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*DEDICATED TO  
THE SACRED MEMORY OF*

..

*DR. S. SUBRAMONIA IYER*



Former Epigraphist and Secretary and Executive Editor  
of the Epigraphical Society of India  
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## *Editorial*

It is really with a sense of pride and satisfaction that we are placing in the hands of our members the XXIX 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 Udupi. That the Society has been able to bring out its journal, for twenty nine 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 Director and Staff of Dr. Govinda Pai Memorial Research Institute, Udupi and especially to Prof. H. Krishna Bhat because 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 2002-03, the Society has lost an eminent epigraphist, Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer whose services to the Society as a Secretary and Editor for several years are immeasurable.

We are deeply grateful to our Chairman and renowned epigraphist, Dr. S.H. Ritti, and to the Vice-chairmen for 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, Miss. Champa, Miss. Lakshmi, Smt. Pushpa and Sri. S. Manjunath for getting this volume printed neatly on time.

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May 8, 2003

**K.V. Ramesh**  
*Executive Editor*

**M.D. Sampath**  
*Editor*

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

M.D. Sampath

Respected Chairman, distinguished delegates and friends,

I am deeply indebted to the Office-bearers, the Executive Committee and the members of the Epigraphical Society of India for having conferred on me the honour of presiding over the deliberations of the Twenty-eighth session being held at this historic and sacred town of Udupi. I am highly thankful to Dr. S.H.Ritti and Dr. K.V.Ramesh who have given me this rare opportunity to share my thoughts. I am fully aware of my limitations in the field of epigraphy but this recognition has been given to me more because of my long association with the Society than anything else.

Aśoka is the earliest ruler and Buddhist on record to have adopted the Buddha's *dharma* at its rudimentary level. He followed the Buddha's teachings on *dukkhopaśamana*, meaning as one who is best in removing the distress of all sentient beings. His desire was that his subjects and future people would follow his guidelines as seen from the text *yāni hi kānichi mamiyā sādhavāni kaṭāni taṃ loke anupaṭipamne taṃ cha anuvidhiyaṃti*.<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist followers were motivated by Aśoka's deeds.

Aśoka's implicit *bhakti* was responsible for his visit to the site of enlightenment (*ayāya-sarṃbodhim*). Impelled by this *dr̥ḍha-bhakti* (*diḍha-bhatitā*), he had extended his *dharma-yātrā* to the *dharma-vijaya* of the neighbouring countries, by sending religious delegations. This religious commitment served as a motivation for the deification of the object. This would not have inspired the *bhakti* movement of the brahmanical thought as seen in the Bhāgavata cult of the pre-Christian times. It was already known to the subjects of the period of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, as rightly attributed by the archaeologists to the Painted Grey Ware culture period, if not earlier. Inspiration for this seems to have been drawn from the purāṇic phase of the brāhmanical faith. It is possible that Aśoka might have given his acceptance for the borrowal of elements which are highly imaginative and varied.

Aśoka had felt the importance of keeping the borderers in union and together and attempted to inspire them with confidence. He had exhorted them to practise



morality (*āsvāsanāya-dhamma - charanāya cha am̐tā[nam\*]*). It is this corporate spirit that made the subjects to believe the king who had paternal affection for them (*āsvāsetaviyā cha-tē yena cha te hevaṃ pāpunevu athā pitā hevaṃ ne rājā yathā cha atānaṃ anukampati hevaṃ apheni yathā chakam pajā hevaṃ*). Not only the Jaugada and Dhauri separate edicts, but also the recently discovered Sannati edict extols the benevolent attitude of this noble king.<sup>2</sup>

It was the Buddhist faith which motivated in the large scale participation of its lay followers for the growth of Buddhist religion as well as art and architecture in India and Śrīlankā. They went about preparing innumerable images of the Buddha guided by *bhakti*. This motivating force remained alive in the succeeding centuries. It was from the *saṅgha* that the Buddhist laity learnt the benefits of coexistence and efforts and of sacrificing one's self for the benefit and well-being of the others. Aśoka had realised the importance of the unification of the *saṅgha* so that it will be able to guide and serve the Buddhist laity. (*ichchhā-hi-me kimti saṅghe samāje chilathitike siyāti*).

In rendering Buddha's *dharma*, to suit the then socio-economic context, the Buddhist laity was directed that way by no less a true follower than Aśoka himself. He practiced the *dharma* laid down by Buddha from its rudimentary and basic level and promoted Buddhist teachings so as to alleviate the distress of all sentient beings. He also contributed through Buddha's teachings for the reduction of craving or *taṇhā* and for the lessening of the consequent pain or *dukkha* in all living beings.

Aśoka's *dharma* receives its inspiration from the teachings of Buddha. He is entirely motivated by the noble ideal *nāsti hi kammatarāṃ-sarva-loka hitatpā*. When this is compared with the idea existing in the donative records of brahmanical subjects, one can find the nature of motives such as accrual of merit, prosperity, longevity to the donor and or to his parents, etc. (*mātā-pitrōr - ātmanaś-cha āyur-aśvāry-ārōgya puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē*). Aśoka got his edicts engraved in various places of the sub-continent, mainly motivated by the desire to spread his acts of *dharma* among public and the subjects in the borders.

In order to achieve this goal, epigraphical writing, which was of utilitarian nature was introduced during the Prakrit age. Thus the art of writing introduced by the Buddhist followers on one side and the Jaina pilgrims on the other in India as well as by the Buddhist lay followers at Śrīlankā have to be examined not only

from the point of view of socio-religious changes but also on the way in which they have been developed into inscriptional medium. Calligraphic styles have not been noticed in the early Prākṛit inscriptions.

The Indo-Aryan migration which started in the 5th-4th century B.C. was responsible for the introduction of the art of writing in Śrīlāṅkā. That is to say that the Śrīlāṅkans knew the rudimentary form of writing even during the pre-Aśokan period. On the other hand the ancient Jaina monks were the first to bring into use the art of writing in South India as early as this period. The Śrīlāṅkan inscriptions which are predominantly in Prakrit language show the rudimentary Brāhmī script conspicuous by virtue of the absence of inherent *a*-vowel value, absence of aspirates, conjunct consonants, gutturalisation of soft letters, replacement of aspirates by inaspirates, etc.<sup>3</sup>

The Aśokan Buddhists developed writing as inscriptional medium and in that process, the script was subjected to the modified form of the Indo-Aryan dialect to suit the local phonetical system. In contrast to the above features, in the cave inscriptions of Tamil Nadu, the basic alphabets were readily available while the writing began and it was from these a few extended letters were evolved. In addition to some of the common features like the absence of inherent *a* - vowel value, absence of conjunct consonants, the absence of aspirates, a few non-Āryan Dravidian sounds *viz.*, *ḷ*, *ṛ* and *ṛ* have been introduced by the Tamil authors to suit Dravidian phonology. Recently a question was raised as to who introduced the rudimentary Brāhmī characters first, whether the Tamilians of the Pāṇḍya region or the Śrīlāṅkans. I have earlier suggested an answer to this question by emphasizing that the Tamil Brāhmī script used in the cave inscriptions from Tamilnāḍu is earlier in date than the Brāhmī alphabet of the Śrīlāṅkan epigraphs because of the script of the former being highly rudimentary in nature. Though one can visualise the pre-Aśokan form of rudimentary writing, as in the early form of Brāhmī, yet it is difficult to support the argument that the alphabet in the word *racha* is *a* only. This suggestion of Dr. K.V. Ramesh is not convincing, for the palaeography cannot be decided on the availability of one letter.

In the Śrīlāṅkan inscriptions the Indo-Āryan dialect was subjected to changes. In the case of Bhaṭṭiprōlu script, we can see the influence of Indo - Āryan grammar. This Bhaṭṭiprōlu script, next to Tamil cave Brāhmī script in date, shares some of the features with Tamil cave Brāhmī script. In this system it is devised to

distinguish the long *a* medial and the short *a* medial.

In Śrīlāṅka, the pre-Aśokan subjects knew the rudimentary form of writing while the Aśokan Buddhists developed that writing into inscriptional medium. The transformation from Indo-Āryan dialect resulted in the use of local phonetical system not earlier than 1st century B.C<sup>4</sup>. Even during this period that the Bhaṭṭiprōlu system of writing continued to be employed as one can see the method of experimentation in the matter of writing the Brāhmī script, particularly in the use of medial *a* sign. In the course of the re-survey of Śittaṇṇavāśal in Pudukkottai district of Tamil Nadu by me and Sri Iravatam Mahadevan in December 1991, the Tamil-Brāhmī record at Ēlādippāṭṭam<sup>5</sup> (a local name) cave beds was studied in greater detail. The revised reading suggested by me after a careful examination was accepted by Sri. Mahadevan. The text of the inscription read follows :

*Erumināḍu Kumul-ūr piṛānda kāvuti-i-teṅku śirupōchil ilayar cheydá atita-aṇam* - had occurred both of us at the site itself. Some of the fascinating interpretations given by me have been verified from the scholars in the field of Kannada language and literature and Sri. Mahadevan, an expert in Tamil Brāhmī script was convinced and ultimately he accepted the above reading. Perhaps it may be said that the donor of this cave-bed hails from Karṇāṭaka region. Infact this made the engraver to introduce some of the Kannada expressions like *pośil*, *kavuti* and *teṅku*. The word *pośil* is derived from the Kannada expression *Hosilu* or *posilu*, meaning entrance (*bāgilu*). The corresponding Tamil expression is *vāyil* or *vāśal*, which word is found in the name of the place. Accordingly the entrance of the cave faces south. This is reflected in the present record by the use of the words *teṅku-śirupōśil* (>*śirupōchil*). The second expression *kavuti* reminds us of a synonymous term *gauḍe* employed in the later Kannada inscriptions. The counterpart of *gauḍe* or *gauḍa* is *kavuti* or *kavutiti*. It is well-known that *gauḍe/gauḍa* - *praje* indicates the status as head of a village or territory. The Tamil equivalent of the word *gauḍe* is *gāmuṇḍar* or *gāvunḍar* which occurs frequently in Tamil epigraphs of the medieval period. Another terminology peculiar to Tamil is *teṅku* meaning 'the southern direction.' Its corresponding Tamil usage is *teṅku*. In Kannada inscriptions the words *teṅkaṇa* for south and *baḍagaṇa* for north are frequently used while demarcating the land boundaries.

In this inscription the medieval *a* sign of the consonant is common to *hrasva* and

*dīrgha*. The distinction between the short and long vowels can be distinguished by invoking the language into consideration as rightly suggested by Sri I. Mahadevan. It is an innovation on his part which has helped us to decipher a number of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions.

The end of Prākṛit phase around 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., witnessed interesting events like vēdic practices. The Buddhist site at Dharaṇikōṭa<sup>6</sup> in Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh has yielded a record in Prākṛit language written in Brāhmī script of 2nd century A.D. It states that a memorial pillar (*chhāyā-thabo*) was caused to be erected by Kaṇha, the son of Sāma, the *mahāgāmika* of Sātāmala belonging to Mādharma-gōtra. He is described as a *baṁhaṇa* (*brāhmaṇa*), who was a perpetual fire worshipper (*āhitāgni*) proficient in performing sacrifices (*yajña-yājīn*), etc.

We all know that the Prākṛit inscriptions went unnoticed from the point of view of calligraphy. It is, therefore, necessary to recall the contribution of the composers and the writers not only for the growth of classical Sanskrit but also for the art of skilful writing. With the upheaval of Brāhmaṇical faith in the sub-continent, Sanskrit was reintroduced in its classical form, probably in the early 4th century A.D. On account of the change in the minds of the rulers and others, one can find the growth of Sanskrit language and literature, which is perceivable through stylistic literary compositions, due to the patronage of the kings and elites. Simultaneously the art of writing and engraving also received greater impetus. It may not be out of place to suggest that the Guptas and their subordinate chieftains like the Valka rulers and other contemporaries made a fine and greater contribution to the growth and spread of classical Sanskrit. There is alround appreciation in the inscriptions, about the writer and the engraver. The excellent classical Sanskrit composition and the most artistic writing on stone comes to us from the stone record at Tālagunda. The composer himself took the responsibility of writing the *praśasti* with enough refinement.

In contrast to the donative records of the Buddhists wherein one cannot find the motive of seeking material benefits, etc., in the Prākṛit inscriptions of a later phase *i.e.*, 3rd-4th century A.D., from Kallacheruvu<sup>7</sup> in West Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh, there is mention of a accrual of merit, longevity to the donor himself (*puṇṇa-payaṇ-āyu-bala-vaddhaṇattam*). The spirit behind the performance of *aśvamēdha* and *hiraṇyakōṭi* sacrifices by the Ikshvāku king Ehavula Chāmtamūla for the personal desires is a clear indication of self interest mentioned in the

benedictions. This gives reference to the grant of land as a permanent endowment (*akkhaya-nīvi*) towards the maintenance of a *vihāra* meant for the pilgrims as a resting place (*Vissamaṇattam*). Incidentally it may be said that this is one of the earliest evidences for the institution of *akshaya-nīvi*.

There is lot of epigraphical evidence to infer that standard and fine quality of inscriptions available are due to the result of the joint efforts of the composer or the poet, the writer and the engraver. If all these are joined together, then their efforts result in a sense of fulfilment. The poetic standard of the *praśasti* of a Rāshtrakūṭa inscription<sup>8</sup> of Parabala (861 A.D.) supports the argument that it was the composition of a qualified and accomplished poet. The *praśasti viz.*,

*pravīṇā gaṁbhīra-vividha-pada-vinyāsa-chaturā-  
drīḍh-ōdārāgranthā  
vibudha-jana-durjñāna hṛidayā.  
praśastir-mādhurya-prabhṛitī-guṇa-sandōha-ruchirā ||*

The *praśasti* was remarkable for its skilful composition, depth and clever arrangement of well-knit words and was pleasing because of many poetic qualities such as grace of style. In a 10th century inscription from Khajurāhō<sup>9</sup> the writer is mentioned as a scholar in Sanskrit (*Saṁskṛita-bhāshā-vid*). It is because of this he was able to write down the eulogy in well formed and charming letters (*ruchir-āksharā-praśastih*). Likewise the Dewal *praśasti* in praise of the Chhinda ruler Lalla of 10th century was written by one Vishṇuhari who was called Takshāditya and who was well adept in *kuṭil-āksharāṇi*<sup>10</sup>. The credit of handling the chisel in order to incise such letters goes to Sōmanātha from Kanyakubja. He is described as *ṭaṅka-vijñāna-sālin*.

The eulogy of the Chandella prince Dhaṅgadēva<sup>11</sup> in the Khajurāhō record dated Vikrama year 1059 (1001-02 A.D.) was composed by the poet Rāma, the son of Balabhadra of the Śabara family and a native of Tarkārikā. It was written on the stone by *Kāyastha* Yaśaḥpāla and engraved by Simha. The verses in this epigraph giving credit to the composer, the writer and the engraver are worthy of study.

The composer is described as one who was pleasant in speech; in greatness as high as the Himālayas; worshipped by the king; the repository of literature, was an expert in composing charming and wonderful verses.<sup>12</sup>

*Sūnuḥ sūnṛita-gīr-girīndra-mahimā Bhadrasya tasy-ābhavat  
bhūpālair-bhuvi-pūjit-amghrir-anaghaḥ sāhitya-ratnākaraḥ|*

*śrī Rāmō ramaṇīya sūkti-rachanā-chāturya-dhuryaḥ kṛitī  
tēnēyam vihitā praśasti-rachanā-bhakyā 'layō śālinah ||*

Yaśaḥpāla was no ordinary writer because he comes from a worthy family possessing character and intelligence and was familiar with the science of words and his writing with good arrangement of letters is so well balanced as the norms of *Kṛitayuga*<sup>13</sup>.

*Na samkīrṇāḥ varṇāḥ kvachid-ihā na sāpatya kalushāḥ  
sthitēḥ Kāyasthēna prathita-kula-śrī-ōjjvala-dhiyaḥ |*

*Yaśaḥpālēn-āyam vidita-pada-vidyēna likhitah  
praśastēr-vinyāsaḥ kṛita-yuga-samāchāra-sadṛīśah ||*

The engraver's skill is very important so as to turn out properly the alignment of letters and without any calligraphic errors. In that way Simha, the engraver of this *praśasti*, knew not only the script but also how to engrave it so as to give beautiful appearance to the letters. It was recognised that a good calligraphic performance was seen in the case of Simha, for it gave a sense of satisfaction to the poet.<sup>14</sup>

*Lipi-jñāna-vidhi-jñēna prājñēna-guṇa-śālinā |  
Simhēn-ēyam samutkīrṇā sad-varṇā-rūpa-śālinī ||*

We have instances for good and efficient calligraphy so as to distinguish the letters clearly written (*sphuṭit-āksharā*), curvilinear letters (*kuṭil-āksharā*) and crooked letters (*vikat-āksharā*). Thus the overall quality of any composition or writing was well appreciated if the engravers were familiar with these scripts and the norms of inscribing them on stone. The reference to *Vikatākshara* is probably indicative of the characters of the 8th century inscription from Shanichara<sup>15</sup> in Sultanpur District of Uttar Pradesh.

All these years the epigraphists and the historians have attached importance to the study of political history and political ideology. There are several aspects in which the epigraphists have a significant contribution to make. The real and valuable information can be studied from the operative portion of the record. The task ahead us is to understand the text of inscriptions in the sense in which it was

or could have been examined, to be more precise the socio-economic *milieu*, the structure of social and economic formations and their understanding principles and characteristics, the agrarian hierarchy and pattern, the contribution of mercantile groups or organisations and the religious conditions, etc., are the issues to be tackled and the results arrived at.

From the point of view of religious history, though Vākāṭakas were *Parama-māhēśvaras*, their affiliation to Bhāgavatism or Vaiṣṇavism is not unknown. Not only Rudrasēna I, but also Rudrasēna II and Pṛithvīshēna were known as *Parama-Bhāgavatas* in some of their copper-plate charters. The Māṇḍal plates<sup>16</sup> of Vākāṭaka Rudrasēna II belonging to fourth century A.D. is an important record to conclude that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu. In this grant he is referred to as *bhagavataś-chakra-lakshma-pratishṭhita-sāsana i.e.*, to say his authority was established by the wheel-bearing god i.e., Viṣṇu. He is styled as *bhagavataś-chakra-pāṇēḥ prasād-ōpārjitā-srī-samudaya, i.e.*, his wealth was caused by the grace of the god with wheel in his hands (Viṣṇu). It is not impossible that a temple for *Chakrapāṇi* would have existed in the Māṇḍal region which formed part of his territory. The reason for this religious shift may be due to his marital relationship with Prabhāvatī Guptā. The cult of Chakrapāṇi goes back to the Vēdic period while objecting the action of Yama over the Chakrapurushas or Parama-vaiṣṇavas. Sculpturally speaking one can see from Deogaḍh panel, the āyudha-purusha or chakra-purusha (personified chakra) standing behind Lakshmi, which in a way represents the personified *āyudhas*. The *Kāṭaka-bhāga* of *yajur-vēda*, the *Ahirbhudhnya* and the *Vihagēndu saṁhitas* give a description of Viṣṇu with the *chakra* aspect. In the hymns of Āḷvārs, he is referred to as *Tiruvāḷi-udaiyāṇ*.

It is stated in the record that the grant was made on the orders of the god (*dēva*) Mondasvāmin who is described as having the attributes conch (*śāṅkha*), a wheel (*chakra*), etc., and in the *yōganidrā* reclining on the body of snake-god called Ananta in the ocean. This is a direct reference to god Śēsha-śāyin or Ananta-śāyanamūrti, about whom the present grant is a datable evidence. A number of panels from Gupta temples are already known. One of the earliest references to the deity Anantaśayana or Jalaśayana, which is about two hundred years later, than our record, can be seen in the hymns of Tirumaṅgai-āḷvār. There is a separate temple for this god, referred to by this Āḷvār, at Mahābalipuram in Chingleput District, Tamil Nadu.

Another interesting reference to the Śēsha-śayana form of Vishṇu is from the Gōpālpur plates<sup>17</sup> of Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya (882 A.D.). It is said that grants of villages were made over to the temple constructed by him at Suvarṇapura, called Jalaśayana in the name of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka, to meet the food offerings, services and repairs to the said temple. It is befitting to appreciate his religious spirit to uphold Vishṇu worship though all the members of his family were the devotees of god Śiva (*Paramamāhēśvaras*). The worship of god Śēshaśāyin did not receive much attention in the North unlike in South India where in the name of Śrī Raṅganātha Vaishṇavism had received the impetus and patronage of the rulers of various periods.

From the point of view of religious institution, the donation of land or money made to it is indeed meaningful. Though we find reference to *akshaya-nīvi* from a Kushāṇa inscription of Huvishka dated in his 28th year (158 A.D.) from Mathura,<sup>18</sup> Mathura District, Uttar Pradesh and from the plates discovered from Kallacheruvu<sup>19</sup> in West Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh belonging to the reign period of Ikshvāku king Ehavula Chāmtamūla (3rd-4th century A.D.), yet its analogous expression *akshaya-vṛitti* occurring in a clay-seal from Doyang-Dhanaśrī valley of Assam<sup>20</sup> datable to 4th-5th century A.D. needs to be studied. Its synonymous expressions are *akshayanīvī-dharma* | *akshayanikā*, *akshayanīvikā*, *akshayanī*, etc.<sup>21</sup> The general meaning for the term *vṛitti* indicates landholding. But, in the present context, the expression *akshaya-vṛitti* relates to a type of irrevocable endowment, which meaning agrees with the expression *akshayanīvī*, indicating a permanent endowment. It relates to the landed property if the following words are viewed carefully. The expression *khaṇḍ-āshṭam* indicates the eight parts of land donated for the enjoyment of eight kinds of privileges (*ashṭa-bhōga-tēja-svāmya*), occurring in several inscriptions of this period. The eight types of privileges are *nidhi*, *nikshēpa*, *jala*, *pāshāṇa*, *akshinī*, *āgāmin*, *siddha* and *sādhyā*.

This reminds us of similar usages like *pañcha-khaṇḍa*, *nava-khaṇḍa*, referred to in the inscriptions implying the relevant divisions or portions of land for the maintenance of endowment. Nava-khaṇḍa is a title of Bhārata or Bhāratavarsha. One of the earliest epigraphical references to Bhārata-varsha is found mentioned in the Risthal inscription<sup>22</sup> of Prakāśadharman of the 6th century A.D. edited by Dr. K.V. Ramesh and Late Dr. S.P. Tewari.



Similarly I came to know from Dr. K.V. Ramesh that India is mentioned as *Bhārata* in a Sanskrit inscription from Bangkok National Museum, Bangkok in Thailand.<sup>23</sup> In this record of about the same date as that of the Risthal inscription, the term *Bhārata[varsha]* occurs while referring to a brave devotee of Viṣṇu. This is a good evidence of India being called *Bhārata-varsha* and the popularity of the Indian epic *Rāmāyaṇa* in South-east Asia. Here Rāma and Kēśava of this ancient place (i.e., Thailand) are compared with two epic heroes Rāma and his brother Lakshmaṇa. It may, therefore, be noted that the expression *Nava-khaṇḍa*, an epithet of Bhārata occurs for the first time and its mention in the clay seal<sup>24</sup> under discussion seems to be the earliest reference so far available.

We are now confronted with a few problems while studying the epigraphs; they need to be tackled soon. On account of the political vagaries and disturbances, one can find the changes in the Agrarian system. Enough material is available in the grant portions of the records from Āndhra, Karṇāṭaka, Kēraḷa and Tamil Nāḍu. We know that the life of the people in those days was centered around agricultural activities and landed properties. Cultivation was their main occupation. For the sake of livelihood, they went in search of greenery. This could be successful by deforestation and reclamation of wastelands. Even fallow lands were brought under cultivation i.e., *kaḷli-vaittu* as mentioned in some of the Tamil inscriptions. The earliest reference to the cultivators (*okkalu*) goes back to the time of Āḷupa king Āḷuvarasa II. The seventy such tenants mentioned here hail from Udiyapura.<sup>25</sup> In a record of Chāḷukya Sōmēśvara I dated 1050 A.D. from Sūdi, the eighty cultivators were conferred certain privileges. It is all the more interesting to note that during the period of Telugu Chōḍa chief Manumasiddhi,<sup>26</sup> the case was decided against the cultivators (*Velumas*) and ultimately the *brāhmaṇas* of Irumbuḍōl were asked to take possession of the lands and cultivate (*maḷuppiḍippittu*). From the time of Chōḷa Parāntaka I (acc. 907 A.D.) lands on the bank of Kāvērī river were reclaimed and brought under cultivation (*vayakkiṇa*). Larger areas were taken up here for reclamation from the time of Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga I. This has resulted in the creation of new settlements referred to in a number of epigraphs from Śrīraṅgam<sup>27</sup>.

Problems relating to the creation of agrarian leadership, increase in the area of expansion of cultivation, effective steps taken to achieve fruitful results, expansion of settlements, the creation of new *agrahāras* and *chaturvēḍimaṅgalams*, unfold new ideas to understand the agrarian set-up and the underlying principles.

In the imprecatory portion of the Chōḷa records from Śrīraṅgam, it is easy to note the protective measures taken to safeguard the cultivators, land owners and so on.

It was during the Chōḷa period, new agrarian settlements came up along the bank of Kāvērī river. In the course of the expansionist activities of brahmanical villages, not only more areas were included in the cultivation but more donors had come forward to grant cultivable lands. In the name of temples and deities, lands had been sold, purchased, mortgaged, distributed, etc., with an ulterior motive of increasing food production in proportion to the demand. There were lower strata of society and the upper class and the latter depended mostly on the former to till the lands. The donors, either the rulers or the chiefs of ruling families or their relatives had taken positive steps by assigning lands to the donees in the form of *ṽṛittis*. The *dēvadāna* lands belonging to the temples had been entrusted to these donees. Individuals belonging to various communities had been apportioned with shares of land and their produce. On the other hand the lands in the *brahmadēya* village had been assigned to the *brāhmaṇas* so that they would enjoy the fruits out of them. The *brāhmaṇas* themselves could not contribute to such an effective nature. So they finally depended on the tillers, by leasing their shares. Many categories of people or professionals were thriving on the outcome of the shares. A detailed classification can be noticed in the different Chōḷa records pertaining to *brahmadēya* gifts. Besides the temple priests, others include the drummers (*uvachchars*), singers, masons (*takshaka*), dancing girls (*dēvaraḍiyārs*), musicians, garland-makers, garden rearers, potters, vēdic teachers, etc and several *ṽṛitti*-holders. In order to take care of the welfare of these families new villages had been added. Also additional *ṽṛittis* and shares were created in the case of *brahmadēyas*. The families thus mentioned have been enjoying perpetually such lands. One can also see the change in the case of the successors of original grantees particularly *brāhmaṇas*. Instead of practising the specified duties in the religious institutions, they had taken to other activities thus resulting in the loss of their hold over the *brahmadēya* lands. Ultimately the tillers had taken an upper hand over these families claiming their *vāram*. This again resulted in the degeneration of *brahmadēya* institutions at a later date. Those *brāhmaṇas* who were performing religious duties in the temples and *mathas* had to depend solely upon the tillers to get their share of produce from the lands thus invested for their livelihood. So there was decline in the *brahmadēya* gifts. Still the donors had

recorded such gifts or *vr̥ittis* assigned to the *brāhmaṇas*, on the walls of temples at Thaṅjāvūr, Śrīraṅgam, Kumbhakōṇam and several other places mainly to safeguard the interests of the *brāhmaṇas*. This is a sort of a backing or support without endangering other privileges and the growing temple activities.

The reason for the spread and growth of trade activity and centres of trade was the expansion of agricultural work by raising more and more crops. Inscriptions from South India show that the agrarian expansion resulted in the increase in commercial activity after 9th-10th centuries A.D.

The development of trade centres attracted the local and itinerant tradesmen. During the medieval period the trade activities reached their height because of the expansion beyond the political barriers. It is also because of the patronage of the ruling class, they could develop their own mercenary troops for the protection of their activities.

Of the several mercantile organisations that came up in different parts of South India, the *nagaram* organisation came up as early as the Pallava period. It assumed importance on account of urbanisation and economic growth. The *nagarams* acted as potential centres of urban growth. They served as marketing centres for the agrarian units to have an easy access so as to sell their commodities. During the Pallava period, on account of swift economic activity, Kāñchīpuram became a centre of nodal point with several networks and thus assumed the status of *mānagaram*. Its main function in the Urban centres served as a net-work connecting it with villages too. So it is not a body of the town alone as the term indicates but it is a corporate body of the ordinary village also. This is the view of Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastri who studied from the point of view of Kākatīya records. The *nagaram* and the itinerant traders carried on trade and the rise of *aṅgādis* mentioned in the inscriptions from Thaṅjāvūr confirm this. Inscriptions from 8th to 11th century trace the growth of *nagaram* and the members of *nagaram* are called *nagarattār*. One of the inscriptions of 11th century from Paḷamaṅgalam in Erode District states that a certain Nittavinōdaṅṅ from Koṅgu country raised a *mānagara* for the benefit of the *Tisai-āyirattu-aiññūrruva nānādēsis*.<sup>28</sup>

(*tisai-āyirattu-aiññūrruva-nānādēsiy-adaikkalam Kiḷaṅganāṭṭu Nittavinōdattu-irundu vāḷum Vellālar Vēṇḍuvaṅṅ-Tairukkuraiyāṅṅ eḍuppichcha-mānagaram*).

We know that *mānagaram* acted as a nuclear marketing centre from Viriñchipuram, Tiruvadigai, Kīlūr, Tirunāgēśvaram and several other places in Pudukkottai, Salem, Uṛaiyūr, Tiruchchi and Tirunelveli regions.

In the course of the expansion of their activities, they had a wider network and the headquarters for such centres came to be recognised as a *mānagaram*. In some cases the *nagaram* was controlled by Ayyapolīl as at Karavandapuram in Tirunelveli District. This involvement during the periods of Chōla Parāntaka I and Pāṇḍya Rājasimha III helped this organisation to develop the monetary economy through coin transactions.

The urban centres had bigger markets (*pēraṅgāḍi*) which are said to have had control over markets of smaller places. *Vīraśoḷappēraṅgāḍi* was managed by several merchants and their transactions through gold coins show the monetization of the economy. This market should have come into existence after the period of Chōla Parāntaka I who had the title *Vīraśōḷa* after whom the market came to be called.

The middle Chōla and Pāṇḍya periods witnessed the development of special markets and trade. The Śāṅkarappāḍinagarattār were engaged in supplying oil and ghee and they carried on this trade in the 10th-11th century A.D. at Uyyakkoṇḍāṅ Tirumalai and Vālikaṇḍapuram in Tiruchchi District, Śrīpurambiyam in Thanjavur District and Tirukkālatti *alias* Mummaḍichōḷapuram (i.e. Kālahasti) in Chittoor District.

Another larger merchant organisation which dealt with the supply of oil is *Vāṇiga-nagaram*. These merchants are referred to as Vāṇigar in a record of Rājēndrachōla from Tirunīrmalai (1015 A.D.).<sup>29</sup> It is an organisation which is composed of oil merchants of Vaiśya community from eighteen countries.

Along with this information from a record belonging to Māṇavarmaṅ Vīrapāṇḍya from Thaṅjāvūr it also speaks of the contribution made by these merchants of the income from the sale of commodities in the north, east and west to the temple of Śēṅgaṅ-Mālīśuram-uḍaiya-nāyaṅār.<sup>30</sup> The *Vāṇiga-nagarattār* of Kaṅṅaṅūr-koppam had the composition of merchants from Paḍiṅṅbhūmi during the period of Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarmaṅ Sundarapāṇḍya I (1267 A.D.). The Iraṇḍukaraināṭṭu-vāṇiga nagarattār is a similar organisation that represents the body from the land between two rivers. It functions in the name of

*Rājarājaperunīravi* in the area wherefrom the Chōla could claim over the Pāṇḍya named Śōlapuram. The merchants of this place endowed the oil-mill to the temple of Tiruppaiññili-uḍaiya-nāyaṅṅār of Vaḍavali-nāḍu in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu. Since the findspot of the records Tiruppaiññili and Śōlapuram wherefrom the merchants conducted their transactions lies between the rivers Kāvērī and Kollīdam, it might have assumed the name *Iranḍukarai-nāṭṭu- vāṇiyanagaram*.<sup>31</sup> This reminds us of a synonymous expression Eḍetore-nāḍu, a geographical division between two rivers, which is also noted for mercantile activities. This organisation also claimed their status from Vēlaṅguḍi in Ramanathapuram District and Āragaḷūr in South Arcot District but their exact composition is not known.<sup>32</sup>

Another mercantile organisation which had grown into prominence from the Pallava period is the weaving trade guild. The migration and settlement of weavers due to the patronage of Chōla kings resulted in the growth of the textile production and the weaving centres. Kāñchīpuram in Chingleput District, which is an important weaving centre even to this day, was recognised as a leading centre as early as the Pallava period. From the Chōla period onwards, efforts had been made to develop this organization of weavers on account of the privileges that had been provided to the weaving community. The weavers in the different areas under the Chōlas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Koṅgu rulers could develop their trade and trading centres. The textile organisations which saw the marketing of cloth and its trade gradually expanded their activities to Karṇāṭaka. The weavers and the weaving traders conjointly took efforts to promote the trade by the establishment of Śāliya-nagaram<sup>33</sup> and Śāttum-pariśaṭṭa-nagaram.<sup>34</sup> These two bodies had centres at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlapuram, Annūr, Pattamaḍai, Chidambaram, Tirukkōyilūr, etc. and at Sēṅgālipuram (Jayasimha - kulakālapuram). King Māṅavarmaṅ Vīrapāṇḍya is stated to have established a special centre for the weaving and marketing of the cloth called Śāliya-nagaram in the name of Teriyavaraniṅṅa-perumāḷpuram (Skt. Pratyakshadēvatāpura).<sup>35</sup> This centre was probably named after the deity Viṣṇu in the temple of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram.

