lines in Telugu language and script. As the content of the inscription had no connection with the goddess, it can be surmised that the stone containing the inscription might have brought from somewhere most probably from a ruined Vaishnavite temple of the village.

The epigraph was issued by Chakranārāyaṇa Sāraṁgapāṇidēva of Chakranārāyaṇa dynasty, who claimed their descent from the Yadavas/ Sevunas of Dēvagiri. It records the consecration of the image of Mādhavagōpīnātha at Yeṛṛajarla and gifting of lands for the maintenance of the temple and offering to the god in Śaka 1178 (1256 C.E.). The epigraph also refers to the grant of 160 *Kuṇṭās* of land to certain people namely Ādityapeddi, Annipeddi, Kēśavapeddi and Kāse Mallōju. As the suffixe ‘*peddi*’, is normally used by the Brahmins, the first three persons might be the priests of the temple and the prefix and suffix by name ‘*kāśe*’ and ‘*ōju*’ of the fourth person’s name clearly indicate that he constructed or supervised the construction of the temple.

Chakranārāyaṇa Sāraṁgapāṇidēva ruled the Addanki-sīma with the headquarters at Addanki in the present Prakasam district¹, as the feudatories of the Kākatīyas. It is assumed that they descended from Yadavas and migrated from Dēvagiri and used the prefix Chakranārāyaṇa to their names.² Butterworth and Venugopalachetti opined that Chakranārāyaṇa was the title of the family.³ The first ruler of the dynasty was Sāraṁgadhara I (1150 CE.). It seems that by immensely satisfied by the services of Sāraṁgadhara, the Kākatīya ruler Rudradēva appointed him as the ruler of Addanki region.⁴ He was succeeded by his son Mādhavadēva or Mādhavanāyaka (1208-47 C.E.), who was regarded as a great warrior and his inscriptions are available at Maṇikēśvaraṁ, Nāguluppalapāḍu and other places. He stated in his lithic records that emperor Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva was his lord. As per the available evidences, Mādhavadēva had three sons. The eldest was Siṅgaladēva or Siṅgadēva (1247–1253 C.E.) and his inscriptions are available from places like *Yeṇḍlūru*, *Ongole*, *Chāṇḍalūru*

and *Chējerla*. His second son was Sāraṁgadhara or Sāraṁgapāṇidēva, the issuer of the present record. The same ruler also issued the copper plate inscription found in the possession of the temple priests of Mannēpalli village of Darsi region recording the grant of the village Sāraṁgāpūr to learned Brahmins in 1254-55 CE.⁵ The record is historically important as it clearly states that he is the son of Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva's vassal, Mādhava, a son of Sauri Sūvara (the Yadavas of Suvena) and was the ruler of Addanki. Another inscription of 1254-55 C.E. issued by Sāraṁgapāṇidēva found at Nāguluppalapāḍu states that he had consecrated Śrīgōpālādēva *alias* Chakranārāyaṇa Mādhava Gōpīnātha at Nāguluppalapāḍu and gifted lands to the *nambi* (priest) for providing oblation, offering and worship to the deity for the merit of Gaṇapatidēva, his lord and of his father Mādhavanāyaka and mother Chūḍubāi.⁶ Chilukūri Vīrabhadra Rao states that Sāraṁgapāṇidēva ruling *Addanki sīma* as the vassal of Gaṇapatidēva waged wars with the Telugu Chōḷa ruler Manumasiddhi of Vikrama Simhapuri (Nellore). He further informs that in one of the battles Manumasiddhi won against Sāraṁgapāṇi as mentioned in the preface of the work *Nirvachanōttara Rāmāyaṇa* of Kavi Sārvabhouma Tikkana.⁷ Sāraṁgapāṇi was succeeded by Gōpālādēva and later by Kalārāyanāṇtha Siṅgadēva (1267-68 CE). His inscription was found at Allur. Later Mādhava II ruled between 1273 to 1275 CE.

The Chakranārāyaṇa dynasty of the Yadava clan ruled over rather limited surroundings of Ongole and Addanki regions of the Prakasam district of Andhra Pradesh for 125 years i.e. from 1150 CE to 1275 CE as can be seen from the provenance and time frame of their inscriptions. It seems that the rule of Chakranārāyaṇa dynasty ended by 1275 CE as no inscriptions are available after the said date. It seems that they were adherents of Vaishṇavism and more precisely of Lord Kriṣṇa, the god of the Yadavas as gleaned from the temples constructed and gods consecrated by them. It is believed by the historians that their region was captured by either the Telugu Chōḷas or the Kākatīyas and annexed to their territory.⁸ It should not be forgotten that the Reḍḍi kingdom was established after the downfall of the Kākatīyas at Addanki. So far, one copper plate and thirteen stone inscriptions are found and the present discovery is the fourteenth.

Inscription of Yādava Chakranārāyaṇa – Sāraṁgapāṇidēva

[big stone kept in the Premises of Gaṅgama temple; Yeṛṛajarla]

TEXT

First Face

1. [svasti] śrī [yukta] chatruṁḍānvaya va [śō]
2. Kṛitanētruṁḍu mānadāna rādhēyumuḍu [mā] khila
3. Janavidhēyumuḍu ..nu..rakāvapaḍiya vi[ra]
4. .nni...[jētaka rēiā..ti] ka mūlasthāna chakranārāyaṇa..
5. ... Sāraṁgapāṇi bhuvi ...dakshita i matani
6. Kari giri dāruṇi śaśi śaka [prabhu] samnkhyaṇu kā
7. – rthikā mā[sō] tharamagu [bhōga] ... vanda da..ru
8. [ddē]..tō nityaśrīkaramagu ya [sā]

9. *Kam[du]ga mādhavagōpīnathastuhu[rama]*
10. *Me yavura[vakura]ga...chēsē pratisthṭa jagatprasidhamu*
11. *Gāna || svasti śrī yeṛṛamjerla śrī mādhava gō*
12. *Pinātrhaniki dōshaharinārachanalaku..*

Second Face

1. *[peṭina]vṛtti chēla[ku]*
2. *...da...*
3. *...ḍoo chele*
4. *...naku...*
5. *... ..*
6. *...āditya peddi ..*
7. *...2oo...*
8. *..tamāmchaki gu 6[0]ku ē..*
9. *Annepeddiki āpaararā ...*
10. *Kēśavappanaku...*
11. *... ..*
12. *Kāse malōjunaku 20*
13. *Svadatta paradattaṁ vā yōhareti vasumdhara*
14. *Shashṭimvarsha sahasrāṇi viśṭāyām jāyatē kṛimihi ||*



First Face of the inscription



Second Face of the inscription

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7. Pg. 413; Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao – *K  kat  y  m  dhrar  ja – Yuga charitramu.*, Rajahmundry 1936.
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Memorial Stone of Stephen Babington: The Judge who sacrificed his life to save the people of Thane

Rupali Mokashi and Pankaj Samel

Abstract: This paper is a tribute to the valiant act of Stephen Babington, a British judge appointed in Thane during the early 19th century. On 19th May 1822, he sacrificed his life while saving the citizens of Thane from an outbreak of fire in the Vajuvali area of Thane. In expression of their deep gratitude, the citizens of Thane raised a memorial to Stephen Babington.

