

**JOURNAL
OF THE
EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA**

(BHĀRĀTĪYA PURĀBHILĒKHA PATRIKĀ)

[Being Vol. XXII of Studies in Indian Epigraphy]

VOLUME TWENTY TWO : 1996



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MYSORE**

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Madhwa N. Katti

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SECRETARY & EXECUTIVE EDITOR

K.V. RAMESH

EDITOR

M.D. SAMPATH



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[Being Vol XXII of Studies in Indian Epigraphy] : Vol XXII

Secretary and Executive Editor : *Dr. K.V. Ramesh*

Editor : *Dr. M.D. Sampath*

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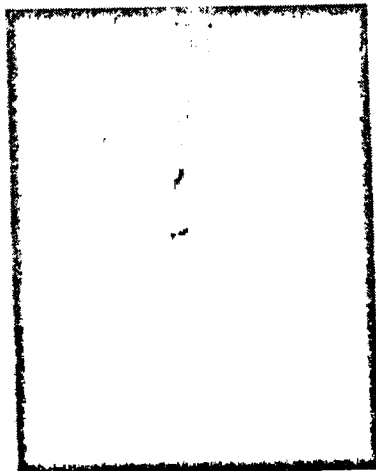
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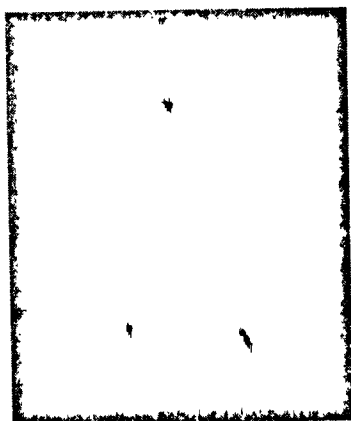
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This Journal is Respectfully Dedicated to
the Memory of our Founder-Chairman

Dr. G. S. Gai



[3-3-1917 - 6-2-1995]



Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam

[1-7-1920 - 29-3-1996]



Dr. C. R. Srinivasan

[8-9-1934 - 16-4-1995]

May their souls rest in peace

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Editorial

We are extremely happy to welcome our accredited members to Mysore for the XXII Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India and present them with the 22nd volume of our journal. We are also thankful to our members for their keen interest and active cooperation which has enabled us to bring out the issues of the Journal regularly.

It is a matter of great satisfaction and pride to the society that the twenty second conference is taking place at Mysore. The Society is beholden to the Directorate of Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Karnataka, Mysore and the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore, for hosting the twenty second Congress at this garden city.

The Society is grateful to the members of the Department of Ancient History and Epigraphy, Dr. Leela Shantakumari, the then Head of the Department, Karnataka University, Dharwar and Dr. S.H. Ritti and others for their untiring efforts in making the twenty first Congress a grand success.

Eversince the last annual Congress at Dharwar, the Society has been making rapid strides in its march towards progress. In the year gone by, the Society could enroll more members by way of life membership and annual membership.

We take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to our members who have encouraged us all through and extended their support and cooperation.

We would like to place on record our deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for their continued support, in the publication of the journal and for their encouragement of our activities. The Society is thankful to its Chairman Dr. Ravindra Kumar, Dr. B.K. Pandeya, and Dr. P.K. Shukla, Deputy Directors for their continued support for the growth of the Society.

The Society is equally grateful to Shri N. Sethuraman and Smt. Lalitha Sethuraman, Kumbakonam, for instituting endowments of Rs. 20000/- each with the Society, to be utilised for the publication of the Journal and for honouring eminent scholars with a copper-plate citation respectively. Shri Nellai Nedomaran, Tiruchchundur and Shri Subramaniam, Bangalore have extended their support by way of liberal endowments. We are beholden to all these scholars for their unfailing interest and support to the Society.

We deeply regret the sad and unexpected demise of three of our stalwarts in the field of epigraphy and history, viz., Dr. G.S. Gai, Dr. C.R. Srinivasan

and Pandit V.S.Subrahmanyam. Dr.Gai, the founder-President of our Society has made notable contributions to Indian Epigraphy besides founding the Epigraphical Society of India. Pandit V.S.Subrahmanyam was a well-known Sanskrit scholar and epigraphist who had till date composed all the copper-plate *praśastis* presented to the scholars by the Society. Dr.C.R.Srinivasan, an epigraphist and former editor of the Place-Names Society had rendered excellent service to the two societies. We pay homage to these savants who have guided the society all these years.

We are deeply grateful to our Chairman, Dr.S.H.Ritti, for his guidance, abiding interest and help. We are also equally grateful to Shri Madhav N.Katti, Vice-chairman for his help and cooperation.

No words will be sufficient enough to express our thanks to Dr.M.D.Sampath,

Date: 13.05.96

for the immense help we have received in editing the articles and seeing the journal through the press and in successfully executing all the other activities of the Society during the previous year. We highly appreciate the kind cooperation extended by our friends Shri D.M.Nagaraju and Dr.Swaminathan, in seeing the volume through the press. We are thankful to the treasurer of the Society Shri P.Natarajan and to all the office-bearers and Executive Committee members of the Society for their kind encouragement and help.

We would be failing in our duty if we do not thank Shri S.K.Lakshminarayana, Ready Print and his staff, particularly Shri Chandru, Shri Manjunath for accomplishing a good job in record time.

We conclude with the Society's motto '*vridhdhir=astu*' - 'let there be prosperity all round'.

K. V. Ramesh
Secretary & Executive Editor

Presidential Address

K.V. Ramesh

All these past twenty years, like all of you, I had also lent my shoulders in carrying forward our Society's palanquin of General Presidents, on which had sat, with becoming dignity, twenty erudite scholars, all of them eminently eligible to address us on the subject of Epigraphy. There has come this day today when I am asked to rest my shoulders for now and sit on the palanquin myself. At this moment I feel very important indeed for which I am extremely grateful to the office-bearers and the executive committee of the Society. At the same time, as I stand before you, I feel frightened and lonely, for which I blame my shortcomings as a scholar and as an Epigraphist. Nevertheless, I realise that I cannot brood for long on my inadequacies because I know that the honour that has been thrust upon me today is transitory and transferable and must be passed on. Diffidence on this count notwithstanding, as one who has been actively and officially involved in the running of the affairs of the Society in one capacity or the other, right from the day of its inception, and also as the only Epigraphist to have attended all the earlier twenty annual Congresses of the Society, I believe I have a right to deviate from the normal run of all the earlier Presidential addresses and, instead, share with you my views on some generally neglected aspects of Epigraphy, Epigraphists and the Epigraphical Society of India, though not necessarily in that order.

Though, apart from the General Presidents, many others have contributed to the meaningful existence of our Society,

two among them are, in a very special sense, *prātaḥ smaraṇīyas* for those who believe in and stand by the objectives of the Epigraphical Society of India, namely, Dr. G.S. Gai, the Society's founder-Chairman and Dr. S.H. Ritti who placed the society on the road to progress by hosting its first and, for that very reason, the most challenging annual congress in this very same town which is well known for its academic and cultural excellence. I take this opportunity to extend to these two eminent epigraphists, the elder of whom is my teacher and mentor, and Dr. Ritti, my friend, philosopher and guide, the Society's as well as my personal felicitations and gratitude. At the time of its founding many of us did not really foresee that the society would survive for two long decades and that it would be publishing no less than four hundred papers by senior and junior scholars in the pages of its journal which had unfailingly made its appearance in all the annual Congresses. I feel extremely gratified and proud that at this congress, of which I have the honour to be the General President, my dear friend Prof. Karashima, who was the General President of our eleventh annual congress in 1985 at Dharwar itself, is being honoured with the Society's copper-plate citation.

My friends are aware of the fact that, prior to my retirement from the Archaeological Survey of India in June, 1993, I had served as a professional epigraphist for almost four decades which, I believe, is one of the longest in the century-long history of the Epigraphy branch of the survey. During this protracted period I

have had the good fortune to develop a rather in-depth and intimate knowledge of the texts of thousands of Indian inscriptions composed and engraved in the different languages and scripts of the different linguistic-cum-scriptal segments of this vast sub-continent during successive eras of its history. Also, during this long tenure, more so during the last dozen years of my career, when I headed the Epigraphy branch, I have had occasions to get to know, in different degrees of familiarity, a fairly large number of historians, of Indian as well as foreign origin, belonging to different ideology-based schools of historiography. As a result of continuing interaction with these historians, I have, in recent times, come to believe rightly or otherwise, that I have, even if only subconsciously, come to blend in myself the orthodox and the revolutionary, the orthodox, in so far as I believe in religiously assembling together all available primary source materials for my interpretations and conclusions, and revolutionary because my interpretations and conclusions of late tend to reflect, in howsoever limited a measure it may be, the need to develop our understanding of (Indian) history against the backdrop of the inherent exploitative nature of mankind.

Armed with this hybrid approach, which I am still in the process of clearly defining even for my own understanding and use, I have been in recent years examining the inscriptional texts of various historical periods, regions, languages and scripts of India and the neighbourhood. As a result I am convinced that, depending upon the nature of the information we seek, every section, line or even word of the inscriptional texts, be it invocatory, genealogical, operative or imprecatory,

can be made to yield hidden facts of history.

In my own case, when I took up for special study donative records registering land grants to deserving brāhmaṇa donees, I was able to discern the negative impact of the two rather overgenerous and oft-repeated concessions of perpetuation, namely *putra-pautr-ānubhōgyam* and *āchandr-ārkkā-kshiti-sthiti-samakālinam*. This rather thoughtless perpetuation of land grants without ensuring the corresponding continuity of the original donees' merits and socio-religious obligations through successive generations of inheritors defeated the very purpose of rewarding the otherwise insufficiently remunerative vedic scholarship and austere ritualistic expertise, and, instead, enabled the inheritors to intrude into others professions, thereby giving rise to absentee landlordism. This generated social discontentment which, in its turn, threw up land-grabbers who repeatedly misappropriated lands donated to temples and brāhmaṇas without compunction. As far as I know, at least on two occasions in South Indian history, special steps had to be taken to restore wrongfully seized *dēvasvas* and *brahmasvas*, once after the restoration of Chalukya power under Vikramāditya I in the 7th century A.D., and again, much later, during the Vijayanagara period.

Again, for me, an objective study of the imprecatory passages in their chronological sequence does reveal in abundant measure the historical fact that the progressive increase in the severity of the curses pronounced against the land-grabbers was in direct proportion to the progressive increase in illegal and avaricious resumptions and seizures of

lands donated to religious institutions (*dēvasvas*) and *brāhmaṇas* (*brahmasvas*), ultimately and, of course futilely climaxing to the pronouncement of vulgar and unprintable curses including the *gardabha* curse and its obscene depictions in relief as part of the imprecation in donative records. Sure as anything, this line of study unequivocally demonstrates the historical fact, with stunning and uniform pan-Indian commonality, of the steady decline, over a long period of at least fifteen hundred years, in Indian social behaviour of which our present day social ills and evils are but a reflection and legacy.

Resumptions and land-grabbing apart, a closer and chronological study of the stipulative clauses included in the operative parts of land grants shows that from the days of the earliest recorded land grants to the fag end of the epigraphical epoch, roughly covering a period of fifteen hundred years, repeated steps had to be taken to plug legal loopholes in order to safeguard the interests of the donees, be they institutions or individuals, *vis-a-vis* the donors, be they the rulers or their subjects. The steady expansion of the originally simple clause of *bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāya* in course of time to *bhūmi-chchhidra-pidhāna - nyāya* to *bhūmi-chchhidra-pidhāna gūhita-nyāya*, or the stipulation that the land is granted along with *kari-mara-jala-pāshāṇa* or, again, the stipulation that the land is granted along with what grows on top and what obtains underneath (*mēl nōkkiṇa maramum kīl nōkkiṇa kiṇarum*) go to show that, as and when disputes arose over the enjoyment of what were not originally envisaged by the donors but were subsequent and unforeseen benefits, old stipulations were expanded so as to be more compre-

hensive or entirely new stipulations were introduced, both being done, no doubt with the consent of the upper classes, who could afford to be donors, so that the interests of the donees, who were mostly *brāhmaṇas*, stood fully safeguarded.

All this bogs down to the fact that donative epigraphical records were valid legal documents as far as official arbitrators of disputes were concerned. It is, therefore, not surprising that much depended upon the genuineness of the land-grant documents, and their genuineness primarily depended upon the contemporaneity of the script employed with the date to which any given donative record belonged. This fact is brought home to us in a telling manner by the Nidhanpur (Bangladesh) copper plate inscription of Bhāskaravarman. To recount briefly what must be already well-known to many of you, Bhūti-varman, a Kāmarūpa king of the first half of the 6th century had issued a charter registering details of tax-free land grants made by him to a large number of *brāhmaṇas*. The plates were, however, burnt and lost in a conflagration and, in the absence of any documents to the contrary, the lands were declared taxable. Round about a hundred years later, sometime in the first half of the 7th century, obviously on the strength of convincing protestations, a new charter of renewal was issued as a replacement for the lost one (*tat - tāmrapattī-ābhāvāt-karadam-iti... vijñāpya punar-asy-ābhinavā-tāmrapattā-karaṇāya śāsanam dattvā*). However, in the course of the hundred years which had lapsed in between, the *Siddhamātrikā* script of the original plates must have undergone significant changes as compared with the *Siddhamātrikā* script that was to be employed in writing the

charter of restoration. In order to avoid the genuineness of the later charter being questioned, it was found expedient to declare that the anachronistic script should not detract from the veracity of the details recorded therein -

*śāsana-dāhād-abhinava-likhitāni
bhinna-rūpāṇi
tēbhyō-ksharāṇi yasmāt-tasmān-n-
aitāni kuṭāni*

This verse introduces us to what epigraphy and palaeography really are about, by making a veiled reference to those human factors who not merely got prepared but, instead, actually manufactured epigraphical records by contributing their intellectual, artistic, technological and manual skills in the realm of epigraphy, though only rarely all of them together and, more often than not, only three or two or only one of them finding a mention and, in many cases, none. Since these four human factors, who were vital in the creation of epigraphical documents find only cursory mention by epigraphists and none by historians, I thought I will set the records straight by briefly discussing them from palaeographical as well as socio-historical points of view. By now you must have guessed that the four human factors I am speaking about are the composer of the inscriptional text, the technician who prepared the material for engraving the text, the person who wrote the text on the writing surface for the engraver to follow and, last but not least, the engraver or the inscriber himself whose hard labour it is that distinguishes, in our conventional understanding, epigraphy from other written documents of history.

We have now for too long been used to the easy method of identifying histor-

ical epochs, features, developments and changes by dynastic appellations. This has had a negative influence on our understanding of all non-political aspects of our history by drawing our attention away from the real factors of history. Let me take for an example the equation that had certainly developed over a long period, but never came to be studied, between the actual producers of the inscriptions and the fascinating, if only because of the constantly changing, palaeographical map of India when drawn in its space-time continuum.

In the historical evolution of this colourful and kaleidoscopic palaeographical panorama, there were a number of contributing factors of which kings and dynasties by themselves were but indirect and remote influences. On the other hand, the factors which had knowingly or unknowingly, yet continually influenced and brought about steady change, subcontinentally as well as segmentally, in letter forms, giving rise to so many scriptal nomenclatures coined by us on the basis of hairsplitting considerations and counter-considerations, were :

1. the language employed and the diction adopted. As long as the chief epigraphical language medium continued to be Prakrit, with its simple diction and spelling system, and as long as socio-religious dominance was that of the commoners who spoke different regional Prakrits, the Brāhmī script did retain its simple and rudimentary letter forms. But even as classical Sanskrit began its gradual yet steady ascendancy to a position of strength, at the expense of Prakrit, from the 1st century B.C. onwards, we find elements of classical flourish invading the sphere of writing

too, as the changing, increasingly ornate, highly conjunctive Sātavāhana, Kushāṇa and Ikshvāku epigraphical letter forms, textual diction and orthography clearly demonstrate. The course of rapid palaeographical changes, betraying distinct regional and vernacular as well as innovative characteristics, which set in with and because of the full blossoming of classical Sanskrit during and after the Gupta period, in the course of the succeeding six or seven centuries, is only too well known to us ;

2. persistent features of regional pronunciation obtaining in the area, and the linguistic group to which a given inscription or the composer of its text belongs, as, for instance, writing down the conjunct forms of *ṛśa* or *ṛsa* for *ṛśa* or the representation of the Dravidian sounds of *ra*, *la* or the final *ṇ* or the representation of the peculiar Telugu conjunct of dental *n* + Dravidian *ṛu*, as in *Satyādityunṛu*, have also contributed their share in the palaeographical development of all the regional strains derived from Brāhmī;

3. the nature of the textual composition, such as verse or prose or both;

4. more importantly, than the three foregoing facts, the setting of the scene where an inscription gets prepared, such as an urban centre or a rural place, leading to the development of urban or sophisticated palaeography and rural palaeography;

5,6,7 and 8. most important, the personal and professional accomplishments of the composer, the technician, if any, the writer if any, and the engraver.

In my reckoning, the role of the last four factors, namely the composer, the technician, the writer and the engraver

in the unfolding of the palaeographical panorama - from rudimentary Brāhmī to different stages of classical forms to medieval stagnation to the degeneration of the pre-modern and pre-printing era - was that of the actual performers on the stage while the other factors I had mentioned above were mere back - stage prompters and motivators. Epigraphical materials on these actual producers of the record is so vast that all I can attempt to do is to draw a skeletal sketch, leaving the chance of detailed studies to younger scholars. I may, however, point out that I have consulted enough and more inscriptions before arriving at generalised conclusions.

The earliest such direct performer to mention himself in epigraphical colophon is Chapada who wrote the minor rock edicts of Aśoka at Brahmagiri, Jaṭiṅga Rāmēśvara and Siddāpura. He describes his role as *Chapaḍēna likhitam* in Brāhmī and *lipikarēṇa* in Kharōshthī characters. The rather frivolous manner of displaying his familiarity with two scripts which, as far as the versions of the edict are concerned, is of no relevance, shows that Chapada mentioning himself as the writer was not a part of the officially approved text. The word *likhitam* which simply means 'written' is by itself of a nebulous nature and continues to be so throughout, in epigraphical parlance. The additional mention of Chapada as *lipikāra* was, perhaps, meant to clarify the fact that he himself first wrote the text by hand on the rock surface and then inscribed the letters. Thus Chapada had combined in himself the two roles of the writer as well as the engraver. In the post-Aśokan Prakrit inscriptions we occasionally come across the employment of the word *likhitam* which literally means

'written'. But we do not know for certain whether *likhitam* signifies in those instances, the function of the composer or the writer or the engraver or for that matter, all the three in one.

An indepth study of the epigraphical colophons clearly shows that the lack of uniformity in mentioning the composers, writers and engravers was a sub-continental phenomenon and that the pattern did not follow any set rules or conventions, unlike the other portions of *dānaśāsana* texts. In many cases only the composer finds mention as in the case of Harishēṇa, the poet who composed Samudragupta's *praśasti* engraved on the Allahabad stone pillar. In many other cases only the name of the person who reduced the composed text to writing with ochre pigment or any other ink or chalk finds mention - a notable exception being the poet Kubja who introduces himself not only as the composer of the highly literary and scholarly composition of the well-known Tālagunda Kadamba inscription but also as the one who wrote his own composition on the stone surface in order to facilitate its engraving :

*Kubjas-sva-kāvyaṃ-idam-
aśma-talē lilēkha*

It is, thus, with the dawn of the classical age, which was witness to the dominance of Sanskrit, the revival of the brahmanical faiths, the emergence of imperial and kingly heraldic pomp and trumpery and the concept of a partly merely conventional and partly real bureaucracy, that certain categories of epigraphical texts begin to display pomp and flourish in their contents as well as appearance; and, naturally enough, from then on, the composer, the writer and the engraver begin to get increasing attention.

Nevertheless, throughout the epigraphical period, barring, no doubt, quite a few cases of clear assertions, the word *likhitam* is used equivocally leaving it to the discretion of the readers to interpret that term to mean, as best suggested by the context, either the composer or the writer or the engraver or, in rare cases, all the three. In order to illustrate this point, I may refer here to the early Western Gaṅga charters, ranging in date from the 4th to the 8th century A.D., in which not even once is the word *utkīrṇa* used to indicate the work of engraving. On the other hand the only word used is *likhitam* which needs to be interpreted with reference to the context of its occurrence. For example, when the colophon reads *Sōmaśarmaṇā* or *Kumāra-śarmaṇā likhit-ēyaṃ-tāmrapatṭikā*, *Sōmaśarmā* and *Kumāra-śarmā* being *brāhmaṇas*, we have to conclude that they merely wrote out the letters on the copper-sheets. On the other hand, from statements such as *Mārishēṇa-tattakārēṇa* or *Pāpāra-tvaṣṭakārēṇa likhitēyaṃ-tāmrapatṭikā* we will be right in assuming that, since *Mārishēṇa* and *Pāpāra* were professional artisans, they were certainly the engravers and, may be, they did the job of writing too. Again, in such statements as *sarva-kal-ādihāra-bhūta-chitra-kal-ābhijñēna Viśvakarm -āchāryyēṇ-ēdaṃ śāsanam likhitam* we can easily recognise a leading and accomplished artisan who must have executed both the jobs of writing and engraving and, may be, even the drafting of the text. That these professional writer-cum-engraver artisans were learned and were held in high esteem is proved by the fact that some of them were granted lands, for the work done, on the same lines as *brahmadēyas* were given to *brāhmaṇas*; and, some such grant-lands

were even declared to be as inviolable as *dēva-bhōgas*, i.e., lands granted for the enjoyment of the gods.

There are a number of inscriptions coming from all parts of the country, and more so after the 10th century A.D., in which the composer, the writer and the engraver are separately mentioned. To quote only one example, I may refer here to the Bilhāri stone inscription of Kalachuri Yuvarāja II, written some-time during the end of the 10th century A.D. There were as many as three poets who had composed the text of this fairly long *praśasti*. The first part, forming the eulogy of three kings, was composed by the poet Śrīnivāsa :

bhūpa-traya-yaśō-rāśi-varṇanam
prathamam kṛitam |
śrīmatā Śrīnivāsena śrī-
Sthirānanda-sūnunā ||

The next part, a eulogy of three more kings, was composed by Sajjana:

bhūpatīnām trayāṇām tu
kīrtti-kīrttanam-ujjvalam |
vihitam Sajjanēn-ātha
sudhiyā Thīra-sūnunā ||

The third part was composed by Kāyastha Śīruka :

suśliṣṭa-bandha-ghaṭanā
vismīta-kavi-Rāj aśēkhara-stutyā |
āstām-iyam-ākālpam kṛitīś=cha
kīrttiś=cha pūrvvā cha ||
Kāyastha śrī-Śīrukasya ||

The entire inscription was written on the stone surface by Nāī :

karaṇika-Dhīra-sutēna
Nāī-nāmnā praśastir - ālikhitā |

And, along the lines of what he wrote,

the entire inscriptional text was engraved by Nonna:

sūtradhāra-Sarigama-tanūja -
Nonnēna ch-ōtkīrṇṇā ||

In some copper plate charters, in addition to the composer, writer and engraver, a technician finds mention as having the plates *tāpitaṁ* which literally means 'heated'. Since his mention precedes that of the engraver, we may be justified in assuming that his work was to heat the plates and make them malleable for the facility of the engraver.

While I had earlier pointed out that the mention of these actual producers of the inscriptions was an irregular but national practice, at least from the end of the 10th century onwards, I must point out here that, in the inscriptions of the Tamil country there is near total absence of specific references to these persons. This was perhaps because the inscriptional texts were all originally recorded on palm leaves (*ōlai*) and, only to have them as permanent records, they were got engraved on stone slabs and copper sheets. Thus, as against one of the rare endorsements in an inscription from Vilappākkam, reading *ūr-paṇikka eḷudīnēṇ ivvūr-karumāṇ Ilādachchanēṇ* which means 'I, Ilādachchan, the black-smith, wrote (or engraved) this inscription at the behest of the village body', you have oft-repeated phrases such as '*ivv-ōlaippaḍiyē kallil vetṭiṇa pariśāvadu*' which means 'the award inscribed on stone verbatim from the palm-leaf version' or *ivv-ōlaippaḍiyē kallilum chembilum vetṭikkoḷga* meaning '[you] have this engraved on stone and copper verbatim from the palm-leaf version'.

From a study of a large number of in-

scriptions from all over the country, certain conclusions may be safely drawn. The composers of the inscriptional texts of the *dāna-sūsanās* were mostly drawn from the upper classes or castes. If the inscriptions were to be written at the instance of the *brāhmaṇa* donees themselves, the composers were *brāhmaṇas*; if, on the other hand, the inscription was to be drafted at the instance of the state or the donor, the composer could also come from other castes, such as *kshatriya*, *kāyastha*, *Māthura-kāyastha*, etc. On the other hand, the writer could hail from any of the prevalent classes or castes including highly placed officials, the main consideration being his skill in writing the letters legibly and, in many cases, beautifully. The engravers, with the exception of the early Western Gaṅga charters, where they are stated to belong to the Viśvakarmā community and are treated on par with the *brāhmaṇas*, were, almost in all cases, drawn from the lower classes or castes, generally of the artisan communities. While the writers of the texts on the surface of the material chosen (stone or copper) were sometimes mentioned along with their official designations such as *karaṇika*, *kāyastha*, *akshapāṭalika*, *dharmalēkhin* and even *sēnāpati*, the engravers were mentioned mostly along with their professional appellations such as *tvashṭā*, *tvashṭakāra*, *tattakāra*, *tattāra*, *perntattāra*, *svarnakāra*, *hēmakāra*, *lōhakāra*, *viśvakarmā*, *rūpakāra*, *śilpin* and the ubiquitous *sūtradhāra*. As to whether the composers', writers' and engravers' jobs were remunerative, we know next to nothing, except that some early charters, particularly of the Western Gaṅgas, record lands granted to the writers-cum-engravers.

At least some of the writers and

engravers of the inscriptional texts knew that they were contributing to the palaeographical transformations that were all the time taking place. This is clear from the description of the written and engraved letters as *vikat-ākshara*, *nibid-ākshara*, *sundara-varṇa-gumpā-rachanā* and so on and so forth. In the light of such evidence, it will indeed be rewarding if we are to search for the names of writers and engravers who wrote and inscribed in the very many periods and regions of scriptal transitions. When identified we will know the names of those who had actually charted the multi-dimensional palaeographical map of India.

In view of my professional concern for the future of the discipline of Epigraphy, which now, more than ever, faces the danger of disappearing from the field of academics, I feel my address will not be complete if I fail to give expression to some of my feelings of despair, anguish as also hopes and aspirations.

As you are all aware, the major national centre for epigraphical collections, studies and publications is the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. After a decade of persistent efforts on our part, it did dawn upon the minds of the powers that be that the set up of the Branch was too small for a country as big as India. As a result a minium expansion of the strength of the technical staff was grudgingly conceded, as also the establishment of four zonal offices in the north, south, east and west. As of now only in the north at Jhansi and in the south at Madras, mere semblances of two zonal offices have been opened. But, most unfortunately, in the name of this expansion, what has actually occurred is

the disintegration of the central office at Mysore with more than fifty percent of the posts sanctioned for all these offices still waiting to be filled up, even after five long years of the starting of the new zonal offices. This, inspite of repeated protestations from senior Indologists that epigraphical studies are, sooner than later, bound to sink into very low depths because of continued neglect. This has led me to come to the sad conclusion that, in a country where, for ages now, priorities have been sadly misplaced by ruling cliques, there will not be much point in looking up to our Governments for lending succour to the famished subject of Epigraphy. Instead, in the changed atmosphere of open and resurgent economy, the Epigraphical Society of India should legitimately try to establish, with financial assistance from willing business houses, an institute, not only for Indian but Asian Epigraphy.

The number of epigraphical publications that have been brought out in more than a hundred years, the different disciplines from which an ever increasing number of scholars have been consulting epigraphical material for the furtherance of their research, the fact that our sub-continent is itself the abode of inscriptions in languages which were or are being spoken in many continents, and above all, the fact that many countries other than ours too have considerable epigraphical wealth as well as epigraphists - all these have convinced me that epigraphists the world over, however small in number, need to come together in a bond of fellowship and understanding - under the aegis of an international association of Epigraphists. When considered from the point of view that professionals committed to many other allied

disciplines, such as archaeologists, oriental scholars, linguisticians and historians all have such international forums, the absence of such a body for epigraphy is indeed a crippling desideratum. It is my earnest appeal to epigraphists with world vision and international contacts, like our own Prof. Karashima to use the well established Epigraphical Society of India as a base for launching such an international body the benefits of which, as I foresee, could be phenomenal.

I would like to conclude my address with a reminder to all of you that delay in tracking down all available epigraphical records will cost us heavily in terms of much needed source material. Seventeen years ago, when I presided over the Epigraphy section of the Indian History Congress at Calicut, I had made a fervent appeal for preserving these historical documents and had also made bold to throw some suggestions on how that could be done. Since those words of mine had fallen on deaf ears, I would like to renew my appeal here.

In view of the fact that inscriptions are getting damaged or lost in large numbers, there is great need and urgency for evolving fool-proof methods for collecting and preserving inscriptions which, in the case of copper-plate inscriptions, is possible and, in the case of stone inscriptions, is beset with seemingly insurmountable problems. While copper-plate sets could be saved from loss or damage and preserved for our own use and for posterity by the establishment of a central depository, preferably in the Archaeological Survey of India's Directorate of Epigraphy at Mysore, with facilities to track down, and mandatory powers to acquire all available charters, published as well

as unpublished, one practical way of protecting and preserving stone inscriptions, particularly the stray ones, which do not form integral parts of any larger structural monuments, appears to me to lie in the establishment of spacious Epigraphical parks in each Tahsil town where, under the benign shade of the greenwood trees can be set up all such stray stone inscriptions as are found in any given Tahsil area. Besides ensuring better protection for epigraphical records, which otherwise face the danger of destruction or damage, such Epigraphical parks will also serve as lung-spaces and contribute to the much

needed improvement of our nation's ecological, environmental and climatic conditions. Since it will not be pragmatic to ask our governments to take up this work, in the changed circumstances of liberalisation, public spirited business houses could possibly be made to get interested in promoting this noble cause and, perhaps, the Epigraphical Society of India could act as the promoters.

Friends, I conclude with the epigraphical benediction :

“Svasti karṭri-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōṭṛibhyaḥ”
Vṛiddhir-astu

Inaugural Address

D. V. Devaraj

I deem it a great honour to associate myself with the annual congress of the XXI session of the Epigraphical society of India, organised under the auspices of Karnataka University, Dharwad, by the Department of Studies in Ancient History and Epigraphy.

My major interest is concerned with excavation and preservation of sites and monuments in Karnataka, in my capacity as Director of Archaeology and Museums. However, my department for more than a century has been doing considerable good work in the field of Epigraphy also. Hence, I agreed to accept the invitation to inaugurate the session. However, having accepted the responsibility, on this historic occasion and before the eminent Epigraphists, I would like to share my thoughts on this subject.

Nobody can deny the fact that for the study of any aspect of the history of our country in pre-modern times, inscriptions constitute the most significant and valuable source of information because they provide fairly realistic picture of the situation both at the macro and micro levels of our society.

Though the Epigraphical studies began more than a century ago, until recently, the scholars in the field were concentrating their efforts on the reconstruction of the political history of India in general and regional history in particular. This was natural because, to understand the significance of the past of a society, it is totally required at the outset that we study the organising, regaining

and distribution of political power. As *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* rightly at one place records, any man of intelligence should first choose a good king, then earn wealth and only afterwards marry; because without a king, it would be difficult to protect the wealth and the wife. Hence, to study the power-politics of the past dynasties, no other source is so comprehensive as inscriptions.

However, for the last atleast three or four decades, inscriptions are being used extensively to reconstruct the socio-economic history both at the macro and the micro levels. This is a welcome trend, because mere political history would not be sufficient to comprehend the past in all its aspects. As far as Karnataka is concerned, I may mention the works of Dr. Kuppaswamy, Dr. Gururajachar and Dr. K.S. Shivanna. Many more unpublished Ph.D. theses are also there on the socio-economic history of Karnataka, based on Epigraphy. The study of the temples from cultural angles have also been attempted recently by many scholars, based purely on monumental, epigraphical and literary sources. In this connection, may I humbly submit that I have done some work in this perspective when I took up the study of the Sōmanāthapura temple complex for my Ph.D. Degree. There is large scope for the study of the monuments, integrating artistic and epigraphical evidences.

A few Indian and foreign scholars like Dr. Subbarayalu, Dr. Shanmugam, Professor Karashima from Japan and Prof.

Burton Stein have been making attempts to analyse the epigraphical data, particularly revenue terms, with the help of computers. This kind of quantitative approach to the study of Epigraphy may lead us to some definite ideas about socio-economic and political institutions of South India.

Professor Noboru Karashima and Professor Burton Stein, utilising the same inscriptions of the Chōla period, have come to different conclusions, about the nature of the Chōla state. Professor Burton Stein has indicated that it was highly decentralised, whereas Professor Karashima has come to the conclusion that the Central Government was playing a significant role in the Chōla polity. This shows how inscriptional evidence can be subjected to different kinds of interpretations.

It gives me immense pleasure to note that Professor Noboru Karashima has now entered the realm of Karnataka historiography, and that he has started his work on the Vijayanagar inscriptions of Karnataka.

I hope that the computer analysis of the inscriptions of this area may throw new light on the political economy of Vijayanagar. I am happy to note further that Prof. Noboru Karashima's student, Mr. Nobuhiro-Ota is, at present, learning Kannada language in order to conduct research on Mysore history, under the supervision of Prof. K.S. Shivanna, Chairman, Department of studies in history at Mysore. We have to welcome, *such Japanese invasions* into Indian Epigraphy, as they have already *conquered the*

hearts of Indians by their modern technology.

It is but befitting that a scholar of the calibre of Prof. Noboru Karashima is being honoured by the Epigraphical Society of India on this occasion.

In relation to the study of the minor dynasties and polegar families, based mainly on inscriptions, Dr. B.R. Gopal, has done pioneering study in this area.

Likewise Dr. G.S. Gai, Prof. Srinivas Ritti have also richly contributed to the epigraphical studies in northern Karnataka. Dr. Ramesh and Dr. Vasanta Madhava have done work on a sub-regional level, namely, South Kanara District etc. Prof. M.M. Kalburgi of Karnataka University has become a motivating force behind the study of minor ruling houses of Karnataka with particular reference to Vīraśaiva rulers belonging to the Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara periods. Last month, at Sindgi in Bijapur District, under the editorship of Prof. M.M. Kalburgi a work containing the study of 25 Vīraśaiva ruling houses was released in a seminar and this work is based mainly on Epigraphy.

Here, I would like to say a few words in general about the publication of Epigraphical works. In spite of the efforts made by the Archaeological Survey of India, there has been a noticeable delay in the publication of the Annual Reports, let alone publication of the volumes of the texts of inscriptions. Our neighbouring states of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu were also serious in bringing out such volumes, but the early en-

thusiasm seems to have waned. In our own state of Karnataka, the Directorate of Archaeology had plans to bring out the revised volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* published almost a century back by Lewis Rice and R. Narasimhachar. But the University of Mysore made a special request and the Government agreed to hand over the project to them. A few revised volumes came out in quick succession from 1972 for almost a decade under the able editorship of Dr. B.R. Gopal. Unfortunately, with the retirement of Dr. B.R. Gopal, except for bringing out a volume under the editorship of Sri. Seetharam Jagirdar, the work has come to a stand-still for reasons best known to the University of Mysore. At the same time, I am aware that, after the retirement of Prof. M. Seshadri, my department also lagged behind in updating the publication of the Annual Reports. However, I would like to submit that my Department is planning to bring out volumes of inscriptions of Karnataka, excluding the districts of erstwhile Mysore State, but on the same model as con-

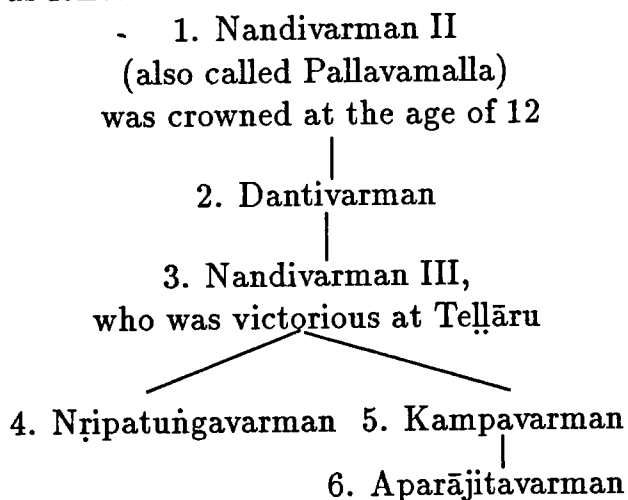
ceived by Lewis Rice, R. Narasimhachar and Dr. B.R. Gopal.

Incidentally, I understand that the General President of the present session, Dr. K.V. Ramesh, an eminent epigraphist of India, has been working on the decipherment of the Indus script. Two other eminent scholars Dr. S.R. Rao and Shri Iravatam Mahadevan have brought out volumes pertaining to the decipherment of these inscriptions, but somehow, their readings have not generally been accepted by all. Let us hope that Dr. K.V. Ramesh succeeds in breaking open the secret lock of the Indus script. Friends, it gives me immense joy to inaugurate the XXI session of the Epigraphical Society of India. I am extremely grateful to the Karnatak University and to the organisers of this congress for having invited me to inaugurate this session and thereby provided me an opportunity to meet a galaxy of distinguished epigraphists at one place and to exchange our views. I fervently hope that the deliberations that would follow would be of immense value to the scholars.

Dates of the Pallava Kings

N. Sethuraman

Kāñchīpuram in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Tamil Nadu was the capital of the glorious Pallava rulers in the middle of the 6th century. Simhavishṇu laid the foundation for the Pallava empire as a super power in the southern peninsula. His successors expanded the empire and had contacts with South Asian countries also. The history of this dynasty is well known. The last king of the Simhavishṇu line was Paramēśvaravarman II who ruled from 728 to 731 A.D.¹. After this date, Nandivarman II, a king of the parallel royal family line, was crowned at the age of 12. The successors of Nandivarman II were as follows :



The object of this paper is to find the probable dates of the reigns of these kings. The genealogy of the kings up to Kampavarman was already known. The Bāhūr² plates mention Nṛipatuṅga as the son of Nandivarman III. From the Chōlapuram record,³ it is inferred that Kampavarman was also the son of

Nandivarman. Among them who was the elder brother? We have no answer because of the paucity of source materials. For the present, it is assumed that Nṛipatuṅga was elder. I shall again discuss this point somewhere below and place my arguments for arriving at this surmise. The inscriptions of Kampavarman and Aparājīta are many. But they do not supply any information regarding their relationship. The discovery of the Vēlañjēri copper-plates has solved this ticklish problem⁴. The charter explicitly states that Kampavarman was the father of Aparājīta.

Nandivarman II

Nandivarman II was crowned in 731 A.D. His records upto the year 65 are available⁵. Probably he ruled till 796 A.D. What are the dates of the other Pallava rulers. (Nos. 2 to 6). We have to start our investigation from the time of the Chōla king Rājakēsari Āditya who ruled from 871 to 907 A.D.

Aparājītavarman

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu copper-plates of Rājēndra Chōla I state that Āditya overthrew the strong Pallava Aparājīta and deprived him of his territory (Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam). The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīra Rājēndra (son of Rājēndra) states that in a battle, Āditya pounced upon and slew the Pallava king. The Tillaisthānam record of Āditya at-

tributes to him the title⁶ "he who captured Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam". These source materials clearly indicate that, when Āditya captured Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the Pallava dynasty came to an end. The earliest record of Āditya in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam will help us in finding when Aparājita was killed and Āditya started exercising his authority in the Pallava country. Three inscriptions coming from Uttiramērūr, Chingleput district, situated right in the centre of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam attract our attention :

a) *S.I.I.*, Vol.VI, No. 367 Nṛipatuṅga, year lost.

b) *Ibid.*, No. 368 - Nṛipatuṅga, year 26.

c) *Ibid.*, No. 376 - Rājakēsari, year 17

In all the three records, an officer or chief of that place called Kāḍagadi-araiyar, appears. His full name is Kāḍavadiyar or Kāḍavadiyariyar Viśaiyanalluḷāṅ *alias* Pūdi Dīran. The presence of the same officer in the records of Nṛipatuṅga and Rājakēsari clearly shows that the latter is Āditya Chōḷa and the records are dated 888 A.D.. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XX, page. 49). In 1929 K.V. Subramanya Aiyar made an astonishing calculation and suggested the date 888 A.D. His scheme was different and he did not consult the Uttiramērūr records. The course of historical events indicate that in 888 A.D. Āditya killed Aparājita and annexed Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The highest regnal year so far found for Aparājita⁷ is

18. Thus it is clear that Aparājita should have come to the throne in 870 A.D. This date was also suggested by K.V. Subramanya Aiyar.