The Śāliyars have also established the weaving centres at Uttamaśōlapuram in Salem-nāḍu and Varaguṅa-pāṇḍinagaram.<sup>35</sup> Infact the former served as an important trade centre till the time of Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya (1509-29 A.D.). The weavers (*śāliyars*) received the patronage of the Cheṭṭis of this place besides those settlements who recited *Tiruppadiyam* in the temple of

Alagiya-perumāl at Mēltalai-Kāvērippūmpattīṇam.

Inscriptions from Śērmādēvi,<sup>37</sup> Śrīmūshṇam,<sup>38</sup> Vālikaṇḍapuram,<sup>39</sup> Annūr,<sup>40</sup> Kuṇṇattūr,<sup>41</sup> etc., refer to Kaikkōḷa-mudalis, Kaikkōḷa-sēnāpatis and Kaikkōḷas who contributed not only for the weaving industry but also enjoyed some privileges including *udirappatti*.

The *Maṇigrāmam* which had its beginning in the Pallava period assumed importance and became an organised merchant group. In Tittāṇḍadānapuram (Toṇḍi), *maṇigrāmam* was one of the groups which represented the big assembly. In the early and middle Chōḷa periods, it is from *maṇigrāmam* centres the merchants traded, improved their activities and interacted with other groups. The inland areas like Koḍumbālūr in Uṇṇattūr-kūrṇam, Uṇṇaiyūr in Uṇṇaiyūr-kūrṇam, Sundarapāṇḍyapuram (i.e., near modern Kuttālam) in Kuṇṇumarai-nāḍu, Vālikaṇḍapuram in Vaṇṇāḍu, Ādittapuram in Poygai-nāḍu (i.e., Tillaisthānam) had established trade links with other organisational centres<sup>42</sup>. The *Vaṇika-grāma* of Pāchchil in Rājaraḷa-vaḷanāḍu of the late Chōḷa period, *Vaṇika-grāma* of Koḍumbālūr of the middle Pāṇḍya period and the *maṇigrāma* of Koḍumbālūr of the early Chōḷa period were one and the same merchant group. Since there was growth in external trade, these inland centres maintained their status in trade activities.

There is a reference to this organisation in a Tamil epigraph from Takuapa, Southern Thailand which has already been discussed at length by Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri<sup>43</sup>. It states that the guilds *Maṇigrāmattār* and *Śēnāmugattār* were given protection in the matter of transporting their products without any problem. The reference to *Śēnāpati* in the Takuapa inscription of 9th century A.D. and the *Śēnāpati* mentioned in the Barus record<sup>44</sup> of 11th century A.D. edited by Dr. Y. Subbarayalu show that this mercantile guild had its own defence forces and the army chief in order to protect the commodities as well as the business and privileges. In this way the expansion of the mercantile activities as far upto South-East Asia during the Chōḷa period is interesting to note. This was possible on account of the military exertions of the Chōḷas especially under Rājēndra I (acc. 1012 A.D.) and the main aim was to carry on an unhindered trade between the Tamil country and South-East Asia.

The mercantile guilds which maintained overseas contact from 11th-13th centuries are *tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūrṇavar*, *āyiratt-aiññūrṇavar*, *nānādēśi*, *ubhaya-nānādēśi*,

etc. They were the itinerant merchant guilds which took active part in internal as well as external trade. They had close links with each other.

The *tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūrruvar*, i.e., the thousand five hundred (traders) of all the quarters or the five hundred traders guild of the thousand quarters and the *aiññūrruvar* were powerful international merchant guilds which mainly functioned from Tamilnāḍu and controlled commercial activities in various places both inland and across the seas. These merchant guilds in the course of their movement assumed importance and took the armed forces with them in order to protect their goods. The necessity for the creation of protected warehouses indicate the steps taken by these organisations on their trade routes.

The *aiññūrruvar* guilds like the five hundred merchants of Ayyāvoḷe, i.e., the present Aihole in Bijapur District, Karnataka, had its centres from about the 9th century to 14th century in places included in Kāṇa-nāḍu, Nallūr-nāḍu, Kilār-kūrram, Pūndurai-nāḍu, Uṛaiyūr-kūrram, Mulli-nāḍu, Kuṛumbūr-nāḍu, Vaḍakalavali-nāḍu, Aṇṇalvāyil-kūrram, Kīl-kunḍāru-nāḍu, etc., while the *tiśai-āyirattu-aiññūrruvar* organisation functioned from places included in Veṇ-nāḍu, Kuṛukkai-nāḍu, Nallārru-nāḍu, Van-nāḍu, Koṅgu-nāḍu, etc. during the same period.

The trade guilds which functioned from various countries of the four directions and eighteen *vishayas* were engaged in extensive inland and overseas trades. They were very powerful in the sense that the very numbers indicate their activities in trade and religious conventions. They had not only made liberal contributions to the *samaiya-dharma* but also to the growth of trade and commerce. They also find mention in the Tamil inscriptions from Kōvilpaṭṭi in Trichy District,<sup>45</sup> Nattam in Madurai District<sup>46</sup> and Tirumalai in Ramanathapuram District<sup>47</sup> as *Nāṅgu-diśai-padiṇṇ-vishaiya-dēśi-tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūrruvar*, *Pāṇḍimaṇḍala-tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūrruvar*, *Dēśivallavap-perunīravi-tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūrruvar*, *Kōḷikkurichchi-Kaḍigai-tāvaḷa-tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūrruvar*, etc. They had been functioning effectively in the export and import of commodities.

It is very likely that the place Kōḷikkurichchi served as a camping place for the body *Tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūrruvar* to function. Eṇṇivīrataḷam figuring in a 13th century record from Madurai region, Vaṇḍittāvaḷam near Pālghaṭ in Kēraḷa are similar other places of stay for the traders coming from distant and different regions or *vishayas*. Here the expressions *kaḍigai* and *tāvaḷam* have to be understood in a

different sense. *Kaḍigai* seems to be a corrupt form of *kaṭaka*, meaning 'camp' and *tāvaḷam* has to be taken in the sense of 'staying place' and not a fair as suggested by Dr. R. Champakalakshmi.

On this analogy, the organisations which conducted intensive trade in Āndhra country are the *Chālmūla-ubhaya-nānādēśāla-pekkamḍru Chālūmūla-akhila-nālgudēśāla-padunenimidi-samayāla samasta-pekkamḍru, Ayyāvaḷa-enunbaru-svāmigaḷu, Dēśa-nagara-pekkamḍru, etc.*

Another important merchant group *viz.*, *Valaṅjiyar* or *Valaṅjigar* of South Ilaṅgai (Southern Laṅkā) had its constituent members in Āndhra, Tamilnāḍu and Karnāṭaka. The *praśastis* of *Vīra Balaṅja-dharma* are recorded in the inscriptions of Āndhra and other areas. All the other groups followed the code and conduct of the central chamber of commerce in the Kannaḍa region. Two Nellore copper-plate inscriptions<sup>48</sup> of 13th-14th century speak of the *dharma* of *Vīra-Balaṅjas*. The Tripurāntakām inscription of Śaka 1214 (1292 A.D.), the Chintapalle record of Śaka 1162 (124 A.D.) and the inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI dated Śaka 1017 (1095 A.D.) from Dambal in Dharwad District refer to the *Balaṅja* class of merchants. This organized trade seems to have embraced Jainism and Brahmanism. Its composite nature and activities are known through the records of the *Chōḷas*, *Pāṇḍyas*, etc.

There is another trade centre that appeared in the scene during the eleventh century in the mercantile town known as *erivīrapaṭṭaṇa*. Like *Valaṅjiyar*, the militant component of the group that settled and traded from the *erivīrapaṭṭaṇa* centres during the *Chōḷa* and *Pāṇḍya* periods, particularly from the 11th to 13th century, points to an organised trade that was undertaken by these militant groups or guilds. Other important *Erivīrapaṭṭaṇa* centres are mentioned in the inscriptions of *Vēmbatti* in Coimbatore District, *Kāṭṭūr* in Chingleput District, *Tirumālugaṅḍāṅkōṭṭai* in Ramnad District, *Ūṭṭattūr* in Trichy District and *Tiruvālīsvaram* in Tirunelveli District.

The earliest occurrence to *Erivīrapaṭṭaṇa* is from the inscriptions of *Chōḷa Rājādhirāja I* from *Basinikoṇḍa* in Chittoor District, Andhra Pradesh and *Ūruguppe*<sup>50</sup> near *Kempanapura* in Mysore District, Karnataka. The former record states that the thousand five hundred merchants of the four quarters (*nāṅgu-diśai-āyirattaiṅṅūruvar*) including *nāḍu*, *nagara* and *nāṅādēśi* met at *Śīrāvalli* in *Mūgai-nāḍu* in *Pūraṇi-Mārāyapāḍi* in



Jayaṅḡaṅḡaṅḡa-maṅḡalam and resolved to convert the village Śīrāvalli into a Nānādēśiya-Daśamaḡi-Eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅa and to grant certain privileges to the residents of that village. Two more mercantile towns figure in the inscriptions of eleventh century from Ūruguppe near Kempanapura and Aiyapolil-Kāḡḡūr in Chingleput District. They had been established in order to create protected warehouses for merchant groups on major trade routes. The militant character of the guild and the trade centres like *Eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅas* as well as the movement of the caravans with arms can be better understood from the description given in the *praśasti* portion of Kāḡḡūr inscription.

Of these inscriptions the one belonging to the period of Chōla king Rājādhiraḡa I from Ūruguppe throws valuable light on the establishment of a chartered town by the famous mercantile organisation called the *Tisai-āyirattaiṅḡūruvar* affiliated to the centre of Ayyapolil i.e., Ayyāvoḡe. It contains the Sanskrit portion<sup>51</sup> of the *praśasti paṅchaśata-vīraśāsana* and the *Tamil meykīrtti Śrī Ayyapolil Paramēśvarikku-makkaḡ-āgi etc.*, corresponding to the expression *Śrī Bhūmidēvikku-makkaḡ-āgi, etc.*, found in several Tamil inscriptions.

The above inscription refers to the conversion of a *brahmadēya* village Vēlūr *alias* Rājādhiraḡa-chaturvēdimāḡalam into an *eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅam*. The *meykīrtti* of Chittiramēḡi guild mentions eighteen *eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅas* among the centres of trade activity. Kenneth Hall took the *eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅas* as inland ports that have come up in the inhospitable areas. He is mistaken in this regard and based his argument on the ground that the Rāmanāthapuram area was occupied by the warring Maḡava tribes.

During the period of Māḡavarmaṅ Sundarapāṅḡya<sup>52</sup> the *Rājarāḡa-eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅam* was included in Mulli-nāḡu and the place was known as *Vīrakāvalaṅ-kōḡḡai*. The fort together with a mercantile town must have been established here in order to provide the mercenary troops with warehouses. When the caravans moved with armed forces, these centres had been placed under their use. Thus the centres of *Eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅa*, served the army personnel,<sup>53</sup> on trade routes. The sale transaction executed from *Vīrakāvalaṅ-kōḡḡai* in *Rājarāḡa-eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅa*, clearly shows that *Eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅam* centres were under the control of trading guilds. They are normally located on major trade routes.

*Rājarāḡa-eṅḡivīrapaḡḡaṅa*<sup>54</sup> must have been a place of urban settlement during the above period and during the period of Jaḡavarmaṅ Kulaśēkhara-pāṅḡya.

The trade centres which have been converted as *Erivirapattanas* were associated with the mercenary troops called *Eriviras*. This reminds us of the term *muṇaiviras*, which expression can be interpreted as 'the army people serving in the war front'. All these mercenary troops are provided with arms as protective measure and for their own defence.

The reference of *Erivirapattana* in connection with its bestowal on Valaṅṅiyas of Vikkiramapallavapuram is of particular significance. The group called *Nirperuṅṅiraviyōm*<sup>55</sup> is said to have conferred the status of *Erivirapattanam* on the aforesaid village, which was a hamlet of Śaiyamurināḍālvār-nāḍu in the fourth year of Rājēndrachōḷa who is identical with Kulōttuṅga I. The members like *nāṅādēsi-kavarai-viṭaṅkar*, *Aiṅṅūṅruva- uyyakkoṅḍāṅ* and several others are known to have killed several persons (details specified). It is these persons who have taken a joint decision. They seem to have been the warring personages as is clear from their activities; and they have been extended to the sphere of militant guilds located in the different centres of trade.

During the reign of Māṅavarmaṅ Sundarapāṅḍya, another place called Iṭaivaḷi was declared as *Erivirapattanam*, and the land was made over to the god Vīdiviṭaṅka-īśvaram-uḍaiyār by the Śivabrāhmaṅas and the *dēvakaṅmis* of the temple Muṅaivaḷi-īśvaram-uḍaiyār.

The mercantile corporations like *Nānādēsi Tisai-Āyirattu-aiṅṅūṅruvar*, *Āyirattu-aiṅṅūṅruvar* and *Aiyampolil* were active in several parts of Tamilnadu including Dindugul, Coimbatore, Erode, etc. from 11th to 13th centuries A.D. They were also protecting the *samaya-dharma* in addition to their militant character. According to an eleventh century record from Samudrapaṭṭi in Madurai District, the assembly called *Aḷagiyapāṅḍya-perunīravi* met and declared the Paṅiyā-nāḍu as *Nānādēsi-Erivirapattanam*. This place was converted into a *vīra-taḷam* (mercenary centre). The *Nānādēsi-tisaiy-āyirattaiṅṅūṅruvar* group along with other members like *nāṅṅuch-chettigal*, *tisai-chettigal paḍiṅṅēbūmi-paṅigai- makkal* and the group called *Aḷagiyapāṅḍya-perunīravi*,<sup>56</sup> besides functioning as mercenary troops, also took stern action to put down the enemies in the Valaṅṅiya group in order to uphold the cause of *samaya* (mercantile convention). The internal quarrel among the members seems to have necessitated the establishment of the army base at the above mentioned *Erivirapattanam* centre.

It is also observed through a thirteenth century inscription from Siddaiyaṅkōṭṭai<sup>57</sup> in Madurai District that Āṙṙūr (probably called Āttūr) served as a mercantile centre in the name of *erivīrataḷam*. This place received its due importance as a centre of trade on account of the fact that mercantile groups like *Aiyampolil-Āyirattu- aiññūṙruvar* functioned from here. It was also called *Vīrataḷapuram* named after the *vīrataḷam* (army base).

The term *Erivīrapaṭṭaṇam* was also attached to the place Ūṙṙattūr *alias* Tāyilunallāpuram, identical with the modern place-name Ūṭṭattūr in Tiruchchirappalli District. This occurs in connection with the existence of Iḍaṅgai class in the *Erivīrapaṭṭaṇam* centre.

All along I have shared my views on the different aspects of inscriptions. Now let me think about the future work to be done for the cause of epigraphy. The Epigraphy branch had already taken up necessary steps by introducing digital technology for storing the texts of inscriptions and for effective documentation. With the available staff necessary action has been initiated to prepare the database in the computer and link it with the text after scanning by adopting the HTML method, programming, etc. In order to prepare CD ROM for one lakh texts and the summaries noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, it is necessary to scan all the transcripts and then store them in the computers. In order to complete the preparation of CD ROMs, feed the texts of inscriptions, it is essential to have two full time computer operators on regular basis. Digital camera recently acquired is being fully utilized for the preparation of illustrations for various publications and for the preparation of databases which are to be stored in the CD ROMs.

The Epigraphy branch of the Archaeological Survey of India has developed an indigenous software for the Grantha script. This exercise, the first of its kind in the country, will enable the epigraphists of the different parts of the world to easily understand the import of the inscriptions. Since many of the epigraphs from Tamilnadu are usually found written in Tamil and Grantha scripts this newly developed software will now enable the researchers to read the inscriptions with consummate ease. This branch has also developed software for the scripts like Roman, Devanagari, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Arabic and Persian scripts and Meitei script. Also a software with special symbols occurring in between the Grantha script as well as in the Telugu-Kannada scripts has been

developed. Also the newly developed software for the symbols occurring in the Sanskrit inscriptions will enable the researchers to understand the contents of the epigraphs. It is also proposed to prepare a software envisaging the plan of linking summaries of inscriptions with multifarious details with the texts of the inscriptions and their facsimiles. Once this is prepared it will be easy to store them in the CD ROMs carrying the details of inscriptions and the facsimiles. This will provide authentic information on the various aspects of history of our country. It is high time that the A.S.I., should take serious steps to implement the preparation of CD ROMs, for which many private agencies have come forward. I have already prepared a blue print for the preparation of CD ROMs and sent it to the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India.

Finally, I am highly thankful to all the scholars present here for the patient hearing.

*Śubham-astu*

#### Notes and References

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 130-31, Top. VII, 28.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18, Jaugāḍa 2nd Separate edict; *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2, pp. 36-42 and plate.
3. My article on 'Śrīlaṅkan and Tamil-Brāhmī' in *Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy Felicitation Volume*.
4. *Ibid.*
5. From my field-notes on Śittamavāśal.
6. This inscription was recently copied by the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India.
7. The original plates are now preserved by the Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
8. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 254.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 129, Vv. 47-48.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 81, v. 37.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 146, v. 58.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, p. 146, v. 59.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 146, v. 62.
15. This inscription was recently noticed by the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India.
16. Information received from Late Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri.
17. Information received from Late Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri.
18. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p.61.
19. This copper plate was copied by the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India recently.
20. Information from Dr. Dharmesvar Chutia, Guwahati.
21. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 15,
22. This inscription has been published by Dr. K.V. Ramesh in *JESI* Volume.
23. Information received from Dr. K.V. Ramesh.
24. Information received from Dr. Dharmesvar Chutia, Guwahati.
25. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 279.
26. *S.I.I.*, Vol, XXIII, No. 580, text line 8.
27. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 59.
28. *Āvaṇam*, 1996, p.33.
29. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1912, No. 560.
30. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 227.

31. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, No. 163.
32. *Ibid.*, 1958-59, No. 507, *Ibid.*, 1913, No. 432.
33. *Ibid.*, 1915, No. 98.
34. *Ibid.*, 1973-74, No. 223.
35. *Ibid.*, 1913, No. 269.
36. *Ibid.*, 1916, No. 544.
37. *Ibid.*, No. 635.
38. *Ibid.*, No. 248
39. *Ibid.*, 1943-44, No. 288.
40. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 610.
41. *Ibid.*, 1967-68, No. 204.
42. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, Nos. 288; and 305; *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 519; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 28; *AREp.*, 1926-27, No. 598; *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No.52.
43. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōlas*.
44. *JESI.*, Vol. XXIII.
45. *A.R.Ep.*, 1964-65, No. 286.
46. *Āvaṇam*, 3/1993.
47. *A.R.Ep.*, 1924, No. 10.
48. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XLII.
49. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 342.
50. *Ep.Carn.*, Vol.III, Tn. 138.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Mb. 119.
52. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No. 348.

53. *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 120.
54. *Ibid.*, 1916, No. 355.
55. *Ibid.*, 1976-77, No. 213
56. *Āvaṇam*, 2/1992, pp. 6-8.
57. *Ibid.*,4/1994, pp. 34-35.

## NALA INSCRIPTION OF RĀMACHANDRA YĀDAVA

Ramakant R. Bhoir

The slab bearing this inscription was found in the field of Shri Dattatreya Naik, resident of Nala Village near Sopāra in the Vasai Taluk of Thane District.

This inscription is in old Marāṭhī and the characters are Nāgarī, belonging to the 13th century A.D. There are in all 12 lines. However, lines 2, 6, 7 and 8 are completely worn out, line No. 9 has also been partially worn out. Because of this the letters in these lines cannot be deciphered. The extant portion gives an idea about the purport of the inscription. In the second line, the date of the inscription is mentioned as 1233 of the Śaka year. In the third line, the name Sri Rāmachandradēva Yādav is mentioned with usual title *Śrīmat Praudha Pratāpa Chakravarti*. The fourth and fifth lines contain the name of Śrī 'Viśvēśvaradēva' who is described as *Koṅkaṇa - maṇḍalādhipati* meditating at the feet of Śrī Rāmachandradēva. In the seventh line the name of village "Papadi" is recorded which seems to have been gifted to somebody whose name is not clear. In the eighth line a certain Kanhara is mentioned. The last three lines contain the imprecatory verses.

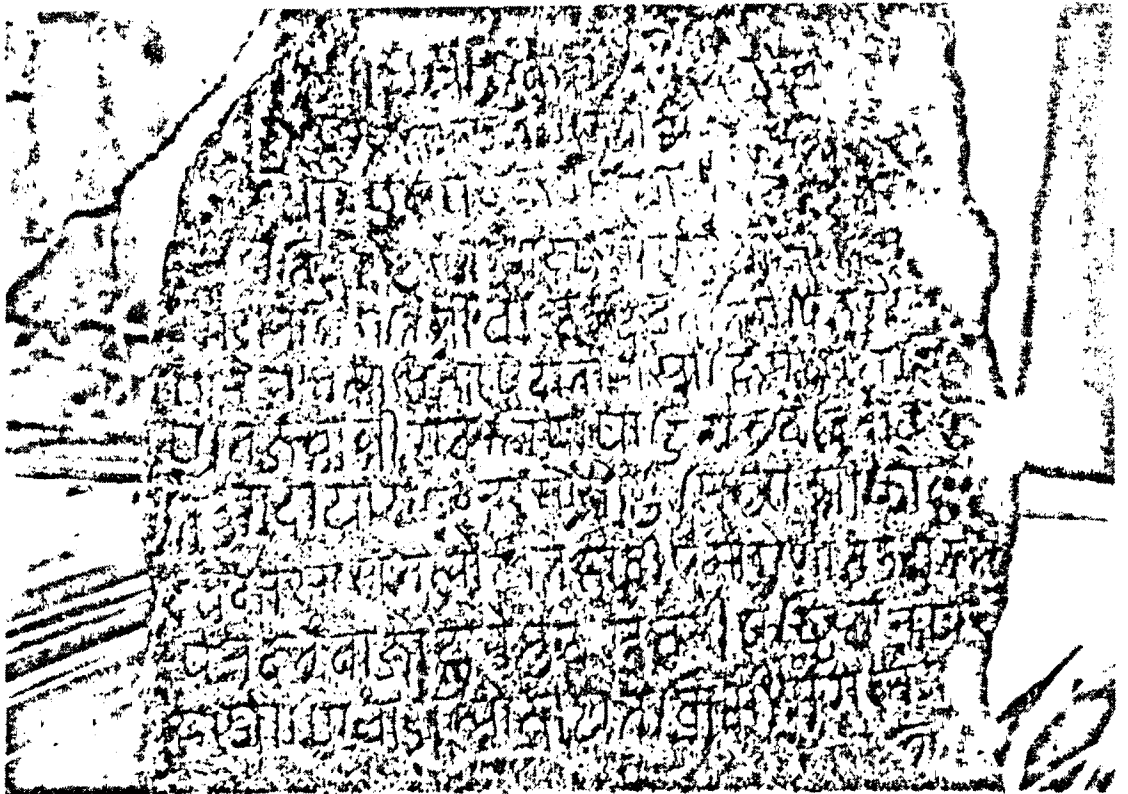
The inscription seems to be important in many respects. First of all, it seems to be the latest epigraphic record of Rāmachandradēva Yādava. Until now, the Purushōttamapuri copper-plate of this king issued in Śaka 1232 was supposed to be his latest inscription. The present inscription belongs to one year after the date of Purushōttamapuri plates. The next information which we get from the inscription is that by the Śaka year 1233 A.D., the officer in-charge of the Koṅkaṇ region was Viśvēśvaradēva or Īśvaradēva. He is introduced as the new governor of the Koṅkaṇ region through this inscription. He was probably the son of Śrī Jaidēva, who was the governor of Koṅkaṇ, according to the Akshi Inscription of Rāmachandradēva dated 1291 A.D. This Jaidēva seems to have enjoyed the governorship of Koṅkaṇ upto the year 1300 A.D., because he is mentioned as the governor of Koṅkaṇ in the Agasan inscription of Rāmachandradēva dated 1300 A.D.

The present inscription was issued just one year after the Agasan inscription. Since in this inscription Viśvēśvaradēva or Īśvaradēva has been referred to as the



governor of Koṅkaṇ, it is evident that he succeeded Jaidēva in the year 1301 A.D. In the Akshi inscription referred to above, the name of Īśvaradēva is mentioned as the donor and son of Jaidēva. His surname has been mentioned as Kshatriya. The present inscription thus provides information about the family of Jaidēva and Īśvaradēva as the Governors of Koṅkaṇ.

The name of Kanharadēva is mentioned first of all in the Kalvar inscription of Rāmachandradēva dated 1289 A.D. He again figures in the Koparad inscription of the same king dated 1298 A.D. Thus the present inscription is the latest epigraphic record mentioning the name of Rāmachandradēva and Kanharadēva under whom Jaidēva and his son Īśvaradēva worked. This record is probably the last inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri from Mahārāshṭra because soon after this date the rule of the Yādava dynasty came to an end.



Nala inscription

## Text

1. Om̐ [\*] Svasti [\*] Śrī Śaka sanvachhare .....
2. 1233 ..... adhyaḥ .....
3. Śrīmat Praudha Pratapa Chakravarti Śrī Rāmachandradēva-rā.....
4. ya vijayodaye tat-pāda-padmōpajīvi Koṅkaṇa-
5. maṇḍaladhipati Śrī Visvēśvaradēva tan-niropita .....
6. ....
7. .... Gavali .... Papaḍi ....
8. .... Śrī Kanhara-
9. dēve data sāsan ..... Svadattam .....
10. paradattam vā yo harē[\*] Vasundharām shasṭi varsha sa-
11. hasrāṇi Chaṇḍālo jāyate kṛimi Maṅgala ma(hā) .....
12. .... śrī .....

## Notes and References :

1. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 199-200
2. S.G Tulpule, *Prachina Marathi Koriva Lekha*, Pune 1963, Inscription No. 41, pp. 217-19.
3. *Op.cit.*, Inscription No. 46, pp.232-36.
4. *Op.cit.*, Inscription No. 40, pp. 212-15
5. *Op.cit.*, Inscription No. 43. pp. 222-26

## SĒTHIS IN SOCIO - ECONOMIC LIFE

Anuradha K. Ranade

Village as the basic economic and administrative unit had existed since time immemorial. The village council along with the village officers regulated the administrative needs of the village. Apart from the regular village officers, there was an assembly in every village, consisting of village elders who were styled as *Mahājanas* in Karnataka and Maharashtra and were responsible to bind the village socially, economically and culturally.<sup>1</sup> Another predominant group worth mentioning were the sēthis who were called *śrēshṭin* in Sanskrit. The *Mahājanas* and the sēthis together over the years had become an indispensable part of the rural-urban socio-economic life.

The primary difference between the two was that the *Mahājanas* belonged to various castes whereas the Sēthis were generally Vaiśyas by caste. The *Mahājanas* played an important role in the socio-cultural life of the village whereas the sēthis influenced the economic life. The significant role played by the sēthis and *Mahājanas* in the rural-urban life is seen in the Marāṭhī literature from 13th century onwards. However, on the basis of Marāṭhī epigraphic records, it can be conveniently said that these two groups were playing an important role in the village life from about 11th century onwards.

We shall construct the picture of the important role played by the Shetes in contemporary village economic life. Usually, they belonged to the Vaiśya caste in the traditional social system. Throughout the period, the Vaiśyas played an important role in the socio-economic life of the village community. Generally, the Vaiśyas maintained petty shops in the village. There were many market towns which were known as *pēṭh*. Usually, the person who established *pēṭh* came to be known as shete (*sēthi*). He seems to be an important officer of the *pēṭh* or the commercial town. He had the superintendence and regulation of weights and measures.<sup>2</sup> The Vaiśyas or the sēthis in urban areas are known to have been engaged in large scale trade, both internal as well as external. It was their trade that enabled them to accumulate enormous wealth, because of which they were elevated to the position of merchants and bankers.

The Vaiśyas are called 'Vaiśya - Wanis'<sup>3</sup> in Maharashtra. Often they are termed

as Shetes or setes. In contemporary Marāṭhī literary and epigraphic sources they are referred as : Seṭi<sup>4</sup>, Sheṭya<sup>5</sup>, Seṭya,<sup>6</sup> etc. Some of them were the grain sellers in the village.<sup>7</sup> Trade was the main profession of Wani community, though they had no monopoly. Often the Shete or Sēṭhi played the role of money lenders. A literary reference throws light on the prominent position of the seṭes, as it records “ Sheṭya Jhala Hari<sup>8</sup>”. Here the Sheṭe (who probably lent money to the needy) is compared to God just as the vīravaḷaṅja-seṭtis who are referred to as ‘*Ayyāvōḷepuraparamēśvar*’ i.e., Lords of the Aihole Nagara in the Dambal inscription<sup>9</sup>. This reference clearly throws light on the money lending business of the Seṭes. As a matter of fact their main business was giving loans to the needy people on the condition of repayment with interest. Līlacharitra also refers to Wanis as money lenders as it records that MahinBhat, the disciple of Mahānubhav saint Chakradhara once borrowed some ‘visar’, i.e., loan from the village Wani<sup>10</sup>. This obviously was on the basis of repayment of the loan with interest. It could be possible that even ruling authorities of the time had asked for loans from the big merchant traders, in return for which favour they were granted some facilities and concessions along with the interest on the amount of the loans. Naturally the position of the Sēṭhis was elevated to a high level.

There were also merchant guilds headed by Paṭṭaṇasetṭis<sup>11</sup>. It has been observed that the Sēṭhis who belong to the Wani caste helped each other for protecting their professional interests.

Another reference to the Sēṭhis comes from the Abhangas Namdeva<sup>12</sup>. Here he mentions the words, “Ya pethecha shetya pundalik” meaning ‘the Shete or sēṭhi of one of the Pēṭhs i.e., market town or a lane in the market town was Pundalika by name’. It is suggestive of the fact that there could be many more market lanes in a town, (probably of various professional groups) and every lane had a shēṭe who could have acted as the money lender of that particular pēṭh.

Although the sēṭhis were important officers of the market town, they must have played an important role in the nearby villages and in the village social life.

Sometimes Sēṭhis are seen as custodians of the funds raised in the village for some specific purpose. For e.g. Nagav S.I.<sup>13</sup> Hambirrao dated 1367 - 1368 A.D. refers to a Sethi Jasde (V) who was acting as the custodian of a fund along with some *Mahājanas* and other important persons in the village. This was a fund of 200 *drammas* raised by the sale of some land in the village ‘Ashtāgara’ and was

distributed among the people of Agri community in the village equally. Here the mention of a Sēṭhi as the custodian of a charity fund shows the higher position of the Sēṭhis in the village life dealing with the financial matters.

Sometimes other business groups such as goldsmiths also acted as money lenders, which could have been the cause of the dispute between the two groups i.e., Wani and the Sonar (i.e., the goldsmiths). An inscription from Khategrām dated 1348 A.D. records some dispute between the Wani and the goldsmith communities in the village Khategrām. From this inscription, it appears that Wanis i.e., the village merchants of the Vaiśya community appealed to the Sēṭhis of their own caste from 'Veregrām'. Accordingly, the Sēṭhis viz., Lakseti Śiva Chandsēti and Śiva Yisar Sēti from the village 'Vere' supported these Wanis in their dispute with the Sonars and made their side strong.

After the dispute was settled, and the Wanis won over, they thought of acknowledging the Sēṭhis who supported them by awarding them certificates of appreciation. For that a special ceremony (public function) was organized and the guests of their own community from Gōve Nagar and Narve were invited. There were 5 Sēṭhis viz., Nāgsēti, Gōmasēti, Bhayirsēti, Kayisēti, and Lakkhusēti from Gōvenagar (i.e the town merchants) and 4 Sēṭhis from Narve viz. Viṭhalsēti, Santasēti, Sōmasēti and Vajrasēti, one of which was the Nagarsēti, meaning Narve was also a town or commercial centre of the time. It was in the presence of these guests that the sētis viz., Laksēti Śivachandsēti and Śiva Yisar sēti the sētis of Veregrām (which was an *agrahāra* during that time) were honoured by awarding them some special items and special rights and the ceremony was confirmed through a copper plate. Thus it appears from the inscription that the sēṭhis who belonged to Vaiśya Wani caste made a united effort to elevate the position of the people who belonged to their caste thus protecting and securing their professional interests.

The Sēṭhis seem to have continued the tradition of giving endowments to the religious establishments such as Vasugi Sēṭhi, Lannu Sēṭhi who had given the endowments of some *gadyānas* to the establishment at Paṇḍharpūr.<sup>14</sup>

Free food was distributed at the *annachatra* on religious festivals. It was also a practice to distribute food on daily basis to the poor and the needy. It was referred to as *Satra* in short in Marāṭhī inscriptions. Usually the funds for these *Satras* were sponsored by the various groups such as the rulers, devotees, private

individuals like the *Mahājanas*, etc. The Sēṭhis were no exception to it. Sēṭhi Changdēva of Bidkin<sup>15</sup> S.I. had endowed 4 *drammas* per month for the *Satra* i.e. *annachatra* for the free food arrangement run by the temple in the village.

Patan S.I.<sup>16</sup> also throws light on the contribution of the Sēṭhis or Wanis (the shopkeepers) for meeting the needs of a *maṭha* at the village Pāṭan, which was established by Changdēva, grandson of the Mathematician Bhaṣkarāchārya, the author of 'Siddhanta Shirōmaṇi', a work on Mathematics. It was an educational institution where the works of Bhāskarāchārya were studied and the finances or needs of the students residing there were met by the village merchants and it throws light on the commodities which were to be endowed regularly to the *maṭha* by these merchants and shopkeepers.