Keywords: Stephen Babington, Salsette, Thane, North Konkan

Stephen Babington was born on 31st December 1790 in London. His father's name was Dr Babington and his grandfather's name was Stephen Hogg. His mother's name is not available at present. He completed his education at East India College, Hertford.¹

In 1808, at the young age of 18 years, Stephen Babington arrived in India. He was soon appointed Private Secretary to Sir Ivan Nepean (1812-1819), the Governor of the Bombay Presidency. Later, the government appointed him to the post of Secretary and then as the Judge and Magistrate of the North Konkan Province (comprising of Sashti, Vasai, Thane, Kalyan and Panvel), in which post he worked for five years. According to a memorial plaque in St Thomas Cathedral Fort in Mumbai, Babington was Chairman of the Committee appointed to amend the Judicial and Financial Regulations made for the Bombay Presidency. The committee may have been set up by Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, who succeeded Sir Ivan Nepean as Governor.² He was accommodated in the court building, i.e., Sardar Bivalkar's Wada.³

After holding charge of Judge and Magistrate of North Konkan Province, he was appointed as Judge in Sadar Adalat and Sadar Faujdari Adalat. After assuming charge at Sadar Adalat, he came to Thane for two days (18th and 19th May 1822) for some personal work.⁴ This time he was staying at the house of Thane's first collector and friend Savile Marriott. The palace of Kotwal Budhaji Naik of Thane was converted into the collector's office and residence. On 19th May 1822, a fire broke out at Vajuvali in Kasbe Thane (a place named Vajuvali does not exist in the Thane area at present). Due to his five years of work in Thane and his love for the people of Thane, Babington went to the spot along with other officers. Babington was injured while trying to control the fire and rescue people trapped in the fire. In the book written by Welsh, it is stated that "Babington was killed by a wooden stick falling on his head while rescuing people trapped in the fire".⁵ In the obituary written by the Bombay Gazette after his death, he was described as the father of Thane district, "*Ajatshatru*" (he probably has not left a single enemy behind him) who had the power to settle any dispute. An obituary printed by The Bombay Gazette was later published by *The Gentleman's Magazine* Volume No. 92.⁶

to save the people of Thane

Stephen Babington was buried in the graveyard next to St James's Church, Thane. The people of the district contributed financially to build the memorial in the cemetery. Basalt stone has been used to build the monument. The monument is built on a high plinth and consists of four pillars, a pillar in the middle and a dome supported by pillars. A four-faced memorial stone has been erected at the centre. On the front, the obituary is engraved in English, on the left in Urdu, and on the right in Marāṭhī. A coat of arms of the Babington family has been engraved on the rear. It is inscribed with a dragon, a crown, three stags and at the bottom an inscription in Latin (*Insolitos Docuere Nisus*). The English Inscription reads as below:

‘Sacred to the memory of Stephen Babington, esquire, fourth judge of the sudder adawlut and sudder foujdaree adawlut and formerly judge of this zillah. ‘He was removed from this world, in the 32nd year of his life, on the 19th May in the year 1822 of the Christian era, by an accident during the human exertions to rescue the hamlet Wajowlee of Casba Thana from destruction by fire. In deep gratitude for his constant paternal care for their happiness, and in testimony of their respect for his virtues, this monument was erected by the Native inhabitants of the Zillah over which he presided as Judge for five years. This adamantine fact stated, can panegyric words increase his praise. His body shall rest in peace. His soul has fled to God.’⁷

The Marathi inscription reads as below:

1. *Rājakāryadhuraṁdha-*
2. *ra saujanyagunapa-*
3. *ripūrṇa prauḍapratāpa*
4. *dayāsāgara prajāja-*
5. *na paripāla parasta sa-*
6. *tyanyāyapravartaka digamta*
7. *saskīrti (satkīrti) prērita Sṭīphīn*
8. *Bābiṅgaṭana sahib kasa-*
9. *bē Ṭhāṇe prām̐ta sāmāvūn(ṛa) kō-*
10. *kaṇache bhēṭī ---- karīta*
11. *asatā akasmāt Vaya varshē*
12. *३२ battīsūt vikramām̐ka saṁvat*
13. *१८७९ śālivāhana śaka १७४४*
14. *māhe vaiśākha ---- ravivāra dehāb*
15. *sāna hōūn paralōka pāvalē. tyāchā*
16. *saujanyaṇprati pragaṭa vḥāvayāstava prām̐-*
17. *tasyajanādi hē thaḍa(gē) kēlē āhē*

Translation:

Stephen Babington who is *Rājakāryadhuraṁdhara* (one who is an expert in political/administrative work) *parast* (one who is a worshipper) and adored with other titles died during his visit to *kasabe* Ṭhāṇe at the age of thirty-two on Vikrama Saṁvat 1879, Śālivāhana Śaka 1744, Sunday, Vaiśakha. In respect, this tomb is erected by residents of Ṭhāṇe.

In 1863, Stephen Babington's wife erected a plaque in St. Thomas' Cathedral, Bombay (now Mumbai), in memory of her husband and two sons. According to this plaque, Stephen Babington's two sons, William Frank and Stephen, were buried in Thane with their father. William Frank was a staff surgeon and Stephen was an Assistant Judge, both working in Pune. A statue of Stephen Babington, installed in the cathedral by his friends, was later moved to the Town Hall (The Asiatic Society of Mumbai), Bombay. The plaque bears the Dragon and Arms of the Babington family. At the top *Foy Est Tout* (Faith is All) is engraved in Latin.

The memory of Stephen Babington has been relegated to oblivion, except for academics. Thus, we have endeavoured to revive the name of Stephen Babington, who risked his life for the citizens of Thane.

Acknowledgement: We express our thanks to St James's Church, St. Thomas' Cathedral, and The Asiatic Society of Mumbai for granting permission to take photographs. We further thank Ar. Sonali Upasani for providing architectural details regarding the Tomb structure.

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Dr. K.V. Ramesh Memorial Lecture
A TRIBUTE TO DR. K.V. RAMESH

B. Rajashekharappa

Esteemed General Presidents of the Epigraphical Society of India and the Place Names Society of India, the office bearers, members, delegates and authorities of Andhra Kesari University, Ongole, I thank Dr. P.N. Narasimhamurthy and other office bearers for selecting me to deliver this lecture in honour of Dr. K.V.R., for which I do not know how much I am fit to do it. I deem it as a privilege bestowed on me to show my deep respect to Dr. K.V. Ramesh.

Dr. K.V. Ramesh- A brief life-sketch

Dr. Koluvaail Vyasarayaasatri Ramesh took his birth on 6th June 1935, in a small village called Kalpati, near Palghat in Kerala. Originally he belongs to the village Koluvaail in South Kanara district, Karnataka. His father Vyasaraya Sastri was a Sanskrit Pandit in Victoria College at Palghat. Later he was transferred to Presidency College at Chennai. Thus K.V.R got his primary and higher primary education in different places in different media *i.e.*, Telugu, English and Tamil. Thus he got a good background of different languages. In an interview he said that he feels proud to say that symbolically in a way he was a citizen of Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh and this experience played a very important role in his study of epigraphs in course of time. Though he desired to join Medical course, after his intermediate, he could not do so and he joined M.A. Sanskrit and got 1st rank with three gold medals. He got his doctorate degree from the Karnataka University, Dharwad for his extensive work, under the guidance of Dr. G.S. Dixit, “*The History of South Kanara*”.

He joined the Epigraphy Branch, A.S.I., at Udagamaṇḍalam *i.e.* Ooty as an Assistant Epigraphist of Tamil and later was appointed as Assistant Epigraphist of Kannada. He served in many capacities and became the Chief Epigraphist for the Government of India at Mysuru and finally was promoted as Joint Director General of Archaeological Survey of India in 1992. After retirement, he was appointed as Honorary Director of the Oriental Research Institute, Mysuru and was later as National Professor of Epigraphy. He had authored many books in English and Kannada and also a number of research papers. He was a respected member in academic works like “*Kannaḍa Nighanṭu*” published by the Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore, which was praised by the well-known linguist Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of West Bengal as a unique work in India. More than 50 valuable research papers on various inscriptions were published by him in the renowned journal ‘*Epigraphia Indica*’. He has also written some research works in Kannada like “*Karnāṭaka Śāsana Samīkṣhe*”, “*Tulunāḍina Itihāsa*” and in English like “*The Chalukyas of Vātāpī*”. He has brought out valuable volumes like “*A Collection of Copper plates of the Guptas*”, “*The Inscriptions of Western Gangas*” and so on.

