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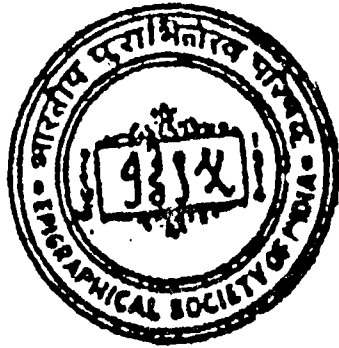
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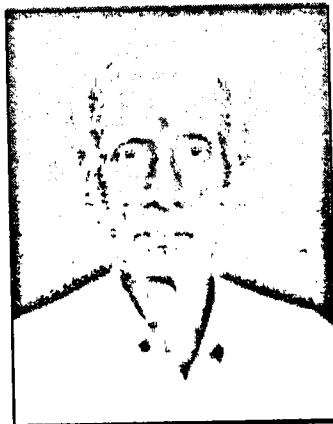
**DEDICATED TO
THE SACRED MEMORY OF**



Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri



Dr. Z.A. Desai



Sri K.G. Krishnan

THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

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CONTENTS

Editorial	v
1. Presidential Address <i>S. Subramonia Iyer</i>	1
2. Paunī Stone Pillar Inscription of Rupianīma: Some Reflections <i>Ajay Mitra Shastri</i>	5
3. An Early Inscription of Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana <i>A.V. Narasimha Murthy</i>	9
4. The Langudi Hill Inscription of King Atāka <i>B.N. Mukherjee</i>	13
5. Inscription on the Harappan Spearhead <i>Ramesh Jain</i>	15
6. The Last Vestige of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas <i>H.S. Thosar</i>	17
7. The Art of Composing Chronograms <i>G.S. Khwaja</i>	25
8. Kṛishṇavilāsa Stone Inscription of the time of Udayāditya <i>Jai Prakash</i>	31
9. Trade and Commerce in the Thanjavur Delta <i>Pulavar S. Raju</i>	34
10. Significance of 'Ajāti Viraśaiva' of Telugu Inscriptions <i>C.T.M. Kotraiah</i>	36
11. The Earliest Occurrence of the word "Untouchable" <i>G. Vijayavenugopal</i>	41
12. Recent Epigraphical Discoveries <i>M.D. Sampath</i>	43
13. An Early Telugu Inscription from Kūdaveli <i>C.A. Padmanabha Sastry</i>	47
14. Religious Beliefs of the Early Medieval Period <i>T. Ganesan</i>	50
15. Some Inscribed Images referring to Aśoka <i>Pradhan Gopal Charan</i>	54
16. New inscriptions from Hiremarali <i>N. Havalaiiah</i>	56
17. Warangal Museum Inscription of Kākatīya King Mahādēva <i>S. Nagarjuna</i>	60
18. Jagadālpur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṅhadēva <i>T.S. Ravishankar</i>	62
19. Kōṭṭappakoṇḍa Inscription of Ikshvāku Period <i>K. Munirathnam and S. Nagarjuna</i>	64
20. Inscriptions from Dīnachintāmaṇinallūr <i>G. Vijayavenugopal</i>	66
21. Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Khandagiri - Udayagiri Hills and the Writer of Khāravēla's Hātigumphā Inscriptions <i>Snigdha Tripathy</i>	70

22. Epigraphic References to Arab Settlements in Koṅkan <i>A.K. Ranade</i>	77
23. A Portuguese Inscription from Church of our Lady Rosary, Goa <i>Swapna H. Samel</i>	81
24. Humanistic Approach of a Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya king in Pāṇḍya Country <i>O. Anandavalli</i>	84
25. A note on special beliefs as gleaned from Tamil Epigraphs <i>K. Karuppiah</i>	86
26. An Inscription from Tirupāmpuram - A study <i>S. Amirthavalli</i>	89
27. Regnal Years in Chēra Inscriptions <i>M.G.S. Narayanan</i>	90
28. Re-examination of two published Kannada Inscriptions <i>H.R. Nagaraja Sharma</i>	92
29. Agrarian unrest at Tāmaraippākkam <i>C. Santhalingam</i>	96
30. Book-Review <i>K.V. Ramesh</i>	99

Editorial

It is really with a sense of pride and satisfaction that we are placing in the hands of our members the XXVIII volume of our Journal.

The Journal is devoted to the publication of original research papers of the scholars who participated in the deliberations held at Courtallam. That the Society has been able to bring out its journal, for twenty-eight years now, without any break, is no mean achievement. This has been rendered possible due to the cooperation and support we have received from the Office-Bearers and Members of the Executive Committee besides the members of the Society.

It is our duty to express our gratitude to the Principal and Staff of Sri Parasakti College for Women and especially to Prof. Saroja, Prof. N. Pankaja and Prof. Kayarkanni on account of whose sincere efforts, the last conference was well organised and achieved grand success as well as the appreciation of one and all.

In the year 2001-02, the Society has lost three eminent and stalwart epigraphists Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Sri. K.G. Krishnan and Dr. Z.A. Desai. We condole the death of these three scholars as also the untimely demise of Dr. C.S. Patil, Dr. R. S. Saini and Dr. L.K. Tripathi.

We are deeply grateful to our Chairman and renowned epigraphist, Dr. S.H. Ritti, and to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, a renowned epigraphist and General Secretary, for their guidance in the conduct of the activities of the Society and in placing it on firm footing.

We are also thankful to our Treasurer, Sri. P. Natarajan, who has spared no pains in maintaining accounts, etc.

We would be failing in our duty if we do not thank Sri. S.K. Lakshminarayana of Ready Print and his staff including Sri. Prasad, Miss. S. Surekha and Sri. S. Manjunath for getting this volume printed neatly on time.

Mysore - 570013
April 18, 2002

M.D. Sampath
Executive Editor
S. Subramonia Iyer
Editor

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

S. Subramoina Iyer

Namaḥ Sabhābhaḥ, namaḥ Sabhāpatibhyaḥ.

I am deeply beholden to the Epigraphical Society of India for conferring on me the rare honour of being elected as the General President of the XXVII Annual Congress of the Society being held at Courtallam. I accept the honour in all humility and I shall try to discharge my responsibility with all sincerity. I am a student of Sanskrit language and literature. After my post-graduation, I worked for my doctoral desertation, the subject being 'A critical study of Sanskrit Dramas produced in Kerala'. Soon, I had to change my field of study. I drifted and ultimately landed myself in Epigraphy in which field, I have been working for over three decades.

On this happy occasion, I remember with gratitude my parents, teachers and colleagues who fashioned and shaped me unto what I am now. I have no pretensions to make. During my innings in what is now known as the Office of the Director (Epigraphy), I had the privilege of examining several epigraphs. Many of them, I could see *in situ* in the course of my epigraphical tours. Naturally while dealing with these epigraphs I was confronted with several technical or professional problems. I would like to draw your attention to one or two of them.

The Epigraphists have broadly classified the scripts and given them suitable names. As you know, the Brāhmī script is one of the earliest and it spread all over India and beyond. The earliest epigraphs in Brāhmī script in the North are Bārli, Piprahwa, Sohgauro and Mahasthān followed by those of Aśoka which however are widespread and found in most parts of our country. In the South, the earliest epigraphs in Brāhmī script are the well known Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions and a few cave inscriptions and some of the cave inscriptions display certain unique features not found in the Aśokan epigraphs. While the palaeographers named the script in the cave inscriptions in Tamilnadu as Tamil Brāhmī, they have not given a suitable name to the script in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscription and this requires the attention of epigraphists.

As I said earlier, the Brāhmī script is one of the most ancient scripts in India and is widespread. Over the centuries this script evolved and developed into several varieties be it during the Śuṅga, Kushāṇa, Kshatrapa or Gupta periods in North and Sātavāhana or Ikshvāku or still later periods in the South. Depending upon the dynasties who ruled in the periods in question, the Brāhmī acquired names like Śuṅga Brāhmī, Kushāṇa Brāhmī, Kshatrapa Brāhmī, Gupta Brāhmī, etc., in the North. In the South, however, be it during the Sātavāhana or Ikshvāku or still earlier epochs roughly speaking upto 5th Century A.D. the script used in the epigraphs is simply known as Brāhmī. It is my view that like the names Śuṅga Brāhmī, Kushāṇa Brāhmī, Kshatrapa Brāhmī, Gupta Brāhmī, used with reference to the epigraphs of North, the script

employed in the epigraphs of Sātavāhanas, Ikshvākus and later dynasties should be suitably named.

I shall now turn my attention to some important epigraphs. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of Ābhīra Vasushēṇa, year 30 (242 A.D.) discovered many years ago records the installation of the image of Ashṭabhujasvāmin at Śvētāgiri by Śivasēba, the general of the Ābhīra king. The relevant passage is as follows: *ēsha bhagavām Rumbarabhavō Āshṭabhu[ja]svāmi Sētāgiriya sthāpitō* which when Sanskritised will be *ēsha bhagavān udumbarabhavaḥ Ashṭabhujasvāmi - Śētāgirau sthāpitaḥ*. There has been a controversy amongst scholars whether the image of Ashṭabhujasvāmin is Śaivite or Vaishṇavite in character. A few years ago a hoard of twenty seven copper-plate charters belonging to the Gupta period were discovered at a place called Bāgh in Madhya Pradesh. These copper-plate charters have been ably edited and brought out in an excellent monograph. In a copper-plate charter of the aforesaid hoard, there is an interesting reference to Ashṭabāhuśālin. The relevant passage is as follows *Śānkha-bāṇa-śakti -chakra-nandaka-jvalāngad-āgra-śūla-bhāsva-āshṭa-bāhu-śālinah*

Vishṇōḥ- i.e., Vishṇu who is endowed with eight resplendent arms carrying the conch, arrow, spear, wheel, the sword called Nandaka, a radiant rays and a lance. This shows that Ashṭabāhusvāmin is a form of Vishṇu and was popular in Central India in the Gupta period.

I shall now deal with some of the important epigraphical discoveries. The Rabatak Bactrian inscription is very important as it introduces a new Kushāṇa king Vima Taktu and he is described as the grandfather of Kanishka I. As a result, the genealogy and chronology of the Kushāṇa dynasty undergo some change.

Madhya Pradesh is already known to have several ancient Buddhist sites like Sāñchī, Bhārhut, etc. Some years ago, the Archaeological Survey of India discovered a new Buddhist site in Satdhāra in Raisen District. A number of *Stūpas* were exposed and more than twenty inscriptions ranging in date from 2nd -1st centuries B.C. were found. Recently the Archaeological Survey discovered another important Buddhist site in Deorkothar in Rewa District. In the course of the excavations conducted by the Survey, it discovered a Mauryan pillar, several *stūpas* and monasteries including painted rock-shelters and a good number of epigraphs.

The office of the Director of Epigraphy as part of a special project has been carrying out an extensive epigraphical survey of North-Eastern States for the past two years. A study of these inscriptions is bound to yield some interesting information on the history of North-Eastern region. To the ever growing number of the cave inscriptions of Tamilnadu, there has been a welcome addition. Two new inscriptions have been discovered at Podigai hills near Courtallam, Tirunelveli District. The credit for this discovery goes to the Parasakti College. I congratulate the scholar for this important discovery.

I shall now turn my attention to the urgent need for the preservation of epigraphs. While I was in the Epigraphy Branch, I had the opportunity to associate myself with the preparation of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* volumes. You know well that the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* on Śilāhāras (Vol.VI) was prepared by V.V. Mirashi. Mirashi wanted the estampages of some inscriptions for study and illustration for the above volume. I was asked to go on tour to copy them. I went to Ambarnāth near Pune to copy the inscription which has not been copied so far and which has been read earlier from an eye copy prepared by West. In the temple, I searched for the inscription and to my dismay it has become completely abraded. Hence, it could not be copied. Mirashi has therefore to depend for the reading and illustration of the inscription upon the eye copy prepared by West. Some years later, the same scholar prepared a corpus of Inscriptions on Sātavāhanas and he wanted the estampages of Nānēghāṭ cistern Inscription of *rājan v[ā]s[i]ṭhīputa Chatarpaṇa Sātakarṇi, year 13*. This inscription was never copied earlier and Bhagawan Lal Indraji read the inscription *in situ*. I visited Nānēghāṭ twice, once under the leadership of Dr. K.V.Ramesh. We extensively searched the area and could locate neither the cistern nor the inscription. Mirashi had therefore, no means to check the reading and has to be content with Indraji's transcript. Thus many inscriptions are getting lost. There is, therefore, an urgent need to preserve the estampages of inscriptions. The office of the Director of Epigraphy is the biggest repository of thousands of estampages and transcripts. I am glad to learn that the present Director of Epigraphy has taken several steps in this direction.

I shall now take up the serious issue of theft of important sculptures and inscriptions. In 1910 some sculptures and inscriptions belonging to the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods were accidentally found while digging the foundations of houses in a housing colony in Govindnagar near Mathura. When I visited Mathura, the antiquities have been deposited in the Mathura Museum. I examined the antiquities. Among them I found two pedestals sans images and copied the inscriptions engraved on them. They belong to the Gupta period. From the inscriptions, we learn that they were engraved by Dinna (Datta). It is already known that Dinna was a master craftsman of the Mathura school of the Gupta age who chiselled the famous image at Kasia. Possibly, the two images, the pedestals of which alone remain in the Museum were sculpted by that famous sculptor Dinna. Months later, I read a news item in the Deccan Herald that two images sans pedestals recently obtained are exhibited in the Museum in New York. It is thus apparent that when the antiquities are excavated, the images are deliberately mutilated for pecuniary ends. I referred in the beginning to the discovery of the hoard of copper-plates belonging to the Gupta period. These plates supply valuable information on some kings ruling in Central India probably as the vassals of the Guptas. These plates were transferred to the Indore Museum for safe custody. On one fine day, we learn that these plates have been stolen. Fortunately, the office of Director of Epigraphy is having estampages and photographs of these copper plates for scholars to study. Thus these plates have been irretrievably lost to the scholarly world. There is therefore an urgent need to check the theft and loss of architectural and epigraphical treasures.

I shall now take up with the future of epigraphy. Strictly speaking the future of epigraphy is *inter alia* linked with the office of the Director of Epigraphy which is the fountain head of Epigraphical research in our country. The office of the Director of Epigraphy has been functioning for over a century and has been doing a silent but yeoman service to the cause of epigraphy. Ancient Indian History would not be what it is now but for the dedicated work done by this office for over a century in conducting epigraphical surveys in various parts of the country, copying, deciphering and publishing inscriptions. There is an urgent need to strengthen and streamline the office. Publications must come out in time and they have to be made upto date. For this, the office must have sufficient strength. Vacant posts have to be filled up immediately. As you know a computer is no substitute for human brain. I request the Government of India to take up immediate steps for strengthening this office. It is my fervent hope that were long, the office of the Director of Epigraphy will get its long due recognition.

Maṅgalam Mahāśrīḥ : Śrīr = astu

PAUNĪ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RUPIAṂMA : SOME REFLECTIONS

Ajay Mitra Shastri

The inscribed stone was found at the village of Paunī (Bhandra district, Maharashtra) while digging in a field around 1960¹ and the inscription on it has been edited by V.V. Mirashi². The fragmentary stone pillar, since removed to the Central Museum at Nagpur, is actually just a portion of a larger column. The preserved portion measures 30 cm. in breadth and between 30 and 57 cm. in height. At the top of this fragmentary column there is a semicircular figure of half lotus about 13cm. in height and under it, separated by a couple of horizontal lines, is a short inscription in three lines of early Brāhmī datable on palaeographical considerations to the first second century A.D., it being impossible to be more precise. The inscription reads as follows:

1. Sudgaṁ [*] Mhākhattava Kumārasa
2. Rupiaṁmasa chhāyā-
3. khaṁbho [*]

The short inscription, following the auspicious word (*maṅgalacharaṇa*) *sidham* (Skt. *siddham*), purports to record the erection of a sculptured column (*chhāyā-khaṁbha*, Skt. *chhāyā-stambha*) in memory of the *kumāra* (prince or son) of a *mahākhattava* (Skt. *mahākshatrapa*) who (the prince) was named Rupiaṁma. The expression *Mahākhattava-Kumāra* is apparently used as a *shashṭhī tatpurusha* compound meaning 'son (prince) of the Mahākshatrapa'⁴ whose name is, however, left out inadvertently.

V.V. Mirashi, to whom is due the credit of bringing to light and editing this important record, felt that the inscription is of great importance in as much as, he believed, it brings to light an unknown Kshatrpa family ruling over Vidarbha region on behalf of the Kushāṇas during early second century A.D. He took Rupiaṁma to be the name of the ruling Kshatrpa who also had the title *Kumāra*. He also held that Rupiaṁma like Nahapāṇa and Chasṭana of the Kshaharāta and Kārdamaka lines respectively, was an early member of the family as his name does not appear Indian, for the names of the Kshatrapas were Indianised very early, sometimes even as early as in the second generation. The historical importance of this record, he felt, lay primarily in the supposed fact that it is for the first time established Kushāṇa rule over Vidarbha as in Western Mahārāshṭra and Gujarat. And the Sātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi vanquished him and occupied Vidarbha before launching his victorious campaign against the Kshaharāta *Mahākshatrpa* Nahapāṇa and uprooting his rule over Western Mahārāshṭra, Gujarat and other adjoining regions.

However, these are pure gratuitous assumptions without any evidence to substantiate them as

a little discussion will demonstrate. First, Rupiamma was himself not a Mahākshatrapa but only a prince (or an ordinary son) of a Mahākshatrapa. This is the sense in which the word *Kumāra* is ordinarily employed. Mirashi argues against this position and in favour of taking it 'as a title of high personages' and regarding it as comparable to *Kumārāmātya* met with in later inscriptions on the twin grounds that '*Kumāra* is nowhere used in the sense of a son in Kshatrapa inscriptions' and that taking it in this sense would mean that here we are left without the personal name of his father. First, the Kshatrapa inscriptions need not be treated as a separate epigraphic category as there is hardly any fundamental difference between them and other contemporary records. And we do get the term *Kumāra* employed in the sense of 'prince' or 'son' in near contemporary inscriptions from the Deccan. In a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa stone inscription of the time of the Ikshvāku king Ehuṅvula Chāntamūla, dated in his thirteenth regnal year, his step-brother *Mahāsenāpati* Eli Ehavula Dāsaṁnaka is styled *kumāra*. Like the reigning king Ehuṅvula, he was a son of Vīrapurushadatta but born of a different queen (*mahishi*) called Vāsishṭhī Bhaṭṭidevā. It was in his memory that a *chhāyā-stambha* (sculptured memorial column) is recorded to have been put up⁵. It could have been taken as a simple honorific had, like *svāmin*, it been employed for any other Kshatrapa monarch. Obviously, the expression *Kumāra* in the inscription under review also stands for 'prince' who had not ascended the throne as yet. And since the erection of a memorial stone is recorded in the inscription, it is obvious that he never came to the throne. The name of his father has been left out due to inadvertence and not much importance need be attached to this act of omission.

Whose son (or prince) could he have been? If we go by the spelling of the designation *Mahākshatrapa* found in this record, viz., *Mahākhattava*, wherein *ksh* turns into *kh*, it could have been a monarch of the Kshaharāta line. On the coins of Nahapāna, the greatest member of this line, we often find the dynastic name spelt as Khakharāta and *Kshatrapa* as *Khatapa* ⁶. In the Nāsik cave inscription of the nineteenth year of the Sātavāhana monarch Vāsishṭhīputra Puṅmāvi his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is said to have uprooted the Khakharāta lineage (*Khakharātavasa-niravasesa-kara*). It is quite likely that Rupiamma was very closely connected with, if not the son of, Nahapāna himself.

As we know from the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta (Skt. Rishabhadatta), the daughter of the former married to him was named Dakshamitrā. Ushavadāta's father was named Dīnīka. Both Nahapāna and Dīnīka were Śaka names. But the process of Indianisation was operating at such a fast pace that in the very second generation these foreigners were thoroughly transformed culturally in the very next generation. And the name Rupiamma also probably is a case in point. The proper name appears to have been *Rūpī* (*Rūpin*) viz., beautiful, and *am̐ma* was perhaps a South Indian suffix.

Rupiamma had most probably come from Western Maharashtra or Gujarat to Paunī for some work. It is also not quite unlikely that he had come on a pilgrimage, for the Paunī region

situated on the Waingāngā (ancient Veṅā) was regarded quite sacred from very early times, and the *Mahābhārata* (III. 85. 33) avers that one fasting for three nights on the bank of this river gets a *vimāna* (aerial car) for going to heaven. Ushavadāta also had undertaken pilgrimages to several holy spots and performed pious acts there which are recorded in his own records. And Rupiarmma passed away there and therefore his memorial pillar had to be and was probably deliberately erected there. It was a death on a holy spot (*tīrtha*) regarded sacred by the believers in the Paurāṇic religion.

Thus, Rupiarmma was himself not a Kshatrpa ruler of Vidarbha but had come over to Paunī and breathed his last there, and since it was a holy spot his memorial was erected there.

When did this Rupiarmma flourish? If he was connected with the Kshaharātas, even if not particularly with Nahapāna, he should have flourished early in the first century A.D. The Kshaharātas are commonly regarded by historians as viceroys of the Kushāṇas appointed to govern the outlying regions and it is further held that the years met with in their records are to be referred to as the Śaka era beginning in 78 A.D. initiated by or beginning with the accession of Kanishka. Accordingly, Nahapāna is supposed to have been a Kushāṇa viceroy and the years 41-46 of the inscriptions of his subordinates Ushavadāta and Ayama are equated with 119-24 A.D. All these assumptions are, however, totally unfounded. There is absolutely no evidence of the incorporation of Gujarat or Western Mahārāshṭra in the Kushāṇa kingdom. Despite large-scale explorations/excavations carried out in this region no Kushāṇa coins have ever been reported. There is also nothing to support the view that the Kshatrapas of Western India were officers of or subordinate to the Kushāṇas. Their fairly numerous inscriptions and coins do not give any indication of any connection with, not to speak of their subordination to the Kushāṇas. And as yet we have nothing to sustain the view that the Śaka era had any connection with the Kushāṇas. There is no doubt that a reckoning did commence with the accession of Kanishka and we have in the inscriptions of their time from North India (much of it now in Pakistan) continuous years up from 2 to 98. Its dates are not mentioned thereafter. But historians are not unanimous about the date of Kanishka's accession, and most of the occidental and a few Indian historians place this event sometime in the second century A.D. Even if we were to ignore it and place the accession of Kanishka in 78 A.D. and regard him as the founder of the Śaka era, it is now simply impossible to refer the dates of the records of Nahapāna's reign to this era. These inscriptions carry the years 41-46 which, if referred to the Śaka era, would translate into 119-24 A.D. Earlier it could perhaps be possible as the last known date of Nahapāna was the year 46 equated with 124 A.D. It was then believed that after Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had vanquished Nahapāna sometime in or shortly after this year and the Kushāṇa overlords appointed in his place Chasṭana whose earliest known date then was the year 52 corresponding to 130 A.D. So there was no anachronism involved in this chronology. But now we have inscriptions of the reign of Chasṭana dated in the years 6 and 11 corresponding to 84 and 89 A.D. respectively, for there is no doubt that the dates of the records of his line belong to the Śaka era of 78 A.D.

Thus, it is now simply impossible that a king who closed his rule in or shortly after the year 46 was succeeded by a monarch beginning his reign in or sometime prior to the year 6. The years of Nahapāna's records therefore can't be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. And there are strong indications in his portraits on his silver coins and Jaina literary traditions that he was blessed with a long reign of over four decades. Therefore we have no option but to treat these years as of his long reign. And since he closed his reign sometime in or before 78 A.D. when Chashtana ascended the throne, his reign has to be dated in c 32-77 AD⁷. If Rupiamma was in any way connected with Nahapāna, he has also to be placed approximately during the same period.

To sum up, the Paunī pillar inscription of Rupiamma has a great cultural importance in as much as it shows that Paunī was regarded as a sacred place about the beginning of the Christian era and provides the earliest hitherto known epigraphic evidence for the erection of sculptured columns in memory of the dead personages. Rupiamma, who was commemorated by this pillar, was probably an uncrowned prince of the Kshaharāta line and flourished sometime in the first century A.D. Beyond this it has no importance for the political history of Vidarbha.

AN EARLY INSCRIPTION OF HOYSAḶA VISHṆUVARDHANA

A.V. Narasimha Murthy

The present inscription which forms the subject matter of this paper was recently discovered by Dr. N.Havalaiah of the Mysore University during his archaeological exploration of the Mandya district at a village called Hire Maraḷi in Pandavapura taluk.¹ On verification it was found to be unpublished and important and hence it is being brought to the notice of the epigraphists. Actually, the inscribed stone is lying near the local Mahālingēśvara temple. This temple as it stands is of a late date and perhaps a Gaṅga temple should have existed there once. Inscriptions of that temple have been now kept near the Mahālingēśvara temple. In fact two tenth century inscriptions have been found near the present temple.²

The inscription contains the line-drawing of Nandi and Śivalinga on the top below which is seen the writing *mahādēvaru or mahādēvagaḍa* meaning 'Īśvara'. The inscription proper contains eleven lines of writing in Kannada script of the twelfth century. Though the inscription is engraved on a rough granite slab, it is characterised by the fine and beautiful roundish letters of the Hoysala period. The language is Kannada. The inscription belongs to the time of Hoysala Vishṇuwardhana who is described as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and *Tribhuvanamalla*. He is further described as ruling from Taḷakāḍ. It introduces his *daṇḍanāyaka* Kāmayya who donated an oil-mill to god Mūlasthānēśvara free from all taxes. The lines five and six of the inscription give the details of date of the gift. The details are Virōdhi samvatsara, Śrāvaṇa śuddha 1, Ādivāra and this corresponds to 30th June 1109 A.D, but the weekday was Wednesday and not Sunday. The lines 10 and 11 contain the curse portion.

Though this is a small inscription, it is important from the point of view of political history of the Hoysalas. Though Vishṇuwardhana is known to have issued a large number of inscriptions, they are not evenly distributed throughout his reign period. Inscriptions belonging to his early ruling years in which Vishṇuwardhana came to the throne is also a point of controversy among historians. According to Duncan Derrett a deep obscurity covers the activities of Vishṇuwardhana's early years. It is even a matter of conjecture whether he became king in 1108 or 1109. His earliest inscription belongs to the year 1109 A.D.³ Thus according to Derrett's chronology, the present epigraph belongs to his very first regnal year. But according to Coelho, Ballāḷa I had married only a year previous to his death in 1103 A.D., and must have left no issues to succeed him and hence the accession of Vishṇuwardhana to the Hoysala throne took place in 1104 A.D.⁴ It has to be noted that inscriptions of Vishṇuwardhana belonging to 1104 A.D., are not found so far. Earlier scholars like Venkayya and Sewell thought that he began to rule only in 1115 A.D., but since then new inscriptions of this king have been discovered. Vishṇuwardhana's Kaḍūr inscription is dated 1100 A.D., where he is referred to as Biṭṭiga Hoysalaḍēva.⁵ His Doḍḍagaṇa inscription is dated 1106 A.D. However, the above inscriptions

do not give any indications of his independent reign and scholars have tried to explain this by way of a joint rule of Ballāla I and Vishṇuvardhana or that Vishṇuvardhana was only a *yuvārāja*. But the epigraph under discussion makes it very clear that Vishṇuvardhana was actually 'ruling the entire earth'. Thus it is a very clear proof of this king ruling in the year 1109 A.D.

Secondly, he has the titles *Śrīmanmahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and *Tribhuvanamalla* in the present inscription and the epithet ruling the entire earth. These taken together give us the correct picture of his rule on this date. Derrett refers to an inscription of this king dated 1109 A.D., and considers it as his earliest inscription.⁶ The present epigraph also of the same date should be considered as the second inscription of Vishṇuvardhana belonging to that date (1109 A.D.).