Thus the Marāṭhī epigraphical records throw light on the sēṭis, their mercantile professions, their role as money lenders as well as the important personalities in the Urban-rural socio-economic life of Mahārāshṭra.

#### Notes and References

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2. Molesworth, *Marathi - English Dictionary*, p.798
3. M.G. Pane '*Yadavkaleen Maharashtra*', p.
4. Khategram Copper Plate Inscriptions in '*Prachin Marthi Koriv Lekh*', (PMKL.)
5. Abhangas of Janabai, in '*Sakal Sant Gatha*' part 2, 131., 'Sri Namadeva Gatha S', part. I, 393
6. Supplement to the Abhangas of ChokhaMela, '*Sakalsant Gatha*', part 3, 118
7. *Ibid.*, part 2, no. 118.
8. See Foot note No. 5.
9. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 185
10. *Lilacharitra*, Uttarārdha No. 603.

11. K.N. Chitnis, *op.cit.*, p.40
12. *Shri Namadev Gatha*, part I, 393.
13. *PMKL.*, p. 288-89
14. *PMKL.*, p.186
15. Bidkin S.I. in *Shodhamudra* ed. by Bramanada Deshpande, pp 87-92.
16. Patna S.I. *PMKL.*, p.113.

## ORISSA, THE CONFLUENCE OF INDIAN CULTURE: A NUMERICAL STUDY

Pradhan Gopal Charan

The present geographical region of Orissa was known during ancient times by various names, such as Kaliṅga, Utkala, Oḍra, Kōsala, etc. The names of these units have found mention in epics, purāṇas and Sanskrit literature, which record their origin in mythological stories, but do not give us the exact idea about their historicity. They, however, seem to suggest that the above territories were inhabited by different types of people; but in course of time they were united.

The name Kaliṅga first appears in the rock edicts of King Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C; the evidence found in the above inscriptions suggests that during 3rd century B.C. Kaliṅga included the entire region now known as Orissa<sup>1</sup>. Though its northern and southern boundaries cannot exactly be determined, it seems that the southern boundary of Kaliṅga extended upto the river Gōdāvarī and the northern boundary upto the river Vaitaraṇī as per the "Vanaparva" of *Mahābhārata*<sup>2</sup>. During the first century B.C. the present state of Orissa was certainly known as Kaliṅga as per the Hatigumpha inscription of the Chedi ruler Khāravēla<sup>3</sup>. Huen-tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited India during 629-45 A.D., mentions in his book 'Si-yu-ki' about the geographical situation of Kaliṅga along with Oḍra, Kongōda and South Kōsala<sup>4</sup>. The early Gaṅgas ruled over Kaliṅga upto 9th century A.D. and the imperial Gaṅgas over the whole of Orissa (Trikaliṅga) upto 1435 A.D.

Utkala as a geographical unit is found mentioned in *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and Buddhist scriptures like early Vinaya texts, the Nikāyas and the Jātaka stories. The Aṅguttara Nikāya also refers to Tapassu and Bhallika the two merchants of Ukkala (Utkala) who met Buddha at Bōdhgaya on the day of His Enlightenment<sup>5</sup>.

The reference to Oḍra or Wu-Cha occurs along with its two famous places the pu-si-po-ke-li (Pushpagiri) monastery, recently identified with the Lāṅguḍi Hill Buddhist site of Orissa<sup>6</sup> and the Che-li-ta-lo port in the travel accounts of Huen-tsang<sup>7</sup>. It is said that the present name of Orissa has been derived from Oḍra or Uḍra or Oḍraka. The Tibetan historian Tārānātha refers to Orissa as Oḍivisa which is apparently a Tibetan corruption of Oḍisā.



Kōsala as a country finds mention in the 'Vanaparva' of *Mahābhārata* in a way from which it becomes apparent that the great epic refers to Dakṣiṇa Kōsala and not to Uttara Kōsala. Dakṣiṇa Kōsala comprises Bilaspur, Raipur (Bastar area) districts of Chhatisgarh State and the undivided Sambalpur and Bolangir districts of Orissa.

Early literary and epigraphical evidences indicate that among the above four geographical units Kalinga belongs to South India. In the Rāmāyaṇa's 40th 'sarga' Sugrīva describes about the Southern direction to the 'Vānaras' before sending them in search of Sītā and mentions countries like Kalinga, Utkala, Āndhra, etc<sup>8</sup>. The scripts used in both the rock edicts of King Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugarh and the Hātiguṃpha inscription of Khāravēla somehow have been influenced by the Southern Brāhmī<sup>9</sup>.

In the present paper the author wants to discuss about the influence of South and North Indian numerals on the development of Oriya numerals. Before the use of decimal system or place value system three types of numerals were practised all over India, with their regional variations. The early inscriptions used nearly 27 symbols to express the numerals such as 9 different symbols for 1 to 9 and 10, 20, 30, etc. upto 100 for 9 symbols like that of 100 to 1000 another 9 symbols. Besides, in the medieval inscriptions words of the Sanskrit language associated with particular numbers were used to express the numbers. Few popular examples of these words are *Kha* for zero, *Chandra* for one, *nētra* for two, *bhuvana* for three, etc. Such words were arranged on the principle of *anikānām vāmatō gatiḥ*, i.e. the turning round of the sum or reading the figures from right to left.

The other form of expressing numerals noticed in South India is called the *Kaṭapayādi* system. According to this system, the 10 letters from *ka* to *na* had the value respectively of the numbers 1 to 9 and 0, the same for letters *ta* to *na*. The five letters from *ya* to *la* had the value of the numbers 1 to 0 respectively. In the above system of expressing numerals *anikānam vāmatō gatiḥ* was observed in the determination of the value of the word. Besides the *kaṭapayādi* system, other forms of expressing numerals by way of symbols, words and letters were noticed during different times of the development of Oriya numerals.

A comparison of modern numerals of Orissa with its neighbouring states indicates the influence/similarity with that of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. The comparison of modern numerals of Karnataka with that of Orissa shows the

origin of both Telugu and Kannada numbers from the same base. In the case of 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8 numerals there is also somehow similarity with the north but more of influence of the Southern numerals. The Southern influence is mainly due to the long span of rule by the early and imperial Gaṅgas from 498 to 1435 A.D. The recent discovery of an early Buddhist site with rock-cut architecture, rectangular base *stūpa* at Lāṅguḍi Hill architecturally is similar to the Buddhist remains of the Kṛishṇā valley. It can be safely concluded that Orissa or the confederation of ancient Kalinga, Utkala, Oḍra and Kōsaḷa is the confluence of Indian Culture.

#### Notes and References :

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, 'Aśokan Inscriptions'.
2. K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, p.4.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-38 ff.
4. Thomas Walters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, pp. 196-200 ff.
5. Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 191.
6. A.N. Tiwari, ed. *Reference Orissa*. (Identification of Pushpagiri), pp. 238 ff.
7. Thomas Waters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, p. 196
8. D.R. Mankad, ed. *The Fourth Book of Valmiki Ramayana*, The Kiskindha-Kanda, p. XLV ( Introduction)
9. S. Tripathy, Khāravēla *samprukta aitihāsike samasyā* (ek abhilekhabhittika ālōchanā), Oriya.

THE CHART SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORIYA NUMERALS IN COMPARISON WITH THE SOUTHERN & NORTHERN NUMERALS											
PERIOD	AREA.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
3rd. A.C. TO 1st C. B.C.	NORTH INDIA.	-	=	≡	+	h	ē				
	ORISSA.	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	+		e				
	SOUTH INDIA.	-	=				ē				
1st C. A.D. TO 3rd. C. A.D.	NORTH INDIA.	-	=	≡	𑖃	h	ē	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
	ORISSA.	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅			3	
	SOUTH INDIA.	-	=	≡	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
4th C. A.D. TO 6th C. A.D.	NORTH INDIA.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	3
	ORISSA.	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	3
	SOUTH INDIA.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
7th C. A.D. TO 9th C. A.D.	NORTH INDIA.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	3
	ORISSA.	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	3
	SOUTH INDIA.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
10th C. A.D. TO 12th C. A.D.	NORTH INDIA.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	3
	ORISSA.	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	3
	SOUTH INDIA.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
13th C. A.D. TO 15th C. A.D.	NORTH INDIA.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	3
	ORISSA.	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	3
	SOUTH INDIA.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
COMPARISON OF MODERN ORIYA-NUMERALS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURING STATES.	BIHAR	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
	WEST BENGAL	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
	ORISSA	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
	ANDHRA PRADESH	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	
	KARNATAK.	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	𑖃	𑖄	𑖅	𑖇	𑖈	𑖉	

## TWO ĀDIL SHĀHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAMDĀPUR OF KARNATAKA

M. Yaseen Quddusi

Mamdāpūr is a village in Bijapur district. It is about 22 miles south-west of the district headquarters.<sup>1</sup> It is stated that Khwas Khān, the Prime Minister of Muhammad Ādil Shāh (1626-56 A.D.) of Bijapur laid out fields and planted trees on the site of Mamdāpūr which so pleased the king that the area around it was consolidated and named Muhammadpūr in the year 1633 A.D. Thus the present village came into existence and Muhammadpūr is now known as Mamdāpūr, a corrupt form of the same. As far as Persian epigraphs from this place are concerned, there are two relating to the tanks<sup>2</sup> built during the time of Muhammad Ādil Shāh.<sup>3</sup>

According to the district gazetteer, it is found that the tanks or lakes are formed by earthen dams faced on the water-side by strong well-built stone-walls<sup>4</sup> and the Persian inscriptions from the tanks are informative to understand the work done there.

The first inscription is from Baḍā Tālāb i.e. Big Tank. It is in Persian prose and verse and dated A.H.1043=1633-34 A.D. The style of writing is Thulth. The text begins with the name of Sultan Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. Then there is the name of his Prime-Minister Khwas Khān.<sup>5</sup> The tank is designated as Sultan Begam<sup>6</sup>. As a whole, the gist of the text refers to the construction of a tank i.e. *haud* designated as Sultan Begam Tank by Khwas Khān, the Prime Minister at the instance of the king in A.H. 1043=1633-34 A.D. It also states that it was built at cost of fifty thousand hons.<sup>7</sup> The inscriptional slab contains fourteen lines and measures about 70 × 145 cms.

The second slab from Chhoṭā Tālāb or small tank is now not *in situ*. It is fixed in the wall of the Jāmi Mosque. Almost, it contains the same text as stated above. It only omits the expenditure part but provides the date A.H. 1044 = 1634-35. It tends to suggest that this small tank was completed a year later.

As a matter of fact, these two inscriptional slabs are very important to find out the history of Mamdāpūr and work done there. The tanks are also there associated with the royal family i.e., the Ādil Shāhis. The dates of the tanks are

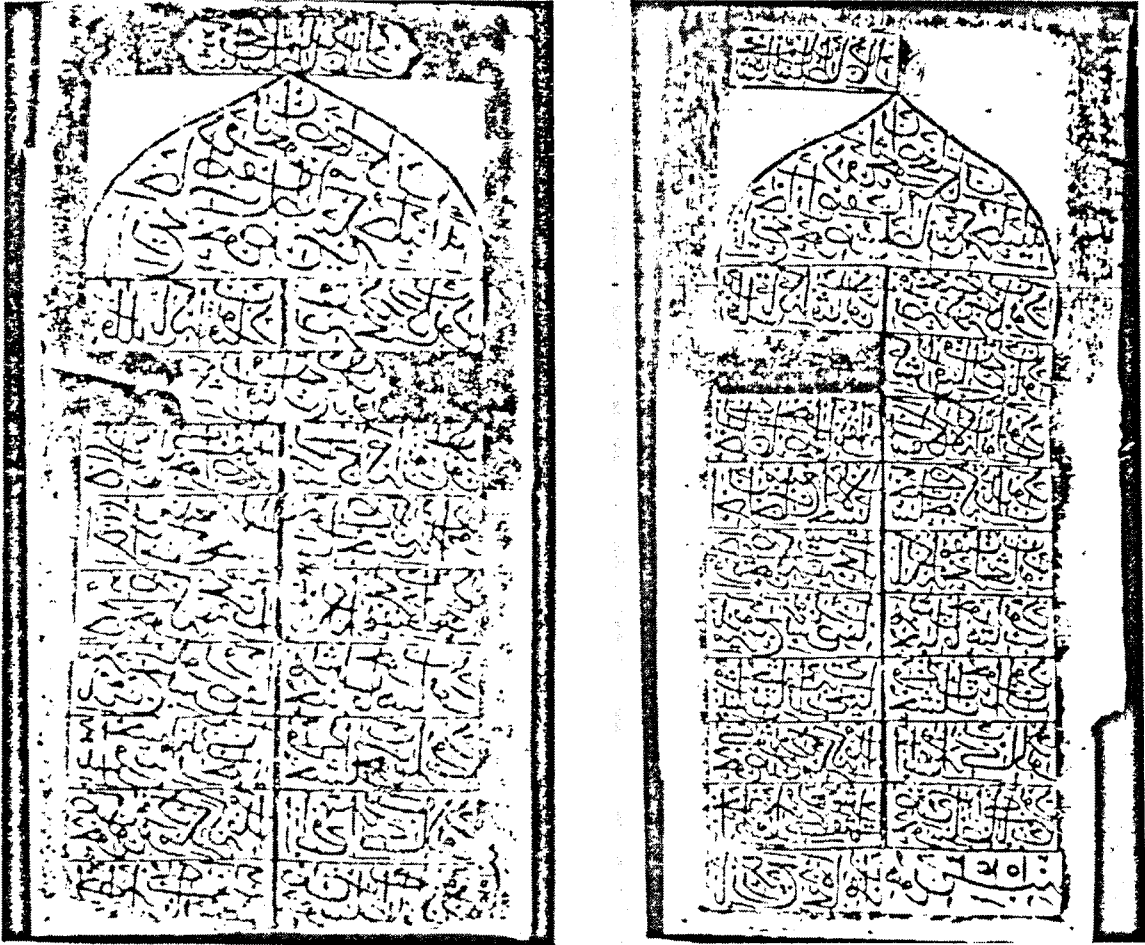
very specific. The work is related to the establishment of a new village named after the ruling Ādil Shāhi king. Apart from these aspects, some other points are also associated with these tanks, or the new place. Again the District gazetteer has one more information about the place that one local saint named Shāh Kamāl Sāhib had prophecied that the king would lay out a new place for the people and in due course Muhammadpūr came up there near Bijapur and the king himself was associated with its foundation and building activities.<sup>8</sup>

When we trace the history of famines, Bijapur region or other adjoining areas have passed through very acute shortage of water or rainfall. The district gazetteer is helpful to understand or trace the impact of such famines. It is found that the famine of 1396 A.D. lasted for about 12 years. In 1422-23 again Karnataka and Deccan faced the curse of famine. In the years 1442, 1460 and 1472-73 there were no rains. In 1629-30 Deccan again suffered from shortage of water and famine. This trend continued in parts of Bijapur district or region in 1717, 1818-20, 1891-92, 1896-97, 1941-1945 and 1947-48 A.D.<sup>9</sup> Thus our record of 1633-34 and 1634-35 A.D. is very much associated with this background. The ruling king, officials and nonofficials of Bijapur kingdom faced the effects of famines and non availability of water in their day to day life. This social aspect was before them. The common people had suffered a lot and when there was no crop and no water for them, there was loss of livelihood for the people and no revenue collection for the govt. treasury.

Hence it is obvious that the Mamdāpūr tanks served the very purpose from where water could be utilised for irrigation, plantation and daily requirement. Whatsoever rainfall was there, its water was stored in these two tanks for a long time. There are other Persian inscriptions which help us to understand that such storage of water was being practised and even Bijapur city got its drinking water from Begam Tālāb some miles away from the capital.<sup>10</sup>

After the passing of centuries, still there is no improvement in the availability of water in Bijapur-Karnataka region. The old system of making tanks, wells or reservoirs is very much natural and easy to fetch the rainfall. This aspect is to be understood even today to ensure the shortage of water and overcome the difficulties. These epigraphs help us in having better understanding about the socio-economic factor which was preserved and protected by such means. Rainfall or water is the life line of mankind and without water no progress, prosperity

and constructive role is possible in any walk of life.



Construction of tanks during the reign of Muhammad Shāh of Ādil Shāhis of Bijapur

## Notes and References :

1. *Bijapur District (B.G.) (Mysore State Gazetteer)* ed. by B.N. Sri Sathyan, (Bangalore, 1966), p.512.
2. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1976-77 (AREp)* Appendix D, Nos. 202-03.
3. Muhammad Ādil Shāh. He was the ruler of Bijapur kingdom i.e. the Ādil Shāhis of Bijapur. He came to power in 1626 A.D. and ruled till 1656 A.D. There are a number of inscriptions of his period found in various part of the old kingdom. For details refer to the various *AREp.* of the survey.
4. *B.G.*, p.512.
5. Khwas Khan's name was Daulat Khān. He was a very powerful nobleman of his times. He was the Prime-Minister of Muhammad Ādil Shāh for about eight years. He was killed in A.H. 1045, Waqiat-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijapur Part I (*WMB*) (Agra, 1915) by Bashiruddin Ahmad, pp.228, 250-51 etc.
6. Sultan Begam i.e., wife of the Sultan or king.
7. Hon or Hun/Houn, a gold coin currency in South India.
8. *B.G.* p.512.
9. *Ibid.*, pp.164-66.
10. *WMB* (pt.II), pp. 116-17.

## THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM RĀMTĪRTH

Anant Kulkarni

This paper deals with three recently discovered inscriptions found inside the Rāmēśvar temple at Rāmtīrth in Athani Taluk, Belgaum District. Two of these inscriptions were hidden in thick crust of grease formed of soot and oil due to burning of oil lamps in their vicinity over years and it took quite a lot of time and effort to clean and recover the records. Two of these records are inscribed on the half-pillars on either side of the inner terminal of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* towards *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, while the third one is inscribed on one face of the base block of the first pillar, on the right side of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. Of these three records, one is in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī script, while the other two are in Kannaḍa language and script. Two records are dated and complete, while that on the left half pillar is undated and incomplete.

### 1. Sanskrit Record of 1223 A.D. Text :-

1. || Śaka 1145 Varsha | Śrāvaṇa vadi 11 Sōma-dinē Vitampāta nāma ||
2. [yōga] Śrī Maṇḍalika Magara Murāri Rāmsinhadēvēna Dēśē niyamita
3. ... ..Paṇḍita Lakhaṇa Mōhana [Dhārī] Nāḍa = Grām Bhūmi ni[va]
4. [rta]na 6 shaṇṇivartana Śrī Rāmēśvaradēvāya pradatta ||...
5. ... madhyāt Paṇḍita Rakshatu ||

In lines 3,4 and 5 some letters could not be deciphered.

Apparently the record belongs to the reign period of the Yādava king Siṃghaṇa II, though it is not specified so. But it mentions the feudatory chief Magara Murāri Rāmasinhadēva and records the gift of six *nivartanas* of land to Śrī Rāmēśvara (deity of Rāmtīrth) in Māḍagrāma to the appointed receiver named Paṇḍita Lakhaṇa Mōhana.

The expression *Magara Murāri* is the title of the feudatory. We come across another such title-holder *mahāpradhāna* Magara Murāri Saṅgamadēvanāyaka in the Akkalakōṭ and Bāgehalli inscriptions<sup>1</sup>.



The date of the record is Śaka 1145, Śrāvaṇa vadi ēkādaśī, Sōmavāra, vitampāta-yōga, which can be equated to Monday - Tuesday the 25th July, 1223 A.D. The cyclic year was Svabhānu.

The grant village is the same as present Māḍagihāl (Māḍgyāl). According to Māḍagihāl inscription of 1172 A.D.<sup>2</sup> the original name of the village was Māḷige which changed to Māḷigi > Māḍagi + hāl = Māḍagihāl, colloquially Māḍgyal. Māl > Māḍ stands for 'an elevated open ground'. However, in the inscription Māḷige is sanskritized to Mālikāpura<sup>3</sup>.

2. The Second Inscription : The second inscription which is in Kannaḍa language and script is undated and incomplete and is located on the left half pillar on the opposite side of the first inscription. It reads as follows:

1. Svasti Śrīmatu Māyidēva suṅkādhikāri Bommarasa śrīma-
2. d-agrahāre Koṭṭali ....

The record mentions the place name Koṭṭalige, an *agrahāra* village near Rāmatīrth referred to in the Rāmatīrth record of 1167 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

None of the above personal names are identifiable. In view of my limited knowledge of palaeography, I have not suggested any date for the inscription on that basis.

### 3. The Inscription Located on the Right Pillar.

This record, also in Kannaḍa language and script, is dated. It reads as follows :

1. Svasti Śrī Śaka - varisam 1282 neya Sārvari saṁvatsara -
2. da Vayisākha śu 15 Maṅgaḷavāradalu | Śrīmatu -
3. Mudanūra | Mūlasthāna Kallyedēvara | punapratishṭhe | jīrṇō -
4. dhāra | Dēvara gaduge bāvi jīrṇōdhāramaṁ mā
5. ḍi | Viśvanāthan = emba Jaṅgama māḍisidaru | Maṅg-
6. ḷa mahāśrī | Eraḍaneya jīrṇōdhāra Sārvari saṁ|
7. 1286 neya | Sōbhakṛitu saṁvatsarada Phāḷguṇa ba 8 Śukra -

8. vāradalu Śrīmatu | Kakkumaṛi - tīrthada Rāmanāthadē-
9. vara punapratistṛe | Sivālyada jīrṇōdhārava māḍidaru
10. Viśvanāthan-emba Jaṅgama māḍisidaru | Maṅgaḷa ma-
11. hā Śrī Śrī Śrī Śrī Śrī

This record of the 14th century apparently belongs to the period of Dawood Bahaman of the Bahamani dynasty. It records the reinstallation of the deity and renovation of a well and temple in two places, got carried out by a Jaṅgama mendicant named Viśvanātha.

At Mudnūr, he got reinstalled, on the specified date, the Mūlasthāna Kalledēva and renovated the temple. Secondly, he also renovated the open well of the god in the same year. The date specified in the record is Śaka 1282, Śārvari, Vaiśākha śuddha 15 (Pūrṇimā), Monday. The date is regular and corresponds to Monday, 25th May 1360 A.D.

The record further states that the said Viśvanātha Jaṅgama, on the date specified, got done the reinstallation of god Rāmanātha of Kakkumaṛi-tīrtha and carried out repairs and renovation of the Śivālaya. The god Rāmanātha of the Kakkumaṛi-tīrtha is the same as the Rāmēśvara of Rāmatīrtha. While the earlier records of Rāmatīrtha describe the deity as *tīrthada Rāmēśvara*, the Kālidāsa Jinālaya inscription dated 1156 A.D. of Balḷegeri describes the deity as “Kakkumaṛi-tīrthada Rāmēśvara”<sup>5</sup>. The subsequent Sankh inscription of 1178 A.D. records the name of the deity as Rāmanātha<sup>6</sup>.

The date specified for this part of our third record is 1286, Śubhakṛitu saṁvatsara, Phālguṇa bahuḷa aṣṭami, Śukravāra. Here the Śaka year and the cyclic year do not go together. If the record has correctly specified the Śaka year as 1286, then the cyclic year is Krōdhin and Phālguṇa bahuḷa aṣṭami falls on Sunday, 25th February, 1364 A.D. On the other hand, if the cyclic year is correctly recorded then the Śaka year should be taken as 1284 and Phālguṇa bahuḷa aṣṭami falls on Saturday, 19th March 1362 A.D. Thus the date specified in this part of the record is irregular.

In respect of identification of Viśvanātha Jaṅgama and the village Mudanūr my efforts so far have not yielded any positive results. But the reinstallation of the

deity and the renovation of the temple are important data for the study of the temple-centered tiny village of Rāmatīrtha which boasts of as many as 14 stone inscriptions ranging in time from 1115 A.D. to 1630 A.D. covering the reign periods of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka, the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Bahāmani and Ādil Shāhi dynasties.

#### Notes and References :

1. *K.R.I.*, Vol. II, p. 119-120, 122 and 126-127.
2. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XV, No.20, p. 232ff.
3. *Ibid.*, line 51.
4. *K.R.I.*, Vol. II, p. 92, l. 32 ff.
5. From my estampage of the unpublished record, l. 83.
6. From the estampage of the unpublished text, l. 63.

# READING AND IDENTIFICATION OF CHARACTERS USING NEURAL NETWORKS

H.K. Anasuya Devi

## 1. Introduction

Modern day computers that perform at tremendous speed are ideally suited to perform certain tasks such as scientific and mathematical problem solving, word processing, desktop publishing, etc. Although present day computers are several times faster than human brains, day to day tasks that humans take for granted are difficult to simulate on a computer. Some of these tasks are image understanding, speech recognition, learning, etc. Now one can ask the question as to whether machines that can perform thousands of calculations per second can identify visual patterns in an image or even distinguish related shapes. Also one can ask whether these machines can learn from experience instead of following a sequence of steps provided by a human programmer. The answers to these questions lie in using a different architecture from the traditional sequential computers. One such architecture is that of “Artificial Neural Networks”.

Neural networks are a system loosely modeled on the human brain. This system goes by many names such as parallel-distributed processing, neuro-computing, connectionism and machine learning algorithms. Parallelism and interconnectivity account for the ability to perform complex pattern recognition analogous to the human brain.

Several character recognition systems have been developed using neural networks, but so far none of these systems has been applied on Brāhmī script.

## 2. Biological Neuron Vs. Artificial Neuron

Human brain approximately comprises ten billion neurons and sixty trillion synapses or connections. Synapses are elementary structural and functional units that are responsible for the interaction between neurons. Fig.1 depicts a biological neuron. The inputs to the neuron appear from the dendrites. If the sum of these inputs is greater than a threshold in the neuron, the cell body fires and sends down an electrical signal through the axon. This electrical signal diverts to several other neurons and the cycle is repeated. Billions of different such neurons during

signal processing fire at each other for the process of recognition to take place.

An artificial neuron on the other hand comprises (refer fig.2)

1. A set of synaptic weights (referring to synapses in human brain when two neurons fire at each other), each of which is comprised by a weight or strength of its own.
2. An adder for summing up the inputs weighted by their respective synapse.
3. An activation function which controls the firing of the artificial neuron.

### Computers Vs. Networks

A neural network is an interconnection of simple processing elements which work together to accomplish a specific task. A process called learning analogous to human learning accomplishes this task. In order to see how the approach of neural network is different from that of traditional approach, it is worth examining the principle 'how computers work'.

#### 3.1 The Von-Neumann Machine :

The working of all computers can be explained in five basic abstract steps.

1. Fetch an instruction from memory.
2. Fetch data required by the instruction.
3. Execute the instruction.
4. Store results back in memory.
5. Go to step 1.

Some of the characteristics of such architecture are as follows :

- The computer must be given an exact detail of the steps to be performed. This series of steps is called an algorithm.
- The data must be precise. Noise confuses the computer.
- The hardware is easily degradable.

A neural network on the other hand works on a different architecture.

- A combination of many individual processing elements (also called neurons or nodes) work together to accomplish a specified task.

- Knowledge is obtained through a process called learning.
- The environment stimulates the neural network and the parameters of the network are altered.
- Knowledge is stored in the form of weights.
- A network has good generalisation capability, i.e. it performs well in the presence of noise.
- The performance of the network does not degrade easily even when a few neurons are destroyed.

These features make neural networks ideal for character recognition. Fig.4 illustrates the use of neural networks for Brāhmī character recognition.

#### 4. Brāhmī Script Recognition :

A process called “Segmentation”, depending on the connectivity of pixel, extracts the characters from the images. These characters are first scaled to a dimension of  $8 \times 15$  pixels, thus making a total of 120 pixels in each character. The neural network’s input layer should have 120 neurons. Normally, a single hidden layer is sufficient to learn any function and hence 60 neurons were considered in the hidden layer. The number arrived here is based on heuristics. The present study considered 35 different Brāhmī base characters and hence the output layer had 35 neurons. A fully connected neural network was implemented. The expression ‘fully connected’ means that each neuron is linked or connected to all other neurons. The architecture of this network is shown in Fig.5. The circles refer to the individual neurons and the arrows refer to the connections.

#### 5. Training

Training plays an important role in the design of the neural network. If a neural network is not properly trained, the performance of the network degrades. A large set of training samples is required for the neural network. The characters were extracted from a sample of 12 imageries and a training set was formed. The training set can be expanded when new data is acquired. Fig.6 illustrates the training procedure.

## 6. Testing

The neural network with the architecture as shown in Fig.5 was tested with the characters which were not present during the training phase. The accuracy of the neural network in identifying these characters was found to be high. Initially the number of hidden neurons were 75. The number of epochs, i.e the presentation of the whole training set, was fixed at 1000. With a learning rate of 0.001 and a momentum constant of 0.8 the recognition accuracy was 71%. When the number of hidden nodes was 60, with 6000 epochs and a learning rate of 0.0001 the accuracy of recognition increased to 96%

## 7. Results and Conclusion

An automatic recogniser using artificial neural networks to recognise Brāhmī characters in their ancient form was implemented. The results of the network recognition are shown in Fig. 7.

## Notes and References :

1. S. Haykin, *Neural Networks*, 2nd edn., (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall), 1999.
2. J. Robert. Schalkoff, *Artificial Neural Networks*, Int. edn. (Singapore : McGraw-Hill) 1999.
3. James A. Freeman, David M. Skapura, *Neural Networks Algorithms, Applications and Programming Techniques*, (Addison-Wesley Publishing Company).
4. Jun Cao, M. Ahmed, M. Shridhar, Recognition of handwritten numerals with multiple feature and multistage classifier, *Pattern Recognition*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 153-160, 1995.
5. R. Zollner, H.J. Schmitz, F. Wunsch, U Krey, *Neural Networks*, Vol, 5, pp. 771-777, 1992.

## Acknowledgement

The author wishes to thank Mr. Sanjoy Goswami, Mr. Swaroop, Mr. Sandeep, Mr. Vijaysimha, Mr. Suvarannan for their contribution during the execution of the program.

9. Figures

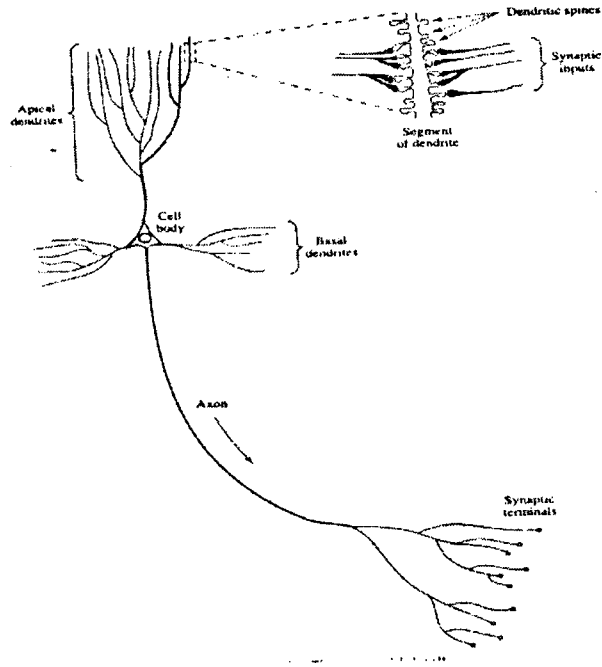


Fig. 1. A biological neuron (courtesy Neural Network, Simon Haykin)

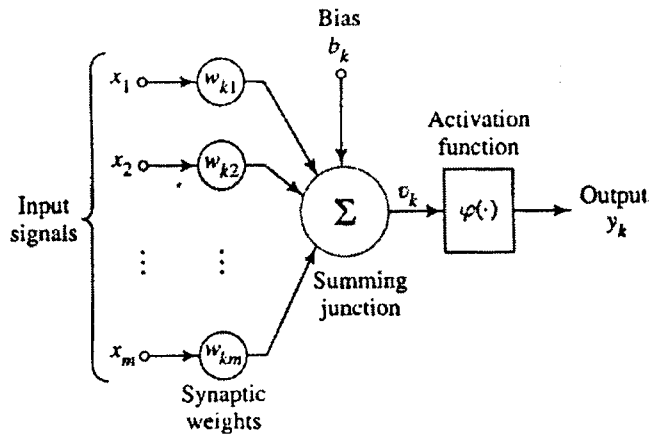


Fig. 2. An Artificial Neuron (courtesy: Neural Networks, Simon Haykin)



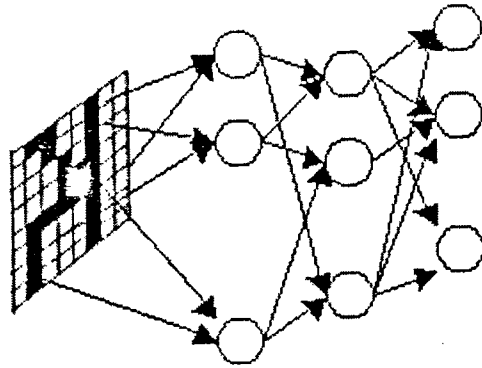


Fig.4. A neural network architecture for Brahmi character recognition.

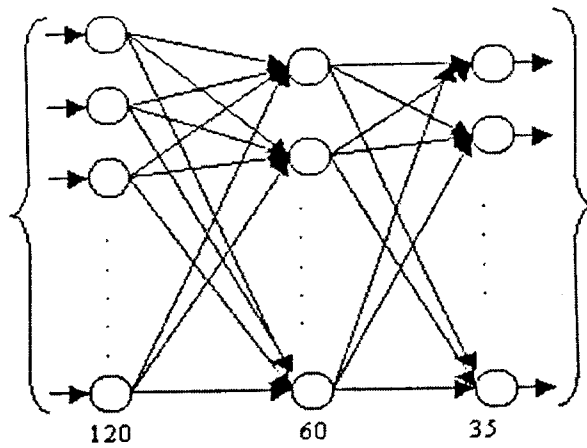
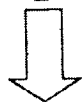


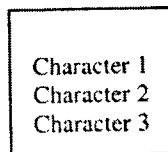
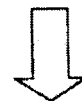
Fig. 5. A fully connected neural network with 120 input neurons, 60 hidden neurons and 35 output neurons.