My association with Dr. K.V. Ramesh

In 1970’s I got a chance to meet Dr. K.V. Ramesh for the first time, when I was in search of some details with regard to the great Sanskrit playwright Bhasa, but it was almost a casual meet.

After some years I got another chance of meeting him in the year 1984, when I had revised the text of famous Chandrāvalli Inscription of Kadamba Mayūravarma. When Dr. M. H. Krishna published the text of this inscription in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, opined that its language is Prākṛit and the record states that Mayūraśarma constructed a tank after defeating Abhira, Pallava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthana, Sēndraka, Punnata and Maukhari. Most of the scholars from Karnataka concurred with M. H. Krishna while some suggested a few corrections. But some scholars from Tamil Nadu expressed their doubt about the conquests of Mayūraśarma. This made me to go through the actual text of the record and find out the veracity of statements of various scholars. To my surprise I found the language as Sanskrit and not Prākṛit and the purport of the record is to mention construction of a tank without reference to any conquests. Dr. K. V. Ramesh who was in Chitradurga attending a different programme visited Chandrāvalli and took a fresh estampage of the inscription. After making an *in situ* reading congratulated me for declaring the language of the record as Sanskrit and not Prākṛit. I am very grateful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh for bringing this discovery of mine to the notice of scholars during different occasions; to him this discovery had become revolutionary. Dr. K.V. Ramesh was such a broad minded scholar who encouraged the younger generation whenever he found true effort of research performed by the youngsters, irrespective of their cadre, place, etc.

At the time of the combined conference of PNSI and ESI at Baroda, in a discussion, Dr. K.V. Ramesh gave a novel and probable conjecture on the place-name Balharshah. In his opinion ‘Vallabha’, an epithet used in many inscriptions for the Chalukyan kings, also pronounced as ‘Ballaha’ etc., in their inscriptions as well as in literary works, must be the first part of the place name and ‘Harsha’ should be its latter part. Thus both combined together have formed the place name ‘Balharshah’, indicating it is the place where Chalukyan king Pulikēsi II and king Harsha met each other in war.

Few Recent Important Discoveries

If I do not brief about some important epigraphical discoveries of recent years, my tribute to Dr. K.V. Ramesh will become incomplete.

One among them is a Tamil inscription engraved on a granite stone-slab at Tamatkal, near Chitradurga, a district head-quarters in Karnataka, written in in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of early 6th century CE. It is the earliest inscription in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters discovered in Karnataka, so far. This inscription is found recently when the author of this paper had been to the place to re-study two inscriptions that were long back discovered and published by Mr. B.L. Rice, in 1903. The two inscriptions both in Kannaḍa characters, but one in Sanskrit and another in Kannaḍa language are in praise of a king by name Guṇamadhura of Masikkāpura, for his valour and other virtues. The present inscription in three lines is engraved on the stone-slab, on which the above mentioned Sanskrit inscription is found. The slab at its top right hand corner depicts a bas-relief depicting three male persons holding bows etc., probably king Guṇamadhura in the middle, flanked by his fellow-warriors. Mr. B. L. Rice views that the aforesaid two inscriptions belong to 6th century CE and the present inscription also belongs to the same period. It registers the name of a certain Sāttan

belonging to Ēlūr, evidently a place in Tamil Nadu. Sāttan might have been in the service of the king Guṇamadhura, who probably seems to have engraved the inscriptions here and also carved the bas relief. This inscription seems to throw light on the age-old connections between Tamil and Kannaḍa speaking regions with regard to cultural aspects.

Another inscription newly found during my field-work is from Niruguṇḍa, a small village in Hosadurga taluk, Chitradurga district in Karnataka. The inscription is on a large slab of soap-stone, measuring a height of about 5 feet, a breadth of 2 feet and thickness of 0.5 feet. The inscription of 61 lines is in Kannaḍa language and characters of the 12th century CE. It mentions only once at the end, the name of the king as Vīra Narasimhadēva and mentions the current year as Durmati. By this it is clear that the inscription had been installed during the year 1142 CE, and hence the Hoysala king mentioned is Narasimha I, son of king Viṣṇuvarḍhana. It is curious to note that the inscription is described as a ‘*Samayapatra Śāsana*’ at the end, which seems to direct us to consider it as a different category of inscription altogether. We are familiar with many categories of inscriptions like (1) *Dāna- Śāsana* (Donatory inscriptions) (2) *Vīragallu* or *Māstikallu Śāsana* (Hero-stone and Sati-stone Inscriptions) (3) *Niramana Sasana* (Inscriptions recording construction /renovation works) (4) *Niśadi Śāsana* (Inscriptions recording self-sacrifice of Jaina saints or *Śrāvakas* through *Sallēkhana*) (5) *Praśasti Śāsana* (Inscriptions in praise of victory) and so on, but a category like ‘*Samayapatra*’, i.e., inscriptions recording regulations or resolutions is not familiar to us so far. So, this category may be a new addition to the epigraphical studies.

The inscription starts with invocation to deities Siva, Ganapati, Sarasvati and Vishnu and mentions details regarding maintenance of cultivation and irrigation of agricultural lands belonging to an *agrahāra*. The record contains a number of place-names and technical terms in relation to the *agrahāra* and the contemporary administration which are quite interesting.

The *agrahāra* of Niruguṇḍa was known as “Udbhava Sōmanāthapura”, the *mahājans* of which had agricultural lands in and around as many as sixty to sixty-five villages. The villages were grouped into the following four ‘*tattus*’: (1) The *tattu* of *Rigveda* (2) The *tattu* of *Yajurveda* (3) The *tattu* of *Vedanta* and (4) The *tattu* of Prabhākara. The villages might have been grouped in respective *tattus* based on the educational qualification of the Brahmins residing in the respective villages. The *tattu* of *Rigveda*, had eight villages, the *tattu* of *Yajurveda* had eight villages, the *tattu* of *Vedanta* had sixteen villages and that of Prabhākara had seventeen villages. Out of the 60 to 65 villages grouped under these four *tattus*, about 50 villages are still in existence and are spread in Hosadurga and the surrounding taluks of other districts. Names of some the villages are not known clearly as the inscription is partly worn-out. The inscription states that all the *mahājans* belonging to the four groups assembled to form a *mahāsabha* in the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* (meeting hall) of the *agrahāra* on Thursday, the 6th day of the month of Mārgaśira in cyclic year Durmati (which corresponds to 6th November 1141 CE) and after a long and keen discussion, made an unanimous resolutions with regard to the management of the cultivation and irrigation of the agricultural lands belonging to them in various villages. The resolutions are very interesting and are as follows:

1. Every member in the '*Mahāsabha*' is entitled for the yield or income from the lands and at the same time has equal responsibility in the maintenance of the same.
2. The Brahmins of each '*tattu*' are bound to look after the maintenance of tanks, canals, irrigation and cultivation in their respective branches.
3. The Brahmins of a *tattu* should not pass a blame or curse on any member when they get less yield or income than others.
4. If the Brahmins of a *tattu* wish to have irrigation canals to their fields through the fields belonging to the Brahmins of other *tattus*, they should not be objected or opposed or prevented by any of the members.
5. While making irrigation canals to the fields, the loss of land caused to the others should be compensated with portion of land in their *tattu* or the yield or sum equivalent to the portion that is lost.
6. If the Brahmins of a *tattu* according to the necessity wish to have a road for the transport of manures, etc., through the fields belonging to the Brahmins of other *tattus*, they should not be objected or opposed or prevented by any other member.
7. While making roads to the fields, the loss of land caused to others should be compensated with equal portion of land in their *tattu* or the yield or sum equivalent to it.
8. The *talarike* (the village-guard cess) should be paid by the Brahmins of all *tattus* at a time collectively and no other government official should demand any Brahmin of any *tattu* to pay excess amount, above the fixed cess.
9. If any loss occurred due to *gauḍa* (headmen of villages), priest, or government official or petty rulers, then the *Mahājans* will take care in giving compensation to the aggrieved parties.
10. If the Brahmins of the *tattu* in which the village Anevalla is situated, wish to build a tank near Hocheyanahalli which is near the village Anevalla, they should not do so unless a pact of justful distribution of water is approved.
11. If the supervision or the management of the lands belonging to one *tattu* is entrusted to others due to some reasons as per the direction of the *Mahāsabha* of the *Mahājans*, the rate of yield which was fixed earlier should be retained. Even if the management is entrusted to others, as an interim adjustment, the loss of the yield belongs only to those whom the management was entrusted earlier and none else.
12. If any loss of land happens when a territory is occupied by some person perhaps due to some battle or so, the Brahmins of the *tattu* to whom the loss is caused, should somehow be compensated by the *Mahāsabha* of *Mahājans* as far as possible.