Another point of importance of the epigraph under discussion is the rule of Vishṇuvardhana from Taḷakāḍ. That means Vishṇuvardhana was already ruling from Taḷakāḍ in 1109 A.D., itself which is the date of the present record. It is generally believed that though Vishṇuvardhana's predecessor Ballāla I claimed to be the master of Gaṅgavāḍi, most of the parts of this province including Taḷakāḍ and Kōlār were still under the active control of the Chōlas. The battle against the Chōlas under the Hoysala general Gaṅgarāja in which the Chōla general Aḍiyama took part is well known. The two other Chōla generals Dāmōdara and Narasiṅgavarma were also routed and the former fled to Kāñchī while the latter was killed. This graphic description is given in an inscription of 1116 A.D., and this shows that Taḷakāḍ area came under the full control of the Hoysalas by this date. This battle took place in 1116 A.D. Thus Vishṇuvardhana became the master of Taḷakāḍ in 1116 A.D. But the inscription under discussion found at Hire Maraḷi describes that Vishṇuvardhana was already ruling over Taḷakāḍ in 1109 A.D. However, it does not credit him with the well known title *Taḷakāḍukomḍa* which he is supposed to have assumed after the fierce battle in 1116 A.D. The political events in which Vishṇuvardhana took interest from 1109 to 1116 A.D., were a matter of conjecture among the historians and they believed that he must have been moving from his capital in Gaṅgavāḍi including Taḷakāḍ, Naṅgali and Kōlār opposing the Chōlas in minor skirmishes and occupying places of local importance. Derrett writes in this connection 'It seems likely that he (Vishṇuvardhana) moved southwards and westwards, still keeping his distance from Taḷakāḍ, renewing old relations with the northern outskirts of the Koṅgu country, then partly ruled by the Chōlas and partly by the autonomous tribes....'⁷ At another place he writes 'First Vishṇuvardhana moved due eastwards from his capital skirting the northern limits of Taḷakāḍ province and reaching Naṅgali...'⁸ But the present inscription makes it amply clear that Vishṇuvardhana was already in Taḷakāḍ by 1109 A.D. However, the final and decisive blow over the Chōlas was delivered in 1116 A.D., by general Gaṅgarāja. Even the earliest inscription found at Taḷakāḍ is itself dated 1117 A.D., and it refers to his *praśasti* and informs the construction of Kīrtinārāyaṇa temple and granting the villages Kittūr, Śrīvinṅar, Oḍopattī and Vagiyar.⁹ Thus the inscription under discussion gives us the political move of Vishṇuvardhana from the date of his accession till the final defeat

of the Chōḷas in 1116 A.D. Hence, the present record adds much needed clarity to the political events of Viṣṇuvardhana during his early years.

The inscription has a reference to *śrīmanmahāpradhāna daṇḍanāyaka* Kāmayya. The adjective *prathama* which refers to him is very interesting. If it is literally taken to mean first or senior, it may qualify the minister as first or senior member of his ministry. But such an expression has not been seen in other inscriptions of this dynasty. Perhaps it may be a mistake for *pradhāna* or *prachaṇḍa*. In that case the epithet *śrīmanmahāpradhāna* or *śrīman mahāprachaṇḍa daṇḍanāyaka* becomes more meaningful, as both these epithets are very common during the period.¹⁰ However, this is the first reference to *daṇḍanāyaka* Kāmayya during the reign of Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana. It is rather intriguing that his name does not find a place in the Hoysaḷa inscription of 1116 A.D., where Taḷakāḍ was finally won by Gaṅgarāja, the famous Hoysaḷa general.

This Kāmayya gave a hand oil mill (*kaigāṇa*) exempting it from the payment of all taxes for the purpose of a perpetual lamp to god Mūlasthānēśvara of the place. The word *nanda veḷaku* for the lamp is interesting. Usually *nandādīpa* or *nandādīvige* is the word used in a Kannada inscription to denote perpetual lamp. The word *veḷaku* used in this inscription is Tamil influence. In fact the rule of the Chōḷas in this area resulted in Tamil influence and this is a good example. The Hoysaḷas are known to have issued a large number of Tamil epigraphs. The only geographical name the inscription contains is Maṇali. It should have been the ancient form of the present name Maraḷi to which *Hire* has been added to distinguish it from another village of the same name. The usual curse is at the end of the inscription.

TEXT

1. Svasti śrīmanu mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram tribhu-
2. vanamalla Vīragaṅga Viṣṇurvadana¹¹ Hōsaḷadēvaru
3. Taḷakāḍlu
4. pṛithvīrājyaṁ geyuttav-iralu śrīman mahāpradhāna daṇḍanāyaka Kāmayyaṅgaḷu Virōdhi-
6. saṁvatsarada Śrāvaṇa suda¹² 1 Ādivāradam̄du
7. Maṇaliya Mūlastānadadēvariṅge ¹³ nandāve-
8. ḷakige kaigāṇava sarvvabādhāpari¹⁴-
9. hāram-āgi dhārāpūrvvaka māḍi¹⁵ biṭṭa dham-
10. ma kiḍisidavagage Vāraṇāsiyalu¹⁶ saha-

11. sra kavileya konda dōsha

Notes and References

1. The author is thankful to Dr. N. Havalaiiah for giving the estampage and the photo of this inscription for study and publication. Thanks are also due to Sri. H.M.Nagaraja Rao, Epigraphist, Institute of Kannada Studies, Manasagangotri, Mysore for his assistance.
2. These two inscriptions are under publication by Dr. Havalaiiah.
3. J. Duncan M.Derrett, *The Hoysalas*, pp.42-43
4. William Coelho, *The Hoysala Vamsa*,p. 69.
5. Quoted in M.V. Krishna Rao and Keshava Bhatta, *Karnataka Itihasa Darshana*,p.228
6. Derrett, *op.cit.*,p.44
7. *Ibid.*,p.45
8. *Ibid.*,p.44
9. D.V.Devaraj, A.V.Narasimha Murthy and others: *Excavations at Talakad*,p.9.
10. The designation *mahā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* occurs right from the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and continued in later periods also including the Hoysaḷas. vide A.S. Altekar: *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their times*,p.168.
11. *Vishṇurvadana* is a mistake for *Vishṇuvardhana*
12. It should be *Śrāvaṇa śuddha*
13. A mistake for *Mūlsthānadēvarige*
14. It should be *sarvvabādhārtam-āgi*
15. A mistake for *māḍi*
16. It should read *keḍisidavargge Vāraṇāsiyalu*

THE LANGUDI HILL INSCRIPTION OF KING ATĀKA

B.N. Mukherjee

A partly broken sculpture, recently unearthed in an excavation at a monastic site at the Langudi hill in Jajpur district, Orissa, displays a well dressed and ornamented seated figure of a royal personage or a high dignitary, who is flanked by two attendants (one of whose figures is mostly missing) (fig.1). On the reverse side there is an inscription in early Brāhmī characters (fig.2).

The first character is palatal *śa* with the sign for medial *a*. The right side of the upper curve of *śa* is indistinct. This form of *śa*, with the middle stroke shown as a horizontal bar, is noticeable in some epigraphs of 1st-2nd century A.D.¹. The form of medial *ā*, looking like a triangle without any base, can be seen in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu record of c. 2nd century B.C.² The second character can be read as an initial *a*. Its upper slanting stroke touches the hook-like *ā* of *śa*. There are indistinct traces of the straight line and the lower slanting stroke of *a*. The next letter is *ka*. The lower part of the letter is almost effaced, while its upper part above the horizontal bar is slightly misplaced. There are faint traces of another letter after *ka*, which may be doubtfully read as a dental *sa*. The next character is surely *ra* with the mark of medial *a*. It is followed by *ṅa* with the sign for medial *ā* or *o* (if the slanting stroke attached to the left of the lower part of this letter is a part of it). The next three characters can be easily read as *a*, *ta* with the mark for medial *ā* and *ka*. A part of the stone bearing the above noted sculpture on the other side is broken here. There could have been an additional letter engraved here. We guess for the reason indicated as below that the letter was *sa*.

The inscription is obviously written in a form of early Prakrit. It can be Sanskritised and translated as follows:

Text

Śāka(sa)raṅo Atāka[sa].

Sanskritised version

Śrāvakaśya rājṅah Atākasya

Translation

Of king Atāka, the disciple.

In view of the fact that the inscribed sculpture has been found at the site of a Buddhist monastery king Atāka may be considered to have been a Buddhist lay worshipper.

In consideration of the reason given above, the inscription can be assigned to a period from c. 2nd century B.C. to c. 2nd century A.D. in view of the comparatively late form of the palatal *śa*. We should prefer the second date. So king Atāka lived in about 2nd century A.D. He was apparently a local ruler.

There is no trace of any writing above or below the inscribed line. The epigraph consisted of only one line. So the inscription indicates the sculpture as belonging to Atāka or as a gift of Atāka, a Buddhist lay worshipper, to a Buddhist monastery. In either case the seated figure in the sculpture concerned may be taken as a representation of Atāka. A likeness of a king is a rare object in early Indian art.⁴

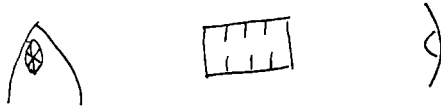
Notes and References

1. G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, Tübingen, Tafel III, Col.V.
2. A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1963, Plate VIa, row 6.
3. Here only the letter *śa* makes a sensible meaning.
4. In a paper read in the last session of the Epigraphical Society of India, Sri G. Pradhan considered the likeness as that of king Aśoka. But the reading *Atāka* is quite clear.

INSCRIPTION ON THE HARAPPAN SPEARHEAD

Ramesh Jain

The mass of the Harappan inscriptions are found engraved on the steatite seals and their sealings. In addition to this category of the Harappan inscriptions, there are examples of Harappan inscriptions, engraved on all kinds of objects *i.e.* architectural components and various other implements. Two such objects with the Harappan inscriptions happen to be the metal spear-heads. These inscriptions have been given nos. 4901-60001, 4902-60001 in Mahadevan's Concordance 'The Indus Script'. On both of these spearheads, the inscriptions are made up of three similar looking Harappan signs. Recording the slight variation in the formation of the 1st sign, from left, Mahadevan has numbered them as :-



These three Harappan signs are parts of the Mahadevan's list of the Harappan signs. He has tried to recognise each variation among the Harappan signs and allotted it a separate number. As per the first addition of the said concordance there are in total 419 Harappan signs. Though Mahadevan has also provided a separate list of the variations of some individual Harappan signs, as recorded by Mahadevan are compound signs, made up of other smaller and simpler Harappan signs. There are many other Harappan signs which are allotted distinct numbers due to the addition of some linear strokes, added to them. Though, most of the times, such strokes have standard shapes and their positioning also follows a definite pattern. If such variations are dealt separately and new numbers are not assigned to them, it will bring down the number of the Harappan signs drastically.

The first two of the present Harappan signs form examples of such compound signs. If phonetic values are also added to these renderings, their presentation can be:

a) Joining of the smaller and simpler Harappan signs-

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{[Triangle with circle]} = \text{[Triangle with circle]} + \text{[Crescent]} + \text{[Circle]} \\ & = \text{Dva (Two) Vṛita (Circle) Ya Bharat} \\ & \text{Dva(two) sa/va Bṛi/Vṛi} \\ & = \text{Dvāra Vṛitya (Belonging to door circle)} \\ & = \text{Dvāra Bhṛitya (Door keeper)} \end{aligned}$$

b) Addition of the standard stokes, in an organised pattern, to the Harappan signs- .

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \begin{array}{c} \text{|||} \\ \text{|||} \\ \text{|||} \end{array} = \begin{array}{c} \square \\ \text{|||} \\ \text{|||} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} \text{|||} \\ \text{|||} \end{array} \\
 = \begin{array}{c} \square \\ \text{BA / VA} \\ \text{BR: / VR:} \end{array} + \text{DVA (TWO) H} \\
 = \begin{array}{cccccc}
 \text{Vadha} & \text{Baddha} & \text{Vṛiddhi} & \text{Bṛih} & \text{Brah(m)} & \text{Bran} \\
 \text{(To kill)} & \text{(To bound)} & \text{(To expansion)} & \text{(To tear / to expand)} & \text{(To Move)} & \text{(To wound)}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

The third sign ' ' very closely resembles the second letter of the Phoenician alphabets ' ' which in turn also bears the numeral value 'two'. It is worth mentioning here that the present sign is similar to the shape of a human eye. An eye, as per Indian literary tradition is - a - An organ of perception (Indrī) b- Denoted with number 'two' c-It is a doorway (Dvāra) in the fort (the human body).

Dva	Dam	Dan(ś)
(two)	(to conquer/tooth)	to bite/to chine)

Hence, the present inscription can be phonetically analysed as :-

Dvāra Vṛitya	Vadha Dan(ta) or Vradhna
Dvāra Bhṛitya	Baddha Danta or Bradhna

If the reading is taken as Dvāra Bhṛitya Vadha/Baddha Danta, its meaning can be-The doorkeeper's killer spearhead.

OR

The spearhead assigned [to] door-keeper.

The third option, where the last two signs stand combined to give a single word Vradhna or Bradhna happened to be supported from the dictionary. Here it appears that the two words Bṛih and Dan(ta) stand united to form the third word - Bradna, meaning as noun (m)-the sun, the world of the sun, a horse or the point or some other part of an arrow (in Śata-bradhna, q.v.). Hence the final reading of the inscription could be taken as:- "Dvāra-Bhṛitya Bradhna" meaning -The spear head of the door keeper. However, as the title of the research paper goes, the phonetically appealing reading of the inscription appears to be- Dvāra Bhṛitya Vadha Dan(ta)- The doorkeeper's killer spearhead.

Note: All the word meanings are derived here from Sir M.Monier-William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Third reprint 1988, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi).

THE LAST VESTIGE OF THE IMPERIAL RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS

H.S. Thosar

Karka II was the last sovereign Rāshṭrakūṭa king. Chālukya Taila II defeated him in the battle and captured Mānyakhēṭa and proclaimed himself as the sovereign ruler of Raṭṭapāḍi. Some scholars even thought that in this revolution Karka II probably lost his life¹. But recently his inscriptions have been reported which testify to his survival right upto the last decade of the 10th century A.D. Karka probably escaped and took shelter in the Sorab taluka of the Shimoga district of Karnataka. In two inscriptions from this area of about 991 A.D., he is mentioned with all his regal titles like '*Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Pṛithvīvallabha Śrī Kakkaladēva*'². He was probably biding his adverse time and waiting for a suitable opportunity to regain the lost throne. An inscription belonging to the year 972 issued by Karka's predecessor Khoṭṭiga has also been reported from the same area of Sorab taluk (Harishi)³. It registers grants made with the permission of Khoṭṭiga's son Kṛishṇa IV who was probably governing the territory as a prince. It is not known whether Kṛishṇa IV was alive after the fall of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

At that time there was another Rāshṭrakūṭa scion aspiring for the lost power of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. His name was Indra IV, who was the grandson of Kṛishṇa III and the son of Jagattuṅga who probably died during the lifetime of his father. Indra IV was the nephew (sister's son) of Gaṅga king Mārasimha, who was trying hard to oust Tailapa II and place his own nephew on the royal throne at Mānyakhēṭa following the ouster of Karka II. When he felt this task impossible he ended his life by observing the *Sallēkhanā* rite in 975. Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra IV also followed his maternal uncle on 20th March 982 by the same way⁴.

Karka II still hoped to regain the power, and particularly after the death of Indra II he might have increased his efforts in that direction. However, after 991 A.D. nothing was heard about either Karka II or his descendents. But a copper-plate grant reported from Khakurdi in Malegaon taluk of Nasik district of Maharashtra has shed new light on the activities of Karka II and his descendents. This charter has been issued by Rāshṭrakūṭa king named Dantidurga from his capital Bhōjapura on the banks of Giriparṇā, i.e. Bhagurdi, on the southern bank of Girnā river in the Kalvan taluk of Nasik district. It is dated Śaka 978 or 1056 A.D. Dantidurga, the issuer of this grant describes himself as the son of Amōghavarsha and grandson of Karkarāja, who is obviously Rāshṭrakūṭa Karka II, during whose reign the Rāshṭrakūṭas lost power to Chālukya Tailapa II⁵. We have already seen that Karka was biding his time in the Shimoga area of Karnataka till the last decade of the 10th century A.D. When Karka or his son Amōghavarsha probably could not get any help from any ruler from that area, they seemed to have migrated to Mahārāshṭra and settled down in the Nasik district.

It is also possible that after the loss of power Karka II was compelled to change his attitude towards Taila II and under the force of circumstances extended his support to the latter in strengthening the newly formed Chālukya kingdom. Taila II also seems to have accepted Karka's hand of friendship and co-operation so that he could concentrate his attention on the activities of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra IV who had proclaimed himself as the successor of Karka II and was staying at Bankapur under the protection of the Gaṅgas. It is probably as a reward for his changed attitude that Karka II was assigned some territory by Taila II in the Sorab taluk of Shimoga district as known from the two inscriptions of Karka II referred to above. Otherwise the existence of Karka upto 991 A.D. and that too in the heart of the Chālukya kingdom cannot be explained. Karka II probably participated in the wars of Taila with his enemies and obtained the epithet *Samarai kamalla* from him. This epithet of Karka II is mentioned along with his name in the Khakurdi plates of his grandson Dantidurga under study. According to an inscription from Kilārati dated 1048 A.D. from Karnāṭaka this was an epithet of Chālukya Jayasīma III, the brother of Sōmēśvara I⁶. Since it was an epithet of the Chālukyas, it must have been conferred on Karka II by Taila II. However, for reasons unknown to us it seems that either Karka II or his son Amōghavarsha migrated to the Nasik region probably after the death of Taila II.

The political situation during the first quarter of the 11th century probably forced Karka II or his descendents to take this step. There is also some significance in the migration of the Rāshtrakūṭa family to the Nasik region. This territory was governed by the early Yādavas of Sēūnadēśa. Yādava king Vaḍḍiga, who was the feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, (939 to 968 A.D.) had married Voḍḍiyavvā, the daughter of Kṛishṇa's brother Dhruva Nirupama. It means Voḍḍiyavvā was the sister of Karka II, the last Rāshtrakūṭa king was the son of the same Dhruva Nirupama. It means Voḍḍiyavvā was the sister of Karka II and Yādava Vaḍḍiga his brother-in-law. It is, therefore, quite likely that at about 995 Karka II or his son Amōghavarsha migrated to the Nasik region where Yādava king Bhillama II (the son of Vaḍḍiga and Voḍḍiyavvā) probably assigned the territories of Bhōjapura or Bhagurdi in Kalvan taluk and Khoggavāṭaka i.e. Khakurdi in the Malegaon taluk of Nasik district to him which is also the findspot of the copper-plate of Dantidurga referred to above⁷

Taila II had toppled the Rāshtrakūṭas in 773, but some of the feudatories of the latter, particularly those from Maharashtra did not accept the overlordship of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Some of them even snatched their territories. For example, Aparājita, the Śīlāhāra king of North Koṅkaṇ not only refused to accept the suzerainty of Taila II or his son and successor Satyāśraya Irīvabeḍaṅga, but captured Sañjan, South Koṅkaṇ, Goa and even the Pune district from the Chālukyas or their feudatories and annexed them to his own kingdom. In his Murud Janijira plates which were issued in 993 A.D., (twenty years after the fall of the Rāshtrakūṭas) Aparājita has given the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas and described Karka II as his overlord and ignored Chālukya

Taila II. Even when specifying the borders of his kingdom he mentions 'Bhillamiya dēśa (the territory of Yādava Bhillama II) as its eastern border and thus expresses his total disregard towards the Chālukyas by non-mention of their name⁸.

Silāhāra Aparājita was the contemporary of Yādava Bhillama II, who in turn was the nephew (sister's son) of Rāshtrakūṭa Karka II. Bhillama's queen *alias* Lachhiyavvā was the daughter of Jhanjarāja whose identity is under dispute. Bhandarkar suggested his identification with Jhanja who was the grand uncle of Śilāhāra Aparājita and son of Vappuvanna. This identification was challenged because of chronological difficulty⁹. But in the Thāna plates of Arikēsari, Jhanja has been described as the brother of Vajjada and uncle of Aparājita¹⁰. Śilāhāra Chhadvaidēva was the brother of Vajjada¹¹, and the uncle of Aparājita may have Jhanja as his second name. So Chhadvaidēva can be treated as the father-in-law of Bhillama II, who was the contemporary of Aparājita. In ancient India names of ancestors were repeated after every generation or two. So this Jhanja can be treated as the homonymous nephew of Jhanja who was the son of Vappuvanna. This identification was challenged because of chronological difficulty¹¹. But in the Thana plates of Arikēsari, Jhanja has been described as the brother of Vajjada and uncle of Aparājita may be Jhanja his second name. This Jhanja who was the father in law of Bhillama II was the son-in-law of a Rāshtrakūṭa chief whose identity also is still undecided. But since Bhillama's mother Voḍḍiyavvā was the sister of Rāshtrakūṭa king or his son Amōghavarsha, the father of Dantidurga of the Khakurdi plates under study. Bhillama's queen Lakshmī is said to have glorified three families¹². The first was of course the Yādava family to which she was married, the second was the Śilāhāra family in which she was born and the third the Rāshtrakūṭa family in which her mother was probably born.

Bhillama II had accepted the overlordship of Chālukya Taila II and played a major role in his campaigns against the Paramāra king Muñja. But this was during the later part of his reign. Initially Bhillama seems to have opposed Taila like Śilāhāra Aparājita. This is indicated by the statement in the Kharēpaṭan plates of Anantadēva that Aparājita had given protection to Bhillama against an enemy¹³. This enemy may have been Taila II, because Bhillama II had given shelter to the descendents of Rāshtrakūṭa Karka II, whom the former had dethroned. However, later on Bhillama II seems to have accepted the overlordship of the Chālukyas, because his ally Śilāhāra Aparājita was defeated by Taila's son Satyāśraya Irīvabeḍaṅga.

But even after this incident the Śilāhāras continued their reluctance to accept the suzerainty of the Chālukyas and hence the conflict between the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Śilāhāras continued right upto the reign of Sōmēśvara I which period synchronises with the date of the Khakurdi plates of Dantidurga, under study.

A minute study of the contemporary records of the Śilāhāras of both the branches hints their recalcitrant attitude towards the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa even after the defeat of Aparājita at

the hands of Chālukya Satyāśraya Iṅivabeḍanāṅga. For example, in the Kharēpaṭan plates of Raṭṭarāja dated 1008 A.D. he gives the complete genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, but describes Chālukya Satyāśraya as his overlord¹⁴. But in his Balipaṭṭaṇa plates issued just two years after he has been ignored by both these dynasties and his status has been enhanced from *Māṇḍalika* to *Mahāmāṇḍalika*¹⁵. It shows that he had defied the Chālukya suzerainty and that was most probably under the instigation from Aparājita.

In most of the records of the successors of Aparājita, he has been credited with offering protection to a number of kings who had sought his help. Among such chiefs the names of Ammana and Aiyapa are significant, both of which are unidentified¹⁶. The present writer feels that these were the successors of Raṭṭarāja of South Koṅkaṇ because Ammana and Aiyapa occur in the genealogy of this dynasty following Avasara I¹⁷. It is, therefore, quite possible that after the death of Raṭṭarāja, the Chālukyas again invaded South Koṅkaṇ. At this time Jayasīma II was the conqueror, who as known from his Mīraj plates dated 1024 A.D. re-conquered South Koṅkaṇ and assigned the same to the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpūr. This copper-plate was issued by Jayasīma from his *Vijayaskandhāvāra* at Kolhāpūr¹⁸.

The relations between the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Yādavas were always fluctuating on the basis of changing political compulsions. At least at the middle of the 11th century A.D. the relations seem to have been strained. This is revealed by the epithets *Sēūṇadhvaṃsaka* and *Sēūṇadiśāpaṭṭa* conferred by Sōmēsvara I on his general Nāgavarmā¹⁹. At this time Bhillama III was the Yādava ruler whose reigning period was 1010 to 1055 A.D. Another general of the Chālukyas named Bijjarasa had the title '*Bhillamadiśāpaṭṭa*' i.e. the vanquisher of Bhillama who was obviously Bhillama III, because the date of the inscription mentioning this title was 1072²⁰. It clearly hints that during the 5th and 6th decades of the 11th century the Yādavas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa were at loggerheads with each other and this is the date of the Khakurdi plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga under study. From this background it appears that Dantidurga had not given up the hope of getting back the kingdom of Mānyakhēṭa, which his grandfather Karka II had lost in 773.

Besides their family relations with the Yādavas, as discussed above, the descendents of Rāshṭrakūṭa Karka II probably exploited the rivalry between the Paramāras and Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa also. Bhōja Paramāra is said to have retaliated the killing of Muṅja by Taila II. According to the Kalvan copper-plates from Nasik district, Bhōja had captured Dhule and the northern part of Nasik district from the Chālukyas and assigned the same area to his new feudatory named Yaśōvarman²¹. Significantly the territory under the jurisdiction of this Yaśōvarman, was situated just to the north of the territory occupied by Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. It is, therefore, quite possible that Dantidurga could hold that territory till 1054 because of the protection by Yaśōvarman, the feudatory of the Paramāras.

The identity of this Yaśōvarman is also not known so far. In the Kalvān plates under study,

his queen Chhachhāi is described as a Chālukya princess, probably related to the Chālukyas of Gujarat. But at the same time it is also certain that he was an antagonist of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa because in the Kalvān plates under study he mentions the name of Bhōja king Paramāra as his overlord and totally ignores the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, who were the sovereign rulers of the Deccan during the first half of the 11th century A.D., which is also the probable date of this inscription. (There is no mention of any date in the Kalvān plates).

It seems that Yaśōvaman of the Kalvān plates and Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga of the Khakurdi plates were the contemporaries and friends of each other. This is indicated by the probable dates of these two grants as well as the contiguity of geographical names mentioned in these two charters. Dantidurga has not mentioned the name of either the Chālukyas or any other ruling dynasty as his overlords. In the Kalvān plates of Yaśōvarman there is a reference to the grants made to the Kālakālēśvara temple at Kalvān in Nasik district by earlier kings. Among such kings the name of king Kakkapai is significant. It reminds us of the name of Karka II, the grandfather of Dantidurga of the Khakurdi plates and the last Rāshtrakūṭa king dethroned by Taila II. Another earlier grantor mentioned in the Kalvān plates was Gaṅga king Amma. We have already seen that Gaṅga Mārasimha had crowned Rāshtrakūṭa Indra IV and tried to revive the Rāshtrakūṭa regime even after 973. Considering this fact it seems that Gaṅga Amma was related to Mārasimha and had joined hands with Karka II or his son Amōghavarsha and sought the protection of the Paramāras. In this context the verse no.6 of the Pattanakuḍi charter of Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja of South Koṅkaṇ dated 1010 A.D. is significant. It runs as follows²² :-

“When the lofty sprout of the wish fulfilling tree in the form of the illustrious Rāshtrakūṭa family, Baḍḍigadēva by name, could not grow under the heavy load of a huge mountain in the form of the illustrious Tailapa”.

Generally most of the records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and their contemporary ruling dynasties describe the victory of Tailapa over Karka II in connection with the downfall of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But in the verse quoted above the Rāshtrakūṭa king defeated by Tailapa has been named as Baḍḍigadēva. Who this prince was? We know from the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas that Baḍḍiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III was the successor of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV and the father and predecessor of Kṛishṇa III. He flourished in the fourth decade of the 10th century and therefore cannot be treated as the contemporary of Tailapa.