Extract Characters



Form a training Set



Train the Network

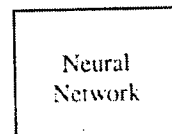
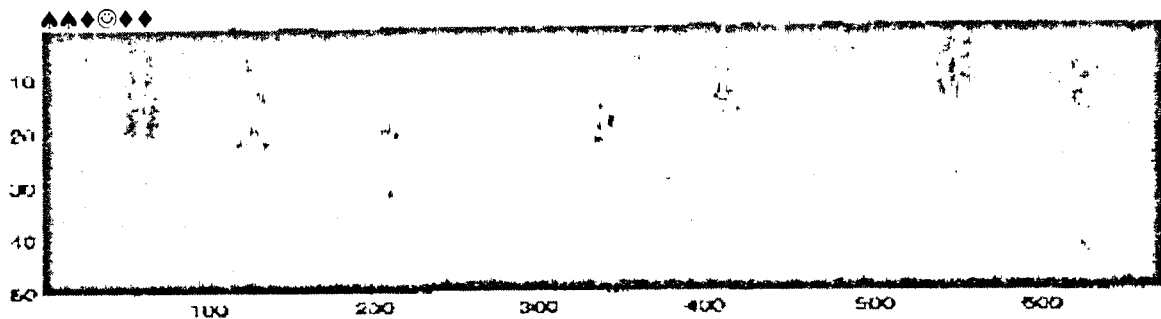
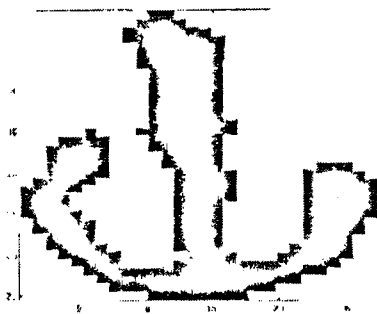


Fig. 6. Training procedure (courtesy ASI, Mysore)



Family of test character 'ya' input to the neural network



Character identified by the neural network

Fig. 7. Results of neural network recognition

## POETICAL CHARM IN THE KAUTHEM GRANT OF VIKRAMĀDITYA V

R. Sathyanarayanan

In the present paper, an attempt has been made to study this inscription from the point of the poetical charm, particularly to study the *alamkāra*, *guṇa*, *vṛitta* and *rasa* as found in the *padya* of the poetical part of the text of the Kauthem grant of Vikarmāditya V<sup>1</sup>.

It records a grant of the village Koddasi (presently it is called Kolhapur in the Southern Marāṭha country) by the Western Chāḷukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya V on the full-moon day at the time of lunar eclipse to the *Bhaṭṭa* Dēvēvīśōttara, belonging to a *sākhā* of the Yajurvēda and a member of the Prathama Ātrēya-gōtra at the sacred place called Kōṭitīrtha at the town of Kollāpura.

The inscription consists of both poetry (*padya*) and prose (*gadya*). The historical genealogy of the Western Chāḷukyās starts with a dedicatory verse at the beginning which is in poetry form and the operative part of the donation which is in prose form is followed by an injunction that the grant should be continued by the future kings; this is followed by three of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses.

### Vṛitta or meter :

In this Kauthem grant the poet has used nine different meters in the *praśasti* portion such as : - *anusṭup*, *vasantatilakā*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *mandākrāntā*, etc. The frequent change in the meter is undoubtedly the writer's desire to exhibit his poetic ability. The table will give a clear picture of the *vṛittas* used in this inscription.

Anusṭup	- 12	Āryā	- 5
Mālinī	- 5	Mandākrāntā	- 2
Āryāgīti	- 2	Drutavilāmbita	- 1
Vasantatilakā	- 4	Upajāti	- 7
Śārdūlavikrīḍita	- 4		

In this inscription the poet deals with more verses in *anusṭup* followed by

*upajāti*. He has also used the long meters like *Vasantatilakā*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Mandākrāntā*.

**Alaṅkāras or the ornament of the sense or the sound :**

In this inscription the poet handles a number of *alaṅkāras* both figures of sense (*arthālaṅkāra*) and figures of words (*śabdālaṅkāra*) such as : - *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, etc.

<i>Arthālaṅkāra :</i>	<i>Śabdālaṅkāra :</i>
<i>Atiśayōkti</i>	<i>Anuprāsa</i>
<i>Arthāntaranyāsa</i>	<i>Yamaka</i>
<i>Upamā</i>	<i>Ślēsha</i>
<i>Ullēkha</i>	
<i>Utprēkshā</i>	
<i>Virōdhābhāsa</i>	

**Arthālaṅkāra :**

*Ullēkhālaṅkāra* : *bahubhir-bahudhōllēkhād-ēkasy-ōllēkha ishya<sup>e2</sup>*: description of an object according to the different impression caused by its appearance

Kaṁdāḥ kīrtilatāṁkurasya kamalaṁ lakshmi-vilāsāspadaṁ  
 Vajraṁ vairi-mahībhṛitāṁ pratinidhir-dēvasya-daityadruhaḥ|  
 Rāj-āsij-Jayasimhavallabha iti khyātaś-charitair-nijaiḥ  
 Yō rēje chiram-ādirāja-charit-ōtkamṭhāḥ prajānām haran ||

The king is the root of the sprout of a fame-creeper; he is the residence of Lakshmi i.e., lotus; he is the thunderbolt to the enemy kings; he is the representative of the god; he is the enemy to the demons. Here different persons view the king Jayasimhavallabha in different ways. So, it is an example of the *ullēkha*, which the poet has given in his composition.

*Arthāntaranyāsa* : *sāmānyam vā viśēsho vā tad-anyēna samarthyatē |*  
*yattu sō'rthāntaranyāsaḥ sādharma<sup>e2</sup>etareṇa vā ||<sup>3</sup>*

An illustration of a particular case by a general truth or of a general truth by a particular case is called as *arthāntaranyāsa*.

Jyēshṭha-bhrātuḥ sati sutavare'py-arbhakatvād-aśaktē -  
 r-yasminn-ātmanyakṛita hi dhuraṁ Maṁgalīśaḥ pṛithivyām |

Tasmin pratyarpipad-atha mahīm yūni Satyāśrayē'sau  
Chālūkyānām ka iva hi pathō dhrmyathaḥ prachyavēta ||

Whose path will deviate from the usual customary observances of the Chālūkyā race? Here the general truth is being supported by a particular case i.e., the Chālūkyā race.

Śabdālamkāra :

*Anuprāsa* : *varṇasāmyam-anuprāsaḥ*<sup>4</sup> The repetition of similar letters, syllables and words is called alliteration :

Sutas-tadiyo guṇaratnamālī bhūvallabhō'bhūd-guṇa-vīryasālī |  
Ādityavarm-ārjita-puṇyakarmā tējōbhir-ādityasamānadharmā ||

We can see the same syllables at the end of *pāda* A and B (-ālī) and at the end of *pāda* C and D (-armā)

*Yamaka* : *arthē saty-arthabhinnānām varṇānām sā punaḥśrutih yamakam*<sup>5</sup> The repetition in the same stanza of words or syllables similar in sound but different in meaning are called *yamaka*.

Aḍamarīkṛita digvalay-ordita-dviḍamarīparigīta mahāyaśaḥ |  
Mṛiḍamarishṭabhidaṁ manasōdvahan Niḍamari-kshitipō'jani tat-sutaḥ||

- a) Aḍamarīkṛita = one who is made free from quarrels.
- b) Ardita dviḍamarī = dviṭ+amari>dviḍamarī=distressed the enemies and praised by the celestial ladies.
- c) Mṛiḍamarishṭabhidaṁ : *mṛiḍam+arishṭa>mṛiḍamarishṭa = mṛiḍa*, the evil destroyer.
- d) Niḍamri = the king Niḍamri.

*Rasa*: disposition of the heart or mind. Where the *vibhāva* (any cause of emotion) *anubhāva* (perception) *sātvikabhāva* (a state of body caused by some natural emotion) *vyabhichāribhāva* (transitory state) jointly shine till the end it is called *rasa*. *Vibhāv - ānubhāva - sātvikā - vyābhichāri - sāmāgrīsamullāsitaḥ sthāyībhāvō rasaḥ*.<sup>6</sup>

Vīra-rasa (heroism) with *utsāha sthāyībhāva* (sentiment of heroism) is seen

throughout in this inscription. For example : *vihita-pṛithu-Kadambān- utpāṭayan - Rāshtrakūṭān khilita- Kalachuriśrīh, Nala-nilaya-vilōpī, Maurya-niryāṇahētuh, yuddhē yama-samō nṛipah.*

From this study we can infer that the *praśastis* belong to traditional court poetry of *kāvya* of the Sanskrit culture. The different qualities of these texts (*vṛitta, alaṅkāra, rasa*) allow us to classify them according to the traditional classification, as recorded in the *śāstras*. The study of the inscription is not only from the point of view of historical, economic and social aspects but also with an idea to focus on the aspects of poetics. Apart from the famous literary works in Sanskrit we can get equal and enjoyable *kāvyas* and philosophical thoughts from the inscriptions.

#### Notes and References :

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3. *Kavyaprakāsa* of Mammaṭa, Ullasa - 10, Nirnayasagar press, Mumbai, 1901, p.804
4. *Ibid.*, Ullasa - 9, p.597.
5. *Ibid.*, p.605.
6. *Pratāparudriyā* of Vidyānātha, 3rd edn. pub. The Samskrit Education Society, Mylapore, Madras, p.155, 1987.

## SOME ABSORBING GLEANINGS FROM PUDUKKOTTAI INSCRIPTIONS

P.D. Balaji

Pudukkottai district today forms the south-eastern part of Tamilnadu. This district is studded with a number of hilly outcrops out of which the early Pāṇḍyas and the Muttaraiyars excavated a number of caves at various places. This region has to its credit survivals of many of the ancient traditional customs and conventions that were prevalent among the ancient Tamils. This paper highlights some of the behavioural aspects of the people in this region as gleaned from the inscriptions.

Cow lifting (*āṇṇirai kavarthal*) was one of the ancient methods to exhibit one's valour in the *Saṅgam* period. Numerous evidences for cow lifting are available in *Saṅgam* literature<sup>1</sup>. Besides we also get a number of hero stones with inscriptions in Tamilnadu, many of which were erected in memory of the persons killed while lifting cows from the enemy camps<sup>2</sup>. Three inscriptions from Tiruvaraṅḡulam<sup>3</sup> and Kuḍumiyāmalai<sup>4</sup> highlight the continuation of this practice even in the medieval period. The difference is that in the *Saṅgam* period this act was performed to exhibit valour, whereas in the medieval period it was considered as a crime. It is endorsed at Tiruvaraṅḡulam<sup>5</sup>, wherein, unable to bear this mischief, the *nāḍu* of Tiruvaraṅḡulam had in 1217-18 A.D. resolved that those who indulged in cow lifting should endow 2 *mā* of wet land in favour of the local temple. In yet another instance in 1218A.D<sup>6</sup>. in order to instill confidence among the *kuḍimakkal* (cultivators), who had been the most affected people, since they were the cattle owners, the assemblies in the above villages, assured necessary protection to them by way of passing a resolution. In spite of such actions, this menace was uncontrollable in some places in Pudukōṭṭai region. Even temple cows were lifted in some places. Thus, temples were unable to keep the cattle. To get rid of this menace the cows endowed to the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai<sup>7</sup> were sold and the cash realised was deposited for maintaining perpetual lamps in the temple during the reign of an unknown Chōḷa ruler. It is said, even today the present village Kōmāvaram in Pudukōṭṭai is well known for cattle lifters.

A warrior class people known as maravas had inhabited this region. Even today they are dominant in the region. Being inhabited by warrior community, it



is quiet natural to have skirmishes between groups. Consequently this region seems to have been highly disturbed as gleaned from the medieval inscriptions. Wherever there was strife between two groups each group seems to have polluted the water resources and destroyed the trees in the enemies' area. To prevent such a disaster, in 1201-02 A.D.<sup>8</sup> an agreement was reached between the *ūr* of Kīranūr and Vēḍaśīruvāyil-nāḍu not to cause any damage to the trees, the wells in the fields, on the hill-tops and the tanks belonging to the residents. If anybody were to transgress this accord their land would be confiscated and endowed in favour of the Uttamanāthēśvarar-uḍaiyar temple at Kīranūr.

In these group clashes, many a time people had lost their valuable things. The gravity of such clashes is exemplified in an inscription at Virachchili,<sup>9</sup> wherein it is stated that one person had lost his original title-deed (*pramāṇa*) over a village called Ainūrūmaṅgalam, in a rebellion between *araśumakkaḷ* and *maṛamudalis* and he had to apply for a fresh copy of title deed during the reign of Māṛavarmaṅ Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya.

The study also reflects the highway robberies in the villages that were located in an inaccessible area. For example, Kuṅṅāṇḍārkōil,<sup>10</sup> which is a remote village even today, was badly affected by this mischievous act. This prompted the *nāḍu* of Vēdapanaṅgāḍu to pass a resolution to punish the culprits who indulge in this unlawful act. The punishment was the confiscation of cultivatable land owned by the accused. To curb this menace, there was also a police force called *aṛaiyar* at this village during the 12th regnal year of Jaṭavarmaṅ Sundara Pāṇḍya. Unfortunately this force seems to have been perturbed and there was often infighting within the force in which many a time the local residents were badly affected. Thus the *aṛaiyar* force, which is supposed to protect the people, had to be treated as a source of lawbreakers. Unable to bear *aṛaiyar's* attitude, during the 12th regnal year of Jaṭavarmaṅ Sundara Pāṇḍya, the *aṛaiyars* of Iraṇḍumalai-nāḍu were called upon to assure the headman of Kuṅṅāṇḍārkōyil, that in future there would be no enmity and infighting among themselves, they would in no way harass or molest the tenants and inhabitants of the villages that they were guarding.<sup>11</sup> For this, *aṛaiyars* responded positively. Further they also agreed to remit a sum of 100 *paṇam*, if one person was assaulted and 500 *paṇam*, if a village was destroyed. This exemplified the plight of people, due to immoral policing force.

Keeping this chaotic condition in mind, in some cases often proclamations were issued by the authorities to bring order in the society. At Pēraiūr<sup>12</sup> when (1229 AD) a village site (*nattam*) was sold to *nagaram*, through a proclamation, it was announced that the enemies and unscrupulous elements were no more permitted to reside within the four boundaries of Pēraiūr. This highlights the serious efforts made by the village assemblies in eliminating the trouble makers.

It is quiet natural that in such an area collection of taxes would be very difficult. During the reign of Māṛavarmaṅ Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya tough measures seem to have been initiated against the tax evaders. At Śēvalūr, in 1223 A.D.,<sup>13</sup> tax defaulters' lands were confiscated and sold. The amount thus realized was adjusted towards the tax dues. On realizing the importance of severe punishments yielding good results, authorities began to adopt the same measures even in the case of payment of dues other than regular taxes. At Kuḍumiyāmalai (1228 A.D.)<sup>14</sup> the residents living within a radius of 24 *kādams* agreed to share among themselves the cost of the temple repairs as per their social status, namely *brāhmaṇas chettis* and *vellālas* at the rate of  $1/2$  *paṇam* each, *iḷamaiyar*  $1/4$  *paṇam* each, and *paḍaiparrugaḷ*  $1/4$  *paṇam* each. Those who would default in the payment, had to face the destruction of their household vessels such as earthen pots and pans. All these reflect how tough measures yielded good results. In this connection, it is pertinent to mention here that during the post-Kulōttuṅga I period, the area in and around present Ālaṅguḍi, then known as Tānāṅmai-nāḍu, was placed under the control of one Kuḷandaidēvan, supposed to be a descendant of the Chōḷa feudatory Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, since he had succeeded in collecting tax dues from the local people.<sup>15</sup>

It is known from the inscriptions that punishments and the methods of extracting the truth from the criminals were severe. At Kuḍumiyāmalai<sup>16</sup> the temple *pūjāris* had robbed the cash and jewels of the temple. The trial had begun in the presence of *nāḍu*, *nagaram* and *ūr*. One of the *pūjāris* confessed to the crime while others denied. Then, that *pūjāri* was taken to the royal court, where he was asked to handle a red-hot ploughshare. The hands of the *pūjāri* were burnt and all confessed to the guilt. And they were given capital punishment since they had committed a crime against god Śiva i.e. *Śiva-drōham*.

In spite of all their rude behaviour, they always had a soft corner towards the faith in god. They never failed to pay contributions on important occasions.

In 1227-28A.D.,<sup>17</sup> at Nārttāmalai, on marriage, the parents of the bride and bridegroom were compelled to pay the following taxes: 200 *kāśu* on bride's house; 180 *kāśu* on bridegrooms house; and 120 *kāśu* when the newly wedded couples decided to set up their new family (*dāmpathyam vāḷdal*). Interestingly, in yet another case, the land dispute among the temples were settled amicably by an accord. An inscription<sup>18</sup> of Māṛavarmaṇ Sundarapāṇḍya at Tirumayyam dated 1245 AD unfolds a settlement among *nāḍus*, *nagarams*, *ūrs*, *Śrībaṇḍāramāhēśvaras* and *śrīvaishṇavas* with regard to the sharing of *kaḍamai* and exchange of lands. By this accord the ratio of sharing *kaḍamai* between Śiva and Vishṇu temples was 2:3, besides mutual exchange of *dēvadāṇa* lands between two temples, fixation of boundaries, sharing of tank and well waters in the habitational sites of the temples.

Taking into consideration the disturbed nature of the region, during British occupation they had identified the troublemakers in the area and declared them as Notified Communities. After independence, in an attempt to remove this social stigma, in the last decade of the 20th century, they were denotified.

#### Notes and References :

1. *Ahanāṇūru* 372:11: *Tolkāppiyam*, *Poruḷ*: 58:5
2. *Ahanāṇūru* 365:38:8 *Puṇam* 221:12 etc.
3. *Pudukottai Inscriptions (PI)* 156, 176: *AREp.*, 1914, No. 284.
4. *PI.*, 44.
5. *PI.*, 176.
6. *PI.*, 156.
7. *PI.*, 44.
8. *PI.*, 156.
9. *PI.*, 393.
10. *PI.*, 186.

11. *AREp.*, 1914, No.359.
12. *PI.*, 288.
13. *PI.*, 401.
14. *PI.*, 285.
15. A Subburaselvamuthudurai Tevar, *Tānāṇmai nāṭṭu varalāru*, pp.VI-XV.
16. *AREp.*, 1906, No.372.
17. *PI.*, 281.
18. *PI.*, 340.

## A COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION FROM SOUTH KANARA

H.R. Nagaraja Sharma

The grant about which I am speaking now is engraved on one side of a single copper plate, measuring 12.5 × 23.5 cms. and weighing 150 gms. The plate in question was handed over sometime back by Dr. P.N. Narasimha Murthy, Rtd. Principal, M.G.M. College, Udupi to Dr. K.V. Ramesh. I am thankful to Dr. Narasimha Murthy for generously permitting me to speak on this charter at this Congress. This rectangular plate has at the top centre the figure of Liṅga, placed on a stylized Damaruga pīṭha and flanked by figures of Sun and the crescent Moon. The text engraved below these figures consists of 27 lines, written in Kannada characters of the middle of the 15th century A.D. Barring the initial invocatory verse “*namastuṅga...*, etc.”, which is in Sanskrit language, the rest of the text is in Kannada language. As for its orthography, the invocatory verse in Sanskrit is full of errors. The Kannada text, which follows, also betrays a number of ungrammatical colloquial usages, which are, however, commonly met with in all the Kannada inscriptions of the period in question. Notable among such orthographical features are : (1) the engraver has not, most of the times, distinguished between ḍ, ḍh and d. (2) In all cases, *anusvāra* and cerebral *ṇ* are used in combination.

After the invocatory verse, the details of the date are given in lines 3 and 5, as Śaka 1353, Virōdhikṛit Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśira śu. 5 Ā (i.e., Ādityavāra). These details of date regularly correspond to 1431 A.D., November 10, f.d.t. 0.31. Next follows the introduction of the ruling king Pratāpadēvarāya, who is stated, in lines 6 and 7, to be ruling over the four oceans from the city of Vijayanagari. From lines 7 to 10, we learn that at that time Maṅgaḷūrū-rājya was being administered by Aṁṇappa, the son of Dēvarāja, on the orders of the imperial minister (*Pradhāna*) Hariyappa-daṇṇāyaka-oḍeya. This is followed by the information, in lines 10 to 13, that the present inscription was a charter given, with the pouring of water, to Kaṇavvōji Subhaṇṇa, who was the *pādamūli* among the two brothers who had gone over to Puttūru in the principality of the Baṅga chieftain Pāṇḍyaparasa.

The actual purpose of the grant is recorded in lines 14-26. The details of the grant recorded may be stated as follows: When Kriyāvatiḍeva, who was serving as an officer under Aṁṇappa, the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, had gone on a visit

to Puttūru, *pādamūli* Kaṇavvōji Subhaṇṇa had also gone there and had installed (the image of) the god Mahādēva and was offering worship. The god having been thus installed on the ground, the case of Subhaṇṇa's indigence was placed before the people of the region (*sīmeyavarū*). In response to the request made to them in the presence of the (installed) deity, the charter was got engraved recording the grant of lands for Subhaṇṇa's subsistence and for carrying on worship to the deity. The grant, which was made with the pouring of ablutionary water, included a piece of land called *kambala-timāru*. The said lands were purchased from the Baṅga chieftain Pāṇḍyaparasa at a cost of two hundred twenty three *varāhas*. It is stipulated that the land thus granted was to be enjoyed perpetually by the donee and his descendants and that they should pay the taxes regularly from time to time. The text ends in line 27 with the mention of a certain Nāgaṇṇa described as a *vīra*.

There are a few phrases of lexical interest used in this record. In line 17 it is stated that the god Mahādēva installed by Subhaṇṇa had become *bhūgata* (*bhūgatavādarimda*). In present day Kannada, the expression *bhūgatavāgu* means 'go underground'. But the original Sanskrit expression *bhūgata* actually means 'being or existing on the earth' (Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary, q.v.). We may, therefore, conclude that by the expression '*bhūgatavādarimda*', the fact that Subhaṇṇa had installed the deity on the ground is meant. We can infer an extended meaning to this expression by assuming that Subhaṇṇa, having installed the deity Mahādēva at Puttūru, had placed the Vijayanagara governor as well as the people of that region (*sīmeyavarū*) under obligation to help him continue to offer worship to the deity for which purpose there was need to sustain him by giving him the grant of land. The expression *kambala-timāru* is interesting in the historical context in which it is used. It is well known that buffalo races are organised ceremonially in a popular festive ritual at the commencement of the sowing season by the Tuḷuvas. The *kambala-timāru*, which formed part of the land granted to Subhaṇṇa was obviously being used for conducting these buffalo races.

The donee is said to have migrated to Puttūru along with his brother (name not given) from the banks of the Pulinā river (to be identified). He is described as *pādamūli*, by which it is most likely that Subhaṇṇa's devotion to the god Mahādēva is emphasised for the word *pādamūla* literally means 'a man of devotion'.

Having discussed in detail the contents of this single copper plate, I would like to add here a historical assessment of this inscription. Though the charter was issued in Śaka 1353 equivalent to 1431 A.D., the writing of the Kannada alphabet, on the face of it, appears to be of as slightly later date. However, the inscription contains a number of verifiable historical facts. 1) It refers itself to the reign of the Vijayanagara King Dēvarāya II, who reigned from 1422 to 1449 A.D. The charter further refers to the governorship of Aṇṇapa over Maṅgaḷūru-rājya. We know from other inscriptions from the region that *mahāpradhāna* Aṇṇapa oḍeya was the governor of Bāarakūru-rājya and/or Maṅgaḷūru-rājya for nearly a decade and that in A.D. 1431, he was indeed the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya as stated in our charter. As a matter of fact, Aṇṇapa oḍeya's career in South Kanara spanning over nearly a decade between 1431-39 A.D. was an eventful one. In 1434-35 A.D., when Aṇṇapa was governing Bāarakūru-rājya on the orders of Siṅgaṇa-daṇḍanāyaka, Aṇṇapa-oḍeya, for some unknown reason, attacked the village of Śivalḷi as a result of which, the holy image of Lord Kṛishṇa of Uḍupi had to be taken away to some other place, thus resulting in temporary discontinuance of the ritualistic worship of the deity. The residents of Śivalḷi were deeply aggrieved by this action of the governor. They were, however, pacified by municipal administrators of the city of Bāarakūru, who also requested the king to restore the status quo. On the king's orders, Aṇṇapa instructed a certain Siṅgarasa-oḍeya to restore Lord Kṛishṇa's image to the temple and to make a number of grants to the deity.

In 1438 A.D., Aṇṇapa became the governor of the entire Tuḷurājya (i.e., Bāarakūru and Maṅgaḷūru-rājyas, Haive-rājya (the southern parts of North Kanara District) as also Koṅkaṇa-rājya (Goa). Here again, because of certain political compulsions (*rājakāryada-mēle*), he marched against *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bhairavadēva-oḍeya, the ruler of Nagire-rājya and defeated him. It is possible that the Nagire ruler had become recalcitrant, forcing Aṇṇapa to take punitive action against him by invading his principality.

The Baṅga chieftain Pāṇḍyaparasa-oḍeya, from whom the gift lands were purchased, is also known to us through inscriptions. In an inscription from Paḍuva Paṇaṃbūru (Dakshina Kannada District), he is referred to as the son of Viṭṭaladēvi and as the nephew of his predecessor Pāṇḍyaparasa. Like many other local ruling families, the Baṅgas also followed the Aḷiyasantāna-kaṭṭu.

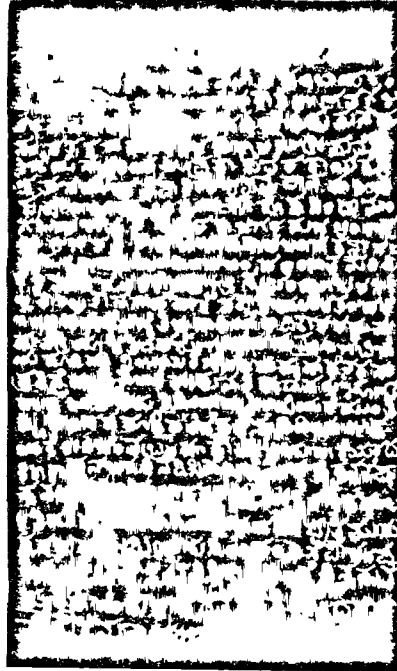
Amṅapa-oḍeya is stated to have been appointed as the governor of Maṅgalūru-rājya by *Pradhāna* Hariyappa-daṅṅāyaka. We know that one Hariyappa-daṅṅāyaka-oḍeya is mentioned in South Kanara inscriptions of this period as an imperial officer and also as being present in the Court of the Hoysala queen Chikkāyitāyi, who was in-charge of Hoysala interests in the Tulu Country, on behalf of her husband Ballāḷa III. His mention as the appointer of Amṅapa-oḍeya as Vijayanagara governor and the fact that the gift lands had to be bought on payment from the local Baṅga chieftain further confirm the already known fact that the Vijayanagara kings did not interfere with the local administrators. Their interests in safeguarding their hold on the coastal region was more or less limited to trade purposes, particularly for the import of war horses.

### Text

1. Namas-tuḡa śirachi(ś - chu)m̄bi chaṁdra-chāmara-chāra-
2. vē [\*] trayi(trai)lōkya-nagar-ā[ra\*]m̄bha m̄lastambā(bhā)ya Śam-
3. [bha\*]vē |[|\*] svasti śrī-jayābyu(bhyu)daya-Śālivāhana - Śakha(ka)-
4. vara(ru)sha 1353 nē vartamāna Virōdhikru(kṛi)t-nāma
5. saṁvatsarada Mār(ge)rgāsira śu 5 Ā-lu śrīmatu
6. Vije(ja)ye(ya)nagariyalu Pratāpa-Dēvarāyaru
7. chatusa(s-sa)mudrava pālisuvali pradā(dhā)na Hariya -
8. ppa-damṅāyaka-vode(ḍe)yara nirūpadim̄dā(m̄da) Mam-
9. gaḷṅra-rājyavanu Dēvarājagaḷa maga Amṅapa -
10. gaḷu āluvali Pā[in\*]ḍyaparasarāda Baṅgara stā(sthā)nada -
11. lu Puḷinā-nadī -tīradim̄da baṁda am̄ṅa-ta(m̄)maṁdi-
12. rali pādāmulu Kaṇavvōji Subhaṅṅage barasiko -
13. ṭṭa tam̄braśāsana da(dhā)re paṭṭi kramava(ve)m̄ta(te)m̄dare
14. Amṅappagaḷa keḷage tiḷunādiya adi(dhi)kāravanu mā-
15. ḍuva Kriyāvati dēvarugaḷavaru
16. Puttūrige bijeya māḍidali nīvu yilige baṁdu Mahadēvaranu



17. pratishṭe(ṣṭhe) māḍi puje maḍuvali śri devaru blugata -
18. vadarinda ni[in\*]ma sti(sthi)tiyanu sinicya[va\*]ra muinti(īndi)-
19. ṭṭu biinapa māḍidake devara saninidi(dli)yalu kra-
20. yake koṇḍainta brahmadāyavanu da(dha)reya(ye)ra(re)du
21. śīla-śasana barasi naḍisidallade niinma jivanake pa[in\*]-
22. ḍyapa - arasarada Baṅgariinda krayake koṇḍa kamba -
23. ḷa timaru muntāgi iinmura ippaṭṭa muru
24. varahada bhumiyanu nivu saṁtana paraṇpa
25. yavagi baḷi anubhaviśi kalakalake sistanu te-
26. ttu bahadeindu da (dliā)radatta maḍi koṭṭad-agi a
27. de vīranu Nagarīṇa.



## TONḌAYACHŌḌA INSCRIPTION FROM BĀPAṬLA

C.A. Padmanabha Sastry

A number of inscriptions engraved on the walls, pillars of Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Bāpaṭla in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh have been published in *South Indian Inscriptions* Volume IV. However, a re-epigraphical survey of the inscriptions of this temple has been done by the epigraphy branch of ASI in the year 1986-87 and more than 25 new inscriptions have been noticed and copied by this office, of which the above inscription<sup>1</sup> throws light on a new chief and the place as a religious centre.

This inscription, engraved in thirteen lines on the south wall of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* porch, is in Telugu characters and in Telugu and Sanskrit languages. It is a bilingual record i.e., the first portion is in Telugu followed by the Sanskrit part.

It is dated in Śaka 1047 expressed in the chronogram *muni-jaladhi viyach - chandra* in the Sanskrit portion, and in the Chālukya Vikrama year 50, Viśvāvasu, Chaitra, ba.3, Tuesday, Vishu-saṅkrānti corresponding to 1125 A.D. March 24. It is accepted that the 50th year of the Chālukya Vikrama era is the last regnal year of Vikramāditya VI and his rule came to an end in 1126-27 A.D.

The inscription states that the chief Tonḍaya Chōḍa-mahārāju, the lord of Maṇināgapura, who is endowed with the titles of *Samadhigata-pañchamahāsabda mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, granted 8 *gandha-vāraṇa-māḍas* towards the maintenance of perpetual lamp in the temple of Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmi and the same had been given to a certain person (name not mentioned) to offer one *mānika* of ghee daily for its maintenance.

The Sanskrit portion refers to the gift and the date in chronogram as mentioned above and describes Tonḍaya-narēndra as the lord of Maṇiphaṇipura. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verse.

The chief Tonḍayachōḍa - mahārāja is described as the lord of Maṇināgapura or Maṇiphaṇipura. We come across inscriptions from Warangal District referring to the lord of Maṇināgapura. An inscription from Mēḍapalli<sup>3</sup>, Narasampet taluk, dated Śaka 1034, Nandana (1112 A.D) describes a chief Mēḍarāja as *Maṇināgapurādhirāja*, who is further described as the descendant of śrī Mādhava



acknowledged subordination to either Vikramāditya VI or Kākatiya Prōla I, but maintained their independent status.

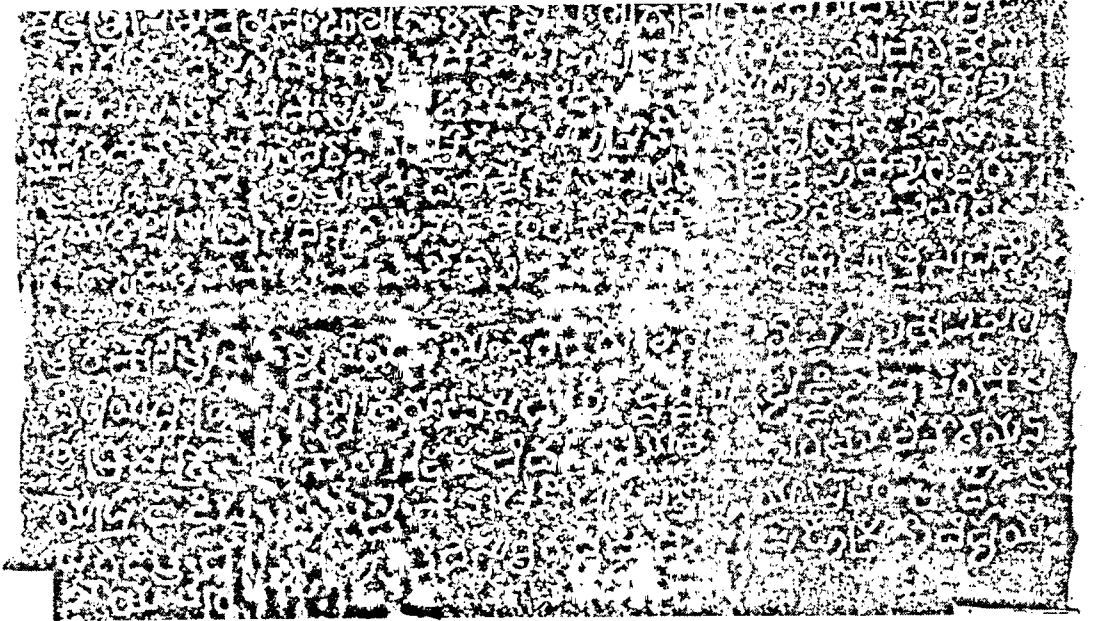
The place where the Bhavanārāyaṇa temple existed, obviously Bāpaṭḷa, is also called Tribhuvanapura i.e., the town of Tribhuvana i.e., Vishṇu.