Kampavarman

The Vēḷaṅjēri copper-plates of Aparājita are dated in the year 3 and day 2103 corresponding to the end of the 8th regnal year. In other words the plates were issued in 878 A.D. From the provenance of the charter we can easily infer that Kampavarman, the father of Aparājita, was no more in 878 A.D. The highest regnal year of Kampavarman⁸ is 32 and this yields his probable accession as 846 A.D.

Nṛipatuṅgavarman

Varaḅa Pāṇḍya II came to the throne in 863 A.D. A record which comes from Tiruvadigai belongs to Nṛipatuṅga, year 18. It states that Varaḅa made some gifts to the temple⁹. This record proves that the 18th regnal year of Nṛipatuṅga is later than 863 A.D. and earlier than 876 A.D. because the records of Varaḅa are available in the nearby Chōḷamaṇḍalam¹⁰ upto the year 13 only. A record which comes from Tiruchennampūṇḍi, Tanjore District (Chōḷamaṇḍalam) (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 528) belongs to Nṛipatuṅga. The data are year 22, Dhanus, Friday and Jyēshṭha. The date should fall in or after 867 A.D. K.V. Subramanya Aiyar correctly equated the data to 867 A.D., November 28, Friday.

22nd year of Nṛipatuṅga = 28th November 867 A.D.

Oth year of Nṛipatuṅga = 28th November 845 A.D.

First year of Nṛipatuṅga = 28th November 846 A.D.

In other words Nṛipatuṅga came to the throne in 846 A.D. His records upto year 26 are available¹¹, taking his reign upto 872 A.D. Again, after a lapse of 15 years, only one record of his 41st year is available. This needs some explanation and we shall see it later. We have already seen that his brother Kampavarman also came to the throne in 846 A.D. Probably Nandivarman crowned his sons in the same year and died after sometime.

Nandivarman III

The highest regnal year¹² available for Nandivarman III with the epithet *Tellāru-erinda* is 22 which prompts us to surmise that he should have come to the throne in 824 A.D. This cannot be the case, for, we learn from the Western Gaṅga grants that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarman - both crowned kings themselves - fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II, Saigoṭṭa. The last year of Gōvinda III being 814 A.D., this event should have occurred before that date, say around 812 A.D. Accordingly we have to take back the year of accession of Nandivarman III by 12 years¹³.

Dantivarman

Dantivarman ruled for 51 years¹⁴. If 812 A.D. is his last date, he should have come to the throne in 761 A.D. His father Nandivarman II ruled from 731 to

796 A.D. Probably father Nandi and son Danti jointly ruled from 761 to 796 A.D. There is an overlap of 35 years which is not uncommon in the history of the South Indian kings.

Course of Events

Nṛipatuṅgavarman and Kampavarman were brothers. They came to the throne in the same year. Elsewhere above, I assumed that Nṛipatuṅga was elder and Kampavarman younger. My arguments for arriving at this conclusion are given below. Bāhūr plates of Nṛipatuṅga were issued in his eighth year¹⁵. The charter states that princess Śaṅkā of the Rāshtrakūṭa family was the wife (queen) of Nandivarman. "Full of patience like the earth, beloved by the people like a mother, the queen named Śaṅkā shone, as if she were the embodied fortune of the king. By her, who possessed intelligence, beauty, arts, etc., was born the virtuous Nṛipatuṅgadēva, the lord of the three worlds, noble by birth, resembling the rising sun in splendour and victorious in fights with arrows"¹⁶. The charter is silent about Kampavarman. Probably Kampavarman was the son of Nandi by a second queen. The Vēlaṅjēri copper-plates of Aparājita state that Kampavarman conquered the mighty Pallava Nṛipatuṅga in a battle and forcibly seized his country. Records of Nṛipatuṅga are available in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and also in Chōlāmaṇḍalam in the south¹⁷. The records of Kampavarman are available in a limited area around Kāñchīpuram¹⁸.

The provenance of the records prompt me to assume that Nṛipatuṅga was the elder to whom father Nandivarman bestowed the greater part of the kingdom and Kampavarman was confined to the Kāñchīpuram area in a subordinate position. In 870 A.D., when Aparājita came to the throne, father and son probably drafted a secret plan to overthrow Nṛipatuṅga. They should have been successful in their attempt in 872 A.D., because records of Nṛipatuṅga after his 26th year are not found. It is to be observed here that the Vēlañjēri copper-plates state that Kampavarman seized the country of Nṛipatuṅga. It does not say that Nṛipatuṅga was killed. Probably Nṛipatuṅga was confined to the palace under house arrest.

A record from Maḍavālam in Tirutani Taluk and included in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam¹⁹ is dated in the 41st year of Nṛipatuṅga (i.e., 887 A.D.). The record appears after a lapse of 15 years. This requires explanation. Probably around 887 A.D., Nṛipatuṅga gathered sufficient support in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, rebelled against Aparājita and started a parallel government. He would have invited Āditya for help and the Chōla king seems to have readily responded. In the next year, Āditya killed Aparājita. Poor Nṛipatuṅga could not enjoy the fruits of his long struggle and probably he met with natural death. His records beyond 887 A.D. are not available. Thus the entire Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam came under the Chōlas and the Tillaisthānam record

rightly attributes the epithet "he who captured Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam" to Āditya. From 880 A.D., to the middle of the 13th century (350 years) Kāñchīpuram and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam were under the rule of the great Chōlas.

Nandivarman II - 731-796 A.D.

Dantivarman - 761-812 A.D.

Nandivarman III - 812-846 A.D.

Nṛipatuṅgavarman	Kampavarman
ruled from 846 to	846-878. A.D.
872 A.D. He was	
under house arrest	
from 872 to 887	Aparājitavarman
A.D. In 887 A.D.	870-888 A.D.
he emerged	
victorious but soon	
met with natural	
death.	

(Other historical events are not discussed here. They are well known. Those events will definitely fit into the framework of the above chronology)²⁰.

Karandai copper-plates of Rājeṅdra Chōla state that Parāntaka I (907-954 A.D.) defeated a Pallava. This Pallava could not be a descendant of the regular Pallava line since the dynasty disappeared by 888 A.D. The Pallava whom Parāntaka defeated was a powerful chieftain in Pulināḍu.

He was called Paramēśvara Pallavamalla *alias* Pallava Dhavaḷa. Parāntaka defeated him and made him a subor-

dinate to Śembiyaṅ Mahābali Vāṅarasa alias Pṛithivīpati II, a vassal of the Chōlas. (*A.R. Ep.*, 1931-32, p.47).

During this time, a Nolamba Pallava ruler called Dilīparasa with high sounding titles *Pṛithivīvallabha*, *Pallavakulatilaka*, *Iriva-Nolamba*, *Pallavarāma* etc., existed. His records dated 948 and 942 A.D. are available at Maḍakaśira and Hēmāvati respectively in the Anantapur District of the ancient Nolambavāḍi region. He was an ally of the Rāhṣtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, the enemy of Parāntaka Chōla. Dilīparasa says that prior to 948 A.D. he defeated Gajāṅkuśa Chōla, (*A.R. Ep.*, 1917, p. 104) who could be Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka. Dr. K.V. Ramesh says with an element of force and reasoning that Gajāṅkuśa was a Rēnāḍu Chōla.²¹

But in the Hēmāvati record dated 942 A.D. Dilīparasa does not make such a claim. Incidentally a Kannada record of Parāntaka Chōla dated in his 29th year (936 A.D.) is found at Bairakūr, Karnataka²², not far away from Nolambavāḍi. Therefore, there could have been a conflict between Parāntaka and the Nolamba Pallava Dilīparasa or his predecessor and brother Aṅṅiga around 936 A.D. and possibly it went in favour of Parāntaka. At any rate we cannot say anything at present till new findings come up in the future to confirm this surmise. The 29th year record of Parāntaka coming from Karnataka is a thought provoking one.

Notes and References

1. P.B. Desai in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p.92 quotes the discovery made by Lakshminarayana Rao who came to the conclusion, that 728 A.D., was the upper limit of the accession of Paramēśvaravarman. From the records of Chalukya king Vikramāditya, it is inferred that Paramēśvaravarman ruled for atleast 3 years. (*See South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol III, pt. I. Also see *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX. No. 310. Parakēsarivarman, year 12 - (10th century). It mentions a village called Nandikampachatur vēdimāṅgalam.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2
3. *Ibid.*, No. 26, p.196.
4. *Tiruttani and Velanjeri Copper-plates*, 1979.
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII.
6. K.A. N. Sastri, *Cōlas*, 1975, pp. 113 ff., - Sastri quotes all the three source materials.
7. *S.I. I.*, Vol. XII.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *A.R. Ep.*, 1921, No. 860
10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIV.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, No. 23
12. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII
13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, No. 3. In the numerous inscriptions dated simply in the reign of Nandivarman without the distinguishing epithet *Pallavamalla* or *Tellāreṅṅinda* some of them are of the period of Nandivarman II and others are of Nandivarman III.

14. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII

15. Refer to Note 2 above.

16. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 13.

17. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII.

18. *Ibid.*,

19. *A.R. Ep.*, 1943-44, No. 138

20. Nagaswamy, *Tiruttani and Velanjeri copper-plates*. His discussions concerning the later Pallavas are not only wrong but will also mislead the researchers. He has suggested the following dates for the 9th century Pallava kings :

Nṛipatuṅga - 865 to 906 A.D.

Kampavarman -868 to 900 A.D.

Aparājita - 870 to 890 A.D.

The above dates are the personal assumptions of Nagaswamy. Scores of assumptions without assigning any concrete evidence of logical discussions and assertions without supporting evidences are many. For example, he asserts without any evidence, that Āditya killed Aparājita near Kumbakōṇam in Chōlamāṇḍalm. He has neglected the astronomi-

cal data of the Tiruchchempūṇḍi inscription of Nṛipatuṅga. He has not taken note of the surmises made and the dates proposed by K.V. Subramanya Aiyar in his article in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XX. Aiyar suggested 844 A.D as the upper limit of the accession date of Nṛipatuṅga. He placed logical and convincing arguments and arrived at this probable date. Aiyar consulted the astronomical data of the Tiruchchempūṇḍi record of Nṛipatuṅga and correctly fixed the accession date as 846 A.D. The exact date found in 1932 is very close to the upper limit 844 suggested by Aiyar in 1929. These important points have been omitted by Nagaswamy in his publication.

I followed the methodology of Aiyar-the doyen among the Tamil epigraphists and arrived at the above conclusions. I once again repeat here that till date we have no direct evidence to prove as to who was elder between the brothers Nṛipatuṅgavarman and Kampavarman. On the basis of logical arguments, I assumed that Nṛipatuṅga was elder. If the future discoveries of source materials reverse the order, I will gladly accept the same and it will in no way be an impediment to the methodology of our investigations.

21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 12

22. *A.R. Ep.*, 1911, No. 457

A Note on the Sembiran Inscription

B.N. Mukherjee

In a paper read at the XX Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, Shri I. Mahadevan read the inscription on a potsherd unearthed at Sembiran (Bali, Indonesia) as *Ma(?)lasa*. According to him, it is written in Brāhmī characters of the first two centuries A.D. The paper is now published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* (Vol. XXI, pp. 14-16).

Shri. Mahadevan has made several assumptions in reading the inscription. He thinks that it has to be read from right to left though the Brāhmī script was usually written from left to right. He is also of the opinion that "the character *sa* is reversed". Both the guesses, particularly the latter one, do not carry conviction. Moreover, the letter read as *ma* is a broken one and cannot be deciphered convincingly.

Thus the inscription cannot be read meaningfully from the side it has been looked at by Shri Mahadevan. On the other hand, it can be deciphered without

making any assumption, if read from the other side of the potsherd. In that case, the first letter from the right can be read as Kharōshthī *ta* with the sign of medial *o*. The second letter is surely Kharōshthī *śa*. The remaining portion of the third letter is enough to enable us to recognise it as representing *va* with medial *i*.

Thus the fragmentary inscription is in Kharōshthī and can be read as *Tośavi* :..... It is palaeographically datable to c. 1st-2nd century A.D.

Since the short record is incomplete, no meaningful translation is possible. However, it could be a part of a personal name.

In any case, our reading is surely preferable to that of Shri. Mahadevan, since it does not involve any assumption. It may also be added that the use of Kharōshthī in South-East Asia during the period concerned is now well attested (*Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XXV, 1990, pp. 38 and 73 and fig. 79).

Nāṭṭavars in Tamilnadu During The Pāṇḍya And Vijayanagar Periods

Noboru Karashima

The term *nāṭṭār* or *nāṭṭavar*, meaning the people of a *nāḍu*, appears in Tamil inscriptions or some other sources during the long course of South Indian history, particularly that of Tamilnadu history, from the seventh to the nineteenth centuries. These local corporate bodies seem to have played important roles in the local production and the maintenance of the local social order. However, their substance seems to have changed according to the developments in South Indian society and economy. The present report deals with this point, namely to what extent they changed from those of the Chōḷa period, by examining the Tamil inscriptions of the northern and middle parts of Tamilnadu belonging to the Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar periods, namely from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

The fact that most of the Chōḷa royal orders to some locality were addressed to the *nāṭṭārs* and *brahmadēya-kilavars* of the locality symbolises the importance of the *nāṭṭārs* in Chōḷa administration. While *brahmadēya-kilavars* represented the villages granted to *brāhmaṇas*, *nāṭṭārs* represented the other common villages classified as *vellān-vagai* in inscriptions. According to Subbarayalu, the main inhabitants of those villages were basically Vellāḷas and therefore the *nāṭṭārs* were leading Vellāḷa landholders during the Chōḷa period¹. Stein regards the Chōḷa state as a congregation or loose federation of those *nāṭṭārs*, the Chōḷa royal family being the biggest *nāṭṭār*.² Although I differ from Stein on the degree of centralization of the Chōḷa state, I too admit

the great importance of the role taken by *nāṭṭārs* in local production and administration.

Towards the end of the Chōḷa rule, however, there emerged many local chiefs who held each a large extent of land obtained by purchase or some other means and held the titles granted by the king.³ Though their emergence seems to have affected the fortune of the Chōḷa-period *nāṭṭārs* to some extent, the latter retained their importance as local leaders in many localities even after the Chōḷa period. We have a Pāṇḍya inscription from Vālikaṇḍapuram to testify this.⁴ It records the unity (*orumai*) of the *nāṭṭavars* of Vēmbār-nāḍu in the upper valley of the Vellār river. They resolved that they should pay *kaḍamai* in the estate (*paṟru*) prescribed for the payment of *kaḍamai*; *variśai* in the estate for *variśai* payment and *vāram* in the estate for *vāram* payment, and that they should not obey the arbitrary demands of the government officers.

We see the continuity of leadership of the *nāṭṭavars* in a nearby region during the fifteenth century. There are many inscriptions at Kūgaiyūr recording the resistance of the *nāṭṭavars* to the administration of the Vijayanagar *nāyakas*, who oppressed the local people by heavy taxation.⁵ In this regard these *nāṭṭavars* were different from those of the Chōḷa period, who actually remained loyal to the government. At the same time they too took leadership in the pursuance of local administration. The importance of *nāṭṭavars* as local leaders is thus obvious in these inscriptions also. Judging from

the title *nāttuvēḷān* held by some of their representatives⁶, they also seem to have been composed of Vellāḷa landholders.

However, the change of social order affecting the *nāttavars* in some localities is also revealed by inscriptions of the thirteenth century. An inscription from Cheṅgam in North Arcot District dated 1258 A.D. records the feud of two local chiefly families⁷. Various groups of people summed up as 'all castes' (*aṇaittu - jādigaḷ*) are enumerated in the inscription as those involved in the trouble. Though the term *nāttavar* is also found in the enumeration, its relation to the people expressed in terms of caste is not ascertainable. It is clear from this inscription, however, that the social order was no longer maintained by the authority of *nāttavars*. It shows that the people other than *brāhmaṇa* and *vellāḷa* increased their strength by the thirteenth century.

A Pāṇḍya inscription from Tirukkachchūr in Chingleput District and dated 1263 A.D. records the misbehaviour of some *brāhmaṇa* brothers, who became wicked and behaved like low-caste people (*kūḷ-jādigaḷ*) causing much trouble and terrorizing the people.⁸ The residents of the *brāhmaṇa* and Vellāḷa villages and the towns (*nagarams*) of this locality assembled in the precincts of a temple in order to solve the problem and asked a local chief to catch the brothers. This inscription depicts the situation in which the authority of the *brāhmaṇas* and Vellāḷas were being threatened by the increased power of other communities including the residents of towns, though the former two communities still retained their power to a certain extent.

However, it is interesting to note that the word *nāttu-durōhi* (*drōhi*), meaning

'the traitor to the *nādu*', appears in the Cheṅgam inscription. We also find the same words in a Śambuvarāya inscription from Tiruvorriyūr recording the decision of the *māhēśvaras*, *sthānattār* and the *nāttār*, on the service to be performed by some communities in a temple⁹. The expression is mentioned in the inscription together with two more similar expressions, namely *śiva-durōhi* (the traitor to the God Śiva) and *iṇa-durōhi* (the traitor to the caste). The use of the words *nāttu-durōhi* in these two inscriptions indicates that the traditional social order maintained by the *nāttavars* was still thought to be esteemed by the people in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Increasing strength of the communities, other than *brāhmaṇas* and Vellāḷas revealed by the Cheṅgam inscription, is well attested by the following inscriptions. A Pāṇḍya inscription from Āḍuturai of the thirteenth century records the rearrangement of certain services in a Śiva temple of Irayānpūñjai (Āḍuturai) by the *pan-nāttavar* of many localities.¹⁰ The rearrangement was actually made by the *pallis* of the region bounded by the Vīranārāyaṇam tank in the east, the Pachchai hills in the west, Kāvērī river in the south and Pennāru river in the north, and in the middle part of the inscription as well as at the end, the term *palli-nāttavar* is used in the place of *pan-nāttavar*. *Pallis*, otherwise known as Vaṇṇiyar, were the people who came down from the hilly areas during the eleventh century and were employed as soldiers by the Chōḷa kings¹¹. They seem to have established their power during the subsequent centuries in the locality mentioned in this inscription to the extent that they formed their own

paṇ-nāṭṭavars (literally 'several *nāṭṭavars*') different from the *nāṭṭavars* which were supposed to have been composed of the Vellālas.

Another example is the *Ūrāli-nāṭṭavars* which appeared in a thirteenth-century Pāṇḍya inscription from Ratnagiri in Tiruchchirappalli District.¹² The term *Ūrāli* indicates that they were of 'a peasant caste.' Yet another instance comes from Paḍaiviḍu inscription of the early Vijayanagar period, (1403 A.D.), recording the decision made by Vaṇḍuvarāpati-nāṭṭavar of Maḷa-nāḍu to assign certain contributions to their members for the worship in the Paḍaiviḍu temple.¹³ Vaṇḍuvarāpati-nāṭṭavars were herders who called themselves as Śrīgōpālas also.¹⁴

The emergence of these new *nāṭṭavar* organisations other than those of the Vellālas, seems to have led to the formation of *periya-nāṭṭār* or *periya-nāṭṭavar*, which were composed of more than one caste group.¹⁵ The expression 'periya' (big) of the *periya-nāṭṭavars*, certainly related to a big region larger than a *nāḍu*, but it must have been related to its inter-caste organisation also. Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar inscriptions of this period indicate, that Valaṅgai (right-hand) and Iḍaṅgai (left-hand) groups composed of a large number of communities, relating to direct production and service, sometimes constituted the *periya-nāṭṭavars*¹⁶. Though the Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai people who revolted against the *brāhmaṇa* and the Vellāla landlords and the government officers in 1429 A.D., did not employ the designation of *periya-nāṭṭavar* for themselves, the (ordinary) *nāṭṭavar* is included in the enumeration of groups of people in the locality in the concerned

inscription¹⁷.

While the above inscriptions indicate the occurrence of changes in the *nāṭṭavars'* character, which had been caused by the changing social order, there are many inscriptions which seem to suggest that the *nāṭṭavars* remained somewhat stable in certain localities. At Kūgaiyūr, referred to above, we have many inscriptions in which *nāṭṭavars* were recorded to be cooperating with *nāyakas* in the remission of certain taxes in favour of temples.¹⁸ One of them records that, together with an agent of a *nāyaka*, *ūravar* (village representatives) and *tānattār* (temple authorities), they decided upon the establishment of a market, in order to raise funds for repairing a temple.¹⁹ At Vālikaṇḍapuram, an inscription (1491 A.D.) records the decision of the *nāṭṭavars* of Van-nāḍu that each village in the *nāḍu* including *brāhmaṇa* villages should contribute certain amount of castor oil for burning 300 lamps in the Vālikaṇḍapuram temple.²⁰ Though the *nāṭṭavars* were incorporated into the *nāyakas'* ruling network by the end of the fifteenth century, they seem to have retained their function as local leaders even in the sixteenth century in the upper valley of the Vellār river.²¹

In Chingleput District we have an interesting inscription which records that the *nāṭṭavars* of six *kōṭṭams* (*vaḷanāḍus*) in Vēdagiri-dēsam established a *maṇḍapa* in a Vishṇu temple in Harivāsapuram (Nāgalāpuram) and made assignments of certain extents of land in the villages included in their *nāḍus* for instituting certain services in the *maṇḍapa*.²² The interesting point of this record is that the number of villages in which the assignment of land was made is mentioned for

the *nāḍus* in those six *kōṭṭams*. They are:

120 villages in Eḷumūr-nāḍu, Āguḍi-nāḍu, Kānappēru-nāḍu, Veṅgal-nāḍu, Ambattūr-nāḍu in Pulaṅ-kōṭṭam.

160 villages in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam (*alias* Kulōttuṅgachōḷa-vaḷanāḍu).

60 villages in the southern half of Īkkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam

32 villages in Kachchūr-nāḍu in the northern half of Īkkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam.

? villages in Maṇavūr-kōṭṭam.²³

45 villages in Paiyūr-kōṭṭam.

72 villages in Illattūr-nāḍu, Maṅgaḷūr-nāḍu, Pōḷiyūr-nāḍu and Taṅigai-nāḍu.

28 villages in Malaipparru-nāḍu.

42 villages in Niṅṅaiyūr-nāḍu.

17 villages in Aṅjūr-nāḍu and

30 villages in Śō-nāḍu (in Kuṅṅavattana-kōṭṭam).

This record suggests the existence of a tight administrative network linking the *nāṭṭavars* during Krishṇadēvarāya's reign in Vēdagiri-dēśam corresponding to the northern part of the present day Chingleput District.

Another example of the administrative network binding the *nāṭṭavars* comes from the sixteenth-century inscriptions from South Arcot District. There are five inscriptions which record the grant of remission of certain taxes to the Kaṅmāḷa community by the *nāṭṭavars* in the Peṅṅai and Gaḍilam valleys.²⁴ In these inscriptions dated 1572-73 A.D., the *nāṭṭavars* and some other bodies (*mahājanas* and *tāṅṅattārs*) in each region decided in favour of the remission of

three taxes levied on the Kaṅmāḷas by the previous *nāṭṭavars*, from which the Kaṅmāḷas had suffered much, and swore the fulfilment of their decision to the Vijayanagar king (Śrīraṅgadēva), a *nāyaka* as the king's agent and the *nāyaka's* agent (*rāyasaṃ*). These inscriptions clearly show a picture of the *nāṭṭavars* being incorporated within the state administration just as that seen during the Chōḷa period.

However, these five South Arcot inscriptions reveal also the significant change that the *nāṭṭavars* of the time had undergone. That relates to the composition of those *nāṭṭavars*, which can be ascertained from these inscriptions by a study of the names of the *nāṭṭavars*. Elavānāśūr inscription²⁵ gives eight names which seem to have been the *nāṭṭavars* of Panniraṅḍu-parru (*nāḍu*) and one name for Piḍāgai-parru; Tiruvadi inscription²⁶ gives fourteen names for four *parrus*; Eḍaiyar inscription,²⁷ three names for two *parrus*; Tirunāmanallūr inscription²⁸, seven names for three *śīrmais* (*nāḍu*) and Tiruvāmattūr inscription²⁹, five names for one *parru*. It is really significant that the names of those representatives reveal a multi-caste composition of the *nāṭṭavars*. They included Reḍḍis, Mudaliyārs and Pillais. Though we are not sure whether those terms indicated the community or the title, Reḍḍis were certainly the ancestors of the later Reḍḍi community who migrated from Andhra Pradesh into this region following Vijayanagar armies. The Mudaliyārs may be the Kaikkōḷa weavers, while the Pillais must have been the Vellāḷas settled earlier in this region. If these representatives were big landholders, we can add Śeṭṭis also, as they also became big land holders during the Vijayanagar period³⁰, though

they did not appear in these five inscriptions.

Another noticeable point is the number of *nāṭṭavars* for one *nāḍu* (*parṛu*, *śīrmai*). Though all the cases are not ascertainable, in the case of Elavānāsūr inscription, only one name of the *nāṭṭavar* is mentioned for Piḍāgai-parṛu. Eḍaiyar inscription gives three names of the *nāṭṭavar* for both Iḍaiyāṛṛu-parṛu and Śīrriṅgūr-parṛu, though the word *ulpatta* (inclusive of) is added afterwards. These cases may urge us to abandon the idea that *nāṭṭavars* were still corporate bodies. Individuals seem to have increased their strength greatly during the Vijayanagar period. It is clear, therefore, that the *nāṭṭavars* of the Vijayanagar period differed in their caste composition and in their corporate character as well from their predecessors of the Chōla period.

The multi-caste composition of the *nāṭṭavars* of the Vijayanagar period revealed from the South Arcot District inscriptions would gain more significance, if we consider the point of their solidarity. Under the social regime in which the ascendancy of the *brāhmaṇa* and the *Vellāla* communities in the caste hierarchy was firmly established and not challenged by any other community, the *nāṭṭavars* composed of the leading *Vellāla* landholders were able to control the local life and production without any difficulty. However,

under the social regime in which communities other than *brāhmaṇas* and *Vellālas* began to assert their rights and when the unity of the *nāṭṭavars* in terms of caste was lost, they were able to function only under the tight network enforced and maintained by an efficient government. That was the case seen in Chingleput District under the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in the beginning of the sixteenth century. However, once the control of the government was lost or loosened, they must have ceased to function as the local leaders, since their solidarity as one community had already been lost. From the sixteenth century onwards we do not have any inscription which shows the solidarity of the *nāṭṭavars* or mentions the words *nāṭṭu-durōhi*.

Though we have some seventeenth-century inscriptions which record the activities of *nāṭṭavars*, and though the term *nāṭṭavar* continued to be used in some regions even upto the British period,³¹ their importance as the local corporate bodies seem to have been lost for ever in most parts of Tamilnadu after the sixteenth century. Thus the Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar periods should be regarded as the course of time, when the traditional social order, established under the Chōla rule, was gradually being overtaken by the new social order which became predominant during the subsequent period.

Notes and References

1. Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, 1973, Madras, pp. 35 - 36.
2. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, 1980, Delhi, p. 286.
3. Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions 850-1800 A.D.*, 1984, Delhi, pp. 19 - 20.
4. *A.R.Ep.*, 1943-44, No. 282
5. Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation : South Indian Society Under Vijayanagar Rule*, 1992, Delhi, pp. 46-48.
6. *A.R.Ep.*, 1918, Nos. 114, 117 and 124
7. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 118
8. *Ibid.*, Vol XXVI, No. 383
9. *A.R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 212
10. *Ibid.*, 1913, No. 35.
11. There are some Chōla inscriptions which record the acquisition of land by Churutimans who worked as soldiers for the Chōla kings. See Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, p. 30.
12. *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No. 373
13. *Ibid.*, 1940-41, No.81
14. A Śrīraṅgam inscription (*S.I.I.* Vol XXIV, No. 136) dated 1184 A.D. records the grant of a village to the temple by Śrīgōpālas.
15. K.G. Krishnan, *Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy*. 1981, Madras, p. 60. and Stein, *Peasant State and Society*. pp.216 ff.
16. The Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai groups consisting of a variety of communities in the middle valley of Veḷḷār river, fixed for each of their members, the due for instituting the *periyānāṭṭār* service in the Vṛiddhāchalam temple in 1429 A.D. (*A.R.Ep.*, 1918, No.91)
17. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, p.145.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.
19. *A.R.Ep.*, 1918, No.112
20. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, No. 312
21. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, p. 50.
22. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 680.
23. The number of villages is not given for Maṇavūr-kōṭṭam

24. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, p.159.
25. *A.R. Ep.*, 1938, No. 493
26. *Ibid.*, 1921, No. 378
27. *Ibid.*, 1929, No. 293
28. *Ibid.*, 1940, No. 273
29. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 65
30. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, pp. 22 and 136.
31. Tskasa Mizushima, *Nattar and the Socio-economic change in South India in the 18th-19th centuries*, 1986, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo.

The Bhōjas and the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ As known from their Inscriptions

H.S. Thosar

Eight copper-plate grants issued by four kings of the Bhōja dynasty and two copper-plates and a stone inscription belonging to three kings of the later Maurya family have been reported so far¹. The findspot of these inscriptions as well as the place-names mentioned in them suggest that these two ruling dynasties held sway over the coastal regions of Maharashtra, Karnataka and the State of Goa.

In spite of the discovery of many inscriptions and the comments by a number of scholars, very little is known about the chronology and history of these two families². In the present paper an attempt is being made to reconstruct their chronology and history.

Chronology of the Bhōjas:

Of these two, the Bhōjas definitely seem to have started their rule earlier than the Mauryas. This inference is based on the following points :

In the Vāḍa inscription of Maurya Sukētavarman dated 400 A.D., which is the earliest inscription of the Mauryas, he is described as *Bhōjānām Maurya Dharmamahārāja*³. Dr. K.V. Ramesh has rightly pointed out that Sukētavarman prefixed the name Bhōja before his own clan name to mark the marital alliance between these two families⁴. This case seems to be identical with the case of the legend of *Lichch-*

havyāh carved on those coins of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta I, which bear the portrait of the king as well as his queen Kumāradēvī, who was a Lichchhavi princess⁵. It shows that like the Lichchhavis of Magadha, the Bhōjas had earned political prestige in the Deccan long before the rise of the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ i.e., 400 A.D.

Among the eight copper-plates of the Bhōjas, the Śiroda copper-plate of Dēvarāja is the earliest record of this dynasty⁶. No date has been recorded in this charter, but on palaeographical considerations, it has been assigned to the 4th century A.D. The Vāḍa inscription referred to above shows that by the end of 4th century A.D., the Bhōjas had already earned a respectable position amongst the ruling dynasties of Deccan. Dēvarāja was the earliest ruler of the Bhōja dynasty who must have flourished during the second half of the 4th century A.D.

The archaic nature of the Śiroda plates is further indicated by the frequent occurrence of Prakrit words such as *shatthim, titthati*, etc., in this inscription which is mainly drafted in Sanskrit. Most of the scholars who have studied this record have placed it in that period to which the earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas belong⁷. This evidence also suggests the probable date of the record as the second half of

4th century A.D.

Another important factor indicating the archaic nature of these plates is that they are very small in size and each plate has only four or five lines engraved on them. Secondly, in the inscription itself it is described as a *tāmrapattikā* and not as *tāmrapatra* or *tāmrasāsana* as seen in most of the copper-plates of the later period.

Dēvarāja, Āśaṅkitavarman and Kāpālivarman seem to have successively ruled in the respective order. Therefore, the rule of three kings will have to be placed prior to the middle of the 5th century A.D. The fourth king Pṛithivīmallavarman about whom we are going to discuss in the sequel seems to have belonged to a much later period.

To determine the exact chronology of the early Bhōja kings, geographical names mentioned in their inscriptions are of considerable importance. The Śiroda plates of Dēvarāja were issued from Chandraura i.e., Chandor in Goa. The grant villages recorded in this charter are all from Goa. It can safely be presumed that Dēvarāja, who was the earliest king of this line, had at least the present state of Goa under his jurisdiction. But the Hiregutti and Kāpōli plates of Bhōja Āśaṅkitavarman record the grant of villages in the North Kanara and Belgaum Districts of Karnataka. They further state that the Kai kēyas of Nandipalli, governing the present Dharwad District, were the subordinates

of Bhōja Āśaṅkitavarman. The grant villages mentioned in the Argā plates of Bhōja Kāpālivarman are from the vicinity of Kārwār. They describe Kāpālivarman as *dharmamahārāja* i.e., a paramount king. The reference to the administrative division of Palāsīkā in the Kāpōli plates of Āśaṅkita is a decisive factor in the settlement of the probable date of at least the early three kings of the Bhōja dynasty. We have definite evidence at our disposal that Palāsīkā was part of the Kadamba kingdom at least from the middle of the 5th century onwards and it continued to be so till the dismemberment of that kingdom by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi⁸. It follows that at least the first three Bhōja kings i.e., Dēvarāja, Āśaṅkitavarman and Kāpālivarman flourished prior to the occupation of Palāsīkā by the Kadambas. The Hiregutti charter has been assigned to 5th century on palaeographical grounds. The present writer feels that Āśaṅkitavarman Bhōja of the Kāpōli plates is identical with his namesake of the Hiregutti plates though they have been treated as two different persons by a scholar. Thus these records will have to be placed during the first quarter of the 5th century. Since the grant villages mentioned in the Argā plates of Kāpālivarman are from Kārwār, forming part of the Kadamba territory from the 5th century onwards, the date of this record will have to be placed at the middle of the 5th century A.D.

Origin and History of the Bhōjas:

The Bhōjas were one of the most ancient ruling dynasties of India.⁹ Literary sources connect the Bhōjas with the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra.¹⁰ Inscriptions of Aśoka¹¹ as well as the Hāthigumpha inscription of king Khāravēla¹² of Kalinga mention Bhōjikas along with the Raṭhis or Raṭhikas of the coastal region of the Western Deccan. Inscriptions from North Koṅkaṇ, such as at Kaṇhēri,¹³ Mahāḍ,¹⁴ Beḍsa¹⁵ and Kuḍa¹⁶ mention names of several local chiefs who are styled as Mahābhōjas. It is not known so far whether the Bhōjas of our records were the descendants of either of these chiefs. The inscripational evidence cited above shows that the Mahābhōjas were holding territories in the Koṅkaṇ region of Mahārāshṭra. Bhōja Dēvarāja might be a descendant of one of their branches as he held the Goa region, adjacent to Koṅkaṇ.

After the end of the Sātavāhana rule, the whole coastal region of the Deccan right from Banavāsi in the South to Kaṇhēri in the north, was ruled over by Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi.¹⁷ In the Kaṇhēri inscription of his daughter Nāgamūlanikā he is styled as a *mahārāja*. The same inscription further describes Nāgamūlanikā as the wife of a Mahārāṭhi, daughter of a *mahārāja* and *mahābhōji* (i.e., Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi and his queen) and the sister of Mahābhōja Dhanasēna or Dhanasēna.¹⁸ It follows that Dhanasēna

was the son of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi. Since the wife of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi is styled as *mahābhōji* and his son Dhanasēna as *mahābhōja*, Sātakarṇi also must have been originally *mahābhōja*. After becoming the paramount king, he probably abandoned his earlier title and adopted the new epithet *mahārāja*. If it is so, Bhōja Dēvarāja of the Śiroda grant might be his direct descendant.

According to Rapson, Śivaskandanāgasrī, the son of the daughter of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi of the Banavāsi inscription is identical with Skandanāgasātaka of the Kaṇhēri inscription.¹⁹ He further identifies this Śivaskandanāgasrī or Skandanāgasātaka with king Śivaskandavarman mentioned in the Malavalli record²⁰ of an early unknown Kadamba king and says that the prince subsequently came to the throne of Vaijayanti as the heir of his maternal grandfather and was possibly the last reigning member of the Chuṭukula.

This hypothesis is untenable because firstly we have no clear evidence about the succession of Śivaskandanāgasrī to the throne of Vaijayanti. Secondly, such a possibility was not at all there because the Kaṇhēri inscription mentions the name of Mahābhōja Dhanasēna as the brother of Nāgamūlanikā. Since she was the daughter of Chuṭu Sātakarṇi, Dhanasēna will have to be treated as the son and successor of Chuṭu Sātakarṇi. Dhanasēna was a Mahābhōja and so might have been the predecessor of Bhōja Dēvarāja.

As pointed out by Rapson Śivaskandavarman of the Maḷavalli inscription might have succeeded the Chuṭukula, but not as its rightful heir. Śivaskandavarman was most probably identical with his namesake and one of the earliest Pallava chiefs mentioned in Hirēhadagalli plates.²¹ He seems to have occupied Banavāsi and the coastal region of Karnataka, soon after the death of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi or his son Dhanasēna. At the same time, the coastal region of Maharashtra was occupied by the Ābhīras.²² Dēvarāja, who probably was the descendant of Chuṭukulānanda seems to have continued to rule in Goa as the feudatory of the Pallavas. At the middle of the 4th century Kadamba Mayūraśarman appears to have ousted the Pallavas from Banavāsi and occupied the major part of coastal Karnataka.²² Dēvarāja's successors exploited this change of power and probably occupied Palāśikā. This ancient township continued to remain as the bone of contention between the Bhōjas and the Kadambas as discussed in the sequel.

Dēvarāja

From the geographical names mentioned in the Śiroda plates referred to above, there is no doubt that at least the territory of Goa was definitely included in the kingdom of Dēvarāja. The Śiroda charter was issued from Chandraūra i.e., Chandōr in Goa and on this ground Chandōr has been taken as Dēvarāja's royal seat. Dēvarāja did not adopt the

epithets indicating high royal status such as *mahārāja* or *dharmamahārāja* with which his successors, Āśaṅkitavarman and Kāpālavarman have been described in their charters. It indicates that Dēvarāja governed the Goa region as a subordinate of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman mentioned in the Maḷavalli inscription of an early Kadamba king and later on as a feudatory of Kadamba Mayūraśarman.

It follows that the Pallava occupation of the Western Deccan before the rise of Mayūraśarman as known from the records of the Kadambas was a historical fact. This is further corroborated by the British Museum plates of Pallava queen Chārudēvī issued during the reign of the same Pallava king, Śivskandavarman²³, who flourished in the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. The donor of the grant is Chārudēvī, wife of the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Buddhavarman. Through this grant, Chārudēvī seems to have addressed the villagers and officials at Kaṭaka, about the gift of a field near Rājataḍāga. Rājataḍāga in Paitaṇa patha is mentioned in one of the early Brāhmī inscriptions from Kaṇhēri in Thane District of Maharashtra which was identified by M.N. Deshpande with the present city of Aurangabad²⁴.

From these evidences, it appears that soon after the death of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi or his successor, the early Pallavas occupied the coastal region of Western Deccan for sometime in the first half of the 4th century A.D. Thereafter the re-

gion was conquered by Mayūraśarman. Dēvarāja was probably the subordinate of the Pallavas and afterwards of Kadamba Mayūraśarman. There is a striking similarity between the Śiroda grant of Dēvarāja and the Hirēhaḍagalli plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, particularly in the concluding part²⁵. The Śiroda grant was issued in the 12th regnal year of Dēvarāja. He must have ruled from 350 to 375 A.D.

Āśaṅkitavarman

The next Bhōja king in order of chronology is Āśaṅkitavarman who is known from his Kāpōli and Hiregutti plates. It is difficult to say whether Āśaṅkita was the immediate successor of Dēvarāja or a distant one. But it seems that there was not much gap between these two kings. P.B. Desai thinks that Dēvarāja and Āśaṅkitarāja belonged to two different branches of the Bhōja family but this conjecture is not convincing.²⁶ Both of them seem to have belonged to the same family and ruled in succession. He further states that Āśaṅkitarāja of the Hiregutti plates and *mahārāja* Āśaṅkitavarman of the Kāpōli plates are different persons, which also is not correct. Desai's conjecture is based on the fact that in the Hiregutti plates, the Bhōja king is described as Āśaṅkitarāja and the endowment is recorded to a Buddhist-vihāra, whereas in the Kāpōli grant he is described as *mahārāja* Āśaṅkitavarman and as a true devotee of god Śiva.

We have a number of examples of this period where the same king's name is mentioned with different suffixes, such as Dahragaṇa and Dahrasēna Traikūṭaka.²⁷ In the same way most of the grants of the Traikūṭakas register endowments to Vēdic brāhmaṇas, but the Kaṅhēri copper-plate records the construction of a Buddhist stūpa²⁸. Therefore, the Bhōja king mentioned in the Kāpōli and Hiregutti plates will have to be treated as the same person. The place-names occurring in the Śiroda plates of Dēvarāja are from Goa and that of Āśaṅkitavarman's two grants referred to above are from the neighbouring Belgaum and Karwar Districts. So both these kings will have to be treated as members of one and the same ruling stock.

Āśaṅkitavarman had adopted the epithet *mahārāja* indicating that his royal status was definitely higher than that of Dēvarāja. The most important evidence is his jurisdiction over Palāśikā or Halsi in the Belgaum District which continued to be one of the royal seats of the Kadambas. Kākusthavarman was ruling over the Palāśikā division in the first quarter of the 5th century A.D.²⁹ The Halsi grant records the gift of lands to Bhōja general Śrutakīrti as a reward for saving the life of Kākusthavarman.³⁰ It shows that by 425 A.D. the Kadambas captured Palāśikā from the Bhōjas and Bhōja Śrutakīrti, who was most probably the descendant of the Bhō-

jas, entered the service of Kākusthavarman.