Baḍḍigadēva of the verse quoted above therefore will have to be identified with Amōghavarsha who is mentioned in the Khakurdi plates under study as the son of Karka II and the father of Dantidurga. This conjecture is based on the common practice prevalent in those days according to which many Rāshtrakūṭa princes adopted the names as well as epithets of their homonymous ancestors. It follows that sometime after 991 A.D. Amōghavarsha of the Khakurdi plates who also had the other name Baṭṭiga defied the authority of Tailapa with the backing of the Śilāhāras, Yādavas and Paramāras. When this attempt failed he was forced to leave Karnāṭaka and migrate

to the Nasik region of Mahārāshṭra. Yaśōvarman of the Kalvān plates under study might have been the descendent of Gaṅga Amma and the ally of Amōghavarsha and Dantidurga of the Khakurdi plates. In any case there is no doubt that this Dantidurga of the Khakurdi plates under study is the last vestige of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas.

M.G. Dikshit who has edited the Khakurdi plates has done a great injustice to the three Rāshṭrakūṭa kings mentioned in this record (Karka II, Amōghavarsha and Dantidurga) by questioning the authenticity of this charter and the historicity of these three kings. By doing so he has undermined the importance of this document, which sheds a new light on the descendents of Karka II, about whom we had no knowledge so far.

Dikshit has raised the following objections on the basis of which he has challenged the genuineness of the record and deemed Dantidurga as a fake person or a pretender²³:-

1. The beginning of this charter has not been done with the famous *Ślōka* starting from 'Sa Vovyadvēdhasā' as found in most of the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters.
2. The genealogy mentioned in this grant does not tally with the genealogy of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas.
3. The epithet *Samaraikamalla'* attached to the name of Karka of this grant is not mentioned with the name of Karka II in any other Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription.
4. The date mentioned in the said charter *i.e.* Śaka 978 does not tally with the *tithi*, month, name of the Saṁvatsara and the solar-eclipse.
5. The script of this charter belongs to the 12th century A.D., which was later than the end of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the rise of Taila II.

Now let us examine these arguments one by one. As far as the first argument is concerned, it is true that the first *Ślōka* does not occur in it. But this cannot be treated as an excuse to challenge the genuineness of the record, because it has the seal with the Garuḍa figure, which confirms its genuineness. As a matter of fact there is no mention of the family name 'Rāshṭrakūṭa' in the whole text or this grant, and still Dikshit has described Dantidurga as a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince. If he was really against the genuineness of this record, he should have mentioned this as point No.1.

The absence of the first *Ślōka* generally found in the charters of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, can be understood by the fact that this grant was issued by the third descendent of Karka II who had lost the power nearly 80 years before, and as his descendents were in exile they did not issue royal charters regularly.

The third argument of Dr. Dikshit about the genealogy of Karka is also not correct because the Khakurdi plates was the only charter issued by Karka II during his reign²⁴. In this charter also his name appears at the fag end of the genealogy. Immediately after this the Rāshtrakūṭas lost the power and hence no inscriptions are known to have been issued by Karka II as a sovereign king. So how can Dr. Dikshit say that the genealogy of this grant does not tally with other Rāshtrakūṭa grants? On the other hand it does tally. Karka's name occurs as the first person in the Khakurdi plates under study because as recorded in the same inscription he was said to be the only member of this family who had actually ruled from Mānyakhēṭa. (*Yō Mānyakhēṭapura-bhūshaṇa rājya bhōga samlabdha tripatir-atulo bhuvi Karkarājah*). After Karka the names of his son Amōghavarsha and grandson Dantidurga are recorded. On the basis of the common practice of naming descendents after the names of their ancestors, both these persons will have to be treated as Rāshtrakūṭa princes.

The next point raised by Dikshit is about the epithet *Samaraikamalla* borne by Karka. This point has already been explained above. In the same way the objection of Dikshit about the lack of tally of the date of the record doesn't carry any weight. If this criterion is applied strictly most of the dated published inscriptions deemed as genuine will have to be regarded as forged ones.

The last point raised by Dikshit is self-contradictory, because at the beginning he has stated that "the letters tally with the date mentioned in the record". So Dantidurga of the Khakurdi plates and his father Amōghavarsha will have to be accepted as the descendents of Karka II, who unsuccessfully tried to regain power with the help of their relatives as well as the adversaries of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. That is why the third descendent of Karka II could hold some territory and issue charter even after 75 years after the loss of power. The founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was Dantidurga and the last prince of this dynasty also had the same name. It is rather an irony of fate.

Notes and References

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3. A.V. Narasimhamurthy and H.R. Raghunath Bhat, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. II, pp. 96-97
4. B.R. Gopal, *op.cit.*, pp.60-62

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THE ART OF COMPOSING CHRONOGRAMS

G.S. Khwaja

The art of composing chronograms practised only in Arabic and Persian languages, and also lately in Urdu language, attained such an important place, particularly in the medieval period of history that without touching it, history of literature of these languages cannot be called complete. Specially this art has gone a long way hand in hand with calligraphy to affect the science of Epigraphy to a great extent.

The art of composing chronograms was designed for the first time by Arabs and *Ḥisáb-al-Jamal* was the name given to this method in which every letter of alphabet was assigned with a numerical value with an arrangement in a particular sequence called '*Abjad System*'.

Primarily there were only 22 letters in this set of alphabet but Arab-nomades, to accomodate some of their own phonemes, added six more signs to make it 28. Interestingly all these signs represent only consonants. Arabs used to add orthographical marks to the consonants, as vowels, for specific pronunciation.

In Arabic there existed no system to denote mathematical numbers or figure work in the form of cardinals. The idea of cardinals was borrowed by Arabs from India in 8th century A.D. Before that they were using Arabic letters for this purpose, the use of letters as numerals was limited to the following fields:

- i) Astrolabes
- ii) Chronograms in epigraphs and poetry
- iii) Devinatory proceedings and talismans
- iv) Pagination of prefaces and table of contents in books.

Arabs had given each letter a numerical value according to its position, in the serial order they had adopted them from Greek. These 28 letters were thus divided into three successive series of nine each *i.e.* Units (1-9) Tens (10-90) Hundreds (100-900) and only one letter, the twentyeighth one, was given the value of 1000.

In this way the table of alphabet with the numerical value of each letter is as follows:

THE TABLE OF ALPHABET ARRANGED AS PER ABJAD SYSTEM

S.No.	Name of letter	Form	Phonetic Value	Numerical value	Remark
1	Allf	ا	a, ā	1	
2	Bā (Pā)	ب (پ)	b (p)	2 (2)	Persian letter
3	Jīm (che)	ج (چ)	j (ch)	3 (3)	Persian letter
4	Dāl	د	d	4	
5	Hā	ه	h	5	
6	Wāw	و	w, v	6	
7	Zā (zha)	ز (ژ)	z (zh)	7 (7)	Persian letter
8	Hā	ح	h	8	
9	Tā	ط	t	9	
10	Yā	ی	y, ī	10	
11	Kāf (Gāf)	ک (گ)	k (g)	20 (20)	Persian letter
12	Lām	ل	l	30	
13	Mīm	م	m	40	
14	Nūn	ن	n	50	
15	Sīn	س	s	60	
16	Āin	ع	ā	70	
17	Fā	ف	f	80	
18	Ṣād	ص	ṣ	90	
19	Qāf	ق	q	100	
20	Rā	ر	r	200	
21	Shīn	ش	sh	300	
22	Tā	ت	t	400	
23	Thā	ث	th	500	
24	Khā	خ	kh	600	
25	Dhāl	ذ	dh	700	
26	Ḍād	Ḍ	ḍ	800	
27	Zā	ز	z	900	
28	Ghain	غ	gh	1000	

(KHWAJA '99)

Note : After the advent of Islam in Iran, Persian language which was being written in Pahlawī characters adopted Arabic alphabet with addition of a few signs, to accommodate Persian consonants e.g. Pe, Che, Zhe, and Qāf.

Definition of Chronogram

Chronogram, in its literary meaning, is a set of letters, a meaningful word, a phrase of a hemistich which yields a particular number if the numerical value assigned to each letter, used in it, added together. This number denotes the year of the event otherwise mentioned in the chronogrammatic phrase. The date is generally of the Islamic calendar which is also called Hijri Era (*i.e.* A.H).

Chronograms are generally composed to commemorate the birth or death of a person, accession or deposition of a ruler, victory or defeat in a battle, construction of religious and secular buildings, completion of a book, etc. The practice of giving child a chronogrammatic name is also found in medieval days. In some cases the titles of the kings or nobles were also framed in such a way that they yielded the date of the coronation or that of the appointment in the career. Sometimes the title of a book or poetic collection was so composed that it yielded the year of completion of the work.

The most remarkable factor involved in composing a chronogram is the selection of appropriate words containing only such letters which should refer in its superficial meaning, not only to the event which is being recorded but also yield a specific number to corroborate the date (year) of the event. Besides prose when any chronogram is composed in poetry it becomes still more difficult to be handled as in such a case the metre of the verse too remains an important condition to be fulfilled.

In the literary works we get examples of chronograms composed with the help of Abjad system, by the poets of 12th century A.D. onwards.

The earliest chronogram so far recorded in the history of Persian literature is composed by a Persian poet *Álī Khaqānī* (d. 1198 A.D.).

In Indian sub-continent when Muslim rule was established *i.e.* in 13th century the art of composing chronograms got an unprecedented attention and thus reached new heights with several experiments and innovations. The court poets and free lance composers were to compose a chronogram to record every significant occasion or event of the life. In this way the literature of that period got enriched with valuable treasure of chronograms. Some of them are being highlighted here as a cross-section.

Sher Shāh Sūrī, the wilful Paṭhān king, who forced Mughal Emperor Humāyūn to leave India vacating the throne for him, died while conquering Kālīñjar fort succumbing to the burn injuries after a fire broke in his ammunition depot. Some poet composed the verses of obituary notice as follows:

شیر و بز آب را بهم میخورد
 یافت تازیخ او ز آتش مرد

شیر شاه آنکه از صلابت او
 پز که زنت از جہاں بدار بقا

The beauty of this chronogrammatic phrase '*za ātish murd*' (i.e. died of fire) is that it speaks of the cause of death besides skilfully recording the date (A.H.) 952 (1545 A.D.).

Emperor Humāyūn died after falling from the gallery of Sher Mandal being his study in Purānā Qilā. A poet has composed the picturesque chronogram in a hemistich, saying : .

ہمایوں بادشاہ از بام افتاد

'*Humāyūn Bādshāh az bām uftād*' (i.e. King Humāyūn fell-down from the terrace). This beautifully composed chronogram yields (A.H.) 963 (1556 A.D.) the date of Humāyūn's demise and also tells the way his death took place.

When Tīpū Sultān of Mysore, famous for his sword fell down at the hands of British force somebody composed it.

گمشد شمشیر

'*shamshīr gum shud*' (i.e. The sword lost) as the chronogram which gives (A.H.) 1214 (1799 A.D.) as the date of martyrdom of Tīpū Sultān.

When Emperor Akbar conquered the fort of Asir from Fārūqī King of Burhanpur, his court poet, calligrapher and historian Māsūm Nāmī Bhakkārī, who witnessed the event, instantly recorded the victory in an epigraph on the wall of the great mosque in the hill-fort forming this chronogram: .

چونامی طلب کرد تاریخ فتح
خردگفت بگرفته کوه اسیر

'*bi-grifta Kūh-i-Asīr*' (i.e. He (Akbar) captured the hill of Asīr). This self explanatory phrase yields (A.H.) 1009 (1601 A.D.) the date of fall of Asīr Fort. Another phrase from an inscription on a rock at the same place reads: *الهدیه* *dād-i-ilāh*' (i.e. gift of God) yielding 46 the Ilāhi year corresponding to the earlier date. Here the exploitation of the word '*ilāh*' for the Ilāhi era is worth appreciating. Emperor Akbar had to immediately leave for Lahore after the victory of Asīr fort. Nāmī recorded it too saying:

فتح داندیس و دکن چون کرد شاه
یکصد نامی نبرد آن گاه گشت
عازم هندوستان می نمود شد
شاه والا عازم لاہور شد

The entire last hemistich *Shāh-i-wālā āzim-i-Lāhore shud*' speaks that the great king started for Lahore, yielding (A.H.) 1009 i.e. the date of that event.

Other Systems

Apart from the Abjad System there are three more systems prevalent in the *ḥisāb-ál-Jamal*. For two of them the arrangement of the alphabet is the same as that of Abjad System, but the numerical value given to each letter is different.

1. *Jamal-i-Akbar* : In this system the full name of each character is written and then each letter within that name is counted as per its value in Abjad system and they are added up. e.g. The first character, ج is written as جَالِب and in it *alif*, *lām* and *fā* are counted to the total of 111.
2. *Bayyaināt* : In this system for ج only *lām* and *fā* are counted leaving first letter *alif* apart to make it 110.

Malik-ush-Shura Faiḍī, the court poet, of Emperor Akbar has very skilfully compared 'Akbar' to 'Sun'. He says: .

(The light which comes from the world-adorning Sun also emerging out from the forehead of the exalted emperor; the point that 'Akbar' may be compared to the 'Sun' is corroborated by the Bayyaināt systems.) Here the interesting point is that the value of the word 'Akbar' in terms of Abjad system is 223, and that of 'āftāb' is also 223 as per *Bayyaināt* system.

3. *Zar* : When other systems of composing chronograms are being discussed here it would not be out of context to mention an entirely new system invented by Tīpū Sultān nearly two centuries ago. In this system which is called 'zar' as well as 'Abtath', the alphabet are in the sequence which is prevalent in the modern Arabic, Persian and Urdu. .

They are given numerical values from 1-1000 in the order of their sequence. The use of this

system was limited only to the literature and epigraphs of erstwhile, Mysore State of Tipu Sulṭān. The example of this system can be seen in the epigraph of Sulṭān Mahal at Bangalore which says : .

جسم از خضر عقل تاریخش
گفت لاریب رشکِ جنت شد

(The wisdom asked the date from *Khidr* (the guiding soul),

He told 'Envy of paradise' undoubtedly. '*rashk-i-jannat shud*' yields (A.H.) 1206 (1791-92 A.D.) if worked out according to the *Zar* system.

Notes and References

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4. Sharif Aḥmad Naushāhī - *Ijāz-ut-Tawārīkh* (Urdū) (Phalia, Pakistan, 1976), pp.16-19.
5. Ghulām Ḥusain - *Sivarul-Mutākhkhirīn* (Persian) Vol. I (Lucknow, 1897), pp. 160-61.
6. M.Hamid Kuraishī - *Inscriptions from Asīrgarh, Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)* - 1925-26, pp.4-6. Here in the third epigraph 'one' is to be added, as suggested, to make it A.H. 1009.
7. Qeyāmud-Dīn Aḥmad - *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XLVI, Qrtly. (Hyderabad, 1972), p.165.
8. Maḥmūd Bangalori- *Tārīkh-i-Salṭanat-i-Khudā- dād* (Urdū) (Bangalore 1939), p.481.

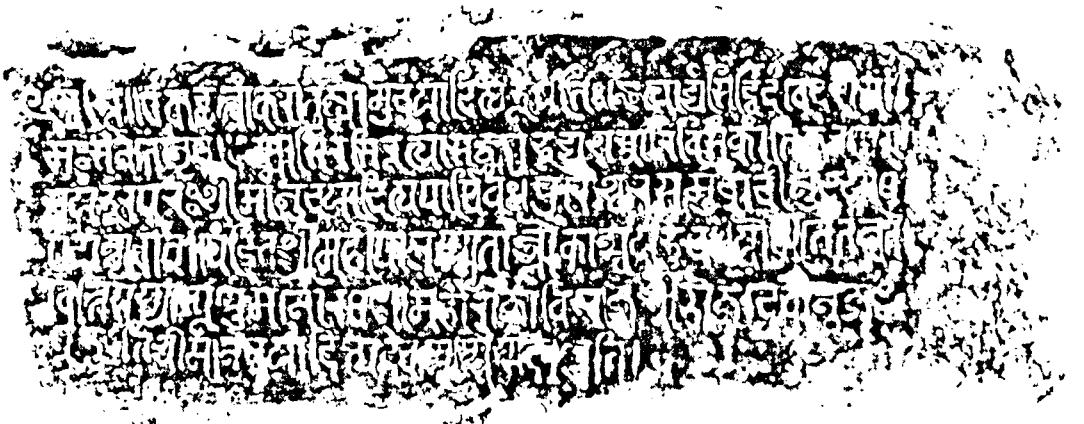
KṚSHṆAVILĀSA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀDITYA

Jai Prakash

The inscription edited below for the first time with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore was copied by me in May, 2000. It is engraved on the left wall (inside) of a dilapidated Śiva temple in a place locally known as *Khāī Kā dhēra* at Kṛshṇavilāsa¹, in Kishanganj Tahsil, Baran District, Rajasthan.

The writing which is fairly well preserved covers a space 46 cms in length by 17cms in breadth. It consists of six lines. Individual *aksharas* are about 2.5 cm in height. The characters are Nāgarī and closely resemble those employed in the Udaipur (Vidisha District, M.P.) stone inscription² of the time of Udayāditya dated [Vikrama] 1137 (A.D. 1080) and another Udaipur stone inscription³ of the time of same king (undated). They are well formed and carefully cut. The *prishṭha-mātras* are generally used to denote the medial diphthongs. As regards individual *aksharas*, the vowel *i* in *iti* -, 1.1, is indicated by two loops placed horizontally, the first of which has a tail below and the second a hook above, and the initial *ē* in *ēka*-, 1.1, is carved as the consonant *pā* without the vertical fully drawn. On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be assigned to the last quarter of 11th century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in verse. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the occasional use of the dental sibilant for the palatal as in *sirasi*, 1.2, the doubling of a consonant after *r*, as in *pūrṇṇa* - 1.5 ; this doubling is also found in a solitary instance in *chchhattra* - 1.1.



Kṛshṇavilāsa Stone Inscription of the time of Udayāditya

The inscription refers to the reign of king Udayāditya. We do not find in it the name of the family to which the king belonged. But from the expression '*Mahārājādhirāja - śrī Bhōjadēvānujaḥ*' and from the provenance of the inscription he is undoubtedly no other than the homonymous Paramāra prince.

The inscription begins with a symbol standing for the auspicious word *Ōm* followed by another auspicious word *svastī* followed by two strokes. The inscription is composed mostly metrically. The benedictory verse is in praise of king Udayāditya. The second verse is defective. It appears to eulogise the king whose fame is compared to the rays of the Sun. The third verse describes Udayāditya as another Śiva (*Svayāmbhūḥ*) and also states that several tanks etc. were named after him.

The fourth verse states that *parṇḍita* Mahīpāla composed some verses in praise of *Svayāmbhūḥ*. It is not clear whether the *Svayāmbhūḥ* in whose praise Mahīpāla composed verses is Śiva or the king. However, in the inscription there is no eulogy of Śiva. In all probability *Svayāmbhūḥ* mentioned above is undoubtedly the king himself. The last verse states that Udayāditya was the younger brother of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhōja and it is in praise for the well being of the king.

The inscription is enigmatic in nature. The object of the inscription is not stated. It simply eulogises Udayāditya.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it discloses for the first time in clear and unambiguous terms that Udayāditya was the younger brother of king Bhōjadēva. There has been controversy among scholars regarding the relationship between Bhōja and his successor Udayāditya. The present inscription sets at rest all speculations regarding this issue.

For Udayāditya we have six inscriptions. Four inscriptions are from Madhya Pradesh; two are found at Udaipur in the Vidisha District (one dated Vikrama 1137, another undated), one each at Dhār⁴ and Kamēd⁵ in the Ujjain District dated Vikrama 1138 and 1140 respectively; while the two inscriptions are from Rajasthan, discovered at Jhālrapātan⁶ and Shērgaḍh⁷, they are respectively, dated Vikrama 1143 and 1150. With the discovery of the present inscription one more inscription is added to the list of inscriptions of Udayāditya and this shows that the Paramāra empire included sizeable parts of Rajasthan too during the time of Udayāditya.

The composer Mahīpāla is already known from the two stone inscriptions mentioned above.

Verse one and part of verse two is found in the Udaipur (Vidisha District, Madhya Pradesh) Stone inscription of the time of Udayāditya dated [Vikrama] 1137 (A.D. 1080) and verse three is found in another Udaipur stone inscription (undated) of the time of same king.

TEXT⁸[Metre : Verses 1-5 *Anushtubh*]

1. Ōm svasti || ēkachchattrām karōtu kshmām= Udayādityabhūpatiḥ | ity=ādyam
siddhidam Vēdam śamsā -
2. maḥ sarvatō nṛipa || [1] kshamā - si (śi) rasi bhūtyā sa kshamā - bhūdyā-śastu || Ravi -
samkrānti - karaṇam [2*]
3. svayam-bhūr=aparaḥ śrīmān-Udayāditya-pārthivaḥ | purēśvara samudr=ādīn -
Udayōpa-
4. pad-ānvyadhāt || [3*] paṇḍita-śrī-Mahipāla svamṛi (kṛi)tān ślōkān-svayam-bhuvah | yō
dhītē tattvatō
5. vētti sadyāt-pūrṇamanōrathah || [4*] Mahō(hā)rājādhirāja-śrī-Bhōjadēv=ō(ā)nujah
6. prabhuḥ | tam śrīmān-Udayādityadēvam - svāstyais (svāstyai) sadā śruti. [1 5*].

Notes and References

1. For the history of Kṛishṇavilāsa and the archaeological remains found at the place, see *Ancient Cities and Town of Rajasthan* by Kailash Chand Jain, pp. 441 ff.
2. *C.I.I.*, Vol, VII pt. II, pp. 65 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, pt. III pp. 611 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, pt. II pp. 66 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 67 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 69 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 72 ff.
8. From the original estampages.
9. Expressed by a symbol.

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE THANJAVUR DELTA

Pulavar S. Raju

Some copper-plate records of the 16th-18th centuries collected by the Department of Epigraphy of the Tamil University supply a fund of information on some aspects of the trade and commerce in Tamil Nadu, particularly in the Thaṅjāvūr delta, during the early modern period. This evidence has not been tapped so far for writing the modern socio-economic history. This paper attempts to highlight the nature of the available evidence.

Markets : The term *pēṭṭai* denoting a market-place is known since the Chōḷa times. But it is certain that place-names with the *pēṭṭai* suffix increased during and after the Vijayanagara period. The copper-plates under study refer to a number of *pēṭṭais* in the Thanjavur District. Some towns like Thaṅjāvūr had local *pēṭṭais*, each specializing in a single commodity, e.g., *nellup-pēṭṭai*, *āṭṭup-pēṭṭai*. Some *pēṭṭais* were named after the particular community of traders living and transacting in them. Some of the *pēṭṭais* were periodical markets (*sandaṭi*), like weekly markets.

Closely related to the *pēṭṭai* were the *paṭṭadai*. All non-agricultural craftsmen and artisans and also traders were known by this general term. This term also denoted the shops and workshops of the traders and craftsmen. The 18 *paṭṭadai* was a conventional term to denote groups of varied craftsmen and traders. Many of the *pēṭṭai* and *paṭṭadai* that existed in the Thaṅjāvūr town during the 18th century can still be recognized with slightly altered names. Some factories (mentioned as *pettiri-viḍu* in Tamil) are referred to in coastal areas.

Merchandise : Among the merchandise are mentioned articles made of iron, copper and zinc, cloth, cotton and silk threads of different colours, dyes, sandalwood, ivory, chemicals, etc. Opium was freely sold in shops. Grocery (*palasarakku*) shops were there in good numbers.

The merchandise were sold from permanent shops (*kaḍai*) or by street hawkers. Pack animals were used to carry articles to distant places. There were many godowns called *kiḍaṅgu*, *kittāṅgi* or *kottiyam*. Brokers played a role in the trade. Different measures were in use for different articles. Grain measures (quantity) were known as *podī*, *chumai*, *kaṇḍi*, *kariṣu*, *mūṭṭai*, *bāram*, etc.; and liquid measures were called *āḍam*, *kāṇam*, etc. Cloth bundles were called *kaṭṭu* or *chippam*.

Tolls (*suṅgam*) were levied on merchandise imported into or exported from local places and also on merchandise transacted in port-towns. The merchants either voluntarily or at the command of the rulers set apart a proportion of their wares or part of their sale proceeds as *magamai* (common-fund dues) for running some charity.

Maritime Trade :

There is some information regarding the sea trade also. Seagoing vessels were known by the terms *kappal*, *pāru*, *paḍagu*, *dōṇi* and *śurippu*. Tirumullaivāyal was an important port where from the paddy of the Thanjavur delta was exported to Jaffna in Śrī Laṅka. This trade with Śrī Laṅka was transacted on credit basis also.

Trading Communities :

Though there existed divergent trading communities, they joined together on many occasions for a common purpose. For instance a copper-plate of 1765 A.D. from Coimbatore refers to the decision to pay a *magamai* for a charity by eight different communities, viz., the five-hundred *kuḍip-pāṭṭam*, *Telugu Chettis* of the '24 Houses', the twelve *nagaram*, the *Rāvuttar* (Muslims) of *Vēḍasandūr*, the *Kōmuttis*, the merchants of Allitturai, the *Dēvāṅga-Chettis* and the Merchants of *Sangarāśu-pēṭṭai*. Even religions or sects were no hindrance to such unity. Muslims and Christians are found to donate liberally to Hindu temples. There is an interesting record from Tiruppanandāl which refers to the gifts of the merchants of the Dutch Company to undertake renovation work in the Chidambaram temple.

Source :

01. Darumāpuram	Copper	plate	of Kṛishṇadēvarāya A.D. 1513
02. Batavia	"	"	of Ekōji I A.D. 1676
03. Swāmimalai	"	"	of Ekōji II A.D. 1679
04. Ariyalūr	"	"	of Vijayaoppila
	"	"	Maḷavarāyar 1703 A.D.
05. Koṅganēśvara temple	"	"	of Ekōji II 1735 A.D.
06. Thiruppanandāl	"	"	of the Merchants of Paraṅgipēṭṭai 1747 A.D.
07. "	"	"	of the Dutch Company
08. Thaṅjāvūr	"	"	of Pratāpasingh 1758 A.D.
09. Koṅganēśvara temple	"	"	of Pratāpasingh 1758 A.D.
10. Thiruvāvāḍu turai (Coimbatore)	"	"	of Kṛishṇarāja Uḍaiyār 1756 A.D.
11. Darumāpuram	"	"	of Tulaja 1770 A.D.
12. Darumāpuram	"	"	of Veṅkaṭāchalam Reḍḍiyār 1795 A.D.

SIGNIFICANCE OF 'AJĀTI VĪRĀŚAIVA' OF TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS

C.T. M. Kotraiah

It is of special significance and importance that the term *ajāti-Vīrāśaiva* came to be recorded in Telugu inscriptions by the Vīrāśaivas to claim so and to identify themselves so. The terms emphatically, unequivocally and without any ambiguity heralds what Vīrāśaivism had denounced, i.e., the traditional caste order or the *varṇāśrama* system of the Vēdic/ *brahmanical* literature, prevalent in the Hindu society. And it connotes further that Vīrāśaiva community/ society was a casteless one irrespective of the varied professions pursued by its followers. This term is seen employed in the inscriptions of Telugu language while mentioning an epithet for a Vīrāśaiva preceptor/pontiff named Bhikshāvṛitti-ayya, a *mahantu*, (a revered religious head/*dharmādhikāri* of a temple or *maṭha*) and a devotee of god Mallikārjuna of Śrīśaila/Śrīparvata.

Before going into the details of those Telugu inscriptions, a brief discussion that religion, Vīrāśaivism (also known as *Śaktivīśiṣṭādvaita*) may not be out of place here. Though it has been vigorously contended to trace the antiquity of Śaivism / Vīrāśaivism to the days of the Harappa-Mohenjadāro civilization¹ its positive prevalence has been traced to the age of the Āgamas, specially to the Kāmikāgama, Chandrajñānāgama, Paramēśvarāgama, Vātulāgama, etc., as can be made out from the selected quotations given below:

*viraśaiva matasthaśya jñānayōgōhi
sādhanam,.....
(Paramēśvara-tantra., paṭala 4 (6-8)*

*binduś=śakti=śivōnādaḥ śivaliṅgantu kathyatē
vīrāśiva kramah prōktaḥ
(Kāmikāgama)²*

Even the ritualistic knowledge and modalities as observed by the present-day Vīrāśaivas such as receiving a personal *liṅga* (*iṣṭa-liṅga*) from a *guru* is known from the following quotations.