After stating these resolutions or regulations, the inscription warns that nobody should violate this '*Samayapatra*', and if anybody violates he should think that he is doing harm to the law of Hoysala Vīra Narasimhadēva, the *Mahājans* of Udbhava Sōmanāthapura, their own parents, their deities etc. Thus in this context, the name of Hoysala king Vīra Narasimhadēva is mentioned only once in the inscription. This inscription reminds us of the famous inscription at Uttaramēru, as it gives a vivid picture of the management of agricultural lands belonging to an *agrahāra*, and it suggests how the *Mahāsabha* of *Mahājans* was independent in governing the property of the *agrahāra* and how their lands were cultivated and maintained. It is perhaps for this reason of making resolutions or regulations; the inscription is called a "*Samayapatra*".

The 3rd inscription which I choose to highlight is the one discovered from Kamidihalli in Nagamangala taluk of Mandya district by Dr. D.V. Paramashivamurthy, presently Vice Chancellor of Kannada University, Hampi. The inscription establishes the fact that Chinnadēvi, the queen of Krishnadevaraya, was a daughter of Vīrappa Oḍeya, a ruler of Nāgamangala province in the Vijayanagara Empire and not a courtesan as earlier thought.

Another inscription of the same period that was recently found is the one discovered from the village Honnenahalli in Bangalore district, which gives the accurate date of demise of Krishnadevaraya as 17th October 1529. The inscription was traced by Sri K. Dhanapal, a driver in Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation, who is a member of the Karnataka Itihasa Academy, Bangalore.

Thus many inscriptions are still being traced and hence the writing and rewriting of history is an on-going continuous process.

Contribution of Sir Walter Elliot to Indian Epigraphy

Konda Srinivasulu

While going through the articles on inscriptions written by noted epigraphists, I often came across the name of Walter Elliot and his collections. Despite of my best efforts, no write up on them enlightened me to the best of my satisfaction. Hence, I delved into the research on Elliot some five years ago and relentlessly pursued whatever material on which I can lay my hands on. With the digital revolution in historical research, I began to get penumbral vision about him and his yeomen service to the field of Indology. After ascertaining sufficient material about Walter Elliot from various sources, I am able to stand before you to present on the contribution of Walter Elliot to Indian Epigraphy. Let me confess that this is not the final word on the subject.

Life and Career of Walter Elliot

Walter Elliot was born in 1803 to James Elliot and Caroline. He was educated partly at private schools and partly at home under a private tutor before his entry into Haileybury in 1818 after being selected for the Indian Covenanted Service (ICS) by the English East India Company at a young age of 15. In a shortest possible time, he passed out of Haileybury with an honorary certificate of “highly distinguished”.¹ He reached Madras by ship on 14th June 1821.² As prescribed, the newly recruited Civil Servants need to complete two years course at the College of Fort St. George learning the languages most widely spoken in the Madras Presidency, principally Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada apart from Indian law and history and the like so that the incoming junior civil servants destined for administrative positions in the countryside would be able to communicate easily with the local populace.³ Elliot passed out it in 1823 with an honorary reward of 1000 pagodas for remarkable proficiency in Tamil and Hindustani. His initial appointment was Assistant to the Collector of Salem District. Soon, he was transferred to the Southern Maratha region (present day Karnataka state) which was taken over by the British and administered by Madras administration before being transferred to the Bombay Province. He was imprisoned for six weeks during the Kittur Revolt of Rani Chennamma.⁴ Though, the Southern Maratha region was later transferred to Bombay Presidency, he served in the region at the special request of John Malcom, the Governor of Bombay. He became a polyglot by learning Kannada, Marathi, Arabic etc. at that time and Telugu while serving in the Northern Circars at a later date. Elliot went back to England on furlough in November, 1833.

Elliot came back to Madras in 1837 when his cousin Lord Elphinstone was appointed as governor of Madras to take the post as his private secretary. In addition to the private secretaryship, he was made third member of the Board of Revenue. He served the Madras government in those positions until the retirement of Elphinstone in 1842. Thenceforth, he was employed officially in the ordinary duties of a member of the Board of Revenue. The Zamindars had become much impoverished by a succession of bad seasons and a dreaded famine of 1833. In 1845 he was appointed

to examine and report on the conditions Guntur district which had been hit by a series of bad seasons and the major famine of 1833 and had not shown signs of recovery. Elliot found corruption and collusion between village elites, local revenue officials and the zamindars in the district.⁵

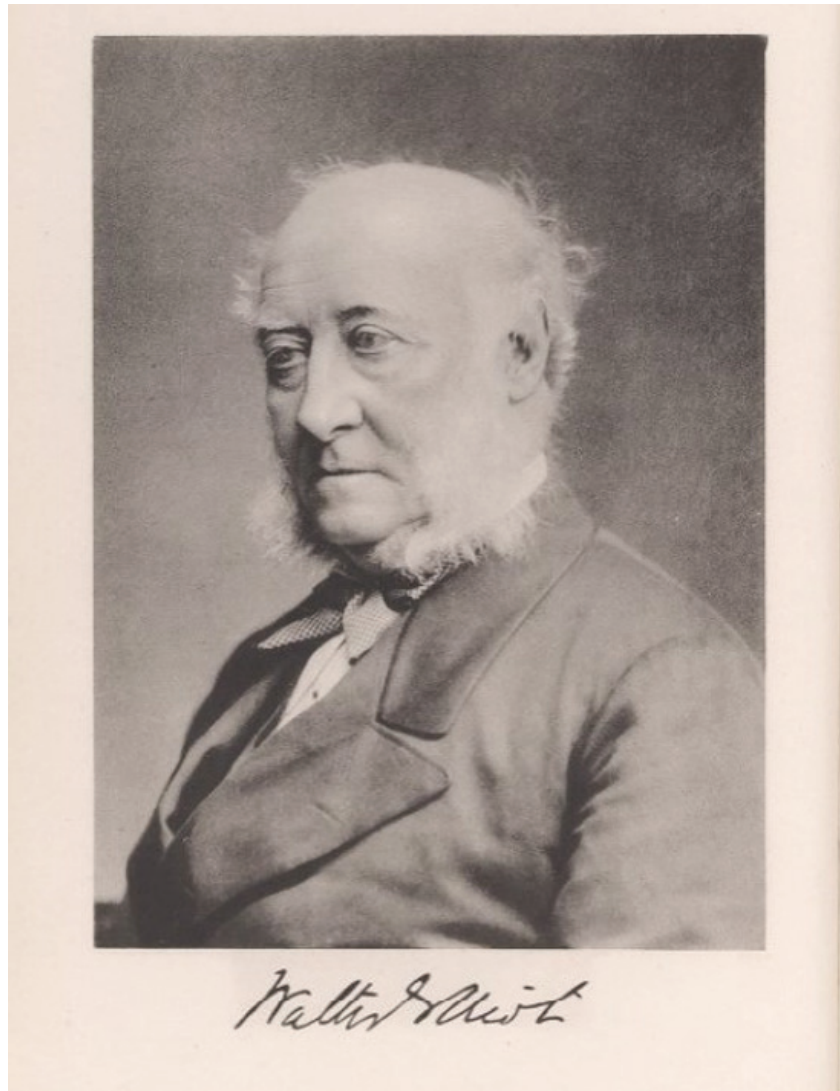


Fig. 1 – Sir Walter Elliot of Wolfelee

The East India Company's court of directors were impressed by his work and appointed him commissioner of the Northern Circars, a position of responsibility that he managed until 1854 when he became a Member of the Council of the Governor of Madras, the highest appointment to which a civilian can attain. He retired from service in 1860. After his retirement from the Madras Civil Service, Elliot went back to England and lived at Wolfelee till his death. Towards the end of his life Elliot began to lose his sight and became completely blind later.