The history of the Kadambas from Mayūraśarman to Kākusthavarman is shrouded in obscurity.³¹ It seems that soon after the death of Mayūraśarman, Bhōja Āśaṅkitavarman occupied the Belgaum-Karwar region including Palāśikā from the Kadambas. According to the Hiregutti plates, the Kaikēyas of Nandipalli in Dharwad District were the subordinates of Bhōja Āśaṅkita. This evidence reveals the penetration of the Bhōjas into interior Karnataka right upto Dharwad, through Āśaṅkitavarman. His date can be fixed between 375 and 400 A.D. Bhōja Āśaṅkitavarman was the contemporary of Sukētavarman, the Maurya king of Koṅkaṇ. Both of them had marital relationship with each other.

Kāpālivarman

Āśaṅkitavarman was probably succeeded by Kāpālivarman who had assumed the title of *dharmamahārāja*, which undoubtedly indicates his high status as a paramount king ruling over a vast kingdom which is said to have been inherited by him from his predecessor Āśaṅkitavarman. Kāpālivarman is known from his Argā plates which record village grants from Karwar District in coastal Karnataka³². The charter was issued from Pānasa or Panasakhēṭaka which has not been identified. In one of the Kadamba inscriptions from Halsi, the place is described as Panasa³³ which has a striking phonet-

ical similarity with Panasakhēṭaka of the Argā grant. If this identification is correct, it would lead us to infer that during the reign of Kāpālivarman, the royal seat of the Bhōjas was shifted from Chandraura in Goa to Halsi.

Kāpālivarman, assumed the title of *dharmamahārāja* indicating the re-establishment of the paramount position of the Bhōjas. Since he governed the major part of north-western Karnataka and Goa, he was quite justified in adopting this title. He probably ruled from 400 to 425 A.D.

Kāpālivarman was probably the contemporary of Kadamba Kākusthavarman. The latter seems to have opened an offensive against the Bhōjas and captured Palāśikā. The information cited above from one of the Halsi grants of the Kadambas about the governership of Kākusthavarman over Palāśikā was the result of this encounter. Neither the records of the Kadambas nor that of the Bhōjas mention such an encounter between them. But some of the references from their inscriptions and contemporary literature substantiate such as conflict. They are as under :

1. The Halmiḍi inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarman refers to his fight with the Kaikēyas.³⁴ As seen from the Hiregutti grant of Bhōja Āśaṅkitavarman, Kaikēyas were the subordinates of the Bhōjas. It is, therefore, quite likely that the Kaikēyas fought with the Kadambas on behalf of

the Bhōjas.

2. The early Kadamba records mention their fight with the Nāgas.³⁵ If the relationship between Bhōja Dēvarāja and Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi is accepted, the reference to Nāgas may be directed towards the Bhōjas. Even if this is not accepted, we have a clear evidence in the Śiroda plates of Dēvarāja, that a Nāga chief named Prabhunāga was his subordinate³⁶. So like the Kaikēyas, the Nāgas also might have fought with Kadambas on behalf of the Bhōjas.

3. Records of Kadamba Kākusthavarman and his successors frequently mention the names of a Bhōja chief Śrutakīrti and his descendants who were in the service of the Kadambas.³⁷ Bhōja Śrutakīrti was the *sēnāpati* of Kadamba Kākusthavarman. It is, therefore, quite likely that Śrutakīrti was a descendant of Bhōja Kāpālivarman and entered the service of the Kadambas after the conquest of Palāśikā by the latter.

4. According to the Aṇaji inscription of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman I, the son of Kākusthavarman, he had fought with Pallavarāja Naṇakkāsa.³⁸

Naṇakkāsa Pallavarāja, who was the adversary of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman, has not been identified so far. In this respect the mention of Nandaka Talavara in

the Argā plates of Bhōja Kāpālivarman is interesting³⁹. The family name of this subordinate of Kāpālivarman is not recorded, but on the basis of phonetical similarity Naṇakkāsa may be a corrupt rendering of Nandaka. He was holding the office of Talavara which during the early centuries of the Christian era denoted a ruler⁴⁰.

As far as his family name Pallava is concerned, there is no ruler with this name in the whole genealogy of the early Pallavas. In this regard two possibilities can be inferred. Naṇakkāsa or Nandaka might have been a descendant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman of the Maḷavalli inscription cited above. It is quite possible that after the conquest of Banavāsi by Mayūraśarman from the Pallavas, their descendants joined the service of the Bhōjas who had earlier been ousted from Banavāsi by the Pallavas. The Bhōjas probably were assisted by the Kaikēyas and the Pallavas in the reconquest of Palāśikā as discussed above. Like the Kaikēyas of Nandipalli, the Pallava descendants of Śivaskandavarman might have been assigned a territory, most probably the territory known as Havyaga or Haive, and the position of *Talavara*, and, Nandaka Talavara was probably the contemporary Pallava subordinate of Bhōja Kāpālivarman as seen from the Argā copper-plates of the latter.

The second possibility is that Nandaka may have been an offspring of a Bhōja father and a Pallava mother or vice-versa. In any case he seems to have been an ally of the Bhōjas in their fight against Kadamba Kākusthavarman and Kṛishṇavarman. In spite of the confederacy of the Bhōjas, the Kaikēyas and the Pallavas, the Kadambas seem to have overwhelmed and defeated them. Consequently the Kaikēyas changed their masters and offered their daughters⁴¹ in marriage to Kadamba princes as seen from the records of the successors of Kākusthavarman. The descendants of the Bhōjas seem to have actually entered the service of the Kadambas as seen from the Halmiḍi inscription cited above. After this, nothing is heard about the Pallavas at least in the Western Decan. It is quite possible that Naṅakkāsa Pallavarāja *alias* Nandaka left Koṅkaṇ in search of green pastures.

In this respect the description of a valiant chief named Naṅṅaṅ occurring in the Saṅgam literature is of utmost importance.⁴² According to this account, Naṅṅaṅ originally hailed from Koṅkaṇ and later on captured Tuḷunāḍu and founded a new kingdom. The historicity of this Naṅṅaṅ has not been established so far. Naṅṅaṅ of the Saṅgam literature, Naṅakkāsa Pallavarāja of the Aṅaji inscription and Nandaka Talavara of the Argā plates of Bhōja Kāpālivarman probably represent one and the same person. The Bhōjas and their Pallava subordinates were thus deprived of their king-

dom by Kākusthavarman and his son Kṛishṇavarman.

5. Among the Kadamba kings Kṛishṇavarman I is the only ruler who is credited with the performance of *aśvamēdha* sacrifice⁴³. However, historians are still in the dark about the achievement of Kṛishṇavarman. The dismemberment of the Bhōja kingdom and the restoration of the Kadamba authority over Palāśikā was probably the incident which enabled Kṛishṇavarman to perform the horse sacrifice. Kṛishṇavarman probably achieved this victory during the reign of his father Kākusthavarman.

Prithivīmallavarman :

Four copper-plates of this ruler have been reported. Two of them are from Goa and two from Kolhāpūr. On palaeographic considerations these plates have been dated to the 6th or 7th century A.D.⁴⁴. It shows a gap of at least a century between him and the last mentioned Bhōja king Kāpālivarman. As pointed out above, the Bhōja chiefs during this gap seem to have served the Kadambas.

After the reign of Kadamba Kākusthavarman, the Kadamba kingdom was partitioned amongst the descendants of Śāntivarman and his brother Kṛishṇavarman I, who looked towards each other as enemies⁴⁵. Consequently, during the 6th century A.D., the Kadamba power was waning. Bhōja Prithvīmallavarman seems to have exploited this situation and restored his dynasty to power at least in Goa and Southern Maharashtra. He

was probably assisted by the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ who had marital relations with the Bhōjas as discussed above. It is probably due to this reason that two copper-plates of Pṛithivīmalla were discovered at Kolhāpur in Maharashtra.

Pṛithivīmallavarman did not possess the epithets indicating high royal status such as *mahārāja* or *dharmamahārāja* like his two predecessors. It shows that he was not a paramount king but seems to have asserted independence and was trying to strengthen his position at the cost of the Kadambas. His copper-plates also substantiate this surmise, because they had been issued from different places such as Vṛishabhinīkhēṭaka and Pṛithivīparvata which seem to have been his camping places or *nelevīḍus*.

One of the Goa plates of Pṛithivīmalla-varman was issued during the first year of his reign⁴⁶. It was issued from Vṛishabhinīkhēṭaka. The other Goa plate which belongs to his 25th regnal year was issued from Pṛithivīparvata⁴⁷. Both the Kolhāpur grants of this king which mention his 31st regnal year were also issued from Pṛithivīparvata.⁴⁸ It shows that, at least during the later part of his reign, Pṛithivīparvata was his royal seat. However, none of the place-names mentioned in the grants of Pṛithivīmallavarman have been identified so far. Pṛithivīparvata may have been a hill fort somewhere in Goa, South Koṅkaṇ or near Kolhāpur. It was obviously renamed af-

ter Pṛithivīmallavarman. If it is so a hill fort in Kolhapur District of Maharashtra state named Bhūdhargaḍ may be the modern equivalent of Pṛithivīparvata. Since Pṛithivīmallavarman had jurisdiction over Southern Maharashtra, it seems that he regained his ancestral kingdom of Goa with the help of the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ using Southern Maharashtra as a base which was ruled over by the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ.

Pṛithivīmallavarman was probably the last independent king of the Bhōja dynasty and, like the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ, the Bhōja kingdom was also finally liquidated by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. As a matter of fact the name of the Bhōjas does not occur in the list of the enemies subdued by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, but an extract from the Nilgund plates of Vikramāditya VI, describing the military achievements of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, certainly contains a hint to the defeat of Bhōja Pṛithivīmallavarman and Maurya Anirjī-tavarman by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi.⁴⁹

It has now almost been established that most of the information about the Chalukyas of Bādāmi occurring in the inscriptions of their descendents from Kalyāṇa was authentic.⁵⁰ The details of Nilgund plates may throw some light on the relationship between the Chalukyas of Bādāmi and the Bhōjas and the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ. As regards the defeat of the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, there is ample evidence in the inscriptions of the latter. But so far we

are not aware about the identity of the Maurya king who was finally defeated by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. The reference to the defeat of the Mauryas of KoṆkaṆ as 'Maurya nirjīt' occurring in the Nilgund plates is significant and probably suggests the name of the Maurya king through a pun on the word *nirjīt*. It is probably a reference to king Anirjītavarman Maurya known from his Bandora plates⁵¹. He was probably the last prominent Maurya king of KoṆkaṆ and seems to have been the contemporary of Bhōja Pṛithivīmallavarman.

In the same way the mention of Pṛithu as a defeated enemy by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, might be a reference to Bhōja Pṛithivīmallavarman because no other king with this name existed among the contemporary ruling dynasties of the early Chalukya kings of Bādāmi.

If this identification is accepted, it would lead us to infer that, like the Mauryas of KoṆkaṆ, the Bhōjas were also among the enemies finally defeated

by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. Pulakēśin II finally liquidated the power of the Mauryas of KoṆkaṆ as known from his Aihole inscription⁵². Bhōja Pṛithivīmallavarman was probably subdued by Chalukya Maṅgalēśa who appointed the Bappura chief Dhruvarāja Indravarman as the administrator of the coastal region of the Western Deccan as known from his Goa plates⁵³.

Some historians hold the view that the kingdom of the Bhōjas was conquered by the Mauryas of KoṆkaṆ and the latter were destroyed by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi⁵⁴. But in the light of the evidence quoted above, it seems that both the Bhōjas and the Mauryas of KoṆkaṆ were finally conquered by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. In this way the present study helps us to shed new light on the political history of the Western Deccan from the downfall of the Sātavāhanas to the rise of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. It further helps us to understand the role played by the Bhōja dynasty during the period under review.

Notes and References

1. The inscriptions and their references are as follows :

- a) Śiroda plates of Dēvarāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 143 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p 337 ff.
- b) Hiregutti plates of Āśāṅkita, *Ibid.*, Vol XXVIII, pp.70-75.
- c) Kāpōli plates of Mahārāja Āśāṅkitavarman, *Ibid.*, Vol XXXI, pp. 232-36.
- d) Argā plates of Dharmamahārāja Kāpālivarman, *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 232-36
- e) Goa plates of Pṛithivīmallavarman, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 61-64.
- f) Goa plates of Pṛithivīmallavarman, *Ibid.*

- g) Kolhāpūr plates of Pṛithivīmallaavarman, *I.A.A Review* - 1970-71, Set I.
- h) Kolhāpūr plates of Pṛithivīmallaavarman, *Ibid.*, Set. II
- i) The Vaḍa inscription of Sukētuvarman *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, p. 372; P.R. Srinivasan, *J.I.H.* Vol. L, VII-LV, 1979; p. 40 ff. K.V. Ramesh. 85. *Indian Epigraphy and Ep. Ind.*, Vol XL, pp. 51-54.
- j) Śivapur (Goa) plates of Chandravarman: M.G. Dikshit, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 181-84; D.C. Sircar, *AIORI*, p. 94 ff.; , T.V. Gune, *ARG*, 1966, No. 4.
- k) Bandora Copper-plates of Maurya Anirjitavarman, T.V. Gune, *ARG*, 1966, No. 5; G.S. Gai, *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 293-96.
2. G.S. Gai, *IHQ* Vol. XXXVII, pp.240-42; P.B. Desai, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp.70-75; N.L. Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVI, p.333.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, pp 51-54
4. *Ibid.*,
5. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka - Gupta Age*, 1967, Delhi, p. 302.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XX and XXVI, *op.cit.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 23; D.C. Sircar, *Successors of the Satavahanas in the Western Deccan*, p. 225
9. B.C. Law, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 384.
10. *Ep. Ind.*; Vol. XXVI, *op.cit.*
11. *C.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 48, foot-note no 11
12. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 79.
13. Burgess and Buhler, *ASWI.*, Vol. V, p 86; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 1021
14. Burgess and Buhler, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 88; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 1072.
15. Burgess and Buhler, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, P. 90 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 1111
16. Burgess and Buhler *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 84; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 1037.
17. R.C. Majumdar(ed) *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 1968, Bombay, pp. 207-08.
18. Lüders List, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol X, No. 1021.

19. D.C. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 220.
20. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, p. 262
21. R.C. Majumdar(ed), *The Classical Age*, 1967, Bombay, pp. 276-77.
22. D.C. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 223 ;*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143-44.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
24. M.N. Deshpande, *Ancient India*, No. 15, p. 66
25. R.C. Majumdar(ed), *The Classical Age, op.cit.*
26. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, *op. cit.*
27. R.C. Majumdar(ed), *The Classical Age, op. cit.*, p. 192
28. Shobhana Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, 1991, Pune. Ins. No. 14,
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51. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, *op. cit.*
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Introduction

In the British Parliament, there is one non-elective chamber called "House of Lords", in which the members are hereditary or appointed peers and peeresses¹. Peer means a member of one of the five degrees of British nobility, a nobleman². House of Lords is also the final court of appeal for civil and criminal cases³.

Similar to that in ancient Tamil country, there was one non-elective chamber called *Chāṅṅōr-avai* i.e., the 'Court of Lords', in which the members were hereditary or appointed Chāṅṅōrs. *Chāṅṅōr* means, 'a warrior, one who protects his subjects, well versed in legal scriptures and in brief, a righteous ruler'⁴. Chāṅṅōr-avai is also the final court of appeal for civil and criminal cases.

In Tamil literature and inscriptions, there are references to the expression Chāṅṅōr and Chāṅṅōr-avai. In Saṅgam works like *Aganāṅṅūru*, *Puranāṅṅūru*, *Padirruppattu*, *Kalittogai*, *Tirukkural*, *Nālaḍiyār*, *Paḷamoḷi* and *Chirupanchamūlam* and *Bhārata Venba*, there are so many references about Chāṅṅōr and Chāṅṅōr-avai. This paper deals with the activities, responsibilities and the status in the society of Chāṅṅōr and Chāṅṅōr-avai in ancient Tamilnāḍu.

Chāṅṅōr

We have to remember that the Saṅgam period was the heroic age of the Tamils and the nobility were the heroes

of finest tradition: For example,

Amaṅṅ itta arumuḷ vēlik - kalleṅ
pāsaraip = pal - sāṅṅōr

(*Puṅgam* 301: 3-4)

Kōlak=Kōlak-kuraiyāt-tāṅṅaich-Chāṅṅōr
(*Padir*: 82-15)

Eyilēri valvilē-viḷaṅgu taḍakkai
ēndelil āgattuch - Chāṅṅōr meymmaṅṅai
(*Puṅgam* 52: 10-11)

Tērtara vanda Chāṅṅōr ellām
tōlkaṅ maṅṅaiippa, oruṅgu māyndaṅṅarē
(*Puṅgam* : 63: 5-6)

It is but natural to presume that the nobility were the rulers of the land, who were also considered as experts in legal and judiciary matters.

There is one expression in *Puṅgam* :

ūl irandu uṅṅum uyaval vāḷvaip -
puravu edirndu koḷḷum Chāṅṅōr
(*Puṅgam* 375: 7-8)

which means, the nobility (who are 'equivalent to 'Prabhu' in Sanskrit) who protect the downtrodden.

Then the Chāṅṅōr functioned as a group similar to that of the Gaṅas, mentioned in North Indian literatures. In this sense, we can equate it with the Sāntākaras of the Lichchavis, in which clan Buddha was born. The chief of such Sāntākaras must take cognisance of all

the members' views, if it is an assembly proceeding, and he has to be balanced in his judgement, if it is a dispute between groups or individuals⁵.

Tirukkural says that ornament or the personality of the Chāṅṅrōr is to incline neither side, but to rest impartial as the evenly fixed scale⁶. These are the important activities, responsibilities and the status of the society of the Chāṅṅrōrs in ancient Tamilnāḍu.

Chāṅṅrōr - Avai

Next we come to the Chāṅṅrōr - Avai i.e., the 'Court of Lords'. The *Chāṅṅrōr - Avai* is mentioned in Tamil literature and inscriptions as *Chāṅṅrōr-Avai*⁷, *Chāṅṅrōr-iruntanava*⁸, *Anbin avai*⁹, *Nerimān-avai*¹⁰, *Valudayyar-ava*¹¹, *Chāṅṅrōr-kulū*¹², *Chāṅṅrōr-kulam*¹³, *Nāṭṭār-sabai*¹⁴, *Pallar-avai*, etc.

A poem in *Puranāṅṅūru* mentions as follows: A litigant who enters the court of Chāṅṅrōr in the Chōḷa palace, proclaims in a loud voice his grievances and pleads for their interference in the matter¹⁵. Būtappāṇḍiyan, a Pāṇḍya king, followed the customs of appointing one who is well versed in *dharma* (*aṅṅilai*) and compassion¹⁶. It would have been the procedure of the king to appoint people belonging to his clan as it was the system of hierarchy that was practised in those days.

There are many expressions like, '*aṅṅam - aṅṅkaṅḍa nerimāṅṅ - avaiyam*, which means 'the court where the aspects of *dharma*, were decided¹⁷. In one such verse in the *Pāyiram* of *Aganāṅṅūru*, it is men-

tioned as follows:

"*Ninṅra nīti, veṅṅra - nēmi*
Paḷudil koḷgai, Valudayar avaiṅṅaṅṅ
arivu vīṅṅirunda cherivuḍai maṅṅrattu
vantōi - nallīsaich = Chāṅṅrōr - kulī.
(*Pāyiram, Aganāṅṅūru - 4*)

It is pertinent to mention here that Nachchinārkiṅṅiyar, the commentator of 14th century uses the term, *Chāṅṅrōr samayatt-irukkum-maṅḍapam*. It is intriguing that he uses the expression *samayatt-iruttal*, which is not yet understood by scholars¹⁸. The word *samayam* is equivalent to 'collective decision'. Even religion, which should obtain the collective approval of the followers, is called *samayam*. A school of thought can also be termed as *samayam*. But *samayam* has got a legal connotation. It has got a binding nature. We have many synonyms as well as derivatives from the word *sam*, for example, *samavāyam*, *samakaram*, *samachitam*, *samātānam*, *samati*, *samayi-tam*, *samāpti*, *samūham*, *samuchchayam*, *samudāyam*, *sumavatam*, *sampantam*, *sam-matam*, *samvatam*, *samavāyāṅṅka-sutta*, *samit-jamāt*, etc.

In some inscriptions of the merchant guild Chittiramēḷi - periyāṅṅṭṭār we come across *Samayamantri*, the post which probably had judiciary powers that could be exercised on the members of the guild.

In the didactic literature in Tamil (6th - 7th centuries A.D.), we come across references about kings passing judgements in litigations: *Murai cheydu Kāppāṅṅum maṅṅavan* (*Kural-388*), which

means, 'the king who protects his citizens with the sense of justice'.

The famous Manunīchōlan's anecdote is referred to in *Paḷamoli Nāṇūru* with the moral instruction that age is not the criterion for becoming a judge. The courtyard of the palace functioned as the court (*Paḷamoli -319*).

The story of Karikālan disguising himself as an old man by putting a grey wig and passing a judgement in a dispute is mentioned in *Paḷamoli Nāṇūru*¹⁹. Mūṇṇurai-araiyaṇār, the author of *Paḷamoli Nāṇūru*, as his name itself suggests, belonged to the royal clan. The depth of learning and erudition and a mastery over the scriptures are expressed in the court of the king (Vēndan-avai)²⁰. Poṛkai-pāṇḍiyan, cutting his own hand as a punishment, for an unintentional offence committed by himself, is mentioned under the caption *ChāṇṇṚŌr-chēgai* in *Paḷamoli Nāṇūru*²¹. These *chāṇṇṚŌr* presided over the *avai* or *maṇṇu* and they functioned as arbitrators or mediators (*naḍuvar*) as it is mentioned in *Paḷamoli Nāṇūru* under the caption *chāṇṇṚŌr - iyalbu*²² (*Pallar-avai naḍuvan pārppattā chāṇṇṚŌr*).

It seems that the word *madhyasthar* which is mentioned in the Chōḷa period inscriptions is a direct translation of the word *naḍuvar* and it will be relevant, though a bit out of context, that the name of one community, the members of which function as accountants in Karnāṭaka i.e., Shānbōg or Sēnabōva seems to be related to *chāṇṇṚŌr* as the *mad-*

hyasthar also functioned as accountants in the Chōḷa period²³. As a natural corollary of such functions, the word *chāṇṇṚŌr* attains the meaning of authorities well versed in technicalities, and even the etymological meaning of this word is derived from *chāṇṇṚu* which can be roughly translated as 'arbitration'. *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇam* mentions *chāṇṇṚu enattagaiya cheṅgōlinān*²⁴ and in some inscriptions there are reference to *TalaivāyichchāṇṇṚŌr*, i.e., 'arbitrators in dispute concerning water released for irrigation'²⁵.

The word *sāṭchi* i.e., *sākshi* in Sanskrit, was considered as equivalent to *chāṇṇṚŌr*, as we find in *Upamanyu Bhakta Vilāsam*, a Sanskrit translation of *Periyapurāṇam* (vide "*Ēnāti nātār-purāṇam*")²⁶.

In a 14th century inscription which was found recently, the term *millichchāṇṇāṇ* which is a corrupt form of *vilichchāṇṇāṇ* is used. The significance of the term is explicit as the word *sāṭchi* is also derived from *aksha*(eye). *Tirukkural* equates the ministers with the eyes of a king. Even *Arthasāstra* allegorically mentions that Indra got the name *Sahasranētri* (thousand eyed) as he had thousand ministers. So, this tradition of equating the officials in the court of ChāṇṇṚŌr to the eyes of the king is not new.

In a 13th century inscription from Kumāranallūr, near Kōṭṭayam in Kēraḷa, the interesting proceedings and decisions of the court of ChāṇṇṚŌr are mentioned briefly. The decision of the *chāṇṇṚŌr* which would be binding on the citizens is

termed as *Mūlikkalakkachcham* which can be translated as 'the law of the court of eyes'. It cannot be translated in English in a better manner as it is steeped in the age old traditions of this land²⁹.

The tribal assembly, as any historian or Anthropologist knows, had the judicial as well as administrative power in all the matters connected with the tribe. For example, the word *maṅṅru* is still used among the Badaga community people, as court (Ootakamund) *Oṛṛaikkal-maṅṅru*. The word *maṅṅru* is used in Tamil literature right from *Tirikaṭugam* (6th century A.D.) upto *Periyapurāṇam* (12th century A.D.) as 'court'. *Tirikaṭugam* mentions *chāṅṅrōr muṅ maṅṅir koṭumpadu uraippōrum*: which means, submitting ones grievances in the court of *chāṅṅrōr*³⁰. Also *Periyapurāṇam* mentions, *Paḷaiyamaṅṅādi-pōlum* meaning, 'one who is an old litigant or a trouble shooter'³¹.

But this *Mūlikkalakkachcham* of *chāṅṅrōr*

was not a tribal court, but a court which functioned in a cosmopolitan set up, where brāhmaṇas, śūdras and the nobility were participants. It is stipulated in the inscription that the offenders of these laws should offer their oblation of ghee in the arena of *chāṅṅrōr* (*Veṅpālaich-chāṅṅrōr kādāgiṅṅra bhūmimēl tulām ney aṭṭuvadu*)³². Judiciary and administration were not segregated and that system was in vogue upto 14th century. This system which is even now prevalent among the Muslim people as the decision of 'Jamāth', is binding on the whole community. An inscription from Kāyalpaṭṭiṇam (Chidambaranar District) of 19th century speaks of the *Sammata-pattirakarārṇāmā* (*Samaya-ōlai*) which can be translated as 'the strict rule with the agreement of the assembly of Muslims (Jamāth)'. This *patra* or *samaya-ōlai* can be equated with the *avaiyattār-ōlai* mentioned in *Kalittogai* (verse 29).

Notes and References

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6. *Tirukkural*, No. 119.
7. *Paḷamoli Nāṅṅuru*, No. 86 : 3-4.
8. *Puṛam*, 266 : 8
9. *Ibid.*, 71
10. *Ibid.*, 224 : 4

11. *Ahaṇṇāṇṇūru*, Pāyiram : 2
12. *Ibid.*, 4
13. *Tirukkural*, 840
14. *Bhārata Veṇba*, 56
15. *Puṇam*, 266 : 7-9
16. *Puṇam*, 71 : 7-9
17. *Puṇam*, 224 : 4
18. *Pattuppāṭṭu*, ed. by U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar, 1974, p. 658,
19. *Paḷamoli Nāṇṇūru*, No. 6.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 258.
21. *Ibid.*, No. 76.
22. *Ibid.*, No. 86, 81
23. Tiruvāṣi, Musiri Tk, Trichy Dt. Varadhīśvara temple.
24. *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* : Bālakāṇḍam, No. 29
25. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 689.
26. *Upamanyu Bhakta Vilāsam Ēnātināṭar-purāṇam*, ślōka 3.
27. *Tirukkural*, 445
28. Kautilyāś *Arthaśāstra*:Adhikaraṇa I chapter 15.
29. *TAS.*, Vol. III, part II, p. 195, No. 49.
30. *Tirikaṭugam*
31. *Periyapurāṇam*
32. *TAS.*, Vol. III; part I, No. 49.

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Two Inscriptions From Bollēpalli

- M.D. Sampath

Two interesting inscriptions¹ were copied from the village Bollēpalli in Bhuvanagiri Taluk of Nalgonda District and included in the *Annual Report* for the year 1973-74. Sri B.N. Shastri has edited these records in one of the issues of *Bhārati*². These inscriptions are engraved on two different pillars set up in front of a Śiva temple in the village.

The records are engraved in Telugu language and characters of eleventh and thirteenth century respectively. The first record (Text-A below) belongs to the reign period of Jagadēkamalla II, the Kalyāṇa Chālukya king and is dated in his tenth regnal year. The other details of date viz., Pra bhava, Vaiśākha śu. Akshayatritīya, Saturday correspond to 1147 A.D., April 5. It records the consecration of the deity Mailāradēva in *dhavalāra* constructed by the donor in a garden, east of the village Īnta near Bollēpalli included in Bhuvanagiri and the grant of money for offerings to the deity by Mēḍaya-bhaṭṭu, son of Saudara Malle-nāyaka-Biruda-nāyaka of Podaṭūru and Bollamma, the daughter of Appana-bhaṭṭu of Brahmapuri and the grandson of Mēḍeya-bhaṭṭu of Bhāradvāja-gōtra and described as the lord of Kollipuramu in Vēṅgi-nāḍu. It also records the grant of money to meet the expenses of the different types of worship on the warm nights (full moon-day), ten *rūkala-māḍalu* to the *brāhmaṇa* priest as *jīvita*, two *māḍas* for the cloth, five

gadyas to the singer, three *gadyas* for the gardener (?) and one *māḍa* for the persons who put *raṅgavali*. The donor's father Saudara Malle-nāyaka is stated to have made a gift of one hundred and one *rūkala-māḍalu* to meet the expenditure of the consecration ceremony and wet lands with a sowing capacity of *puṭlu* paddy to the same deity.

The temple (*dhavalāramu*)³ in a garden to the east of the village Īnta, is a towery (*uttumga*) structure constructed out of limestone material (*sudhādhavala*). The deity Mailāradēva represents Śiva. It is possible that there was a limestone quarry in the Nalgonda region or the limestone may have been brought from the neighbouring Guntur District. We know that the border areas of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley included in the above district represent the present Devarakonda Taluk of Nalgonda District.

The record belongs to the reign of Chālukya Jagadēkamalla. He has been credited with the title *Pratāpa-chakravarti* meaning 'the valorous emperor'. He quotes his own year in this record. We hear of his initial year in a record from Aṇadūr in Bidar Taluk and District⁴, which cites the Śaka year 1059 and the cyclic year Kālayukti. This cyclic year falls in Śaka 1060 corresponding to 1138-39 A.D. This is the earliest record of the king known so far and it suggests that he came to the throne sometime be-

fore December 1138 A.D.⁵ There is another record from Sorab Taluk⁶ dated Śaka 1060, which marks the beginning of his reign. Kalyāṇa continued to be his *nelevīdu*. This is confirmed by another inscription of 1147 A.D., from Nargund in Dharwar District⁷. Jayantipura is mentioned once in 1148 A.D.,⁸ a year later than the date of the present record.

The donor of the inscription Mēḍeya-bhaṭṭu is referred to as the lord of Kollipuram in Vēṃgi -nāḍu. The place Kollipuram is the same as Kolanupāka which is included in Bhuvanagiri Taluk of Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh. This place is well-known for its old temples, inscriptions and antiquities, which testify to its fame and historical importance. Bollēpalli and Īnta are the villages that were in the jurisdiction of Bhuvanagiri, the same as the present Bhongir in Nalgonda District.

The second inscription (Text-B below) is dated Śaka 1189 and belongs to the reign of Rudradēva-mahārāju of the Kākatīya family. The cyclic year Prabhava, Āshāḍha śu.1, Thursday in the above Śaka year agrees with 1267 A.D., June 23, f.d.t.⁹64.

It registers the grant of one *maruturu* of wet land (*nīru-nēla*) and thirty *maruturu* of dry land as *sarvamānya* during the months of Kārttika-Vaiśākha, to the deity Mallayadēva of Bollēpalli by Tēṛala-Ēḍimḍla-raḍḍu.

The record furnishes a long *praśasti* of the donor, commencing with *samasta-*

guṇa-gaṇ-āśraya, vīra-lakshmi -nivāsa, etc. The other interesting epithets are *Bhagavati-varaprasāda-labdha-vijayumḍu, kārmmuk-āstra-vidyā-pāraṃgatumḍu, samara-sauparṇumḍu, Biruda-nāyaka-jīmūta-pavanumḍu, Gaḍi-gōṭa -malaṃḍu, samara -jay-Ārjjunumḍu, vidvajjana-rakshakumḍu, udāra-Karṇumḍu, Vāḍa-parṭi-Śrī-Svayambhudēva-divya-śrī pāda-padm-ārā-dhakumḍu, etc.* The Tēṛala-Ēḍimḍla-raḍḍu had control over Lāḍimḡa-300 division. The village Vāḍapartī can be identified with Vāḍapartī in Bhuvanagiri Taluk, Nalgonda District.

The expression *raḍḍu* occurring in the present inscription seems to be a variant of *rattagullu*, meaning those who held the office of 'Raṭṭagūḍi'. This again has been rendered as settler in the *rāshṭra* or cultivator or tenant⁹. A number of forms of this word like Raṭṭaḷḷu, Raṭṭōḍi, etc., are found in early Telugu records of 7th century A.D. The present day *raḍḍu* denotes the same group and does not represent any sect or class as construed by some scholars.

Text - A ¹⁰

First Face

1. Ōm Svasti Samasta-bhuvanāśra-
2. ya śrī pṛithivīvallabha- mahā -
3. rājādhirāja- paramēśva -
4. ra-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Satyāśra-
5. ya-kuḷatilaka Chāḷukyā -
6. bharaṇam śrīmaj=Jagadēkama-
7. lladēvara vijayarājya-
8. m-uttar=ōttar-īābhivṛidhi(ddhi)
prava-
9. rddhamānam-āchamdr-ārka-tāra
mbu

10. Kalyāṇapurāṇi nelaviṭi su -
11. kha-saṅkathāvinōdanbuna
12. rājyaṅbu sēyuchunūṇḍa
13. śrīmach=Chāḷukya -pratāpacha-
14. kravartti-Jagadēkamalla-varshamulu
15. 10 gu Prabhava-sainvatsara Vaiśū-
16. kha śukla-paksham-Aksha-tritīya-
17. yu Vaḍḍavāraṅ nāṅḍu Vēṅgi -
18. nāṭilōni Kollipuram pra -
19. bhuvu Bhāradvāja-gōtra pavi

truṅ-

20. ḍu Mēḍeya- bhaṭṭu tat-sutuṅḍu
21. śrīmat Podaṭūri Saudara -

Second Face

22. Malle-nāyaka-Biruda-nā -
23. yakula Brahmapura A -
24. ppana-bhaṭṭu tat-suti Bolla -
25. mma tad=dampatula vara -
26. putruṅḍu Mēḍeya-
27. bhaṭṭu śrīmatu Peṅjeṛa -
28. Mailāradēvara paṅpuna
29. Bhuvanagiri pratibaddhamu
30. Bollēpalli muṅḍaṭi Ī -
31. nta-grāma tūrppu nandana-
32. vanamu lōpala sudhā -
33. dhavalit=ōttuṅga ramya -
34. maina [dha]vaḷāramu sēyiṅ -
35. chiy-aṅḍu Mēḍeya -bha -
36. ṭṭu Śrī Mailāradēvaranu -
37. pratishṭha sēsiri || Ā dē -
38. vara nagariki vachchu chaṅḍa -
39. rāvulōna dēvarakun - a -
40. kshata -gaṅḍha- pushpa - dhū -
41. pa-dīpa-naivēdya-tāmbū -
42. la-vastr-ābharāṅ-ādy -aṅga -
43. bhōgamulakuṅ dagina
44. dravyamun- ivi migilina

Third Face

45. dravya-vrayanu adhyakshakuṅ -
46. ḍeḍu brāhmaṇa jīvitamu -
47. naku varshaiṅ prati padi rūkala
48. māḍalu || dēvara-pūjāri
49. Mallikēya talli Gaṅganavaku -
50. clūralaku māḍalu 2 pāḍe -
51. ḍuvāriki gadyalu 5 tōṅ-
52. ṭavāriki gadyalu 3 raṅgava -
53. li vetṭuvāriki māḍa 1 iṭi -
54. daṛakun-ī mārggamuna Mēḍe -
55. ya-bhaṭṭu pariṭhaviṅchina dēva -
56. dāryyamu dappaka naḍipinavā -
57. ru svarggagāmulu naḍapaka ta -
58. ppinavāru narakagāmulu ||
59. Mēḍaya -bhaṭṭu dēvata pra -
60. tishṭhādi brayamu sē[se] -
61. nu nī padi sēsi rūkala
62. māḍalu nūṭa yokkaṭi[yu]

Fourth Face

63. dēvaraku Podaṭūri
64. Saudara Malleya-nā -
65. yaka Biruda-nāya -
66. kulu nirbbāni cheru -
67. pu piṛuda niṅḍu ma -
68. ṛuturu 1 Bollēpa -
69. Ili paḍumaṭi śivadvā -
70. ramu paḍumaṭa pura -
71. yenu Putṭlapaṭṭu veli -
72. volamunu dhārāpū -
73. rvvakamu sēsiri | Sva-da -
74. ttām para -dattām vā yō -
75. harēti(ta) Vasuṅdharām | sha -
76. sṭiṅ -varsha- sahasrāṅ vi -
77. sṭā(ṭhā)yām jāyatē kri(kṛi)mi -
78. ḥ || śatruṅ-āpi kṛitō- dha -
79. rmmaḥ pālaniyah praya -

80. tnataḥ | śatrur-ēva hi śa -
 81. truḥ syāt dharmmaḥ śatru -
 82. r=nna kasyachit [| *]

Text - B¹¹*First Side*

1. Svasti [| *] śrī vija -
 2. yābhyudaya-
 3. Śaka-varushambu -
 4. lu 1189 agu -
 5. nēmṭi Prabhava -
 6. samvatsara Ā -
 7. shāḍha śuddha pā -
 8. ḍyami Guru -
 9. vārāna sva -
 10. sti śrīmanu
 11. mahāmaṁ -
 12. ḍalēśvara Kāka -
 13. tiyya Rudradēva -
 14. mahārājulu
 15. uttar=ōttar-ābhivri(vṛi) -
 16. ddhigām bridhivīrā -
 17. jyambu sēyuchu -
 18. nuṁḍaṁgānu
 19. svasti [| *] samasta-guṇa -
 20. gaṇ-āśraya vīrala -

Second Side

21. kshmī - nivāsa ba -
 22. m̄dhujana - chim -
 23. tāmaṇi | dīna -
 24. jana-kalpa- vri(vṛi)ksha
 25. bhagavatī varapra -
 26. sāda - labdha- vi -
 27. jayum̄ḍu -
 28. nu samgīta- vi -
 29. dyā - vinōda
 30. chatur-udadhir = i -
 31. va-sum̄dha(da)ra arthi

32. Biruda - nāyaka
 33. Bembadēvaṁḍu -
 34. nu | aśi -muśa -
 35. la -kaṇaya - kaṁpa -
 36. ṇa tōmara - mu -
 37. śim̄ḍi - bim̄ḍi vā -
 38. la -mudgara kārmmu -
 39. kh - āstra - vidyāpā -
 40. raṁgatum̄ḍu

Third Side

41. paranārī - dūrum -
 42. ḍunu | pati-hita -
 43. garuḍaṁḍunu | sa -
 44. mara -sauparṇum̄ḍu -
 45. nu | vidināyaka
 46. gajakēsari | Biru -
 47. da-nāyaka jīmū -
 48. ta-pavanum̄ḍunu
 49. Gaḍigōṭa - malaṁḍu -
 50. nu | samara -jay-Ā -
 51. rjjunum̄ḍunu | satya -
 52. hariśchaṁdrum̄ḍunu
 53. vibhava- dēvēṁdru -
 54. m̄ḍunu | vidvaj -jana -
 55. rakshakum̄ḍunu | pa -
 56. rabala - śikshakum̄ḍu -
 57. nu tura - kari - vara -
 58. tum̄ḍunu | udā -
 59. ra -Karṇnum̄ḍunu | śrī -
 60. mad-nijavaṁśa -vā -
 61. rddhi -varddhana sudhā -
 62. karum̄ḍunu

Fourth Side

63. Vāḍapaṛti śrī -Svaya -
 64. m̄bhudēva - divya-śrīpā -
 65. da-padm -ārādhakum̄ -
 66. ḍunu | ālim̄ge- mu -

67. nnir̥va Asagana - garu -
68. ḍa nāmādi sama-
69. sta- praśasti -sahitu-
70. laina śrīmatu Tēṛa -
71. la -Ēḍimḍla - raḍlunnu
72. Bollēpalli Mallaya -
73. dēvuniki puram pu-
74. ṭṭayati -am̐tavaṭṭun - ichchi -
75. timi vri(vṛi)tti nīru -nēla
76. maṛuturunnu veli -
77. volamu mupayi -
78. maṛuturunnu Kārtti -
79. ka Vaiśākhāla sarvvamā -
80. nyamugān - ichchitimi |

81. im̐tavaṭṭu lēda -
82. nnaṁ dappu gaṁgakaṛṭa
83. kavilaṁ boḍchina dōsha -
84. mu | rājyālu enni di -
85. riginānu Mallise(śe)ṭṭi
86. Kāsāri manumaṁ -
87. ḍu Malli -Mallise(śe)ṭṭi
88. pūjari Pōtagauṁḍa
89. pūjari dēvapalu viḍa -
90. puramunaku sthānapa -
91. tulu dirugārannavā -
92. ru paṁcha - mahāpā -
93. takulu [|| *]

Notes and References

1. *A.R. Ep.*, 1973-74, Nos. B1 and 2
2. *Bhārati* (Telugu), March 1969, Vol. 46, pt. I, pp. 5-18
3. Sri. B.N. Shastri read this word as *Vavaḷādamu*, which does not give any meaning. The word *dhavaḷāra* is used in the sense of white structure. The limestone is a white stone with shining.
4. *A.R. Ep.*, 1962-63, Introd., p. 28 and Nos. B 769.
5. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part.II, p. 457.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, p. 233.
7. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 457.
8. G. Yazdani, *The Early History of the Deccan*, 1960, p. 17.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVII, p. 231.
10. From inked impression.
11. From inked impression.