*guruṇā deha liṅgādvai nāsti liṅgam mahītalē.....
(Chandrajñānāgama, paṭala²)*

.....
*liṅgāṅga-sthala bhēdajñānā śaṭsthala jñāna
(Chandrajñānāgama,
tatparahā dīkshā-karmādi kuśalah.....
paṭala 1, śloka 51)³*

Of course, there might have been minor pragmatical changes, alterations, reforms, adoption of new ideas responding to the necessities and circumstances in course of time spread over several centuries, but all of them are consistent with the original fabric.

Followers of that Vīraśaivism, during the pre-Basava period, (pre-12th century A.D.) were mostly spread around that sacred Śaivite centre, Śrīśaīla in the present Andhra Pradesh and in the northern parts of the present Karnataka state. A host of mystical, spiritual seekers (*anubhāvigaḷu*) of Vīraśaivism of the above period were actively engaged in those regions in practising, preaching, and propogating their religion and also composing relevant religious literary works and *vachanas*, expounding their religion, philosophy, etc. As a cumulative effect of all those activities, during the Basava period and even subsequently, Vīraśaivism became one of the popular and active religions in the Telugu and Kannada regions. This is evident in a number of historical inscriptions, four of which are presently examined.

The first inscription was issued in the year 1453 A.D. and it records the gift of a village⁵ for maintaining a lamp (*dīpārāadhanaku*) in the temple of Vīrēśvara of Peddavallūru by some devotees called as *Vīramushṭis*. *Vīramushṭis* were Vīraśaivas doing particular kind of religious service during religious functions/processions⁶. At the same time it refers to the main liṅga (deity) of Śrīparvata/Śrīśaīla (in Āndhra), the monastery (*mahāmahantu*) attached to it and the head preceptor/pontiff of that *maṭha*, all of them with many epithets. The pontiff, named Siddha Bhikshāvṛitti- ayyavāru has been mentioned with that appellation, *ajāti-Vīraśiva* (to be read as '*ajāti-Vīraśaiva*', as can be seen in the other inscriptions referred below here it might be engraver's error). That epithet declares in clear and categorical terms, rather in a doctrinal way, that Vīraśaivism was a casteless or classless religion. In the present context, it is of particular interest to note that even now at Śrīśaīla, the main deity of Mallikārjuna (liṅga) is touched and ritualas performed personally, irrespective of the community or caste the devotee belongs. It may also be noted in this connection, that even now the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaīla is very much under the influence and care of those followers of Vīraśaivas. Śrīśaīla is the headquarters for the Vīraśaiva pontiff (*āchārya*), one of the five main centres (*pañcha-pīṭhas*) of the Vīraśaivas and it is still held quite sacred by the Vīraśaivas.

As it has been widely vindicated, that Vīraśaivism under the initiative and guidance of the learned and spiritual leaders like Basavēśvara of Kalyāṇa, other mystic seekers (*anubhāvigaḷu*) like Allama, Channabasavaṇṇa, Siddharāma, Akkanāgamma and a host of well known followers of Vīraśaivism met in the '*Anubhavamaṇṭapa*' (a religious congregation of thinkers and seekers) at Kalyāṇa to deliberate on all matters relating to their religion, its doctrines, philosophy, rituals and so on. All of them were historical persons and the congregation was an historical event. There, they strived and succeeded in formulating, evolving and finalising the much needed reforms, codifying the tenets and prescribing a code of conduct for all the followers of Vīraśaivism, to be observed in their religious as well as in civic life. It was at that congregation of learned, religious, and spiritual persons that caste system or *varṇāśrama-dharma* of the Vēdic literature, the traditional *ashṭādaśa-jāti*, was disapproved and casteless Vīraśaiva society was conceived, adopted, and enjoined. They declared outright that all those with the *ishṭa-liṅga* given by a *guru* and the absolute faith in it were Vīraśaivas, irrespective of the profession one had to choose which was considered only as a means for living. Hence, there happened to be Vīraśaiva

followers, professing all kinds of occupations which included, besides the familiar personalities, minister Baladēva, composer Iṅḍiya Śāntayya, musician Allayya, cowherd Gōraksha, merchant Ballēśa Mallayya, Śrīpati-panḍita (*brahman* convert and scholar), Vēmanārādhya, barber Haḍapada Rēchayya, cobbler Mādāri Dūlayya, dancee Siddhadēvamamma and so on⁷ Further, in accordance with that, they made one discrimination among the humans i.e., all those who did not have the *ishta-lingas*, thereby the religious initiation into the Vīraśaiva fold at the hands of a *guru* were considered as *bhāvis* and those who had received the *ishta-lingas* during the prescribed initiation were considered as *bhaktas* (*śiva-bhaktas/Vīraśaivas*),*bhaktarige bhāvigaḷige yuktiyantaravakku, bhakta tāmuktanāgidare, bhavi bhāva suttuttalihanu*⁸. And inter-marriages, including inter-dining even, amongst the *bhaktas* and the *bhāvis* were forbidden⁹.

All the above explain the term *ajāti Vīraśaiva* of the present inscription. Yet it does not mean that the Vīraśaivas propounded a new concept altogether for the first time. Similar ideas were already there reflected in the *Bhagavadgīta*, *Mahābhārata*, '.....neither birth, nor purificatory rites, learning, nor offspring can be considered as grounds for conferring upon one, the dignity of a twice-born person. Indeed conduct is the only ground¹⁰. But Vīraśaiva reformists went further and declared that the wordly profession should not be the factor to classify the humans on caste basis. Further the term Vīraśaivism does not stand for any community, group or division but it connotes a way of social order guided by that religio-philosophic doctrine (*śaktivisishtādvaita-siddhānta*) and any one professing faith in it, may be of any profession, can get initiated into that socio-religious fold. That is, it was a secular system of society propounded by the Vīraśaiva thinkers and *Śaraṇas* (sages) of the medieval period.

So far, that revolutionary concept was known only through Vīraśaiva literature written in numerous volumes by different authors, throughout history, in Kannāḍa, Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil languages. Here we have that noble idea confirmed and reiterated in a dated Telugu inscription,¹⁰ already referred, of the Vijayanagara rule during which period Vīraśaivism gained a big momentum, with the patronage extended to it by the rulers (specially by the first Saṅgama, dynasty), their ministers, monastic heads, writers, composers and other stalwarts. Hence, Vijayanagara period is considered as one of resurgence and resuscitation of all the things that Vīraśaivism stood for. And very much likely, this important usage/term has come to be recorded even in inscriptions of that period, for the first time as noticed so far. In the same inscription there are other terms, names and usages markedly characteristic of Vīraśaivism, *pāribhāshika-sabdagaḷu* (conventional terminology), which are accounted for later.

Next inscription is again a dated one, of the year 1551 A.D. It mentions the same epithet while describing the pontiff of that Vīraśaiva-*maṭha* of Śrīśaila, as *mahāmahantu mukhyamayina.. ajāti Vīraśaiva Bhikshāvṛitti-ayyavāru* (chief of the *maṭha* *ajāti - Vīraśaiva Bhikshāvṛitti-ayyavāru* ...) ¹² This inscription has been issued while making grant of a tax called '*Vīramusṭi-pannu*' to god Mukti Rāmēśvara, on an auspicious day of Sivarātri. '*Vīramusṭi-pannu*' is a kind of tax collected for making payment to the Vīraśaivas /

jaṅgamas called *Vīramushṭis* for their services rendered during the procession of their god, Vīraśaiva/ Vīrabhadra, etc.,¹³ Further this term *Vīramushṭi* is mentioned in a number of Telugu inscriptions of this period and of this region.¹⁴

There are three more inscriptions, dates of which are missing, since they are damaged. They also mention that term *ajāti Vīraśaiva* and all of them happened to have been issued in almost similar context.¹⁵

All the above quoted inscriptions invariably refer to Śrīparvata/Śrīśaila, (a sacred centre for the Vīraśaivas), their monastery (*mahā-mahantu*) at that place and the pontiff of that *maṭha* called Bhikshāvṛitti-ayya. In all these inscriptions as well in some others,¹⁶ that Bhikshāvṛitti-ayya is always mentioned as the pontiff of that *maṭha* of the Vīraśaivas, situated at Śrīśaila. And the time span, from the presently considered inscriptions, is between 1453 A.D. and 1551 A.D i.e., about ninety-nine years. A thorough examination of all other inscriptions of this region might reveal more extended time gap. Therefore, the pontiff Bhikshāvṛitti-ayya referred here cannot be one and the same person. Hence, it will be proper to infer that the name Bhikshāvṛitti-ayya must have been the ex-officio title for the pontiff whoever occupied that position or post, as head of that *maṭha*. Literally, the term means a person whose profession was to collect alms' (likely from the followers of Vīraśaivism and other benevolent persons). That might have been in order to run the monastery (*maṭha*) where free feeding and free education were the conventionally accepted practices (as seen even today in such Vīraśaiva *maṭhas*). In support of the above point, another inscription,¹⁷ dated in the year 1551 A.D. it is stated in clear terms as *Śrīśaila simhāsanastulaina Bhikshāvṛitti-ayya ...* (one Bhikshāvṛitti-ayya was the occupant of the lion-throne of Śrīśaila). Further, this confirms the belief and practice of the Vīraśaivas, that the pontiff's seat (*āchārya-pīṭha*) situated at Śrīśaila is one amongst the five such (*pañcha-āchārya's - pīṭhas*), other four being the ones situated at Rambhāpuri also called as Bālehonnūru (in Chikkamagalur District), Ujjaini (in Bellary District), Vāraṇāsi (in U.P.) and Kēdār (in the Himālayas).¹⁸

Now, other conventional terms (*pāribhāshika - sabdagalu*), characteristic to Vīraśaivism and its philosophy, as found in the presently examined inscriptions are as listed below:

*śivāchāra, kulāchāra, vibhūti, rudrāksha, vīrēśvara/ Vīrabhadra, Vīraśivāgra, gaṇāchāri, vīramushṭi-samayam, pramathalu, purantakalu, etc.*¹⁹

Since each of these terms require elaborate explanation, as conceived and adopted in Vīraśaiva philosophy and literature, they are deferred for the present. Here it is sufficient to note that the above inscriptions provide' positive proof and state that Vīraśaivism propounded a casteless religion and society in the bygone days, although many changes in that set up have taken place subsequently, as can be seen in these days. To be brief, that system as practised and propounded by Vīraśaivism, was and is known by one term only i.e., *Śivāchāra*.

Notes and References

1. R.C. Hiremath, *Mahāyātre* (Kannada), *Hampi-Vidyaranya*, 1997, p.78 and 23. Ja. Cha. N2 : *Vīrāśaiva Dharma-Tatva- Siddhānta* (Kannada), Dharwada, 1977, p.74, etc.
2. R.C. Hiremath, *op.cit.*, quoted therein. p.89,91, 92, 102, 103, etc.
3. *Ibid.*, for a detailed discussion - chapter 10 *Śivāgamagaḷalli Vīrāśaiva Darśana*, pp. 88 - 104.
4. S. Ramakrishna Sastry, *Vīrāśaivāndhra Vāñijyam* (Telugu), Tirupathi, 1952, T.V. Subba Rao : *Telugunalli Vīrāśaiva Sāhitya* (Kannada), Lakshmeswara, 1076,
5. *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Cuddapah District*, Hyderabad, 1978, pt. II No. 46 p.53 and 54
6. C.P. Brown : *Telugu - English Dictionary*, Hyderabad, 1966, p. 994
7. F.G. Halakatti, *Amaragaṇadhīśvarara Charitregalu* (Kannada), Bijapur 1945, p.103, 106, 109, 111, 112, 119, 120, 127, 162.
8. *Kannada Nighantū* (editors) :, Bangalore, 1993, for quotation, Vol. VII p. 6717
9. *Ibid.*, for relevant quotation, p.6691. S. Vidyasankara : *Vachana Paribhāsha Kōśa*, (Kannada), Bangalore 1993, p.148, 155 - 158.
10. Pranabananda Jha, *History of Śaivism* (7th - 13th centuries), Calcutta. 1974, p.108 - quoted from *Mahābhārata* XIII, 143 - 150.
11. as in *Sl.No. 5* above.
12. *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Cuddapah District*, Hyderabad, pt. II No. 217, p. 268.
13. C.P. Brown, *op.cit.*
14. M Rama Rao ; *Inscriptions of Andhradesa*, Tirupati. 1968, Nos. 1 and 2 , 114, 123, 217
15. *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh op.cit.*, No. 86 p. 106 and *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pt. I, No. 228, p. 142
16. *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh op.cit.*, No. 1, 114, etc.
17. *Ibid.*, No. 225, p.280
18. R.C. Hiremath, *op.cit.*, p.522
19. *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, Nos. 46, 68, 217 and 224

THE EARLIEST OCCURRENCE OF THE WORD “UNTOUCHABLE”

G. Vijayavenugopal

It is a well known fact that the Tamil society is hierarchical. The earliest extant work in Tamil viz., *Tolkāppiyam* refers to the usage of three verbs viz., *i*, *tā* and *hoṭu* ‘to give’ according to the hierarchical status of the persons. For example, *i* will be used in *iḷitōṇ* Low uncivilized person; *tā* will be used by equals (in social status): and *hoṭu* will be used by those who are higher in rank. (See *Tolkāppiyam cholladikāram-sūtras* 444 to 457), Similarly in the Saṅgam literature (c.3rd century B.C to 3rd century A.D) words like *iḷichinaṇ*, ‘outcaste’ (*kaṭṭiṇiṇakkum iḷichinaṇ* - *Puraṇānūru* verse 82) *iḷipirappiṇōṇ* person of low birth (*Puraṇānūru* verse 363) do occur. In post-Saṅgam literature too usages like *iliyiṇar* (see “*iliyiṇark-kēyāṇum pachittār kaṇ ṭal-sirupaṇchamūlan* 77). *Iḷiṇaṇ* is another word used in a later *purāṇa Kāñchippurāṇam parachirā* : 42). In all these cases one finds a general meaning of ‘low’, ‘uncivilized’ or ‘inferior’ for the word *iḷi*. But now there one gets the meaning viz., ‘untouchable’ based on the concept of pollution.

In this background an interesting inscription of Rājendra Chōla I issued in his 16th regnal year (=1028 A.D.) found in Bāhūr (in Pondicherry Union Territory) Tirumūlanātar temple sheds light on the prevailing conditions of the society regarding social hierarchies. It mentions about the decisions taken by the members of the *mahāsashā* in the presence of *Nīlaṇ Venkāḍaṇ*, Chōla official-representative of the king) the word of Kappūr in Tiruvaḷunduga-nāḍu in Uyyakoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu. The decisions are as follows : people belonging to other places who cultivate crops like paddy, millet, sugarcane, gingely in Bāhūr lands should pay two *tūṇis* of paddy every year for every crop as taluk tax; however, from the peasants belonging to other villages but cultivating at Bāhūr except the tank tax no other tax will be collected. From among the natives who live in Bāhūr and among those from other villages who have settled in Bāhūr, those of the age from ten to eighty have to be selected-*except the untouchable*- and are asked to dig a pit in the lake (in order to desilt) measuring 2 X 2 X 1 of four *sāṇ* (from the tip of the middle finger to the bottom of the palm) length in the lake of Bāhūr every year; this should be implemented by those who belong to the tank committee (*ērivāriyam*) themselves every year; if the committee did not collect this from those who did not dig the tank then each committee member will pay a tank tax of *kaḷaṇju* gold: from the tank tax collected a tank accountant should be paid with *padakku* measure of paddy daily; since the lord of Kappūr, the officer, has stated the king’s order viz., “those who do not adhere to there (decisions) and violate will be considered as defiants of king’s order ” We, the members of the *mahāsabhā* inscribed this tank tax on stone. Thus the inscription for the first time uses the word *tīṇḍādār* while mentioning about the selection of persons who have to dig the tank. By Rājarāja I’s time references to *paraichchēri*, ‘settlements of Paraiyahs’, *tīṇḍāch-chēri*, ‘settlement of untouchables’ are

found (see the *Chōlas*, K.A. Nilakantasastrī, University of Madras, Madras-1984, p.535). But here in the inscription Rājendra I people are referred to as *tīṇḍādār* those who are not being touched/untouchables based on pollution. It has to be noted that this decision was taken by the members of the *mahāsabhā* on the orders of king which was conveyed to the members of the *sabhā* by the official. The official Kappūr-uḍaiyāṅ was present in the meeting of the *sabhā* and he is said have conveyed the king's order. As such one may conclude that the earliest reference to the concept of untouchability based on pollution in the Tamil Country can be traced back to the periods of Rājarāja I and his son Rājendra I and the earliest occurrence of the word *tīṇḍādār* also to 1027 A.D.

Notes and References

See the article on the 'Bāhūr inscription of Rājendrachōḷa I' in Dr. G.S. Gai Felicitation Volume by M.D. Sampath.

RECENT EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES

M.D. Sampath

In the recent days, the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India has copied a number of new inscriptions in the states of Karṇāṭaka, North-eastern states, etc. Of these, the inscriptions from Northern Karṇāṭaka, Assam and Tripura have been discussed here in brief.

Inscriptions from Naregal.

At Naregal in Haveri district of Karnataka state 6 inscriptions have been copied. Of these, an inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhōra (i.e., Dhruva) engraved on a rocky outcrop in the field south-west of Sarvēśvara temple was copied earlier and was already noticed. The remaining five records are newly discovered ones. These are found engraved on different slabs set up in front of the temple of god Sarvēśvara in the village.

Among them the record of Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha (I) is interesting from the point of view of palaeography and contents. It is dated in Śaka 799, Manmatha which details are not sufficient for verification. The cyclic year Manmatha falls in the Śaka year 797 corresponding to 875 A.D. The record states that while Indapaya was administering Banavāsi-nāḍu, the *Ayinūra-nalvar*, probably a body, seem to have made a grant of threshing floor(?) (*kaḍe*) and grazing land (?) (*kavaṇa*) or land for the maintenance of *śāla* to the deity *bhaṭarige* of Nareyagalla.

Two other inscriptions from this place provide information to understand the significance of the term *gōsāsa*. One of the inscriptions is dated in Śaka 935, Śōbhakṛit Vaiśākha, śu 10, Thursday corresponding to 1013 A.D., April 23. The record belongs to the reign of Chālukya Satyāśraya and states that while Bhīvarasa was administering Banavāsi-nāḍu, one Kōsiga Basavaya made a grant of *gōsāsa* (i.e., *gōsahasra*). The cyclic year is Pramādin and not Śōbhakṛit. In all probability this is the latest known date for Satyāśraya (Iṛiva-beḍaṅga) who seem to have jointly ruled with his successor Vikramāditya V. The second inscription belongs to the reign of Chālukya king Jayasiraha. Dated in Śaka 955, Śrīmukha, Jyēshṭha śu 9, Thursday corresponding to 1033 A.D., May 10, it states that one Beddaka Jōgimayya made a grant of *gōsāsa*. The term *gōsāsa* figures earlier in the inscriptions of Amōghavarsha (I) from Dēvamgēri in Haveri Taluk and Hulihalli in Ranebennur Taluk of Dharwar District.

2. Inscriptions of North-Eastern Region

Recently the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India has undertaken a survey of North-Eastern states for the collection of inscriptions. The team consisted of the Director (Epigraphy), Superintending Epigraphist, Dy. Superintending Epigraphist, Senior

Epigraphical Assistant, Photographer and the copying mechanics. In the state of Assam, besides Guwahati, places like Ūrvaśi on the bank of the river Brahmaputra and six other places in the Sōnitpur District have been surveyed. They are Tezpur, Bhōmoraguri, Rāja Bharal, Murhadōl, Nandikēśvar and Biśvanātha Chareli. Similarly Agartala and Udaipur in Tripura have been surveyed.

Assam has yielded sixteen copper-plate inscriptions and twelve stone inscriptions in all. The earliest of the copper plate inscriptions belong to 7th Century A.D. They were issued by the family of Varmans, the Ahom kings and other local rulers of Assam. They are in Sanskrit language and written in early Nāgarī and Proto-Bengālī characters. A majority of them record land grants to various temples.

Out of the two copper-plate charters found available with Prof. Dharmeshvar Chutia at Guwahati, one of them belong to the reign period of Vanamāladēva of 10th century A.D., while the other belongs to the reign period of Bhāskaravarman. Both are in Sanskrit language and in early Nāgarī characters. The copper plate charters copied from Sōnitpur district near Tezpur belong to the period of Ahom kings and other local rulers. One of the copper plates dated Śaka 1731 is written in Ahom and Assamese language and script respectively. The stone inscriptions copied from Ūrvaśi near Guwahati are label inscriptions referring to certain names. A Tibetan inscription copied from Tezpur Museum quotes a prayer from the Buddhist sculpture.

The second inscription from Bhomoraguri near Tezpur belongs to the reign period of Śvarganārāyaṇadēva (Pratāpasingha) and dated in Śaka 1538 (1616 A.D.). It is in Assamese language and script. Two more inscriptions belonging to the reign period of the same king, also written in similar language and script were copied from Rāja Bharal near Tezpur. These records belong to c. 18th century A.D. They record the land grants.

At Agartala six stone inscriptions and ten copper plates inscriptions have been copied. Seven out of ten copper plate inscriptions copied from Tripura Museum are engraved on thin sheets in Proto-Bengali script and Sanskrit language. Majority of the charters belong to the period from the middle of 15th - 18th century representing the various rulers of Mānikya dynasty. The stone inscriptions also belong to the reign period of Manikya rulers. Eight inscriptions have been copied from Udaipur, about 50 Kms from Agartala. They are engraved on the slab built into the walls of Chaturdaśadēvata temple, Mahādēvi temple, Guṇavatī temple and Tripurasundarī temple. They belong to the rulers of Tripura who ruled between 16th and 18th Century A.D. The important rulers reported here are Kalyāṇa Mānikya, Gōvinda Mānikya and queen Guṇavatī. The inscriptions are written in Sanskrit language and Proto-Bengali script. One of the inscriptions dated in Śaka 1619 (1668 A.D.) records the construction of the temple in question by the queen Guṇavatī. Another inscription dated Śaka 1572 (1650 A.D.) refers to the construction of the temple of Gōpinātha by the king. Another record dated Śaka 1575 (1652 A.D.) registers the renovation of a *maṭha* by the king for the merit of Dhanyam ānikya who had originally built it. A record from Tripurasundarī temple dated Śaka 1423 (1501 A.D.) records the

renovation by the king of the temple of goddess Āmbikā, originally built by Dhanayamānikya, an ancestor of Rāmamānikya.

Since the temples at Udaipur are of pure brick construction from *upāna* to *stūpi*, it is difficult to find even a single stone inscription on the walls of the temples. Therefore, the inscriptions were engraved on loose slabs and they were built into the temples, either on the architrave or near the buttress of the temples. The arch of the sanctum with multi foil arches resemble the Gothic architecture and are similar to the temples of Burma.

Of the four temples called Chaturdaśadēvata temples, the one on the north was built by Mahādēvī Guṇavati, the queen of Gōvinda Mānikya dated Śaka 1590 (1668 A.D.) and dedicated to god Viṣṇu. There is another inscription on the doorway of the central temple facing east. It was built in Śaka 1572 (1650 A.D.) dedicated to god Gōpināha.

The highlights of important inscriptions of the recent survey are given below:

1. Dūbi plates of Bhāskaravarman :

This is one of the earliest plates issued by the kings of Kāmarūpa. The seal contains the genealogy of the family. It is written in early Nāgarī script of 7th century A.D. It records a grant made over to certain *brāhmaṇas*. It contains a long list of kings alongwith the queens of the *Varman* family of rulers. It seems to be earlier than the Nidhanpur grant of the same king, for this refers to a joint attempt made by Supratishṭitavarma and Bhāskaravarma against the army of Gauḍas. The original charter was issued by his predecessor Bhūtivarman.

2. Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman :

This is another charter of king Bhāskaravarman almost of the same date as the Dūbi grant of this king. The original charter was damaged due to fire and belong to the reign period of Bhūtivarman. It is written in Sanskrit language and early Nāgarī characters of 7th century A.D. It records the grant of land to 200 *brāhmaṇas* belonging to various *gōtras* in the Mayūrasālmalāgrahāra in Chandrapuri-vishaya.

The other important rulers represented in the different charters are Vanamāladēva of 9th century, Balavarmma of Nagaon, Dharmapāla, etc., ranging in date from 9th to 12th century A.D.

Inscriptions copied from North-Eastern region during February 2001.

Assam

Sl. No.	Place	Copper Plate Inscriptions	Stone Inscriptions
1	Guwahati	12	-
2	Ūrvaśi	-	7
3	Tezpur	-	1
4	Bhomoraguri	-	1
5	Rājabharal	-	2
6	Murhadol	1	-
7	Nandikēśvar	1	-
8	Biśvanath Charēli	2	1
	Total	16	12

Tripura

Sl. No.	Place	Copper Plate Inscriptions	Stone Inscriptions
1	Agartala	10	6
2	Udaipur	-	8
	Total	10	14

AN EARLY TELUGU INSCRIPTION FROM KŪDAVELI

C.A.Padmanabha Sastry

The inscription under study is engraved on the top portion of the *dhvajastambha* planted in front of the transplanted Saṅgamēśvara temple from Kūḍaveli to Alampūr, Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh.

I understand that late R. Subrahmanyam, former professor of Nagarjuna University, Nagajunanagar, Guntur District and Prof. S.Nagaraju of Central University, Hyderabad, have noticed this inscription in late seventies and not published anywhere for unknown reasons. Later, Dr. I.K.Sarma, former Director of ASI, and Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad, was kind enough to supply a colour photograph to me for study purpose. Then this inscription was copied by my colleague Sri S.Nagarjuna, presently, Assistant Superintending Epigraphist, ASI, Chennai in the year 1990 and we included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* in the same year.

As mentioned above, the inscription is engraved on the top portion of the *dhvajastambha* in eight lines in Telugu language and characters of 6th-7th centuries A.D. Some of the letters are partly worn out. However, the complete text is given.



Inscription from Kūḍaveli

The characters of the epigraph belong to the early Telugu alphabet as prevalent in the early Telugu records of the Eastern Chāḷukya and Rēnāṭi Chōḷas. The palaeographical features are almost similar to the characters of the Rēnāṭi Chōḷa inscriptions² and the Mācherla³ and Vipparla⁴ inscriptions of Jayasimhavallabha - mahārāja (I) of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty. Of the palaeographical features, the Dravidian letters ṛ (a voiced alveolar trill (*śakaṭarēpha*) and ḷa (voiced retroflex continuant) are interesting. The *śakaṭarēpha* is engraved in two forms both as a main as well as a sub-script. In the first form, the letter is cut in the middle with horizontal stroke and in the second type, the letter shows four compartments with horizontal and longitudinal strokes. These forms are often met with in some other inscriptions belonging to the same period and reign.

The letter ḷa is also of considerable interest. This is formed by two semicircles joined at the bottom with a small dent inside. On the whole, the palaeographical features suggest that the letters are slightly developed as compared to the actual period to which the inscription belongs. These palaeographical features can be seen in the Ankālammagūdūru inscription of Eṛeyappōru,⁵ and also in the Turimeḷḷa inscription of Vikramāditya - I⁶ of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi dynasty.

Though the inscription is not dated but on the basis of both palaeographical and internal evidences, we may assign this record to the second half of the 7th century AD.