Elliot was a member of many learned societies in England. In 1866, Walter Elliot received the honour of Knighthood. In 1877 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1878 the University of Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of honorary Doctor of Laws. Elliot was busy in contributing research papers to the leading journal of those days 'while he was fighting inch by inch against a daily increasing defect of vision which resulted, during the last few years of his life,

in total blindness'. "During the last few years of his life, he had used all his influence to ensure the proper working of the Government Archaeological Department in India and was instrumental in securing the appointments of Dr. J. Burgess as Director General of Archaeology and of Mr. Fleet as Epigraphist to the Government of India".⁶ Walter worked with unabated interest literally up to the last hour of his long life. Even on the last day of his life on earth, he dictated and signed with his own hand a note to Dr. Pope, the eminent Tamil scholar, stating that on the previous day he had read (heard read) with much appreciation a notice of Dr. Pope's forthcoming edition of the *Kurral*. He died on 1st March, 1887 at the age of 85.

Elliot's Pursuit of Knowledge

Sir Walter Elliot relentlessly worked for his unquenched thirst for knowledge throughout his life. He had multiple interests and a flair to share his knowledge to others through his writings. His initial interest as a young man was hunting. Sewell informs that 'the house at Wolfelee is a perfect museum of natural history, the walls covered with trophies and the principal staircase hung all over with skins, while above is a room specially set apart as a natural history museum, few visitors ever knew how many of these wild animals fell to Elliot's own gun'.⁷ His adventurous hunting expeditions in the woods acquainted with the flora and fauna which resulted in the form of a book entitled "Flora Andhrica" in 1859.⁸

Elliot's Contribution to Epigraphical Studies Pertaining to Kannada

As an Assistant Collector of the Southern Maratha region, he developed an interest in collecting the inscriptions and collected hundreds of them between 1823 and 1833. While presenting a paper entitled "Hindu Inscriptions" to the Royal Asiatic Society, London during his furlough on 16th July, 1836 subsequently printed in its Journal in 1837, Elliot stated "I beg to present to the Society two MS. volumes, containing copies of 595 Inscriptions, collected, during a period of eight years, in the southern Mahratta country, or the district of Dharwar in the western part of the Nizam's territories; in the northern district of Mysore and from the province of Sunda, comprised in the Mangalore Collectorate". In that paper, he summarizes the historical results of his researches and provided the genealogies of different dynasties that ruled Karnataka Desa including the Chalukyas, the Kalachuris, the Yadavas, the Kadambas and the Rattas. Elliot also gave the translation of Yevur Inscription of Tribhuvana Malla.⁹ Later Burnell acknowledged that Walter Elliot was the first to provide the genealogy of the Chalukyas.¹⁰ Walter also developed some interest in the palaeography especially that of the Canarese (Kannada) language during that time after reading the inscriptions. He painstakingly prepared the 'Ancient Canarese Alphabet' in the form of a book and lithographed it at Bombay in 1833 through the liberality of Earl of Clare, who was the Governor of Bombay between 1831 and 1835. The book contains 41 pages including the Memorandum of Walter Elliot. In his Memorandum dated November 1833, Walter Elliot stated as follows

"The Alphabet of the ancient Canarese character commonly called Hala Canara and poorvada Hala Canara has been collected from a great number of inscriptions on stone and copper found in the southern Mahratta Country – a few of which date as the 5th Century of the Salivahana era. No letters

have been admitted from analogy, but only such as have actually occurred in inscriptions. Many other forms will no doubt be obtained from other sources – and it has therefore been thought useful to circulate these Tables, with a view to the formation of a Complete alphabet.

Most of the oldest inscriptions in Southern India – particularly in the Dekhan – are in this character – such for instance as those at Carlee and the Vihar in Salsette – such too appear to be those at Ellora, judging from the drawings in the Asiatic Researches – But the Canarese language must at one time have possessed a much wider range for the inscriptions on the top of the large stone at Girnar / but not those on the sides of it / may be referred to it and the Copper Plates from Bhowmugga deposited in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society will probably also be found to be in the Canarese character the differing considerably from the forms hitherto observed in the Dekhan”.

The text was prepared in the form of tables containing four columns captioned as “English Character, Sanscrit Character, Modern Canarese Character and Ancient forms of the Canarese Character”.

English Character	Sanscrit Character	Modern Canarese Character	Ancient forms of the Canarese Character
Pa	प	ಪ	ವ ಪ ಓ ಒ
Pha	फ	फ	ಪ ಓ ಒ ಒ
Bo	ब	ಬ	ಬ ಒ
Bha	भ	ಭ	ಒ ಖ ಡ
Ma	म	ಮ	ಒ ಲ ಡ
Ya	य	ಯ	ಒ ಲ
Ra	र	ರ	ರ ಟ ಠ ಡ ಡ
La	ल	ಲ	ಲ ಲ
Va	व	ವ	ವ ವ ರ
Sha	श	ಶ	ಶ ಶ
Sho	ष	ಷ	ಷ ಷ ಷ ಷ ಷ
Se	स	ಸ	ಸ ಸ ಸ ಸ

Fig. 2 – A Page from Ancient Canarese Alphabet

As per the information, Elliot presented twenty copies of the book to Asiatic Society of Bengal through the Asiatic Society of Bombay.¹¹ In its meeting held on 3rd September, 1834 the Vice President of Asiatic Society of Bengal stated that the books reached to the Society and it was resolved that the ‘copies of the Alphabet should be sent to the Bishop’s College, the Education Committee, the Sanscrit College at Benares, and to such persons as may be engaged in deciphering ancient inscriptions’.¹² Writing his book on South Indian Palaeography in 1870’s, A.C. Burnell stated that “the foundations of Indian Palaeography were laid by J. Prinsep some forty years ago when he showed that the Indian alphabets then known to him were probably derived from the S. Ashoka character which he first deciphered; since then, little or nothing has been done except Sir W. Elliot’s lithographic reproduction of the Hala Kanares alphabet, at Bombay about 1836”. In the footnote Burnell informs that the only copy he came across had no title and hence he could not give the exact date of publication.¹³

Walter Elliot also wrote two manuscript volumes of “Carnataka-Desa inscriptions” containing copies of inscriptions collected between 1825 and 1832. It seems that he prepared a limited number of the manuscripts. One such was presented to Edinburg University by Walter Elliot in 1875 as explained by a handwritten note on the second page of each volume. They are preserved in the special collection of Edinburg University Library. On the first page of each volume there was a note stating “Inscriptions on Copper and Stones Collected by Walter Elliot of the Madras Civil Service in the Southern Maharatta Country, Eastern districts of the Nizams Territory, Bellary, Mysoor & Canara, during the years 1826 to 1832”.¹⁴ Elliot used to present one copy of his work to Asiatic Society branches in India and England.¹⁵ It is reliably ascertained that a copy of the two volume set was preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London¹⁶ and the fate of other copies are not known.