Text

1. Svasti [||\*] Sakha (Śaka)varushāmbulu 1047 nēṇṭi Chālukya-Vikrama varusha 50 nēṇṭi Vi-
2. svā(śvā)vasu-saṁvatsaramuna Chaitra māsa bahula tritīyayu Maṁggala-vāramuna
3. Vishuya(vu)-saṁkrāṁti nimityamuna svasti samadhigata - pañchamahāśabda mahāmaṇḍa-
4. lēs(lēs)vara Maṇināgapuravarēs(rēs)vara ashṭau danti sahasrāṇi daśa kōṭyāṁtta vājinaṁ ana-
5. [n]ttaṁ Chōḍa<sup>9</sup> saṁpātham atyutē-Mādhavavarmma pratāpulaina śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēs(lēs)vara To-
6. ṇḍayarājulu śrī Bhāvanārāyaṇa dēvarakun-āchaṁdrārkkam - akhaṇḍavatti diviyakuṁ te-
7. china gandhavāraṇa māḍa 8 | vīṇiṁ jēkoni tama putrānu pavi -
8. ttriki(ka)mu nittyā mā[ne]ṇḍu neyipōyaṁggalavāru || Śākē daśābda [piṇḍa] muni-jala -
9. dhi-viyach - chaṁdra saṁkhyādhirūḍhe saṁya[kshim] dvandayābdhi dvijapat - amala-
10. ś=Chaitra saṁkrāṁti dinēn āchaṁdrārka vidhātrē Tribhuvana - purave Bhāvanārāya[ṇā]
11. ya prādād - ddīpa[m]akhaṇḍa Maṇiphaṇipuradas - Toṇḍayā[chō][ḍa]narēṁdraḥ [||\*] svadattaṁ=
12. paradattaṁ vā yō harēti vasundharā shashṭim varusha sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyāṁ-
13. jāyatē kri[mih][||\*]

## Notes and References :

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1986-87, No.B.6 and plate.
2. B.R. Gopal, *The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Kalachuris.*, Dharwad, p.301.
3. N. Venkataramanayya, *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District*, p.50, Ins. No.21.
4. *Ibid.*, p.55, Ins. No.22.
5. *A.P. AREp.*, 1966 No. 168.
6. N.Venkataramanayya, *op.cit.*, p.72. Ins. 26.
7. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *The Kākatīyas*, p. 58.
8. From the published illustration in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1986-87*
9. The word *Chōḍa* is not necessary here.



Bāpatla inscription of Tonḍayachōḍa, Śaka 1047, Chālukya Vikrama year 50

## THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM KUḶAGĒRI

D.M.Nagaraju

In the year 1991-92, the KuḶagēri village in Jevargi Taluk of Gulbarga District, Karnataka was surveyed. This survey has yielded nearly eleven inscriptions. All of them are in Kannada language and script datable to 12-13th century A.D. Of the three inscriptions<sup>1</sup> under study the one written on a pillar lying in the Nāgalingēśvara temple belongs to the reign period of Chāḷukya Tribhuvanamalla (i.e. Vikramāditya VI). This record furnishes the date Chāḷuya Vikrama year 24, Pushya śu. 7. Sunday, Uttarāyaṇa-samkrānti corresponding to 1100 A.D., December 7. It states that several *śeṭṭis* had made endowment of tax income to gods Nāgēśvara, Bhōgēśvara, Rāmēśvara, etc. It mentions sixty four *ghaṭikāsthānas*.

The second record is on a slab near the Nāgalingēśvara temple. It belongs to the reign of Chāḷukya king Bhūlōkamalla (i.e., Sōmēśvara III). This is an undated record but it can be assigned to 13th century on the basis of palaeographical evidence and other internal evidences. It registers the gift of income collected from a land made over to the deity, Rudrēśvara by *śeṭṭis* and others. It also refers to sixty four *ghaṭikāsthānas*.

The third inscription engraved on the same slab belongs to the reign period of Yādava king Mahādēva dated Śaka 1187, Krōdhana, Amāvāsyā, Monday, Uttarāyaṇa-samkramaṇa. The details of date are not verifiable. It registers the gift of land to several deities in the *Mahāghaṭikāsthāna* Kuṇilaṅgeṛe by the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gaṇapatidēvarasa, *mahāprabhus* and *mahājanas*.

All the three inscriptions are of great importance, for they refer to the educational institutions that were functioning in those days at Kuṇilaṅgeṛe. The undated record of Bhūlōkamalla contains the *praśasti* of Ayyāvōḷe guild which begins with the expression *samasta-bhuvanajana- vikhyaṭa - pañchaśata-vīra*, etc..... *śeṭṭiyarum*, *śeṭṭiguttarum* *iḷdu*, etc. This *praśasti* is also seen in the mercantile guild inscriptions found in other parts of Karnataka. While referring to the various qualities of this guild, there is an interesting reference to *Dvātrimśatu-ṛeḷāhāram-aṭṭādaśapaṭṭaṇa*, etc.

It is interesting to note the expression *ṛeḷāhāra* mentioned here. It is probably

a corruption of the word *vēlāpura* meaning 'the coastal town'. This is followed by a reference to 64 *ghaṭīkāsthānas*. The above *praśasti* is commonly seen in all the inscriptions referring to Ayyāvoḷe guild. From the text of these inscriptions, it may be said that Kuḷagēri served as an important centre of learning. The reference to *ghaṭīkāsthāna* is seen from a copper-plate inscription of Kadamba king Kākusthavarma from Tālagunda<sup>2</sup> in Shimoga district. We all know that Mayūraśarma went to the *ghaṭīkā* at Kāñchī with a view to learn the Vēdas and the sacred lore. From this copper-plate dated in 450 A.D., it may be suggested that during this period there was no *ghaṭīkāsthāna* in Karnataka. Therefore, the Kadamba ruler Mayūraśarma had to go to Kāñchīpuram, for the sake of Vēdic learning.

The earliest reference to the existence of *ghaṭīkāsthāna* in Karnataka goes back to the time Western Gaṅga king Śivamāra I<sup>3</sup>. The Nāgai inscription<sup>4</sup> of 1058 A.D. states that there was a *ghaṭīkāsthāna* of repute. In this *ghaṭīkāsthāna*, provision has been made to impart training in *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* to two hundred and fifty two scholars respectively. The Hoṭṭūr inscription<sup>5</sup> of 1067 A.D., clearly states that Poṭṭiyūr was called a *ghaṭīkāsthāna*. Hūvinabhāge<sup>6</sup> and Kaḍelavāḍa were two other important centres of learning; particularly Kaḍelavāḍa<sup>7</sup> is mentioned as; *lōka-vikhyātav-āgirda ghaṭīkāsthāna*. Another record from the place Heñjarapaṭṭaṇa<sup>8</sup> refers to a *mahāghaṭīkāsthāna*. The place Kuntala, mentioned in the Shikāripura inscription<sup>9</sup> of 1182 A.D., had many *ghaṭīkāsthānas* which served as centres of *dharma* and lots of enjoyment. Also the Terdal<sup>10</sup> record of 1181 A.D. dated a year earlier to the above record refers to the teachers of *ghaṭīkāsthāna*.

The three inscriptions under study may be classified under the above group of inscriptions, for the very fact that the *mahāghaṭīkāsthāna* is mentioned, though the details of the *modus operandi* are not mentioned. Like the Nāgai<sup>11</sup> inscription, it may be suggested that the very expression, *mahāghaṭīkāsthāna* is meant for the study of a good number of students in *vēdas*, *śāstras*, *darśana*, *nyāya*, *prābhākara mīmāṃsā*, etc.

The sixtyfour *ghaṭīkāsthānas*<sup>12</sup> mentioned in the inscriptions of Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla and Bhūlōkamalla, may be taken as centres of learning including the findspot of the record.

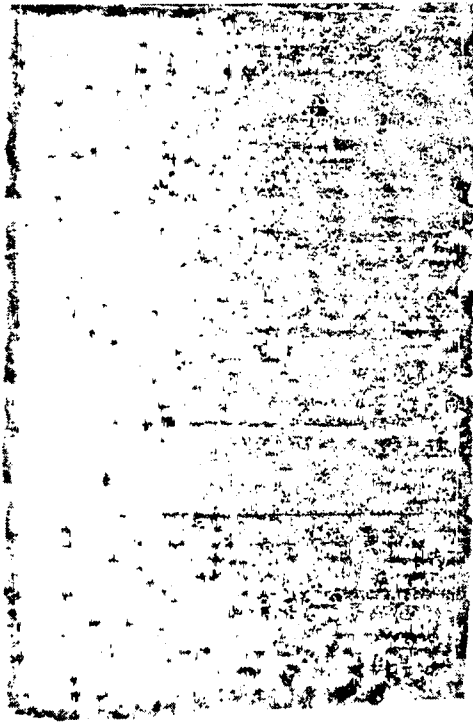
The inscription<sup>13</sup> of Yādava Mahādēva dated in 1265 A.D. seems to be the latest record suggesting the evidence for the existence of *mahāghaṭīkāsthāna*. It may be

inferred from the reference to *mahāghatikāsthāna* in our inscription that the place Kuṇilaṅgeṛe should have been a *mahāgrahāra* like Nāgavāvi and Kaḍalevāḍa. The centre at Kuṇilaṅgeṛe served as the place of worship of the deities Nāgēśvara, etc. referred to in the inscription.

The record of Yādava Mahādēva is interesting from the point of view of reference to the Sāhāṇis namely Dēmavasahāṇi, etc.,

It is not known whether the *sahāṇis* referred to here claim their connection with the chiefs of Gajapatis of Orissa or they served as the contemporaries of Gaṅgayasāhāṇi and others.

Finally our records remind us of a number of *ghatikāsthānas* that were functioning from Kāñchīpuram, Shōḷīṅgapuram, Eṇṇāyiram, etc. The involvement of *settis* while making the donations to *ghatikāsthāna* is very interesting and valuable for the growth of these institutions.



An inscription of Kuḷagēri



**Notes and References**

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1991-92
2. *E.C.*, Vol. VII Sk 176
3. .... III, Md, 113 713 A.D
4. *HAS.*, No. 8, Inscription B (also in *KIAP*, Gb-2)
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 85
6. *INKKS*, p. 16
7. *SII*, Vol.XX, No.154-1172 A.D
8. *E.C.*, Vol. XII Si 23-1167 A.D
9. ...., Vol. VII, SK 197
10. *K.I.*, V 98
11. *AREp.*, 1991-92, Kuḷagēri inscription

## A UNIQUE HOYSALA ALPHABET INSCRIPTION AT KERESANTE

A.V. Narasimha Murthy  
N. Havalaiiah  
H.M. Nagaraja Rao

Keresante in Kaḍūr taluk of Chikkamagalur district of Karnataka is a dilapidated village at present. It contains ancient temples, sculptures and pillars of the destroyed temples strewn all over<sup>1</sup>. From this it becomes clear that this should have been a prosperous ancient town of the Hoysala period. In the ancient inscriptions the place is referred to as Kereyasante (kere-tank; sante - fair) as the annual fair held here had become famous in the neighbouring areas<sup>2</sup>. According to another inscription of Hoysala Vishṇuwardhana<sup>3</sup> the king built a huge tank and named it Vishṇusamudra. The place also got the same name. While describing the tank, contemporary inscription states that 'even if Agastya drinks, its waters will not be exhausted. The severe arrow discharged from the bow of Śrī Rāma cannot damage it; from the churning force of gods and demons it will not break; Vishṇuvāridhi with its inexhaustible expanse of water is an eternal *samudra*'.

There are atleast twenty inscriptions at this place and many more are yet to be discovered. Majority of the epigraphs belong to the Hoysala period in general and to kings Vishṇuwardhana, Ballāla II, Narasimha II, Sōmēśvara and Narasimha III in particular<sup>5</sup>. There are many temples at Keresante of which mention should be made of Śambhulingēśvara, Janārdana, Mañchēśvara, Trikūṭēśvara, Lakshminarasimha, Vīrabhadra temples and a Jaina basti. The Jaina basti is in ruins<sup>6</sup>. The place became important during the Hoysala period because it was ruled by Manchiyarāja, a maternal uncle of Viśhṇuwardhana's queen Rājaladēvī. An epigraph of 1141 A.D., belonging to the rule of Vishṇuwardhana, records the construction of the temple of Mañchēśvara at this place<sup>7</sup>. From all these facts, it becomes clear that this was a prosperous town during the Hoysala period. With this historical and epigraphical background, the new epigraph may be discussed now.

There is a small hillock in the area famous as Hēmāgiri and the foothill of this is called Hēmāvati, the actual town. At this place Vishṇuwardhana built an *agrahāra*, temples and the tank Vishṇusamudra referred to above. Inscriptions also refer to the place as Hēmāgiri. After the construction of the tank by Viśhṇuwardhana, the place got a new name Keresante. On the hillock, along with other temples

mentioned above is a Jaina basti which is in a highly dilapidated condition. Actually the *garbhagriha* portion is fully destroyed and only parts of the *maṇḍapa* with the stones of the roof are found now, ready to fall down any time. Actually, the Jaina basti is situated to the south of the Janārdana temple and to the north-east is the Śāmbhulingēśvara temple. The Jaina basti is built of granite and from the style of the pillars and extant sculptures it dates to the Hoysala period. At the entrance on either side of the doorway are found sitting Jaina sculptures with triple umbrella and fine *tōraṇa* of serpentine carvings, exhibiting Hoysala workmanship.<sup>8</sup> In this *maṇḍapa* was found a stone slab containing some Hoysala letters. Actually it was only a portion of the alphabet. After a thorough exploration the other portion of the stone was found intact on the roof of the *maṇḍapa*. Thus both the portions of the stone put together measure 55" × 30" × 6". Actually the engraved portion of the stone is square with each side measuring 25". The *basti* was visited by the officers of the Mysore State Archaeological Department in 1945 and they have not referred to the alphabet, now discussed. They only state "to the south of the Janārdana temple is a ruined Jaina basti of small dimensions. Some of the pillars show very good workmanship"<sup>9</sup>. Hence, the present record is hitherto unknown and important.

This is not an inscription in the ordinary sense of the term as it contains only the letters 'a' to 'ha' in forty-nine small compartments. Actually it is almost square with roundish corners. The outer periphery contains four lines which are almost concentric and run round the square compartments. Because of the roundish corners it may even look like a circle. The central portion is square which has been divided into 49 small squares with the help of horizontal and vertical lines which intersect each other to form small squares. Each small square contains a letter written in twelfth century Hoysala characters. Each square measures 1.6" on each side. Thus there are eight horizontal and vertical lines intersecting each other. On all the four sides of the large square are small rectangles almost double the size of the small squares which contain letters. Thus there are twenty eight such rectangles with four corners. Each of these vertical and horizontal lines end in *triśūla* type design. Thus there are thirty-two *triśūlas* in all, spread over at the rate of eight on each side. Each of these small rectangles and the corners contain the letter *Klīm* written thirty two times. While the *triśūlas* point towards the exterior, the letter *Klīm* points to the interior. The letter 'Krōm' is found on the four corners (actually two are seen in the estampe). Thus the entire carving is done in a beautiful manner.

The writing of the letters starts at the southern side of the square<sup>10</sup>. Actually the letter 'a' is written in the central square and runs in the right hand direction. Thus all the letters in the southern side of the square are in the south-north orientation; western side letters are in west-east direction; the letters on the north side are in north-south direction and eastern side letters are in the east-west orientation. The letters from 'a' to 'ja' are found in the outermost line (first) and continues with 'jha' and enters into the second inner line just above the letter 'a'. It continues upto 'bha' in the second line and enters into the third line with the letter 'ma', again just above 'jha' and 'a' below. Actually the letter 'ma' is not clearly seen. The third line starts with 'ya' and ends with 'sa' and enters the fourth final phase 'ha', the only letter. Thus, 'ha' occupies the central square in the entire formation. The transcription diagram makes this point clear.

Coming to the actual letters inscribed here, it has to be stated that it represents the Sanskrit language in Kannada script. The presence of *ḷi* and *ḷī* and the absence of *ḷa* and *ṛa* makes this point clear, because in Kannada alphabet, the former two letters are not available. This is further confirmed by the absence of *ḷa*, *la* and *ṛa* in the inscription. However, the script is Kannada and from the point of view of palaeography, it may be dated to the early part of twelfth century A.D. The artistic way in which the letters are written easily points out that this was inscribed during the Hoysala period, perhaps by one of the engravers who engraved the early Hoysala inscriptions found here. It may be mentioned here that Vishṇuwardhana's inscriptions have been found here and, from the point of view of palaeography, the present alphabet resembles the characters of these epigraphs of Vishṇuwardhana.

It is difficult to state precisely the significance of this unique inscription. From the external appearance, it looks like a *yantra* and the presence of '*krōm*' at the corners and the repetition of '*klīm*' 32 times in the inscription make it clear that this is a *yantra* of some *tāntric* significance. But the professional *yantras* generally contain different '*bījāksharas*' and not the letters of any language. Significantly all the letters of Sanskrit are included here and it is not known if the alphabet in totality had any special *tāntric* significance. The engraving of *trīsūla* 32 times is also enigmatic and perhaps suggests that this may be a form of a *yantra*. Incidentally, '*Saundaryalaharī*' contains a slightly similar *yantra* with *trīsūlas* on all the sides but with 5 × 5 compartments, containing the *bījamantra* '*namah śivāya*'<sup>11</sup>.

Anyway we are not able to identify and name this *yantra* if it is so. However, it may be conjectured that it is *akshara-yantra* and it was written on thin copper foils and tied to a child who had difficulty in learning the alphabet. The use of Nāgarī script was generally the practice in *yantras* and the presence of Kannada here is also intriguing.

Keresante was an *agrahāra* during the Hoysala period and obviously students used to reside here and learn. Many Karnataka inscriptions refer to '*bālaśikshā*' or the education at the primary level. It is interesting to note that children at these institutions were taught Kannada language and script. For example, at Tālagunda-agrahāra, along with the teaching of the Vēda and Vēdāngas, boys were taught Kannada script also (*Kannaḍ-ākshara-śikshe*)". The same inscription refers to Kannada - *upadhyaḥya* or Kannada teacher. This inscription is dated 1150 A.D. That teaching Kannada script was in vogue during the Hoysala period gets confirmed from these examples. Hence, it is possible that the Kannada alphabet was inscribed on the stone and fixed in the temple so that boys can learn it with the help of this tone. If this is the case, this inscription may be taken as what we now call teaching aid and obviously this is a unique one. In this connection it may be mentioned that measuring rods were carved on the temple walls for the guidance of the people. In the same manner the present inscription may be taken as an intentionally exhibited alphabet for the guidance of the teachers and students.

As already mentioned this alphabet inscription is in a Jaina basti. But the inscription contains 32 *triśūlas* which are of Śaiva religious significance. It is not known if the Jainas accepted *triśūla* as a symbol in *yāntric* or *tāntric* contexts. Otherwise it becomes difficult to explain the presence of Śaiva symbol in a Jaina temple. Or is it possible that during the reconstruction of the structures at Keresante at a later date, may be in medieval times, this stone slab which was originally in a Śiva temple was used in rebuilding the Jaina basti? This possibility cannot be ruled out by looking at the ruined temples at Keresante.

From the external appearance and format of the epigraph under discussion one may be tempted to label it as a *padabandha* or a *Kāvya-bandha* for which Karnataka is famous from the ancient period. But the present epigraph does not yield any results from this point of view also. Thus it eludes the *padabandha* or cross-word puzzle too.

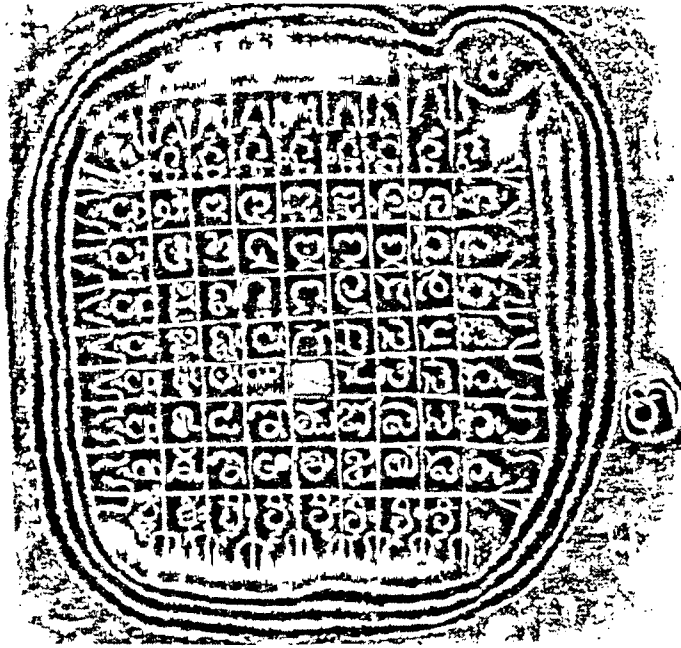
Finally, whatever might have been the purpose of the engraver of this epigraph, it has to be stated without any fear of contradiction that it is a unique one of its type not only in Karnaka but in India itself. Thus it is a precious epigraph. Unfortunately this precious and unique stone is lying uncared for in the village Keresante and it is an urgent necessity to transfer it to a museum and preserve it for posterity. It is with a sense of sadness it has to be observed that a similar statement made by Dr. M.H. Krishna, the then Director of Archaeology, Mysore State in 1945 with regard to the antiquities of Keresante still holds good<sup>12</sup>. It is hoped that the concerned persons and institutions will act atleast now and take steps to preserve this unique epigraph.

#### Notes and References :

1. This place was visited for the purpose of epigraphical exploration by Dr. N. Havalaiiah, H.M. Nagaraja Rao, Kumar and Harish Singatagere under a UGC Major Research project undertaken by Dr. N.Havalaiiah. Actually the inscription was discovered by the above team on two occasions. On the first occasion only the half portion of the inscribed stone which was lying on the ground along with the debris was discovered. On the second occasion the other portion which was on the roof of the basti was discovered. The team is grateful to the local people for their assistance.
2. *E.C.*, Vol VI (Rice), Kadur 96
3. *Ibid.*, Kadur 99
4. *MAR.*, 1945, p. 64
5. H.M. Nagaraja Rao has made a fresh study of all the epigraphs found at Keresante; 'Inscriptions at Keresante - A fresh study' in *Recent Researches in Karnataka Archaeology*, Edited by M.V.Krishnappa and R.Gopal, Mysore 2000, pp. 53-61. The present inscription being a new discovery has not been included in the above article.
6. *MAR.*, 1945, pp. 69-75
7. *E.C.* Vol., VI (Rice), Kadur 96

8. These two Jaina images are made of soapstone while the other parts are of granite. This gives rise to a doubt whether this was an ancient reconstruction perhaps during the medieval period.
9. *MAR.*, 1945, pp. 74
10. The side at which the writing of the letter *a* starts has been taken as southern side for the sake of proper description.
11. *Saundaryalahari*; (Ed) S. Narayanaswamy Sastry, O.R.I Mysore, 1959, p 137.
12. *E.C.* Vol. VII (Rice), SK 185
13. *MAR.*, 1945, p. 32





KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL
KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL	KL

SOUTH

KL = Klim

A unique Hoysala Alphabet Inscription from Keresante



## OḌAROṄGA COPPER PLATE GRANT OF TRIBHUVANAMAHĀDĒVĪ

Ekadashi Padhi

A single copper plate grant had been unearthed from Oḍaroṅga (popularly known as Udarāṅga), a village of Binjharpur police station area of Jajpur district of Orissa. A labourer named Dharanidhar Jena of the same village secured it while cutting down a tree. One Badrinarayan Behuria practising upon occult science and astrology managed to get it from him putting forth a plea that it was inauspicious for him. He had the mind to melt it down for copper or sell somewhere when he cannot find any tantric formula therein, that he aspired to obtain. I came to know of it and procured it from him in exchange for some money. It is now in my collection of antiquities. I myself got it cleaned, deciphered and edited for publication. The charter measures 36.5 cms by 29 cms excluding the circular ring. The circular ring is fixed about the middle on the left measuring 10 cms by 7 cms crosswise. There is a rectangular opening in the middle of the circular ring where the royal seal was most probably set, but the said seal is lost. Moreover the cutmark in the rectangular opening seems to have been tampered with later on. The plate weighs three kilograms and it is in tolerably good condition for decipherment even after eleven centuries. The plate contains fifty lines of writing, of which twenty five lines have been engraved on each side. The record is incised in the eastern variety of early north Indian alphabet which was the common script employed during 9th-10th century in Orissa in the lithic records of the rulers of different dynasties. Moreover it is like other copper plate charters of the Bhaumakaras in style and script. The letters are neatly drawn and display a good countenance although a very few letters have been damaged on account of oxidation. There are two to three deep cut marks of spade at the time of digging out of the ground.

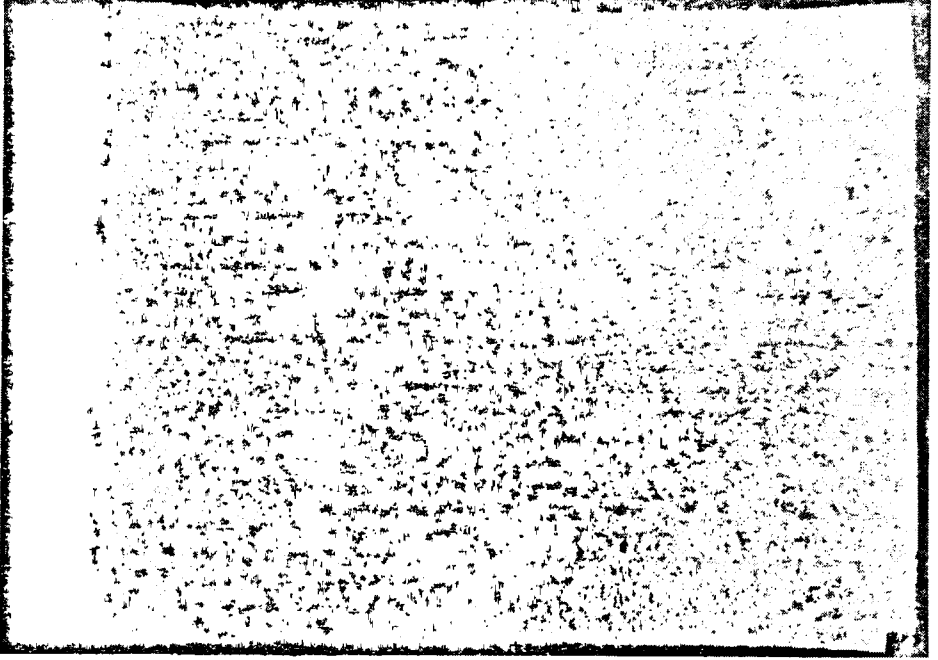
### Text

#### Observe

१. सिद्धम् स्वस्ति । व्योमविचु(धु)म्बि(म्बि)भिः स्थिरयशोराशि प्रतिस्पद्धिर्भिः सौधैर्लोल ललाम चामर च -
२. यैः पुण्यप्रवर्षैरिव । वि प्रेणापिसु धा (बा) सितेन परिखा लेखाद्यि (ब्धि) शेषत्विषा चातुर्वर्ण्य सुसंभृतादपि भृतः  
स्वेतै -

३. क बर्णाश्रियः ।। (१) श्री गुहेश्वरपाटक निवासि विजय स्कन्धावारात् ।। अत्युन्नतेषु समुपाश्रितनन्दनेषु शस्व -
४. त्विकाशित लसत्सुमनोगणेषु कल्पद्रुमेष्विव वनीयक वाञ्छितार्थसम्पादनैक रसिकेषु महाफले-
५. षु (२) पंचा (ञ्चा) ननेष्विव सदानखरोद्धतेषु । दुर्वार बैरिवरवारण दारणेषु । उन्मीलनैक निरतेषु क्षतस्थितिनामु -
६. न्मटकेस (श) रि गयाड पुरः सरेषु (३) शुचिगुणपक्षपातिषु राजहंसेष्वपि न मानस ब्यसनिषु प्रथित पृथुद -
५. ण्ड विभवेषु पद्माकरेष्वपि न चण्डकर प्रियेषु प्रसाधित स्वपरमण्डलतया धर्मेषु क(का)रिणी क्षताशेषदेश -
८. कोश(षे)षु क्रमेण च निरन्तर विरचित विविध मठ विहार प्रासाद प्रव(ब)न्धैः पुरन्दर पुरारोहण सोपा -
९. न व (ब) न्धैरिव मण्डित महीमण्डलेष्वाखण्डल प्रभावेषु महाराजेषु अतीतेषु ।। जातेन चिराद्यशोमा
१०. द्वावलम्बि (म्बि) नि करकुले विगलित तेजस्वितारकामम्ब (म्ब)रश्रियमिव करेयविकलान्तर (रा) मिव च वसुन्ध
११. रा मालोन्वयालो च निजभुज वज्र चुणिर्णत सकल सिपुकुलाचल स्य दक्षिणाशा मुखतिलक
१२. स्य श्रीराजमल्लदेवस्य जगद्विबजयोन्मिलिता कन्दलीव सौन्दर्यकन्दस्य सौजन्यमधुर सस्यन्दि
१३. नी कुसुम मन्जरीव विनयद्रुमस्य मूर्तिरिव महानुभावता (त)याः । कुलवसतिरिव कलानां -
१४. सकल भूमण्डलाधिपस्य पिशुन शुभलक्षणशतालं कृताकृतिः सुताप्रणत नरनाथ
१५. चूडामणि मरीचि चयचर्चित पादपिठेन हठकलित शत्रुसिमन्तिनी केशपाश कुसु -
१६. म वासितपाणिनाचिन्तामणिनेव यथाभिलषितार्थप्रदानकृतार्थि (र्थी) कृतार्थि सार्थेन स -
१७. त्यानुरक्तया सरस्वत्या पवित्रिता स्वपद्मापद्मेव पुरुषात्तमेन करकुलकुमुदा करेन्दुना महा -
१८. राजाधिराज परमेश्वरेण श्रीललितहारदेवेन गृहीत पाणिपल्लवा देवि (बी) पुरापि देव्या श्रीगोस्वामिन्या ।
१९. धर्मधनप्रधानया प्रजानुग्रहर्ताश्चरधारितैवेयं वसुन्धरा तदधुनापि प्रसीद नाथेव सुचिरं धार -
२०. यैना क्रियतां लोकानुग्रहः स्वीक्रियताम्वा प्रक्रमागता करराज्य श्रीरितिसरभ समभि -
२१. षेक मण्डल प्रतिपादनोन्मुखेन महता महासामन्त चक्रण निवेद्यमानः (ना) कात्यायिनीव सीं-
२२. हासनमारूढाम्प्रोदानुरागावनत मा(म)हासामन्त मौलि लालित चरण कमला कमलाकरश्रारिव प्रकृ -
२३. ति शुचि चरित चारूहस्त परिवारा सुरसरणिरिवा विष्कृत गुरुधृवमिद्रोदया मृगाङ्क लेखेव मृदुकरा -
२४. नन्दितप्रजालक्ष्मीरिवाक्षत कृतस्थितिः ।। परमवैष्णवी मातापितृ पादानुध्याता परम भट्टारि-

२५. का महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वरी श्रीत्रिभुवन महादेवी कुशालिनी। उत्तरतोषलायाम्ब (लायां) ।



**Reverse** Obverse : Oḍarōṅga copper plate grant of Tribhuvanamāhadēvi, the Bhaumakara Queen of Orissa

२६. त्तमान भविष्यन्महासामन्त महाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्ग कुमारामात्योपरिक विषयपतितदायुक्त -
२५. क दाण्डपशिक स्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिन श्वाटभट वल्लभजातीयान्न । धर्मनगर वि -
२८. षयेपि महामहत्तर वृ (वृ) हदभोगिपुस्तकपालकुटको साधाधिकरण यथार्हमानयति वो (बो) धयति -
२९. सम (मा) ज्ञापयति च विदितमस्तु । भवतां (ताम) एतद्विषय सम्बन्धः ओडरोङ्ग ग्राम सोपरिकरः सोहेशः सत-
३०. न्न (न्तु) वाय गोकृत शौण्डिकादि प्रकृतिकः सखेटघ (ट) दृ नदीतरस्थानादि गुल्मकः सर्वपीडा वर्जितो लेख-
३१. नी प्रवेशतया भूमिच्छिद्रपिधानन्यायेना चन्दार्कक्षिति समकालं मातापित्तोरात्मनः सर्वसत्या -
३२. नांच (ञ्ज) पुण्यभिवृद्धये। भा (र) द्वाच गोत्राय। भारद्वाज अङ्गिरस वार्हस्पत्य प्रवराय वह्नच-
३३. चरणाय, माध्वेन्दिन शाखाध्यायिने भट्टपुत्र खेमण्डाय सोमग्रहण वेलायां हस्तो-
३४. दकेनास्माभिस्ताम्रशासनीकृत्याक्षयनी वी (बि) धर्मेणा करत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तद्वेशाऽस्म-
३६. इतिद्धर्मागौरवादभवद्वि परिपालनीया। सम्बत् २००, ६०, ४ भाद्रपद वदि ८। उक्तञ्च
३६. शास्त्रे। व(ब) हुभिर्वसुधादत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्यस्य यदाभूमि तस्यतस्य तदा फ -