Since the inscription is slightly damaged and mutilated, the purport is not so clear. However, on the basis of reading we may say that while (the chief ?) Viṭṭiki(rama) was ruling over Dvikalpa, one Guṇāri donated seven *maṛuturu* of land, as a *pannasa* and seven cows to the [god] Kaḷuvaru. The inscription ends with an imprecatory statement in early Telugu language.

The identification of the chief mentioned in the record is rather difficult. We do not come across the name Viṭṭi[kiṛama] in any of the inscriptions of this period. However, the local names or affectionate or original names like Eṛeyatiḍigaḷ, Eṛeyappōru for Pulakēśin II; Kittiarasa, Kīḷitivarṃma for Kīrttivarṃma of the Vātāpi Chalukya family are known to us. On the basis of the name mentioned in the inscription, we may try to identify the present chief Viṭṭikiṛama with Vikramāditya I of Vātāpi Chalukya. It is well known that Vikramāditya I issued Iparuṅkal grant (Āmudālapāḍu plates)⁷ dated in his 30th regnal year, Turimeḷḷa inscription, and Karnūl plates⁸ are in the vicinity of Chalukya - vishaya i.e., Mahaboobnagar and Kurnool District of present Andhra Pradesh. Probably he might have issued this inscription after visiting the Saṅgamēśvara temple at the confluence of Kṛishṇa and Tuṅgabhadrā rivers in this region.

TEXT

- 1 [Sva]sti śrīmat Viṭṭi[ki]-
- 2 ṛama⁹ [Dvikalpurikin]
- 3 maruṭurḷ ēlam [pa]nnasa .Ka-
- 4 ḷavaraki Gunāru-
- 5 kin-ichehinadi kavaleya-
- 6 lēlu dīniki vakrambu vachchina-
- 7 vānru.....

Notes and References

- 1 *AREp*, 1990-91,
- 2 *Ep.Ind.*, VolXXVII, pp.220 ff.
- 3 *Vyāsaṅgraham* (Tel.), pp. 125 ff.
- 4 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No 584.
- 5 *IESJ.*, Vol. IX, pp.107 ff.
- 6 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160 ff.
- 7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII pp. 175 ff.
- 8 *Ind.Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 244 ff.
- 9 The word *viṭṭi* may be taken as the corrupt form of the word *Vishṇu*.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

T. Ganesan

Epigraphs serve as one of the best and authentic sources of history. The Pallava inscriptions edited by T.V. Mahaligam (IP) and published in a single volume, 1988 and the copper plates of the Pāṇḍyas [Ten Pandya copper plates (TPC), published by the Tamil History Academy, Madras, [1967] are very interesting and throw valuable light on the contemporary political, cultural and religious life. In my present study on the Sanskrit inscriptions of these two groups I intend to touch briefly upon some of the salient features pertaining to the religious and the philosophical details that lie scattered in them.

The invocatory verses in some of these inscriptions contain the religious and the philosophical views current in that period. The Śivaramaṅgalam copper plate¹ begins with the obeisance to Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva which shows that the worship of the three deities (trimūrti) was prevalent and that it was propagated and supported by the contemporary kings. The first verse describes poetically Brahma as :

ādyan-nābhīsarāḥ prasūtikamalam viṣṇōḥ

The first lotus born (grown) out of the tank that is the navel of Viṣṇu. He is constantly uttering the Vēdas by all his four faces and he is the ancient sage:

purāṇo munīḥ

This is one of the common descriptions which we come across in the *purāṇas* and literatures. Compare what Kālidāsa says about Brahmā for him. He is *vēdābhyāsajadaḥ* which confirms that he is the ancient sage as expressed in the above mentioned inscription.

Another Pāṇḍya inscription is very interesting. The text goes as follows:

*lakṣmīnāthād - abhavad - udayo yasyōtpādyam sasura-
tanujāmbhodayaḥ saptalōkāḥ
śāchīpatya-prabhṛitiphalado yasya - saumukhyalēśō bhūyō bhūyaḥ
kamalabhavanō bhūtayē vaḥ sa bhūyāt*

This one not only pays obeisance to Brahmā but by way of describing his greatness also enumerates the fruits such as the position of Indra-Śāchīpatyam - that one gets by Brahmā's grace and it prays for his grace. The point to be noted here is that the worship of Brahmā was probably widely prevalent at that time for which we have the evidence of some 'trimūrti' images also. Incidentally here Brahmā is described as (continuously ?) reciting the scriptures (*nigama*) which are authoritative both for the good and bad like the words of one's mother and father. One cannot fail to notice the reverence and authority given to the vēdas at that time which are comparable to the words of one's parents.

*hit-āhitānām pitṛi-māṭṛi-vākyavat pramāṇabhūtān nigamān
aghachchidaḥ*

Coming to the second member of the trinity, namely, Viṣṇu, we have beautiful Vēdāntic ideas expressed in some inscriptions. This one is relevant here:

*yasmād āvirbhavati paramās charyabhūtād yugādau yasminn-ēva
praviśati punar viśvam ētad yugānte*

*tad vaś- chhandomayatanu vayovāhanan daityaghātī jyotiḥ pātu
dyutijitanavāmbhōdam ambhōjanētram*

Here Viṣṇu is portrayed as the only source and the ultimate resting place of the universe and the vēdas are described as His body. Compare the same idea expressed with regard to Śiva found in a Pallava inscription⁴

sambhava-sthiti sambhāra kāraṇam vītakāraṇaḥ

It is clear that both Viṣṇu and Śiva are individually claimed to be the origin and ultimate resting place of the universe by their devotees. But the epithet 'possessing the vēdas as the body' (*chhandōmayatanu*) is mostly used only for Viṣṇu in the religio-philosophical literature which is echoed in the above inscription. An interesting Vēdāntic idea expressed in the inscription is that the ultimate reality is not knowable either by direct perception or inference or comparison but only through Vēdānta. This is emphatically and beautifully expressed in a Pāṇḍya inscription⁵

*paratyakshānumiti-samatva-bōdhakṣiptijñānam avishayabhūrūpatattvam /
vēdāntāvagatam anādimadhyahānījyōtir vō haratu harēr
amaṅgalāni*

Here Viṣṇu is conceived as the ultimate reality and as such He is knowable only through Vēdānta.

The same inscription very vividly and poetically portrays the posture of Śiva (*yōgāsana*)

*nishpanda-mārutam achāñchala-sūrya-sōmarā
viśṭabdha-tārakam akampita-sindhunātham
antarmukh-ākshagaṇam ātmaniśāmanārtham
yōgāsanaṁ bhavatu vaś-śivadāyi śaivam*

"The wind is motionless; sun, moon and the stars are static; the ocean is calm and waveless, all the sense organs are turned inward as if to hear the sound of the self; such is the *yōgāsana* of Śiva which should bring forth all good to you".

In a contemporary Pallava inscription⁶ there is an allusion to the story of Trivikrama in which Vishṇu became giant and pervaded the three worlds (*Trivikrama*) after Bali offered him three feet of land which the inscription refers as a trick played by Vishṇu on Bali:

*māyāvinā yēna padatray-ārthinā sadyaḥ-pravṛiddhēna punar Balēr
makhē*

vichakramē trir-jagataḥ svasāt-kṛito

Note here the word *māyāvin* used here as an epithet of Vishṇu. This act is also referred to as *chala* (trick) by the famous poet Jayadēva of later times in his *Daśāvatārastōtra* (*chalayasi vikramaṇē Balim*). Another Pallava inscription⁷ is interesting in many respects. The following lines are from it

*sambhava-sthiti-samhāra-kāraṇaṃ vītakāraṇaḥ
bhūyād Atyantakāmāya jagatāṃ Kāmamardanaḥ
amāyāś-chitramāyōsāvaguṇo-guṇabhājanam*

Here Śiva is described both as without *māyā* (*amāya*) and as possessing many *māyā* (*chitramāya*) without quality (*aguṇa*) and repository of all *guṇa* (*guṇabhājana*) which is also a poetic embellishment called *Virōdhālarānkāra*. The philosophical import is very striking. When He is *amāya* He is to be taken as without delusion whereas when He is *chitramāya*, He is to be taken as possessing many powers (*māyā*) here meaning *śakti* of the Lord. Also there is the allusion to the well-known R̥gvedic passage.

Indrō māyābhiḥ purūrūpa īyate

Indra through his powers (*māyās*) takes many forms. Note that nowhere in the inscriptions do we come across the meaning of illusion given to *māyā* by Advaita Vēdānta philosophers though some of the inscriptions allude to Vēdāntic ideas as mentioned above. Therefore, one can term these Vēdāntic ideas as pertaining to the Śivādvaita system which appears to be very well-known and to be much closer to the early Upanishadic Advaita as expressed vividly in *Śvētāśvatara* and other *Upanishads*.

Finally to substantiate the wide prevalence of Śivādvaita system, I would like to cite another evidence from an inscription found not in India but in Cambodia. It is datable to 627 A.D. and is found in a temple at Bayang, Cambodia.⁸ It is a mine of Śivādvaita ideas prevalent at that early period and with eloquence and poetic charm. It expresses that Śiva is both with form and without form; though possessing many forms, He is beyond the reach of mind and speech surrendering the fruits of penance study and worship at His holy feet is the highest means of attaining Him, etc.

*Yam āntaram jyōtir upāsate budhā
 niruttaram brahma param jigīshavaḥ
 tapaḥśrute jyāvidhayo yadarppaṇā
 bhavanty-anirdēśya-phalānu bandhinaḥ
 na kēvalam tatphalayōgasanḡinām
 asanḡinām karmaphalatyajām api
 nisarga-siddhair aṇimādibhir guṇair
 upētam anḡikṛita-śaktivistarāḥ
 dhiyām atītam vahchasām agōcharam
 anāspadam yasya padam vidur-budhāḥ*

These verses run as passages from a philosophical treatise and such is the achievement of ancient seers and the devotion and dedication towards religio-philosophical views of our ancestors.

SOME INSCRIBED IMAGES REFERRING TO AŚOKA

Pradhan Gopal Charan

Sri John Marshal in his book *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, Volume.II, has mentioned about the visit of Aśoka to the Rāmagrāma Stūpa¹. In the main *stūpa* of the Buddhist establishment of Sāñchi's southern gateway's middle lintel's front side, this historic visit of Aśoka to the Rāmagrāma Stūpa has been sculpturally described. According to the Buddhist tradition Aśoka has opened seven out of the eighth Sāirika stūpas and took away the major portions of relics for the distribution among 84,000 *stūpas* built by him throughout his empire.² The eight *stūpa* was the Rāmagrāma stūpa under the Nāga rule. After the cremation of Lord Buddha by the Māllas the corporal remains was divided into eight equal parts among Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the Lichhavis of Vaiśāli, the Śākya of Kapilavastu, the Bullis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, the Brahmins of Veṭhadipa and the Mallas (Mahāparinirvāṇa).³ In the Sāñchi panel there is a detailed description of the visit of Aśoka with his army and followers, his Nāga counter part with his family. The middle one is an inscribed *stūpa*.⁴ The visit of Aśoka to the sacred Bōdhi tree is found in the same *stūpa's* front of the eastern gateway.⁵ In this panel also Aśoka is seen worshipping the sacred Bōdhi tree with his followers.

The image of Aśoka till now has not been substantiated by any epigraphical evidences. The recent discoveries of two inscribed images one from Kanaganahalli in Gulbarga District of Karnataka and the other one from the Lānguḍi Hill Buddhist site in Jajpur District of Orissa which for the first time helps us in the identification of Aśoka's image.

Kanaganahalli situated on the left bank of river Bhīmā and about 5 km. to the North-East of an ancient Buddhist site at Sannati in the Gulbarga District, has yielded two separate versions of Aśoka's Kalinga edict.⁶ Kanaganahalli architecturally goes through the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism. Stylistically the decorative sculptures of the Hīnayāna phase are closer to the school of Sāñchi and Bhārhut, datable to 2nd - 1st Century B.C. While the Mahāyāna phase belongs to the Amarāvati and Deccan school flourished from the 1st to 4th Century A.D. There are more than 145 donatory inscriptions found from Kanaganahalli. One slab depicting king Aśoka with his consort and bearing an inscription reading *rāja Aśokasa* is an outstanding discovery.⁷ Palaeographically the inscription goes back to 1st Century B.C. and architecturally the portraiture of Aśoka to the Sātavāhana period. Such type of inscribed image of the great Mauryan ruler Aśoka is of immense importance.

The next inscribed image of Aśoka is from the Lānguḍi Hill Buddhist site on the right bank of river Keluā, a tributary of Brāhmaṇi in the Jajpur District of Orissa. With the help of the epigraphical and topographical evidences, the site has been identified with the famous Pushpagiri Vihāra of the Hiūen-tsang's time.⁸ The name of Aśoka can be noticed

in an inscription the Lānguḍi Hill *stūpa* built by Aśoka himself leads supports to the above inscription.⁹ The inscription reads as *āmi upāsaka Aśokasa samchiamāna agra eka thupe* meaning the lay worshipper Aśoka has built a principal *stūpa*. Hiüen-tsang's "Si-yu-ki" states that Aśoka has built 10 topes (*stūpas*) in the Oḍra country where Buddha had preached.¹⁰ All these discoveries prove the association of Aśoka with the Lānguḍi Hill Buddhist site. The site architecturally goes through the Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna sect of Buddhism. The site has yielded a large number of terracotta images of Buddha, miniature votive Stūpas, Rock-cut stūpas and images of Buddha and Bōdhisattvas. B.N. Mukharjee reads this inscription as *chhikareṇa rājña Aśokhena*, Sanskritised as *śrīkarēṇa rājña Aśokena*. Palaeographically this inscription belongs to 1st B.C - 1st Century A.D. Only the bust portion of the image with an inscription engraved on it has been found. The inscribed image has been found at the entrance of the Aśoka stūpa.

It is presumed that the inccribed image is the statute portrait of the great Mauryan ruler Aśoka. Palaeographically these inscriptions belongs to the Śuṅga period. But the important thing is the findspot the Sannati inscription called the separate version of Aśoka Kalinga edict has been discovered. It may helps us to know the socio-cultural relations of ancient Kalinga with Karnāṭaka *vis-a-vis* the Buddhist Art and Architecture.

Notes and References

- 1 Sir John Marshall, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol.II, Plates 10 and 11
- 2 Devala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 9, p.193
- Thomas Watters, *On-Yuanchwang Travels in India*,
- 3 Devala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments of Sanchi*, p.7
- 4 Sir John Marshall *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I
Luders List. No.347
- 5 Sir John Marshall, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, Plate 40
- 6 I.K. Sharma and *Early Brahmi Inscriptions from Sannati*, pp 44-50 ff.
J. Varaprasad Rao
- 7 National Seminar on Mauryan Art : A Reappraisal, Patna Museum, Patna, December 8-10, 2000.
- 8 D.R. Pradhan, *Reference Orissa*, pp.228-34 *Utkal Pradipa*, Utkal University,
B.N. Mukherjee Bhubaneswar *JESI*, Vol. 24, pp-1-3ff
- 9 B.N. Mukherjee, *JESI*, Vol. 26, pp63 ff
- 10 Thomas Watters, *On-Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, p. 193

NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM HIREMARALI

N.Havalaiah

During my recent archaeological field work in Pandavapura taluk of Mandya district, I discovered many inscriptions in various places of this taluk.¹ The two inscriptions found at Hiremarali appeared to be important and hence they are selected here for a detailed study. I may hasten to add that these are unpublished so far. Hiremarali is a small village in Pandavapura Taluk and is 3 kms. towards the north-east of this place. There is a Mahalingēśvara temple in this village and the epigraphs discussed here are inscribed on stones lying near this temple. Both the inscriptions are in Kannada script and language. They may be referred to as inscription A and B for the sake of convenience and also as per chronology.

The first inscription A contains twentyone lines of writing.² Unfortunately it does not refer to any ruling king or the dynasty. The epigraph furnishes the details of date viz., *Pārthiva Saṁvatsara*, *Pausha* and *Ādityavara* corresponding to 20th December 985 A.D. Sunday. From the known inscriptions, it is clear that this area was under the control of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ and king Rāchamalla IV was the ruling Gaṅga king though his actual power had decreased considerably. In all probability this inscription was issued during the period of the ruler.

This inscription is interesting from the point of view of Jainism. It refers to a Jaina nun by name Buddisēna Kanti who took a vow and committed *samādhi maraṇa* at this place. She is described as belonging to the place Mollavosavūra, and a disciple of Āychasēna Kanti. The latter is further referred to as a co-disciple of Mallisēnadēva. Buddisēna Kanti is praised for her good qualities. Reference to Mālanūr-gaṇa is very interesting. This Kanti is known to us for the first time through this inscription. Āychasēna may be Ādityasēna, the Sanskrit form of the name. Kanti is the name given to Jaina Sanyāsini or a nun³ and inscriptions refer to a large number of Kantis who were highly devoted to Jainism and made great contributions to the development of Jaina religion in Karnataka.

The second epigraph B contains only nine lines and is also found near the Mahalingēśvara temple. It is assignable to tenth Century A.D. and hence may be closer to the first record in date. Further this also mentions *Pārthiva-saṁvatsara*. It records the gift of land by the people of the village Maṇale and Sōvayya. The village name is given as Maṇale and the present name Marali should have been derived from it.⁴ The expressions like *āḷavisidōm* and *āḷidōm*, found in the epigraph are interesting from the point of view of old Kannada language.⁵

Inscription A

1. paramasta-mā
2. . raḍḍamaṁ para di-para-
3. ma
4. yasyā budēka-barapusadi-
5. dōḷvādu gaḷup-puvādugaḷa tā-
6. giyu nayadiṁda-salrayān-
7. n nāman-iva buddhi nipuṇar śrī
8. Buddisēnabbegaḷ⁶ dānamē
9. dēvaṛiyalarḷigum-Mo-
10. nagōḷa Maruḷenin-navishaya
11. vōshaliyal Ādinā(nā)-
12. tha janakkaṁ dānada-kami Bu-
13. ddisēna kantiyaṁ-eḷeyol||
14. Svasti Mālanūrg-gaṇada Malli-
15. sēnadēvaras-ādharṁmigal Ā-
16. ychasēna- kantiyarasi shinti
17. yar Mollavosavūra Buddi-
18. sēna kantiyar śrī Pārthiva-sa[m]-
19. vassarada Pōsha sudda 5 Ādi-
20. tyavāra|| nōntu samādhi ma
21. raṇadiṁ⁸ svargastharādar-illi⁹

Inscription B

1. Svasti Pātthiva saṁvatsaradoḷ Ma
2. [Ma]ṇalevāśiyar-ā(....|)dale Sō
3. vayyan ādāna[m] koṭṭa(aḷa)kha 25¹⁰
4. idana ālavisiḍōm koṭṭa (aḷa) kha 25¹⁰
5. rāsiyan- āḷiḍōm idake-
6. m-īrvaṭṭa makkeya puṭṭigeya-
7. r-ada agadan-arida Varaṇasiyana-
8. ḷida (dōsha)kke āga-sanda pāpakke..
9. .. haru

Notes and References

1. Inscriptions have been discovered at Doḍḍagādiganahaḷli, Bāchihallaḷi, Śivapura, Būkanakere, Sādolalu, Hirēmarali, Kodalakurahaṭṭi, etc. These epigraphs are under study and will be published in due course. In this connection I am grateful to Sri H.M. Nagaraja Rao, Epigraphist, Kuvempu Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore for accompanying me to most of these places and also for transcribing the inscriptions.
2. Though the engraving of the inscription is very elegant and beautiful, it contains many orthographical errors and shows that it was composed by an ordinary composer.
3. *Kannada-Kannada Nighaṇṭu* does not explain the etymological meaning of the term *kanti* but gives many illustrations for its usage in the meaning of a Jaina nun (*śramaṇa*, *bhikshukī mundā*). An inscription of 700 A.D. mentions the name Śṛigantiyarvandu Kantiyarā tapambaṭṭu etc. The term *kraṇṭike* is also used in this meaning in *Chāvunḍa-rāya-purāṇa* and other works.
4. The word *Hire* added to this place, meaning 'senior or old'. If two places of the same name are encountered one is referred to by the prefix of *Hire* or *doḍḍa* and the other by *Chikka*. Well known examples are Chikkamagaḷūr and Hiremagaḷūr, Doḍḍamalūr and Chikkamalūr etc.

5. Such expressions are found actually in inscriptions of the earlier period and the best example is from the Halmiḍi inscription. Such expressions may be taken to be the rare survivors.
6. Common ending (*abbe*) of female personal name.
7. Read as *Pushya*
8. For details of *Samādhimarāṇa* see M.M. Kalburgi, *Samadhi bāḍidāna marāṇa smāarakagaḷu*.
9. *Illi*, clearly shows that she died here at Hiremarali. Further exploration may lead to the actual place and other antiquities.
10. It may refer to 25 *khaṇḍugas* or *khambha* of land.



Inscription from Hiremarali

WARANGAL MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF KĀKATĪYA KING MAHĀDĒVA

S.Nagarjuna

The findspot of the epigraph is Kummarikuṅṭa, Dantalapalli- maṇḍalam, Warangal District, Andhra Pradesh. During my recent tour, I had an opportunity to copy an inscription¹ engraved on a pillar slab kept in the State Archaeology Museum, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal, which I am presenting here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), ASI Mysore.

The inscription is engraved on four faces. Three faces are engraved in Telugu language and characters and the fourth face is engraved with Sanskrit language and Telugu characters. It refers to the reign of Kākatīya king Mahādēva and it is dated in Śaka 1119, Piṅgaḷa, Jyēshṭha śu.12, Thursday, Simha-lagna, corresponding to 1197 AD, May 30. f.d.t. 04. However, the week day was Friday.

It records the consecration of three gods viz., Śrī Mahādēva, Śrī Vāsudēva and Śrī Sūryadēva on an auspicious day. The construction of tanks for maintaining the worship and offerings to the above mentioned gods at Ropūaṅḍi by one Mallireḍḍi, son of Nāvireḍḍi Kāmāba. Nāvireḍḍi had six sons. Mallireḍḍi is one among them. He is famous as a *Śiva-bhakta* and is eulogized in the inscription. Nāvireḍḍi is son of Bādireḍḍi and Kommāmbikā, Bādireḍḍi belongs to *chaturtha kula* He is described as the follower of *Śrīmanmahāsāmanta* Kusume-nāyaka who was enjoying Ropūaṅḍi as a fief. Kusuma-nāyaka is described as a subordinate of Kākatīya king Mahādēva.

It records the gifts of lands which are distributed among different persons for the maintenance of perpetual lamps in the above three temples. The fourth side of the record in Sanskrit language and characters exposes the greatness of the donor, Mallireḍḍi.

It is well known that the Kākatīya king Mahādēva succeeded his brother Rudra (1158-95 AD) According to Khaṇḍavalli copper-plates² of Pratāpa Rudradēva i.e., Rudra I himself has offered the kingdom to his younger brother Mahādēva and seems to have appointed him as the regent of his own son, prince Gaṇapatidēva. Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry in his work on *Kākatīyas* states that only two inscriptions of this king have been discovered. The first one³ is from Sundella (Karimnagar District) dated in the cyclic year Piṅgaḷa, [Chaitra śu8, Friday]. The cyclic year of this record is equivalent to Śaka 1119 corresponding to 1197 A.D., March 28, Friday. The second one, an undated inscription⁴ from Warangal fort, refers to the initiation to Śaiva religion by king Mahādēva.

The third inscription from Māṭūru, Nalgonda District is also dated in Śaka 1119, Piṅgaḷa Mārgaśira śu.15, corresponding to 1197 AD, November 26 and the present one is also dated in the same Śaka and cyclic year, however, the month is different.

All the above-mentioned inscriptions can be arranged in a chronological order. The present inscription is the second one in order. According to P.V. Parabrahma sastry⁵ on the basis of literary evidence of *Pratāpa Rudradēva Charitra and Sōmarājīyam*, Mahādēva started his career probably in 1192 A.D. itself. He has to come to this conclusion on the basis of the invasion of Mahādēva over Yādava country during the reign of Jaitugi I. However, we do not have any epigraphical sources to refer to the reigning period of Mahādēva between 1192 and 1195 A.D. Probably he must have engaged himself in the wars against the enemies of Kākatiyas and also acted as the regent of Kākatiya Gaṇapatidēva after the fall of Kākatiya Rudra. The reference to the initiation to Śaiva dharma as mentioned in the Warangal fort inscription indicates his low profile in the history of Kākatiyas. Another important point to be noted in this inscription is the reference to the *Mahāsāmanta* Kusuma-nāyaka. The reference to this chief indicates that Mahādēva must have enjoyed considerable royal dignity during his tenure. The name Kusuma-nāyaka reminds us of Kusumāyudha⁶ or Kusumāditya of Chalukya lineage of Mogalicheruvala and Kukanūru plates.⁷

Notes and References

- 1 *AREp.*, 2000-01
- 2 *Ep.Andhrica*, Vol. IV, p.109
- 3 *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District*, No. 27.
- 4 *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District*, No. 47.
- 5 *P.V.P. Sastry, The Kākatiyas*, p.103.
- 6 *Ibid.*, No. 103
- 7 *Ep.Andhrica*, Vol.IV.

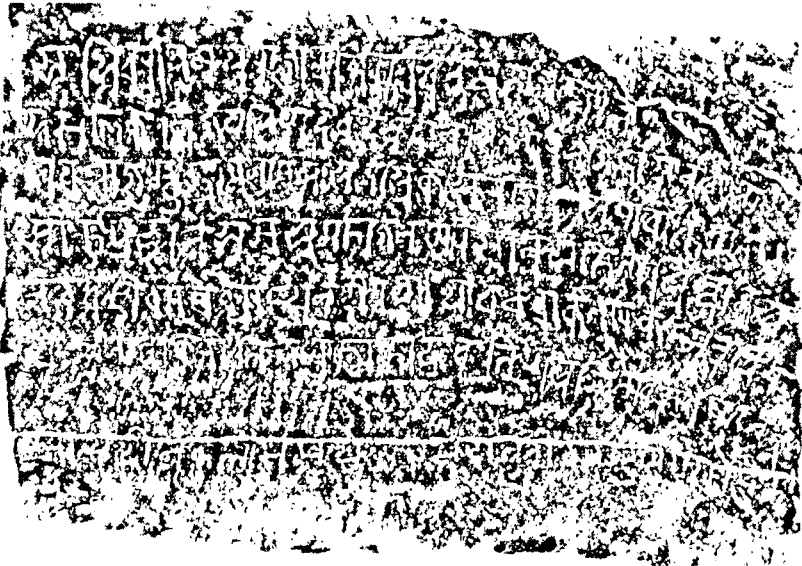
JAGADALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASINGHADĒVA

T. S. Ravishankar

In the month of August last year, I undertook an epigraphical survey of Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh (now Chhatisgarh state). In the course of my epigraphical survey I found few new records mostly from Jagadalpur Museum. I have taken one of them for examination here.

The present record¹ is engraved on a unhewn slab and it contains seven lines. The seventh line seems to have been engraved at a later date and it is not connected with the main record. The language of the record is Sanskrit (corrupt) and Nāgarī characters of about 13th century A.D. The inscription seems to have been composed by a person who knew very little of Sanskrit. Hence, we can pass on without referring to orthographical peculiarities. Even the engraving is rustic and crude. Mostly palaeographical features are quite regular to the period it belongs.

The record belongs to the reign of Jayasimhadēva, king of Nāgavamśi dynasty. This is the second record so far found belonging to this king. The first being Sunarpal stone inscription of Mahādēvī queen of Jayasimhadēva.² Since the Sunarpāl inscription is damaged and of fragmentary nature, it is quite possible that the date portion might have been lost alongwith the conventional eulogistic passage. The Sunarpāl inscription records the grant of village Adhakāḍa by the queen of Jayasimhadēva. But the present inscription records the grant of a village named Jambu-grāma by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāṇaka* Jayasimhadēva to Śrīkēśa, probably a *upādhyāya* (teacher). The word *upādhyāya* occurring in this inscription is quite interesting. The village Jambugrāma could not be identified. This inscription was written by Visuva-panḍita.