Tiruvanantapuram Plates of Pāṇḍuvaṁśi

Mahāśiva Tīvararāja

M.J. Sharma

A set of three copper-plates was copied a few months back, from a private antiquity collector at Tiruvanantapuram, Kerala with the kind help of Shri. T. Satyamurthy, Superintending Archaeologist, Temple Survey Project, Madras. The original findspot of these plates must have been somewhere in southern Madhya Pradesh as most of the plates of Pāṇḍuvaṁśis were found in the region of Raipur and Bilaspur Districts. These plates are edited below with the kind permission of Shri. M.N. Katti, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

Of these plates, each measuring about 13cm. in breadth and about 14.5 cm. in height, the first and third plates are engraved only on the inner sides, while the second one, is engraved on both sides, has lost a portion measuring 5×4 cm. at the right side corner.

Palaeographically, the letters are the same box-headed and squarish forms as in the Rājim¹, Balōda² and Bōndā³ plates of Tīvaradēva and Aḍhabhāra plates of Mahā-Nannarāja⁴. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the text is written in a mixture of prose and verse.

The inscription is not dated and the text portion is almost the same as in the

Balōda and Bōndā plates of the same king except the grant portion. Like the other plates of Tīvaradēva, the present grant was issued from Śrīpura (modern Sirpur in Raipur Tahsil and District) and he is described as the son of Nannadēva of Pāṇḍuvaṁśa and grandson of Indrabala, and as having obtained the lordship of the entire Kōsala (ll.19-20- *prāpta-sakala-Kōsal-ādhipatyah*) and as *parama-vaishṇava*. The purport of the charter was to record the grant of half of the village Kuttāraka, situated in the Goṇḍaka-bhukti, with the usual privileges⁵ to the three *brāhmaṇas* named Bhānusvāmi, Padmasvāmi and Yajñasvāmi, sons of Bhaṭṭa-Bhadreśvara belonging to Vājasaneyā- mādhyandinaśākhā and Śāṇḍilya-sagōtra for the merit of his father and mother and his ownself.

After the usual imprecatory verses the grant concludes with the mention of a name Bopaṇāga which is the name of an engraver who was also credited with the engraving of the Balōda and Bōndā plates. In the Balōda plates, he was described as the son of a goldsmith named Sōttraṇāga (*ārkkasālikā Sōttraṇāga-sūnunā Boppanāgēna*).

As for the date of Mahāśiva Tīvararāja, we have three regnal years *viz.*, year 5 in the Bōndā plates, year 7 in the Rājim

the Bōndā plates, year 7 in the Rājim plates and year 9 in the Balōda plates. Since these inscriptions do not give specific dates, there were different views regarding the date of king Tīvara. While V.V. Mirashi and D.C. Sircar placed him in the latter half of 6th century, A. Ghosh assigned him to the last quarter of the 7th century⁶. A.M. Shastri on the basis of historical facts ascribes to him a provisional date c. 660-80 A.D.⁷. Thus, the dates assigned by scholars give a difference of a period of nearly a hundred years which may not be acceptable easily on palaeographical grounds as there will be a long gap between the hollow box-headed features of the Vākātaka inscriptions on the one hand and, on the other, the distinct follower of the above, the hollow box-headed and modified squarish forms of Tīvaradēva's plates.

So far, scholars are of opinion that the region ruled by Tīvaradēva was mainly south Kōsala, i.e., modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa though his plates distinctly speak of him as the overlord of entire Kōsala (*sakala-Kōsal-ādhipatya*). Goṇḍaka-bhukti mentioned in the present inscription can be identified with Goṇḍa or Gonardda representing whole of Uttara-Kōsala⁸ which might possibly be the region of modern Goṇḍa District of Uttar Pradesh. Thus *sakala-Kōsala* may mean now both *Uttara* and *Dakṣiṇa Kōsala*s which were under the

sway of the Pāṇḍuvamśins as revealed by the present inscription.

The king Mahāśiva Tīvaradēva was stated to have been succeeded by Nannarāja(II) and this Nannarāja was taken to be the son of Tīvaradēva by scholars who have written on this subject so far. But there seems to be a discrepancy in regard to his actual relationship. In the Balōda plates, mention was made of a Nannarāja, as the son-in-law (*priya-jāmātri*) of Tīvaradēva, possessing feudal appellations like *samadhigata-pañchamahāsabda*, etc., while in the Aḍhabhāra plates of Mahā-Nannarāja, the text portion, apart from giving the usual epithet *prāpta-sakala Kōsal-ādhipatya*, describes him as:

*Pradyumnaiva Kaitabh arer-ātmaja[s-ta]ch
chcharit-ānukaraṇa-parāyaṇaḥ*

This may possibly mean that he was a son who was compared to Pradyumna and Kaitabhāri (i.e., Vishṇu) as excelling in imitating their deeds or exploits. Thus the above two records bring out two persons of the same name related to Tīvaradēva, one as the dear son-in-law (*priya-jāmātri*) and the other as the son (*ātmaja*). But, the existence of two Nannarājas was not known or supported by any other evidence. There might be a possibility that the latter-mentioned Mahā-Nannarāja might have been the same Nannarāja, the son-in-law, mentioned earlier in the Balōda

ceeded Tīvaradēva as he had no male issue and the expression *ātmajas-tachcharit-ānukaraṇa-parāyaṇaḥ* may have to be re-examined in the light of the above possibility.

Of the geographical names, Goṇḍakabhukti, occurring in the present inscription as discussed above, must be the same as the modern Gonda District of Uttar Pradesh and the village Kuttāraka may have to be identified within this district.

Text

First Plate

1. Siddham¹ [l*] Jayati jagat-traya-tilakaḥ kshitibhṛit-kulabhavana-maṅgala- stambhaḥ [l*] Śrīmat-Tīvaradē-
2. vō dhaurēyaḥ sakala-puṇya kṛitām || Svasti Śrīpurāt = samadhi gata- pañchamahāśabd-ā-
3. nēka-nata-nṛipati-kirīṭa-kōṭi-ghṛi shṭa - charaṇa-nakha-darppaṇ-ōd bhāsit-ōpaka-
4. ṇṭha - diṇ-mukhaḥ prakāṭa-ripu-rājalakshmiḥ(kshmi)-kēśa-pās= karshshana- durllalita-pāṇi-
5. pallavaḥ niśita-nistrīṅśa-ghana-ghāta -pātīt-āri-dvirada-kumbha-maṇḍala gala-
6. d-vahala-sōṇita-sadā-sikta-muktā-ahala-prakara-maṇḍita-raṇ-āṅga ṇaḥ vividha-
7. ratna sambhāra-lābha-lōbha- vi

rim bhamāṇ-āri-kshāra-vāri- vāj ḍav-ānalaś=chandr-ōdaya

8. iv-ākṛita-kar-ōdvēgaḥ kshirōda iv- āvirbhūt-ānēk-ātisāyī-ratna-sampat || garu-
9. tmān-iva bhujāṅ-ōdvāra-chaturah paramṛishṭa-śatru-kalatra-nētr- aṅjana-kōmala-
10. kamala-kuṅkuma-patra-bhaṅgaḥ śisṭṭ achara (tāchāra)-vya[va*]sthā-pari-pā[la*]naika- datta-chittaḥ [l*]

Second Plate, First Side

11. api cha pra(prā)ktanē tapasi yaśasi rahasi chētasi chakshushi va⁹
12. janēn-ākliṣṭatay-ānīta(ā)ntam-avitripto gūḍho -gāḍham svachchaḥ¹⁰
13. nēna ch-ālanḥkṛitaḥ svāmi bhavanapya bahulanō -nurjjhita [ku trishṭō = 'pi nitā]-
14. nta-tyāgī ripu-jana-prach ṇḍō= pi sō(sau)mya-darśś(ś)anō bhūti-vibhū shaṇō='py-aparusha-
15. svabha(bhā)vaḥ [l*]kiṅ=ch-āsantu shṭō dharmm-ārjjanēna sampal-lābhē- svalpa-krōdhēna
16. prabhavē lubdhō yaśasi- na paravitt -āpahārēsaktaḥ subhāshitēshu na kāmī-
17. kriḍāsu pratāp-ānala-dagdha āśēsh

- ripu-kula-tūla-rāsis-tuhina- śilā-śai-
18. la-dhavala-yaśō - rāśi-prakāśita diganta-kāntaḥ prakṛityā śrīmad-Indravala-su(sū)-
19. nōr-alaṅkṛita-Pāṇḍu-vañśasya śrī-Nannadēvasya tanaya[ḥ*] prāpta sakala Kōsa-
20. l-ādhipatyah sva-puṇya- sambhāra- praśamit-aśēsha jagad- upadravaḥ sva-pra-
Second Plate, Second Side
21. jñā-sūchi-samudrit-ākhila- kaṇṭakaḥ parama-vaishṇavō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ
22. śrī-mahāśiva-tTīvararājaḥ Goṇḍaka- bhukṭiyak-Kuttārak-ādvem (ārdham) prati-vāsis[na*] s - samā jñā-
23. payati viditam-astu bhavatām yath= āsmābhir=idam grāmārdham yāvad=ravi-śāśi-tārā-ki-
24. raṇa-pratihata-ghōr-āndhaka (kā)raṁ jagad-avat ish ṭatē tāvad= upabhōgyas-sa-nidhis- s-ōpanidhir-achāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēsyah sarva-kara-samētaḥ sa-daśāparādha s-āputrika[m*]
25. vājasana(nē)ya-madhyandina-sāṅḍilya- sagōrtte(trē)bhyō Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-Bhadreśvara putra-
26. Bhānusvāmi | Padmasvāmi ||
- Yajñasvāmibhyō grah-ōpara(rā)gē mātā-pitṛōr= ātmanaś=cha
27. puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē udaka-pūrvva[m] pratipāditam- ity=avagamyā bhavad-[bh]i[r*]-yath-ōchita-
28. bhōga-bhāgam-upanayantaḥ sukham prati-vatsyath-ēti || bhāvina. . .
29. ddiśy-ēdam-abhidhiyatē bhūma(mi)-pradā divi lalanti patanti pa. . .
Third Plate
30. nṛipatayō narakē nṛiśamchā ētad-vayaṁ-parikalayya chalān-cha lakshmīma(m-ā)yus-ta-
31. thā kuruta-yad-bhavatām-abhi-shṭam || api cha rakshā- pālanayōs= tāvat-phalaṁ suga-
32. ti-durggatī [|*] kō nāma svarggam-utsṛijya narakam pratipadyatē || Vyāsa-gītāmś= cha(ch-ā)tra-
33. ślōkān-udāharanti agnēr-apatyam prathamam suvarṇnam bhūrv-vaishṇavī sūryya-sutta(tā)ś=cha
34. ga(gā)vaḥ [|*] datta(ttā)s=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkā yah - ka(kā)ñ chanaṁ gāñ-cha mahīñ-cha dadyāt ||
35. shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah āchchhētā-chchā numantā chcha(cha)- tā-
36. ny-ēva narakē vasēt || bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sa

- gar-ādibhiḥ [||*]ya-
37. sya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya
tasya tadā phalaṁ [||*] sva -
dattā[m*] para dattām -vā yatnā-
38. [d-ra*]ksha Yudhishtira mahīnma-
(mma)himatām śrēshṭha dānāch=ch
hrēyō = 'nupālanam=iti ||
39. Bōpaṇāga

Notes and References

1. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, plate XLV.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp.102ff. and plate.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp.113 ff and plate.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp.219 ff and plate.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p.114.
6. *Ibid.*, p.112.
7. A.M. Shastri, *Vāṅjāpēya* (Fel. Vol.), 'Chronology of the Pāṇḍuvarṁsins of South Kōsala', p. 321.
8. N.L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.234.
9. The missing portion to be read as: 'vapushi cha pūjito', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p.115.
10. The missing portion to be read as: 'prasanno·yauva', *Ibid.*

A Bahmanī Inscription from Chillergi .

M.I. Quddusi

In this paper, I have taken up for study an extremely important inscription from Chillergi in the Bidar District of Karnataka which was discovered by me during the epigraphical survey of the said district in Jan-Feb. 1985.¹ This historical inscription belongs to the fifth Bahmanī king Shāh II (1378-97 A.D.). It is the seventh² inscription of this ruler discovered so far, standing second in the chronological order.

Chillergi (18°15' Latitude and 77°45' Longitude) is a small village in Bidar District, about 14 kilometres to the north-east of the district headquarters. The inscription³ under study was found fixed over the old door (now closed) of the local Jāmi Mosque with no architectural pretensions.

The inscriptional tablet, measuring 89 by 20 cm is inscribed with four couplets in Persian. The metrical text, executed in Naskh characters of fairly good type, runs in horizontal order, arranged in two lines, each line divided by four panels and each panel recording a hemistich. Referring to the reign of the Bahmanī king Muhammad Jahāngīr Shāh, son of Mahmūd Khān, the epigraph mentions the erection of this place, obviously the mosque, by Hasan (*alias*) Sālār Mahmūd in the month of Rajab, A.H.783 (21 September-20 October, 1381 A.D.).

The metrical⁴ text of the epigraph is as follows :-

(1) Huwa

Batārīkh hafṣad saḥ haṣṭād sālast⁵

Binā rūz yakshambahu mah Rajab.

Ba'ahd-i-Muḥammad Jahāngīr Shāh

Pisar Khān Maḥmūd Bahman (sic)
naṣab⁶.

(2) Bataufīq Ḥaq rāst Kard īn maqām

Ḥasan nām Sālār Maḥmūd jabb.

Hamesha⁷ 'āqibat ū bamānad baḥhair

Baḥurmat Imām A'zam-i-Dīn Ṭalab.

Translation

(1) He is (*Allāh*)

The date is (A.H) Seven hundred, three (and) eighty (i.e.783); foundation (was laid) on Sunday and (in the) month of Rajab.

During the reign of Muḥammad Jahāngīr Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Khān of the Bahman lineage.

(2) By Divine's grace (a person) named Ḥasan (*alias*) Sālār Maḥmūd, the dominant, founded this place (i.e. the mosque).

May his life in the next world be peaceful by virtue and dignity of Imām-i-a'zam (Abū Ḥanīfa), the great follower of the religion (i.e. Islām).

Historically speaking, this inscription is of great importance as it brings to light information which are not recorded in contemporary documents; this epigraph provides first hand source material and definite valuable data, throwing welcome light on a man of nobility. It affords a new name adding to the list of Bahmanī officials in the region. The importance of this inscription is further enhanced by the fact that it corroborates the statements of various historians and provides much needed help in elucidating conflicting or contrary views about the Bahmanī king Muḥammad Shāh II.

Among all the 18 Bahmanī rulers, with their capital first at Gulbarga (1347-1422 A.D.) and later at Bidar (1422-1538 A.D.), the reign of Muḥammad Shāh II (1378-97 A.D.) was one of the most peaceful in the whole Bahmanī history⁸. Except for some skirmishes at Goa, Ādōni and Kottakoṇḍa and an insurrection at Sāgar towards the end of his reign, there prevailed peace between the two former rival neighbouring kingdoms, which had been at logger heads since the days of Muḥammad Shāh I (1358-75 A.D.).⁹

Muḥammad Shāh II was himself a scholar and essentially a man of culture. He was adept in reciting the holy Qur'ān, being a calligrapher and poet also. It may be especially mentioned here that this Bahmanī ruler had great regards for Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (1315-89 A.D.) who had been invited to the Bahmanī court but due, to certain unfavourable circumstances, he could not come to the

Deccan and returned from Hormuz back to Shīrāz.¹⁰

Muḥammad Shāh II highly valued Malik Saifu'd Dīn Ghori whom he re-appointed as Prime Minister and always sought his expert opinion at the time of need.¹¹ The king died of typhoid fever on 20th April 1397. Next day departed the grand old statesman of the Deccan Malik Saifu'd Dīn Ghori at the age of 107 years; he had lived through five reigns and had been the Prime Minister of the Bahmanī kingdom under four rulers. His daughter Shāh Begam was married to Muḥammad Shāh I, the second Bahmanī ruler.¹²

In the present inscription under study, Muḥammad Shāh II is referred to by the name of Muḥammad Jahāngīr Shāh, son of Mahmūd Khān. Other published epigraphs record his name as Ab'ul Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh and Shāh Jahān Muḥammad, etc. Thus, all the previous published epigraphs and the one under study corroborate one another about the name of the Bahmanī king Muḥammad Shāh, though partially varying in only regal titles and epithets. But, it is surprising to note that the reputed and much-quoted medieval Bijapuri historian Firishṭa wrongly names him as Mahmūd Shāh, son of 'Alāu'd Dīn Bahman Shāh.¹³

It is a well known fact that Mahmūd Shāh, son of 'Alāuddīn Shāh has never been a king. It was Muḥammad Shāh I, Mahmūd's eldest brother, who

was the second ruler (1358-75 A.D.) of the Bahmanī dynasty and about whom Firishṭa had already mentioned in his famous work *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (pp.282-85). It is Maḥmūd's son Muḥammad who is referred to in our inscription. Thus, it is clear that Firishṭa is mistaken about the correct name of this Bahmanī king. He is again wrong when he says that Maḥmūd's name is mentioned in the work *Futūḥus Salātīn* of Maulānā 'Iṣāmī¹⁴.

Muḥammad Jahāngīr Shāh II i.e., Muḥammad Shāh II was the son of Maḥmūd Khān and grandson of 'Alāu'd Dīn Bahman Shāh¹⁵. Now there is no controversy among scholars and historians about Muḥammad Shāh II and in view of other literary, numismatic and epigraphical sources, Firishṭa's contention has been set aside.

On the basis of an inscription from Sāgar, respected former epigraphist late Ghulām Yazdānī is inclined to think that the full name of the Bahmanī king, under discussion, was Muḥammad Maḥmūd, and the said inscription¹⁶ exposes the ignorance of Firishṭa himself about the full name of the king. Indirectly, he supports Firishṭa's view pertaining to the name of the king. This is misleading. In the first couplet of the inscription from Sāgar, the Bahmanī king is referred to as follows :

*Shāh-i-jahān Muḥammad-i-Maḥmūd Saf
Shikan.*

Here Muḥammad Maḥmūd is not the full name of a single Bahmanī ruler. What is meant here is Muḥammad, son of

Maḥmūd for which *Idāfat-i-ibnī* has been used. This type of name-arrangement is also found in the copper coins¹⁷ of Muḥammad Shāh II. The inscription taken up for study in this paper also supports the view that Muḥammad Maḥmūd is not a single or full name in the Sāgar inscription, but the two names Muḥammad and Maḥmūd have been used with *idāfat-i-ibnī* (i.e., Muḥammad, son of Maḥmūd). In the epigraph under study, the name of the Bahmanī king is recorded along with the name of his father as under:

Ba'ahd-i-Muḥammad Jahāngīr Shāh
Pisar Khān-i-Maḥmūd Bahman nasab.
i.e., during the reign of Muḥammad
Jahāngīr Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Khān
of the Bahman lineage.

Coming to the builder of the monument, Ḥasan (*alias*) Sālār Maḥmūd, it may be remarked that his is a new name to us in the Bahmanī history. My attempt to trace him with available literary and other contemporary sources has proved abortive. The epithet *Sālār* with his name is indicative of the fact that he was an important government noble or official under Muḥammad Shāh II, holding charge as an effective and dominant military commander in the region near Bidar. Apart from his official duties in the region, he took active part in religious building activities for his merit in the next world. Since the inscription comes from Chillergi, it shows that the place had some military importance in

the vicinity of Bidar and Sālār Maḥmūd remained posted there. One more point is that Sālār Maḥmūd was the follower of the Ḥanafī school of religious thoughts, who, for his merit in the next world, seeks the divine favour through the renowned theologian Imām-i-A'zam Abū Ḥanifa¹⁸.

To conclude, it may be remarked that an important Bahmanī official, Ḥasan (*alias*) Sālār Maḥmūd, comes to light only through this epigraph, supplying a definite date in his career, his place of posting in the official capacity as a military commander and the royal court

he was associated with and his involvement in religious building activities under the royal patronage, or of his own accord. The name of the Bahmanī ruler is recorded with a new epithet as Muḥammad Jahāngīr Sh̄h and his father's name as Muḥmūd K̄hān, thus brushing aside the wrong assumption that the full name of this Bahmanī ruler was Muḥammad Maḥmūd or Maḥmūd Sh̄h Bahmanī, as upheld by Firish̄ta, etc. The record under study adds to our knowledge of the regional history of the Bahmanī period.

Notes and References

1. During this tour, Shri A. 'Azīz, Attendant (retired) accompanied me and copied this inscription.
2. Earlier six inscriptions of Muḥammad Sh̄h II from Gulbarga, Raichur and Sāgar have been studied in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (EIM) 1931-32, pp.10-12 and *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (EIAPS) 1959 and 1960, p.32; *Ibid.*, 1964, pp.29-30. These inscriptions, except one, are dated A.H. 781 (Gulbarga), 793 (Sāgar), 794 (Sāgar), 797 (Gulbarga), 798 (Raichur, now at Hyderabad). The date in one inscription from Sāgar is lost.
3. *AREp.*, 1984-85, No. c 94.
4. The metrical text is composed in the metre called Baḥr-i-Mutaqārib Maḥdhūf Maqḥūr.
5. Here the word *sālast* does not fit in the last *rukṇ* of the above metre. It should be the word *sāl*.
6. The word *naṣab* is an orthographical error for the correct word *nasab* which means 'lineage'.
7. Again the word *hamesha* is an orthographical error for the correct word *hama* here.
8. Hāroon K̄hān Sherwānī, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp.125-26, (Hyderabad, n.d)
9. M.Habīb and K.A.Nizāmī, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1970, New Delhi, p.977.
10. Qāsim Firish̄ta, *Tārīkh-i-Firish̄ta*, Vol. I, 1884 Kanpurpp; 301-02, *Bidar District Gazetteer*, 1977, Bangalore, p.66.
11. Qāsim Firish̄ta, *op.cit.*, p.301.

12. *Ibid.*, pp.277-78, 303; H.K.Sherwānī and P.M.Joshi, (Eds.) *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol.I, 1973, Hyderabad, p.157.
13. Qāsim Firishṭa, *op.cit.*, p.301.
14. That work was completed in 1350 A.D. and the only Bahmanī sovereign mentioned therein is Alāud Dīn Bahman Shāh and one of his sons Muḥammad who later succeeded him in 1358 A.D. as Muḥammad Shāh I.
- Muḥammad keh farzand-i-Shāh-i-Jahān ast
Bayaktan madār-i-zamīn-u zamān ast.
- Maulānā Kāmi, -Futūḥus Salāṭīn. ed. Āghā Mahdī Ḥusain, p.526,(Agra, n.d.)
15. H.K.Sherwānī and P.M.Joshi, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, 1974, Hyderabad, see genealogical chart facing p.143.
16. *EIM*, 1931-32, pp.10-11, pl.VII (a).
17. ‘Abdul Walī Khān, *Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1964, Hyderabad, p.45. No. 60 onwards, .
18. Abū Ḥanīfa Numān bin Thābit (699-767 A.D) a renowned and unexampled religious lawyer, was eponym of the school of the Ḥanafīs. His mausoleum in Baghdād is still called al-Aẓamiyya, Imām-i-aẓam being his customary epithet. Gibb & others, Eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, 1960, Leiden, pp.123-24. For his work and career, Abū Zuhrah, Ḥayāt-i-Ḥadrat Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, Urdu tr., Ghulām Aḥmad Ḥarīrī, ed Muḥammad ‘Atāullāh Ḥanīf (Sahāranpur, n.d.).

Prophet's Foot Prints : A Study Through Epigraphs and Literature

G.S.Khwaja

(The soil, bearing impression of Thy foot, will always remain a place of adoration).

Thus runs a couplet of celebrated Persian poet Hāfiz Shīrāzī (d. 1389 A.D.) and makes part of the epigraph engraved on the holy foot print of prophet Muḥammad enshrined at Dargāh of *Qadam -i -Rasūl* at Delhi.

Preserving the relics of prophet's, divines, *Dharma-gurus* and saints by their devotees has been a tradition in the Indian sub-continent, the abode of most of the religions and creeds in the world.

The present study deals with the tradition of setting up of the foot-prints of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH), being one of his relics claimed to have been brought from two holy Arabian cities of Mecca, where the Prophet took birth, and Medina, where He settled down after *hijrah* (migration). Other relics are holy hair, holy apparel, holy rosary, holy turban, holy shoes, etc., which are generally exhibited on the Prophet's birth-day every year, wherever they are preserved, but the foot-prints popularly designated as *Qadam-i-Rasūl* form the most interesting relic being an impression of the holy-foot on stone. These foot-prints are found in plenty at different places in India.

Some of these epigraphs have been examined critically in the light of other

written works on the life and tradition of the Prophet, to establish the genuineness of the foot-prints as well as authenticity of the miraculous softening of the stone in order to receive foot-impressions of the Prophet.

The earliest example of the setting-up of the Prophet's foot-print in India can be witnessed at the tomb of Prince Faṭh Khān, son of Delhi Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, who died in A.H. 776/1374 A.D. It is said that this foot-print was brought from Mecca on the Sulṭān's request by his spiritual guide Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahān-gasht¹. Interestingly authentic annals of Makhdūm *Jāmi-u'l - 'Ulūm*, among his other works, and contemporary histories like *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* ('Affif) and *Tārīkh Fīrūz Shāhī* (Barnī) do not mention this event².

Another foot-print was brought from Mecca by Sayyid Abū Turāb during the time of Mughal emperor Akbar, in A.H. 988/1573 A.D. Akbar after personally receiving it, ordered for the construction of a domed edifice at Āsawal, near Ahmadabad, to enshrine this relic which still exists³. Abu'l Faḍl has given a vivid account of this event in *Akbar Nāma*⁴.

One of the foot-prints, supported by dated epigraphs, is enshrined at Shāhpur (U.P.) which records the setting up of the foot-prints in A.H. 977/1565 A.D. by Khān - i - Khānān Humāyūn Farmūlī,

a noble of emperor Akbar who, as per the text, was instructed in a vision by the Holy Prophet to fix the foot-print at Shāhpur after procuring it from Shergarh, a nearby place⁵. One more foot-print at Didwana (Rajasthan) again contains, in the epigraph dated A.H. 1080/1669-70 A.D., the same anecdote i.e., instruction of the Prophet for setting-up His foot-print⁶. Yet another foot-print was set up during the time of Emperor 'Ālmagīr II by Nawwāb Ghāziu'd -Dīn Haider in A.H. 1169/1765 A.D.

Apart from these we find as many as twenty places where foot-prints of the Prophet are enshrined including Delhi, Agra, Jaipur, Rāmpur, Khairābād, Deoband, Gaur, Murshidābād, Cuttack, Balasore, Umāpur, Pātur, Munger, etc. These foot-prints, found spread over the length and breadth of the country, have got a very high place among the devout muslims. As to the religious sentiments, it is all right but when we talk in terms of logic and reasoning the entire idea of softening of the stone to receive foot-impressions seems to be wrapped in a shroud, woven with warp and woof of overwhelming devotion and blind faith. The popular muslim belief may get hurt by this statement that foot-prints are nothing but a tool masterfully created by leaders of muslim society to channalise, in a suitable way, the religious sentiments of the Prophet's followers who had a great inbuilt affinity towards material objects of worship by virtue of their men-

tal proximity and close touch with the atmosphere of Indian religious beliefs. In my view this tradition is a muslim adaptation of similar practices prevalent in Indian religions in general and Buddhism in particular. Among Buddhists sculptured or incised foot-prints called *pādas* are the most revered objects which symbolise the presence of the Buddha. I think muslims never remained totally unaffected by the impacts of Buddhism before or after their arrival in India.

The baffling facts, which in turn support my theory to prove the foot-print, a man-made object and this very tradition a later development flourishing under Indian impacts, are the variations in the size and anatomical features of each foot-print. They differ in size not only from each other but also from the size of the Prophet's foot and shoes in the authentic collection of traditions *Shamā'īl -i- Tirmidhī* describing physical features of the Prophet⁷.

Ilm-i-Ḥadīth is a branch of Islamic sciences which deals with the tradition of the Prophet. Each and every saying and activity covering the Prophet's life has been recorded by his companions. There is no reference to the miracle of softening of the stone to receive the impressions of the Prophets' foot on any occasion⁸.

Muḥaddithīn (authorities on ḥadīth literature) are of the opinion that these foot-prints are nothing but fake ones. Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Azīz, a reputed scholar and an authority on ḥadīth literature, when

asked, had specifically said in his annals that "Muḥaddithīn do not approve of the foot-prints as genuine ones. I searched for its authenticity too, but couldn't find"⁹.

Above all, I have the last straw in hand to break the camel's back and that is an event of imitation of a foot-print by Taqī khān, a Mughal official, who set-up a foot-print at Balasore which was made to order for him by copying a like one at Cuttack¹⁰.

These foot-prints, though claimed to be a result of the miracle of the Prophet brought from Mecca or Medina, are not genuine in the light of pragmatic discussion. As per Islamic beliefs and tenets also which condemn idol worship and never leave any loop-holes to be exploited later leading believers to object-worship, these foot-prints are simply spurious ones and can be termed as an adaptation from Indian religions.

Notes and References

1. Bashīr Aḥmad Dehlawī - *Wāqīāt -e- Dāru'l Hukūmat-e- Delhi*, Vol. II, 1919, Delhi, pp. 537-38.
2. Muḥammad Ayyūb Qādirī - *Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahān-gashṭ*, 1963, Karachi, p.211.
3. 'Alī Muḥammad Khān - *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadi*, part I, 1929, Boroda, p.139. Shāh Nawāz Khān - *Maāthār-u'l-Umarā*, Vol. III, 1891, Calcutta, pp. 283-84.
4. Abu'l -Fadl - *Akbar-Nāma*, Vol. III, 1886, Calcutta, P. 281.
5. *A.R.Ep.*, 1969-70, No. D 265.
6. *Ibid.*, 1968-69, No. D. 413.
7. Imām Muḥammad bin Īsā Tirmidhī (d. 892 A.D.) was among the seven most celebrated *muḥadithīn* who compiled authentic traditions of Prophet Muhammad. *Shamā'il-i-Tirmidhī* is a separate chapter in the work of Imām dedicated to the description of physical features, apparels and other belongings of Prophet.
8. Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān - *Al-Far 'un-Nāmī*, p. 42.
9. Muftī Intizāmullāh and Maulavī Muḥammad 'Alī (Ed.) *Malfāzāt -e-Shāh 'Abdul' l 'Azīz*, 1960, Karachi, p.71.
10. B.C. Ray, *Orissa under Mughals*, 1981, Calcutta, p.66.

Taqīu-'d - Dīn Muḥammad : A Quṭb Shāhī Calligrapher

M.A. Siddiqui

The present article is based on the discovery of a new Arabic inscription, traced by me from the store-room of Golconda tomb-complex, Hyderabad, during the exploration tour in 1992. It contains the name of a calligrapher, Taqīu-'d-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Ṣālih al-Baḥrānī (i.e. from Bahrain), who was a celebrated calligrapher of the Quṭb Shāhī period. Earlier, two more inscriptions of the same calligrapher had been copied from the enclosure of Golconda fort and later on published by G. Yazdani and S.A. Asgar Bilgrami, respectively.

On the discovery of this inscription under study, it was pointed out by Dr.M.I. Quddusi, Superintending Epigraphist, that, unfortunately, this great calligrapher was not given due attention by the learned scholars and his identity was not verified. Some scholars wrongly placed him in the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (A.H. 957-988= 1550 - 1580 A.D.). Actually he was the contemporary of 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh (A.H. 1035-1083 = 1626-1672 A.D.) and his successor, Abul Ḥasan Tāna Shāh (1672 -1687 A.D.).

The inscription under study, executed in beautiful Thulth style, records the

Quranic text (Chapter IX, part of verse 18), as also the name of the calligrapher, Taqīu - 'd - Dīn Muḥammad bin Ṣālih al -Baḥrānī, along with the date A.H. 1084 (1673-74 A.D.).

Text of the Inscription

Man āmanna bil-Lāh wal Yaumil
ākhir wa aqām - aṣ - Ṣalāt wa āt -azzakāt
wa lam Yak^hsh il-lā - Allāh fa'aṣā ūlāika
an- takūnū min- al - muhtadīn. Katībahū
al - 'Abd Taqīu - 'd - Dīn Muḥammad bin
Ṣālih a'l - Baḥrānī, sana 1084.

Translation of the Text

Whosoever believes in God and the resurrection day and is constant in prayer and pays the alms and fears God alone, these perhaps may become of those who are rightly directed. Written by the servant (of God), Taqīu-'d- Dīn Muḥammad, son of Ṣālih of Bahrain. In the year A.H. 1084 (1673 -74 A.D.).

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it has provided us an opportunity to verify the name of the said calligrapher and the period in which he flourished. On the discovery of this inscription it was noticed that Taqīu- 'd - Dīn Muḥammad and Muḥammad Ṣālih were earlier wrongly taken as a single

name, as *Taqīu - 'd - Dīn Muḥammad Ṣālih al-Baḥrānī*, instead of *Taqīu - d - Dīn Muḥammad bin Ṣālih al - Baḥrānī* and wrongly associated them with the regime of Ibrāhīm quṭb Shāh.

So far two inscriptions, dated A.H. 1078 and A.H. 1077 respectively, of the same calligrapher *Taqīu - 'd - Dīn Muḥammad*, son of *Ṣālih*, have been noticed from the Great Mosque and Hira Masjid at Golconda fort and published by G. Yazdani in *EIM* of 1913-14 and 1915-16, respectively¹. Both the inscriptions clearly mention the name of the calligrapher and the date. But it is quite surprising to note, that while writing about the calligraphers of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, G. Yazdani remarks that the three calligraphists, viz., Muḥammad (of Iṣfahān), Ismā ' īl bin Arab (of Shīraz) and *Taqīu-'d-Dīn Muḥammad*, son of *Ṣālih* (of Baḥrain), were associated with the court of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh².

The same inscriptions of *Taqīu- 'd-dīn Muḥammad*, son of *Ṣālih*, were noticed by Syed ' Alī Asgar Bilgrami in his valuable book, *Landmarks of the Deccan*³. Bilgrami also followed in the footsteps of G. Yazdani and showed the same three calligraphers associated with the court of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh⁴.

It is interesting to note that the calligrapher of Baḥrain, whom scholars like

G. Yazdani and S.A. Asgar Bilgrami had shown as contemporary of Ibrāhīm quṭb Shāh, was not *Taqīu- 'd - Dīn*, but his father *Muḥammad Ṣālih*, son of Shaikh Husain (of Baḥrain). All the three inscriptions (including the one under study), clearly mention the name of the calligrapher as *Taqīu -'d- Dīn Muḥammad*, son of *Ṣālih a'l - Baḥrānī*. All the three inscriptions of *Taqīu - 'd- Dīn Muḥammad* bear such dates which do not fall under the rule of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh but under the last two Quṭb Shāhī rulers ' Abdūllāh Quṭb Shāh and Abūl Ḥasan Tānā Shāh.

It may not be out of place to mention here that we have a record dated A.H. 1006 (1597 -98 A.D.) noticed from Jālī kī Masjid in Maḥalla Kārwan of Hyderabad⁵ of *Taqīu-'d-Dīn's* father *Muḥammad Ṣālih*, son of Shaikh Husain a'l - Baḥrānī. The date of this inscription falls under the rule of *Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh* (A.H. 988 - 1020 = 1580 - 1612 A.D.), who was the successor of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

A systematic study of inscriptions left by *Muḥammad Ṣālih*, son of Shaikh Husain (of Baḥrain) and *Taqīu - ' d- Dīn Muḥammad*, son of *Ṣālih* (of Baḥrain), clearly shows that the former was the father of the latter. They were two different calligraphers, being father and son, associated with the court of

Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, Abdúllāh Quṭb Shāh and his successor Ab'ul Ḥasan Tānā Shāh.

It would not be out of place to remark that, had the present inscription not been discovered, the mistake committed by previous scholars would not

have been corrected. The present inscription has also helped in establishing the genealogy of the calligrapher like this : Taqīu-'d-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Ṣālih, son of Shaikh Ḥusain of Baḥrain and their association with the painstaking art of calligraphy, so also their migration from the Middle East to the Deccan.

Notes and References

1. *Epigraphia Indo- Moslemica (EIM)* 1913-14, p. 59, p1. XIX ; *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 36, p1. XI.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-24.
3. S.A. Asgar Bilgrami. *Landmarks of the Deccan*, 1927, Hyderabad, p. 166 and 171.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
5. *AREp.*, 1967-68, No. D. 87.

Tiruvāḍuturai Inscription of Rājarāja I

S. Swaminathan

This Tamil inscription¹ is found engraved on the north wall of the Gōmuktīśvara temple at Tiruvāḍuturai in Thanjavur District. It is dated in the twenty-fourth regnal year (1009 A.D.) of the Chōla king Rājarāja I.

It records that the *sabhā* of Ilachchikuḍi *alias* Vikramaśiṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam expressed their inability to return the gold which they had received previously as loan from the temple of Tiruvāḍuturai, a *brahmadēya* in Tiraimūr-nāḍu. The *sabhā* undertook to treat the particular amount of gold in respect of half a *vēli* of land as *iraikāval* and pay several taxes on this piece of land which had got increased (*ērīna*) due to the land survey operations initiated by Rājarāja I. The pontiff of the Tiruvaiyyāru *matha*, Sadāśiva-bhaṭṭar, enquired into the matter and also indicated that the *sabhā* of Ilachchikuḍi *alias* Vikramaśiṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam (through the temple servants) must return the gold, which was borrowed from the temple earlier. However, the *sabhā* assured the temple authorities that the *sabhā* itself would remit all taxes such as *irai*, *echchōru*, *vetti*, *vēḍinai*, etc., out of the interest for the amount which they had received from the temple previously and which they could not repay now. The officials of the *sabhā* figure as signatories.

This inscription is important in the context of the economic history of the period under the Chōlas. The land as-

essment was made locally by the village organisation and the king's dues were collected village-wise. The local assemblies were held responsible for the assessment as well as the collection of land taxes. There were several anomalies in that system which had its origin probably during the Pallava period. The entire system became obsolete and a thorough revision became a desideratum. Since the Pallava period many parcels of fallow lands were brought under the plough². The cultivation process also underwent a change and several innovations were introduced. The improvement in the irrigation system further hastened such revision. Added to all these, the political turmoil caused by the Rāshtrakūṭa invasion in 949 A.D. and a short spell of Rāshtrakūṭa rule in Toṇḍaimaṅḍalam and the political uncertainty that was prevailing and its aftermath had its repercussion on the land system too. The proliferation of *brahmadēyas* during the Chōla period necessitated the reclamation of fallow lands, to accommodate brahmanical settlements.

The accession of Rājarāja I in 985 A.D. brought many changes in all the spheres of Chōla administration. He needed lots of resources to support a huge army and navy which fought so many wars successively in far flung areas and brought laurels to him. As many as thirty-one regiments figure in the Thaṅjāvūr inscription of Rājarāja I³

and the total number of regiments would certainly have been more than this.

Besides, he had also constructed magnificent temples in several parts of his empire⁴ and made liberal donations to them. No doubt, the booty obtained from his military campaigns formed an important source⁵. But more than that the king was constrained to seek and raise his resources. All these necessitated and warranted the revamping of the administration and Rājarāja I, being a shrewd and far-sighted ruler, addressed himself to the task earnestly. He ordered the land survey and settlement of his empire⁶. Kuṟavaṅ Ulagaḷandāṅ alias Rājarāja- mahārājan, an official of Rājarāja I, got his surname *Ulagālandāṅ* (one who measured the land) after carrying out the revenue survey which began in the sixteenth year (1001 A.D.) of the king's reign. He standardised the existing system of land use by introducing several measures⁷. Several officials⁸ appear to have been actively engaged in the survey operations and the above official was a chief among them. His title *Ulagālandāṅ* i.e., one who measured the earth might have been given to him in recognition of his valuable services in connection with the survey operations. Inscriptions of Rājarāja I⁹ refer to the term *Ulagālandān* or *Ulagālandu*= *ērīna* which apparently indicate the land survey and settlement undertaken by him.

Land survey and measurement formed an important phase in the reign of Rājarāja I. Two factors emerge in this

survey: 1) Additional land that came into cognisance by proper and exact measurement. For instance, a plot of land which was known to be one *vēli* as per the measurement was actually found to be one and a half *vēli*. This half *vēli* had been escaping the attention of officials all these years.