Elliot’s Inscriptional Collection from Northern Circars

After his arrival to India after furlough, as the private secretary of Elphinstone, he again showed interest on inscriptions. He published an article with the title “Note on an Ancient Hindu Grant” in 1840 in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science. In the essay he stated that the copper plate grant was ‘said to have been found in the kol or lake (Kolleru) near Masulipatam, some year ago and had been laid aside as utterly unintelligible’ with a defaced symbol on the ring. He assumed it as a Chalukya grant though it was that of Salankayana. He provided the English translation of the Grant and the impressions of the plates.¹⁷ As far as my knowledge goes, this was his first published Estampage of a charter in a journal.¹⁸

Elliot continued his antiquarian researches after his arrival to Guntur in 1845 and later on as the Commissioner of the Northern Circars from 1849 to 1855. Elliot began to excavate the buried remains of the Buddhist mound, known as the Dipaladinne in Amaravati at his own cost as the site was much damaged by the locals after the visit of Colin Mackenzie. He wrote Sewell “I then uncovered some of the stones of the Rail standing upright, but not continuously, and penetrated into an apparent restoration of a part of the entrance, as if for the construction of a small temple out of

the ruins of the main building. I made a rough sketch of this on the spot.”¹⁹ The slabs and pillars unearthed in the mound, popularly known as Elliot Marbles, were sent to England, which ultimately reached the British Museum.²⁰



Fig. 3 – Photograph of Elliot Marbles

Walter Elliot collected many inscriptions, both stone and copper plates, during his stay in Northern Circars. It seems that no essay was written by Elliot on any one of the inscriptions in his collection. He compiled all the inscriptions collected by him during 1848 to 1854 and prepared a few manuscript copies under the title “Telinga-Desa Inscriptions”. The Edinburg University Library Special collections states that it preserved one manuscript volume written by Sir Walter Elliot containing copies of inscriptions with a note on its first page as “Indian Inscriptions Collected by Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., LL.D., F.R.S, of Wolfelee (16th Jan. 1803 - 1st March 1887) - Telugu Sasanams”. It further informs that it was presented to the Library of Edinburgh University in October 1908.²¹ The two volumes set is available in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras (Chennai) with the title “Telugu Inscriptions” with the numbers MOL No. 307 and 308. They were also catalogued between 1997 and 1999.²² The texts of the Telugu inscriptions of the Elliot Collection were printed by Andhra Sarvasvamu, a Telugu monthly, from April 1924 to December 1928 with the title ‘Elliot Collections’, ‘Poorva Sasanamulu’ (Early Inscriptions).²³

Kasinadhuni Nageswera Rao, the founder and editor of Andhra Patrika, wished to copy all the Mackenzie Manuscripts preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras for the benefit of the researchers as they need to travel Madras to consult them. He employed some scribes to copy those volumes. As such, three volumes with numbers M 307, M 308 and M 312 were copied and were preserved in the Gautami Library, Rajahmundry. His grand project was not completed due to his untimely death in 1938. Incidentally, the copied volume Nos. M 307 and M 308 contain the Telugu inscriptions collected by Walter Elliot and M 312 deals with the Pusapati kings of Vizainagaram. The State Archives of the undivided Andhra Pradesh published two books

namely *Guntur Jilla Sasanamulu*²⁴ and *Draksharama Sasanamulu*²⁵ assuming that they belong to the corpus of inscriptions collected by Mackenzie without verifying the details from the originals. In fact, all the inscriptions published in the *Draksharama Sasanamulu* and 31 out of 75 inscriptions of *Guntur Jilla Sasanamulu* belonged to Walter Elliot's Collection.

Elliot's Collection of Copper Plate Grants

During his long stay in India spanning nearly forty years (1821 to 1860), Walter Elliot collected Copper plate grants, some of them were the original charters whereas as many of them were impressions after returning the originals to their owners. He made transcriptions and impressions while in India. It seems that Elliot made a few copies of the impressions of copper plate charters and as of now six of them are traceable. As per the information all are not the same- the charters and the number of impressions varies from one another.

1. One volume of impressions of copper plates in the Edinburgh University Library entitled Indian Inscriptions, 19th century. However, the tile page reads “Inscriptions of Ancient Copperplate Inscriptions prepared in India by Sir Walter Elliot, given by him to J. Burgess, and presented by him in 1906 to University Library, Edinburgh”.²⁶ It contains impressions of at least 75 copper plates, in the Edinburgh University Library. This volume contains also transcriptions and eye-copies of inscriptions. It is the most complete of all the sets of impressions.²⁷

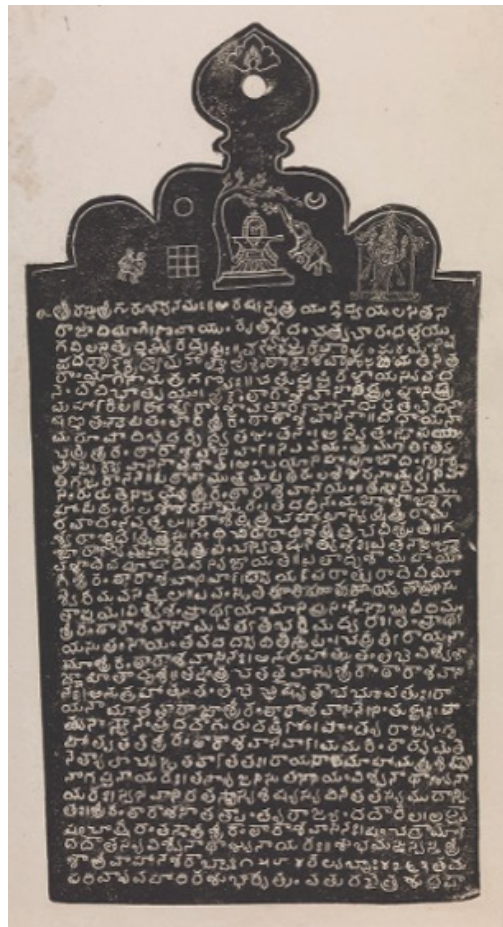


Fig. 4 - Copper Plate from Edinburgh University Library Collection

2. Another set is in Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) Département des Manuscrits, Paris. As per the first folio it was given to the institution by Friedrich August, Earl of Noer and prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, on 2nd August, 1875. It consists of 53 impressions of copper plate sets.

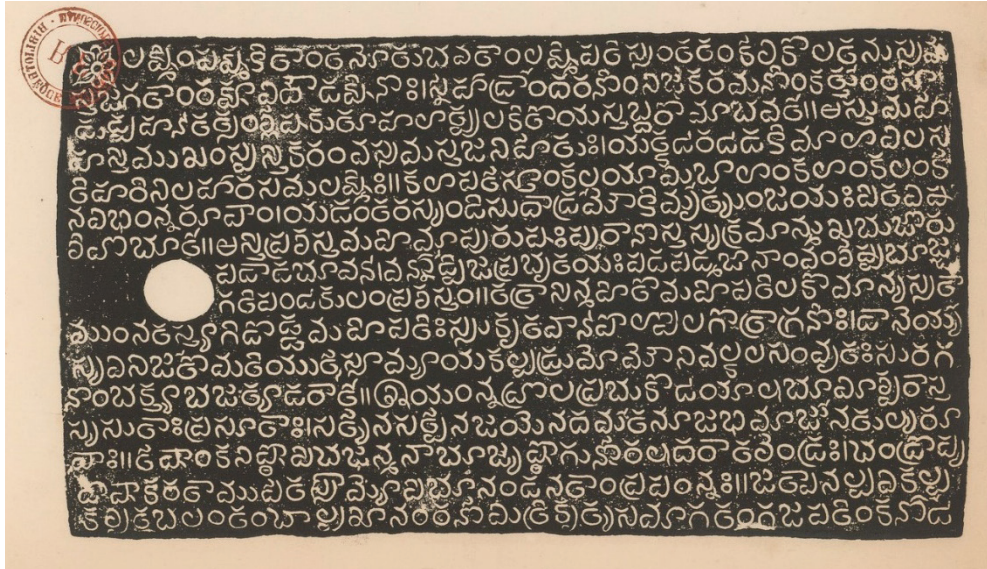


Fig. 5 – Vemavaram grant of Allaya Vema Reddi from Bibliothèque nationale de France