Jagadalpūr Stone Inscription of Jayasinghadēva

It may be observed here that the conventional *birudas*, which occurs in almost all the inscriptions of the Nāgavaṁśī rulers is absent in this record. Like- *Sahasra-paṇa-maṇi-kiraṇanikar-āvabhāsvara Nāga-vaṁśōdbhava, Bhōgāvati-puravariśvara, savatsa-vyāghra lām(ñ)chhana, Kāśyapa-gōtra*³, etc., whereas the present record mentions only *Samasta-rājāvali pūrvva-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. It is quite possible that he assumed the title *mahārājādhirāja* later, as known from the Sunarpāl inscription. In that case though both the records are not dated we can presume that the Jagadapur stone inscription under study is earlier to that of Sunarpāl stone inscription.

The present inscription records the grant of a village named Jambu-grāma by *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāṅka* to [*Śrīkēśa*,] probably a *upādhyāya* (teacher). The word *upādhyāya* occurring in this inscription is quite interesting. The village Jambu-grāma could not be identified.

This inscription has been written by Visuva-paṇḍita.

TEXT ⁴

1. Svati Śrī samasta rājāvali pūrvv[va]-mahāmaṇḍalē-
2. syasalika Sri(Śrī) Jayasighadēva datta dāna/ Sritatpurasaji pādānukasy-
3. dīyanta Jambu-grāma nāma sāsana Śrīkēśa[U]pādhyāya pad=a[rpaṇa]
4. sāha-prabhrāti samasta mahā-jana pāriśā]na(ra)sahitā sri(śrī) Jñānēśva-
5. radēva bhōga-ārthē grā[ma] dāna diyānta yāvat-chamdr-ārkkā -tāraka-matra-vishaye
6. yaha anyathā karōti sa brahma[hatya*] bhavati/ likhita Visuva-paṇḍitēna
7. Sīsa dīna kal-samaye.. sadī gahasapara mē.....

Notes and References:

1. This is being included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 2000-01*
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.X, pp. 35 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. X p. 38
4. From the estampage. Carelessly and crudely engraved.

KŌṬAPPAKONḌA INSCRIPTION OF IKSHVĀKU PERIOD

K.Munirathnam and S. Nagarjuna

The present inscription is engraved on a slab lying in the compound of the Trikūṭēśvara temple at Kōṭappakoṇḍa in Narasaraopet¹ Taluk of Guntur District in Andhra Pradesh. It is in Prakrit language and Brāhmī script of the 2nd - 3rd century A.D.

The beginning portion of the record is damaged. A number of persons like Kulika², Sidhatha (Sidhārtha), *Sābhajhaka*, *Sadhuja*, *Saghara*, *Anhaka*, *Sanajhaka*, etc., are mentioned. They probably donated a *kharṁbha* (pillar)³, *chatra* (parasol) to the *Ariya-saṁgha*. The record does not, however, mention the place where the Ariya-saṁgha was staying.

Among the names mentioned in the record the name *Sidhatha* is of interest to us as it reminds us of the original name of Buddha namely Siddhārtha.

The record is interesting because from the present record it can be surmised that a Buddhist *stūpa* or monastery might have existed somewhere near the spot, where the engraved slab in question was found. This shows the prevalence of Buddhism in Guntur District in 2nd - 3rd century A.D.

It is already known that the Ikshvākus who ruled this region during the period in question, were great patrons and protogonists of Buddhism. There is however, at present no trace of any Buddhist monument near the findspot of the record.

TEXT

1. tiya Kulikasa
2.[bhara] Sidhathasa Sābhajhakasa
3. Sabhari [ya]ra sagharaṇiya hadayasa pu -
4. takasa Sadhujhakasa Saghara-Anhakasa
5. Sanajhakasa ariya-saṁghasa - [kharṁ]bhā-chchathu-
6. dēya dhamma

Notes and References

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1999-2000, No. B 2.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp 1-25, pl B2, C2.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp 163.ff

Acknowledgements

We are highly thankful to Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer and Sri. M.J. Sharma for their valuable suggestions.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĪNACHINTĀMAṆINALLŪR

G. Vijayavenugopal

Two inscriptions were noticed by me at Chintāmaṇi, a village just one kilometer before Muṇḍiyambākkam in Villupuram - Chennai highway on February 2002 in the course of an epigraphical survey of Villupuram district in Tamilnadu. One inscription is inscribed on the southern *adhishṭāna* of a Śiva temple, presently called Vaidīśvaran kōyil. The other inscription was inscribed on the southern base of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the same temple. Both the inscriptions begin, with the *meykīrtti* viz., *Pūmādu-puṇara*, etc., which belongs to the Chōḷa king Vikrama Chōḷa, the son and successor to Kulōttuṅga I. Vikrama Chōḷa ascended the throne in 1118 A.D. Kulōttuṅga I married Madurāntakī, the daughter of Rājendra II. They had seven sons of whom Vikrama was perhaps the fourth.

Inscription I

This inscription is engraved in the Tamil alphabet and language. The characters are normal to the period it belongs i.e., the early quarter of the 12th Century A.D. Grantha letters were also used while mentioning the titles and proper name of the king. Free variation between *ṇ* and *ṇ̄* are found in a few places. There were also a few scribal errors like Chakavattigaḷ for Chakravarttigaḷ, etc., Pagayūr for Panaiyūr; Though the vowel length is shown through different symbols for *a* and *ā*, it is not followed while showing the difference between *i* and *ī* and between *o* and *ō*. The inscription is incomplete and the regnal year of the king is also not engraved though some space is left for it.

The object of the epigraph is to state that a group of 4000 *Vēḷaikkārar* belonging to Dīnachintāmaṇinallūr of Panaiyūr nāḍu in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu including Akalaṅka Viḷupparaiyaṅ, Tyāgamuttirap-pallavaraiya, Virudarājanāyaṅkarap-pallavaraiyaṅ Rājendrachōḷaṅ Nīlarayaṅ. Talairāmaṅ (obviously there is mistake), Alagiyarāyap-pallavaraiyan, Chediyadaraiyan, who are the closely related (or dedicated) *Vēḷaikkārar* of Vikrama Chōḷa who had conquered the Mīnavaṅ (Pāṇḍya king) have unanimously agreed to donate the quarter of *kōṇkūli* "wages of *kōl*" and *aṅgāḍippāṭṭam* "income from the bazaar" (which are perhaps due to them) as sources for conducting the festival of Mahādēva (Śiva) of ... chōḷīśvaram which is also called Śrī Kailāśam.

Though the name of the temple is not inscribed in this inscription, it is found inscribed in the other inscription as Kulōttuṅgachōḷīśvaram¹. Obviously, the temple is named after Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I, father of Vikrama Chōḷa. The village where the temple is located is given as Dīnachintāmaṇinallūr. Dīnachintāmaṇi is one of the three wives of Kulōttuṅga I, the other two being Ēḷisaivallabhi and Tyāgavalli². Hence, it is clear that Vikrama Chōḷa had immortalized the memory of his parents by naming the Śiva temple as Kulōttuṅgachōḷīśvaram (after his father) and by naming the village as Dīnachintāmaṇinallūr (after his mother). Since

the name is Kulōttuṅgachōlīśvaram one can assume that this is a *paḷḷippaḍai* (i.e., a sepulchral temple)³.

Another interesting aspect of the inscription is the mention of *Vēḷaikkārar*. Much has been written on the meaning of this term. Rejecting an earlier interpretation (according to which volunteers were enlisted on particular occasions (*vēḷai*)) K.A. Nilakanta Sastri states that the *Vēḷaikkārar* were the most permanent and dependable troops in royal service and their designation implies that they were ever ready to defend the king and his cause with their lives when occasion (*vēḷai*) arose. Again continuing his discussion on the interpretation and meaning of this term which occurs also in an inscription of Vijayabāhu found at Polonnaruva in Ceylon⁴. Sastri cites the explanation of the word *pūvēḷaikkārar* by the Vaishṇava commentators pointed out by T.A.Gopinatha Rao (in his Tamil article published in *Sentamiḷ* (the official journal of Tamil Sangam, Madurai). The commentators explain the term *pūvēḷaikkārar* as those who would die by stabbing themselves whenever they noticed the king without his being bedecked in the flowers suited for the occasion (*pū*=flower; *vēḷaikkārar*= those who serve at appropriate times). Extending this concept Sastri concludes by stating that *Vēḷaikkārar* are a body of men standing in close personal relation to the king and bound to stake their lives. Y.Subbarayalu while summarizing all these views states that there do occur some hints which support Sastri's views and quotes instances of *Vēḷaikkāra* soldiers of some chiefs taking an oath stating that they will not lead a humiliating life after the death of their masters⁵. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri also points out to the rebellion of the *Vēḷaikkārar* who were serving in the army of Vijayabāhu in Ceylon and its subsequent suppression by the Ceylonese king⁶. This reveals the mercenary character of the *Vēḷaikkārar*.

There are also references to *Vēḷaikkārar* regiments in Chōḷa inscriptions. These are found only from the period of Rājarāja I and the latest reference is found in an inscription of Rājādhirāja II. Thus we have *Vēḷaikkārar* who are mercenary troops and those who are dead being loyal to their masters.

In later inscriptions references like Kaḷḷa *Vēḷaikkārar* are found revealing further developments in these troops where caste identification is marked. An inscription of Virūpāksha I gives the information that the Kaḷḷa *Vēḷaikkārar*s who sought refuge with the village authorities were given the duty of guarding the village lands and the lives of the people for which they were allowed to collect one *paṇam* annually from each family and one ring for each marriage occasion⁷. Another inscription found in the Parvatagirīśvara temple (in the second *gōpura*) at Kuṇṇāṇḍār koyil (in Pudukkottai State) records the meeting of a great assembly representing small assemblies and local sects were the duties assigned to the Kaḷḷa *Vēḷaikkārar*s who sought refuge there⁸ Such instances reveal the declining status of these troops.

It is also interesting to note that similar groups of people are mentioned in the Kannada inscriptions. *Vēḷevāli*, *kīḷguṇṭe* were the terms used in these inscriptions. Similarly terms like

garuḍa and *leṅka* were also used for these type of soldiers⁹. A systematic study is necessary by comparing and contrasting different usages and practices found in different parts of our country in inscriptions, literature etc., In the inscription under discussion the term *Vēḷaikkārar* occurs with an adjective *tāya*. *Tāya* (< Skt. *Dhāya*) meaning 'closely related'/ 'dedicated'. This shows the intense relationship between the king and his *Vēḷaikkārars*. The inscription also gives some names of these *Vēḷaikkārars*. Names like *Akalaṅka*, *Tyāgasamudra*, *Virudarājabhayaṅkara* are really the titles of Kulottuṅga and Vikrama Chōḷa. In fact Vikrama Chōḷa has adopted the titles of his father. However, the inscription clearly states that these *Vēḷaikkārars* were the servants of Vikrama Chōḷa. Hence, the titles were that of Vikrama. At the end of the inscription it is stated that whoever destroys this (donation) will be considered as against the group (*nyāya*).

Inscription II

This inscription is also that of Vikrama Chōḷa. Herein the regnal year nine is clearly mentioned. Hence, the date of the inscription is 1127 A.D. There are only two lines and the inscription is incomplete. From what is mentioned one may surmise that one Palli (a farmer) Āḍavalāṅ Cheṅgaṅān Tirumuṇaippāḍi-nāḍu in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu donated something to Mahādēva of Śrī Kailāśam *alias* Kulōttuṅgachōḷīśvaram in Dīṅachintāmaṇinallūr in Paṇaiyūr-nāḍu in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu.

Text

Inscription I

1. Svasti Sri|| Pūmādu-puṇarap-puvimādu-vaḷara nāmādu- viḷaṅga jayamādu virumbat-taṅṅiru padamalar maṅṅavar chuḍa maṅṅiyav-urimaiyāḷ maṅṅimuḍi chūḍich-
2. chaidoru vaḷappa veṅgali kaḍindu meyyaraṅ taḷaippak-Kaliṅgam iriyāḷ-kaḍalmalai naḍātti divaśaṅkoḷāḷi vaḷaṅgoḷāḷi naḍppa iruchuḍaraḷavu orukuḍainilaṅṅa chempon-
3. vīrasimhāsanattu Mukkōkkilānaḍigaḷōdum vīṅṅirundaruḷiya kōpparakēsari [pa]mmar-āna chakravattigaḷ Śrī Vikramachōḷadēvarku yaṅḍu Rājarāja-vaḷanāḷṅṅu Panayūr-.
4. nāḷṅṅu Dīṅachintāmaṇinallūr Akalaṅka Vīḷupparaiyanu[m] Tyāgachamuttirap- pallavaraiyaṅṅum Virudarājabhayaṅkara-pallavaraiyaṅṅum Cheliyadaraiyaṅṅum ulliṅṅa-Miṅavanai veṅkaṅḍan Vikramachōḷan tāya vēḷaikkārarōm nāṅgaḷ nālāyirvarōmuṅ-kūḍa sam-
5. madittu ichChintāmaṇinallūr Śrī Kailāśamāna chōḷīśvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēvarkku tiruviḷāppuram-āga ivvūrka kālāḷavu korkūliyum aṅgāḍip-
6. pāṅṅamum chandrādittavar chella kaḍavad-āga kuḍuttōm ivvaṅṅaivōm idu aḷiyu cheyvār inniyāyattukkup-piḷaittār-āvār i...

Inscription 2

1. Svasti Śrī|| Pūmādū puṇara puvimādu vaḷara nāmādu viḷaṅga jayamādu virumba taṇṇiru padumalar-maṇṇavar-chūḍa maṇṇiyav-urimaiyāl maṇimuḍi chūḍich=cheṅgōl cheṇru diśaidōrum vaḷarppa veṅgali kaḍindu meyyaraṇ taḷaippak-Kaliṅgameriyak -kaḍalmalai naḍātti vaḷaṅgōlāḷi naḍappa iruchuḍar-aḷavum oru kuḍai-nīḷa-
2. r̥rach-chempon vīrasimhāsanattu Mukkōkkilāṇaḍigaḷōḍum vīr̥rirund-aruliya kōpparakē-saripanmar-āna chakravattigaḷ Śrī Vikramachōḷadēvarku yāṇḍu 9 āvadu Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu-Dīnachintāmaṇinallūr Śrī Kailāsam Kulōttuṅgachōḷīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēvarku Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu Tirumuṇaippādināṭṭu Opūrppalli Āḍavalāṇ Cheṅgaṇāṇ....

Notes and References

1. *The Chōḷas*, Madras, 1984, p.332
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, introduction, p.10
3. *Op.cit.*, p.454
4. Vijayabāhu I, The liberator of Laṅka, *Journal of the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. IV, 1955-56, pp.67-71
5. *Ibid.*
6. Unpublished Ph. D.Dissertation, p.167
7. *Op.cit.*, pp. 315-16
8. *Ibid.*
9. *S.I.I.*, Vol.II, pp.12-19
10. *AREp.*, 1915, p.106
11. *Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, 1929, No.689
12. Kesavan Veluthat, *The nature and significance of the Institution of Vēḷevāḷi* in Karnataka in Historical perspective 800-1300 A.D. I thank Dr. Y. Subbarayalu for giving me this mimeographed paper.

BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHANDAGIRI -UDAYAGIRI HILLS AND THE WRITER OF KHĀRAVELA'S HĀTIGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTIONS

Snigdha Tripathy

Much has been said about Khāraṇela, one of the earliest 'lords of Kalinga' and his Hātigumphā inscription, the only source of information about this illustrious ancient king of about 1st century B.C. The galaxy of scholars, with their sincere endeavour continued since second decade of the 19th century to know the real facts about the enigmatic Khāraṇela, the 'lord of Kalinga' his ancestry, the extent of his empire, his capital of Kalinganagari, his date of reign and many other problems connected with him. The only source so far, to know about him was the well-known Hātigumphā inscription and a number of minor Brāhmī inscriptions in the caves of Khandagiri-Udayagiri hills in the present Orissan capital of Bhubaneswar. Unfortunately, these inscriptions and particularly the writings in the Hātigumphā, are at present in an extremely bad state of preservation, thus preventing historians reach to any definite conclusion on the various problems connected with the history of the period in question. Controversies continue to prevail among scholars on the problems which still induce them to dwell upon speculations. Though the Hātigumphā inscription of Khāraṇela has been examined, deciphered and interpreted in various ways from time to time by numerous scholars since its discovery, the other minor Brāhmī inscriptions of the same period in the twin hills have not attracted so much the attention of scholars as that of the Hātigumphā. Though they are called minor inscriptions due to their short nature in comparison to that of the Hātigumphā, recent investigations have shown that they are no less important for the reconstruction of Kalingan history during the reign of Khāraṇela and his dynasty of Mahāmeghavāhana. Though they have been deciphered and published earlier by a few scholars¹, a detailed study of them has now become necessary in order to get more information on the history of Khāraṇela. The most recent investigations on a few of these inscriptions have thrown welcome light on the history of Khāraṇela's time which have been incorporated in the present writing.

There are three short Prakrit inscriptions in Brāhmī characters in the caves now called Sarpagumphā and Haridāsgumphā near the Hātigumphā inscription on the Udayagiri hill². Palaeographically these epigraphs can be attributed to the same period as that of the Hātigumphā, i.e., to about the later part of the 1st century B.C. The Sarpagumphā has two inscriptions while the Haridas cave is engraved with one. The first inscription of the Sarpagumphā consisting of one line reads:

Chulakamasa koṭhājeyā cha

This has been translated by R.D. Banerji, the editor of the inscriptions as "the unsurpassable

chamber of Chulakama (Kshudrakarman). F.W. Thomas, one of the editors of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, interpreted Chulakama tentatively as Chuḍākarmaṇ, which is not certain. As regards the expression *koṭhājeyā* the editor of the inscription, though at first analysed the two words *koṭhā* and *jeyā* being united by a *sandhi*, but interpreted only the word *koṭhā* indicating a chamber and took *jeyā* to be *ajeyā* because of the *sandhi* and interpreted as “unconquerable” qualifying *koṭhā*. But the inscription has the conjunction *cha* which follows *koṭha jeyā* which seems to have technical meaning denoting a verandah or some other part of the chamber or *koṭhā*. So the inscription may be translated as the “chamber and verandah (or a side-chamber) of Chulakama (Chullakarman or Kshudrakarman)”. The characters used in the inscription have close resemblance with that of the Hātiguṃphā inscription of Khāravēla. Scholars have generally assigned the scripts to c. 1st century B.C.. The second inscription in the Sarpaguṃphā consists of two lines of writing in Brāhmī script of the same period as that of the above record of Chulakama (Chullakarman or Kshudrakarman). The vowel marks and sign for *anusvāra* are difficult to distinguish at the present state as the inscription has been engraved on a very rough surface. The text has been deciphered by R.D. Banerji as follows:

1. *Kamasa Halakhi-*

2. *ṇaya cha pasādo*

The facsimile of the inscription shows on the left at the beginning of the record, very faintly a letter resembling *la* which has not been noticed by the editor. So the name is [Chu] lakama (or Kshudrakarman), the same person who has been mentioned in the first inscription. It has been translated by the editor as the “temple of Chulakama and Halakhiṇa”. He has taken the word *pāsādo* in the sense of *pasādo* (Sanskrit-*prāsādaḥ*), the temple. But in the absence of a stroke over the letter, it should be taken as *pasādo* (Skt.*prasādaḥ*), a gift. The same word has been repeated in the Haridās cave inscription as will be shown below. So the inscription indicates a gift made by two persons named [Chu] lakama and Halakhiṇa. So far as the name of the second person is concerned, the editor of the inscription did not interpret the word. F.W. Thomas, one of the editors of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII (1915-16), however, doubtfully Sanskritized the name as Ślakshaṇāyāḥ(?) In this contest, it may be pointed out here that there is considerable influence of South Indian pronunciation in the spelling of the name of Halakhiṇa. The change of *ś* or *s* into *h* is frequently met with in the Prakrit inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era. The inscriptions of the early Sātavāhanas of the Deccan often exhibit such peculiarities in the names of the members of the dynasty, such as Hakusiri (Sk. Śaktīśrī)³. The name Halakhiṇaya in the sixth case-ending appears to denote a female. Though the medial signs are now obliterated, there is no difficulty to Sanskritize the name as Sulakshaṇāyā and since her name is mentioned with that of Chulakama, she appears to be the wife of the same person both of whom made a gift of the cave evidently in favour of the Jain monks.

According to Prakrit grammer and Sauraseni Prakrit, pronunciation of *t* and *th* usually changes to *d* and *dh* respectively. In the Hätigumphā inscription, several examples of such peculiarities are found, especially those which are frequently met with in the South Indian Prakrit inscriptions of early historical times. Thus we notice the pronunciation of *th* has been changed to *dh* in the words, *padhame* for *prathame* (line-3), *radha* for *ratha* (line-4), *Madhuram* for *Mathuram*(line-8). Even *th* sometimes changing to *ṭh* as is known from the Nanaghat inscription of the Śātavāhana queen Nāganikā (queen of Śātakarṇi I) in which we find *Dakhāṇi-pathā* for Dakṣiṇā-patha(1. 2.)⁴. There is also frequent use of *d* in place of *t*, as in *Sada* for *Sata*, *Sādavāhana* for Śātavāhana, *Sādakarṇi* for Śātakarṇi in the Śātavāhana inscriptions. In this context we may refer to their third inscription of Chullakarman engraved in the Haridas cave in the Udayagiri hill. It is written in one line and incised over one of the entrances to the main chamber of the cave from the verandah. It reads :

Chulakamasa pasāto Kothā jeyā cha

There seems to be a chisel mark below the letter *k* in the name of Chulakama which has been read by R.D. Banerji as *kra*. He translated the text as “the temple and unsurpassable chamber of Chullakarman (Kṣudrakarman)”. But it should be Chullakarman’s gift of the chamber and verandah (or the side chamber)”. The point to be noted here is that, in this record *pasāto* is written for *pasādo* (Sk. *prasādah*), *d* being changed to *t*. Similarly we notice *t* being changed to *d* in *Mahishakādhipadi* for *Mahishakādhipati* in one of the versions of the Guntupalli inscription of Siri-Sada⁵. The influence of South Indian pronunciation of *cha* for *ś* or *s* is also noticeable in the Hätigumphā inscription of Khāavela as will be known from the subsequent discussion below. In the Prakrit inscriptions of the Ikshvāku family at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (c. 3rd century A.D) the use of *ch* in place of *ś* or *s* is very often noticed, such as in the names of Chāntamula for Śāntamūla, Chāntisiri for Śāntīśrī, etc⁶. The change of *ś* or *śh* in the name of kings of the Kadamba family of Goa may be referred to in this context. The name *Shashṭha* has its Prakrit form of *Chatṭa*. Moreover the Dravidian language like Tamil has no letter in its alphabet corresponding to *ś* (palatal) of Sanskrit and this *ś* is generally represented in Tamil by *ch*, e.g., Sanskrit - *śatru* in Tamil is *chatturu*. As the palatal *ś* is represented in Prakrit by dental *s* which again is almost identical in south with Dravidian *ch*⁷. The language of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of the Ikshvāku kings, so far as the Dravidian influence of pronunciation is concerned, appears to have close resemblance with the Hätigumphā and other contemporary Brāhmī inscriptions of the Udayagiri-Khandagiri hills. In the context of the language of the Ikshvāku inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Sten Know observed, “We are faced with a normalised semiliterary Prakrit used by people whose home-tongue was Dravidian, and probably Kanarese. If I am right, we shall *a priori* be inclined to infer that the Ikshvākus had come to Kṛṣṇā country from the west”⁸. Further, *g* in place of *k* and *v* for *p* are written according to the pronunciation in the epigraphic records of these dynasties of the Deccan as well as in the Hätigumphā inscription e.g., *uvāsaga* in place of *upāsaka* in the

14th line of Khāravēla's inscription. The Guṇṭupalli (West Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh) inscription of Siri-Sada Śrī-Śāta⁹ exhibits the peculiarity in the pronunciation of *gh* as *kh* e.g., Mahāmekhavāhana for Mahāmeghavāhana (1. 2). This is an example of the influence of Pāisācī Prakrit in the pronunciation of *kh* for *gh*, particularly in the South Indian Prakrit inscriptions.

The above discussion would tend to show the Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravēla as well as other minor Brāhmī inscriptions of the same period in the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills were engraved by a South Indian scribe who seemed to have accompanied Khāravēla and his family members to the region. The engravings would also give the impression that the scribe tried to follow the local pronunciation of Prakrit words though at places left marks of his own South Indian pronunciation peculiarities. The subsequent discussion would furnish more evidences on this assumption.

The Sarpagumphā inscription of Chulakamma has *pasado* (Sk. *prasādaḥ*) whereas the Haridas cave inscription of the person is engraved with the word *pasato*, *d* being changed to *t*, carrying the same meaning, i.e., gift. While European scholars like Sten Konow and F.W. Thomas¹⁰ suggest the meaning of *pas ado* or *pasāto* (= *prasādaḥ*) as gift, the editor of the record has interpreted the expression as *pāsādo prāsādo* cannot be taken as a scribal error for *pāsādo* (*prāsādaḥ*) as both the inscriptions of Chulakamma have the same word denoting a gift. So all these inscriptions would indicate that Chullakarman (or Kshudrakarman) and his wife Sulakshaṇā caused the construction of the chambers (caves) and dedicated them in favour of the Jain monks. Further, they also built two chambers for the purpose of their own residence (*koṭhā jeyā*) in the said caves along with the gift caves.

The interesting fact to be noted is that we find one Chulagoma as the writer of Guṇṭupalli inscription of the time of Siri-Sada (Śrī-Śāta), the lord of Kalinga and Mahishaka of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty of about the first half of the 1st century B.C.¹¹ Evidently, there is close similarity in the name of Chulagoma (Chullakarman or Kshudrakarman) of this inscription with that of Chulakamma of the Sarpagumphā and the Haridas cave. Further, the scripts used in all these inscriptions have striking similarity with each other. In the Guṇṭupalli inscription the writer seems to have followed the local pronunciation in words like Mahāmekhavāhana in place of Mahāmeghavāhana as already cited above, *sada* for *Sāta* or *Śāta* and in the pronunciation of his own name Chulagoma for Chulakama or in Sanskrit Chullakarman or Kshudrakarman. Here *k* has been changed to *g* as is noticed in the South Indian pronunciation even in the present day. Scholars, however, have read the name as Chula-Goma (Sk. Kshudra-Goma)¹². But it is not convincing in view of the above discussion. This Chulagoma was evidently the same person named Chulakama of the Haridas cave and Sarpagumphā inscriptions who seemed to have accompanied Khāravēla and his family to the great Jain centre in the Udayagiri-Khandagiri hills and possibly was the writer of all the Brāhmī inscriptions of the period and place in

question including that of the big Hätigumphā inscription of Khāavela. It may be pointed out here in this context that Chulagoma is stated in the Guṇṭupalli inscription to be the writer of the Mahāmeghavāhana king Siri-Sada, the lord of Kalinga and Mahishaka. The text of the inscription is as follows:

Kalinga-Mahisakādhipatisa Mahāmekhavāhanasa siri-Sadasa

*lekhakasa Chulagomasa maṇḍapa dānam[1]*¹³

If both the names of Chulagoma and Chulakama of all these inscriptions are taken to be the same, it would tend to indicate an interesting fact of history relating to Kharavela's ancestry. Now there is every reason to believe that Khāavela and Siri-Sada (Śrī-Śāta) of the Guṇṭupalli inscription were closely related to each other and belonged to the same Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty of Kalinga. This is corroborated by an evidence furnished in the first line of the Hätigumphā inscription of Khāavela. One of the epithets of this king reading *Chetarāja-varṁśa vardhanena*, 'one who extended or increased the family of Chetarāja', has been a matter of controversy among the scholars since long. Previously, scholars deciphered *Cheta* but corrected it for *Cheti* (=Chedi) which induced them to believe that Khāavela belonged to the ancient Chedi royal family¹⁴. The above epithet was interpreted by them as the 'one who enhanced or heightened the glory of the Chedi royal dynasty'. This belief was also strengthened by another epithet describing the king at the end of the same inscription, reading *rājisi-Vasu-kula-vinisito* (Sk. *rājarshi-Vasu-kula-viniśṛitaḥ*), 'one who has hailed from the family of *rājarshi-Vasu*'. Here the word *rājarshi* (saintly king) is an epithet of Vasu¹⁵ to whose family Khāavela is stated to have belonged. Some scholars have tried to identify this Vasu with a Paurava king of the same name described in the *Mahābhārata* as Uparichara-Vasu. He is again identified with the Chetiya king (Chedi) named Upachara mentioned in the Buddhist Chetiya-Jātaka. Further, another king named Vasu is found in the Jain *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa*, who has been stated as the son of Abhichandra, the founder of the Chedi-rāshṭra at the foot of the Vindhya. It is quite interesting to note the stories relating to all these personalities, e.g., Vasu, Uparichara-Vasu and Upachara are totally different from one another. But scholars have made frantic effort to co-relate the traditions and prove that the king named Uparichara-Vasu or Upachara of the Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jain traditions was the same person and the ancestor of Khāavela of the historic Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty. Their arguments regarding the identification of *rājarshi-Vasu* of the Hätigumphā inscription has therefore, remained so far a mere speculation. The expression *rājarshi* endowed with the name of Vasu seems to indicate that he was a historical personage and not a mythical king and may have been a remote ancestor of Khāavela. The practice of showing reverence to the predecessors, adoring with such expression as *rājarshi* (saint king) prefixed with their names is not rare in the epigraphic records of the contemporary Śātavāhanas and other dynasties of the Deccan. The Nasik cave inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi¹⁶ the mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (or Śrī Śātakarṇi), named Gautam-Balasri has been described

as "*rājarshi-vadhu...*" Early Ikshvāku kings of Southern India were hailed in reverence by the Kekayas of Karnataka region of about 5th century A.D. who were matrimonially related, endowed them with the epithet of *rājarshi*, has been recorded in one of their inscriptions¹⁷.