2) Additional land i.e., fallow land and waste land which had been reclaimed between the earlier date when the village was originally assessed and the date of exact measurement and fresh assessment of land undertaken by Rājarāja I. Due to the land survey operation ordered by Rājarāja I more land came into the purview of taxes. This additional tax-revenue was of two kinds. a) Tax on land under-valued earlier was now made to pay the tax on all the land, now measured with exactitude and b) Tax on extra land brought under cultivation in the meanwhile. In this context an inscription of Rājarāja I¹⁰ from Tiruvalaṅjuḷi merits our attention. It states that in the thirty-eighth regnal year of Parāntaka I (945 A.D.), 10 3/4 *vēli* and 1 *mū* of land at Pudānkoṭṭagam in Veṅ-nāḍu is stated to have been donated to the temple at Tiruvalaṅjuḷi. The land was also declared tax-free. Eight hundred and six *kalam* of paddy was fixed to be remitted as tax on the land as mentioned above to the deity for providing food offerings. However, in his seventeenth regnal year (1002 A.D.), Rājarāja I ordered the officials Tennavan Tiruvindaḷūr-nāṭṭu-mūvēndavēḷāṅ and Śēvapura-nāṭṭu-mūvēndavēḷāṅ to

measure and make exact land measurement assessment. It was found out that the temple actually owned 15 *vēli* and 2 *mā* and odd land of double crops. This was so even after excluding the land where channel passed. The paddy assessment on the whole extent of land was fixed at 1500 *kalam*, 3 *kuṟuṇi* and 7 *nāḷi* i.e. 703 *kalam* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* more than the original assessment. Now it was ordered that after the discovery this extra assessment of land may also be utilised for the same purpose of food offerings. Though, as a result of all this exercise it was the temple which benefitted. These proceedings were duly entered into the revenue register of the king, as the king maintained a record, on the extent and assessment of all lands within his jurisdiction. It is thus seen that the benefit of enhancement of revenue, after proper measurement of temple land, was allowed to go to the temple itself to be utilised for the purpose for which the land was originally donated. This extra revenue that accrued to the temple was ordered to be utilised for conducting some special worship and offerings and feeding on specified days in the temple¹¹.

The inscription under study mentions that the pontiff ascertained from the *sabhā* of Ilachchikuḍi *alias* Vikramaśiṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam that they were not in a position to return the gold which they had borrowed from the temple, apparently under his direction. The *sabhā*

undertook to treat the particular amount as *iṟai-kāval* for paying the taxes, old and new. *Iṟai-kāval* was a lump-sum normally deposited by the donor himself along with the price-money to the local assembly to meet the tax obligations on the land donated by him¹². It is not ascertainable as to how the *sabhā* utilised this deposit against the taxes to make it yield the interest amount in order to meet such obligations. It can be surmised that it was treated as the capital for carrying out capital works such as: a) bringing the fallow land under cultivation, b) improving the irrigation potentialities by desilting the village tanks or wells so that more water could be impounded, c) digging additional channels, and d) helping the intensive cultivation of the land.

The interest or the extra produce accruing after the land improvement would be utilised to meet the taxes¹³. In short, *iṟai-kāval* was a deposit amount with the village or the divisional organisation to pay the taxes in respect of land donated to the temples which the donor had wanted to be tax-free. i.e., when land was donated to the temple by anyone other than the king that land did not become tax-free unless the donor made arrangements for the taxes to be paid by anyone else on behalf of the temple. The *sabhā* was requested to pay the taxes from the interest that was deposited on behalf of the temple.

Notes and References

1. *A.R. Ep.*, 1925, No. 101. An inscription of Pārthivēndravarmaṇ from Brahmādēśam states that all the lands belonging to the temple of Śrī Pondai-mahādēva of Rājamalla-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Dāmar-kōṭṭam were made tax-free by the village assembly (*sabhā*) of *aiṅjashṭasam*, in lieu of 86 3/4 *kaḷaṅṅju* of gold which it owed to the temple (see, *A. R. Ep.* 1915, No. 195). This and several inscriptions reveal that whenever the local assemblies were in financial difficulties they used to borrow money from the temple of their region and if they could not pay back the amount they declared the lands owned by the temple as tax-free.
2. Many fallow lands were reclaimed during the reigns of Āditya I and Parāntaka I as borne out by the expressions, *kalli*, *vayakki*, *tirutti* etc. See *SII.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 689, 692, 698-699, *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 42, 74-75, 143, 227.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II , p. 9
4. Many temples were constructed during the reign of Rājarāja I. See S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Middle Chōḷa Temples* , pp.89 ff.
5. *SII.*, Vol. II. No. 1 (VII Section.)
6. K.G. Krishnan, *Legacies from Rājarāja I.- Rājarāja, the Great*, 1984, Bombay, p. 44.
7. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, 1995, Madras, p. 189.
8. The officials are as follows:
 Aṅgaṅṅam -Uḍaiyaṅṅ Mattaṅṅaṅṅ Uttamaṅṅ was an official in-charge of Rajaśraya -vaḷanaṅṅ (*A.R. Ep.*, 1963, No 655) Pudukkuḍaiyaṅṅ - Ekadhiraṅṅ Aṅṅubadimaṅṅ, of Amur - koṭṭam (*SII.*, Vol. I. No. 40); Tiruvindaḷur-naṅṅṅ Muvendaveḷaṅṅ(*SII.*, Vol. VIII, No.217.); Mugattalai-Uḍaiyaṅṅ, an official in Rajaraja-vaḷanaṅṅ (*A.R. Ep.*, 1933, No. 225).
9. *A.R. Ep.*, 1924, No. 385; *Ibid.*, 1925, No. 101; *SII.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 217, 222-23.
10. *SII.*, Vol. VIII, No. 217.
11. *A.R. Ep.*, 1963, No. 655.
12. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Iṅṅai, Iṅṅai -kaval and iṅṅaiyil', *Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar Commemoration Volume* , pp. 193-95.
13. V. Venkayya, 'Irrigation in Southern India in Ancient Times', *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report 1903-04*, pp. 202-11; S. Swaminathan 'Tiruvorriyūr as an economic entity'. *Svastiśrī (B.Ch. Chhabra Felicitation Volume)*, 1984, New Delhi, pp. 161 ff.

Hire-Singanagutti Inscription of Jagadēkamalla I

Shrinivas V. Padigar

The stone inscription studied here was discovered by the author in March 1994 when he was carrying out village to village survey of Hungund Taluk of Bijapur District in Karnataka State¹. Hire-Singanagutti, the findspot of the record², is located on the southern flank of Hungund -Mudugal road, about 20 km south-east of Hungund, the Taluk headquarters. The place appears to be considerably ancient. There exists an early Rāshtrakūṭa temple and a couple of Kalyāṇa Chālūkyā temples, one of the latter being stellate on plan³. The inscription can be located near the residence of Śrī Nāganagaḍa.

The inscription is on a bluish-grey schist stone slab, roughly bilateral triangle in form. Its upper part carries a relief of the sun, the moon, the cow and the calf. The extreme left part of the slab is damaged so that a few letters in each line of the inscription are lost. However, a broken fragment has been recovered and hence the lost letters from lines 8 to 19 could be retrieved. There are in all 35 lines engraved in Kannaḍa characters of the 11th century A.D. The letters from lines 1 to 8 are relatively smaller than those from line 9 onwards. The record is in Kannaḍa prose except the imprecatory portion in Sanskrit.

The record states that the Chālūkyā king Jagadēkamalladēva, while camping at Moṛaganūr, made a grant of one hundred gold *gadyāṇas* from the *agrahara* Siganūr in Karividi-Thirty to *manevergāde* Biṭṭapayya -nāyaka. It is further stated that the One hundred and four *brāhmaṇas*

of Siganūr - *agrahāra* were exempted from payment of taxes like *āgāntuka-dere*, *bāya -mēlvaṇa* and *pañcharasa*. The grant as well as exemptions were made on Ādityavāra, Chaitra śuddha [9], Raudra-saṁvatsara, Śaka 9[42*]. The details would correspond to Sunday, 6th March, 1020 A.D.

It is stated that when *Pallavānvaya Kāñchīpuravarādhiśvara* Jagadēkamalla - Noḷamba - Pe[rmādi]dēva was ruling , *pergāde* Nāgavarma forcibly tried to exact the exempted taxes on the day of Budhavāra, Bhādrapada [śuddha*] Saptami in the Yuva-saṁvatsara corresponding to Wednesday, 13th August, 1035 A.D. It appears that when attempting to protect the *gō-brāhmaṇas*, a person whose name terminated with suffix *śalaṅgi* died and attained *Vishṇu-lōka* . Probably his complete name was Mādharma -*śalaṅgi*. The record closes with the usual Sanskrit imprecatory verses.

The Chālūkyā king Jagadēkamalla dēva, mentioned in the first part of the record is, obviously, Jayasīṁha II (1015-44 A.D.). According to the inscription he was camping at Moṛaganūr in 1020 A.D. The Balligāve epigraph of 1025 A.D. refers to his camp at Moḷiganūr⁴. It would appear that Moṛaganūr of our record and Moḷiganūr of the Balligāve inscription are identical. The place apparently served temporarily as Jayasīṁha's capital twice between 1020 and 1025 A.D.⁵. However, the identity of Moṛaganūr cannot be established in the present state of our knowledge.

Jagadēkamalla-Noḷamba-Permādi-

dēva alluded to in the inscription may be identified with the Nolamba Pallava chief Udayāditya, the son of Ghaṭeyaṅkakāra. The latter is known to have been in charge of Nolambavāḍi-32,000, Ballakunde-300, Kōgaḷi-300, Kukkanūr-30 and 5 *bādas* of Māsiyavāḍi-nāḍu in 1010 A.D.⁶ But in 1024 A.D., which is his last known date, Ghaṭeyaṅkakāra was ruling over Nolambavāḍi-32,000 and Kariviḍi-30⁷ only, whereas his son Udayāditya was in charge of Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000, Kadaṃbalige-1000, Kōgaḷi-500, 5 villages of Māsiyavāḍi-140, Ballakunde-300 and Kuḍihara-70 in 1018 A.D.⁸ The record under study indicates that Kariviḍi-30 had not come under the jurisdiction of Nolamba-Pallavas as late as 1020 A.D. It must have been obtained by them sometime after 1020 A.D. and before 1024 A.D. After Ghaṭeyaṅkakāra died, his son Udayāditya *alias* Jagadēkamalla-Nolamba-Permāḍi (I) took possession of Nolambavāḍi-32,000 and Kariviḍi-30. For, in 1034 A.D, these divisions were under his administration⁹. The present record reveals that he was in charge of these divisions as late as 13th August, 1035 A.D.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, it has been already pointed out above that Moṛaganūr cannot be identified. Siganūr is apparently the same as Hire-Siṅganagutti, the findspot of the record. The prefix *Hire* seems to be a later one, employed to distinguish it from a more recent nearby settlement known as Chikka-Siṅganagutti. *Hire* means 'elder', 'bigger', 'older' whereas *chikka* means 'smaller', 'younger'. The term *gutti* has topographical connotation, meaning 'an elevated place'. It may be noted that the present habitation at Hire-Siṅganagutti is on the slope and at the

foot of a hillock. It cannot be definitely said when Siganūr came to be spelt as Siṅganagutti.

Kariviḍi, the headquarters of Kariviḍi-Thirty division, is the modern Karāḍi about 10 km north of Hire-Siṅganagutti. The administrative division seems to have included the villages in an area of about 10 km around Karāḍi with the river Kṛishṇā as its northern frontier and the villages of Marōḷ¹⁰ and Hire-Siṅganagutti forming the westernmost and southernmost known points respectively.

The interesting aspect of the inscription is the fact that it records an unusual case of an *agrahāra* being subjected to harassment by a *heggaḍe* for exacting exempted taxes. The defender who died, moreover, was apparently a *brāhmaṇa*, Mādhava-Shaḷaṅgi, an expert in *Shadaṅgas*. i.e., the six *Vēdāṅgas*. Interestingly, the incident took place in the reign period of a single ruler, Chāḷukya Jagadēkamalla I, within a time span of 15 years after the exemption had been made by the king.

Text¹¹

1. Svasti [i*] samasta-bhuvanāśra [ya]-
2. Śrī-prithvīvallabha-mahārājādhirā [ja] ...
3. ramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakaṃ Satyāśraya.
4. laṭilakaṃ Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṃ Śrīmaj=Ja..
5. kamalladēvara rājyam pravradha(varddha)māna[m=ā] ..
6. dr-ārka-tāraṃbaram saluttam=ire Śaka-varsha 9...

7. ya Raudra-saṁvatsarada Chaitra
suddha...
8. dityavārad = aṁdu mane- verggaḍe
Biṭṭa -
9. payya-nāyakaṁrgga(rggaṁ)
Moṛaganū -
10. ra neleviḍinoḷ Śrīmaj=Jagadēka
malla -
11. dēvaru Kariviḍi- mūvattara baḷi -
12. ya agrahāraṁ Sigānūra - nūra -
13. nālvarggaṁ māḍida dharmmava-
[tta]leyim te -
14. ruva poṁ- gadyāṇav = innūru
mattam = ā-
15. gāṁtuka - deṛegaḷ = ondum = illa
.. bāya -
16. mēlvāṇam = eṁbuv=illa paṁche
(cha)rasa - varjjita [||*]
17. i(i) maryyādeyaṁ tappid - ātaṁ
Vā -
18. raṇāsiyoḷ kavileyuṁ brāhma-
19. narumaṁ aḷida pāpaṁ sārggu[m]
[||*] Sva -
20. sti [||*] samadhigata -paṁcha-
mahāśabda- [pa]
21. Ilav=ānvayaṁ Śrī pṛithvīvalla-
bha[m] Pallava - [ku] -
22. laṭilakan-amōgha-vā kyaṁ Kāṁ-
chīpu[ra]....
23. Śrīmaj=Jagadēkamalla-
Noḷaṁba-[pe]...
24. dēvarum=ā-dharmmavattaḷeyane
prati...
25. ttum=ire perggade-Nāgavarmm

- an= eṁbā[ta]...
26. ttala(ḷe)yaṁ tappi koḷven= endoḍe
[Mā]...
27. shaḷa(da)ṁgi Yuva-saṁvatsara -
Bhādra ...
28. Saptami-Budhavārad=andū a-satā
...
29. koḷal=īyade gele gō-brāhmaṇara
...
30. shṇu- lōka - prāptanāda || Sva-
datta(ttā)ṁ para - [da]...
31. harēti vasuṁ(n)dharā[m*] shashṭir
= vvarsha - saha...
32. shṭ[h*]āyāṁ jāyatē krimi[h*] ||¹²
Sāmānyō....
33. sētum nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pā.....
34. sarvvān = ētāṁ bhāginaḷ -
pārtthivēndrā
35. (yō) yāchatē Rāmabhadraḷ ||¹³

Translation

Be it well. While the refuge of the whole world, the favourite lord of goddess Fortune and Earth, the supreme king of great kings, the servant of the supreme Lord (Śiva), the forehead ornament of the race of Satyāśraya, the ornament of the Chālukyas, the illustrious Jagadēkamalladēva's reign was obtaining over the kingdom (which was) increasing as long as the moon, the sun and the stars last; the illustrious Jagadēkamalladēva, stationed in his (temporary) capital Moṛaganūr, on Sunday [the 9th day] of the bright half of the Chaitra month of the year Raudra, Śaka year 9[42], fixed (a sum of) 200 gold *gadyāṇas* to be paid to *maneverggaḍe* Biṭṭapayya-nāyaka from the

dred and four (*brāhmaṇas*) of *agrahāra* Siganūr, situated in (the administrative division) Kariviḍi- Thirty. And (henceforth) there shall be no guest tax, nor exaction of additional cash (tax) by oral demand; (also) exempted (is) the providing of five fluids¹⁴ (to the officers). He who violates this sacred regulation shall incur the sin of killing cows and *brāhmaṇas* in Vāraṇāsi.

Be it well. While Jagadēkamalla-Nolamba- Permāḍidēva, the obtainer of the band of five great instruments, belonging to the *Pallava* race, the favourite lord of goddessess Fortune and Earth, the forehead ornament of the *Pallava* race, of authoritative speech, [the lord of] the city

of Kāñchī was protecting that sacred regulation, on wednesday, the seventh day of the bright half of the Bhādra[pada] month of the year Yuva, when *pergaḍe* named Nāgavarma, violating the sacred rule, insisted on exacting (the exempted taxes), Mā[dhava] - shalaṅgi, not allowing the unjust exaction (of taxes), won, [and protecting] the cows and *brāhmaṇas*, attained the world of (god) Vishṇu.

One who confiscates the land given away by himself or others shall be born as worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This bridge [of piety] is common to all kings and should be protected from time to time. Thus does Rāmabhadra beseech again and again all future rulers.

Notes and References

1. The author is thankful to the authorities of the Karnatak University, Dharwad, for the financial assistance to carry out village to village survey of Hungund Taluk.
2. A badly worn out inscription of the time of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI recording a Jaina grant has been earlier reported from this place; see *S.I.I.*, Vol . XI, pt. ii, No. 209.
3. A paper on the 'Temples of Hire-Singanagutti' is separately being published by the author.
4. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for the year 1929, Ins. No.65.
5. It cannot be ascertained, if Mṛṅganūr remained the capital throughout the period between 1020 and 1025 A.D. However, it may be noted that the Miraj plates of Jagadēkamalla I refer to Kolhāpūr as the camp in 1024 A.D. B.R. Gopal, *The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Kalachuris*, 1981, Dharwad, p. 120.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
7. The Marōḷ inscription. *SII.*, Vol. XI, pt. i. No. 61.
8. B.R. Gopal, *op.cit.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *SII.*, Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 61
11. Read with the help of an ink impression and photographs. The author's thanks are due to Sri M.N. Kadapatti, Lecturer in History, Degree college, Hole Alur, for his preparing the impression.
12. *Anushtubh* metre.
13. *Śālīni* metre.
14. The five fluids expected to be served to the officers on duty were ghee (*ghṛita*), milk (*kshīra*), honey (*madhu*), oil (*taila*) and wine (*madya*).

Agrarian Structure in Koṅkaṇ

Binda Paranjape.

Koṅkaṇ, the coastal strip of Mahārāshṭra, bounded by Sahyādri ranges on the east, by the Arabian sea on the west and by Gujarat and Goa on the North and South respectively was ruled by the Śilāhāras from the 8th century A.D. to 12th century A.D. Two houses of the Śilāhāras are known to have ruled this land. The southern house started its rule around 765 A.D. under the overlordship of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa upto the beginning of 11th century A.D. Then the northern house also started its rule as *mahāsāmantas* of the Rāshṭrakūṭas during the reign of king Gōvinda III around 800 A.D.

The Śilāhāra kings from both the houses made a number of land donations which were recorded on copper-plates or stone slabs. Most of these record the grant of agricultural lands. A careful study of these records furnish valuable information regarding the agrarian structure in Koṅkaṇ during the early medieval period. The period under review was a crucial period when most of the parts of Deccan were heading towards the development of small rural settlements largely dependent on agriculture and animal hus-

bandry. Almost everywhere economically self-sufficient units were emerging in which most of the needs of the peasant community would be provided. Koṅkaṇ was no exception to it. The inscriptions of the Śilāhāras furnish lot of evidence to this fact. As stated earlier, most of the records are directly connected with the land system.

Koṅkaṇ was never famous for its agricultural prosperity. Present day statistics show that the five districts of Koṅkaṇ *viz.*, Greater Bombay, Thane, Raigad, Rātnagiri and Sindhudurga have each less than 30% of their land under cultivation (rest of the state has 3/4 of the land under cultivation). Koṅkaṇ is formed by a narrow strip of low lying land between the Arabian sea and Sahyādri hills. Over most of its area the land is miserably poor, especially in the southern districts of Rātnagiri and Sindhudurga. The intersection of creeks and hills naturally gives rise to small habitational pockets. All these topographical features are well recorded in the Śilāhāra epigraphs. A few examples of the descriptions of the donated area from the Thane plates of Mummuni¹ would make the point clear.

1

	<i>Aśvattha - vṛiksha</i>	
	<i>Ekasal</i>	
	<i>River</i>	
	<i>River</i>	

Siyali
(village ?)

2

	<i>Viraka</i>	
	<i>Bhutavli</i>	
	<i>Parvat</i>	

Parvat

*Viraka**

3

	<i>River</i>	
<i>Viraka*</i>	<i>Vadavali</i>	<i>Aśhvatt̥ha, Pim̥parika Vriksha</i>
	<i>Dongarika**</i>	

4

	<i>Viraka*</i>	
<i>Srihat Parvath</i>	<i>Asal</i>	<i>Viraka*</i>
	<i>Viraka*</i>	

* *Viraka* = a short lived water stream flowing during monsoon.

** *Dongarika* = a hill

The above examples cannot be ignored while discussing the point of small rural settlements in the Konkan during the early medieval period. In Konkan the dimensions of the village are mainly controlled by the geography in most of the cases. This would also explain the self-sufficiency of economy since the communication with the outside neighbouring regions does not seem to be easy.

Some of the place names from these records give an idea of the nature of soil. Following are a few such names to serve as examples:

1. Chemmelevakhadi (CII., VI, No. 6)
Khadi = creek
2. Chikhyallapallika (Ibid, VI, No. 2).
3. Chikhalad* (Ibid, VI, No, 5)
4. Dipakagar** (Ibid, VI, No, 10)
5. Velasivagar** (Ibid, VI, No, 10)

6. Karadanda (Ibid, VI, No, 61)
7. Lavane tat *** (Ibid, VI, No, 7)
8. Lona vataka**** (Ibid, VI, No. 29)

* Chikhyal = Chikhal = marshy land

** Agar = land near the sea/salt-pan

*** Lona = Lavana = (salt-pan)

Most of the creeks in Konkan are shallow creeks giving rise to marshy lands where the agriculture is not possible. The *agara* and *daa* regions are mostly under arecanut and coconut plantation today. The Śilāhāra records also speak of the arecanut plantations on Konkan coast². However, for cultivation of staple food these lands are not useful.

The inscriptions also refer to the *Khajjana* lands³. Due to inundation of sea, parts of the Konkan coast become salty for short intervals. Such lands are variously known as *khār*, *khārvat* or *khajjanas*.

(*khār = kshāra = salt*). These lands can be reclaimed and made suitable for the cultivation of coarser variety of paddy.

References to salt pans are also very significant. The salt-pans are usually near the creeks. The land under salt-pans is not used for cultivation.

While discussing the issue of rural economy having agriculture as its nucleus all the above mentioned geomorphological features must be taken into consideration. During the period under review the land in present Thane District was extensively under cultivation. The spread of agriculture in the Southern region appears to be very scanty. Most of the *vishayas* mentioned in the records are from Thane District. Of these four are from Raigad and one from Ratnagiri District. The area covered by a *vishaya* in Thane District does not seem to be bigger than the present taluk. The narrow scope of a *vishaya* probably indicates a higher yield of crop in that area.

Independent land-owning cultivators seem to be the normal feature of land ownership system in Konkan during the Śilāhāra period. The distinction between possession and ownership was probably on its way to finalisation. The inscriptions mention three types of arable lands: (i) the lands privately owned by individuals; (ii) the rent - free holdings given to Brahmins or temples, and iii) the royal farms. The first types of lands could have been cultivated by the family of the owner, may be with the help of hired or exchanged labour. The second type may have been leased to the tenants if the area was large enough to do so. The third type of lands were mostly cultivated by the tenants who would receive a fixed share in the crop. This fact is clearly indicated

by the terms like *Rājakīya-khaṇḍa - kachcha - kshētra*.

The rent-free holdings, mostly in possession of Brahmins, are indicated by references like *Vipra Timbakaiya kshēt. 1*, *Vipra Daupaiya Vavakah*, etc.* The distinction between the privately owned lands and the rent-free possessions can possibly be pointed out by the analysis of the names of the fields mentioned in the records. These names can be classified into two groups: the names prefixed by the names of brahmin owners and the remaining ones indicating the type of yield (or sometimes their names are totally obscure.)⁵ This distinction was probably due to the fact that the possession of a brahmin, which in most of the cases was an endowment by the state, continued to be enjoyed by the future generations of the same family. These lands could never be sold, gifted or mortgaged. This is identified by the attachment of the land with the name of the brahmin family. However, in case of other holdings i.e., the privately owned lands, due to sale or by any other exchange, the owners may change. Hence to avoid any confusion in future regarding the boundaries it was preferred to record the popular names of the fields rather than recording the name of the then owners.

Most of the land grants of the Śilāhāras record the transfer of all sources of revenue and the surrender of all state functions. However, there is no mention of transfer of ownership. The state probably reserved the right. In some cases it was the transfer of the ownership right. The revenues were to be collected by the state. Diveagar plates of Mummuni clearly record this condition.⁶

The land revenue system under the

Śilāhāras appears to have been a complex one. It seems that the revenue was primarily collected in terms of coins.⁷ Inscriptions refer to this fact. Sometimes it used to be coupled with a few measures of grain. The maximum amount of money gained from one field (*kshētra*) known from the records was 48 *drammas* which was not added by any measure of grain and the smallest amount was a *dramma* but it was added by large amount of grains (3 *khaṇḍikas*, 15 *kuḍavas*).⁸

Regarding the collection of land revenue during the Śilāhāra period the most significant fact seems to be that the amount of collection did not depend on actual produce in any particular season. The state was collecting the revenue converted into cash. In such situation the role of landed intermediaries can very well be imagined. These intermediaries used to collect the surpluses locally and send them for sale at the markets in big towns like Ṭhāṇe, Sōpāra, etc. There are references to all state dues put together from a village expressed in terms of coins. The total collection from Kichchita-grāma was 1500 *drammas*.⁹

The period of four centuries of Śilāhāra rule witnessed a gradual change in the position of private land owners in Koṅkaṇ. Over a period of time the land ownership rights became more and more secured. The effect of this well recognised position of the land owners on the socio-economic system of Koṅkaṇ is very well reflected in the records of the

Śilāhāras. The state bureaucracy started getting replaced by the influential agriculturists. From the 11th century onwards the names of the local chiefs like Nāyakas, Ṭhākūrs, etc., start appearing in the records. The village headmen were considered very important, hence their names are recorded as witnesses to the donations in the records of later date.¹⁰ Even in the bureaucracy these influential agriculturists find a place. This fact also points out their social status. The earlier state officers, almost all of them, used to be brahmins. Slowly their position was taken over by non-brahmin agriculturists. This social change is marked even by the language of the records. Earlier records used to be in Sanskrit. The later records are in Marāṭhī and Prakrit which seem to have been the language of this newly emerging class. The agriculturists must have secured this position by acting as landed intermediaries between the state and the small farmers. The amount of revenue fixed in cash irrespective of actual crop produce indicates the weakening of the bureaucracy and the function of the state held by the intermediaries.

It is possible to say that the agrarian pattern in Koṅkaṇ during the early medieval period was changing into a feudal economic pattern. However, before coming to a conclusion it is extremely important to study the details regarding the trade activity on this coast data for which are also available from the records of the Śilāhāras.

Notes and References

1. *C.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No.14. *Khaṇḍa* means 'a share in the crop received by the owner from the tenant.' This term is still in common use in Konkan.
2. *Ibid.*, Nos.26 and 42
3. *Ibid.*, No.20.
4. *Ibid.*, No.14
5. The names like Saliyapa, Chanevati seem to indicate crops like paddy and horse grains. However, some names like Bhabhonda, Adhavaita could not be understood even with the help of lexicon.
6. *C.I.I.*, Vol VI, No.16 *Brāhmaṇaiś-cha prativarshaṁ pūrvarūḍhyā Sidhdhāyo dēyaḥ*.
7. *Ibid.*, No.31. Samasta Tandulhali- kshētra, *dra* 24.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 14. 120 *Kuḍavas* = 1 *Khaṇḍis*(from local tradition)
9. For similar tax collecting intermediaries known from other parts of the country, see R.S.Sharma, *Indian feudalism*, pp. 156 - 209.
10. *C.I.I.*, Vol, VI, No.25, *Vattaragrāma-pramukh-ṛishi mahatara*. 'Mahatara' corresponds to present day title 'Mhatra' common among the farming communities in Konkan.

A Note on Sirūru Hero Stone and Māsti Inscription

K.G. Vasantamadhava

Hero-stone inscriptions found in different parts of South Kanara District require a detailed study as these provide a clue to many facets of the cultural features of the region. The present Kundapur Taluk has yielded a few hero-stone inscriptions¹ which have been ignored by the scholars. One such hero-stone inscription found in a paddy field in front of the house of Dombeya Durga Shetty in the Sirūru village was brought to my notice by Sri Achuta Hebbar of Kergal village. A *māsti* carving found on the left side of the hero-stone inscription is its distinct feature. The inscription is in Kannada language and script. It belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century. It contains nine lines of writing and the inscription is incomplete. The latter portion of the record is not to be seen.

This hero-stone record² begins with invocations to the deities Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī and Guru. It belongs to the reign of king Dēvarāya. His 'governor Aṇṇappa-oḍeya is mentioned as the administrator of the Honna-ūru-rājya with headquarters at Honnavura. Then it states that on Mārgasīra śudha 3 in the year Kālayukti in the Śaka year 1384 (mistake for Śaka 1360= 1437 A.D., November 27) the Vijayanagara king entrusted to his governor at Honnāvar the

assignment of conducting military action against the insubordinate chieftain of Nagire, Bhairappa Dēva-oḍeya (Bhairava). The military forces consisted of two Kōlabalis of Honnāvar. The forces under the command of Aṇṇappa-oḍeya crossed the river Honnāvar and encamped at Manki and marched through Gaṅga-nāḍu (near Baindūru) and Siriyūra (Sirūru). In the situation, Māna-nāyaka, son of Hampanāyaka, nephew of Gōvinda-Heggaḍi and Ammi-Heggaḍe, and Vīrappa, resisted the Vijayanagara forces on behalf of Bhairappa-oḍeya. In this encounter these heroes died. The inscription refers to *Ūraparivāra*, Māna-nāyaka Hampanāyaka, Sura-nāyaka Madavalige Damner-kōḍu, etc., It seems that the inscription registers the grants made to the deceased heroes.

The Sirūru stone inscription is just prior to the incident mentioned in the Kaikiṇi hero-stone inscription³ dated Śaka 1360 corresponding to 1438 A.D. Further, the Sirūru hero-stone inscription enables us to know the commencement of the estrangement between the Vijayanagara king and the feudatory chief Nagire Bhairappa-oḍeya. The nature of Vijayanagara military units, their march routes, encampment places and the battle grounds are mentioned in detail.

Notes and References

1. Hero-Stone inscriptions are found at Basrūr, Trasi, Maravanti, Hosāṅgaḍi etc.
2. I am indebted to Sri J. Achuta Hebbar for his help to copy the record.
3. *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No 56, pp. 136-37.

Pēlūr Inscription of Tirumalai-Nāyaka

K. Karuppaiah

The above inscription was copied from the village Pēlūr in Attur Taluk, Salem District and included in the *A.R.Ep.* for the year 1991-92¹.

The inscription, engraved on a slab erected in the field of Shri Dhanapalan, is situated to the east of the Aṅgālamman temple in the same village. It is written in Tamil language and characters of 17th century A.D.

The undated inscription belongs to the reign of the Madurai king Tirumalai-nāyaka who ruled between 1623 and 1659 A.D.². It mentions part of name as Dēvarāya at the beginning. However, he may be identified as Doḍḍa Dēvarāya, the third son of Muppina Dēvarāya, the grandson of (Bōla) Chāmarāja IV (1572-76 A.D.)³ and the immediate successor of *Kaṇṭhīrava* Narasarāja (1638-59 A.D.). He occupied Erode, Dhārāpūr in 1667 A.D. He collected huge booty from Tiruchchirāppalli. He was the hero of the Erode war (1670 A.D.)⁴.

The inscription refers to an order (*ōlai*) sent by Tirumalai-nāyaka through one Vēṅkaṭappa-nāyaka to the subordinates of Thaṅjāvūr, Giñji and Salem on the occasion of the invasion of a certain Dēvarāya over Tiruchchirāppalli fort.

This epigraph throws some light on the political history of the period of Tirumalai-nāyaka (c. 1623-59 A.D.) of Madurai. The history of the Nāyakas was written on the basis of foreign notices and Jesuit letters so far. But this is the only

record, though incomplete, which mentions directly about the Tiruchchirāppalli fort, which was put under siege by the Mysore king Dēvarāya. This incident, referred to in the present inscription, confirms that Tirumalai-nāyaka was ruling from Tiruchchirāppalli fort and later moved to Madurai. The cause for this change was not known from any records, except that it was believed that he did so in order to seek cure for the disease catarrh⁵.

The exact reason for shifting, though discussed by scholars like Nelson⁶ and Shri Rangachari, is not clear for want of definite evidences.

In the early years of Tirumalai-nāyaka's reign, an invasion of Madurai by Mysore Voḍeyars and a counter-invasion of Mysore by Madurai Nāyaks had taken place according to Mackenzie manuscripts⁷. These events are said to have happened before Tirumalai-nāyaka's war with the Sētupatis of Rāmnād. Nelson does not give a date, but Mr. Rangachari suggests its date as 1625⁸. The cause of the Mysore aggression is not stated. Perhaps the ambitious Chāmarāja-voḍeyar did not require even a pretext. Under his orders, the Mysore general Haresura Nandirāja⁹ marched as far upto Dindigul fort but was repulsed by Madurai generals. This is referred to in an inscription¹⁰ dated 1633 A.D. which records the gift of land at Kīlakulattūr to the local temple after successful operations against, Mysore army.

The Kuniyūr plates¹¹ of Venkṭa II addresses Tirumalai-nāyaka respectfully as *Śrīmat Tirumalēndrasya -vijñaptim-anipālayam* meaning in accordance with the wishes of the ruler Tirumala. His successor Śrīraṅga III put an end to this relationship and forced a war on Tirumala. Then Tirumala formed an alliance with the Nāyaks of Thaṅjāvūr and Giṅji, to oppose the onward march of Śrīraṅga's army. When the Thaṅjāvūr Nāyaks exposed the secret schemes of the confederates to the latter and betrayed his allies, Tirumala had seriously thought about the new measures to save himself. And so he induced the Sultān of Gōlkoṇḍa to attack Vellore and to arrest the progress of the king.

After the completion of victory over the Vellore fort, the Gōlkoṇḍa chiefs seem to have besieged the fort of Giṅji. The Nāyaka of Thaṅjāvūr became panic stricken, surrendered completely to the enemy. But Tirumalai-nāyaka concluded an alliance with Bijāpūr Sultān and got the Giṅji fort relieved from the yoke of Gōlkoṇḍa, who entrusted the fort to the latter and left.

After the capture of Giṅji, the Bijāpūr Sultān turned their eyes towards the emperor Śrīraṅga III who formed a league with Mysore in the re-establishment of the kingdom of Vellore.

According to Jesuit¹² account, Tirumala was threatened by the new understanding between the emperor and the king of Mysore who did not come to the help of Śrīraṅga in the beginning of his contest. Tirumala sought the help of Bijāpūr again. The Bijāpūr gen-

eral 'Canacan' (Khan-i-khan) arrested the ambitions of Śrīraṅga and humbled the pride of Mysore.

Raṇadhīra Kaṅṭhīrava Narasarāja¹³ (1638-59 A.D.) was the then Mysore king. It is not out of place to say about the character of this king who visited Trichy under disguise as a companion of a brahmin. On his way, the king met him and heard about a celebrated champion at Tiruchchirāppalli court who defeated all antagonists from all parts of India and had now proclaimed a general challenge. It gave him a chance to have a thorough knowledge about Trichy fort. In war with Bijāpūr, two years after, he secured Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa fort, *in lieu* of some tribute to Bijāpūr. He secured many more territories in Tamilnadu¹⁴ in 1642 A.D., when his power was challenged by the Madurai rulers. In 1641 he came to Kāvēripuram, (a village in Bhavani Taluk of Coimbatore District) situated on the bank of the Kāvēri river and Jambetty, ten miles below Kāvēripuram.

He was also not prepared to leave Tirumala unpunished for the disaster which he brought on him by acting in collusion with Bijāpūr. The latter's withdrawal from Mysore gave him an opportunity to let slip the dogs of war on Madurai.

Under these circumstances, he should have seriously thought about the security of his kingdom. Though Tiruchchirāppalli was easier to defend, it was too near the zone of war. It was not centrally located to control the entire kingdom. His own views in regard to the

imperial connection may have led him to remove his headquarters to a place safer than Tiruchchirāppalli.

With regard to the transfer of capital the manuscripts¹⁵ suggest the date Chittirai in the year Akshaya corresponding to 1626 A.D. Nelson¹⁶ says that before Tirumala came to Madurai, the court was held at Trichy for nearly ten or twelve years. From the Jesuit¹⁷ letters, it may be inferred that Tirumalai-nāyaka who ruled from Tiruchchirāppalli for over 10-12 years, had shifted his capital to Madurai between 1640 and 1644 A.D.

Therefore, the date of the present inscription may be placed between the above mentioned two dates and so also the siege of Tiruchchirāppalli fort as well as his defeat¹⁸ at the hands of the Vodeyar which might have been the real cause for the change of his capital to Madurai and not *vice versa* as suggested by some scholars.

The present inscription lends support to the information available from Jesuit letters. It explains the alarming situation under which the capital was shifted from Trichy to Madurai. It also confirms that the other *nāyaka* rulers of Thaṅjāvūr, Giṅji, Madurai and Salem were his subordinates. From the Tiruchchirāppalli fort, he controlled the entire kingdom. In his capacity as a overlord, he sent messengers to these subordinates, when his position was in danger.

Thaṅjāvūr and Giṅji were protected by Tirumalai-nāyaka from the yoke of Sultāns of Bijāpūr. Tirumala had control over Salem in 1652 A.D., is clear from an inscription at Yerumaipatti¹⁹. It is mentioned in the present inscription as the fourth house (*nālāmviḍu*).

Text²⁰

1. Dātē ...
2. m - Dēvarāyarum vandu
3. Tiruchchirāppalli mut -
4. tigaiy = āna pōdu Ti -
5. rumalai - nāyakkar ini na-
6. makkus = sagāmā. eṇ -
7. ṇuv = ā[va] Madirai
8. Thaṅjāvūr Seṅji
9. Sēlam nālāmvi -
10. ḍu Chiṅṅabūpālanay
11. dēvarāchchiyat = tā -
12. paṅāchchāriyaṅ van[dā-²¹
13. lām] eṅṅu..
14. nā ōlai uḍuttaṅu -
15. ppiya inda vē -
16. lai udavi vēṅu -
17. m eṅṅu Vēṅ -
18. kaṭappa-nā[ya*]kkar Tiruchchi-
19. rāppalliye vandar²²

Notes and References

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1991-92. I am thankful to the Director (Epigraphy) for permitting me to make use of this epigraph for discussion.
2. Sathyanatha Iyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madura* , pp. 81.ff
3. *Karnataka Gazetteer* (Mysore District), pp.90.ff
4. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, pp. 68.ff
5. Sathyanatha Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
6. *Ibid.*,p. 83.
7. Taylor, *OH MSS* : II, pp. 169-75.
8. *Indian Antiquary*, 1910, p. 166.
9. *Madurai Manual* , pp. 125 ff.
10. Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. III, p. 164.
11. *Indian Antiquary*, 1916, p. 185.
12. *Catalogue Raisonne*, Vol. III, p. 40.
13. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, pp. 57 ff.
14. P.B. Desai, *History of Karnataka*, pp. 415 ff.
15. Taylor, *OH MSS* ; II, p. 148.
16. *Indian Antiquary*, 1916, p. 122.
17. Bertrabid, ii, p. 226 ; *Ibid.*, p. 309 ; *Ibid.*,p. 346.
18. *A.R.Ep.*, 1991-92.
19. Robert Sewell, *List of Antiquarian* , Vol. I, p 204.
20. From the ink impression
21. The length sign of *a* is written in the beginning of line 13
22. The record is incomplete and partly damaged.

A Note on Malaiyaḍikkurichchi and its Inscriptions

T. Satyamurthy

The place Malaiyaḍikkurichchi in Sankaranayinarkoyil Taluk, Tirunelveli District, is located to the left of the road leading from Puliyanguḍi to Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil. It is very near to the villages Talaivāṅkōṭṭai and Malaiyaḍikkōṭṭai.

There is a rock-cut cave in the hill at Malaiyaḍikkurichchi. This cave belongs to the early Pāṇḍya period. The cave has a single cell with an entrance door-jamb. Over the jamb, in the *lalāta-bimba*, there is a bas-relief of seated Gajalakshmī in the circle formed out of a *makara* arch. This relief is flanked on either side by two seated figures holding garlands in their arms. The depiction of Gajalakshmī confirms its Brahmanical origin and its leaning towards Jaina Art¹ is not tenable. The *linga* should have been enshrined at the time of the excavation of the cave. There is a four pillared *mandapa* in front of this cell. The capital of one of the serrated pillars carries an inscription of an early Pāṇḍya king. It is dated in the seventeenth year of the Pāṇḍya king Māraṅ Chēndaṅ. Dr. M.D. Sampath is of the opinion that this Tamil record is in Grantha, Tamil and Vaṭṭeluttu characters of 7th century A.D. The north wall of the *mandapa* has a long medieval Pāṇḍya record on one of its walls outside the Ammaṅ shrine. A number of fragmentary inscriptions are found engraved on the slabs built into the walls of the God-

dess shrine. This shrine should have been built at a later date.