3. One more volume of impressions of copper plates is at the British Library, London (Asian and African Studies) which consists of 40 copper plates.
4. One more copy containing impressions of 35 sets of copper-plate grants are located in the Chhatrapati Shivaji Museum, Mumbai. (Earlier known as Prince of Wales Museum).²⁸

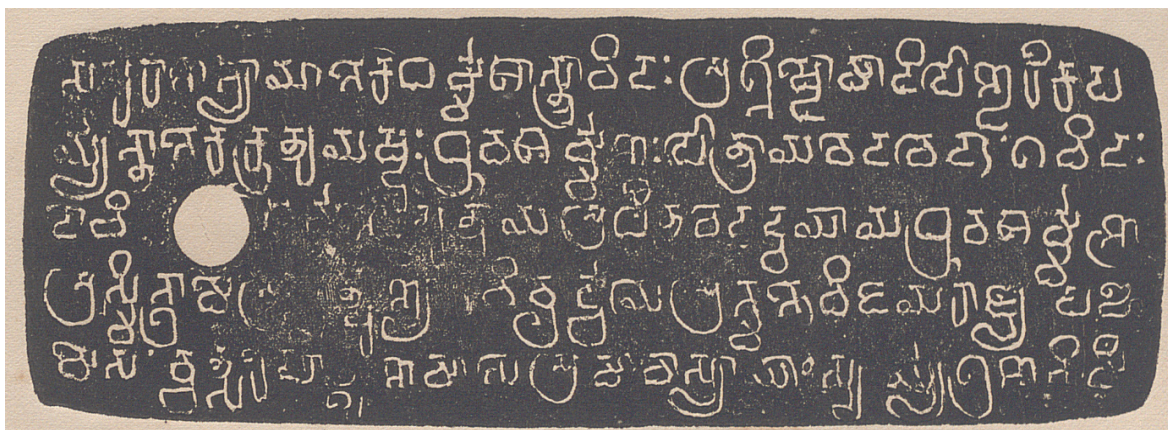


Fig. 6 – Mattevada Plates of Vishnuvardhana II from Chhatrapati Shivaji Museum

5. Another set is in the British Museum. It is having at least the impressions of 30 copper plates. As per the information it was presented to the British Museum by James Burgess in 1912.²⁹



Fig. 7 - Padamkaluru grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya from British Museum

6. Recently Henry Mires Elliot Collection was acquired by Asiatic Society, London and one of them was that of Walter Elliot's. The collection contains a large bound volume containing rubbings of copper-plate Indian inscriptions 'some in Devanagari script, and others in South Indian scripts'. The front cover contains a label noting that the material belonged to Elliot, and an 'India Office Library' stamp.³⁰

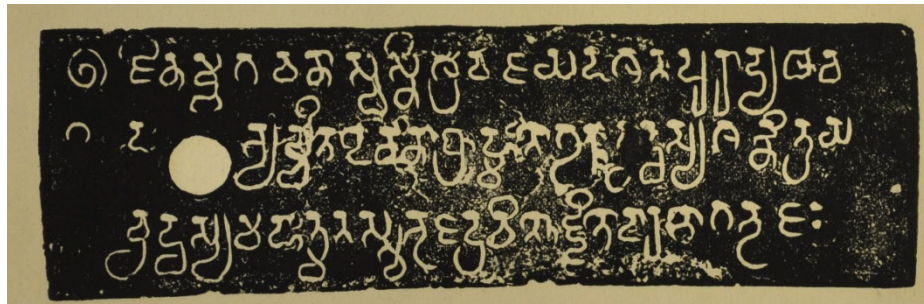


Fig 8 - Mangadur grant of Simhavarma II from Henry Mires Elliot Collection, Asiatic Society, London; Published in Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p.154

The Edinburgh University Library volume appears to be the most comprehensive collection of Elliot's impressions as it contains transcriptions and eye-copies of inscriptions also.³¹ All of the impressions in the BNF volume are also found in the Edinburgh University Library volume, while some are not found in the British Library volume, and vice-versa. The impressions of copper plates had various dates, in various scripts, languages and belong to various dynasties. Languages represented are, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada etc. and the scripts are early Telugu- Kannada, Grantha, Nagari, Nandinagari, Tamil, Vattelettu.

Walter Elliot wished to publish them and he wrote a letter to Royal Asiatic Society to that extent. However, it was not materialised.³² Elliot was unable to publish the inscriptions he collected due to his old age and blindness in the later years of his life. Hence, he gave a copy of his 'Impressions' to James Burgess for publication. On his turn, Burgess handed over it to J.F. Fleet, who published as many as 30 of them in the volumes of Indian Antiquary from 1875 to 1891.³³ Many of the

original copper plate grants collected by Elliot were lost forever. One such was the Velvikudi grant of Nedunjadiyan which was lost. Venkayya made a preliminary study of the epigraph based on the impressions of the grant taken by Walter Elliot that was supplied to him by Fleet whereas Krishna Sastry edited the inscription in *Epigraphia Indica* based on the same impressions sent by Barnett of British Museum.³⁴

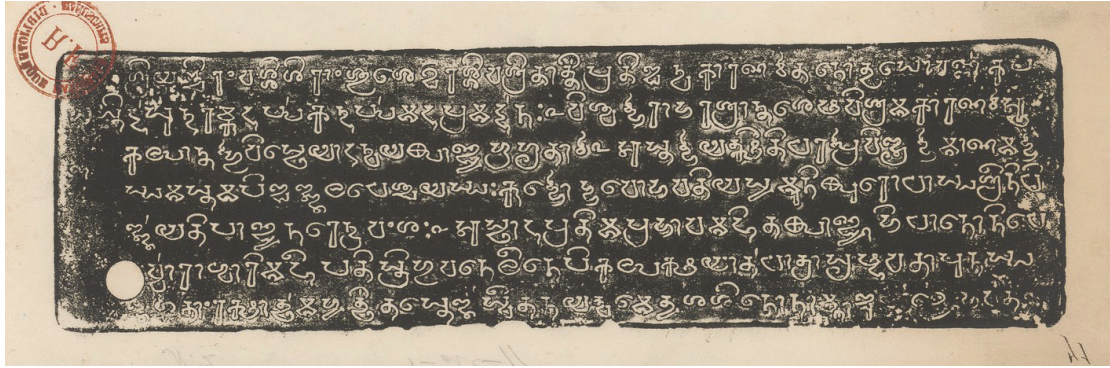


Fig. 9 - Velvikudi grant of Nedunjadiyan from Bibliothèque nationale de France

Walter Elliot also collected copper plate grants ranging from 5th Century to 16th century. Though, the precise number of his collection is not known, 32 of them saw light. During his life time, he presented 26 of them to British Museum in 1887³⁵ and six of them in Edinburgh University Library. According to the Edinburgh University Library donation records, six sets of Indian copper plates, originally part of the collection of Elliot, came later into the possession of Hans Julius Eggeling (1842–1918), Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Edinburgh and they were donated to the library by his son, Hans F. Eggeling, in 1947.³⁶

Scribes of Walter Elliot

Walter Elliot informed us about his collection and donations in his 1877 article published in *Indian Antiquary*. “I made two collections of inscriptions, - the first between 1826 and 1832 in the Dekhan, the second between 1848 and 1854 in the Northern Sirkars. Each collection, when arranged and the most valuable ones selected, filled two folio volumes. Three copies were made of each: of the first or Dekhan set, one was presented to the Literary Society of Bombay, a second to the Literary Society of Madras, and the third to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Judging from inquiries recently made, the first appears to have been lost. The third is still preserved in Albemarle Street. The Telugu series was likewise transcribed three times, and copies presented to the Madras Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the India Office Library. A copy of the Dekhan series, which I had retained for my own use, has since been presented to the library of the Edinburgh University, and is now on loan with Mr. Fleet, who makes such good use of it”.³⁷

J.F. Fleet, while writing an article in *Indian Antiquary* in 1875 on the manuscript copies of the Elliot collection, stated that ‘the copies were made by native hands’. In the footnotes, Fleet mentioned that Kadambari Jagannadhan Garu, who was the Treasury Deputy Collector in Godavari district and Vavilala Subbaravu, who held the post of Sub- Magistrate of Polavaram in Godavari

district in 1871 made the translations; for the decipherment and copy of the inscriptions, Elliot employed Chipuri Jayaramudu, a *Gumasta* at Bapatla *Taluka Catcheri* and another man employed by Elliot was Nagappa Sastri of Dharwad district.³⁸ It seems that Fleet got the information of Elliot's scribes from Boswell.