On the other hand, if we accept the expression in the first line of the Hātigūmphā inscription, *Chetarāja-vaṁśa-vaṁśa-wardhanena* in the sense of 'one who extended the family of Chetarāja', it would help greatly to find a clue to solve the problem of Khāavela's ancestry. The expression would apparently tend to indicate that Chetarāja was the father of Khāavela. Moreover, the peculiarities and influence of South Indian pronunciation on Prakrit words used in the inscription as already discussed above would evidently indicate another significant fact of history. As already cited above, in the Dravidian pronunciation *ś* or *s* is very often changed to *ch* and *d* to *t* and there is reason to believe that Chetarāja or Sātarāja. It is possible to think that Chetarāja or Sātarāja was the same as Siri-Sada or Sri-Sāta (or Śrī-Śāta) of the Guṇṭupalli inscription. Thus Khāavela has been rightly described as the 'one who increased or extended the family of Chetarāja (or Śātarāja)', or in other words, he was the son and successor of Sātarāja or Chetarāja of the inscription.

Scholars, however, are inclined to believe on palaeographical consideration that Siri-Sada of the Guṇṭupalli inscription was a latter successor of Khāavela. According to them, "Some of the characters of the Guṇṭupalli inscription are very considerably later than those of the Hātigūmphā inscription of Khāavela who is now assigned to the close of the first century B.C."¹⁸. But it is not always safe to rely upon the palaeography, especially of stone inscriptions in order to determine the date of an inscription. What have been taken to be later scripts in the Guṇṭupalli inscription, in fact, do not show anything like later development but due to the nature of stones on which the inscriptions (four versions of the same inscription) were copied, a few of the letters (e.g., *ch*, *l*, *h*, etc.) appeared to be of later cursive forms. Virtually, the scripts used in Hātigūmphā and other caves of the Khandagiri-Udayagiri hills as well as in the Guṇṭupalli records of the time of Mahāmeghavāhana rule, do not show any wide gap, the reason being the one and the same person engraved all these records as is clear from the above discussion.

Though 'Sada or 'Sāta', used as a contraction of the typical Śātavāhana names is frequently met with in the epigraphic records and coins of the Śātavāhana rulers, it is evident from the near contemporary records of other South Indian royal families, such as the Mahāmeghavāhana, the unknown family of Hārītiputra- Mānasada of the Velpūru inscription of the Guntur region (Andhra Pradesh)¹⁹. The Chuṭu-kula-Śātakarṇis of Karnataka region, etc., and these rulers are also known to have borne the popular name. It is sometimes believed that the rulers of these dynasties bearing the typical Śātavāhana names may have been of Śātavāhana princes²⁰.

Notes and References :

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 159 ff and plates.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-65 and plates IV, V. and VI.
3. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions, Bearing on the Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I.p.186.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 187 ff.
5. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. III, pp.35 ff (version No. 3) . other three versions have ... *patisa*.
6. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 220-22 ff.
7. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas on Lower Deccan* (Calcutta University), 1939, p.17 and note 1.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX.p. 26.
9. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. V, pp. 48 ff and plate : *JAIH.*, Vol. III(1-2), pp. 30 ff and plate:
N.K. Sahu, *Khāravēla*, Bhubaneswar, 1984, pp. 369 ff and plate.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 162 and note 2.
11. *JESI.*, Vol. V, pp. 48 ff; *JAIH.*, Vol. III, pp.30 ff.
12. *JAIH.*, Vol. III, pp.30 ff.
13. *Ibid.*, the same inscription is engraved on four different pillars. The arrangement of letters as well as the lines of the text are, however, not exactly the same in the different versions.
14. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I.p. 207 and note 1, p. 211 and note 4; N.K. Sahu, *Khāravēla* (Bhubaneswar) 1984, p.18.
15. In a recent paper entitled "Ancestry of Khāravēla, Re-examined" (*Journal of Orissan History*, Vol. XV (1996), p.31). J.K. Sahu has opined that *rājarshi* is an epithet used for Khāravēla. But it should be noted that the whole expression *rājarshi-Vasu-kula-viniṣṭitaḥ* has been used as an epithet of Khāravēla and *rājarshi* has been used in the honour of Vasu, the hitherto unknown predecessor of Khāravēla.
16. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 198 ff.
17. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, p.15.
18. *JAIH.*, Vol. III, pp. 31 ff.
19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 82-87 ff and plate.
20. *JAIH.*, Vol. III, p. 34 and note.

EPIGRAPHIC REFERENCES TO ARAB SETTLEMENTS IN KONKAN

A.K.Ranade

The Konkan region (ancient Aparāntaka) comprises the coastal strip of Mahārāshtra, Goa and the southern coastal region of Gujarat. The creeks and ports of Konkan such as Sopāra, Kalyāṇ, Chaul, Śrīsthānaka (Thāna) have played an important part in the formation of the Mahārāshtrian Culture, both by giving and letting in foreign influence by way of trade and emigration.¹ from pre-historic and early historic times, these ports have been used not only for the purpose of undertaking trade and commerce, but also for wars and emigration to and from foreign land.² It was through these ports, that the Western world was brought into contact with India.

In the medieval period, the Arabs came in contact with western coast of India. In fact, when the Sassanians in Persia in the 6th C A.D. were overthrown by the Arabs, several bands of Persians sought refuge on the Thāna coast (at Sanjan) and were kindly received by Jadav Rana, apparently a Yadav chief of Sanjan³. In the year immediately after their conquest of Persia, the Arabs made several raids on the coast of Western India, one of these in 637 from Bahrein and Oman in the Persian gulf, plundered the Konkan coast near Thāna.⁴ In the subsequent centuries Arab traders and sailors participated increasingly in the mercantile activities who further established their settlements on the western coast of India.

Accounts of the contemporary Arab travellers such as Al-Masudi (10th CA.D.), Al-Itakri (A.D. 951) and Ibn Haukal also throw light on the Arab settlements in Konkan.

Al-Masudi⁵ tell us that during his times, there were ten thousand Muslims residing in the city of Chaul, some of whom were Biyasara means born in India, while others were from Siraf, Oman, Basara and Bagdad who had left their country and settled down here.

According to Al-itakri (A.D.95) ⁶ and Ibn Haukal⁷ (A.D.976) the land from Cambay to Chaul belonged to the Hindus but there are Musalmans.... There are many mosques where Muhammadans assemble to pray. Mention to the mosques in Goa occurs in Pañaji copper-plate inscription⁸ (A.D.1059) of Kadamba ruler - Jayakēśi - which records an Arab official named Chhadma who was allowed to have mosques and a head-man to settle their disputes in Gōpaka-dvīpa *i.e.*, it clearly indicates the Arab settlements in Goa, *i.e.* South Konkan. The inscription also makes a mention that Arab Chhadma (had saved the life of Shashṭha) father of Jayakēśi-I for which Chhadma was given concessions. It will be interesting to note that though, the grant was given to an Arab, a Muslim and a foreigner, it follows the Hindu tradition of recording the name and the genealogical history of the donor's family (as usual) and also of the donee. Here, the donee is Chhadma - an Arab along with the name of his father Madhumat probably

Mohammad, and grand father, Alliya probably Ali. Perhaps recording three generations of a foreign (Arab) donee in an inscription of a native ruler in Koṅkaṇ appears for the first time.⁹

In the post - 10th centuries, the Arab travellers seem to have extended their economic fangs over to internal town as well. Al-Idrisi¹⁰ who includes Kambaya (Cambay), Subara (Sopāra), Sindan and Saimur (Chaul) in the list of the countries in Western India and the Muslims (probably the Arabs) have reached most of these countries and have subjugated the regions surrounding them. As mentioned earlier according to Al-Masudi, there were ten thousand Muslims residing in the city of Chaul.¹¹

It is a matter of fact that along with their increasing mercantile activities, the Arabs gradually strengthened their settlements as well as political power on the western coast. Many Arabs secured high posts in the Courts on Indian rulers. Anantdēv Śīlāhāra appointed Vāsaid an Arab as his *mahāmātya*¹². Chhaḍma was also appointed as *mahāmātya* by Jayakēśi Kadamba as mentioned earlier. A copper plate inscription¹³ records an Arab feudatory of Sañjan mandal who is credited to have given some charity endowment to the Bhagavatī temple at Sañjan. Chinchani copper plate inscription¹⁴ (926 A.D.) records the name Madhumati Sugatipa Tajik i.e., Arab who was the feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. His father Sahiyarhar (Hiyarhar or Yarhar) also is recorded in the inscription. Inscription further says that on the request of his minister Puvaiyya, Madhumati Sugatip had given charity endowment for the worship of Dashamidēvī in Sañjan-mandal. This shows that in the initial stages, the Arabs, though Muslims either had a tolerant attitude about the idol worship and worshippers or being newly emerging rulers on western coast, it may be a part of their political and religious diplomacy to please the indogenous population.

The Śīlāhāras in north Koṅkaṇ ruled over the territory between Sopāra to Chaul while the Arabs controlled the territory to the north of Sopāra i.e., Sañjan-mandal. Both were the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Dr. Mirashi,¹⁵ points out that often they struggled with each other. After the downfall of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Śīlāhāra king Aparājīta conquered Sañjan and annexed it to his kingdom. However, the Arabs from Chaul and South Koṅkaṇ were friendly to Kadambas from Goa. After the death of Mummuni, the Śīlāhāra ruler of north Koṅkaṇ, the Kadambas attacked on the north Koṅkaṇ¹⁶ and their Arab friend from Chaul and south Koṅkaṇ also created a chaos in North Koṅkaṇ. The Vadavali copper plate inscription¹⁷ (A.D. 1127) gives us full information about this fact.

However, by this time it seems that the Arabs must have been established themselves on the Koṅkaṇ coast. Some of the Arab settlers are recorded in the contemporary inscriptions. To name a few Madhumati Sugatip of Chinchani copper plate, Aliya, Madhumad and Chhaḍma of Panaji copper plate, some other inscriptions of Śīlāhāras of north Koṅkaṇ refers their Arab subject, some others are referred as Khojas¹⁹ whose occupation was agriculture - which shows that even though the Arabs initially came to India as traders, they entered in the social as well as the political life of Koṅkaṇ.

As a matter of fact, Indian rulers though earlier resisted Arab attacks on their coast, welcomed Arab merchants to visit their kingdoms and treated them with great kindness. ²⁰ It was due to the fact that the Arabs brought the horses and the frankincense which was very much in demand in India. In fact, the most important item of India's import from the Arab world was the horses. The Indian texts highly commend the horses of the regions of Persia, Arabia etc.²¹ The combined testimony of Marco Polo, Rashid-Uddin Wasaf and Ibn Battuta reveals the fact, that thousands of horses were sent every year for sale to India from the Arab world. Marco-Polo, referring to the kingdom of Tana (Thana) states that many horses were shipped from abroad towards India and no ship ever goes there without horses in addition to other cargo²². The importance of the horse trade can be traced from the fact that the king of Thana had entered into a covenant with the Pirates that he should get all the horses they captured and the rest of the plunder world remain with them. Obviously in due course the Arabs who played a dominant role in horse trade, were able to establish firmly on the western coast of India in general and Konkan in particular.

Notes and References

1. *The Gazetteer of Maharashtra State*, p.2
2. *Ibid.*, p.4
3. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency (Thane District)*, Vol.XIII, p.421.
4. *Ibid.*
5. V.K.Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India*, p.74; also see *Gazetteer (Thane)*, p.432.
6. V.K.Jain, *op.cit.*, p.74.
7. *Ibid.*
8. M.G.Dixit, '*Indica*', Silver Jubilee Volume, pp.898-99.
9. *Ibid.*
10. V.K.Jain, *op.cit.*, p.75.
11. See foot note No.5
12. M.G.Panse, *Yadavkalin Maharashtra (Marathi)*, p.219.

13. *Ep.Ind* Vol. XXXII, p.51 E., V.V.Mirashi, *Shilahar Rajvamsha cha itihasa Ani Koriv Lekh* (Marathi), Vol.1, p.97.
14. V.V.Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.97; *Maharashtra Va Gove, Shilalekh, Tamra-patyanchi Vamanatmak Suchi*. p.148.
15. V.V.Mirashi, *op. cit.*,p.97.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp.52-55;also V.V.Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.97.
18. V.V.Mirashi *op.cit.*, p.97.
19. *Ibid.*
20. V.K.Jain, *op.cit.*, p.74.
21. *Ibid.*, p.95.
22. *Ibid.*, *Gazetteer (Thane.)*

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A PORTUGUESE INSCRIPTION FROM CHURCH OF OUR LADY ROSARY, GOA

Swapna H. Samel

In this paper efforts have been made to focus on Portuguese inscription on the tomb of Dona Catarina erected at Our Lady of Rosary Church, Old Goa.

The area around Goa extending to 3800 Sq.km, between Western Ghats and Arabian Sea with the Sawantawadi ghats and North Canara and Southern boundaries is now known as Goa. Gomata, Gopakapura and Gove.

The Portuguese conquered Goa in 1510 A.D. and made it the capital of their sea borne empire in the east. They had initiated the process of establishing such an empire towards the close of the 15th century. Vasco-da-Gama, a nobleman and navigator had set out from Portugal on July 8, 1497 with four ships and 170 men with the purpose of discovering a sea route to India via the Cape Of Good Hope. He had fulfilled this objective reaching Kapukad, twelve kilometer north of Calicut on Malabar Coast on May 17, 1498. The Portuguese seems to have gathered some information about Goa, its strategic position and commercial importance, years before they conquered it. There is evidence to show that the Portuguese were invited by some Goan leaders and others to capture it. Finally on 3rd March 1510 Albuquerque took possession of old Goa from Ismail Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur.

The inscription under study is on the tomb of Dona Caterina, which is situated in the Church of Our Lady of Rosary [Igreja ka Nassa Senhora do Rosario]. The Church of Our Lady of Rosary also known as Church of St. Mary of Rosary, built in 1543, situated in the Holy Mount [Monte Santo] in closer vicinity of the Convents of St. Monical and St. Augustine. Its important factor is that it stands at the very spot from where the conqueror of Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque, in 1510, witnessed the reconquest of Goa. The church is a fine example of harmonious blending and characteristic of alter Gothic style and the Renaissance and of those others belonging to the Hindu and Muslim art²

**Aqi Iaz Dona Catirina Molher De
Garcia Da Sa a Oval Pedo A Ovem Isto Lek
Qva Peca Misericordia Adeus Pera Sva Alma³**

Translation: Here lies Lady Catherine wife of Garcia de Sa those who read this should ask mercy of God for her soul.

The epigraph under study itself is a source material for the history of Goa under Portuguese. Though ample references are available in literary form, one cannot neglect the importance of inscriptions since it is a primary source material of history. Secondly, this inscription on tomb

of Dona Catarina gives instant information to general public who may not go to historical records about the history of Goa. Historically speaking this inscription is of great importance as it brings to light information, through which is recorded contemporary documents; this inscription provided first-hand source material and definite valuable data, throwing welcome light on Portuguese rulers in Goa.

This inscription also focuses on the important fact that the language, which is used in the inscription, is not the language of regional people but it is of the Portuguese who were the rulers of the time. Most probably composers of inscriptional text were mostly drawn from ruling classes. On the other hand, writers might have hailed from any of the prevalent classes or castes. The common feeling behind erecting the tomb in church was that devotees should pray to the God for the soul of a dead person. And also it was a pleasant way making a person immortal. To keep the memory fresh of a dead spouse usually it was a custom to pay a donation to the church for conducting the prayers in the said church where the tomb was placed.

The inscription under study on the tomb shows the importance the Portuguese gave for charities and recording of their names to be fresh in the memory of people. This indeed was a common form in which Hindus gave endowment and charities. We can see the interrelation of foreign traditions, customs and religions. We also see the blending or synthesis of traditions and new cultures giving rise to new identity. Thus the result was many ancestral customs that were not directly connected with Hindu worship lived on. For example, the cross-replaced the Tulsi plant in the homes of the natives who were converted to Christianity and it remained an object of worship in the courtyard. Goan Christians had not only to change their names but had to change their food habits, social customs and even dress to confirm the way of living of the European Christians.

Another thought provoking and interesting interpretation based on the inscription on the tomb of Dona Catarina throws on the position of women and the traditional Hindu customs is that the lady the word itself used for a woman with respect [like Respectful Maria] speaks of high position of woman. The tomb of Lady Catarina got the place in prestigious church of the said times. Now the question comes, was such a high status given to her because she was a wife of Viceroy Gracia de Sa? If it is so, then one cannot state that during Portuguese period women were placed at high position. Like Hindu way of life in those days and even today status comes to and from the position of her husband and family in the society. Chances of getting self-identity to women were remote. There may be some exceptions, but in general, it is observed that, women who were married to a authoritative personalities, like Governors, Judges, Viceroy's, lead a higher status in society and obviously there tombs were erected in well established churches in Goa. This throws a light on the degree of male domination in the social life of Portuguese.

This does not mean that the Portuguese were conservative and selfish in their motives always.

Archbishop Santa Catarina condemned the practice of getting 12-year girl married before they were capable of evaluating the duties of marriage⁴. Similarly one decree ruled out that the bride's face should be unveiled and clearly seen at the wedding ceremony and that her responses to the vital questions there are audible⁵.

Right from the time immemorial, inscription had its own definite and distinct importance in history. Though modern methods of engraving came in, the ancient inscriptions stayed as monuments throughout human civilizations and especially in the case of Portuguese, it is rightly observed that engraving of different times, in different shapes and sizes and content remained as a part of their cultures. Through inscription on the tomb of Dona Catarina, we find that the sword and cross-made Goan shun their ancestral habits, customs and the whole traditional way of life. It can without doubt be said that the Church played a vital role in the life of the Goan people. With the coming of the Portuguese and Goan culture there has become amalgam of much that is best in the cultures of the west and east. We can conclude by saying that inscription depending upon the nature of the information we seek, every section line or even word of the inscription texts, be it invocatory, genealogical, operative or imprecatory can be made to yield hidden facts of history⁶.

Notes and References

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2. Jullia Nwer., *The Monuments in Old Goa.*, Delhi., 1979., p.33.
3. *Ibid.*, p.38
4. Sumario Cronologico de Decretos Diocesanos do Arcebispado de Goa, ed. M.J.S de Albuquerque, pp.12, 13,27-28.
5. P. Kamath, *Some legal aspects of the socio-economic life of women in Portuguese Goa.*, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 93-103.
6. K.V.Ramesh, *Presidential address.*, *J.E.S.I*, Vol. XXII

HUMANISTIC APPROACH OF A CHŌLA-PĀṆḌYA KING IN PĀṆḌYA COUNTRY

O. Anandavalli

Generally most of the inscriptions mention the grants given to temples, villages, brāhmaṇas, etc. An inscription of Jaṭavarmaṇ Sundarachōḷa - Pāṇḍya, found engraved on the northern wall of Mannarkoyil Gōpālasvāmi temple, is a unique one. It reveals the activities of human interest of the king over the subjects of his territory.

Mannarkoyil is a village in Ambasamudram taluk in Tirunelveli District. It is about 3 kms from Ambāsamudram and about 30 kms south of Teṅkāśi. It lies between the two rivers Tāmbraparaṇī in the south and Kaṭanā in the north.

During the time of Chōla rule in Pāṇḍya region, Mannarkoyil formed a part of Rājarāja- chaturvēdimaṅgalam included in Muḍikoṇḍachōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, and a part of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu. In inscriptions, the two rivers Tāmbraparaṇī and Kaṭanā are mentioned as Mudikoṇḍachōḷappērāru and Rājarājappērāru respectively.

When Rājarāja I conquered and established his rule firmly on Pāṇḍya country the name of the Pāṇḍya country underwent a change and thus came to be called Rājarāja-maṅḍalam or Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu in the Chōla inscriptions¹. Rājendra undertook an expedition against the Pāṇḍya country to reassert his authority over the Pāṇḍya country in about 1020 A.D. After this campaign, he deputed his son Rājendra II as the viceroy of the Pāṇḍya country in the name of Chōla-Pāṇḍyas². Thus Jaṭavarmaṇ Sundarachōḷa-Pāṇḍya became the first viceroy of the Pāṇḍya country.

The temple at Mannarkoyil is a Vishṇu temple dedicated to Lord Vēdanārāyaṇa. This temple was built by a Chēra ruler Rājasimha, and he named it as Rājendraśōḷa - viṇṇagar-Ālyār, in the name of Rājendraśōḷadēva, his overlord³.

The earliest record of this temple is the inscription dated in the fourth regnal year of Jaṭavarmaṇ Sundarachōḷa-Pāṇḍya corresponding to 1024 A.D. The *Mahāsabhai* of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam met in an *ambalam* and granted lands and houses to the gardeners, drummers, potters, garland makers, torch bearers, *dēvaraḍiyārs* and shepherds who were the servants of the temple. Though it is an incomplete inscription the boundaries of the lands granted to them are given as to the north of the west Maṅgala street and west entrance and also to the north of the temple and the courtyard, to the south of the north-western corner, to the east of the wall, to the east of the western corner end of the wall, north of the western entrance, etc., Maṅgalavīdi means the street immediately outside the temple wall. So the lands granted to the above persons were located in the outer *prākāra* of the temple.

The granting of land and houses to the servants of the temple, who were financially backward and come from the weaker sections of the society, is a noteworthy feature of the inscription. The king had given the opportunities to the people for enjoying their privileges and thereby was responsible for creating communal harmony among the people. It is understood from this inscription that Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundarachōla-Pāṇḍya appreciated the work carried out by various professionals and they were duly rewarded by the king and they became more committed and dedicated to their respective jobs.

This pious and charitable act of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundarachōla-Pāṇḍya is known through the Mannarkoyil inscriptions.

Notes and References

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A NOTE ON SPECIAL BELIEFS AS GLEANED FROM TAMIL EPIGRAPHS

K. Karuppiah

N. Subrahmanyam¹ has rightly pointed out that the Tamils had many beliefs and like most ancients were to a great measure superstitious. This perhaps indicates that an advanced material civilization is not inconsistent with many superstitions and other unsubstantiated beliefs. There are many such incidents recorded in the inscriptions. A few of them have been taken up for a detailed study here.

It was a practice among the Saṅgam Tamils to make their children wear an ornament on which the five weapons of Tirumāl viz., the conch, the sword, the disc, the bow and the mace were punched and the ornaments were called *Aimpaḍai Tālī*² (*Tali of the weapons*). The Śaivites later adopted a similar ornament depicting the weapons of Śiva. It was believed that this would protect the children from harm.

There is an inscription mentioning that a pious chieftain was blessed with a male child³. The inscription is from the village Vālikaṇḍapuram belonging to the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III. It contains the information that one Suttamallaṅ Jayāṅgaṇḍaśōḷavannāḍuḍaiyāṅ who had the *kāṇi* rights of Karikālakkanna-vaḷanāḍu, vowed that he would present a gold *paṭṭam* to the god if he is blessed with a son and that if his wish being fulfilled. He was pleased to grant the village Puḷāraipūṇḍi to the temple in order to meet the expenses of the above ornament.

The ghost and spirits were believed in and feared. It was believed that the nature of the next birth of a man was determined by the thoughts of his last moments in the present birth⁴. A thirsty spirit is recorded in the inscription of Rājādhirājachōḷa⁵. It records a gift of land by the general (*sēnāpati*) Madhurāntakaṅ Parakēsarivēḷār, for maintaining a watershed in order to satisfy the thirsty spirit of his sister, the deceased queen Vīramādēvī (evidently the wife of king Rājēndra I).

Suicides committed by private individuals for averting evil to their master or for securing safety to communities and villages to which they belonged were not uncommon⁶. In the earlier in days, before a chieftain embarked on military activities used to consult the omens. The flight of particular birds especially the black bird called *kāri*⁷ was a sure omen. An auspicious⁸ day was necessary for a journey. If the planet Velli (Venus) appeared in the south, it was considered as a bad omen for all. It is known that miseries in the war cannot be measured. Such unwanted incidents makes the people lose their confidence. But dedication in order to save others will restore the confidence. An inscription from Marudāḍu belonging to the reign period of Rājarāja I, registers that a certain Kaliapperumāṅ lost his life in the act of affording protection against ruins to his native village. Perhaps he sacrificed his life voluntarily or in defending the village

against an invading army. The good residents Marudāḍu is said to have made provision for maintaining perpetual lamps in the temple of Peruntirukkōyil - Ālvār at the village in order to secure merit for the martyrs.

An instance of self-immolation by entering into fire is recorded in a herostone inscription of about 9th century AD from Tekkalūr¹¹ in the Tiruttani division of Chittoor District. A similar case of voluntary self-sacrifice apparently for the successful termination of a festival in the Śiva temple of Sēndamaṅgalam¹² in South Arcot District, is recorded in an inscription assignable to about the 16th century A.D. It is stated that a certain Perrān cut off his own head on the occasion of a festival for which the temple authorities presented to his dependants with a piece of land and house sites as *udirappaṭṭi*.

A record from Śrīraṅgam states that as the scale of allowance in the temple of Raṅganātha had been withheld, great irregularities had prevailed in the conduct of worship. Periyālvār, the Śrīkāryam of Irāndakālameḍutta Aḷaḡiyamaṇavāḷadāsaṅ committed suicide as a protest by jumping from the *gōpura*. As a result of the protest, full *paḍittaram* was subsequently restored and in memory of his act of self-sacrifice, the blowing of the *ekkālam* and the privilege of being carried in procession in a car and other honours were done to the image of this Periyālvār. Regarding this tragic incident the *Kōyiloḷugu*¹³ has some more details¹⁴ to offer.