Besides the above dated Pāṇḍya record of the early period, there is a medieval Pāṇḍya record, engraved on a slab set up near a well at the foot of the hill². This inscription is in Tamil language and script. It belongs to the reign period of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍaiyavarmaṅ Sundarapāṇḍya and is dated in the twelfth year of his reign. It also furnishes the Śaka date 1236 corresponding to 1314-15 A.D. Other details of date are not given to tally the exact date of the inscription. It states that the spring well Ūrrukkiṅaru at Malaiyaḍikkurichchi was the gift of Taṅṅiyānai Tiruveṅkāḍ-udaiyāṅ alias Tamiladaraiyaṅ.

The identification of the king mentioned in this record is of some interest. We hear of two Pāṇḍya kings³ with the name Sundarapāṇḍya and the title Śaḍaiyavarmaṅ during the first quarter of fourteenth century A.D. King Māraṅvarmaṅ Kulaśēkhara I, with the *praśasti*, *Tarpil-aiḡul - tirumagul puṅaravum*, etc., had two sons, Śaḍaiyaṅ Viṅrapāṇḍyaṅ and Śaḍaiyaṅ Sundarapāṇḍyaṅ and a daughter. This daughter had a son Śaḍaiyaṅ Sundarapāṇḍyaṅ. Of these two Sundarapāṇḍyas, the son of Kulaśēkhara, like his father, assumed the title *Emmaṅḍalamum koṅḍaruḷiya* while the grandson of Kulaśēkhara through his

daughter had assumed the epithet *Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ*. The reign of Sundarapāṇḍya, brother of Vīrapāṇḍya, witnessed the onslaught of Mālikkāfūr, even while his father Kulaśēkhara was alive. The above invasion caused a rude shock to Kulaśēkhara. Sundarapāṇḍya made endowments for the performance of special worship to the deity at Tirumāl-Ugandāṅkōṭṭai for the welfare of his father, on the day of the latter's natal star Mūla-nakshatra. In the year 1313 A.D., the Chōla country, then under Pāṇḍya control, saw the incursion of Kēraḷa Ravivarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara. There was a set back in the Pāṇḍya rule for a short period. The Pāṇḍyas sought the help of the Kākatīya chief, Muppidināyaka, to regain their power once again. Perhaps the invasion of the Kēraḷa ruler did not have any effect on the control of the Pāṇḍyas over their own native territory. This is evident from the availability of the inscriptions of Sudarapāṇḍya in the heart of the Pāṇḍya country and in the Tāmraparṇī basin. Śrīvaikuṇṭham, one of the *navatirupatis* on the bank of the river Tāmraparṇī, has yielded three of his records ranging in date from 1305 to 1316 A.D. The date of the record under study i.e., 1314-15 A.D., falls within this period.

His accession date is known from the details of date recorded in his Tiruppukkulī inscription. Sri. Sethuraman fixes the date of his accession as 26th April 1303 A.D.

A number of constructional activi-

ties had been undertaken during this period. For instance, the entrance gateway (*gōpura*), *prākāra* wall (*tirumadil*), etc., were raised in the temple at Śrīvaikuṇṭham in Tirunelveli District. In addition to the patronage extended to the temple building activities, his contribution to public works is all the more significant.

It was the practise in the ancient days to excavate lakes for irrigation purpose and to dig wells for drinking purposes. Especially in the summer season, scarcity of water in the lakes and tanks is an usual feature. During the non-rainy season, both the cattle and the human beings feel the pinch of water. Excavation of wells was a common practice undertaken in the Pāṇḍya country by its kings and officers.

We have epigraphical references to the construction of wells for public use as well as exclusively for the sacred bath of the deities. At Vellūr near Virudunagar in Kamarajar District, there are two inscribed slabs set up near the tank of the village. They reveal the practises prevalent during the Pāṇḍya period. One of the records assignable to 13th Century A.D. refers to the construction of a well for *abhishēkha* purposes in the name of the deity Tiruvilaṅgīśvaram-udaiyār by one Śelvatiruvārūr Vallāṅkilāṅ Tiruchichirram balam-udaiyāṅ in the village Vellūr in Karuṅḡḍi-nāḍu. The second record dated in Śaka 1171 (1249 A.D.) belongs to the reign of Māṇavarmaṇ Sundarapāṇḍya II who had the title *Pāliyaṅ*.

It refers to the construction of a stone well called *Āmaṇṇum-kiṇaru*, meaning 'the well intended for drinking water for cattle (*āviṇ*)'. (*Kalvettu*, No. 43, July 1995 article on *Āmaṇṇum-kiṇaru* by Sri V. Vedachalam, 306-b.)

The well dug at Malaiyaḍikkurichchi was intended for drinking purposes. Even today residents of the village are drawing drinking water from this well. It caters to the needs of the inhabitants all through the year, for it is a spring well (*ūṛru-kiṇaru*) as is evident from the record itself. Water of a spring well is normally pure and good and fit for drinking purposes. The record under review gives an idea of the type of society that existed in the Pāṇḍya country. A number of examples can be multiplied to explain the irrigation practices followed by the people during the Pāṇḍya period. This is

attested by our record, the text of which is given below :

Text

1. Śak-ābdam 1236
2. Svasti Śrī Kōchcha-
3. ḍaiyapaṇmar = āṇa
4. Tribhuvanach = chakravattiga-
5. † Śrī Sundarapāṇḍi -
6. yadēvarku yāṇḍu
7. 12 vadu Malaiyaḍik -
8. kuṛichchi ūṛru-kiṇaru
9. Taṇiyāṇai Tiruveṇ-
10. kāḍ-udaiyāṇ - āṇa
11. Tamiladaraiyaṇ ḍaṇ -
12. mam[|*] śubham - astu|

Notes and References

1. K.V. Soundararajan, *South Indian Studies*, 1990, Mysore, p. 638.
2. *AREp.*, 1915, No 608
3. *JESI.*, Vol. X, pp. 15-29

Inscription from Araśalāpuram - A Study

S. Rajavelu

A fascinating discovery of an inscription from Villupuram area is in reality cultural exposition of rustic games in the hoary past with which the ancient people were associated¹. It gives an insight into the ancient practices of the Tamils of the Saṅgam age. As a matter of fact, we have heard of bull-fight which was a game of heroism in which the heroes prove their prowess and valour.

The present inscription depicts a set of cocks that were reared with the exclusive object of putting them on show probably by two parties. Besides the depiction of a cock in bas-relief, a label inscription is also found engraved on the same stone.

A loose stone carrying this inscription was originally found in a Piḷḷaiyār temple at Araśalāpuram in the Villupuram-Gingee road and included in Villupuram Taluk of Ramaswamy Padaiyatchi District (South Arcot District). It is preserved now in the PWD office at Villupuram.

It is in Tamil language and the script can be termed as transitional script. A comparative analysis shows that it is assignable to a period between the Tamil-Brāhmī and early Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of about the 5-6th century A.D.

The palaeography of the inscription is very similar and analogous with that

of Paṛaiyaṅpaṭṭu² and Pūlāṅkuṛichchi inscriptions of 5-6th century A.D. The cross bar of horseshoe shaped *m* touches the right vertical line. The letter *k* has two forms as seen in the Paṛaiyaṅpaṭṭu inscription. The consonant letter *r̥* has a dot on the right top of the letter. The letter *l̥* has undergone some changes. The top portion is opened up. The *i* curvature is seen drawn to the left. The word *karugu* mentioned in this inscription is noteworthy which means fading off or charred and contextually meaning the final end i.e., death.³

The inscription refers to the death of a cock after a fight with another cock at Mēṛchēri, the western settlement of the village Mūgaiyūr.

It is significant to note that the ancient Tamils practised cock fight as one of their amusements in those days. A commentary on *Tolkāppiyam* by Śēṅṅavaraiyar states about the cocks which have been brought up for fighting by the people who lived in the eastern (*kūḷchēri*) and western (*mēḷchēri*) parts of the village.⁴ This statement is supported by the commentator Śaṅkaranamachivāyar in his commentary on *Naṅṅūḷ*.⁵

To supplement and support this view there is also another memorial stone inscription at Indalūr in Madurantakam Taluk of Chengai M.G.R. District (Chingleput District)⁶ referring to the death

of a *kūchēri* cock. This inscription can be palaeographically assigned to a period later than that of the present record. The eastern or western parts of the village do have settlements consisting of groups who practised cock-fighting as one of their pasttimes for which purpose they bred cocks on their own.

They used to train them for fighting and allied rivalry. During the encounter if the cock of their choice dies, a memo-

rial stone used to be set up to commemorate the event and the eulogy written as a mark of respect as is seen in the case of human beings who give up their lives in fights while defending village or during the cattle lift or local skirmishes.

Text

1. Mūgaiyūru Mērchē -
2. riḍuy-āḍi ka-
3. rugiya kōḷi [||*]

Notes and References

1. I am indebted to the Director (Epigraphy), who was kind enough to permit me to present this paper on the newly discovered record. The same is included in the *A.R.Ep.*, for the year 1992-93.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLI, pp 174 ff.
3. *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol I, p. 750.
4. *Tolkāppiyam, Śol, Kiḷaviyākkam*, 60
5. *Naṇṇūl, Pothuviyal*, 402.
6. Tamaraikkannan, *Naḍukal kaṇḍa Kūchchērikkōḷi*, Tamilnadu Historical Conference, Madras.

Inscriptions provide us concrete historical accounts. They record transactions of different natures and they are all legal documents. The operative part of an inscription reflects the social, the economic and the political conditions of the period to which it belongs.

In this paper an attempt is made to study the participation of people in public works as found in the inscriptions of the Pondicherry region. The Pallavas, Chōlas, later Pallavas, Vijayanagar rulers and the French have left behind a number of stone inscriptions in this region. Only one copper-plate grant¹ of the Pallavas was found.

One of the inscriptions under study is a new finding in the Vishṇu temple named Tōtādrinādar-kōyil at Tirubhuvanai. It is in twelve fragments. Eleven are found on the inside as well as outside of the east, north, west and south walls. One is found on the inside of the south wall of the *ardhamandapa*. However, the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* calls it as Varadarājaperumāl kōyil². Some of the stones were misplaced. Hence, the locations given by the Report differ from the existing locations of some of the records.

The inscription begins with the title *Rājakēśariparṃmar āṇa Tribhuvanachakravattigal*. It belongs to the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I. The regnal year is not found as each line of the inscription is damaged at the beginning and at the

end. The name of the village as given in the inscription is *Tiribhuvanamādēvi-charuppēdimanigalam*.

It records a resolution passed by the *peruṅkuṛipperumakka!* (honourable members of the village assembly) regarding the maintenance of the village tank.

The tank³ was silted. The paddy collected as *ēri-āyam* (tank-tax) was not sufficient to meet the expenses for the repairs to the tank. There was no other fund to meet the above cost. At this juncture, certain Piḷlai Chōlakōṇār undertook the job of laying a stone pavement named *Kulōttuṅgachōlaṅ karpaḍai* as a *dhanmam* (charity) to keep the tank from silting. In this connection the following arrangement was made: every year the villages should supply he-buffaloes to carry the stones for *karpaḍai*. The inscription refers to the name of each village and the number of he-buffaloes to be supplied by them. Traders, shepherds and accountants also donated he-buffaloes.

Piḍākai Vīranārāyaṇa -vaḷanāṭṭu ūrgalilār iḍuñ -kidā Karikālachōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu ūrgalilār iḍuñ-kidā padinālum Madurān taka-vaḷanāṭṭu ūrgalilar i(ḍuñ)kidā pati Śembiyanmādēvi-vaḷanāṭṭu ūrgalilār iḍuñ-kidā padinmūṇṇum

It goes on and states :-

“Kaṇakkeḷuduvār iḍuñ-kidā mūṇṇum Aṇaikkarai-palligal! ... verrilai vāṇiba ... manṇāḍigal iḍuñ-kidā āṇum”

He-buffaloes were used in the carts to carry the stones for *karpaḍai*. Cartmen were employed for this purpose.

We come to know from this record that, during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the people of Tirubhuvanai participated along with Pillai Chōlakōnār, an individual who undertook a public work, in the maintenance of the village tank. Also it shows us the prevalence of unity and co-operation towards a common cause among the villagers of Tribhuvanamahādēvich-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and the autonomy enjoyed by them in deciding upon public works. It is but proper to say that those villages only which were getting water for irrigation from this tank supplied he-buffaloes for the above work⁴.

There is another newly found inscription on the west wall of the central shrine in the Tirumūlanādar-kōyil at Bāhūr. It begins with the *praśasti* of Rājēndra I and is dated in his 16th regnal year.

The *peruṅkurip-perumakkaḷ* of Aḷagiya-chōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam *alias* Vāhūr in Pavitramāṅikka - vaḷanāḍu in Jayaṅṅṅa chōḷa-maṅḍalam met at Aḷagiya-chōḷa-ambalam during the night of Friday, the first day of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanus when the asterism Pūrāḍam was current and passed a resolution regarding the specification of levy and collection of *ēri-āyam*.

The following statement is found in the inscription which relates to the participation of people in the maintenance of the village tank, a public work:

“Ivvūrilum ivvūrōḍum eṇṇavargalilum irundāril tiṇḍādār-oliya nākki ninṇārīlp-pattu vayasukku mēl eṇḇadu vayasukku kilpattārai mudaleduttu nāṇchāṇ uḷḷa kōlāl irukōlukku iru kōl-lagalamum oru kōl maḍaṇkun-koṇḍu pērāl oru kuḷi āttāṇḍutōrum ivvūr ēriyilēy kaṭṭak-kadavārgall-āgavum”,

that the inhabitants and those settled in the *ūr* should dig one *kuḷi* of land in the tank. The purpose is to keep the Bāhūr tank from silting. By this it is clear that, during the reign of Rājēndra I, the people of Bāhūr themselves maintained the *periya-ēr*⁵, by participating physically in the work.

Another notable aspect is that the record excludes those from digging the tank who are below ten years and above eighty years.

innāṭṭu vagai seygiṇṇa Uyyakkōṇḍār-vaḷanāṭṭu Tiruvaḷundūr-nāṭṭu Kappūr-uḍaiyār nilaṇ veṅkāḍaṇḍum irundu”

The resolution was passed in the presence of a government officer in charge of survey of lands of that *nāḍu*. It is clear from this statement that the resolution, thus passed, was approved by the government also.

Temples played an important role by functioning as public institutions in the society those days. Some of the legal documents, even though not related to temples in any way, as we have seen above, were also engraved on temple walls. Moreover, the service rendered to a temple was considered a social activ-

ity. To light a lamp in a temple was a pious act. We have epigraphical references which relate to donations made by kings and individuals in cash and kind for conducting various services in temples. "Besides" says T.V. Mahalingam⁶ "being an active centre of religious life in the local area, the temple was an important social institution that filled a large place in the many-sided activities of the township-political, social, economic and cultural". Thus temple was a social institution and any service done in the name of it was a social or public service. Hence, those records which mention the participation of villagers collectively in temple activities have also been studied in this paper.

A record in the Villiyānūr temple mentions the sharing of festival expenses by different villages. It is found on the south wall of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* in Tirukkāmīśvaram-uḍaiyār-kōyil at Villiyānūr and has been reported in *AREp.*, 1936-37 as No. 187. It begins with *Chakkaravattigal Śrī Parākkiramapāṇḍiya dēvarkku yāṇḍu.etc.* The regnal year is damaged.

The record states that during the month of Vaigāśi every year the annual festival was celebrated in the temple at Tirukkāmīśvaram-uḍaiyār. Each village undertook to meet the festival expenses of each day. It records

"..... Tirukkāmīchuram-uḍaiya-nāyaṇār
tiruvaigāśit-tirunāl aṇ
...rum idattu tirukkōṭit -tirunāl Pirambai

ūravarum tiruk -

*...run iranḍān tirunāl oḷugaraiṇ = Paṇaiippā-
nkiḷārgaḷum
...rikkarum nālān tirunāl Pākkamudaiyāṇ
paṭṭu ūravarum"*

As the inscription is damaged we could not get the names of villages which undertook the expenses of the 3rd, 5th and 6th day festivals. The record goes on mentioning upto 8th day festival. It shows us how earnestly people participated in temple festivals and public activities.

Another epigraph in the same temple refers to the restoration of a forgotten service. It is found inside the east wall of the south *gōpura*. It is an 18th century record and has been reported in *AREp.*, 1936-37 as No. 203.

Earlier, certain Bhikshāpatirāyar had made provision for maintaining a lamp in the Tirukkāmīchurappar temple. Later it was stopped due to unknown reasons. But the people of Valudāvūr-śīmai⁷ brought this to the notice of Rāyōgipaṇḍitar in the court of the Arcot Nawab and restored the same. It is one more instance showing the unity of Villiyānūr people towards temple service which is a social activity.

The statement "caste and group life formed no hindrance to social co-operation for common ends" during Chōla period, made by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, can be applied to the later periods also as is evident from the two epigraphs mentioned above.

Notes and References

1. *Inscriptions of the Pallavas*, ed. T.V. Mahalingam, No. 155, 1988, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.
2. *AREp.*, 1919, Nos.174 to 213
3. The name of the tank to which the repair was done is not mentioned in the record under study.
4. This is assumed by the following statement found in another record of the same temple which has been reported in *AREp.*, 1919, as No. 189.

Ivvēri chutti irukkum -irai ivvēri kīl̄ ūrgal̄ - ōpādiyē koḷḷak - kaḍavōm-āgavum.

Translation: "We are obliged to collect the tax on tank from those villages which are depending on this tank (for irrigation)".

5. *S.I.I.*, Vol VII, No. 805. The record calls the Bāhūr tank as *Periya-ēri* which means 'Big tank'. Also it is called *Kaṭampēri*. *Ibid.*, Nos. 809-10.
6. T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 372.
7. Vaḷutavūr-śīmai is the old name of the present Vaḷutavūr which is ten kilometres away from Villianūr in the north-west direction.
8. K.A. Nilkanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, 1984 (Reprinted), Madras, p.548.

A Śālaṅkāyana Sealing from Adam

Amarendra Nath

As and when a primary data on the Śālaṅkāyanas surfaces, instantaneously our attention is drawn to a dynasty by this name and we try to see its relevance in that direction. Recently, a terracotta sealing has come to light in the course of excavations at Adam (21° 00'n, 79°28'e), Kuhi Taluk, Nagpur District, which not only chronologically antedates all the known archaeological data of its time but also, by its occurrence in Vidarbha region, stretches up the area of interaction of the Śālaṅkāyanas beyond the accepted territorial limit i.e., coastal Andhra Pradesh. The Śālaṅkāyanas, who flourished between 320 and 475 A.D. are generally considered as the successors of the Sātavāhanas and contemporaneous to the early Guptas and Vākātakas. Most of the Śālaṅkāyana grants, issued from the capital city of Vēṅgīpura (Peddavēgi), have helped in building their chronology and pedigree;¹ at the same time, other mundane finds from the excavations at Peddavēgi (1984-85 to 1986-87) have thrown light on their rich cultural heritage.² But it is conspicuous to note that not a single inscribed record of theirs could be obtained in the recent excavations at the site³.

However, the excavated site at Kauśāmbī near Allahabad has brought to light an inscribed pedestal slab referring

to a minister (*amātya*) Bhūtila belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana family.⁴ It is the first archaeological data of its kind assigned to early 2nd century A.D., antedating the known data of coastal Andhra region. Incidentally, there are a few traditional inferences in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini⁵ and *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali⁶ about a Śālaṅkāyana and Śālaṅkāyanaka (land of the Śālaṅkāyanas), which might suggest upper Indian connection, for there is no archaeological corroboration whatsoever. As regards the name of *amātya* Bhūtila there is hardly any reference either in primary or secondary sources to associate him to any particular region. However, an *amātya* named Bhūmika figures in an inscription of Siri Chada Sātakarṇi found at Kodavōlu.⁷ Whatever value be attached to these parallels it would not be far from fair to say that the Śālaṅkāyana family ruling in the coastal region of Andhra Pradesh was instrumental in sending one of its *amātya* on some business trip to Kauśāmbī who later caused the pedestal inscription under reference to be engraved. In this regard it may not be out of place to record that a few inscribed clay sealings bearing popular metronymic legends like Gautamīputra and Vāsishṭhīputra of the imperial Sātavāhanas have also been encountered from the excavations at Bhita,⁸

a neighbouring early historical site of Kauśāmbī, which fairly indicate the interaction between the Gangetic plains and Deccan during the early historical period.

Incidentally, the terrocotta sealing from Adam⁹ further helps in building the coastal Deccan connection with Vidarbha region. The site, lying in the flood plains of Wainganga, a tributary of Gōdāvārī, has yielded number of sphragistic data from the Sātavāhana horizon and one of them attributed to the Śālanākāyanas is button shaped. It bears the Prākṛit legend within a circular incuse (Dia. 12mm) which consists of six Brāhmī letters, each distributed outwardly along the flan (Dia. 15 mm). It reads, anti-clockwise, *Śālanākāyanasa*, i.e., the sealing of Śālanākāyana, literally meaning 'one with a Sāla or Sālaka tree as his abode' (Pl.I). However, the word 'Śālanākāyana' also means Nandin, the bull of Śiva.¹⁰

The legend with a case ending begins at V and terminates at VII. Uniformly devided letters in low relief are in square format (3 × 3 mm), spaced at an interval of 2 mm. Palaeographically, it may be assigned to 1st-2nd century A.D. Other than the first character of the legend *Śā* being wrongly inscribed as *sā*, there is no other palaeographic shortfall. All the medial signs of *ā* and *anusvāra* are correctly placed in the legend. In addition to the legend, a couple of devices seen on the sealing are *svastika* at VI and a

feeble impression of four orbs in the centre. These devices occur more frequently on the coins of the early historical period than on seals and sealings.

The absence of string or tying-mark at its partly preserved back suggests the use of sealing more as token than otherwise. Perhaps it was brought to the site during the Sātavāhana hegemony by an emissary of the Śālanākāyanas from the coastal Andhra region, about whom the archaeological data of the early century of the Christian era is yet to come. Nevertheless, for this suggestion we solely depend on the account of Ptolemy of 140 A.D. and in the light of the above find we recommend a thorough exploration with a determination to locate an early settlement of the Śālanākāyanas in that region. In his account Ptolemy writes: "Beyond the Maisoli (Masulipatam) are the Salakenoi¹¹ near the Arouaia mountains, with following cities: Benagouron (140°24') ; Kastrā (138°19'30'); Magaris (137°30', 18°20')" (Geography, VII, i, 79)¹². The above inference traces back the beginning of the Śālanākāyanas to the early centuries of the christian era and their precise location in the coastal Andhra region. But, conversely, some scholars have tried to locate their original home in the undivided Punjab region and if it is so then it is believed that a section of their offspring migrated to coastal Andhra possibly just before the unification of the Deccan under the Sātavāhanas. Keeping

in view the record of Ptolemy, it may be assumed that during the 1st and 2nd century A.D. the Śālaṅkāyanas continued to retain their identity either with the help of their own process or with some memorandum of understanding with the imperial Sātavāhanas.

Once again mention may, in conclusion, be made of the terracotta sealing

bearing the legend of Śālaṅkāyana as the proper name¹³ of an important chief who was possibly instrumental in forming a dynasty after his name in the 1st-2nd century A.D., which later on fell into oblivion for about a couple of centuries and re-emerged in the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. If it is so, then the finding of Adam becomes not only rare but also important.

Notes and References

1. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*, 1939, Calcutta, pp. 63-96.
2. R.C. Tripathi (ed.), *Indian Archaeology - 1984-85 A Review*, 1987, New Delhi, pp. 7-8.
3. I.K.Sarma, "Brahmi inscriptions from Vengipura Excavations", *JESI*, Vol. 14, 1987, pp. 56-60. Earlier two sets of copper-plates were found at Kanukollu, cf., B.V.Krishna Rao, "Two Salankayana charters from Kanukollu", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 31, 1955-56, pp.1-10; also see P.Krishna Mohan Reddy, "A note on two Salankayana charters from Kanukollu", *JESI*, Vol. 21, 1995, pp. 112-15.
4. S.P.Tewari, "A Salankayana record from Kausambi in the Allahabad Museum", *JESI*, Vol. 14, 1987, pp. 85-88.
5. D.C.Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 83; *Journal of the Andhra Pradesh Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, p.23.
6. Pandit Shridharashastri Pathak & Pandit Siddheshvarashastri, *Word Index to Patanjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, 1927, Pune, p. 1020.
7. H.Luders, "Brahmi inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 40", *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p.160, list No. 1341; Correction in the *Early History of Andhra Country*, p. 71, n. 107.
8. J.H.Marshall, "Excavations at Bhita", *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51.
9. Amarendra Nath, "Adam-An index to Vidarbha archaeology", *New Trends in Indian Art and Archaeology-S.R.Rao's 70th Birthday Felicitation Volume*, 1994, Delhi, pp. 69-79.
10. For further explanations refer to M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899), p. 1067. It is interesting to note that the figure of a bull (i.e. Nandin) is found on the seals tied to the copper plate grants of the Śālaṅkāyana kings. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the bull crest of the Śālaṅkāyana kings was connected with the name of their family, cf., Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
11. H.C.Raychaudhuri has rightly indentified Salakenoi with the Śālaṅkāyanas, cf., *Political History of Ancient India*, 3rd ed., p.341, n.1.
12. Surendranath Majumdar Sastri,(ed.), *Maecrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1927, Calcutta, pp. 172-73. Sircar, *op.cit.*, pp.71-72.
13. D.C.Sircar refers to one *gōtra* by this name which "belongs to the Viśvāmitra section and has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya and Ātkīla. But the Śālaṅkāyana used in the Ellore grant of Dēvavarman seems to be the Prākṛit form of Śālaṅkāyana which is the spelling used in all the other grants of the family". cf., Sircar, *Ibid.*, p. 82.

A Bilingual Inscription of Aurangzeb

M.Y. Quddusi

In 1990, during the course of my exploration for copying inscriptions from various places of Raichur District of Karnataka, I had copied about 11 inscriptions¹. When I had been to Ling-sugur, a taluk headquarters in the same district, I was informed that there is a bilingual inscription in the ruined fort of Jaldurg.

Jaldurg is 15 kms. away from Ling-sugur. It is an island-fort surrounded by the Kṛishṇā river. The proper fort area covers a vast land full of old ruined buildings, walls, gates and graves. At one spot near the bank of the river, is an old shrine or tomb of one Muḥammad Sarwar about whom nothing is known. Now this shrine is the only place of attraction inside the fort where the devotees from the adjoining districts and Raichur come to pay their respects to the departed soul. Fortunately, I was guided by a villager from Gulbarga District who was also on his way to Jaldurg, to the shrine of Muḥammad Sarwar. If he had not been with us, it was very difficult to locate the epigraph under reference. After passing through the remains inside the fort, we found the inscriptional slab fixed near the dargah of Muḥammad Sarwar. This bilingual inscription² actually contains six lines of Persian and Hindi prose. The text reads as follows:

1. San 1111
2. Kḥānazād-i-Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr Ghāzi Takok Singh ibn Chitrangad Bundela
3. Śrī Gājī Ālamgīr Hai
4. Vādasāhi Muvalōka ||
5. Chitaranṅada Buṁdala Suvava
6. Dā Simha Tralōka ||

Its purport is that Takok Singh, was the son of Chitrangad Bundela, the royal servant of the emperor 'Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb). Year (A.H) 1111 (1699 - 1700 A.D.)³.

This short inscription copied from Jaldurg is quite important which represents the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb who had brought the fall of the 'Ādil Shāhi kingdom of Bijapur in 1686 A.D. Apart from this Mughal record, neither any Ādil Shāhi nor Asaf Jahi inscriptions have been reported from this fort⁴. We do find the references related to other forts like Raichur, Adoni, Koppal, Naldurg etc. The Mughal commandants were appointed immediately after Mughal conquest. When Golkonda was also conquered in 1687 A.D., the six subhas of the Deccan were reorganised and the details of each sarkar, mahal, paragana, village

or dependency had been compiled under the respective subas. These exhaustive details are very useful for the study of the various aspects of history and administration. This work done under Aurangzeb continued till the First Nizam took over as an independent ruler of Hyderabad in 1724 A.D.⁵ Surprisingly, there is no mention of Jaldurg. Probably it had been included under some other paragana adjoining to it or some other village. But it does not make any difference as far as its historical value is concerned.

The epigraph under reference itself is a source-material for the area which is called Jaldurg. Having a strategic position surrounded by the Kṛishṇā river, it was well maintained under the Mughals. Takok Singh, who finds mention as Khānazād-i-Bādshāh, signifies the importance that the son of the royal servant i.e., Takok Singh, son of Chitran-

gad Bundela had his stay there in the fort in A.H. 1111 (1699-1700 A.D). Most probably he might have taken part in the Mughal expedition against the Bijapur kingdom and remained posted there. It also provides information that both the son and his father were in the royal service. Apart from Persian, a text of four lines in Hindi language is also to be noted that he belonged to the Hindi speaking belt. No doubt that Persian was the main official language of the Mughals but the other regional languages like Hindi had been flourishing and officials or royal servants like Takok Singh did not hesitate in the usage of their mother-tongue Hindi for such purposes.

To conclude, we may say that these epigraphs are very useful for the regional history. This inscription has also brought to light two Bundela names associated with the royal court⁶.

Notes and References

1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* 1989-90, Appendix C, Nos. 26-36.
2. *WMB*, III, p.178. The author only quotes the text of the Persian epigraph and reads the name as Chatrai instead of Chatrangad.
3. Listed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1989-90, No. C 32, For the first time this bilingual inscription was copied.
4. Jaldurg alongwith other parts of the Raichur district became a part of the Asaf Jahis of Hyderabad under the first Nizam in 1724 A.D and after independence it is now in Karnataka State.
5. M.A.Nayeem, *Mughal Administration of Deccan under Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah*, 1985, Bombay, pp.29-30. based on *Deh-be-deh* (Persian Ms) in State Archives, Hyderabad and *Tārik-i-Gulzār-i-Asaf* (Hyd. 1308 Hijrī).

6. Bundela-Bundelkhand: A tract of this country in the United Province, which includes the Districts of Jalgaun, Jhansi, Hamirpur and Banda with those parts of Allahabad which lies south of Jamuna and Ganges. The name is taken from that of the Bundela Thakurs, the most important clan inhabited in it *IGI*, Vol.ix, 1908, Oxford, p 68. Quite a large number of Bundelas served under Mughals namely Chhatrasal Bundela, Raja Subhansingh Bundela, Raja Dilipsingh Bundela, Jhaijarsingh Bundela, Jagrajsingh Bundela and Bharatsingh Bundela. (See for details Muhd. Said Ahmad, *Umir-i-Humud*, 1910, Aligrah, pp.99-345.)

An Early Tamil Brāhmī Inscription From Thailand

P. Shanmugam

A small inscription (plate) in Tamil Brāhmī characters was found recently in Thailand.¹ It was exhibited in a local Buddhist Museum at Khuan Luk Pat (Lat. 7°55' North; Long 99°9' East), situated in the Krabi Province on the western coast of southern Thailand. Khuan Luk Pat was an important ancient port situated about 5 kms, interior on the banks of the Klong Thom stream which flows into the Andaman Sea on the west (Map). A small mound locally known as bead mound situated on the side of the stream was excavated and artefacts belonging to the 1st century B.C. to the 6th century A.D. were brought to light in two occupational layers². The first occupational level, datable to the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd Century A.D. yielded some Roman intaglioos, a Chinese bronze mirror of the Han dynasty and some coins, besides other artefacts. The second occupational level (3rd century - 6th century A.D) yielded some seals and beads. According to the excavators the seals have legends in the Pallava Grantha characters while the beads were of the South Indian variety, of which details are not available.

Among the artefacts of Tamil origin³ of the early centuries of the Christian era was a 2 cm.square copper coin. The obverse has an image of a standing tiger, facing left, whose front right leg is lifted up and the tail upraised and twisted in an 'S' like curve. The devices on the reverse are not well preserved, but could be identified as the figure of a horse drawn chariot to the left with an elephant following it. The coin has no legend on it. Without much difficulty the coin could be attributed to the Saṅgam Chōḷa dynasty (1-3 century A.D.) on the basis of the tiger emblem. The Chōḷa royal crest i.e., the tiger is very similar to the one found on other Saṅgam Chōḷa coins found in the Tamil country. A circular copper coins of 1.5 cms in diameter was another important artefact discovered in this site. It is little damaged on the sides but the devices are clearly visible. On the obverse is the bull emblem, facing to the right. The reverse has a twin masted ship with two ores shown on the sides. The coin has no legend. The coin could be attributed to the Pallava dynasty who ruled the Tamil country from the 6th century to the end of the early 9th century A.D., even though it has no legend on it.

The engraved small stone⁴ is of black schist, having a little curved surface and measures 8 × 4 cms. One side of the small stone is well polished. Looking at the size and shape of the rectangular stone we may easily suggest that it was a touch stone, usually held by a goldsmith to test the fineness of gold. Such small stones for testing the fineness of gold can be seen in Tamil Nadu among the gold merchants and smiths.

The reverse of the stone has a two line Tamil Brāhmī inscription, which clearly reads as: (1) *perumpataṇ* (2) *kal*. *Perumpataṇ*, the first part of the inscription could refer to the name of an individual and *kal*, the second part refers to the stone. Hence, the inscription can be explained as the stone belonging to the individual *Perumpataṇ*. The second part of the personal name, namely *pataṇ*, could suggest some association with goldsmiths. The gold workers and the jewellers are generally known by the name *pattar/pattaṇ*⁵ in Tamil country. *Pataṇ* could be considered as the short form of *pattaṇ*, a goldsmith. The name *perumpataṇ*, therefore, could mean 'the great *pataṇ*' (=the great goldsmith).

There is no doubt with regard to its Tamil origin, as the characters resemble the Tamil Brāhmī alphabet, met with in

the early inscriptions found in the caverns of the Tamil country. The shape of the letters *ma* and (the two looped) *ṇa* are the special forms of the Tamil Brāhmī alphabet found in the Tamil inscriptions of the 1-3 century A.D. in the Tamil country. Therefore, it can be easily suggested that the inscription and probably the stone were the products of the Tamil country.

The palaeography of this small inscription has some interesting aspects. Some of the letters in this inscription, like *ka*, *pa*, *l* and *ta* show some developed characteristics. The middle stroke in the letter *ka* is little curved towards the base of the letter, a late feature found in the inscriptions of Arachchalūr (Periyar District). The oblique stroke of the letter *ta* has developed into a curve, another later characteristic found in the inscriptions at Vikkiramāṅgalam (Madurai District). In the case of the letter *pa* the two arms show equal height, which is again another later feature found in the inscriptions of Pugaḷūr (Tiruchchirappalli District) and Ammaṅkōyilpaṭṭi (Salem District). The letter *la* has fully developed, showing a reduced length of the right vertical which again turned into a small curve. Again, in the letter *ṇa*, the length of the central stem has reduced a little showing a

stunted appearance. In the case of the medial signs *pe* and *ru*, the archaic forms of horizontal strokes have been retained. In the case of the letter *ma* it has retained the archaic form. In the developed form the central horizontal stroke has extended further to reach out of the right vertical of the letter. Such a change could be noticeable in the 5th century inscriptions. Considering all these aspects we could place the inscription sometime in the 3rd-4th century A.D.

The above inscription from Thailand clearly suggests the establishment of trade contacts by the Tamil merchants as early as the beginning centuries of the Christian era. From the discovery of the touch stone with the Tamil Brāhmī inscription, we may presume that gold merchants from the Tamil country were present in Thailand to trade in gold. The Saṅgam literature as well as inscriptions of the early Christian era provides sufficient evidence with regard to gold merchants and jewellers. Gold jewellery⁶ and vessels⁷ as well as gold coins⁸ were used

by the Saṅgam people. Gold was also a medium of exchange in the trade transactions during the Saṅgam age⁹. The Pugaḷūr inscription mentions the grant of an *adhishtānam* by a gold merchant (*poṇṇvāṇigaṇ*) from Karuvūr¹⁰ (Tiruchchirappalli District). In Madurai, the famous capital city of the Pāṇḍyas, the gold jewellers and gold testers¹¹ (*poṇṇurāi kāṇmar*) have functioned in the market place. Therefore, we may suggest that gold working was an important work of art during the Saṅgam period and most probably they had transactions with the countries of South-east Asia. These merchants, probably for purposes of trade and exchange, could have carried some materials from the Tamil country. Therefore the touch-stone found at Khuan Luk Pat in Thailand was a product brought by Tamil merchants. The above inscription, therefore, clearly suggests the presence of traders, especially gold merchants from the Tamil country in Thailand as early as the early centuries (3rd century A.D.) of the Christian era.

Notes and References

1. The team was organised and led by Noboru Karashima, Professor of South Asian History, University of Tokyo, Japan to study the Indian cultural contacts with South-east Asia. The team were: Y. Ishizhava, Professor, Sophia University; Y. Sakurai, Professor, South Asian History and Y. Ogura, Professor, Oriental Institute, University of Tokyo. The Indian members of the team were: K.V.Ramesh, Joint

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2. Trarapong Srisuchat, 'Thailand and the Maritime silk routes: The Role of the ancient Ports and harbour Cities in Thailand', in *The Silpakorn Journal*, Special Issue, Vol. 33-36, 1990, Bangkok, p.6.
3. P.Shanmugam, 'Two Coins of Tamil Origin from Thailnad', in A.V.Narasimha Murthy, (ed.), *Studies in South Indian Coins*, Vol. IV, 1994, Madras, pp. 98-99.
4. I am much thankful to the Chief Priest of the Buddhist Monastery for permitting me to take photographs and study the antiquities kept in the Museum. I am also thankful to Drs. Amara Srisuchat and Srisuchat for their kind help and guidance in identifying the antiquities.
5. *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. IV, p. 2461, see *pattar*² (=A caste title of goldsmiths); *pattar*³ (=merchants).
6. *Puranāṇūru*, v. 40, ll.2-5; *Kalittogai*, v. 85, ll.1-2; *Patirrupattu*, v.16, ll.15-16.
7. *Puranāṇūru*, v. 218, ll.1-4.
8. *Aganāṇūru*, v.269, l.15; *Narriṇai*, v.274, l.4.
9. *Perumbāṇāruppādai*, l.164.
10. Irvatham Mahadevan, 'Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions', in R.Nagaswamy, (ed.) *Seminar on Inscriptions*, Books India, 1967, Madras. p.67, R.Nagaswamy, *Roman Karur: A Peep into Tamils' Past*, Brahad Prakashan, 1995, Madras,p.83.
11. *Maduraikkāñchi*, ll.512-13.

Saṅkh Inscription Revisited

Anant Kulkarni

This composite inscription on stone from the Māṅikēśvara temple, now known as Kumbhāra Dēgula at Saṅkh, Jath Taluk, Sangli District, Maharashtra was discovered by late Dr. P.B. Desai, who used it in his study of the Kalachūrya dynasty of Karnataka. This was the lone inscription which refers to Rāya Murāri Sōvidēva's son Vīra Bijjala or Bijjala III.¹ The record was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1940-41, as No. E 107 from which I came to know that it also refers to the village Rāmatīrth in Athani Taluk, Belgaum District. With a view to study this record, I recently revisited the place Saṅkh and copied it again.

The record furnishes three dates on which the royal and other grants were made to the Māṅikēśvara temple. The grant and non-grant villages figuring in the record are identifiable. It provides the genealogy of the *Sthānāchāryas* of the Rāmēśvara temple at Rāmatīrth. The information available in other published and unpublished inscriptions, from Rāmatīrth and Balligēri (Athani Taluk) and Umrāṅi (Jath Taluk) have been taken note of in the discussion. Amarēśvara-panḍita is the last known *sthānāchārya* of Rāmatīrth, who according to our record, was also accredited to the pontifhood of Māṅikēśvara temple at Saṅkh constructed by Masayiya-sāhaṅi, the minister of Kalachūrya king Saṅkama. He continued to be in that situation under the last prince of that family Vīra Bijjala. But, when Sēuṅa rule was established, Masayiya transferred his allegiance to the Sēuṅa kings.