In his article of 1877, Elliot described briefly about his scribes and other persons aided and helped in his research pursuits on palaeography and epigraphy as a correction of what Fleet's wrote.³⁹ Elliot gave credit to Mundargi Ranga Rao, office *munshi* attached to Elliot when he was appointed as second Assistant to the Principal Collector and Political Agent of the Southern Maratha Country. In fact, he was a Jagirdar of Mundargi village along with three others. Ranga Rao was of the age of Walter Elliot and soon they became good friends in intellectual pursuits as well as hunting. Ranga Rao was said to be 'a fine, high-spirited, intelligent young man'. Remembering his association with Ranga Rao, Elliot wrote as follows. "When I first turned my attention to the inscribed stones so frequent in the Southern Maratha Country, we tried hard to make out their contents, but at first without much success. He then remembered that a *gomashta* in one of his *inam* villages had the reputation of being a very learned man. He was summoned, and we found him to be an invaluable assistant. (Elliot might have forgotten his name) By our united efforts we gradually mastered the archaic characters. I began to collect copies of *sasanams* by means first of one, afterwards of two copyists in my own service, carefully trained to the work of transcription". When Elliot obtained the subsidiary appointment as the Canarese Translator to Government of Madras, the office establishment consisted of a *munshi* and an English writer by name Adaki Subha Rao. He was an accomplished Sanskrit, Canarese, and Telugu scholar, with a fair knowledge of Tamil. He became an invaluable assistant in Elliot's antiquarian pursuits. Elliot stated that "he had also a turn for archaeological research, which only needed stimulus, and he soon entered zealously into my views". All the translations were made with the aid of Subha Rao. Elliot also engaged a Brahmin by name Raghappa as an itinerating copyist in his private service, with occasional assistance from one of Colonel Mackenzie's old collectors, Baktavachaliya.

Concerning the names mentioned by Fleet in his article, Elliot informs they have nothing to do with the antiquarian work and they were public servants in the Commissioner's office. Kadambari Jagannathan was the office *munshi* or secretary. Vavilala Subha Rao was an English copyist. Chipuri Jayaramadu was a copyist whom Elliot engaged to transcribe and make fair copies for the three sets of collection, prepared for distribution. Elliot states that "who Nagappa Sastri may have been I cannot imagine, and suspect the name is meant for Raghappa".⁴⁰

Techniques used by Elliot for the Impressions of Inscriptions

As to how Elliot took the impressions of inscription is a pertinent question to be answered. Regarding the collection of impressions Burnell states as follows. "From the cleaned plate an impression (reverse) is to be next taken by passing a roller charged with ink over the plate, and then printing from it as from an ordinary copperplate. From this impression another may be taken by means of an ordinary copper plate press; and with a little practice a perfect facsimile may be thus

obtained, the letters being white, and the rest of the pate appearing a dark grey. Photoziocography and many other methods exist by which estampages and facsimiles made by the lost process may be multiplied to any extent".⁴¹ In all probability, Elliot might have followed the technique as described by Burnell as Elliot was alive by the time of the publication of Burnell's book and Elliot might have shared the technique with him.

Graham, who wrote on Jaugada Rock Edict in 1872, informs that "There was story told by the inhabitants of Jogada repeated, too, by the Sub - Magistrate, that about twenty years ago a European gentleman went to the place, threw a quantity of hot tamarind juice and water on the rock and then beat it with hammers, the result being that he broke off a large portion of the rock on which the inscription was carved".⁴² The same source informs that "some years ago - Sir Walter Elliot (then Mr. Elliot and Commissioner of Northern Circars) visited the place and saw the inscription". It seems that the gentleman, who broke the epigraph was none other than Walter Elliot.⁴³ In all probability, Walter Elliot might have followed the technique of applying hot tamarind juice and beating with hammer (might me a wooden) to take the impressions of inscriptions on stone.

Walter Elliot sent all his collection including a large number of valuable manuscripts, translations, drawings and natural history collections to England by ship laden with sugar which shipped a great quantity of water in a hurricane near Mauritius and damaged the material of Elliot. Later he lamented "I was very unfortunate in sending my things home from Madras in the beginning of 1860. The ship in which my agents despatched them, laden with sugar, was caught in a cyclone near Mauritius, shipped a great deal of water, which got through the tin cases in which my valuables were packed and ruined most of my collections and all my books and papers. I was so disheartened at the loss of what I had fondly anticipated would have occupied me for years, that for a long time I could not bear to face my misfortune; but I find that even the debris are prized by persons to whom I have lately sent them".⁴⁴ In fact, the unfortunate event was a serious loss to Indological research.

Conclusion

Walter Elliot worked relentless for the development of Indian epigraphical research and in fact galvanised the epigraphical research in India. He was the first Indologist who carefully took neat impressions of inscriptions both on stone and copper plates to be used by a generation of epigraphists to unravel many facets of Indian history. Elliot mentioned all the names who assisted him in his antiquarian pursuits in India including the scribes and copyists. He painstakingly lithographed those impressions of inscriptions at an enormous cost and donated them to various branches of Asiatic Societies and other institutions for cultivating inscriptional studies among researchers. He was one of the earliest epigraphists to print the impressions of an inscription in a journal. At the fog end of his life, he selflessly donated all his copper plate charters to various repositories, which an antiquarian collector rarely does.

After the death of Walter Elliot, his friends decided to erect a memorial tablet within the Parish Church of Hobkirk, Scotland, where he was buried and it was prepared by Colonel Henry Yule. The epitaph thus prepared and erected was a befitting reward to the yeoman services of Walter

Elliot in Indology and it runs as follows.⁴⁵ “Who was for forty years a member of the Civil Service at Madras, and during the last five held a seat in the Council of that Presidency. Able, trusted, and distinguished in the service of the state, He was yet more eminent for the immense compass and fruitfulness of his research in fields of study so various and so rarely combined as the Archaeology and the natural history of the Indian Peninsula. His Work in the collection, the decipherment, and the elucidation of ancient Hindu inscriptions in sundry languages has formed a chief element in the recovery of the history of the territories in which he laboured; his rescue of the precious Marbles of Amravati, which now line the great Staircase of the British Museum, brought to Light one of the most wonderful monuments of ancient Indian art and religion; his treatise on the coins of Southern India, based on the indefatigable research of many years, but finally elaborated at the age of eighty two, when he was entirely bereaved of sight, presents a rare and memorable example of undismayed and successful struggle with difficulties which might well have seemed overwhelming; his numerous contributions to scientific journals, bearing on the ethnology, the zoology, the ornithology, the agriculture, and the vegetation of the same regions, testify at once to the width of his intellectual interests, and the accuracy of his observation”.

Acknowledgements:

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अ	a
आ	ā
इ	i
ई	ī
उ	u
ऊ	ū
ऋ	ṛ
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								

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