३५. लं (लम्) (४) माभुदपलशङ्कावः परदत्तोतिपार्थिवाः। स्वदानात् फलमानन्य परदत्तानु पालने ।। (५)
३८. स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेतवसुन्धरां ।। स विष्ठायां कृमिभुत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यतेः ।। व (ब) हु -
३९. नात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिद मुच्यते। स्वल्पमायुश्चलाभोगा धर्मोलोक द्वय क्षमः (५) इति
४०. कमलदलाम्बु (म्बु) विन्दुलोलां श्रीयमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य जीवितव्य । अखिलमिद मुदाहतञ्च बुध्वा
४१. नहिपुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ।। (८) यावन्मौली स्मरारे सरति सुरसरिन्मालती सग्विला -
४२. सा यावद्वेला विलोला चलती (ति) वसुमती मेखला वारिराशेः । यावद्वाभान्ति तारागगनमणि शिलाकुट्टिमै -
४३. कोपहारा देव्याः श्रीसिन्दुगौर्याः प्रभवतु भुवने शासनं तावदेतन् (९) दूतकोद्र महाक्षपटलाधिकृत हर्षः । लेख -
४४. को महाक्षपटलिक भोगि (गी) स (श) क्रशे (से) नः तापितं मलिनाम्बु (म्बु) वाहक विनीत भङ्गः उत्कीर्णं वठाकार हरिवर्द्धनेन। रभसवर्द्धन -
४५. पुतेणेति । गामस्य सीमा लिख्यते। पु (पू) र्वं दिश्युत्तर पु (पू) र्वं दक्षिण कोणे उत्तर स्रोतोनद्यर्द्ध स्रोतसः समारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमु-
४६. ख तदर्द्ध स्रोतसा दूरगंत्वा वन्धेन मृगजानुना सङ्क्रम जोटम्प्रविश्य पु (पू) र्वं दक्षिण कोणतदर्द्ध सीतोयावत् -
४५. ततोमादक्षिण दिशि पश्चिभिमुखं स्तोकं गत्वा दुन्ये जोटमुत्तीर्य विल्लतर्द्धहस्त क्षरिणी पूर्वा -
४८. शिलांयावत् । ततः पश्चिमदिश्युत्तराभिमुखं स्तोकं गत्वा दुन्ये जोटमुत्तीर्य विल्लतर्द्धहस्त क्षरिणी पूर्वा-
४८. ल्याकिञ्चिद्वक्रेण गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तर कोणे नद्यर्द्ध स्रोतो यावत् । ततउत्तर दिश्युत्तरा सीमां यावत् । त -
३९. दर्द्ध सीतसा दूरगंत्वा प्रथम संसु (सू) चितसीमां यावत् ।



comments: The present copper plate charter of the Bhaumakara queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the word *Svasti*. This is followed by a verse describing the prosperous city of Guhēśvara-pāṭaka, the *Vijayaskandhāvāra* from where the charter had been issued. Guhēśvara-pāṭaka was apparently the capital city of the Bhaumakara kingdom, the description of which is given in a short passage in prose immediately following the verse. The following two verses, i.e., Nos. 2 and 3 describe the achievements of the kings of the family in the past. Only the names of Unmattakēsarin and Gayada have been mentioned and they had already passed away. No genealogical account has been furnished in this charter as is usually found in the other records of the family. Gayada was another name of Śāntikaradēva *alias* Lalitahara I, who was the husband of Tribhuvanamahādēvī. The third verse is followed by a long passage in prose from the middle of the line Nos. 6 to 25 of which lines 6 to 9 depict the glorious achievements of the aforesaid rulers. Then it mentions a king named Lalitahara endowed with the royal titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. He ascended the throne by subduing all his enemies by the valour of his own arms. He has been described as the moon to the lilytank of Kara family. Here we come across the mention of the family as *Karakula* or Kara family but not Bhaumakara family. The following lines after line No 9 describe that Lalitahara got married the daughter of Rājamalladēva who was very powerful in valour and frontal mark of the southern region. This denotes that Tribhuvanamahādēvī was the daughter of Rājamalladēva, a great king of the South. Lines 18 to 25 introduce the queen who married Lalitahara or Śāntikaradēva I and her name has been mentioned as Tribhuvanamahādēvī in line No 25. She had been styled as *Gōsvāmini*, the *Paramavaishṇavi Paramabhṭṭārika*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvari*. She had acquired the throne of the Kara family at her old age by right of succession. It has also been described therein that she had ascended the throne like the goddess *Katyāyini* and whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the heads of the feudatory chiefs, bowed down with devoted loyalty. She was also anxious to see the quick celebration of coronation in order to protect the fortune of the Kara kingdom and favour the subjects as *Gōsvāmini*. The epithet *Śrī-Gōsvāmini* seems to have been borne by her out of respect for her old age. It is also Vaishṇavite epithet which displays that she was a devotee of lord Vishṇu. The lines 23 and 24 state that Dhruvamitra was her Guru or Preceptor. She had also satisfied her subjects with reasonable taxation. She is stated to have been a devotee at the feet of her parents. The lines 25 to 29 record the royal order issued

by the queen and addressed to the present and future kings and officials of north Tōsala such as *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānantarikas* and others such as *Chāṭas*, *Bhaṭas*, *Vallabhas* and recipients of royal favour. The royal order has been addressed to the officers belonging to the Vishaya (district) of Dharmmanagara such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Bṛihadbhōgin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuttakola* and *Sadyādhikaraṇa* or assistants. Lines 29 to 35 record that the royal order relating to the grant of the village named Oḍaroṅga, situated in the Dharmma-nagar-Vishaya(district) was issued by the reigning queen for the enhancement of merits of her parents, self and all other creatures. It has been ascertained that this order would continue as long as the Sun, the Moon and the Earth would endure. The grant has been made along with the additional unfixed taxes, the space above the ground, rights over the weavers, herdsmen, distillers and other artisans and over the landing places, ferries is outposts, etc. The grant has been made in favour of Bhaṭṭaputra Khemanda belonging to Bhāradvāja gōtra, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīrasa, and Vārhaspatya Pravaras Vahrich-charaṇa and a student of Mādhyandina śākhā. Moreover the grant was also made with the libation of water from hands as a sacred mark of endowment. It was also issued by means of a copper-plate charter free from taxes according to the principles of Akshaya-nīvi and Bhūmi-chhidra-piḍhānyāya. Line 35 records the date of the grant as the year 164, the 7th day of Bhādrapada and at the time of lunar eclipse. Lines-36-41 contain five imprecatory and benedictory verses in order to protect the land grant from the evil and covetous eyes of the people. Lines 41-43 record another verse in praise of the grant made by the queen Śrī Sindagauri with the prayer for its permanence as long as the Ganges, the heavenly river continues to flow, the tremulous shore of the sea encircling the earth and the stars adorning the sky like jewels would exist. Lines 43-44 mention the names of the officers associated with the execution of the grant. Harsha, the *Mahākshapaṭalādhikṛita* has acted as the Dūtaka or the executor of the grant. The writer of the charter named Śakrasēna has been designated as the *Bhōgin* and *Mahākshapaṭalika*. Here it may be mentioned that Śakrasēna is found to have been the writer of the earlier two Bauda copper plate grants issued by Prithvīmahādēvī in the year 158 (894 A.D) but the texts are quite different from the present one. The charter has been heated for affixing the seal by Vinitabhadda designated as Malināmbuvāhaka (the bearer of uncleaned water). The Taṭṭakāra or brazier Harivardhan, the son of Rabhasavardhana, was the engraver of the charter. This Harivardhana, the son

of Rabhasavardhana, and grandson of Rāmavardhana was also the engraver of the Dhenkanal copper plate grant of the queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī, and Bauda plates of Prithvīmahādēvī. Lines 45-50 record the details of the boundaries of the gift village. The boundary line starts on the east near the north-eastern corner from a point in the middle of the bed of the river flowing towards the north and then turning towards the south and proceeding some distance from the middle of the bed of that river and moving on the embankment at a pace of Mṛigajānu (deer's leg) and entering into the Śaṅkrama - jōta or a rivulet named Śaṅkrama upto the rivulet in the south-eastern corner. Then on the south moving towards the west and from the middle of the river bed and going in a zig-zag way to some distance upto the planted stone in the south-west corner. Then moving a few steps towards the north-western direction and crossing the Dunye - jōta and half cubit flowing channel in the corn field in the east turning a little upto the middle of the river bed in the north-west corner and then upto the northern border. The boundary line runs some distance in the middle of the river bed upto the border line mentioned at first. **Historical Notes:** The Bhaumakara dynasty ruled ancient Orissa from 735 to 950 AD was almost contemporary to the Pālas of Bengal. The dynasty had twelve male and six female rulers. As many as twenty six copper plater charters of different rulers of this dynasty have so far been discovered. All the kings and queens have issued the charters from Guhadēvapāṭaka or Guhēsvara-pāṭaka which has been identified with the ancient city of Viraja or modern Jajpur. Tribhuvanamahādēvī is known to have ruled the kingdom twice during her life time. A single copper plate charter had been discovered earlier from the Bhīmanagari-garh of Dhenkanal district of Orissa. Guhadēva-pāṭaka or Guhēsvara-pāṭaka has all along been described as a Vijayaskandhāvāra, literally meaning a victorious military camp in all the copper plate records of the Bhaumakara family known so far. It has been ascertained that Tribhuvanamahādēvī was the first woman ruler of the dynasty. She ascended the throne probably during the Bhauma saṁvat 103 to 109 (i.e., 839 to 845 AD) but no copper plate of this period has so far been found. She came to power in the saṁvat 158 (894 AD) for the second time when she was very old. Though she came to power twice it seems strange that she ignored to mention the elaborate genealogical account of Bhaumakara family in her Dhenkanal copper plate charter and in the present one alike and the drafts are the same in both the cases. It has been mentioned in this charter that Tribhuvanamahādēvī was the daughter of Rājamalladēva. She had also mentioned the same in the Dhenkanal copper

plate charter. It seems that Rājamalladēva might be a Nāga king of Sindavāḍi of the Karṇāṭaka region as the Nāgas were called the Sindas (Chindaka Nāgas) and hence she has been referred to as Sindagauri or gauri of Sinda family in her copper plate charters. Here it may be mentioned that after the discovery of Dhenkanal copper plate grant it was assumed that Tribhuvanamahādēvī was enthroned for the second time around the year 158 (894 A.D.) and passed away in the year 160(896 A.D.) as that was her last copper plate charter issued from Guhēsvara-pāṭaka. The present charter displays the year 164 (900 A.D.). It proves that she was alive upto 900 AD. or beyond that. However, this charter may help to re-fix the time of individual rulers of the Bhaumakara dynasty and re-set the elaborate genealogy. **Orthographic Analysis:** The present charter is composed in Sanskrit partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses written in different meters. Verse 1 is in Śārdūlavikrīḍita, verses 2 and 3 are in Vasantatilaka. verses-4,5,6,7 and 9 are in Anuṣṭup and verse-8 is in Pushpitāgra. The orthographic peculiarities in the charter can be seen in certain cases of use of alphabets. Among the major orthographic features, it may be mentioned that in many cases the reduplication of consonants following *rēpha* has been made. They are *rllōla*-line-1 *Durvvār*- line-5, *Dharmma*-in line-7 19 and 27, *Churnṇita*-line II, *Mūrṭti*-line-13, *Charchchita*-line 15, *Pūrva*- line-45, etc. but there are exceptions in some place if palatal *s* and other such sibilants have been employed, probably due to faulty pronunciation of Sanskrit words.

**Conclusion** At last it will not be irrelevant to identify the place names mentioned in this copper plate charter. Oḍaroṅga from where the copper plate has been unearthed still exists and it is now popularly known as Uḍaraṅga, a few kilometers away to the east of Jāipur. A small rivulet named Dunye, later on transformed into Junye and finally Junei flows from the west to east and turns southwards beside the village too, about which mention has been made at the time of specification of the boundary. The rivulet was originally a branch of the river Vaitaraṅi. A district is an administrative unit called *Vishaya* in the Bhaumakara records. Here in this charter the *Vishaya* has been mentioned as Dharmmānagar which may be identified with Dhammanagar in the present district of Bhadrak and almost 15 kilometers away from Oḍaroṅga, during the Afgan, Mughal, Marāṭha and British rule. Dhammanagar was an important place of administration, the legacy of which is also found in the Bhaumakara administrative system.



## TWO NEW INSCRIBED BRONZES

G.Vijayavenugopal

Among a hoard of bronzes brought from a place called Pōlakam a village situated 2 km west of Tirumalairāyapaṭṭiṇam (which is 6 km from Kāraikkāl in the Union territory of Pondicherry) two bronzes were found incised in their pedestals. These are now kept in the Government Museum, Pondicherry<sup>1</sup>. This is the first time that the full texts of inscriptions describing the kings with their regnal years, the names of the donors, the donees, the names of the deities and their temples, the names of those who has undertaken the charities and the names of the scribes were found inscribed in the pedestals. Since in both the bronzes the dates of the kings are mentioned they are important dated bronzes and are useful in tracing the art history of the bronzes of Tamilnadu.

These two bronzes under discussion represent the images of Śivakāmi<sup>2</sup>, the consort of Lord Naṭarāja and St. Māṇikkavāchakar<sup>3</sup>, a Śaivite saint from the Pāṇḍya country. It seems that there is a group of bronze makers in this area with their own style. They were probably continuing the Sembiyaṇmādēvi school style.

### 1. Śivakāmi

Śivakāmi is depicted in a standing posture; the right leg is slightly withdrawn inside and the left leg is slightly put forward. There are two hands; the right one is shown with a particular *mudrā* and the left one is freely hanging with fingers turned towards the knee. She wears elaborate ornaments on the neck and the ears were shown hollow without the *kuṇḍalas*. There are ornaments found on the shoulders too. She wears an *udarabandha* probably having a *siṃhamukha* buckle. Clothes were worn tightly from hip to the ankle. *Pādasaras* anklets were shown in the feet. She stands on a lotus pedestal where the inscription is found.

The measurements of the bronze are as follows:

Height (from head to foot)	: 61 cm
Pedestal	: 13 cm

Thus totalling 74 cms. the width is 18 cms. (from shoulder to shoulder)

### 1:1 Inscription

The text of the inscription is written on all four sides of the pedestal. It states that the image of Tampirāṭṭiyār, consort of Ajapadēva Viṭaṅkar (lord Naṭarāja) who performs the *ajapa* dance; fortunately this bronze also is found in the hoard is donated to the temple of Mahādēva of Pañchavaṇmahādēvī Īśvaram (a Śiva temple named after the queen of the Chōḷa King Rājēndra I who ruled from 1012 to 1044 A.D.) in Pūtalōkam *alias* Siddāpuram which is in the Paṭṭiṇam-kūṛṛam (a political division) of Adhirājarāja-vaḷanāḍu (a larger political division) by one Sempon Māṇikkadēvaṇ *alias* Parāntaka Māyilaṭṭi. *Māyilaṭṭi* is a title of a sub-group of the merchant community probably oil-mongers) during the 2nd regnal year of Śrī Rājamahēndradēvar. Rājamahēndra, son of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra II, only for a short period of three years i.e., from 1060 A.D. to ruled 1063 A.D. Since the inscription states his 2nd regnal year, the bronze is datable to 1062 A.D. The inscription also states that some land was donated by one Sempon Māṇikkadēvaṇ to conduct rituals like food offerings for two *sandhi* lamps. The responsibility of executing this endowment is given to a temple official *viz.*, Āttiraiyaṇ (Ātrēya-gōtra) Māṇikka Mahādēvaṇ. The donation is to be enjoyed by the recipient's family from generation to generation. The phrase used for this in the inscription is: *krama krama*. This was made by the members of the *Nagaram* (merchant town of Siddhāpuram *alias* Pūtalōkam. On the orders of the members of the *Nagaram* this was inscribed by Śaṅkaraṇ Veṅkāṭaṇ, the *nagara* official (*karaṇattān*). Probably the present name Pōlakam is a corrupt form of Pūtalōkam given in the inscription.

### 1.2. Text:

SvastiŚrī Rājamahēndradēvaṅku yāṇdu 2 āvadu Adhirājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭup-Paṭṭiṇa-k-  
kūṛṛattu Pūtalōkam āṇa Sittapurattu Śrī Pañchavaṇmahādēvīśvaram-uḍaiya-  
Mahādēvar kōyilil āḍi aruḷuḡiṛa Ajepadēva-viṭaṅkar Tampirāṭṭi-  
yārai eḷundaruḷuvittān Sempon Māṇikkadēvan āṇa Parāntaka Māyilaṭṭi  
iddēvar Tampirāṭṭiyārkkku oru sandhi oru nāḷiy-āga iraṇḍu sandhikkum ariśi  
vēliyil mēṅkaḍaiya nilam pattum Rājarājavinṇagar- niṅṅaruḷiṇa-mahāvishṇukkal  
Araṅgarpēr nānāḷiy-āga ai vēli nilam

nam nilattukku kiḷakkil nilam....

pōdu oru nāḷiyum iravu oru nāḷiyum pōdutōru kaḷiyamudunūru  
 pākkum verḷilaiyum mūṅṅru sandhikku mūṅṅru viḷakku(m) innilam  
 pattum koṇḍu innimantam chandirādittaval nivandam cheyyakkaḍavān  
 inda Śrī Kōyiluḍaiya Āttiraiyaṅ Mādēva[ṅ] ivaru makkaḷ  
 (mak)krama krama che[y]du ku[ḍu]ttōm Pūtalōkam ā[ṅna]  
 Sittapurattu nagara[t]tōmm-ēva eḷudinēn ivvūr nagara  
 karaṇattāṅ Śaṅkaraṅ Venkāṭaṅ eḷuttu.

*Mūvarulā*, a Tamil work praises Rājamahēndra as a good Vaishṇava. Taking advantage of this somebody might have introduced a few so that the donation could be diverted to a Viṣṇu temple.

Saint Māṅikkavāchagar

Saint Māṅikkavāchagar is depicted in a standing posture. His curled hair is shown flowing backward. He wears a *rudrākshamāla* besides *yañōpavīta*. There is a small band running around his hip. A *dhōti* which is protruding in the right corner is shown upto the knee level. There is no upper garment. He is shown with two hands; the right one is in *upadēśamudra* and the left hand is holding a palm leaf manuscript. This is supposed to be the text of *Tiruvāchakam*, a work composed by saint Māṅikkavāchagar. The shoulders were broad and the legs were sturdy. The right leg is slightly withdrawn inside and the left leg is moved a little front. He stands on a *padma pīṭha* which is fixed on a pedestal. The ears were long and bored and the lobes are loosely hanging.

Height (from head to foot) : 41 cms

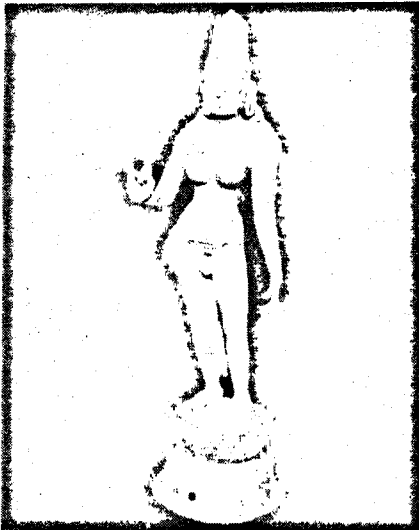
Height of the pedestal : 10cms Total 51 cms

## 2.1 Inscription

The inscription is found on all four sides of the pedestal. It states that during the 10th regnal year of Tribhuvanachchakravarttiḷ Śrī Sundarapāṇḍya, one Kulōttuṅgarāyaṅ *alias* Āṇḍāṅ Kōdai of the merchant community of Chōḷakulavallipattīṅam *alias* Nāgai (Nāgapattīṅam) had endowed an image of Tiruvātavūr Nāyanār (the saint of Tiruvātavūr i.e. Saint Māṅikkavāchagar, to

the temple of Pañchavaṇmahādēvīśvaram - uḍaiyār (Lord Śiva ) at Pūtalōkam which is a merchant town on the northern bank of Gēyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu (a political division) and donated some land for food offerings and burning lamps in the hamlet (of Pūtalōkam). The land was called Mukuntauḍaiyāṇ-ōḍai. This was acknowledged by the temple officials Tiruvārūrammān and Piramiśvara-baṭṭaṇ and the temple accountant Paṇaṅkuḍaiyāṇ Vītiṭaiṅkapperumāl.

The king's name is given simply as Sundara Pāṇḍya without the usual titles like Chaḍaiyavarmaṇ or Māṇavarmaṇ. There are several Sundara Pāṇḍyas among Pāṇḍya kings. Since the merchant's name contains the name of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga this Sundarapāṇḍya may be identified with Māṇavarmaṇ Sundarapāṇḍya I who claims victory over the Chōḷas. He ascended the throne in 1216 A.D<sup>4</sup> just two years before the death of Kulōttuṅga III. Since the inscription mentions the name of a merchant namely Kulōttuṅgarāyaṇ who might have got this name from the king, it is presumed that he may belong to Kulōttuṅga III's period. After the demise of Kulōttuṅga III, the merchant might have made this grant showing his loyalty to the new king i.e., Sundarapāṇḍya I. Sundarapāṇḍya got the titles 'Sōṇāḍukonḍa', 'Sōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgiya', etc., suggesting his victory over the descendents of Kulōttuṅga III. The inscription mentions a title viz., *Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ*, a title that was first used by Kulōttuṅga I. This title was adopted by the Pāṇḍya kings subsequently starting from 12th century A.D. Since the inscription gives the regnal year as 10, the date of the bronze could be assigned to 1226 A.D.



Picture 1



Picture 2

## 2.2 Text

1. Svasti Śrī Tribhuvanachchakkravartigaḷ Śrī Sundarapāṇḍiyadēvaṛku yāṇḍu  
10 āvadu Gēyamāṇikka - vaḷanāṭṭu vaḷakāl
2. parivaṭṭa nakaram Pūtalōkattu uḍaiyār Pañchavaṇṇmādēvīśvaram - uḍaiyār  
kōyilukku Tiruvādavūr ēri aruḷa paṇṇiṇa Nāgaiy - āṇa nāyanārai
3. Chōḷakula[va]llipaṭṭiṇattu Tiruppalliparṛu niyōgattāril Āṇḍān Kōday-āṇa  
Kulōttuṅgarāyaṇṇēṇ inṇāyaṇṇārṅku amudupaḍikkum tiruviḷakku[kku]-
4. m nāyanārṅku koṇḍa nilamum nattamum āvadu ivvūr piḍākai chantana  
vēli Paṇappāṛṛukku vaḷakku taḍi mūṇṇu viṭṭu Mu -
5. kantaṇ-uḍaiyāṇ
6. tiruvamudupaḍikkum tiruvi-
7. oḍai eṇṇu pēr kūvappaṭṭa nilam eḷumāvaraiyum Gaṇapati - vāykkālukku  
mēṅku Puṇaṅkarampaṇāṭṭu vēḷān maṇai Tiruvāḷi - vaḷanāṭṭu vēḷāṇ maṇai  
iru-
8. ppūkkum i nilam eḷumāvaraiyum in nāyanārṅku amutupaṭikkum tiruviḷak
9. [kuk]kum chandrādittavarai chellakkaḍavad-āga koṇḍu itṭēṇ Āṇṭān Kō -
10. daiy-āṇa Kulōttuṅgarāyaṇṇēṇ ikkōyil karaṇam Tiruvarūrammāṇ eḷuttu  
ikkōyil dēvakammi piramīśvara paṭṭaṇ eḷuttu
11. ikkōyil kaṇakkaṇ Paṇaṅkuḍaiyān Vītiṇṭaṅkapperumāl eḷuttu

Note :

Line 1 Reas as Gēyamāṇikka - vaḷanāṭṭu

Line 2 Pūtalōkam is now pronounced as Pōḷakam

Line 3 Pañchavaṇṇmādēvi is one of the queens of Rājēndrachōḷa I ; read  
*kōta* as *kōtai*

Line 4 May be Tiruppallipparṛu; read *nāyanānārṅku* as *nāyaṇṇārṅku*; read  
*keṇṭṭa* as *kaṇṭa*

Line 4-5 Read *mukantanuḍaiyāṇ* as *mukundaṇuḍaiyāṇ*

Line 6 Wrongly inscribed;

Line 7 Read *mēṛṅku* as *mēṛku*

Line 10 Read *dēvakammi* as *dēvakaṅmi*

Lines 1 and 11 there is an auspicious symbol

### Notes and Reference

1. My thanks are due to Mr. Rajaram, Curator, Government Museum, Pondicherry for extending all help in studying the inscriptions and to Ecole Francaise D'Extreme Orient for providing the photos of the bronzes.
2. Picture 1.
3. Picture 2.
4. N. Seturaman, *The Imperial Pandyas*, Kumbakonam, 1987, p.31.

## SINDAGHAṬṬA SAṄGAMĒŚVARA TEMPLE AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE VILLAGE\*

K.V. Ramesh

Dr. Vijaya Venugopal, like Shri K. Subramanyam of Bangalore, is a dear friend of mine who has continuously evinced keen interest in the survival and growth of the Epigraphical Society of India. When he offered largeheartedly to institute an endowment, in the name of his beloved wife, Smt. Sarasvati Vijaya Venugopal, who is present in our midst today, I thought the best way to express my appreciation would be to deliver the first Endowment Lecture myself. I take this opportunity to offer my apologies to Shri K. Subrahmanyam for not having requested our Chairman Dr. S.H. Ritti to deliver the first K. Subramanyam Endowment Lecture when it was instituted. I must begin this lecture with a handsome and respectful tribute to the Dharmadhikari of Dharmasthala, Padmavibhushana Dr. D. Veerendra Heggade whose Dharmothana Trust has been upholding one of the most cardinal principles of Indian Culture embodied in the oft quoted epigraphical verse:

dāna - pālanayōr - madhyē dānā - chrēyō - nupālanam |  
dānāt - svargam - avāpnōti pālanād - Achyutam padam ||

The essence of this verse, which we have ignored or forgotten, is that safeguarding all past creations is far more meritorious than creating new values because protection of what good has already been done takes one to the very feet of Lord Vishṇu whereas creating new values would at best ensure a place in heaven. After establishing the Sri Dharmasthala Manjunatheswara Dharmothana Trust the revered Dharmadhikari of Dharmasthala has restored to their pristine originality and objective a number of religious edifices of yore which had fallen into disrepair as a result of human lapses. I say human lapses because any temple built in the past had an inbuilt provision for its periodical upkeep whenever necessitated by the vagaries of lapse of time. All those provisions have been misappropriated leaving our temples and tanks to the mercy of an unkind Nature. Among hundreds of such edifices erected by our ancestors, which had been progressively increasingly ignored by successive generations, is the Saṅgamēśvara temple built by the Hoysaḷas in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D. Sri Dharmasthala Manjunatheswara Dharmothana Trust was formed in 1991, with Dharmadhikari Dr. Veerendra Heggade as its Founder-President, with the objective of preserving

and reviving ancient Indian culture. The main thrusts of the Trust are twofold:

1. Restoring ruined historical monuments ;
2. Promoting classical traditions and methodologies of worship, *bhajanās* and *pūjas* which revive lost or forgotten rural cultural identities.

With these major objectives the Trust has been renovating, strictly on archaeological principles, a number of ruined temples and reviving them as centres of religio-cultural activities with the active participation of the people of the locality. Among such ruins renovated by the Trust I have chosen for presentation here the badly ruined but presently restored Saṅgamēśvara temple, Sindaghaṭṭa, Krishnarajapet Taluq, Mandya District. It is a double temple, one shrine dedicated to the principal deity Saṅgamēśvara and the other shrine dedicated to Jannēśvara.

Sindaghaṭṭa, now a fairly big, populous and dusty village, had enjoyed considerable prominence during the reign of the Hoysaḷas, the powerful Southern Karnataka dynasty of the 11th - 14th centuries A.D. An ancient *agrahāra*, it was also known as Saṅgamēśvarapura, obviously after the main deity of the temple.

As early as in 1920 when these temple ruins were reported upon by the Archaeological Department of the Mysore State, it was observed "as the structure is a good specimen of a double temple, examples of which are rare, it deserves preservation. Almost all the stones that formed the walls are lying on the spot and the villagers too seem to be willing to make a contribution towards the cost of the repairs." (MAR, 1920 pp. 17-18). For reasons not known, the report was not followed up with any repair work and the temple had fallen into further ruins by 1997, when the Trust took upon itself the responsibility.

The temple is a *dvikūṭāchala* structure of soapstone and hard granite, belonging to the classical Hoysaḷa school and, on stylistic grounds, may be confidently assigned to the last quarter of the 12th century A.D. Unfortunately there is no foundation inscription in the temple. The earliest inscription recording a grant to the Saṅgamēśvara temple is dated in 1299 A.D. The temple stands on a *jagati*. Its plan is stellate, formed by right angles.

The temple consists of two *garbhagrīhas* facing east, two *sukanāsis* and a common *navaraṅga* which looks like two *navaraṅgas* connected by a central corridor common to both. There are two *mukhamaṇḍapas* in front of the *navaraṅga*, each facing the



*garbhagṛiha*. Thus the plan is highly symmetrical and quite impressive. Both the *garbhagṛihās* are square, each side measuring six feet. The doorways of the *garbhagṛihās* are exquisitely carved.

The *sukanāsis* are also square, each side measuring six feet. They have each a very well carved doorway containing *dvārapālakas* and perforated screens. The *lalāṭabimbās* have each the figure of a seated Śiva. The ceilings of the *sukanāsis* are exactly similar to the ceilings of the *garbhagṛihās*.

The common *navaraṅga* is a fine structure consisting of twelve finely carved pillars and twenty equally finely carved pilasters. It is rectangle in shape, measuring thirtyeight feet by sixteen feet. The entire *navaraṅga* roof has been divided into twentyone panels, each having a ceiling.

The *mukhamaṇḍapas* are also similar to each other. They are square in plan and have flights of steps on the eastern side. The roof of the *maṇḍapas* rests on four lathe-turned soapstone pillars typical of the Hoysala period. Both *mukhamaṇḍapas* have ceilings which consist of octagons in each of which there are concentric circles.

The *jagati* on which the entire temple stands has beautiful mouldings but was completely buried under earth filled up at some unknown time in the past. The outer wall was mostly in ruins and there is no *śikhara*.

The veneering stone slabs of the outer wall of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* had collapsed and were damaged and some of the slabs were no longer in *situ*. The outer wall of the *garbhagṛiha* and *sukanāsi* were sunken, destabilising the entire structure. The porch on the northern (Jannēśvara) side had completely fallen with its architectural members damaged and some of them missing. The southern (Saṅgamēśvara) porch, though still standing, had cracks in two of its lintels. The stone slabs of the hall were not of uniform size and had sunken a little. The roof was so badly damaged that there was heavy leakage during rains. There was an overgrowth of jungle around the temple ruins.

In view of the architectural fineness of the temple and its potential of rejuvenating the lost traditional values of the village, it was decided that the temple was worth preserving. Since the temple had been built as early as in the 13th century A.D., it was mandatory that it must be repaired strictly as per archaeological principles. This was done step by step with the involvement of the people of the area and with the help of hired labour working under instructions of the Archaeological

Engineer of the Trust.

The *jagati* platform, on which the entire temple stands and which was buried under 3' 6" of earth, was carefully removed revealing the *jagati's* beautiful mouldings; the earth thus cleared was used for filling the uneven ground in front of the temple thus providing an approach road to the temple.

The dismantled members were shifted to a safe place and the standing parts of the structure were strengthened; as part of this strengthening process, the earth below the structure was scooped out and the safety of the structure was ensured by underpinning with concrete and stone masonry.

Those original beams which had developed cracks beyond repair were replaced; a few architectural members had been removed from the dilapidated temple and had been used in the construction of some other structures in the village. Such members were newly prepared in strict accordance with the original ones, using specially quaried and dressed soapstone;

Originally the temple had doors for the four entrances. The doorway and door of the Jannēśvara shrine had completely collapsed and a make-shift wall had been built and a window provided. The doorway and door of the Saṅgamēśvara shrine had badly decayed and been damaged. Since there were invaluable loose sculptures in the inner hall, to ensure their safety the doorways were restored to their original appearance and new wooden doors were provided. The flooring inside the temple had sunk and the floor slabs were reset after laying sand cushion below. After the completion of the restoration work, the joints of the structure were water - tightened.

Now we enter the crux of the theme of this lecture, namely, the epigraphical evidence we have from the village of Sindaghaṭṭa. There are two contemporaneous Hoysala temples in that village, the Saṅgamēśvara temple, about which I have been speaking all this while, and the Lakshminārāyaṇa temple which yet awaits the restorer's attention. The lintels of both the temples have each an inscription in Kannada language and characters which refer themselves to the cyclic year Vikāri. Though the editors of the revised VI volume (Mandya Dt.) of *Epigraphia Carnatica* (1977) have stated that these two inscriptions are similar to one another, they have, for reasons not known, referred the Lakshminārāyaṇa temple inscription to 1179 A.D. and the Saṅgamēśvara temple inscription to 1299 A.D., creating a difference of 120 years between the two epigraphs. On stylistic

grounds both the temples are to be assigned to the later half of the 13th century A.D. The details of the date in the two inscriptions are as follows:

Saṅgamēśvara temple inscription :

Vikāri, Jyēshṭha śu. 10, Sō(ma-vāra);

Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple inscription ;

Vikāri, Āśvayuja ba. 5, Sō(mavāra).