Marcopolo¹⁵ advocates that "If a man is going along the road and hears some one sneeze, if he deems it (say) a good omen for himself he goes on, but if otherwise, he stops a bit or turns back altogether from his journey".

The following were the signs of bad omen.

- (1) the falling of burning logs in all directions.
- (2) the bare and dry leafless tree catching fire.
- (3) the fall of tooth to the ground¹⁶, etc.

Notes and References

- 1 *Saṅgam Polity*. pp.297 ff
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 297.
- 3 *AREp.*, 1943-44, No.274
- 4 *Kuṟuntogai* 47
- 5 *AREp.*, 1915, No. 260.

- 6 Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions*, pp.186-66.
- 7 K.A.N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 170.
- 8 *Kalittogai*
- 9 *Purānāṅṅūru*, 3381, 117-122
- 10 *A.R.Ep.*, 1913 pt. II, para 21, p. 96, no. 411.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 1942, No. 119
- 12 *Ibid.*, 1939-40, No.278
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp.29-30.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 1936-37, p.90.
- 15 KAN Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p.170
- 16 *Purānāṅṅūru*, p.41.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM TIRUPĀMPURAM - A STUDY

S. Amirthavalli

The social standing of courtesans in the ancient Chōla country is clearly indicated by the numerous records registering rich endowments made by them for various public benefactions and the recognition afforded by local powers to their public spirit. A record from Tirupāmpuram (published in *Tamilnadu Archaeological Department Report No. 134/1977*) dated in the 35th regnal year of Kulōttuṅga Chōla III (i.e., 1213 A.D.) mentions a *dēvaraḍiyār* who consecrated the deities and constructed the stone temple.

This inscription is found on the northern part of the *ardhamanḍapa* of Chēdapuriśvarar temple. It refers to Kulōttuṅga Chōla III as *Triubhuvanavīradēvar*. It mentions the *meykīrtti* of Kulōttuṅga Chōla III i.e., *Maduraiyam, Īlamum, Karuvūrum* and *Pāṇḍiyaṅ- muḍitalaiyum koṇḍu- Virābhishēkamum-panṇi-aruḷiṅa*, etc.,

The record states that Uḍaiyavaḷ *alias* Nārpattēṅṅāyira Māṇikkam, a *dēvaraḍiyār* of this temple had built a stone temple and got consecrated the deities of Tiruvāsura-nāyanār, Periyadēvar and Nachchiyār of the temple. *Dēvaraḍiyārs* were called by different names in other inscriptions like *Nāṭaka Kaṇigaiyār, patiyilār, Talaichēri- peṇḍukaḷ, Rishabat-Aḍigalār, Nakkaṅ, Talaikōli, Śūlaigal*, etc.,

It is evident from this inscription that prior to this date, the temple should have been built of brick construction. It reminds us of the conversion of brick temples into stone construction that took place during the period of Chōla king Āditya I (871-907 A.D.). The above *dēvaraḍiyār* was conferred with certain privileges by Śrī Māhēśvaras of this temple.

This inscription is quite interesting as it refers to the conduct of Ārudra festival during the month of *Mārgaḷi* and the recitation of the hymns of *Tiruvembāvai*. It is generally known that during the month of *Mārgaḷi* (in Sanskrit *Dhanurmāsa*) the *Tiruppāvai* hymns and the *Tiruvembāvai* hymns are respectively recited in the temples of lord Viṣṇu and Lord Śiva. The full moon day in *Mārgaḷi* coinciding with the *Tiruvādirai*, the asterism of lord Śiva-Naṭarāja is an important festival celebrated in Śiva temples. According to *Śivapurāṇa* Lord Śiva in the form of Naṭarāja danced his famous *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* by which He creates all the cosmos.

This inscription also refers to several officers like *Śrīkāriyam- śeyvāṅ dēvakaṅmī māhēśvara-kaṅkāṇi* and *kōyil-kaṅakku* who were attached to this temple for administering the daily activities, temple administration, ritualistic practices, worship, festivals and maintaining temple accounts.

REGNAL YEARS IN CHĒRA INSCRIPTIONS

M.G.S. Narayanan

This paper is a sequel and supplement to the earlier paper on special characteristics of Chēra inscriptions in Kēraḷa presented by the author at a previous conference. I had listed several traits and tried to explain the rationale for some variations from the mainstream but were left out as I had no reasonable explanation to offer at that time.

The absence of *meykīrttis* or *praśastis* which serve as historical introduction, comprising introduction, comprising the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty along with the important exploits of some of them is conspicuous in Kēraḷa², in the records of the late Chēras who were contemporaries of Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas of early medieval times. These Chēras were friendly with their neighbours and even related to them by marriage. They had accepted several features of Chōḷa - Pāṇḍya records, but the *meykīrtti* was never reproduced in Kēraḷa. There is not even the mention of the name of the father of the ruling sovereign anywhere.

This may at first sound strange, but now it is well established that the Chēras were following *marumakkattāyam* of matriliney and as such we have a clue. In that context it is normal that their father's name is irrelevant for statement of king's genealogy. Even the immediate successor was not in the straight order of hereditary relationship, because in the matrilineal joint family, the person who comes to the throne may belong to one of the several branches of the ruling family but not necessarily the same branch as before. This was the practise recorded in his post-Chēra-*nāḍus* of the zamorins of Calicut, the *rāyas* of Koḷaltu-nāḍ and the kings of Vēnād, and all the other principalities of Kēraḷa.

Another interesting and strange practise found in Chēra inscriptions is the system of breaking the regnal years, mentioned at the operative part of the document, arbitrarily i.e., 2+1 for many inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman. No scholar has offered a satisfactory explanation so far for such a practise. Some have pointed out that there was a superstitious belief that the direct mention of the figure was detrimental to the longevity of the sovereign. There is a problem here. If such belief existed it could not have been confined to some rulers only. For example, in the case of Chēra king Rājaśekhara, the 12th year is mentioned straight away without any breakup of the figure.

I would like to mention a suggestion regarding the problem. I propose that the special conditions of naming in Kēraḷa with matrilineal succession must be taken into account here. The later Chēras did not follow the practise of designating the future ruler as crown prince. Therefore, it is possible that immediately following the death of a Perumāḷ, the next senior person in the dynasty took over the powers of the king but the formal coronation was delayed. An elaborate coronation ceremony could take place only after one full year of official mourning in the palace.

Therefore, there was another starting point for the next rule on the basis of the coronation.

This will be one full year after the demise of the ruler i.e., in the second year of his actual rule. If this is the case, we have an explanation for the year 2 preceding the other part of the regnal year. Sometimes the coronation is delayed further on account of wars or civil conflicts or the minority of the prince, the first part of the year may be six or seven as the case may be.

RE-EXAMINATION OF TWO PUBLISHED KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS

H.R. Nagaraja Sharma

Discovery of different material sources of pre-history and history is an ongoing and unending process. We all know that each new discovery adds a bit more to our knowledge depending upon its importance. It is, however, a common practice among researchers to depend more or less solely upon what had been written earlier on such discoveries, either by the discoverer himself or by others. Thus most of the pre-historic and historical source materials so far discovered have, in effect, become secondary sources. By this I mean to say that researchers normally do not go to the source itself, but mostly depend upon what others had said earlier.

The main purpose of the present article is to stress the fact that historical source materials need to be re-examined at every step by scholars who choose to exploit them. The particular source material I am dealing herewith consists of two inscriptions, which had been published earlier but recently re-examined by me.

The first inscription is from the recently discovered early historic¹ cum Buddhist site² of Rājagaṭṭa, Doddaballapur Taluk, Bangalore District.

As early as in 1900s, an inscription from this village was published by B.L. Rice, in the Mysore Archaeological Report³. It was read by him in its condition as a result of which his published text contains only nine lines. When I visited the village in 1996, I saw that a good part of the stone was buried. When I got the slab unearthed, I found to my excitement that the inscription contains eleven more lines of writing. I had the new lines copied and deciphered. From the part published by Rice we learn that there are only ten available lines all of which were not fully read by him. I furnish below the text as read by Rice (A) and the text as read by me (B) with the help of Sri H.M. Nagaraja Rao, Epigraphist, Kuvempu Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore.

It is apparent even on a casual glance that Rice had missed the essential contents of the inscription. The most notable contribution of my re-examination is the reading of the details of date namely Kḥara-saṁvatsara Phālguna ba. 10, Friday, the Śaka year being lost. Since the inscription is to be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 16th century A.D., the cyclic year Kḥara may be referred to as Śaka 1453 in which case the details of the date given in the inscription regularly correspond to 1532 A.D., March 28, Friday. While Rice's text does not help us to know the purport of the inscription, the additional eleven lines unearthed by me help us to know that the inscription records the grant of 210 *khaṇugas* of land in Rājagaṭṭa to a certain Baichaṇṇa-seṭṭi (and probably by Bōki-seṭṭi). Though lines 13 to 16 are badly damaged, it is possible to infer that a further grant of 15 *koḷagas* were granted afresh (*hostāgi koṭṭadu*)

perhaps to the same donee. Lines 17 to 21 contain some usual imprecatory passages pronouncing curses on those who flout the provisions of the grants.

Rice (A)

- 1) Śubham-astu[*] Vijay-ābhyudaya.....
- 2) Khara-saṁvatsarada Phālgūṇa ba
- 3) daḷavāyi Siṁgarināyaka.....
- 4) kareya yoḍeya.. vaṁsa sitāṁśu
- 5) Rājagaṭṭada-nāḍaka
- 6) yamalaṁte
- 7) sāvira Rājagaṭṭ
- 8) varushave bhāva tithi.... ya tāgi...
- 9) yā Dēsi-gaṇa naḍigina
- 10) diṁa Rājagaṭṭada

Revised reading (B)

- 1) o Svasti [*]Śubham-astu [*]nirvighnam-astu[*]Śaka-va[r]sha....
- 2) o ya Khara-saṁvatsarada Phālgūṇa ba 10 [śu]kra-vāra...
- 3) matu daḷvāyi Siṁgari-nāykaru Lakkaya-nāyaka...
- 4) ā(a)dhikāri Kariyaṇa-seṭiyaru Bōki-seṭiyar[u]...
- 5) Rājagaṭṭada naḍuvaṇa Bayichaiṁṇage koṭa śāsana..
- 6) veyā kramav-eṁt-e[m̄]dare namage Yīśari-nāyaka...
- 7) ru pālsida rā... dalū hiriya.....
- 9) ... sirake nāū ninage..... nāyaka...
- 10) diṁda Rājagaṭṭada hiri.... ge ko-
- 11) ṭṭa gadde kha 210se...virupa ṁ.....ya
- 12) māda hostāgi koṭadu kha..ya...
- 13) ... hadinaidu koḷaga gaddeyanu hola...
- 14) [vi]la hola khaṁḍuga [nā]lava...
- 15) gaddeyanū holavanū...
- 16) ..yu.ḷavā.....
- 17) banu tappidare Gaṁgeya taḍiya
- 18) dali hōharu ā(a)danū Gaṁgeya taḍiya...leya....
- 19) hōharu ā(a)danū mī. vakra
- 20) li sureya sēvisida pāpadali hōharu [*]tā-
- 21) ūnaṁma triśudhiyalū koṭa [dharma] [*]

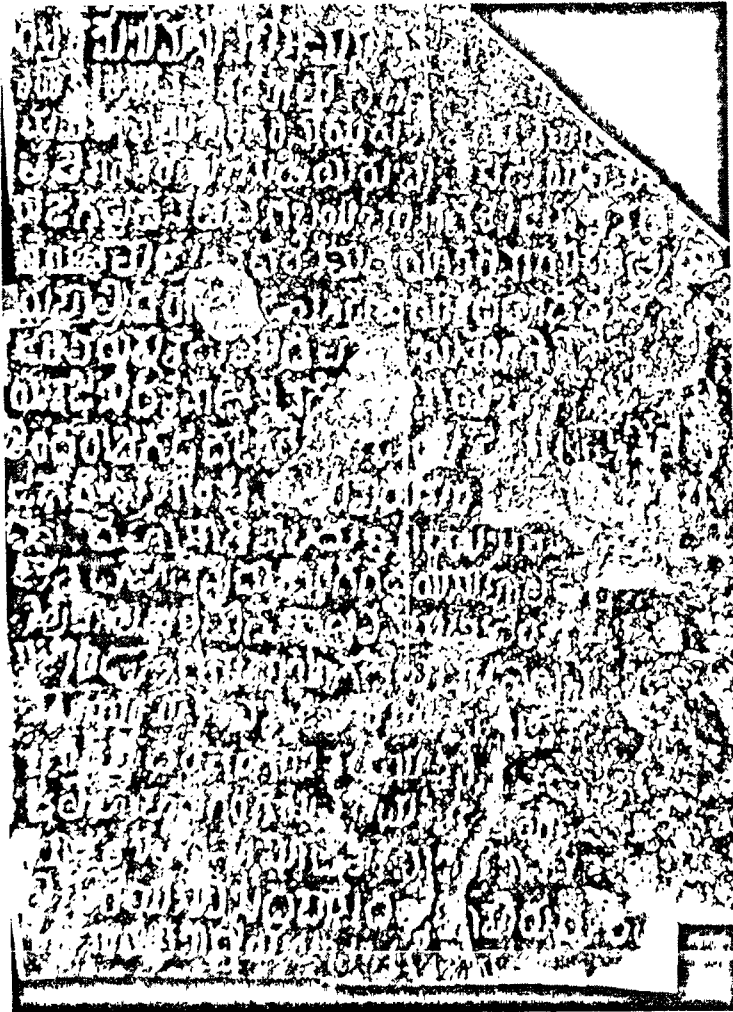
The second inscription being dealt with in this article consists of three labels engraved on a sculptured relief on a Liṅga-pīṭha. The *Mysore Archaeological Report for the year 1924*⁴ identifies this as an interesting object of the Śaiva religion. A couple of Lingas are installed on the same pedestal on which the relief in question is installed. The pedestal has a number of sculptures carved on it. The images of the five Pāṇḍu brothers, Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Lava

and Duśa, Garuḍa, Virābhadrā, Bhairava, Hari, Hara, Brahma, Vibhīṣhaṇa, Bali-chakravartī, Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya, Hariśchandra and Chandramatī are carved in relief. A few animals and birds such as fox, dog, crow, elephant, mouse and lion are also carved around the *Linga-pīṭha*. Interestingly each of these carved images is labeled with deity's name in Kannada characters of 16th-17th century A.D. Though the above facts are all notices in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* in question, it is strange that an important historical name had not been read and identified. I am here referring to three standing human figures, each 5" in height and with label inscriptions. In the M.A.R., the names of *Nīlalōchana* and *Channabasavaṇa* have been read without any further comments. The important fact is that the third human figure carries the label *Basavaṇa* which the Mysore Archaeological Report has failed to record.

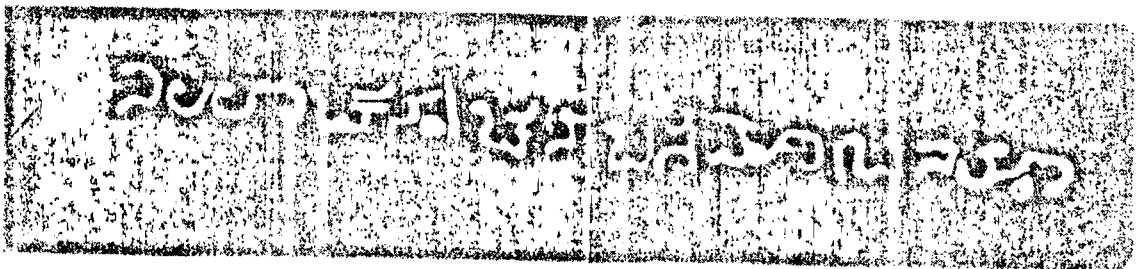
When we associate the name with the two other already deciphered labels of *Nīlalōchane* and *Channabasavaṇa*, the 3 human figures has some importance for we know that the famous *Vīraśaiva* reformer of the 12th century, namely *Basavaṇa*, and a second wife called *Nīlalōchana* or *Nīlāmbikā* and that she had a brother named *Channabasavaṇa*. We thus have in this unique inscribed sculptural complex of *Beṭṭadapura*, a rare 16th-17th century portraiture of the great reformer *Basavaṇa* as well as his second wife and brother-in-law. No one can gainsay the fact that a re-examination of the *Beṭṭadapura* śaivite sculpture has thus brought to light the high esteem in which the 12th century promoter of *Vīraśaiva* was held in Karnataka then as now. It must be emphasized that is the earliest so far discovered and only labeled sculptured representation of *Basavaṇa*.

Notes and References

1. Nagaraja Sharma, '*Rajagaṭṭa-Onḍu aitihāsika nele*' *Itihāsa Darshana*, Vol.13, 1998, p.6.
2. Rajaram Hegde, *Sealings in Buddhist votive stupas from Rajaghatta - JESI*, XXVI, p.7
3. *E.C.* (old) Vol. IX, Bangalore District, Doddaballapura, Db-26.
4. *M.A.R.* 1924, p.1



Inscription from Rājagatṭa (B)



Two Kannada Label Inscriptions

AGRARIAN UNREST AT TĀMARAIPPĀKKAM

C. Santhalingam

Tāmaraippākkam, is a small village situated on the southern bank of the river Cheyyār in Chengam Taluk, Tiruvannamalai district in Tamilnadu. Agnīśvaram an early Chōḷa temple located on the northern side of this village stands mute testimony for the antiquity of this place. From the inscriptions engraved on the walls of the temple we come to know that this temple underwent renovation during 11th century A.D. During renovation all the 10th century inscriptions were copied and re-engraved on the *adhishṭhāna* and walls of the present temple. All these inscriptions were first reported in the *Annual Report for the year 1973-74*, as No.160-191 - The full text of these inscriptions with some critical notes and brief preface was brought forth by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology during 1999.

The earlier records refer to the gold and sheep donations for maintaining perpetual lamps. Uniformally, 90 sheep were donated per one lamp is worthy of mention.

It was entirely a *Vellāṅṅvagai* village and the administration of the temple and the village was exclusively with *vellāḷas (ūrārs)* except the priestly functions which was performed by the *bhattas*. *Vellāḷas*, shepherds, merchants and *dēvaraḍiyārs* were mentioned in these inscriptions but nowhere *brāhmaṇas* were represented. Only one brahmin scribe appears in an inscription who himself emerged from another village named Tachchūr¹.

Since the early Chōḷa period (Parāntaka I) some comunal groups functioned here as a collective body. During the 32nd regnal year of Parāntaka I shepherds had a collective body in the *nāḍu* and *kōṭṭam* levels. They were mentioned as *Nāṭṭukōṭṭa-manṇāḍis*². They looked after the temple sheep donated by the devotees and also raised some more sheep on their own. They unitedly and voluntarily decided to pay certain taxes other than the temple sheep for which they had deposited the money to the temple itself.

An inscription of Rājādhirāja I dated 1047 A.D. reveals the poor life standard of the *Vellāḷas* and their sufferings³. During Rājēndra's I period the *Vellāḷas* suffered a lot and as the tax dues could not be paid, they migrated to some nearby places. Then they borrowed 30 *kāśus* from the temple treasury in the year 1043 A.D. and settled the tax due to the government. But they were not able to repay the principal amount and interest to the temple treasury upto Rājādhirāja I period i.e., upto 1047 A.D. In order to settle this over due the *ūrār* sold out 3000 *kulī* of wet land to the temple treasury. A number of *Ūrkiḷārs* of Tāmaraippākkam village had signed this document.

Ten years later (1057 A.D) the *ūrār (Vellāḷas)* had to face another serious problem in the maintenance of the temple⁴. The lands donated as *dēvadāna* to the temple of Tāmaraippākkam

was realotted to some officials as *janmakkāṇi* and *tirumukakkāṇi* and so daily worship and day-to-day activities of the temple were got stalled. The assembly of Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu was convened at the Rājēndrachōḷaṅṅ Tirukkāvaṇam (hall) to discuss this issue. Rājarājapidiāraṅṅ, an official who was in-charge of the affairs of this Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu in Palkunrak-kōṭṭam was also present in this meeting and justified the royal action and refused to reallocate the temple lands to it. But the *nāṭṭār* challenged this declaration of the official and decided to maintain the temple on their own. This is the most interesting and important record which reveals the inception of Chittiramēḷi organisation and its social impact in Tamilnāḍu.

Another inscription dated 1062 A.D.⁵ gives some more information regarding the Chittiramēḷi organisation. The *nāṭṭārs* of the following *kōṭṭams* and *nāḍus* viz., Palkunrakkōṭṭam, Venkunrakkōṭṭam, Oymānāḍu, Panaiyūr-nāḍu, Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu, Milāḍu *alias* Jananātha-vaḷanāḍu, Kaḍaladaippāḍi-nāḍu, Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu, Uthamachōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, Vānakōppāḍi-nāḍu (total 10 *nāḍus*) convened among themselves a meeting unanimously arrived at a decision. According to that they fixed 50 *kalam* of paddy per *vēli* of wet land, 40 *kalam* per *vēli* for *kār* crop and 3 *kāśu* per *vēli* of dry land to be paid to the treasury. Whether it was temple treasury or government treasury no specific reference was made.

The same Chittiramēḷi organisation executed some judicial functions also, during Rājēndra II period (1057 A.D.)⁶. When a quarrel took place between two brothers the elder brother lost his life. The case was brought to the trial of Chittiramēḷi-nāṭṭār by the father of the deceased. *Nāṭṭār* dealt with the case and considered that the existing younger brother alone was the support of the age old parents. Moreover the parents were not in possession of any landed property nor they had any other source for their livelihood. So the *nāṭṭār* ordered the accused to maintain half a perpetual lamp to the local Agnīśvaram temple and to look after their aged parents till their end. In this inscription the Chittiramēḷināṭṭār is mentioned as Śrī Rājēndra-Chittiramēḷi-Perukkaḷar, which denotes their affiliation and loyalty to the then king Rājēndra II.

Some notable scholars have discussed at length about the origin and development of Chittiramēḷi-Periyanāḍu. K.V. Subrahmanya Iyer has suggested this Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu as a provincial organisation⁷. Burton Stein named this as a Supra-local assembly⁸. Noboru Karashima doubted about the reason for the emergence of such organisation and surmised that it might be a counter effect of the powerful growth of *brahmadēyas*⁹.

These view points lead us to further probings and to reach an appropriate conclusion. Some statistical study is made on this question which confines the Todnaimaṅḍalam region alone where the Chittiramēḷi organisation emerged at first and flourished in other regions also.

From the data available, it may be said that during 9th-10th centuries A.D., there was a spurt in the creation of new *brahmadēyas*. In the 11th-12th centuries A.D. also considerable number of

brahmadēyas were created. Not only this, among such new *brahmadēyas* some self sufficient, well developed *taniyūrs* also emerged in large numbers particularly in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. About 20 *taniyūrs* were located in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region alone, whereas Chittiramēḷi organisation had functioned in 13 places in the same region.

Thus it is clear that during the middle Chōḷa period new *brahmadēyas* were created in large numbers for brahmins, and they enjoyed high status and royal patronage and were appointed in high offices, in the name of religion and rituals. On the contrary the *nāṭṭārs* (Vellāḷas), the hard working mass had to struggle hard to maintain their status or even to meet their livelihood. *Dēvadāna* lands were too confiscated and heavy taxes were levied and this has affected them to migrate elsewhere. Royal officials also showed different attitudes towards *nāṭṭārs*. All such hardships led them to indulge in extreme steps to protect their interests against the establishment. One such effort at Tāmaraippākkam resulted in the emergence of *Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* organisation even in the period of imperial Chōḷas. Later on this organisation was strengthened by the inclusion of mercantile groups like Ainūruvar and nānādēsi and spread to other regions of Tamilnāḍu and Āndhra.

Thus the Tāmaraippākkam inscription depicts a clear picture of the anti-establishment trend that prevailed among the *nāṭṭārs*. Thus an organised non-brahmin movement was at first initiated at Tāmaraippākkam during 1057 A.D. itself, indeed as a precursor to the present day non-brahmin movement. This is the place where the first seed for such non-brahmin agrarian movement was sown.

Notes and References

1. *Tāmaraippākkam Kalvetṭugal*, State Dept. of Archaeology, Tamilnadu, 1999. No.29/1998,
2. *Ibid.*, 3/98
3. *Ibid.*, 8/98
4. *Ibid.*, 1/98
5. *Ibid.*, 26/98
6. *Ibid.*, 29/98
7. *J.M.S.*, Vo.45, 1954-55
8. Burton Stein *Peasant State and Society in medieval South India.*, Oxford University Press, 1994, p.217.
9. Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, Oxford University Press, 1984, p.188.

BOOK-REVIEW

Rāshtrakūṭara Tamiḷu Śāsnagaḷu, Rāshtrakūṭa Inscriptions in the Tamil Country: Ed. Dr. S. Swaminathan. Published by Emperora Prasaranga, Kannada University, Hampi, 2000; Pp.xlviii + 120, Price Rs.200/-

This highly useful reference work of a primary nature contains the Tamil texts of as many as 107 inscriptions, originally engraved in Tamil and / or Grantha characters, which have been transliterated and printed in Roman characters. The volume includes romanized texts of two more inscriptions which are in Kannada language and characters. All these inscriptions from Tamilnadu belong to the reign of the well known Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) who had wrested the erstwhile Pallava territory, viz. Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Chōḷas and had retained that territory under his control for nearly fifteen years from 952 to 967 A.D. These inscriptions are from the Districts of Chittoor, Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Pondicherry. Most of these inscriptions are found engraved on the walls or within the precincts of temples which were already in existence and under worship at the time of Kṛishṇa III's invasion.

Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III's invasion and fifteen-years-long occupation of large chunks of the Tamil country was an event of great political importance for him as well as to the occupied territory and some feudatory families. Kṛishṇa III assumed a string of titles indicative of his conquest of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the traditional Pallava territory which was then under the Chōḷas. He utilized his triumph over the Chōḷas to gratify some of his subordinates by distributing parts of the conquered territories among the Bāṇa, Vaidumba and Gaṅga chieftains.

Being himself a professional epigraphist and researcher, Dr. Swaminathan has helped the Kannada University to bring out a highly user-friendly volume through thoughtful planning. At the beginning of the book are two indices, the first one giving details of findspots and publication references and the second one listing the findspots in alphabetical order. This is followed by a scholarly General Introduction in English followed by its Kannada rendering. Then follows the main part of the book in which the inscriptional texts are published in location of each inscription are first given followed by the king's name as mentioned in each inscription and his regnal year where available. The gist of each record in English and Kannada is given next followed by the Romanised text of the inscription. By adopting this method Dr. Swaminathan has at once catered to the needs of the Tamil-knowing, Kannada-knowing as well as non-Tamil, non-Kannada but English-knowing research scholars. Dr. Swaminathan has also

added footnotes wherever warranted. This part of the book is followed by a list of the names of the territorial divisions and sub-divisions of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam mentioned in these inscriptions. This list is followed by a word-index, a very useful map of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (though not drawn to scale) nine pages of plates among which is included a picture of the Mūlēsvara temple at Bāhūr built during the period of the Rāshtrakūṭa occupation of the Pallava territory.

Dr. Swaminathan is known to students of Indian history and South Indian history in particular as the author of an authentic and well documented work on Chōḷa Parāntaka. ('Early Cholas - History, Art and Culture', Sharada Publishing House, Delhi, 1997). By editing the Tamilnadu inscriptions of Kṛishṇa III, in a way which will help researchers of all hues to exploit the epigraphical material contained therein, he has done a great service to the cause of South Indian history. The use of diacritical types in Roman renderings, in particular, is to be greatly appreciated.

In his preface to the book Dr. Swaminathan summarily dismisses the rule of Kṛishṇa III as not having left its impress on the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region. This statement needs to be proved by conducting in-depth and multi-disciplinary research into all aspects of historical vestiges in that region.

The reviewer wishes to place on record his personal appreciation of the work under review and hopes that many more such useful source books will be edited and published by him.

K.V. Ramesh