The record opens with the obeisance to Gaṇādhipati and Śaṅbhu and further invokes the blessings of Māṅikēśvara, Nāgēśa and Mailalē'sa, the three deities of the temple and continues to mention a *ā Paramēśvara śāsana prabhāvav-entendade*)

It describes the traditional geography referring to Jambūdvīpa, Mēru, Bhārata-dēśa and Kuntaḷa-dēśa wherein was situated Kālañjanapura. Also it narrates the genealogy of Kalachūrya kings referring therein to Kannama, Jōgama, Hemmādi, Bijjala and his son Rāya Murāri Sōvidēva. Saṅkama is introduced with his *praśasti*

Thereafter, the record describes Masayiya-sāhaṅi and his parentage. His father, who is described as *sāvantarātna*, was Nāgaṅa and his mother, was Mailavve. Lines 28 to 36 are in praise of Sāhaṅi Vallabha Masayiya and his wife Lakshmidēvī. It is interesting to note that he is described as *Koṅkaṇabhayaṅkara*.

The record then refers to Tarikāḍu-nāḍu and describes the village Saṅkh and thereafter states :

Text: *ānt=enisida saṅkada pubba=dviga layyadōḷ-nija-nāmadim ... etc. maṅdāramāṅdiramaṅ mādisidaṅ vichitrataṅ mogal Māṅikēśaṅge bittaradim sāhaṅi vallabhaṅ Masayiyam .*

He not only constructed the Māṅikēśvara temple in his name but also constructed two more in the name of his parents within it.

Text: *ant-āgrihad-akiladō||.tamdeya jānaniya hesarim̄d=om̄dire Nāgēśa-Mailālē-śvara-gāhavaṅg-endaravane-māḍisidam sau-ṁdara Masayiyam̄*

Further, the text reads as :

....*piridum̄ ram̄jipa Māṅikēśvarabhava-vaṁ gāvūliyam̄ nṛitya vistara san=man̄d pamam̄- su sapta-tala ramyade hermavaṁt=ōdbhava-sthira vārāṅganeyarge chitradavaḷō dya-gahasannāleyam̄ teradiṁ nirmisi-permeyam̄ Masayiyam̄ tāḷdam̄ jigam̄chiya nele.*

This refers to the construction of a *nṛitya-vistāra san-maṇḍapa* meaning a spacious dancing hall in the temple of Māṅikēśvara there and the provision made for the residences of *vārāṅganas* (i.e., dancing girls) rendering services in the temple.

The record registers the grants to the temple by Saṅkamadēva, at the request of Masayiya-sāhaṇi. The following is the text of the record upto line 53 :

Svasti-samadhigata sṛimat rāyasāhaṇi-nārāyaṇam vīra-vairi-vijaya -kāmīnī-sam-bhōga kāraṇi kāraṇa-sṛimatu Māṅikēśvaradēva padāmbhuja-bhṛiṅga sāhasōttuṅga nāmādi samasta prasasti sahitam̄ sṛiman=mahāpradhānam̄ Masayiya-sāhaṇiyara binnapadiṁda Saṅkamadēvaru

Śaka-varuśam śāsirada-nūraneya Vila-ṁbi-saṁvatsarada Māghada=amāvasye= āḍityavāra Sūryagrahaṇadandu

śrī Māṅikēśvara Nāgēśvara Mailēśvara dēvara=an̄ga-bhōga-raṅga-bhōga-kha-ṅdasphuṭita jṛṅḍōddhārakkam̄ tapōdhanara=āḥaradānakkam̄

Tarikāḍa-nāḍa Kampanav=Aṅkulage=aivattara-baliya bādam Karāṅdigeyam

Rāya Murāri Sōvidēvatmaja(ta)-bhujabala

chakravarti śrī vīra Bijjaladēvaru

Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarada Phālguṇa pauran̄māsye Sōmavāra Sōmagrahaṇa-dandu

Aṅkulge=aivattara-baliya bāḍavāsa-geyam pūrvachatus=sīmā bhūmi samasta jala vṛiksha-pāshāṇa-nidhi-nidhāna-nik-shēpa-sahitam̄ kudurey=āne māṅika=ādiyāgi samasta kraya-vikrayam̄gala-samasta sum̄ka sāda kāruka sahitavant-āyayara yantaram̄ traibhōgābhyantaram̄ sari vabādḥā parihāram̄ sarvanamasyam māḍi koṭṭaru..."

The above text, refers to two grants made on two occasions consisting of two villages, together with all taxes, and free from all imposts to the temple, on *tribhōgābhyantara* tenure, located in Aṅkulage-50 in Tarikāḍu-nāḍu, one by Saṅkamadēva and the other by Rāya Murāri Sōvidēva's son Vīra Bijjala. The grant villages named are Karāṅdige and Āsage respectively.

The record further describes the grant of land measuring 50 *mattars* and a house site measuring 31 hand measures (*kaiyagaḷu*) at Saṅkh to the temple made by Masayiya-sāhaṇi. Further grant was made by *mahirprabhu* Mākālabhairava Māchaya Sāvanta for the worship of Māṅikēśvara. It includes 20 *mattars* of land measured by Māṅikēśvara *kōl*, a garden, a house and an oil-mill at Saṅkh.

In lines 60-62, the record refers to the grants made by the trade-guilds, Malayāla *mahāvaddabyavahāri, ubhaya-nānāl dēśis* and *mummuridaṅḍas*.

The record deals with the installation of a *sthānāchārya* for the Māṅikēśvara temple. In this regard, line 63 refers to

Umbaravāṇipura of Karahaḍa-nālsāyira and Rāmēśvaradēva of Rāmatīrth as follows :

Umbaravāṇipura dakṣiṇa tīrthadoḷ=īś-var-enippam Rāmanātha Nagarchinātham

Line 64 states: *Ā Svayambhu sthānāchārya*=*anvayav=emterindaḍe* and gives the genealogy of the *sthānāchāryas* of the Rāmēśvara temple at Rāmatīrth. I shall discuss this genealogy in comparison with the details from Rāmatīrth, Umarāṇi and Balligēri inscriptions.

The earliest known record from Rāmatīrth dated 1115 A.D. refers to one Śivaśakti-panḍita, who is described as *Goṭakanūra-gurukula-samuddharaṇa* as the *sthānāchārya* of the Rāmēśvara temple.³ *Goṭakanūru* is *Korragoṭṭanūru* of other inscriptions and is the same as the modern *Koṭaṇūr* in Athani Taluk, about which I have presented a paper at the conference of the Place Names Society of India held at Mysore in 1993. Next, we have the composite inscription from Umarāṇi dated 1123 A.D. and 1141 A.D.⁴, wherein *Lōkābharaṇa-panḍitadēva*, the then *sthānāchārya* of Rāmatīrth is eulogised and his son/disciple *Chandrābharaṇa-panḍitadēva*, who is described as *Lōkābharaṇa-panḍitadēva-pādārādhana-labdha-varaprasāda* and *tīrthada Svayambhu Rāmēśvaradēvara-sthānāchārya* is also accredited to Hemmēśvara dēvasthāna at Umarāṇi. That *Chandrābharaṇa-panḍitadēva* continued to be the *sthānāchārya* of *Svayambhu Rāmēśvaradēva* is confirmed by the Rāmatīrth record of 1167 A.D.⁵ Further, according to the Balligēri record of 1171 A.D., the same *Viśvaśambhu-tīrthada Rāmēśvaradēvara*

sthānāchārya Chandrabhūshaṇa (i.e., *Chandrābharaṇa*) - *panḍitadēva* is accredited to

the Nārasimhēśvara temple at Balligēri.⁶

The Saṅkh record refers to the accreditation of the pontifhood of *Māṇikēśvara* temple to the pontiff of Rāmatīrth and gives the genealogy from *Lōkābharaṇa-munīndra ... tada nandanam bhūrmanōhara Chandrābharaṇam tadaattyam ā munirāja kumāram Amarēśvaradēvam-enipam-negaldam* in lines 65 to 69 and later praises *Amarēśvara-panḍitadēva* upto line 73. Then it introduces the successor of *Chandrābharaṇa-panḍita*, i.e., *Amarēśvara-panḍita* with all his titles⁷ and narrates as follows :

Svasti yama-niyama svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa mōnānushtāna japa-samādhiguṇa sampannam vibudha-jana-manōbhivāmchchita-phala samutpanna-dīnānātha jana gōshaṇam... durita-gaja-mada-nivāraṇa nija-samaya samrakṣhaṇ=aika dakṣhaṇ=anavarata subhikṣha-panḍita chūdāmaṇi śishtaṭajana chintāmaṇi Śrīmach=Chandrābharaṇa panḍitadēva-pādārādhana-labdha-varaprasāda ityādi nāmāvalī virājitar appa tīrthada Svayambhu Rāmēśvaradēvara sthānāchāryay=panḍitadē varge Śrīmatu rāya-sāhaṇi nārāyaṇam masayiya sāhaṇiyar ā Māṇikēśvaradēva... sahitam dhārāpūrbhakam mādikōṭṭaru || amtu Māṇikēśvaradēvara-sthānam tīrthada śrī Rāmēśvaradēvara sammada

It needs to be noted that the name of *Amarēśvara-panḍita* succeeding *Chandrābharaṇa-panḍitadēva* comes to light only through this Saṅkh record and no further pontiff of Rāmēśvara temple at Rāmatīrth or *Māṇikēśvara* temple at Saṅkh is known so far. Probably, he must be the last of the *Pāsupata/Kālāmukha śaivāchāryas* of the above places, who were seen to be vanishing in the wake of the *Vīraśaiva* movement. Similarly, the name of *Vīra Bijjala*, son of *Rāya Murāri Sōvidēva* which is referred to in

our record is the first and last reference to the Kalachūrya dynasty which also vanished with the appearance of Seuṇas on the political scene.

From Kalachūrya Saṅkama to Seuṇa Jaitrapāla:

The feudatory Masayiya sāhaṇi, who was a minister of Kalachūrya king Saṅkama held on to his office under the last prince of that family Vīra Bijjala. But when Sēuṇa rule was established Masayiya transferred his allegiance to the Sēuṇa kings. This becomes clear from our record, wherein he is indicated to be in-charge of Aṅkulage-50.

Line 79 of the record refers to Sēuṇa-chakravarti Bhillama and his son Jaitrapāla, who is described as :

*brija-rakshānvita-mahima-jita-turahka
Gūrjara-Pāṇḍya jīta-Lāḷa-jītaṁ Chōḷaṁ Jai-
trapāla dhātrīpālaṁ.*

In the above, surprisingly Jaitugi is credited with victories, among others, over the Turushkas i.e., Muslims. Commenting on this Dr. Ritti⁸ has noted that, since Muslim invaders could not come any where near the boundary of the Seuṇa kingdom during this period, there is hardly any evidence to show that either Bhillama or Jaitugi had anything to do with this or any other Muslim invasion.

In lines 80 to 85 Jaitrapāla is introduced and later his grants to Māṅikēśvara temple are recorded as follows :

*Svasti samasta-bhuvanāśrayaṁ śrī-prith-
vīvallabhāṁ mahārājādhirājaṁ-paramēśvara
Dvārāvātīpuravarādhīśvaraṁ Yādavanārāyaṇa-*

*pratāpa- bhujabalachakravarti ... Jaitrapā
ladēvaru rāya-sāhaṇi nārāyaṇam Ma
sayiya-sāhaṇiyara -*

*binnapadim̄d=Ānaṁda saṁvatsarada
Kārttika śuddha dvādaśi Sōmavāradam̄du
śrī Māṅikēśvaradēvar=am̄ga-ram̄ga-bhōga-
kkaṁ tapōdhanar=āhāra-dānakkam̄ Aṅku-
lage= aivattara baḷiya bāḍar=Aralige
Khairaligeya pūrva-chatuḥsimā bhūmi-
samataṁ (samastaṁ) kudurey-ādiyāgi
samasta-sum̄ka sāda sahita traibhōgā-
bhyantaram̄ sarvabādha- parihāram̄ sar
vanamaśyaṁ dhārāpūrvakam̄ māḍi śrī
mad=Amarēśvara-panḍitadēvarge kottaru.*

Besides the above royal grant of the village Aralige-Khairalige, the record narrates, in lines 85 to 96 other land grants by mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Siṁha Rāūta in the village Behūrige and by Siṅgi-sāvanta and Machaya-sāvanta in the village Saṅkh. A further grant by these two chiefs in Saṅkh, at the instance of King Jaitugi and Masayiya-sāhaṇi, is recorded, but the details are obliterated. All these grants were given to Amarēśvara-panḍita for god Māṅikēśvara.

Of the three dates given in the record, the first one alone gives the Śaka date as 1100 in words *Sāsirada-nūraneya, Viḷambi-saṁvatsara*, the other details of date being Māgha Amāvāsya, Sunday and Solar-eclipse. The other two subsequent dates are specified only in the cyclic year.

While considering Saṅkama's grant at Saṅkh on the first date noted above, it is necessary to know something of Kalachūrya history arising out of rivalry and intrigue between the sons of Bijjala II. It is surprising to find that even before Sōvidēva's rule ended in 1176 A.D., the epigraphical evidences show that his brother Mallikārjuna/Mailugi was al-

ready ruling and thus the cyclic year Durmukh falling in 1176 A.D. was his second regnal year, following Manmatha-saṁvatsara. To confirm the situation further, Mailugi's brother Saṅkama was also reported to be ruling independently, while his third regnal year is said to be Viḷambi falling in 1178 A.D.

For instance, the Belhod inscription of 1178 A.D.⁹ gives the year Viḷambi as Saṅkama's third regnal year, while the Katageri and Lakkunḍi inscriptions¹⁰ also refer to the rule of Saṅkama in the year Viḷambi, Śaka 1100-01. But they do not specify his regnal year. So also is the case with our Saṅkh inscription. The Naregal inscription on 1183¹¹ dated in the year Subhakṛit correspond to Saṅkama's fourth regnal year which is highly surprising and suspicious, while another inscription from the same Naregal, of 1180 A.D.,¹² gives the cyclic year Sārvari falling in Saṅkama's fifth regnal year. The Gadag inscription dated 1184 A.D.¹³ fixes the year Krōdhi in the fifth regnal year of Saṅkama and perhaps it is his latest date after which he was defeated.¹⁴

Irrespective of epigraphical evidence about the date of Saṅkama, the Saṅkh inscription is dated Śaka 1100 (1178A.D.), when Saṅkama made the grant of the village Karaṇḍige. Taking the date Śaka 1100 as correct, the other details like Māgha, Amāvāsyā falling on Sunday, correspond to the cyclic year Hēmaḷambi. Also there was no Solar-eclipse on that day. However, in the following month Phālguna on the day of Paurṇimā, Sunday, corresponding to 5th March 1178 A.D., there occurred a Lunar-eclipse, followed by a Solar-eclipse in the month Phālguna on the day of Paurṇimā, Sun-

day corresponding to 5th March 1178 A.D. There occurred a Lunar eclipse followed by a solar one on Phālguna, Amāvāsyā corresponding to Tuesday the 21st March 1178 A.D. The cyclic year Viḷambi starts after the Solar-eclipse, for Chaitra Pratīpāda fell on Wednesday the 22nd March 1178 A.D.

The year Viḷambi-saṁvatsara corresponding to Śaka 1101, Māgha, Amāvāsyā fell on Thursday the 8th February 1179 A.D., when there was no Solar-eclipse. On the other hand the Lunar-eclipse occurred on Phālguna Paurṇimā, Friday the 23rd February 1179 A.D., which seems to be the correct date of the present record. However, the cyclic year was Hēmaḷambi and not Viḷambi. There was no Solar-eclipse on this day.

Within the cyclic years, Hēmaḷambi to Paridhāvi, there is a gap of fifteen years. We got the second date for Vīra Bijjala who granted the village Asage to the deity of the temple of Māṇikēśvara in Śaka 1115 (1193 A.D.). The record is dated in Paridhāvi, Phālguna, Paurṇimā, Monday and Sōma-grahaṇa. This seem to correspond to Wednesday the 17th February 1193 A.D., when there was no Lunar-eclipse and the week-day was not Monday. Dr. Desai¹⁵ has accepted the date 17th February 1193 A.D., as the date of Vīra Bijjala.

The third and the last date mentioned in our record is Ānanda, Kārttika śu 12, Monday. The year Ānanda starts from Chaitra in Śaka 1116, (April, 1194 A.D.) when the week-day was Friday¹⁶. But Dr. Desai¹⁷ gives an equivalent for this as 31st October 1194 A.D., when the week-day was Monday, and the *tithi* was Paurṇimā (coinciding with a Lunar-eclipse).

The village Sañkh, the findspot of the inscription, is in Jath Taluk in Sangli District, about 28 kilometres to the east of Jath. It was included in *Añkulage-aivattu*, a small *kaṁpaṇa* or sub-division in Tarikāḍu-nāḍu, which later became the hereditary kingdom of the Kalachūryas of Karnataka. The place Sañkh is to be distinguished from its namesake in the Indi Taluk of Bijapur District. Similarly *Añkulage-aivattu* of the Jath Taluk is to be distinguished from its namesake *Aṇandūru-mūnūrara-baliya Añkulage-aivattu* in the present Akkalkot Taluk of Sholapur District.¹⁸ Añkulage-50 of our record lay to the south in Tarikāḍu-nāḍu. Kaṇambaḍe-nāḍu or Kaṇambaḍe-300 was to the south of Tarikāḍu-nāḍu in the Karahaḍa-4,000 division comprising Umbaravāṇi-36, in which Umbaravāṇipura and Rāmātīrth were once included.

The place-name Sañkh is spelt as Sañka in the record, while in modern usage the terminal *k* is aspirated. Sañka is the *tadbhava* form of Sanskrit Śaṅkh.

Besides Sañkh, the grant villages include Karaṇḍige/Karaḍige which is the same as the modern Karajagi in Jath Taluk about 11 kilometres to the north-east of Sañkh. While the record has both forms Karaṇḍige and Karaḍige, it is spelt as Karajōgi in the Survey of India Map. Our Karajagi or Karaṇḍige is to be distinguished from *Aṇandūru-mūnūrara-baliya-Añkulage-aivattar-olaḡaṇa* Karanjige of Akkalkot inscription of 1114 A.D.¹⁹ Añkulge of our record is the present Añkalagi located about 6 kilometres to the north of Sañkh and was the head-

quarters of Añkulage-50 division.

The next grant village Asage is twice referred to in the record. Its modern form is Āsaṅgi and it is about 8 kilometres north-west of Sañkh near Guḍḍapūr. The third grant village is Araḷige-Khairaḷige a jointly specified set of two villages now known as Yeḷavi and Khairāva about 22 kilometres to the north-west of Sañkh near Bablād. The place Behūrige is the same as the modern Bhivargī, situated about 6 kilometres north-east of Sañkh. Uṭṭige is the present Uṭigi, about 16 kilometres north of Sañkh. Tekundi is the present Tikundi which is about 6 kilometres and 8 kilometres to the south of Bhivargī and Sañkh respectively.

All the villages mentioned in the record, lay in Añkulage-50 division, presently in Jath Taluk, while Umbaravāṇipura and Rāmēśvaratīrth lay in Umbaravāṇi-36 division. The former is now known as Umrāṇi in Jath Taluk, Sangli District and the latter as Rāmātīrth in the Athani Taluk in Belgaum District.

Thus the Sañkh record not only provides the name of the last prince of the Kalachūrya dynasty of Karnataka, but also provides, in all probability, the last name of the Pāśupata or Kālāmukha Śaivāchārya of Rāmēśvara temple at Rāmātīrth. Amarēśvara-panḍitadēva comes to light only from the Sañkh record²⁰. For the study of the history of religious interactions between the temples and the *sthānāchāryas* the present record lends more support.

Notes and References

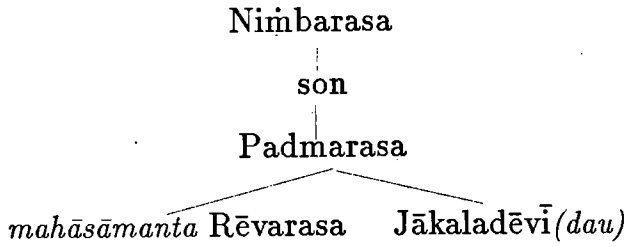
1. P.B. Desai, *Basavesvara and his times*, 1968, Dharwad and also his *Karnatakada Kalachurigalu*, 1980, Dharwad, pp. 77-78 and 83.
2. Sincere thanks are due to my friends, Shri Madhav N. Katti, Director of Epigraphy, Shri D.M. Nagaraju for all the help they have extended to me for the preparation of the text of the record. (Athani Taluk)
3. *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 50.
4. *Ibid.*, pp.57-58.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91
6. My paper presented at the XX session of E.S.I. Congress, Bangalore, June 1994
7. For Umarāṇi inscription, see, *K.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 57-58
8. S.H. Ritti, *The Sēuṇas* (The Yadavas of Devagiri), 1973, Dharwad, p. 94.
9. *S.I.I.*, Vol XV, No.. 132.
10. *Ibid.*, Nos. 134 and 135
11. *Ibid.*, No. 139
12. *Ibid.*, No. 138
13. *Ibid.*, No. 140
14. P.B.Desai, *Karnatakada Kalachurigalu*, pp.72-74 and B.R.Gopal, *Chalukyas of Kalyana and the Kalachuris*, 1981, Dharwad, p.379.
15. *Karnatakada Kalachurigalu*, p.78.
16. I have earlier estimated the year as 1194 A.D. in a different way, without the knowledge of the Śaka year indirectly, vide my Amarēśvara Temple Pillar Inscription at Rāmatīrtha, Śaka 1482, *Op. cit.*, Vol.XX, p.16.
17. *Karnatakada Kalachurigalu*, p.82
18. *K.I.*, Vol II, Nos. 12, 16, 28 and 34
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 12
20. Vide my article on Amarēśvara Temple Pillar Inscription, *Op.cit*

Bāḍagi Inscription of KaḶachuri Bijjala

D. M. Nagaraju

A KaḶachūrya record was copied from Bāḍagi in Athani Taluk of Belgaum District, Karnataka in the year 1992-93 and the same is included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* of that year. The record is engraved on a stone slab set up on the earth to the left of the Kalamēśvara temple in the village. This record in Kannada language and script belongs to the reign of KaḶachūrya king Bijjala. Dated in his eleventh year (1166 A.D.), it records the grant of garden and wet lands at Kogaṭanūru for worship and offerings to god Lakshmēśvara by Chauda - bhaṭṭōpādhyāya and his son Chakri-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya of Bāḍigi with the permission of Mailugidēva. It also registers the grant of 20 *mattars* of land to the *brāhmaṇas*.

The record states that Rēvarasa was ruling from Tuṅgaḷe-12 division. It gives the genealogy of the chief Rēvarasa as follows:



The record under study mentions Nimbarasa as *mahāsāmanta* and as the great-grandfather of Jākaladēvī. This record does not mention anything about his other titles or the eulogy in praise of Nimbarasa. We come to know from the inscription of Gaṇḍarāditya from Kolhāpūr, dated Śaka 1058 (1135 A.D.)¹,

that Gaṇḍarāditya sent a force under his feudatory Nimbarasa to help his Chālukya overlord against the Chōla.

The Kolhāpūr inscription² describes Nimbarasa as an awful rutting elephant of the beds of lotuses, the baroons of Toṇḍai (country), etc.,

Further he is also described as a *mahāsāmanta* who has obtained five *mahāsabdās*, beloved of the Goddess of victory, who removes the parting line of the hair hostile feudatories, the beloved paramour of the courtesans of warriors, etc., Our record is silent about all these eulogy but the title *mahāsāmanta* commonly occurs in both the records. This enables us to determine the date of Nimbarasa of our record.

It is necessary to recount the date of Nimbarasa from the date of the present record i.e., 1166 A.D. It may not be difficult to give atleast a quarter of a century prior to 1166 A.D., as is normally assigned to one or two generations. On account of the nearness of the date of our record with that of Kolhāpūr inscription of Gaṇḍarāditya, where Nimbarasa is mentioned, it may not be wrong to suggest that the chief mentioned in the two records are identical with each other.

The Tērdal inscription of Śaka 1045 (1122 A.D.) as well as Tirawaḍe record of Śaka 1058 (1135 A.D.)³ refer to Nimbarasa as a feudatory of Gaṇḍarāditya. In the former record Nimbarasa is described as the staff of his

right arm, while in the latter record he is described as to have sprung from the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana and connected with the Śilāhāra family. Hence, it may be possible to suggest from the foregoing discussions that Nimbārāsa, a *sāmanta* of Śilāhāra chief, supported the cause of Kaḷachuri usurpation of the Chālukyas. The Nimbārāsa of the present record may be identified with his namesake figuring in the Kolhāpūr, Tērdal and Tirawaḍe records. Our record adds more information about the successors of Nimbārāsa and thus we hear for the first time about Jākaladēvī and her *mahāsāmanta* Rēvarāsa, the donor of the record in question. This Nimbārāsa is known from the inscriptions dating from about 1122 to 1187 A.D. The date of the Tērdal record Śaka 1109 (187A.D.) perhaps seems to be within the above dates and further helps us to confirm the identification of chief Nimbārāsa.

TEXT

1. Svasti Gaṇḍasthala-mad-āmōdamatt-ālirava-ḍimḍimam-vaṁdēdurbba(bhā)ra-vighnaugha-
2. vāraṇam Vāraṇānamam || Namastuṁga-siraś-chumbi- Chāndrachāmara- chāra-
3. vē Traiḷōkyanagarārambha mūlasthambhāya Śambhavē || Bhujabalāmālladēvan-enip-ī
4. Kali Bijjaladēva dhāriṇi-bhuvan-anu-jāsi-rākshasi virōdhi-nṛipālara vāji di(vi)rājiyam
5. gaja- ghaṭeyam turamga daḷavam nere nuṁgi kaṛuttu vairi- bhūbhujan agurbunpa-

6. rbbinōrṇuvaḷu nimiśā(sh-ā)rddhadeyuddha-raṁgadoḷu || dore-vettam Dharmma-sūnug-anagam Rāmam
7. ge Lakshmīdharam piridum bhaktar-enippad-ondu- terediṁda bhaktan-amṇanamge- bhikara-virāri nṛ- pālādia-
8. ppa daḷanam Śrī Bijjabhūpaṁge noḍarapya saṁsṭita-dhārin-īśanaḍadiṁ śrī Mū
9. la-bhūpālakam || Siriyum Vāgvadurvim virājisu-dugdh āmbhōdhiyōḷpu-
10. ṭṭideṁtire gambhīra payōdhigoḷpesevinam Śrī Padmanābhāṁge bhittaradiṁ Jākaladēviyūm
11. negaḷda Lakshmīdēviyūm puṭṭidaru dharaṇīlōkadoḷ aprat arkyā mahimā saṁpaṁneyaru Beṁ-
12. nṇeyaru || Svasti samadhigatā paṁchamahāśabdha mahāsāmantam vairibala kṛitāntam Hara-cha-
13. raṇa sarasīruha vettama makarātēja-prabhākaram vinaya sōbhākaram sathya-ratnākaram paranā-
14. rīdūraram saraṇāgataraksham yashimushela -kaṇiya -kaṁpaṇa tōmara musura piṁḍi-vālā-
15. dyan-ēkāyudha pravīṇa rūpātīsaya vinīrjjita kusuma- bāṇam Kopaṇapuravarādhiśvaran-u-
16. dāra mahēśvaram chernṇiya-kuḷāmbaradyumaṇi-vīrasikhāmaṇi gaṇikā manōjam ha-
17. yavatsarājam nya- yad-āchāryyan-asahāya sauryan-ahita hṛidayago-

18. llam tappa-tappuam pageya-
na-dirppuam nuḍidain gamḍam
naḍegūṭōmalam dāyā-
19. dya kuḷapaṁnnera vainatēyam
Bappanasimgham sāhasōttum-
gam Tuṁguḷadēvīlabdhava -
20. raprasādam nāmādi - samasta
praśasti sahitam śrīman - mahāsā
maṁtam Rēvara-
21. saru || śrīgadhīpatiyāgi vimāḷa su
sthirakīrtti śrīgadhīpatiyā-
22. gi jayōdhyōgam sukhamikki
Tuṁguḷūrevenipa || Svasti sama-
dhirḡgata-paṁchamahā
23. śabda mahāmaṅḷlēsvarārādya
Kālāmjarapuravarādhiśvaram su-
varṇṇa vṛishabha dhvajam
24. ḍamaru gatōryya nirghō[sha]
Kaḷachuryya-kamaḷa-mārttāṁḍa
mānakanakā-
25. chaḷa -subhaṭarāditya nāmādi
samasta praśasti sahitam śrīmatu
bhujabaḷachakravartti
26. Bijjaladēva varshada 11 neya
Vyaya- saṁvatsarada Pu[shya] mā-
sadalim= oṭtarāyāṇa-
27. saṁkramaṇada divasa Gōdāvarī
tīradalu mahāsāmaṁta Nīmbarasa
ma(m)mma[kka]ḷu Padmarasana
magalu
28. śrīmatu Jākaladēvī mahāsāmaṁta
Tuṁguḷa Rēvarasanu Tuṁguḷa-
hamneraḍaṇa-manne-
29. ya bhūvaniteyan-anubhavisuttav-
iralu || svasti yama-niyama-svā
dhyāya-dhyāna dhāraṇa-
30. maunānusṭhāna -japa-samādhi-
- śīla-guṇa-saṁpannarappa-śrīmatu
piriya Chakri-bha-
31. tṭōpādhyāyara putrar-appa Chavaḍa-
bhaṭṭōpādhyāyaram Tuṁguḷa
Bāḍigeya pra-
32. bhūtvavan-anubhavisuttiralu mahā
maṅḷlēsvaram Maḷugidēvan -anu-
mati yimda || Bāḍige-
33. ya śrī Lakshmaṅēsvaradēvargge
koṭṭa bhūmi paḍuvalu parida
pareḍim baḍagalu
34. munna voṁd-oṁdu mattariṁgem-
oṟu oṟu gadyāṇa siddhāyake saluva
vobba-
35. thu mattaru eṁṭu mattar yī-
dēvargge koṭṭa pūḍōṁṭa Vāvaṅēs-
varadēvara tōṁṭadim
36. mūḍalu hāruvagōla mattaru yeradu
mattam yī dēvargge nivēdya kke
koṭṭa gadde Kogaṭanū-
37. ra baḍḍiyim teṁka piriya halladim
mūḍalu mūṟu hoṁge siddhāyakke
hōha-voṁbba-
38. tta mattar-oṁdu pāga-voṁdu ||
Tuṁguḷa susthira prabhunegartte
yoḷ-oṁdida chakradēva-
39. nuṁ tuṁga-yaśam pogalḍu pudiyalu
jagamam nadiyei-voḷpu vottim gaḍali
dhātrī sākshikam
40. silām taḷavṛimḍara rudra-mātaṁg
avaśēsha daṁtigaganam migepoḷudu
kōṭi chaṁdrara || Viśvā
41. mitra-gōtra ūroḍeya Chavaḍa-
bhaṭṭōpādhyāyara piriya magam
Chakridēvarasaru Vaśishṭha-

42. gōtra ubheyadarusanavid Ṛigvēda
chūdāmaṇi Vājapēyayāji Bisavana-
bha-
43. ṭṭōpādhyāyaru | Śrīmatu Lakshma
ṇēsvaradēvara yāchārya Viśvāmitra
gōtra pavitra-
44. chūdāmaṇi Māmkaṇa -bhaṭṭōpādhyā
yāru | Bādarāyaṇa -gōtraya parim-
ita Cha-
45. uḍhāsaniya-paṭṭavaraddhana-jāta
vēda- ghaḷisāsar | dēharādy-Āditya-
bhaṭṭaru | Kāśyapa-gōtra...
46. ...chūdāmaṇi Nāgadēva-bha
ṭṭōpādhyāyara magam Gōvinda
bhaṭṭaru | yintinibar-oḷage Vā
47. japēyayājigaḷu modalāgi vobb-
obbarige pūrbbadalu om̄d-om̄du
mattarim̄ge mūru mūru.
48. ho[m̄]ge siddhāyakke saluva obba-
tta mattaru nālkaṇa lekkadalu yī
dēvaragge Koggaṭanūra ba-
49. ḍeyim̄ temkalu modalāgi pūrvvada
mānyayaru manege....sarbbabādā
parihā-
50. ravāgi dhārāpūrbbakadiṁ koṭṭa
mattarippattu || dēvabrāhmaṇar-
ācha[m̄]dra-tāram̄bara Sva
51. dharmmadiṁ rakshisuvaṁtāgi Sarb-
badhāri- sam̄vatsara Śrāvaṇa sud-
dha chaturddhaśiya-
52. lu yā prabhugaḷim̄dam̄ ta(m̄)nna
brahmapuriya brāhmaṇarige
hastōdakavaṁ māḍisi.
53. yā prabhugaḷige brāhmaṇam̄=ō
pādiyaṁ koṭṭa mattaru nālku antu
mattar ippattanālku rā-
54. jahastadalu hadinayidu kaiyya-nīḷa
om̄bhattu keyyay-agaladiṁdam̄
nivēsāṇa...
55. brahmapurigaḷige | dēvara ni-
vēśāṇa rājahastadalu nālvattara
yagala ī mattara nī-
56. ḷa āpuradali gāṇa om̄du dēvargge
mattam̄ baṇajeya nivēsāṇaya has-
tadalu yagala ha(m̄)nnera-
57. ḍu nīḷa ippattanālku madhyastha-
dalu intī dēvara bhūmigam̄ pu-
rakkaṁ sarbbagaṇa-saṁpanna-
58. r-appa Śrīmad-..... rājaguru
dēvaru kuṁchige - maryādeyiṁd-
oḍeyaru ||
59. brahmapuri ārakkaṁ hastadalu
yagala yāru nīḷa ha(m̄)nneraḍara
lekkadiṁ baṇajeya nī-
60. vēśāṇa yāruṁ dēvara baṇajeya
... edēvabrāhmaṇaralli pārikāyaṁ
balla mattam̄ modalāgi
61. illa maṁgaḷa mahā śrī śrī || sva-
dattam̄ paradattam̄ vāyō harēti
62. Vasuṁdharām̄ | shasṭir-vvarsha
sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyām̄ jāyatē krimiḷ
grāma-
63.harēcharita
64. bahubir=vvasudhā bhuktā Rāja
bhi[h̄]sagarādhibhi[h̄*] | yasya yasya
yadā bhūmis= tasya tasya tadā
65. phalam̄ || pūrbba dattam̄ tathā
Daksha Yudhisṭira | mahim̄ mahī
66. bṛitām̄ śrēṣṭha dānā prayōnupā
lanam̄ ||

Notes and References

I am deeply indebted to the Director (Epigraphy), for permitting me to edit this unpublished inscription from Bāḍagi.

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1992-93
2. *Inscriptions of Śilāhāras*, Vol. VI., pp. 231-34
3. *Dynasties of Kanarese District*, p. 548.

Satī Stone Inscription from Chandēri

Jai Prakash

The inscription discussed here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy) is found engraved on a Satī stone built into the wall of the *garbhagr̥iha* of the Jaina *Chaubīsī Badā-mandira* at Chandēri in Guna District Madhya Pradesh. The stone brought from some other place is built in here. The findspot of the record is not known.

The stone has the depiction of a figure of Jaina tīrthan̄ kara Ādinātha flanked on either side by attendants in *añjali mudra*. Below the male figure lying on the pyre is seen a female figure in sitting posture holding his feet.

The language of the record is in Local dialect mixed with Sanskrit while the script is Nāgarī.

The inscription commences with *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *Siddhiḥ*. The object of the inscription is to record the act of *Sahagamana* (accompanying husband on the pyre) committed by Bhrāmiṇi, wife of Dhamau, son of Nāgadēva belonging to Bhṛigu-gōtra. It also records the erection of a memorial stone (*jagahatha*) for the deceased. The artisan (Sūtradhāra) was Tējo ma. The inscription ends with the expression *śubham -bhavatu*.

The date of the record is Vikrama saṁvat 1357 Āśvina śudi 4, Saturday corresponding to 1300 A.D., September 17.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that the system of *Satī* was practised by the Jainas also besides the Hindus. The Guna and Shivpuri Districts have yielded about 50 Satī stone inscriptions. The provenance of large number of inscriptions in this part of Madhya Pradesh helps us to infer that practice of committing *Satī* was rather prevalent among the Hindus not to the speak of rare instances in other religions also.

The social implication behind the act of *satī* and the economic background that lead to this practice have to be studied in greater detail. This will enable us to understand the history and culture of the region.

TEXT²

1. Siddham³ siddhiḥ || Saṁvat.
2. 1357 Āśvina śu-
3. di 4 śanau [Bhṛi]grōta.-
4. kasa Nāgadēva su -
5. ta Dhamau bhāryā bhrā.-
6. miṇi saagama. -
7. naṁ vibhūva tasya.
8. jagahatha karāpi-
9. taḥ|| sūtradhāri.

10. Tējōma.. taṁ.

11. śubhaṁ bhavatu.

Translation

L1 Success 1 Success 1

L2 - 10 (Vikrama) Year 1357, (*the month*) Āśvina, the bright (*fortnight*), the day 4, on Saturday.

Bhrāmini, the wife of Dhamau, son

of Nāgadēva of Bhṛigu-*gōtra* performed (*sahagamana*), their memorial (*jagathā*) was constructed. Artisan (*sūtradhāra*) (was) Tējō ma ...

(L.11) May there be auspiciousness.

I owe my sincere thanks to Dr. S.S. Iyer, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist (Retd) for his valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

Kāvya in Sanskrit Inscriptions

Sathyanarayanan

Apart from the famous literary works in Sanskrit, we can get equal and enjoyable *Kāvya*s from the inscriptions. They are not only legal and historical but they are also literary. We can feel an aesthetic pleasure (*rasāsvāda*) from inscriptions which are described in the science of *Sāhitya Śāstra*.

In this present paper an attempt has been made to study an inscription from the point of view of Sanskrit poetics. It is from Kolanupāka¹ in Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh. This place is well known for its old temples and antiquities which reflects its glory and importance during 11th and 12th century A.D.

It is on a stone slab built into the wall of the main shrine of the Vīranārāyaṇa-svāmi temple at Kolanupāka. The record belongs to the reign-period of the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla. (i.e., Vikramāditya VI). It records that Paramāra Jagaddēva, a subordinate of the above mentioned Chālukya Vikramāditya VI caused the installation of the Sun-god (*Sūrya*), planets (*navagraha*), mother goddesses (*saptamātrikās*), Vishṇu - all in the temple of Sōmēśvara, the deity Buddha in the precincts of Sālēśvara and the goddess of Speech (*Sarasvatī*) in the Īśāna-maṭha to the north. Further he states that for the repairs to the temple, worship and services to the deity therein and for the pleasures of the sages en-

gaged in learning in Kolanupākanagara which was the capital of his kingdom, he made an endowment of a village called Piriyaemperiti.

The inscription consists of praśasti and the genealogy in 51 verses and the grant in prose. It can be divided into 6 sections as follows: 1. Maṅgala, 2. Description of Himālayan ranges, 3. Description of Vaśiṣṭha's hermitage, 4. Genealogy of the Chālukyas, 5. Grant (in prose), 6. Imprecatory verses. It is one of the wonderful examples of a *kāvya* in inscription. The very eagerness with which the author takes advantage of every little circumstance to bring in poetic details and descriptions show that he wished to do his best to make his composition a *mahākāvya*. But, unfortunately the poet's name is not mentioned. To compose a *mahākāvya*, there are certain rules framed by rhetoricians² such as description of city, ocean, mountain, seasons, etc. In this inscription description of *nagara* (city), *śaila* (mountain) *ṛitu* (season), *salila-krīḍā* (waterplay) *Nāyakābhyaḍaya* (prosperity of the king) are described. We can see some of the good examples.

Śaila:

yah-kimnaribhiḥ parigīya mānō vidhūyamāna=
ś-cha-marīvadhūbiḥ | saṁsēvyamānaś=cha-
na-
bhaś= charibhirm=mahādharatvaṁ prakāṭi

*karōti || udbhimna-samchchamnasita prasū-
naprāntaiḥ samuttuga mahā-mahājaiḥ | yaḥ
svōttamāmṅē dharanī dharāmka-śvēt-ātapatra-
śriyam-ātanōti.*

The mountain with the Kinnaras singing with the waving of the Chamari-deer and with the presence of sky-roaming women, appeared like kings and the mountain as if possessed of white umbrella by the trees with white flowers on it, and so resemble a king.

Salila-krīḍā :

*Ratiśramasviṁ-na-tanūni vāri-krīḍōt-su-
kāni sva-vihamga-nādaiḥ. | viyachchariṇām
mithunāni yasmin-samāhvayantīva sarō-
varāṇi. ||*

The lakes are described as inviting the sky-roaming couples through the noise of the birds inhabiting them for water play.

Nāyakābhayudaya:

*sūnus=tasya parākrama-praṇayinō Bhō
jach chalēna svayam jāto Madhyama-Pām
davaḥ kimaparam tad-bhūpatērvvarṇanam.
| nirv=vakrīkṛita-chakravartti-vibhavaḥ sāhi
tya-vidyā-guruḥ satyāchāra-vichāra-vikrama-
khāniḥ śisṭēshṭa-chimntāmaṇiḥ. ||*

His son Bhōja who was no other than *Madhyama-pāṇḍava*, *Bhīma* who was a *Chakravarti*, who was a *sāhitya-vidyā-guru*, who was a mine of good traditions and valour and who fulfilled the desires of the righteous, succeeded the throne.