Both the inscriptions are engraved on the lintel of the *mukhamanṭapa* of the two temples. The contents of both the inscriptions are similar and, what is more, both these inscriptions were engraved by Javanōja. While the Saṅgamēśvara temple inscription records the sale of two *vṛittis* of land belonging to that twin-shrined temple to Maleya-nāyaka by the *mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* Saṅgamēśvarapura alias Sindaghaṭṭa with the stipulation that that the donee should conduct regular worship to the two deities, the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple inscription records the sale of two *vṛittis* of land belonging to that temple to Mādaṇṇa and Bommaṇṇa with the stipulation that they shall conduct regular worship to the deity of that temple. It is of further interest to the proximity of the dates of the two inscriptions.

It is rather surprising that though the editors of the concerned revised volume observe that the two inscriptions are similar in contents, they have referred the cyclic year Vikāri- saṁvatsara, to which both the inscriptions refer themselves has been equated to 1179 A.D. in the case of the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple inscription and to 1299 A.D. in the case of the Saṅgamēśvara-Jannēśvara temple inscription. As I have stated earlier both the temples stylistically belong to the end of the 13th century and the two inscriptions too belong to the same period from the points of their palaeography, orthography and diction. We should therefore refer the cyclic year Vikāri of both the inscriptions to 1299-1300 A.D. as a result the equivalents of these two inscriptions have to be worked out as:

1. Saṅgamēśvara-Jannēśvara temple inscription: Vikāri, Jyēshṭha śu Sō(ma-vāra) = 1299 A.D., May 11, Monday;

2. Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple inscription: Vikāri, Āśvayuja ba. 5, Sō(mavāra). Unfortunately these details, as published, are irregular. On the other hand if we consider that ba. 5 is wrongly read for ba 9, and, such mistakes are legion in the old editions and have been haplessly retained in the revised editions too, the details would regularly correspond to = 1299 A.D., September, Monday.

In both the inscriptions Sindaghaṭṭa is described as *śrīmad- anādiy-agrahāra* Saṅgameśvarapura. Both the inscriptions are not foundation inscriptions but the grants recorded in them must have been made soon after their completion because they were meant to enable regular worship being offered to the deities. At this point of time and in the absence of any solid evidence, it is not possible to say who gave the name to whom, whether the *agrahāra* was earlier and gave its name to the temple or whether the temple was first built and then the *agrahāra* was named after one of the two deities as Saṅgameśvarapura. I would like to conclude this Lecture with a reference to a very interesting inscription from Sindaghaṭṭa. It is a Kannada inscription written in 1537 A.D. and records the fact that a certain Rangai-nāyaka and Bābu-seṭṭi built in the heart (*oḷa kerī*) of Sindaghaṭṭa a stone Masjid temple (*kalla masītiya dēvasthāna*) in order to earn merit and that they also granted to that Masjid the village of Śivapura and one house belonging to Habib. The text of this inscription was got written by the *Sēnabōva* Nāgappa. The record ends with the usual imprecatory passage and verses usually found in Hindu inscriptions. It is indeed a pity that such visual evidence of inscriptions recording the building of mosques by the Hindus and the building of temples by the Muslims in this land of *sarva-dharma-samanvaya* are few and far between.

\* This paper is Dr. Sarasvati Vijayavenugopal endowment lecture delivered by the author in the XXVIII Annual ESI conference held at Udupi

## POSITION OF WOMEN IN GOA UNDER THE PORTUGUESE

Swapna H. Samel

The social history of Goa is very much interwoven with the church History of this territory. The Goan society in fact was essentially Hindu society with its rigid caste system, rituals and sacrifices. The Portuguese seems to have gathered some information about Goa, its strategic position and commercial importance, year before they conquered it. There is evidence that some Goan leaders and others invited Portuguese to capture it.<sup>1</sup> Finally on 3rd March 1510 Albuquerque took possession of old Goa from Ismail Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur. Afonso de Albuquerque after his final assault on Goa island in 1510 laid a solid foundation to the Portuguese colonial structure by encouraging his soldiers to marry the local Muslim women. Each couple was gifter with a piece of land, a house, a horse, cattle and cash amounting to 1600 reis.<sup>2</sup>

In this presentation efforts have been made to focus on the position of women in Goa under Portuguese through inscriptions under the study. In the span of about thousand years, beginning from the ninth Century the rulers embellished Goa with temples, Mosque and Churches. Lot of public and private buildings were erected by the Portuguese. The wide moat was filled up and the city began to grow with beautiful churches, monuments and buildings. We can clearly see the impact of Renaissance movement on the construction in Goa.

I shall be discussing three inscriptions. First inscription under study is on the tomb of Dona Caterina, which is situated in the church of Our Lady of Rosary [Igreja da Nossa Senhora do Rlsario]. The Church of Our Lady of Rosary also known as Church of St. Mary of Rosary has been built in 1543, situated in the Holy mount in close vicinity of the Convents of St. Monica and St. Augustine. To the left in the apse we are confronted with the tomb of Catarina. She was the lady whom the Viceroy Garcia de Sa married. On the tomb we find the following inscription.<sup>3</sup>

**Aqi Iaz Dona Catirina Mother De  
Garcia Da Sa a Oval Pedo A Ovem Isto Led  
Qve Peca Misericordia Adeus Pera Sva Alma**

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

Other two inscriptions discussed here are from Se Catherdral, Goa. This Church was founded soon after the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese in 1510. These two inscriptions are engraved on the tomb of two Portuguese personalities which throw light on the position of women.

CPELA DAL DO VISENTE ANRIVES  
 EPAZ DEZEMBA GADOP OVE  
 FOI DAP DESE ARCEBISPA DO  
 Q EALLECO. EM. 7 DEEZEMBRQ  
 D 632. OOVAL. DEIXOV. PENDA  
 HVA.MISSA.COTODIANADE  
 QIE.ADMINSTRADORA, SVA  
 VIOLHER.LEANOR. MAZ. EP  
 MORTE. OVEM. ELLA. ORDE  
 NAR. EHE. INSTITV DAPER  
 ENTRRO. DELLA EDESEVS  
 HEREDEIROS<sup>4</sup>

Translation : Chapel of Vincent Herques who was the Judge of the High Court of the Archebishopic who died on 7th December 1632 who kept/left the income proceeds wife Lenor Mascarnen has ordered to the institute her burial and of her heirs.

Another inscription on the left side of the chapel is as follows :

VIST. A. SEI VLIVA. A. SOSSOSDED OVI  
 ANOR. MASCARENHAS. SEGVND. L,IE  
 FR. DEMELLO DEC ASTRO GOVERNADO  
 FOI DO ESTADO DAINDIA TRES VEZWS SEA  
 SEIRA VES QVE FOVERNOV MAN DOVE  
 ESTA SEPVLTVRA PERA NELLA SEDEPVZ  
 REM OSSOSSO DADITA SVA MOLHER AQVAL  
 LECEO EM8 DEMAIO DE 6S4 ETEM NES  
 CAPELA HVMA MISSA QVT MISSA QVT IDIANA<sup>5</sup>

Translation : In this tomb lies the mortal remains of Dona Leanora Mascarenhs, second wife of Francisco De Mello Castro Governor of the state of India ordered this tomb during the third year of his reign he ordered this tomb for in it to be put the mortal remains of his said wife, who died on 8th may 1654 and has instituted in this chapel a mass everyday.

The inscription throws light on the social aspect and social customs of the Portuguese. The inscription under study itself is a source material of history of Goa. 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, inscriptions especially at public place gives instant information to general public who may not go to historical records about social history of Goa. The inscriptions under study on the tombs shows the importance the Portuguese gave for charities and recording of their names to be fresh in the memory of the people. This indeed was a common form in which Hindus gave endowment and charities.

Another thought provoking and interesting interpretation based on the inscription on the tomb of Dona Caterina throw light on the position of women view-a view the traditional Hindu customs. Lady the word itself used for a woman with respect, this speaks of high position of women. The tomb of Lady Catarina got the place in prestigious church of the said times. Now the question comes that whether a high status given to her because she was a wife of Viceroy Gracia de Sa? If it is so one cannot state that during Portuguese period women in general were placed at high position. Like Hindu way of life in those days and even today status comes to a woman from the position of her husband and family in the society. Chances of getting self-identity to women were remote. There may be some exception, 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 a society and obviously there tombs were erected in well established churches in Goa. This throws a light on the degree of male domination in Portuguese social life.

Other two inscriptions throw light on two distinctive points, namely Dona Leonora was married twice, first to Visente Heriques, the judge of the High Court [Relasao de Goa], who died in 1632. Upon his death she married Francisco Demllo Castro, Governor, for the second time. She died on 8th May 1654.<sup>6</sup> The inscription throws light on the social custom of remarriage since Dona Leonara was married twice. Yet her status remained intact. She found a place in the religious institute after her death. It speaks volumes of the high position of women.

One can argue that inscriptions under study speaks only about the Christian women in Goa. The church, has advocated the abolition of the practice of *sati* on humanitarian grounds. The inhuman practice of *sati* that prevailed in Goa was

abolished by Albuquerque.<sup>7</sup> And even after him, first three councils not only condemned sati system, but also passed resolution to allow the young widow to marry again, if they so desired. The councils through their various decrees not only tried to rejuvenate the women but also tried to rehabilitate the widows under their protection. Positive encouragement was given to young widows to remarry and by this way property laws were made to benefit women. Yet the fact remains that their place was at home.<sup>8</sup>

Can we say that Portuguese has elevated the position of women in Goa? Or they just had humanitarian attitude towards women. To some extent, it is true, but the church had ulterior motives in advocating abolition of *sati*. It is a Hindu practice and therefore, the church wanted it to be abolished. Secondly, widows belonging to rich families could inherit properties, if converted and the church could get a portion of the properties from the converted widows.<sup>9</sup> Hence, Hindu widows in Goa were communicated directly or indirectly that they stood to gain immensely by becoming Christians: that they could inherit properties of their husbands or near relatives under Portuguese [Christians] law and they could even remarry men of their choices. Therefore, argument over here is that pure humanitarianism of the church appears to be imaginary.

The churches in Goa had regulated the life of women in several ways. It enforced number of decrees regarding marriage, inheritance, widowhood, dress, etc. It has affected the life of women converts immensely. One can say that the main purpose of these decrees was to prevent the converts from continuing their pre-conversion ways of life. For example, by an order of 14 April 1736 it banned Christian women from wearing the 'Cholli' a common garment of Hindu women. The same order laid down that no Christian women should participate in any religious procession, festivity, etc. They were even directed not to wear the nose-stud. There were many more restrictions on the personal life of women converts.<sup>10</sup> It must have been very difficult for the converted women to fit in themselves in totally new lifestyle and forget their past. The church took undue advantage of the women's inferior social status, economic dependence and ignorance.

Whatever may be the intension of church one should not under the impression that church merely exploited women. It must be indicated here that the church did help them, particularly the helpless ones in several ways. Some of the policies of church directly or indirectly move the society of Goa to the path of modernity. Granting of the rights of inheritance and ownership of property to women, providing for widow remarriage, introducing certain other measures to



improve the socio-economic status of women were advocated under Portuguese. We can conclude by saying that with the coming of Portuguese and Goan culture there has become an amalgam of much that is best in the culture of the west and east. Inscriptions depend upon the nature of the information we seek every line or even word of the inscription texts, be invocatory, genealogical, operative or imprecatory can be made to yield hidden facts of history<sup>11</sup>.

#### Notes and References :

1. P.S. Pissurlekar, *Os Collaboradores Hindua De Afonso De Albuquerque*, pp.5-6
2. Nicolau Jose da, Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological sketch of the city of Goa*, Thacker and Company Ltd, Bombay, 1878, p. 143.
3. Nwer Julia, *The Monuments in Old Goa*, New Delhi, 1979, p.33
4. *Inscription in se Cathedral de Goa.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. F. Martin, *Coronica da Vice Rei E Governadores de India*, Hiprensa Nacimal, Nova Goa, 1919, p.305.
7. P.P. Shirodkar [ed], *Goa: Cultural Trends*, Govt. of Goa, 1988. p.117
8. P. Kamath, *Some legal aspects of the socio-economic life of women in Portuguese Goa*, New Delhi, 1987, pp.93-103.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.
11. K.V. Ramesh, *Presidential Address*, in Vol. XXII, *Epigraphical Society of India Journal*.

## A KĒLKAR MUSEUM COPPER PLATE GRANT

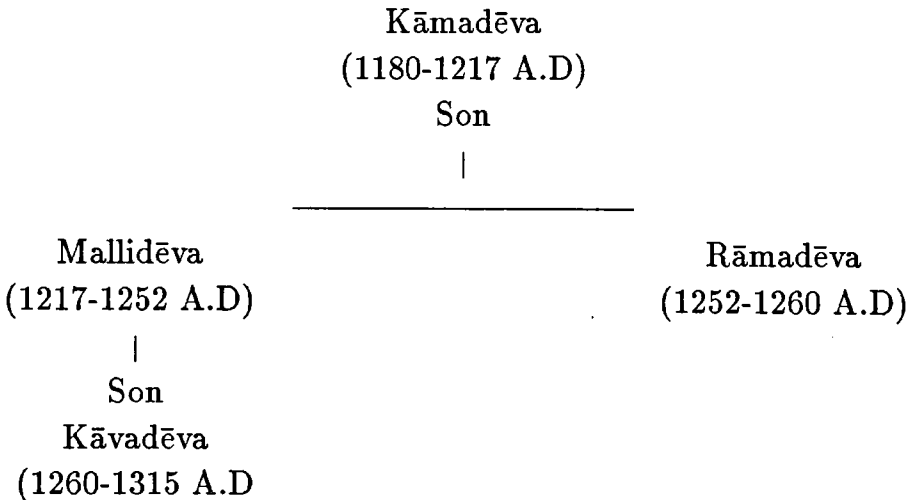
S.G. Dhopate

A set of copper plates is in the possession of Rājā Kēlkar Museum, Pune. On carrying out an exhaustive survey I found it remained unnoticed and unpublished. I am very grateful to the Director of the museum for permitting me to study and decipher. He kindly allowed me to present my findings in this conference. Its technical details are as follows. The ring is without any family seal and weighs 110.0 grams. The donor Puluhadahutara Thakur, was the chief minister of Bampadēva, a feudatory of Imperial Chāḷukyan king Kēdārādēva. He obtained a village Maruḷiṅgi from Bampadēva. It was then donated to the eleven learned brāhmaṇas according to their ability. The donation was given in the form of land measured as per the number of betel nut trees cultivated in it. The list of the donee brāhmaṇas, their gōtra with title (if any) along with the share of their donation is given in the following table.

No.	Name of the Brahmin	Gotra & title	Share
1	Vāsudeva Prabhu	Gautama	300
2	Vishṇu Ghaishas	Gautama	300
3	Goladēva Ghaishas	Gautama	215
4	Padmanābha	Vāsishṭha	125
5	Bhānu	Gargya	350
6	Nāraṇa Ghaishas	Atri	600
7	Gōvinda kramait	Vāsishṭha	125
8	Kaṇhu kramait	Atri	250
9	Nāgadēva	Atri Gargya	100
10	Mahādēva	Vāsishṭha	200
11	Kēśava	Vāsishṭha	200

The donation was given on the occasion of Lunar Eclipse. It is Monday the full-moon day of Kārtika month in Śaka era 1181 and Siddhārtha saṁvatsara of the cyclic era. This corresponds to 1st November 1258 A.D. There was a Lunar Eclipse on this date but the day was Saturday as against Monday recorded. It is interesting to note that the present grant has a close similarity with the copper plate grant of Tēraṇa<sup>1</sup> that was studied and published by Wathen in the

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London, (volume V page 177); and then revised and published by Le Grand Jacob with a new title (I.) In this Tēraṅga grant a mahāmātya Kēsava Mahājani obtained a village Tēravatak from Kāvadēvarāya, a feudatory of Chalukya emperor Kēdārdeva and donated its revenue to twenty learned brāhmaṇas. In the genealogy of Hāṅgal Kadamba there are names of Rāmadēva and Kāvadeva who ruled in 1252-1260 A.D. and 1260-1315 A.D. respectively<sup>2</sup>. Thus as per historical records this Tēraṅga grant no doubt is genuine. The Tēraṅga grant starts without any invocation verse to praise any family deity whereas the present grant begins with an invocation to lord Bhairava. The present grant was issued on Monday (actually it should be Saturday), the 1st November 1259 A D and the Tēraṅga grant was issued on Sunday 26th December 1260 A.D., i.e., issued after about a year than that of the first. The eulogy of the Chāḷukyan emperor Kēdārādēva is also same and the titles used for him are exactly similar without any change. Finally the text of the benedictory and imprecatory verses are same. The Chāḷukyan rule in Deccan came to an end after capturing their capital Kalyāṇ in the years 1186-89 A.D. by Yādava Bhillama V<sup>3</sup>. The history reveals that during next seventy-five years the situation in this area became fluid. The feudatories used to enjoy their independence taking advantage of every favourable opportunity. Kāmadēva (1180-1217 A D) is stated to be a powerful ruler of the Hāṅgal Kadamba family. His genealogy is shown below:



The little suzerian power that was with the Chalukyan emperor (probably Kēdārādēva of this grant) was this area that was ruled by Kāmadēva of Hāṅgal family. He subjugated Male (of the Santaras), Tuḷu countries (of the Āḷupas), Koṅkaṇ and Western Ghats (of the Goa Kadambas). Further Kāvadēva's mother

is stated be the princess of the dethroned Chālukyan family. Thus taking into consideration the observations of Jacob, Moraes concluded that Chālukyas were restored by this time (that includes those dates recorded in the present and the Tēraṅgan grant) as the overlords of the area of these feudatories. Nevertheless the known Chālukya decedents recorded during this time are most probably Vētugidēva and his son Sōmadēva, who are recorded in a stone inscription in Mahālakshmi temple at Kolhāpūr<sup>4</sup>. One of them might have been a second name Kēdāradēva. The donor Puluhadahutar Thakur, the *sarvadaṇḍādhikāri* of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bampadēvarāya is called *Chālukyarāya Sthāpanāchārya*, i.e., according to Rice a brave at the court of the king'. I could not identify this person, due to the paucity of epigraphical or literary records. During the reign of Mallidēva (1217-52 A D), son of Kāmadēva we come to know of one Sareya-Bhairava-nāyaka who established a new dynasty for himself. He is known as the Santar chief of Karakal. The feudatory of Chālukya Kēdāradēva, Bampadēvarāya may be the son of Sareya Bhairava, the Santara chief of Karakal. The script of both the texts is in Dēvanāgarī. The village Tēravatak in Tēraṅgan grant is identified with the present village Tēraṅgan of Ratnagiri District. The grant village Maruliṅgi does not exist with the same name in the Maharashtra State. However, there are two villages by name Mavaliṅge in Ratnagiri Taluk and District of Maharashtra state. The last but a noteworthy point is that the writer of this text and that of the Tēraṅgan grant is same, namely Gōvinda. The Tēraṅgan grant the only record to substantiate Jacob's findings of Chālukyan (Karnānvaya) dynasty. The present grant is another record to support them. Both Jacob and Moraes<sup>5</sup> suggest the historicity of Vetugidevā and Sōmadēva of the temple inscription. Khare on the other hand could not trace it during his visit to the temple. Though at present we do not have any exact information yet it is certain that Kēdāradēva was the last Imperial Chālukya ruler.

### Text

#### First plate : First side

- 1 मद्दवंश जातः परवंशजातः पापादपेतं मनसो भुविभारभूताः  
ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिदं हि (स) वै (तस्या) मया विरचितोज्जलि (मूर्ध्व)रेषा
- 2 वा वी वा ट वी (भु ?) वी (भा)

**First plate : Second side**

- 3 ॐ श्री भैरवराय नमः स्वस्ति श्री शकु ११८१ वर्षे सिद्धार्थ संवश  
रे । कार्तिक सुद्ध सोमे ।। अद्येह समधिगत पंच महाशब्द म-
- 4 हामंडलेश्वर कल्याण पुरवराधीश्वर । कलियुग कर्णान्व-  
य प्रसूत । चालुक्य कुलकमल कलिका विकास भास्कर
- 5 सुवर्ण वराह लाच्छनध्वज । सत्यरत्नाकर । शरणागत वज्रपं-  
जर । महामाहेश्वर । महेश्वरदेव चरण प्रसादनाराधनोप-
- 6 चारादवाप्त परम राज्येश्वर ।। श्री केदारदेव पदपंकजभ्रम-  
र । राय धरणी वराह । राय बेटकर । रिपुराय साहसम-
- 7 ल्ल श्री बंपदेवराय विजय राज्यो (दै) तत्पादपदुमोप-

**Second plate : First side**

- 8 जीवी । सर्व दंडाधिपति । चालुक्यराय स्थापनाचार्य पुलुहा-  
डाहुतर ठकुरेण प्रसाद प्राप्तो ग्रामः मारुलिंगी नाम धे
- 9 यो सोम पर्वणि परमया भक्त्या महा धार्मिकेण भूत्वा  
सोपरिकर दंड दोष मार्गेणसहितः । गौतमगोत्रा-
- 10 य नाना द्विवजातिसहिताय । वासुदेव प्रभवे हस्तोद-  
केन प्रदत्तः तत्र वासुदेव प्रभवे पूगीफल त्रिक्ष भु
- 11 मी २१४ तद्वद्गौतम गोत्रस्य विष्णु धैशासस्य पूगी  
फल त्रिक्ष भूमी ३०० तद्वद्गौतम गोत्रस्य गोलदे-

**Second plate : Second side**

- 12 व धैशासस्य पूगीफल त्रिक्ष भूमी २१४ तद्वद्वासिष्ठ गो-  
त्रस्य पद्मनाभस्य पूगीफल त्रिक्ष भूमी १२४ तद्वद्गार्ग्य
- 13 गोत्रस्य भानोः पूगीफल त्रिक्ष भूमी ३४० तद्वदत्रिगो-  
त्रस्य नारण धैशासस्य पूगीफल त्रिक्ष भूमि ६०० तद
- 14 द्वासिष्ठ गोत्रस्य गोविंद क्रमेतस्य पूगीफल त्रिक्ष भूमी १२४  
तद्वदत्रि गोत्रस्य कान्हू क्रमेतस्य पूगीफल त्रिक्ष भूमी २४०
- 15 तद्वद्गार्ग्य गोत्रस्य नागदेवस्य लावगनसहित पूगीफल  
त्रिक्ष भूमी १०० तद्वद्वासिष्ठ गोत्रस्य महादेवस्य पूगी

**Third plate**

- 16 फल त्रिक्ष भूमी २०० तद्वदवा शिष्ठ गोत्रस्य केशवस्य पूगी  
फल त्रिक्ष भूमी २०० एवमेकादश द्विजा त्रित्ति मंतस्य दातष्यं । ग्रा-
- 17 भोयमात्रान्वय संभूत राज्ञा अपरेण वा धार्मिकेण भूत्वा पा  
लनीय । यथा दाताश्रेय (भा) कु पालकोपि भविष्यति बहुभिर्व-
- 18 सुधादत्ता राजाभिःसगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य त-  
स्य तदा फलं । स्वदत्तं परदत्तं वा यो हरेत्य वसुंधरा । षष्ठिर्वर्ष सह-
- 19 साणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः । क्रिमि योनिंततो गत्वा चांडालेष्ये-  
भि जायते । हिरण्यमेकं गोमेकां भूम्यामप्येकमंगुलं हरं न-
- 20 रकमायांति यावदाहस्त संप्रवं । न विषं विषमित्याहु ब्रह्मस्वं विष  
मुच्यते विषमेकाकिनो हंति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रिकं । गोविंदेन लेखते

**Notes and References**

1. *Le Grand Jacob*, The Teravan Copper-plate Charter. *JBBRAS.*, Vol IV, pp 105-08.
2. *G M Moraes, The Kadamba Kula*, Bombay. (1931), pp 92-93 and 150-60.
3. *O.P. Verma, Yadavas and their Times*, VSM publication. (1970), pp 58-59.
4. *S R Graham, On the Principality of Kolhapur*. (1854) pp 334 and 479, : *Maharashtra Char Daivate* (Marathi) BISM publication (1958), p 36.
5. *G M Moraes, The Kadamba Kula*, (1931), p 142-50 and 154-60.

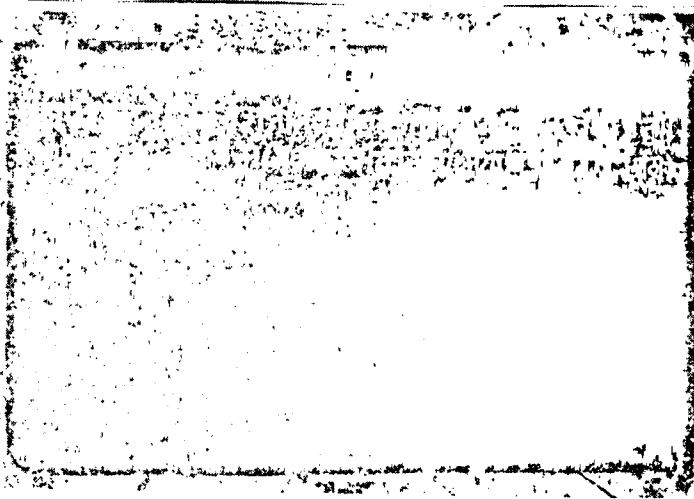


Plate 1 A

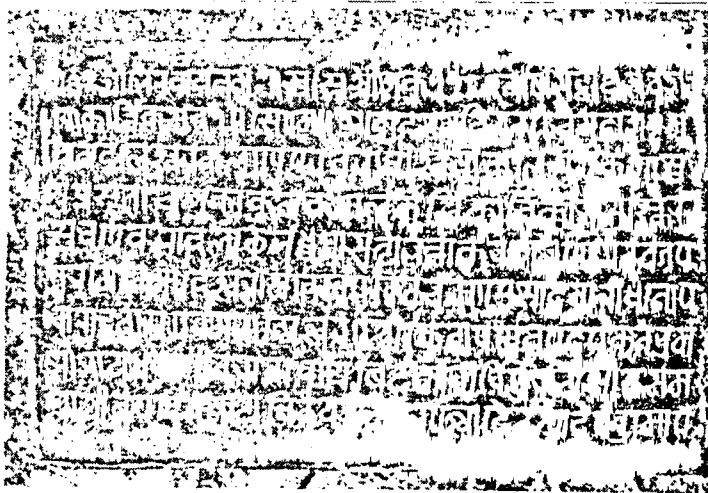


Plate 1 B

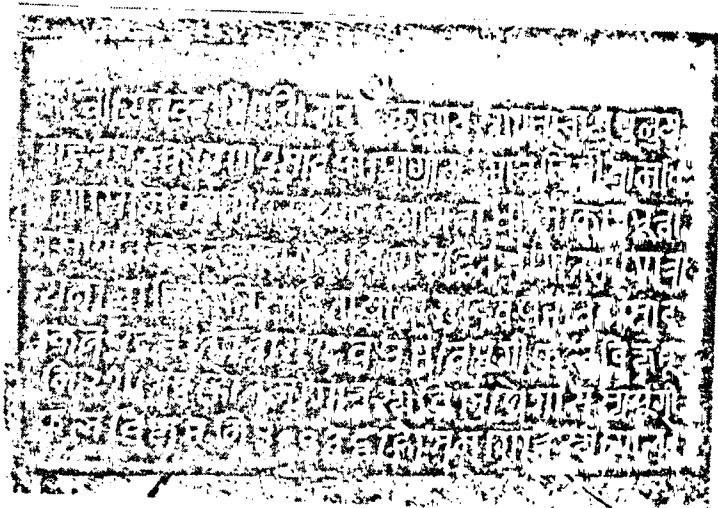


Plate 2 A

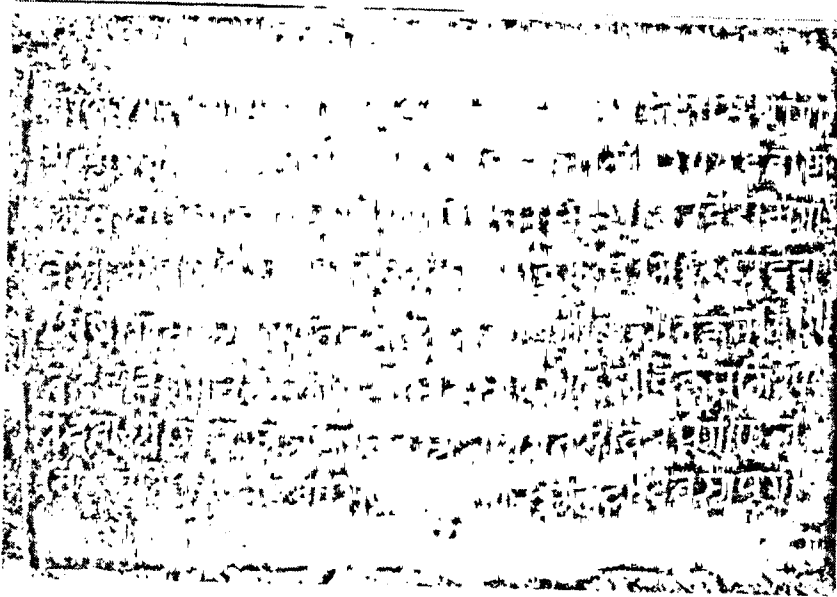


Plate 2 B

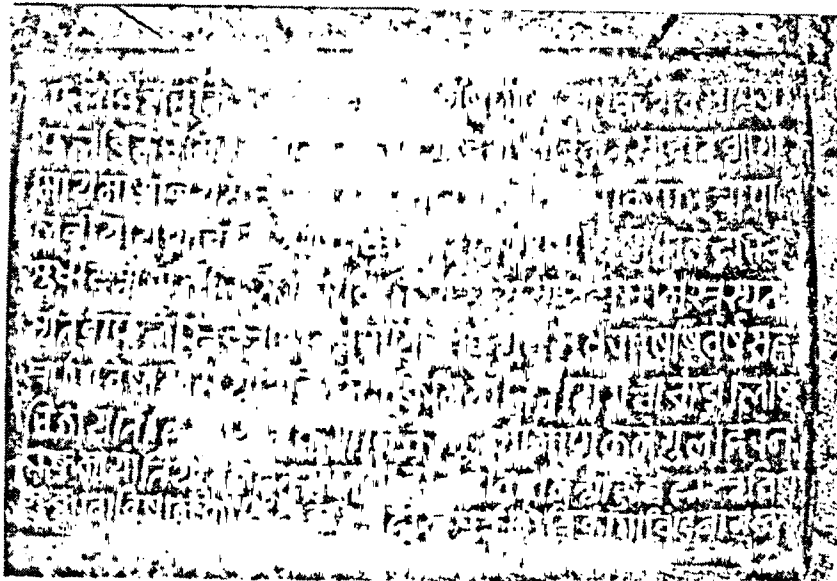


Plate 3



## KṚITA SAMVAT IN INSCRIPTIONS

Rai Gyan Narain Prasad

**Introduction :** Around the first century BC, there began an 'Era' whose beginner's name is still obscure. On the basis of literature and inscriptions, 57 BC as the beginning date for the era is a reasonable estimate and concerning its name we find three terms (i) Kṛita samvat (ii) Mālava samvat and (iii) Vikrama samvat. In Central India and Rajaputana, we have a number of inscriptions dated in Kṛita samvat. Why this was designated as Kṛita samvat and who started this era, is the obscure till today. Marshall says that it was started by Śaka king Ayasa in 57 B.C. Gopala Swami Ayer attributed it to Chashtana. K.P. Jaiswal assumed that Gōtamīputra Sātakarṇi began it after the extermination of Śakas. Altekar attributed it to a king or a commander whose personal name was Kṛita. The root cause for these speculations was that there is no historical proof for the existence of any king of Mālava around 57 B.C. named Vikramāditya who exterminated the Śakas. Because this era was originally known as Kṛita samvat it is better to postulate that it has some definite link to the ancient Hindu calendar whose basic unit was *chaturyuga*; and, Kṛita-yuga was its first *yuga*. This era might have some definite geographical - astronomical significance related to the prime meridian of earth rather than to any historical era related to a king. All the Kṛita era inscriptions ranging from 282 to 480, record years which are called simply Kṛita and do not make the slightest mention of Mālava or the Mālavas. These two points are of great importance. The first is that these years are in no way connected with the Mālava, whatever it may mean. The second point is that the years are then called Kṛita and are nowhere spoken of as belonging to any era. In inscriptions, the suspicion is likely to arise that as the Kṛita is here in opposition to *varsha* or *vatsara*, the former may after all be an adjective of the latter. There was, however, no evidence in support of it. In the Yūpa inscriptions of Badva and Bemala the word '*Kṛitēhi*' occurs alone and by itself without being preceded or followed by *varsha* or *vatsara*. This shows without even the least shadow of a doubt that '*Kṛitēhi*' stands for *Kṛitaiḥ* and means *Kṛitaiḥ (gataiḥ)* "when the Kṛita years (had elapsed). In other words, Kṛita by itself denotes the Kṛita year, and the Mandasore inscription of Naravarman (no.14) was correct in calling the year 461 (passed) of its date as Kṛita, which was in fact, the designation of these years.