An examination of the metres used by the author and of his style would likewise show the efforts taken by him. He

applied 10 different metres for composing 51 verses. The metres like *Śragdharā*, *Śardūlavikrīḍita*, *Vasantatilakā*, which are usually applied by skilful poets are seen in his composition.

As regards the form of the composition, it may be mentioned that often two or more verses form *yugalaka*, a *viśēshaka* or a *kulaka*. Here the *yugalaka* is seen in verses 22-23. This peculiarity is also frequently met with in all *mahākāvya*s.

He handles *Gauḍīyā*³ style of composition in several places. It consists of the qualities *ōjas* and *kānti*⁴ i.e., long compounds. He makes use of long compounds which cover a *pāda* or more or even the whole of half a verse. In adopting the long compounds he follows *Bāṇa*, *Dandin* and some of the great poets. A *pāda* for instance -

*Hāsōd-bhāsita-sāra-nirāja-rajās=samghā
ta pītam. jalakrīḍ ānvītaviyachcharīkucha-
ta-śrīkhaṇḍapāṇḍuprabham (bham) | pāna-
snāna ratāvagāḍham adavaddh anyēbha-dānā
sitam (in verse 8)*

Example for half of a verse:-

*asti prastuta siddha dāmpati rati krīḍār
avōttha pratidhvān ālamkṛita ramya- kandra
varō Hēmāchalēndrōnnataḥ (in verse 3)*

*Vātyā samuddhūta vinūtam kamja-kimjalka
pumja-pariramjita- tumga -śrīmgaṇiḥ.
(in verse 5)*

*yātr- āgnihōtrōdgata dhūma lēkha samtā
na samchchādita dīrggha śākhāḥ (in verse 16)*

He is not only following the style but also the ideas of the great poets. For instance, from Kādambarī of Bāṇa, *Hārītaka* comes to the hermitage of *Jābālī*. He sees the surroundings of the *āshrama* and wondered⁵. "How the animals which has the natural enmity (*sahajavaira*) are playing together ! The snakes are entering into the peacock's feather to prevent the heat of the Sun, the young of the deer are drinking milk from lion, elephant calves are pulling the nape of the lion's neck apprehending it as lotus-fiber, monkeys are helping the *munikumāras* leaving their unsteadiness and the elephants are not preventing the bees from tasting the rut, even the trees which are immovable following the asceticism by wearing the bark in the form of smoke came from *hōma*, what is the question of movables?"

The same idea was conveyed in the verse here while describing the *Vaśishṭha's* hermitage-

chāpalyam sahajam vihāya kapayah kurvanti satyātmanām śūśrūshām vratinām svapaksha-pavanair hōmānalam pakshināḥ. | bhaktyā prajvalayanti yatra satatam vidvēshināḥ prāṇinō mitrāṇyēva viśiṣṭasamgatimatām kēshām na kim jāyatē. ||

The meaning of the above verse is as follows: Leaving the natural unsteadiness the monkeys are helping the sages, the birds are fanning the *hōma* to increase the flame by their wings, where the animals which are having natural enmity became friends, for such a noble person what will not happen? While describing

the *Vaśishṭha's* hermitage he quotes the *Śākuntalam* of *Kālidāsa*.

upāmita-kāmitāra bahuprakāra śyāmāka nīvāra samitsusāraḥ kuśōdak-ānamita latāmita kāmto vi nīta satvācharaṇaiḥ praśāmtah.

At the surrounding forest of the hermitage several grains like *śyāmāka nīvāra* and good qualities of firewood named *samit*, the water from *kuśa* grass and *ananta* creeper are excessively found and it is peaceful with the spiritually disciplined persons. Here the whole verse describes the hermitage in *Svabhāvōkti alamkāra*. The same idea is found in the *Śākuntalam* of *Kālidāsa*⁶.

Are the (grains of) *Nīvāra* beneath the trees, fallen from the mouths of hollows with parrots inside, somewhere stones excessively oily, are plainly betrayed us crackers of *Ingudi* fruit: the deer whose gait is undisturbed owing to the acquisition of confidence, stand the sound of the chariot and the paths to reservoirs of water are marked with lines of the drippings from the skirts of bark garments. By the examples it is clear that the poet competes with great poets like *Kālidāsa*, *Dandin*, *Bāṇa*, etc. Though he followed the ideas of great poets, he maintained his originality too.

The *Varṇānuprāsa* or letter alliteration occurs in a number of verses. The *yamaka* or the repetition of the same word in different senses is found rarely. For instance, the word *Paramāra* is repeated twice with different meaning.

*savahnikuṇḍād uditō- mahīpatih pravart-
tamānaḥ paramāraṇē-parah. | rarāja labdhvā
Paramārasamjñām anvarthabhūtām munipuṅgavēbhyah.*

Paramāraṇe : Killing of others
Paramārasamjñā: The family Paramāra

Of the *Arthālaṅkāra* or figures of sense, the author frequently uses the most familiar ones, viz., *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprēkshā*, etc. He uses fourteen *alaṅkāras* in this inscription. We can see some of the excellent examples for some of the *alaṅkāras*.

Bhrāntimān :

*yatrāmbujāmōda samāhṛitānām madhu-
vratānām pātālāmdhakārāt. | mattvā tamīśrēti
divāpi dhatte sarassu kōkadvitayām viyōgam.*

The above verse means:

Where the darkness was caused by the bees which are attracted by the smell of lotuses, even in the daytime, thinking it as night, the Kōka birds are being seperated at the lakes.

Bhrāntimān is defined as : *bhrāntimān
nyasamīvit-tat- tulyadarśane*⁷.

The apprehension of one thing as another on the preception of one thing similar to that of another is termed the error or *bhrāntimān*. Here the Kōka birds are confused after seeing the groups of bees even in the day time thinking it as night. So it is an example for *Bhrāntimat-*

alaṅkāra.

Arthāntaranyāsa :

*Chāpalyam sahajam vihāya kapayah kurv-
vanti satyātmanām śuśrūshām vratinām sva-
paksha-pavanair hōmānalam pakshinaḥ | bhak-
tyā prajvalayanti yatra satatam vidvēshinaḥ
prāṇinō- mitrānyēva viśiṣṭasaṅgatimatām
kēshām na kim jāyatē ||*

Defined as :

*Sāmānyam vā viśēshō vā tadanyēnasama-
rthayēt. yatraso=⁷rthāntaranyāsaḥ sādharma-
nyēṇetarēṇa vā⁸*

When a general or a particular is strengthened by its opposite, either under a resemblance or its opposite that is termed as corroboration or *Arthāntaranyāsa*.

After describing the unnatural happenings he concludes with a general statement - *viśiṣṭasaṅgatimatām kēshām na kim jāyatē*. "What will not happen for great men?" So it is a good example for *Arthāntaranyāsa*. From this study we can infer that this *praśasti* belong to traditional court poetry or *kāvya* of Sanskrit culture. The different qualities of these texts (*rīti*, *guṇa*, *vṛitta* and many *alaṅkāra*) allow us to classify them according to the traditional classification as laid in the great *Śāstra*.

Notes and References

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 256. ff
2. *Pratāparudrīya* of Vidyānātha, ed. by Sankara Rama Sastry, Balamanorama press, 1950, Madras, p. 69.
3. *ōjah kāntimatī gauḍīyā - Kāvyaṅkārasūtra* of Vāmana , *Adhyāya - 2, sūtra. 12.* ed. by Bechana Jha, Kashi Sanskrit series - 209, 1971, Varanasi.
4. *samastāyudbhaṭapadāmōjah kāntiguṇānvitām*, *Ibid.*
5. *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa, ed. by Kāśināth Pāṇḍurang Parab. pub. by Satyabhūmābāi Pāṇḍuraṅg, 1948, Bombay, p. 99.
6. *Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa, Act I, verse. 14. .
7. *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* of Mammaṭa, *Ullāsa - X*, ed. by Dinkar Trimbak Chandorkar, 1986, Poona, p. 130.
8. *Ibid.*, p . 81.

Book Review

Madhav N. Katti

INDUS SCRIPT: Its Nature and Structure by Dr. B.V. Subbarayappa : Printed by Classical prints, Madras -34 and published by New Era Publications, Madras-28. I Edition 1996; pp. i to xxi and 1 to 99 with list of Figures, Tables, Maps, select Bibliography and Index Price: Rs.230/-.

This new book on 'Indus Script' which brings to light the results of the arduous research work carried out by Dr. Subbarayappa, an eminent scientist, for a number of years, adds a new dimension to the study of Indus Script. The Volume contains 7 Sections (chapters), the first is introductory; 2nd to 6th sections are entitled respectively Inscription and the problem, Number systems, Decipherment, A new approach, Indus numeration, Field symbols and the 7th section contains a Retrospect.

(Late) Shri B.K. Thapaer former Director General, Archaeological Survey of India in his foreword has appreciated the efforts made by Dr. Subbarayappa in the new direction.

In Section 1 Dr. Subbarayappa has discussed about the discovery of Mohenjodaro and other Indus sites like Harappa, Chanhu-daro, Lothal and Kalibangan

and highlighted about the salient features of the Indus civilization.

In Section 2 he has discussed about the methodology of making seals and their purpose. He has compared them with similar seals and objects with writings belonging to other contemporaneous civilizations like Sumerian, Elamite, Mesopotamian, etc. and traced the history of decipherment of the Indus Script. He has, however, taken into account the fact that "no unanimity has been reached even on the basic issues and most literature on the Indus script requires lot of shifting in order to pick up the useful ideas", the main reason for this being the absence of multi-lingual and multi-scriptal inscriptions in India connecting the Indus script on the one hand and later alphabetical scripts on the other.

In Section 3 he has discussed the number system prevalent in ancient civilizations like Egyptian, Greek, Babylonian, Chinese etc., and traced the history of numerical writing in India up to the advent of Aśoka Brāhmī and Kharōshthī. He has taken into consideration the ancient Vedic numerical system and the place of 'cipher' in the arrangement of the multiple numbers which

paved the way for a comprehensive numerical system.

In Section 4 he has made a thought provoking and masterly analysis of the Indus writings on seals, ceilings, etc. and stated that the Indus script represents a numerical pattern. This new approach enlarges our vision about understanding of the Indus script and adds a new dimension to the study. He has by his comprehensive analysis of the subject shown that all the writings pertaining to the Indus civilization can be interpreted as an arrangement of numerals in different forms. He has also shown that the numerical forms as found in the Indus context on the seals and other objects were admittedly for the administrative and commercial purposes. The author's fascinating approach brings to light the fact that various numbers in their different combinations were inter-linked with the animal motifs associated with them. His statement that the people who contributed for the development of Indus civilization were multi-lingual, but employed the numerical methodology which was indigenously thought off, deserves a serious consideration.

In Section 5 he has shown in a very interesting fashion, the developments of numbers from 1 to 9, 10 and its multiples, hundred and its multiples etc., which are explained by diagrams. While

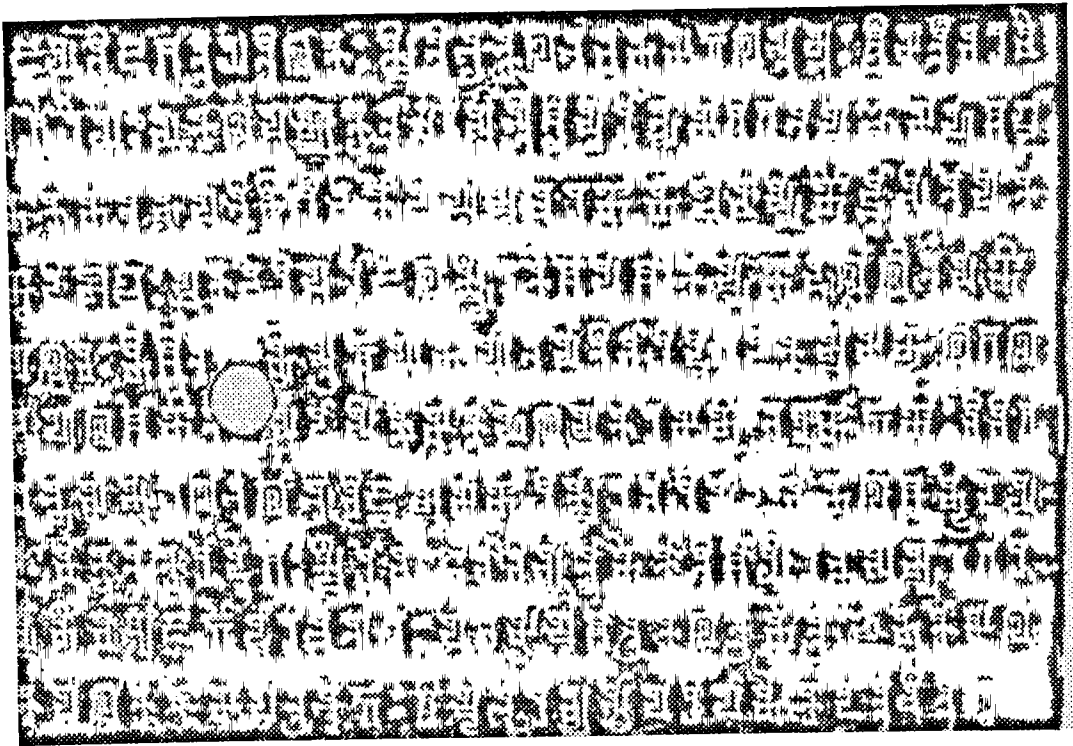
some of these forms bear a resemblance to those found in the other contemporaneous civilizations, a few have also been transmitted with slight modification up to the advent of the Aśokan Brāhmī and Kharōshthī. He has not failed to draw our attention to the masterly execution on animal figures on the seals and ceilings which have added not only beauty but mysticism.

These two sections *viz.*, 5 and 6 have opened a new line of approach to the study of Indus script. In Section 6, he has discussed about the animal motifs like unicorn, humped bull, tiger, rhinoceros, buffalo, Ghariyal, elephant and other motifs which frequently are found on the seals along with the inscriptions. While the opinions of the scholars differ in their understanding about the significance of animal motifs on the seals and their connection with the inscriptions, the author's argument that "the animals had some significance in so far as the owner of the seal was concerned" has to be considered in all its seriousness. This aspect has to be studied further. He has also discussed about the Palaeo-ethno-botanical aspects and shown that the crops grown by the Indus people like barley, wheat and cotton had much bearing on the agriculture and trade and occupied an important place in the depiction of plant and animal motifs on the inscribed seals.

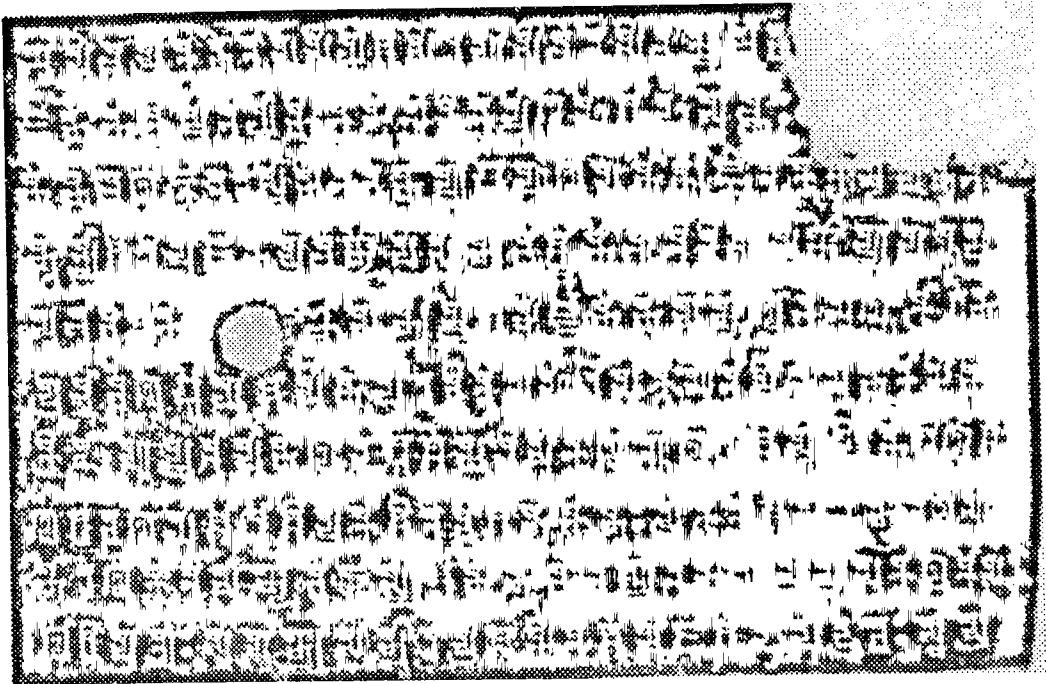
Comparing the writings in other civilizations like Assyrian, Sumerian, Accadian, etc., he has underlined that some mystic element is seen in the way animal motifs are associated with particular combination of numerical figures as found on the Indus seals. A select bibliography and index provide a useful reference to the readers.

The author deserves to be congratulated on this new approach. According to him, the entire gamut of Indus

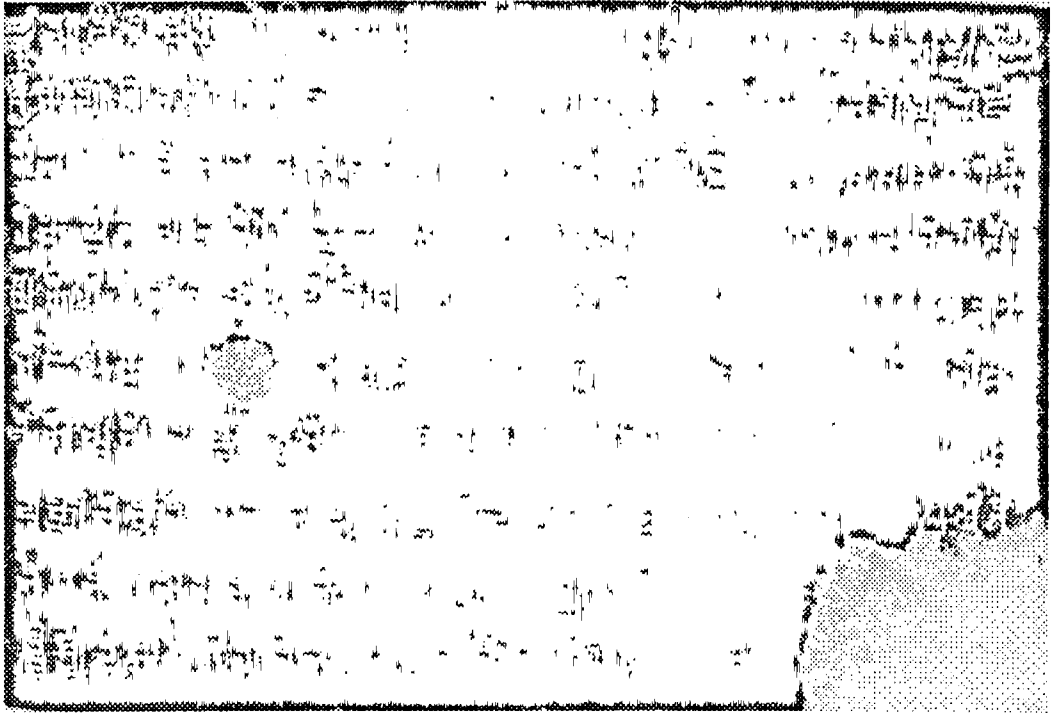
writings come under the orbit of the numerical system. His research, however, mould be fully rewarding if his new theory is examined in the light of the socio-economic and cultural context in which the Indus writings are found, so that the scholars in the field will have an opportunity to process the results and be in a position to find a comprehensive solution to the problem. The Publisher also deserves our hearty appreciation for placing in the hands of researchers such a valuable work.



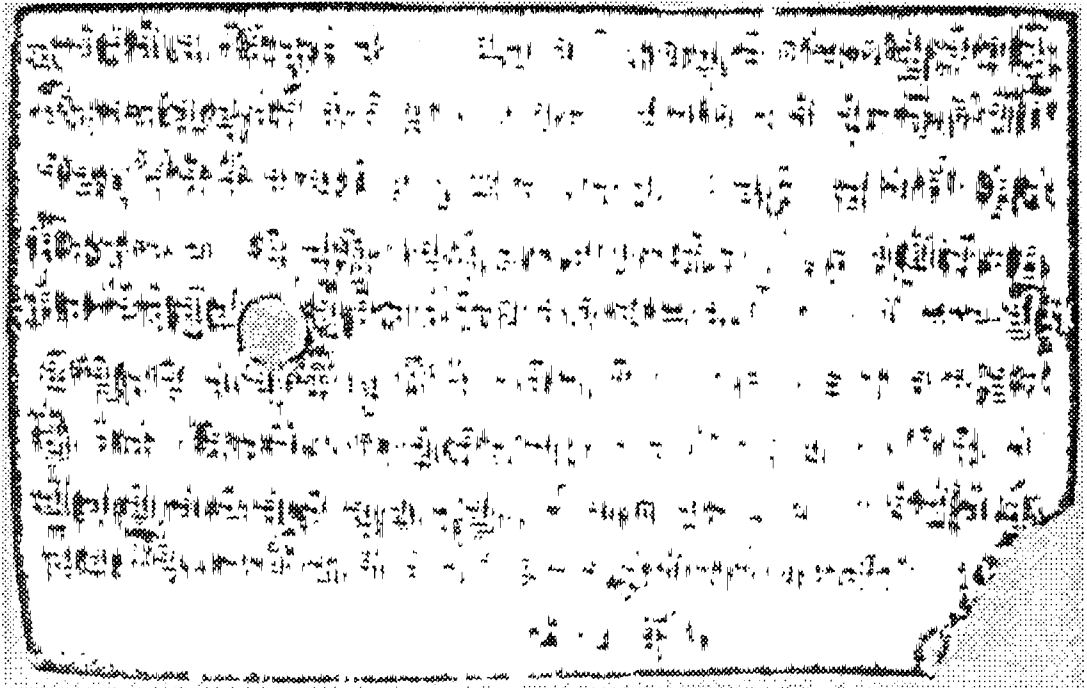
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Tiruvantapuram Plates of Panduvamsi Mahasiva Tivararaja - Plate - II side - a



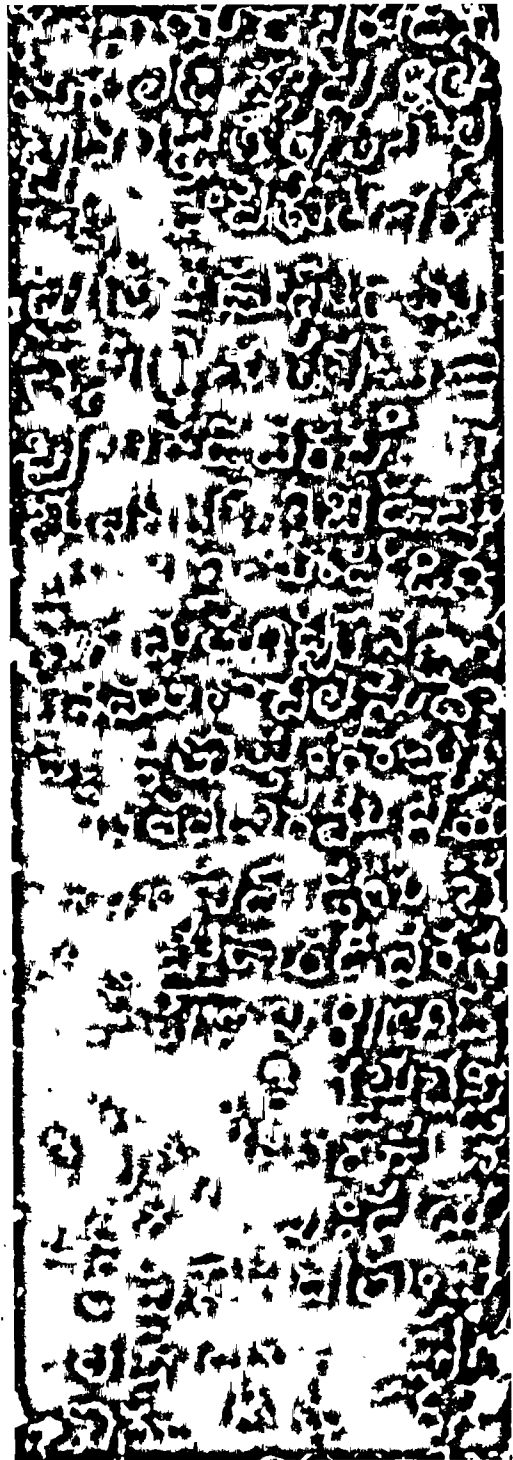
Tiruvantapuram Plates of Panduvamsi Mahasiva Tivararaja - Plate II - Side - b



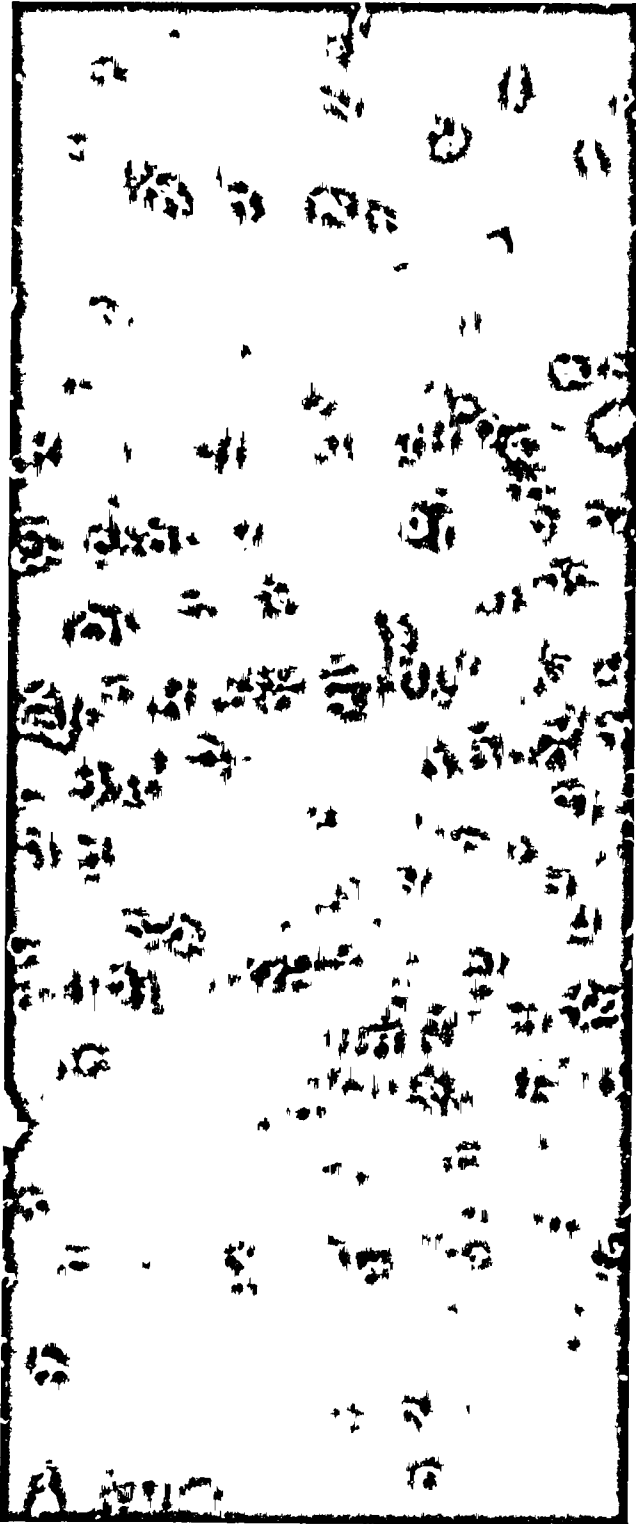
Tiruvantapuram Plates of Panduvamsi Mahasiva Tivararaja Plate III Inner side



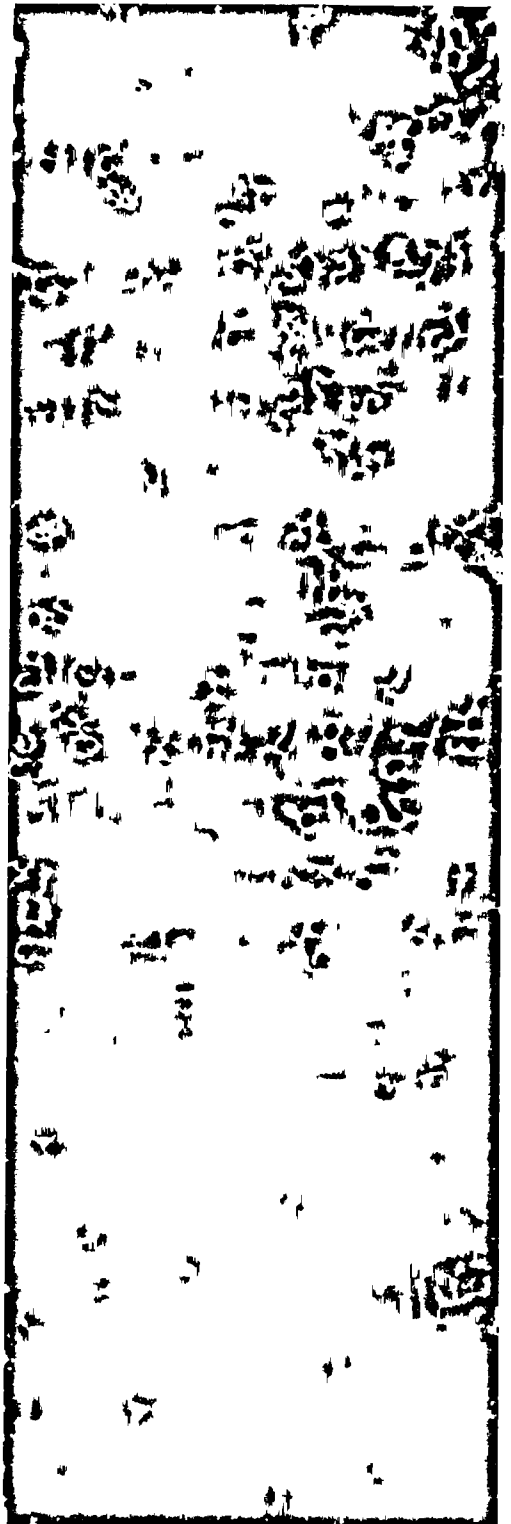
Inscribed Pillar set up in front of Siva temple.
Bollepalli



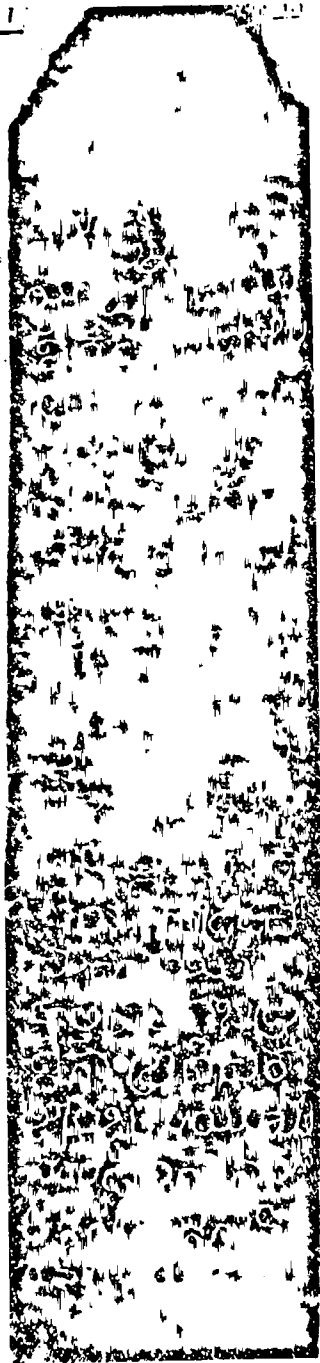
Inscribed pillar set up in front of Siva temple
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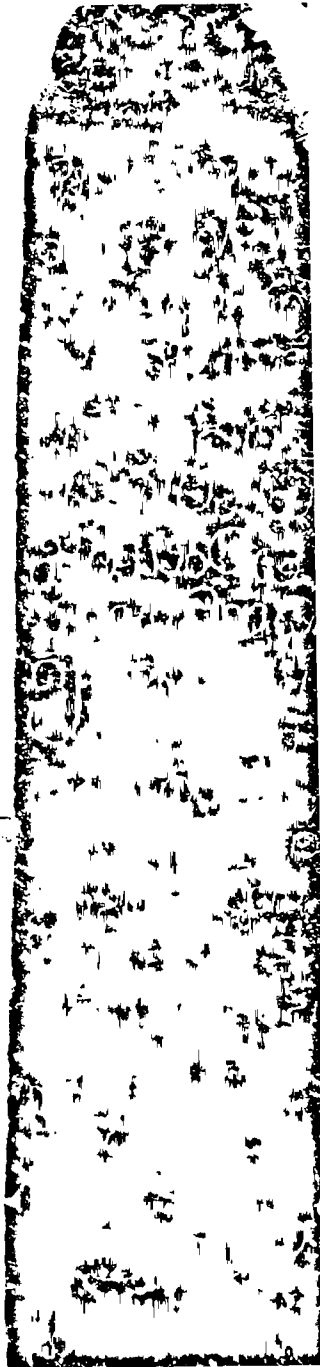
Inscribed pillar set up in front of Siva temple



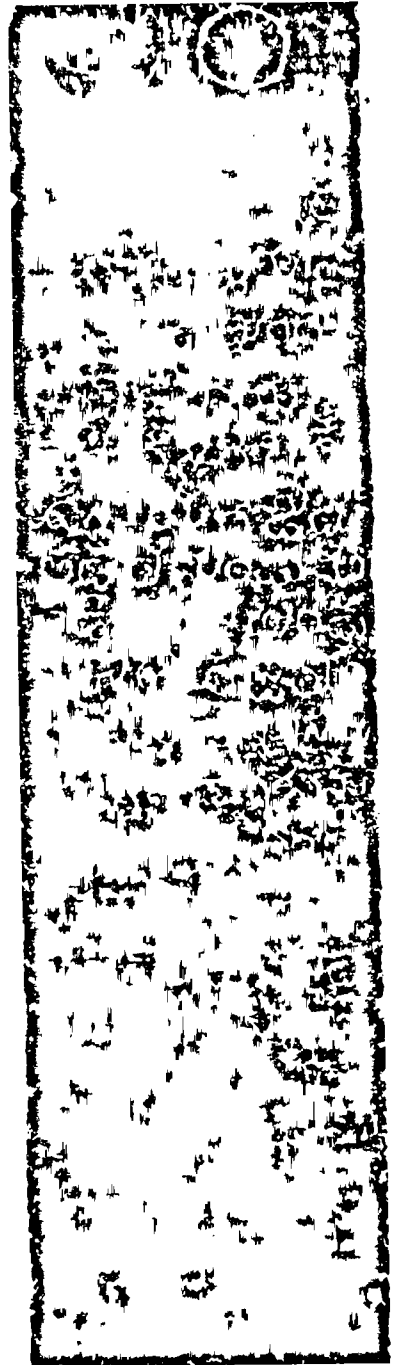
Inscribed pillar set up in front of the Siva temple



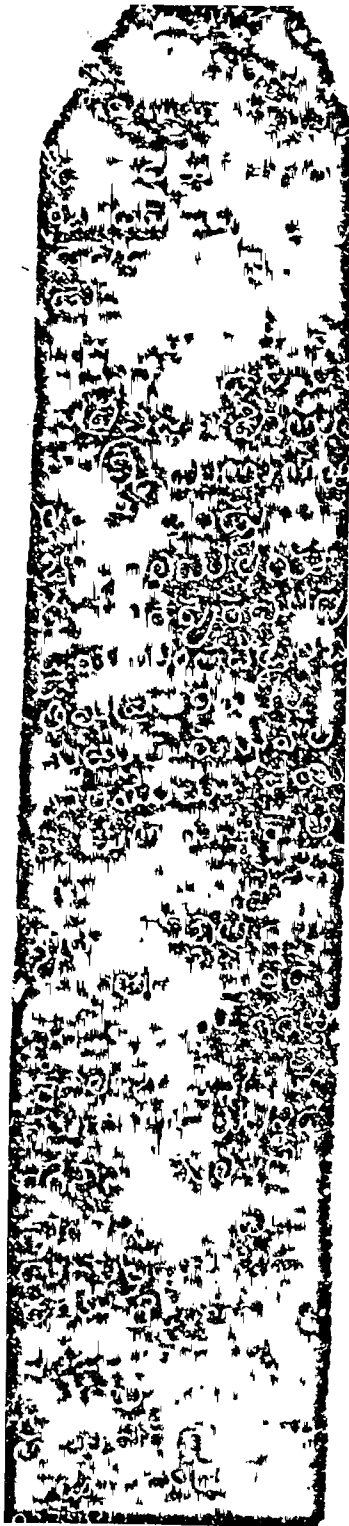
Inscribed pillar set up
in front of the Siva temple



Inscribed pillar set up
in front of the Siva temple



Inscribed pillar set up
in front of the Siva temple



Inscribed pillar set up
in front of the Siva temple



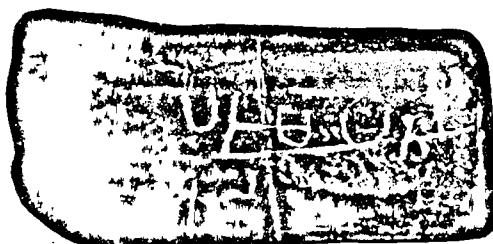
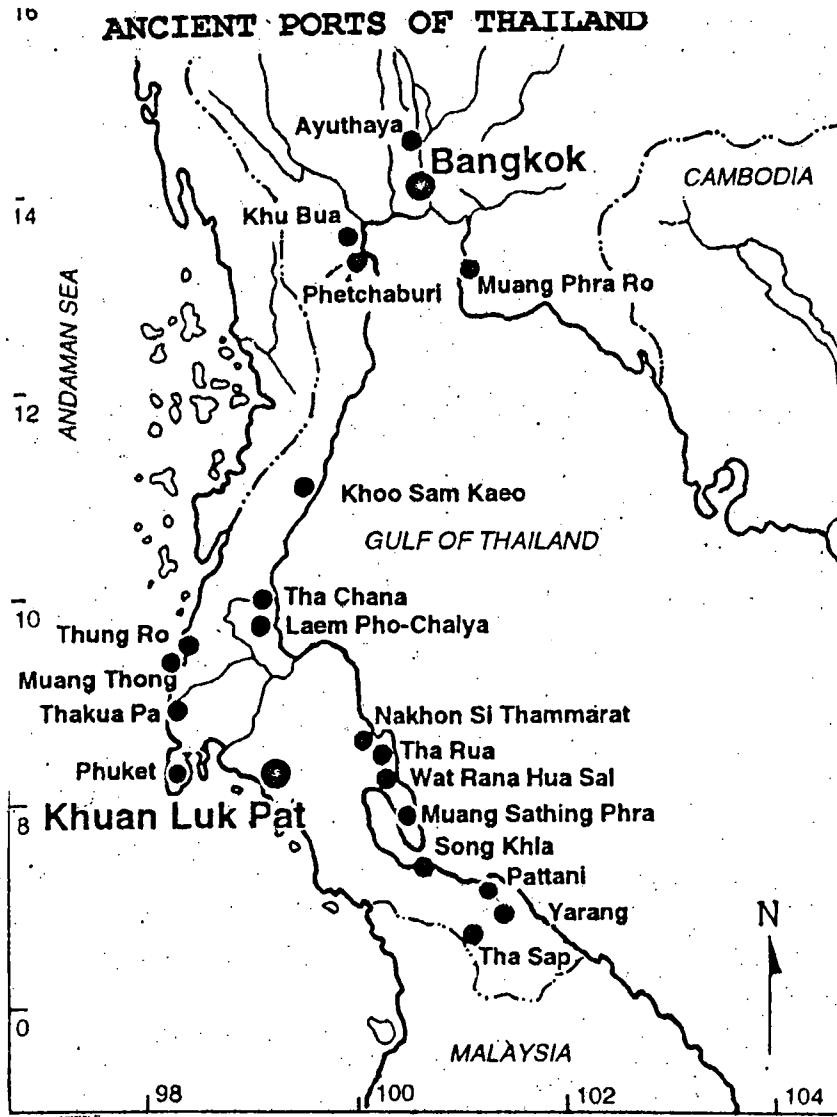
Plate 1. Inscription of Muhd. Shah II from Chillergji



Pl. I: A Salankayana Sealing from Adam



Bilingual Inscription of Aurangzeb from Jaldurga
A.H. 1111 (1699-1700)



Touch stone from Thailand

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 - a) D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol I, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965, pp.433-34, pl. xxx.
 - b) Iravatham Mahadevan, 'Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions', in R. Nagaswamy (ed), *Seminar on inscriptions*, Madras, 1968, p. 69, n.4, pl XI.
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