**Date of Kṛita era as in Purāṇas**

Purāṇas often mention the *chaturyuga* chronology as follows :

chatvāryāhus-sahasrāṇi varshāṇām tat-kṛitaṃyugam |  
 tasya tāvach-chhatō sandhyā sandhyāṃśās-cha - tathāvidhaḥ||  
 trīṇi-varsha - sahasrāṇi varshāṇām cha vidur-budhāḥ |  
 śatāni shaṭ - cha Rājendra sandhyā - sandhyāṃśāśyō-pātrīkh|  
 varshāṇām dvē-sahasrē tu Dvāparē parikīrtitē |  
 chatvāri cha śatāny-āhuḥ sandhyāsandhyāṃśāśyō |  
 sahasra kathitam tishyē śata-dvaya samanvitam|  
 ētad dvādaśa sahasraṃ dēvānām yugam-uchyatē|

Thus Kṛitayuga had a period of (4000+800=)4800 years and then Trētāyuga : (3000+600=)3600 years; Dvāparayuga: (2000+400=)2400 years and Kaliyuga : (1000+200=)1200 years. This system, in fact, according to my calculations and belief was due to the reversal of Kṛita: 1200 years and Kali: 4800 years because the term Kṛita is nearer to the Indo-European term 'Quarter' (after reducing the vowels) rather than to 'four', while 'Kali' was certainly equivalent to full i.e. one. Any way, during the time of the Nanda dynasty rule, the reversed (or modified) reckoning was in currency, According to which it was believed that Kaliyuga has an actual period of 1200 years only:

yāvat sa pāda - padmābhyām sprīśann-āste Ramāpatih|  
 tāvat kalir-vai - pṛithvīm parākrāntum na-ch-aśakat |  
 yadā - dēvarshayaḥ sapta maghāsu vicharanti hi|  
 tadā pravṛittas tu kali - dvādaś - ābda - śatatmakah |  
 yadā maghābhyō yāsyanti pūrvāshāḍhā maharshayaḥ  
 tadā - Nandāt prabhṛityēsha - Kalir-vṛiddhim gamishyati|

Till lord Kṛishṇa touched the earth with his holy lotus-feet, the Kaliyuga could not move along with earth. When lord Kṛishṇa left the earth and Saptarishis left the Maghānakshatra, the Kaliyuga of 1200 years began. When Saptarishis could reach Pūrvāshāḍha in the reign of Nanda and successors i.e., then the Kali would attain its full strength. *Bhavishya Purāṇa, Pratisarga Parvan, Bharatakhaṇḍasth-āshṭādaśa Rājyasthāna* chapter clearly states :

Prātaḥ - kālē cha samprāptē Pāṇḍavāḥ putra-śōkināḥ  
 prēta-kāryāni te kṛtvā Bhīṣm-āntikam-upāyayuh  
 rājadharmān - mōksha - dharmān - dāna - dharmān - vibhāgaśaḥ  
 śrutvā - yajann-aśvamēdhams-tribhir - uttama-karmabhiḥ  
 shaṭ-trimśad -abda-rājyam hi - kṛtvā svargapuram yayuh  
 jānishyantē tadēsā vai Kali-dharma-vivṛiddhayē  
 ityuktvā sa muniḥ sarvān punaḥ sūtivādishyati  
 gachchha tvam munayaḥ sarvē yōganidrāvaśo' hśy-aham  
 chakratīrtha samādhisthō hyāyēham triguṇātparam  
 iti śrutvā tu munayō Naimishāraṇya - vāsinaḥ  
 yōga-siddhim samāsthāya gamisyaṁty-ātmanō'ntikē  
 dvādaśābda-śatē kālē'tītē tē śaunak-ādayaḥ  
 utthāya dēvakhātē cha snānādhy - ādikāḥ kriyāḥ  
 kṛtvā sūt-antikam gatvā vadishyati punar-vachaḥ  
 Vikram-ākhyāna-kālō'yam Dvāparē cha Śiv-ājñayā  
 vinitān-bhagavān-bhūtōdadā tān-nṛipatīn-pada  
 svarga gatē Vikramādityē rājānām bahudh-ābhavan  
 tad-āshṭādaśa-rājyāni tēshām nāmāni mē śruṇu

The Pāṇḍavas paid after-death homage (i.e. *prēta-karma* rituals) to their sons and elders who died in the battle of Mahābhārata and went to heaven after 36 years of ruling. Then Kaliyuga began. Then sages meditated at Chakratīrtha. After 1200 years elapsed, sages awakened from the meditation, took their bath and performed necessary morning rituals. Sūta informed that now it was the period of Vikramāditya's narration. Thus the theoretical beginning of Kṛta yuga of next cycle (assuming the purānic duration of Kaliyuga was of 1200 years only) as proposed on the basis of *chaturyuga* calendar in my works was with (1308 B.C - 1200 years =) 108 B.C. But the 108 B.C. beginning of this Kṛta yuga may further be trimmed in the light of the following verses of Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa, 1st Skanda, ch.18, verses 5-6

tāvat-kalir-na prabhavēt - pravishṭō'- pīha sarvataḥ  
 yāvad-īśo mahān-urvyām - Abhimanyava ēkarāṭ  
 Yasminn-ahani yarhyēva bhagavān utsa-sarga gām  
 tad - aiv-ēhānuvṛitto' - sāve - dharma - prabhavaḥ kalih

Kaliyuga though sprew all over the world did not become effective till Parīkshit

II, the son of Abhimanyu, who reigned as king. Although, in reality, Kaliyuga, the cause of irreligion, wrapped the world on that very date on which lord Kṛishṇa left the world <sup>6</sup>. In my calculations Parīkshit was born during the Mahābhārata war in 1350/1351 B.C and sources tell that he lived for 96 years and ruled around 60 years. Thus the final beginning of the Kaliyuga of 1200 years with/or around (1351 B/C - 96 years = ) 1255 B.C, and consequently the fresh Kṛitayuga of puranic belief may begin around (1255 B.C - 1200 years =) 55 B.C. In fact, it is this Kṛitayuga which is mentioned in the inscriptions around Mālava region during the beginning centuries of Christian era without connecting it with any king and later (Gangdhar ins. of 480 Kṛita = 423 A.D) with Mālava-gaṇa and still later (Dhōlapūr ins. of 898 Vikrama year = 841 A.D) with the legendary king Vikramāditya era's of 57 B.C

#### Notes and References :

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## A COPPER PLATE GRANT FROM KOLASIRASI

Rajaram Hegde

Recently, an unpublished copper plate grant was acquired from one Sri Sadasivagauda of Kolasirsi village in Siddapur Taluk, North Kanara District. This is a single plate having a size of 17.5 X 20 cm., its top edges being rounded, a hole being provided at the top. A ring with an emblem should have been there originally which could not be produced by the owner. Symbols of sun and moon are engraved on right and left sides of this hole respectively. The plate is written in Kannada script and language.

The charter states that while Sadāśivarāya was ruling from Vidyānagara, Arasappa Nāyaka of Chandragiri-Vaṁśa, Kauśika gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra was governing Kuppaṭūru. Also states that the *gaudike* of Nēralige village was granted to one Kaṇala Rudrappa. Excluding the income from grants made over to the gods Vīrabhadra, Chaturmukha and Rāmanātha of Nēralige, the remaining revenue from this village, *śistu gadyāṇa* 146, had to be remitted to the palace and recorded annually by Rudrappa. The inscription also records a tract of agricultural land in this village being granted as *umbali-sarvamānya* to Rudrappa. Veṅkaṭādri was the executor of the grant.

The boundaries of the village are specified as: a *jōgiśūla - mudre* post on the east; a *bhadraśilā* and a *śilādaṇḍa* on the embankment of Siddekoḷa on the south; the *Liṅgamudre* in Haranakaṭṭe of Tirumalapura and *Nāgamudre* in the fields of Sankinaiah on the west; the *Vāmana-mudrādaṇḍa* of Bommarasikoppa on the North; and *Vāmana mudrāśilā* in the boundary of Agasanahalli village in the north-east. Rudrappa should enjoy the *kānu*, *kāḍāraṁbha*, *nīrāraṁbha*, *bhūrādāya*, *svarṇādāya*, *nidhi*, *nikshēpa*, *jala*, *pāshāṇa*, *hakalu*, *mūlakāraka*, *kaṇṭavaṇa*, *kāsāvarga*, *vibhāya suṅka* of the village boundary, *charādāya*, *śāsikaṭale*, etc. within the limits of this village.

The record seems to be a later copy of an original inscription. The possessor of this grant at present claims that this belongs to his ancestors who hailed from Nēralige village. His family details recorded systematically in the *kaḍita*s has been recopied in a notebook recently. The *kaḍita*, of the 19th century, contains a copy of this record with lot of distortions and errors. This copper plate was the

source for that copy. Perhaps the original record was copied on this copper plate at later date for reasons unknown. This record fails to provide a correct date of the original deed.

The date on the obverse side is given as Śaka 1556 without the name of the cyclic year whereas on the reverse side it is Śaka 1456 of Śrīmukha-saṁvatsara which do not tally. The subsequent copies of this record provide the date as Śaka 1456 excepting one which gives Śaka 1496 for Śrīmukha - saṁvatsara. Taking the saṁvatsara engraved at the top of the front side of the plate, it may be said that the engraver was sure about the name of the cyclic year. If we go by the cyclic year it would be 1514 or 1574 A.D, but if it is Śaka year 1456 then it would correspond to 1534-35 A.D. The Śaka year cannot be 1556 since it would give an equivalent date of 1634 A.D. which is impossible. This record registers a deed of agreement that was entered into during the period of Arasappanāyaka II of Sode family, most probably in 1574-75 A.D., which falls in the cyclic year Śrīmukha. Perhaps, to avoid this confusion about the Śaka year, the copier has added the line *Śrīmukha-saṁvatsarada* at the top of the copper-plate.

The plate contains the matter of a genuine deed which was recopied at a later period. The dates must have been erred while copying. This can be substantiated by the other details of this record. From the format and style of the record it may be assigned to 16th century A.D. This record belongs to the rulers of Sode. The administrative terms like *sistu*, *bidaru*, etc., are also in accordance with the usage of that period. The geographical descriptions tally with the present Neralige village near Kuppaṭūr. The vilalges Agasanahalli, Bommarasikoppa, Mūgūru are the surrounding villages of Neralige. We have no recorded information about the earlier temple excepting the architectural evidence. One of the *kūṭas* of this temple was converted into Virabhadra shrine having an entrance on the opposite side of the other two *kūṭas*. The present record also mentions the other two gods in the temple as Chaturmukha Brahmā and Rāmanātha. According to an inscription from the Virabhadra temple, Arasamma of Sode made a grant to this temple in Pramādi-saṁvatsara falling in the year 1520 or 1580 A.D.) of the land below Kaṇakaṭṭe of Neralige village. This land was donated as a compensation for an already granted land of 3 *khaṇḍuga*, situated below Saṅgi-ṣeṭṭi's tank of Timmāpura, which got submerged in water while constructing a tank at Mūgūru-agrahāra.

The present record recounts the earlier grant of 55 *gadyāṇas* at Kaṇakaṭṭe to Vīrabhadra when the *gaḍḍike* was granted to Rudrappa. This record refers to the submerged land in Tirumalāpura for which a land below the Mūgūru tank had also been granted as compensation. Thus the inscription at Vīrabhadra temple corroborates the present record. As per the record the image of God Vīrabhadra was brought from Beḷagutti Beḷagāru by Rudrappa-gauḍa of Kaṇaḷe. Vīrabhadra is said to have appeared in his dream which made him to bring the god from Beḷagutti to instal here. The alterations to the early medieval temple also must have been made at this time. The grant by Arasamma could only follow this event. The *gaḍḍike* to Rudrappa was obviously granted in his life time. Thus the Śrīmukha-saṁvatsara in this record seems to have immediately followed the Pramādi of Arasamma's grant.

#### Historical importance of this record :

The present grant furnishes valuable information about the earliest phase of the Sōde rulers. As far as Arasappa is concerned, the copper plate does not mention him as a Sōde ruler but, as one belonging to Chandragiri-vaṁśa. Arasappa-nāyaka II of Sōde (1555-1603 A.D.) is also described in a record of 1571 A.D. as belonging to Kauśika- gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra. Again it is said that Arasappa belonged to Chandragiri- *vaṁśa* and to have ruled over the Kuppaṭūru *sīme* according to the orders of Kuvara Veṅkaṭādrī. Arasappa-nāyaka obtained this as a gift. The name 'Śrī Vīra Sadāśivarāyaru' which is written at the top of the plate suggests that he was the ruling king. After the fall of the Vijayanagara empire Sadāśivarāya was kept at Chandragiri in Tamilnadu and Tirumala of Āraṁḍu line was the de-facto ruler who ruled from Penugoṇḍa till 1570 and thereafter assumed independence. Veṅkaṭādrī was Tirumala's younger brother who played an important role in his administration. Veṅkaṭādrī had also held important position in Vijayanagara as a military commander of his elder brother Aḷiya Rāmarāya. It is not unlikely that Kuvara Veṅkaṭādrī exercised a special power in the administration of this region as an appointing authority. Since this record traces Arasappa's *vaṁśa* to Chandragiri, and Sōde rulers traced it to Sadāśivarāya with pride this must have taken place after the settlement of Sadāśivarāya at Chandragiri and Veṅkaṭādrī rising to prominence. Thus it may be suggested that Śrīmukha-saṁvatsara falling in 1574 A.D. may be the date of this record. The last date of Sadāśivarāya is generally accepted as 1570 A.D. Considering the fact that he is mentioned in the Sōde inscription even after 1570,

and Sadāśivarāya is not mentioned in the operative part of the record, we may conclude that the Śrīmukha-saṁvatsara of the present grant seems to be the year of this deed.

The above discussion help us to identify Arasappa-nāyaka with Arasappa-nāyakaII of the Sōde family. This ruler has left a few inscriptions of which the one from Banavāsi dated 1571 A.D. is nearer to the present record from various points of view. According to this record, Śrīmannāḷva mahāprabhu immāḍi Arasappa-nāyaka of Sōde, who belonged to Kauśika gōtra and Āpastamba sūtra was ruling, according to the *nirūpa* of Raṅgapparājayya, son of Rāmarāja who and Venkaṭādri were executors of Sadāśivarāya's powers. It seems that there was a great confusion about the execution of central authority over the regional kingdoms among the Āraṁḍu rulers in this time. Thus we get the names of many rulers of that line in a single record.

A lady called Arasamma, daughter of Arasappa-nāyaka made grants to the god Narasiṁha of Banavāsi in a record of 1571. If she is the same lady who made grants to the god Vīrabhadra of Nēralige, we may have to accept the date of 1554 A.D. falling in Pramādi-saṁvatsara mentioned in the inscription of that place. After about 20 years later, the *gaudike* was granted to one Rudrappa.

It is possible that before 1554-55 A.D., a land grant should have been made to god Vīrabhadra at Nēralige probably by Sōde rulers. This land was situated below the tank of Timmāpura which was submerged when a new tank was constructed below the above tank. The loss to the temple was compensated by new grants in the Pramādi-saṁvatsara (1554-55 A.D.) by Sōde Arasamma, daughter of Arasappa-nāyaka II. Thus a piece of land granted at Mūgūru as a compensation was included in the boundary of Nēralige.

#### Text

#### Front Side

Śrīmukha saṁvatsarada

Śrī Virūpāksha

Śrī Pratāpa Sadāśivarāyaru

1. Svasti Śrī ōm nama śivāya būshita kānanā-jñā -
2. naiśvarya mahātmanē saṁkalpa-sakala-bramaha- sambavē ha-



3. rērlīla-varāha mudrā śikhā śrī rājādhirāja a-
4. khaṁḍa tējōmaya sidhāṁta āṛta trāṇa parāyaṇa
5. mahāllīṅga dēvatā sārvaḥauma tuṅgabhadrātīravāsa-
6. 'paṁpā kshetrādhishṭita Śrī Vidyānagarav-anēka-maṇi-khachita simhāsanā-
7. rūḍharāgi kampaṇādi sakala rājyavaṁ sukhakathā vinōḍāv-aniya
8. pratipālisuva kāladalu kuvara Veṁkaṭādrirāyara
9. nirūpadim̄ avara kāryake kartarāda śrī ma.. sthala Chamdragi-
10. ri-vaṁśasta Kauśika gōtrada Āpastambha sūtrada mahāprabhu-Arasa-
11. ppa-nāyakarū tamage kāṇacheyāgi āli anubhaviśi baruyida Ku-
12. ppuṭūra-śīme vaḷagaṇa Nērilige-grāmau pūrvakṛita prabhūlīna-gau-
13. ḍikeyannu kānale rudrapage vala (gr?)āma sampradāyage baradu pāli-
14. sidha Nērilige-grāma gauḍake mūla sādana kramav-eṁdare || dēvaru
15. Beḷagutiyaṁda svapnamukhadi śidiśi śrī jayā śālivā[ha]na-
16. Śaka varsha 15[46?] neya Mārga śu 15 Sōma lū || || dēvarige
17. amṛitapaḍi naṁdādīpa aṁga bōge ke Kaṇakaṭe-sthala ga 55-
18. nu dāsōha dharma Basavapura ga 12 nu ninage yī Nēralige-grā
19. mada gauḍike umbali sarvamānya bhūmilū āgade(te?) tela kha 25//
20. nuḷidu sēri bahadaku ā śu ga 2 Chaturmukha Brahma /3/ Rāmanātha
21. /12// // ku naṁdādīpake /6/ dēvargge /3// purōhita /3/ grāṇake 6//
22. grāmaku /2/ mulānusa biḍāru 2 nuḷidu śudhaśistu ga 146//
23. aramane rājavannu koṭa naṭava tagaśikoṁḍu baha -

24. du yi grāma chaturgaḍi

Back Side

25. pūvadi jōgi śūla mudrā daṁḍa śilā da-

26. kshiṇadi badraśilā śilā śidekoḷuda yeru śilādaṁḍa -

27. śilā | paśchimadi tirumalādi haranakaṭe keḷa liṅga mu-

28. drā kaikereyoḷagāda śamkinaina (na) kaṭe prati Mūgūru-ga -

29. deyalū tuṁḍu 2 ralū nāgamudre | uttarādi Bommarasīkopada -

30. vāmana mudrādaṁḍa śilā yīśānya agasana haḷi gaḍi vāmana -

31. mudrā śilādaṁḍa vihadu yi Nērilige-grāma chaturgaḍiyimḍoḷagāda

32. kānu kāḍāraṁba nīrāraṁba būrādāya svarṇādāya nidhi nikshēpa [jala?]

33. pāshaṇa hakalu mūlakāraka kaṁṭavaṇa kāśāvarga grāmada gaḍiya

34. vibāyasumka charādāya sasikaṭaleya ... moda.. da bāga

35. muṁtāda .. yīśidukoṁḍa marvādi | ādāya hāgava .. ṭudu

36. dāsōhada varga saṇakāḍa grāmadaḷu ka. keya ga//5//ba.lādahā-

37. yavaṁnu naḍasikoṁḍu bahadu-yeṁdu baradu pālisida śāsanaku

38. sākshāditya-chamdrānalo naraṁ cha hṛittim | jitēna labhyate nā  
maraṇe-raṇe

39. dine dine saṁprātamāna pradhi| dinē dinē grāma pradhi|

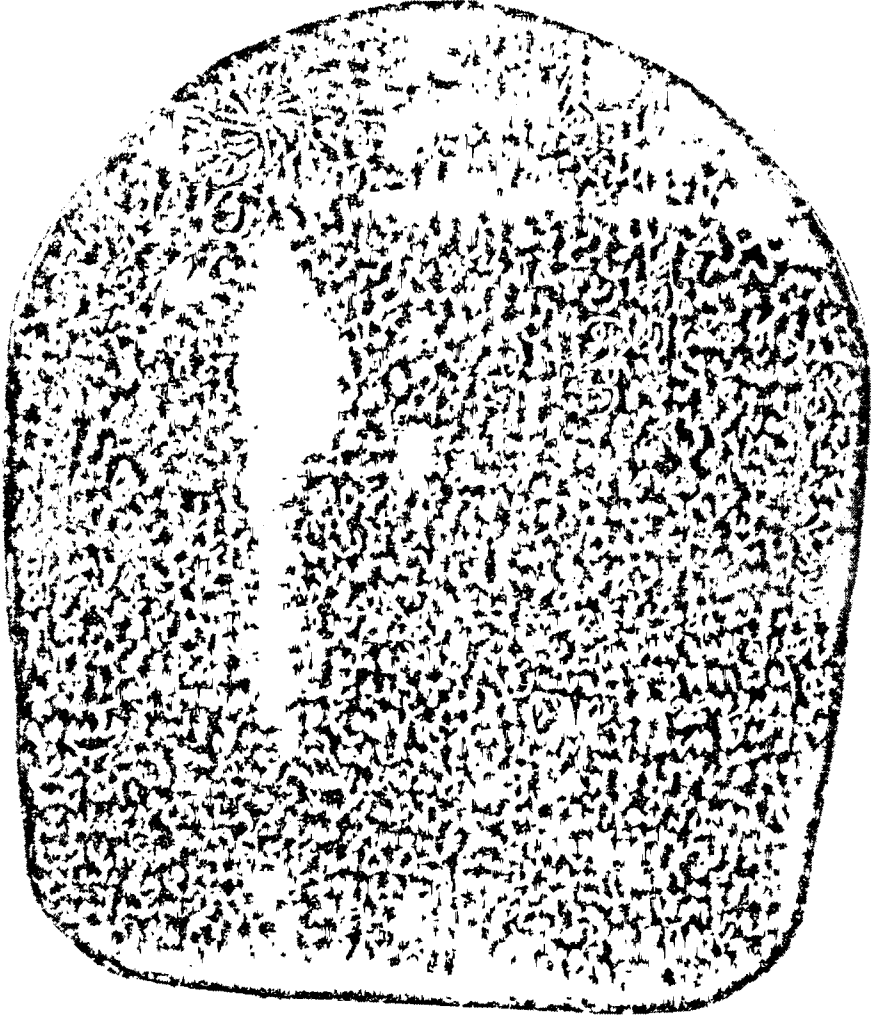
40. da ga 6/3 (?)/(?)/12 ga//6/1-/oṁḍu/(?)/.....ko//114/va

41. yī Nēraligē-grāmada oḷagāda kāḍihaḷi gaḍa sivapājiya aṁ-

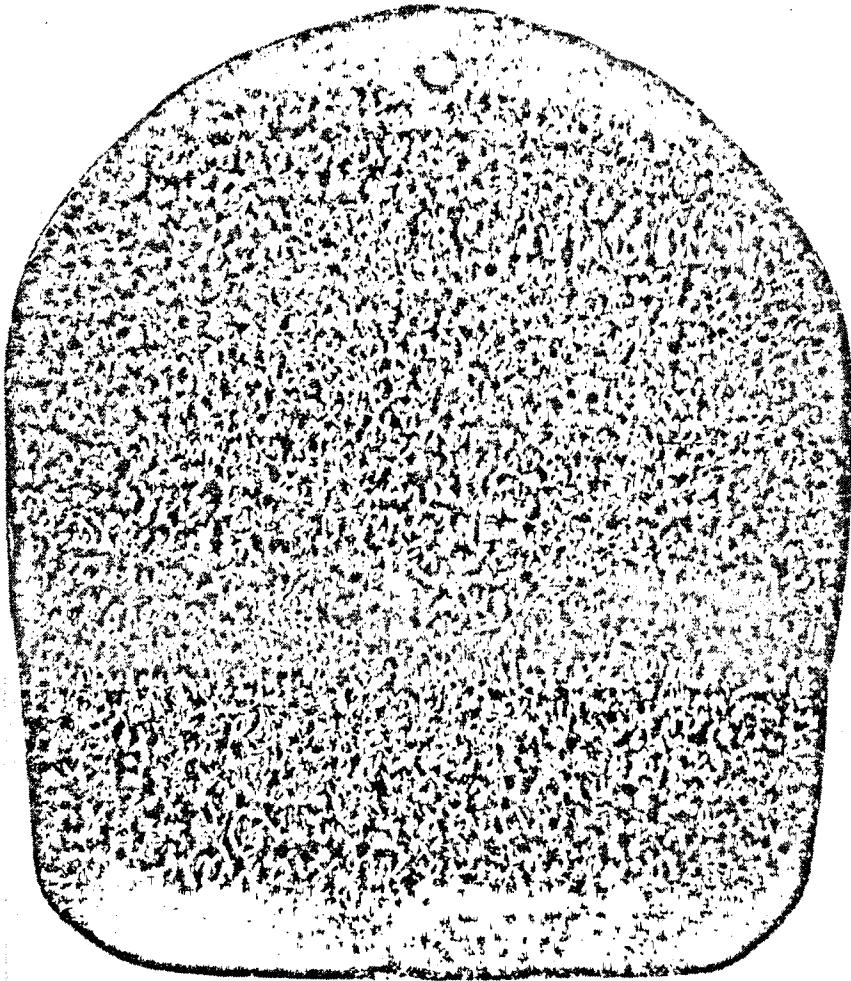
42. ṇanige baradu pālisida kra...koḍiyaḷi śāsanava sādana saṁpradāya

43. veṁdu/1/tāmrada halage sādaneṁdu/1/tamaṁdu/1/ silāpra-

44. sāmpradāyyaka Rudrapagaṇḍage rudramage saluvadu
45. Timalāpura Basavāpura saluvadu-yaṁdu baradu paliśida
46. śāsanakam....śrī sadā| śālivāhana Śakavarsha
47. 1456 Śrīmukha saṁvatsara Mārgaśīrsa śu/1/(?) 1u Ā-
48. divāra// śrī Sadāśivāya śuba// gōvatsa varāha mudrā.....



A Copper plate grant from Kolasirasi : - Front side



A Copper plate grant from Kolasirasi : - Back side

## IMPORTANCE OF COMPUTER IN THE STUDY OF PALAEOGRAPHY

H.R. Nagaraja Sharma

Various source materials are being used in the reconstruction of History. Among them, antiquities, written documents, coins and architectural sources are mostly relied upon. 'Writings' as source of History are more dependable than others and are very rich in information about the past. It is very interesting to note that 'writing' is not only a source of the History, but also has history of its own. In fact, like any other thing on the earth, 'writing' also has history of birth and growth, which is identified as the evolution of writing. Alphabets, what we read and write today, were not of the same shape or size hundreds of years ago. Characters of a particular language have changed like an animated image from century to century with particular intention or sometimes without it.

Among many branches of History, the study of writing is also an interesting field and has been identified as palaeography. The contribution of palaeography is considerable in establishing the date of a particular script, which is a most important factor while considering the authenticity of a piece of writing. Many fake documents have misled the historians into chaos. The contributions of Palaeography in this regard are immense and invaluable. While using Palaeography as a tool, we depend upon some other technologies to enrich palaeographic aspects which may be considered as tools or sub-tools.

Photography, xeroxing and estampaging, etc., are some of the tools used in the study of palaeography. Writings of the stone inscriptions, copper plates and old manuscripts are made easily readable with the above tools. In the evolution of these tools the modern computers play an important role, which supercedes the earlier tools manifold. Discussing the importance and efficiency of the computer as a tool in the study of palaeography is the aim of this paper.

Modern computers perhaps are the only equipments in the history of mankind, which have come to occupy the most popular place in a short period. Within a span of 20-25 years, these magical boxes have entered various chambers like Scientists' laboratory to school boys' study tables. During the first generation, computers performed the role of just a developed calculator and a typewriter.

Today, the contribution of a computer to a historian is not confined to a typewriter, but it is a powerful assistant! Computers are capable of storing enormous data which can be retrieved within the shortest possible time very precisely.

Though common man today is utilizing most of the computers for very simple operations like word processing and data processing, some of its special features like "type assist" and "multimedia" can further add new dimensions to the computer presentations. By conversion of dictated voice into script through 'Type assist' software a lot of human power and time are saved. It is the common requirement of a researcher to copy lengthy notes from many printed books in the Library. Copying notes of many pages, either manually or even by typing through typewriter, is a tedious job and time consuming. A computer will be very helpful in this regard with its word processing feature with undoing and auto-text facilities. It is also possible to copy the notes from a book by scanning the pages through a scanner (almost similar to xeroxing), instead of typing them. This scanned text image can only be referred to in future, but, it is not possible to edit or alter it for further requirement. Some latest software have improved further and the job of typing the notes is made easier. Thanks to the newly developed 'Optical Character Recognition' (OCR) software which will not only scan the text from a printed book but also convert scanned text into editable text as if it is typed afresh in the computer. OCR software development is a highly expensive programme and hence, this software is available only to convert Roman texts (English) so far. Some Indian software companies are experimenting in this regard and the days are not far for having OCRs for Indian printed or even handwritten scripts like Nāgarī, Hindi and other vernacular languages.

**Image Processing :** As against the common operations of a computer, image processing is a new field, which was not very familiar till recently. Image processing software has enhanced the capability of personal computers from the level of office assistant to that of a full-fledged assistant of an Artist's Studio. Before the advent of the image processing software, the researcher in Epigraphy or Archaeology had to depend on the conventional technologies such as photography and xeroxing, which would consume very long time and labour including heavy expenditure.

While studying the script of a stone inscription, an epigraphist has to copy it

manually on paper in the form of estampage, which will be very huge in size. Hence a photocopy of the estampage will be prepared through camera and it will be reduced to handy size for further operations. The epigraphist can work comfortably on the photo or xerox copy and eliminate unwanted spots, which distract the writing. Epigraphist has to work on many photo copies for his variant reading and hence, more photo copies are to be prepared which would be quite expensive. In addition to photography, a few inexpensive xerox copies will come to the rescue of a researcher's pocket. Retouching can be done on these xerox copies and reading can be improved manually.

Modern computers are capable of undertaking these tasks such as obtaining more copies of images and enhancing them without extra manpower or time. Original photocopy of the inscriptions can be digitized through scanning or it can be re-photographed through Digital Camera without extra cost and labour. Converting a picture, such as drawing, photograph or even manuscript into computer format is called as 'Digitization'. It is commonly identified as scanning. The original image of the estampage (manually prepared paper copy) could be digitized and stored in computer for future operations. The huge size paper copy of the inscription should be photographed conventionally and made available for scanning with smaller size. This procedure can also be made simple by directly photographing the huge paper copy through digital camera, instead of scanning it. Once the image is digitized and stored in the P.C., the image can be easily manipulated into many copies of different shades<sup>1</sup>. Different areas of the script in the copy are made more legible in different shades and hence, many copies of varied shades may be prepared on the screen for proper reading. Sometimes, instead of reading the script in normal shade, it may be easily identified and read in the negative shades, where white letters appear black and black background as white. This process is quite expensive and cumbersome in conventional photography. But, this effect can be achieved through computers without any extra cost and with little movements of the operator's fingers.

The unwanted white spots in the photocopy, which distract the reading, are to be eliminated manually through re-touching method. These undesired spots are called 'visual noise' in computer language and elimination of these is 'removal of noise'. White dots on the photocopy are manually spotted (covered) with pencil and removed by using electronic colour through the computer mouse. Some computer software can even eliminate hundreds of unwanted dots in the image

by a single command and within fraction of a second. As the images of the inscription on the computer screen cost much less, any number of such attempts may be made through P.C. For the task of noise removal in the manual process, the miniature size of photograph is not a comfortable one. But, the computer has the ability of magnifying the image on the screen manifold. Comfortable noise removal or retouching is possible on this magnified view of image.

Computer's capability is not confined only to doing wonderful jobs, but it is astonishing to understand the 'undoing' capacity of this magical box. The performed task, if found not satisfactory or undesired, can be cancelled and brought back to the previous state by 'undoing the job done. Computer's manipulation is not only confined to the view on the monitor, but the image can also be printed into a hard copy.

**Working with manuscripts :** Contribution of P.C. is also considerable in the study of manuscripts, which is a branch of Epigraphy. Writing, sometimes, may not be legible on the ancient palm leaf manuscripts as well as on paper base. It is also possible that the fragile manuscript might have been torn into many pieces. There is also possibility of manuscripts turning into yellow tinge or some other shade. In all these cases, it will be very difficult to decipher the writing properly. Though conventional photography contributes a little in solving these problems, it is really stunning to note the contributions of the modern computer, which solves the above problems very easily.

The digitized manuscripts may be manipulated easily on the monitor (screen of the computer) with great flexibility. Some software are specially prepared for image processing and through them it would be a child's play to perform the tasks and obtaining stunning results, which would not be possible manually or even by means of any other technology. A faded manuscript, which has turned into a particular shade of yellow or brown, can be brought back to its original nature. When the pieces of torn manuscripts are placed together on the Scanner and digitized, the image appears to be almost intact. A computer image artist may do some minor touchups and bring back the manuscript almost to its original form. Pinholes are very common in ancient manuscripts due to the hazards of silver fish and other insects when it is stored untouched for long years. Proper reading of such manuscripts would be very difficult and confusing. Now, the procedure of adding the missing letters by copying them from elsewhere from the



same manuscript is also being experimented with for convenient reading.

The scholar, whether he manipulates the image of manuscripts manually or through computer technology, should preserve one copy of the untouched image for more than one reason. It is the responsibility of the researcher to be sincere in passing on the untouched original image for reference to the future scholars. We should not forget that the manipulation is limited to the scholar's imagination and not the actual fact itself. It cannot be ruled out that the present reading or manipulation of a script may be read or explained in a different manner by a future researcher. It is strongly recommended that the original image (first copy of the digitized image) is stored separately without any modification maintaining status quo for its authenticity and antiquity.

**Enhancing the old paintings :** Though we are working with scripts through the image processing software, script will be considered as images or graphics and not as text by the computer. The operator will also treat the script as images and work on them as if he is working with a visual picture. In addition to the script in the manuscripts, it is also possible to come across some old illustrations. The coloured illustrations may not be well preserved or may have even faded due to ageing. Such faded or defaced illustrations may be enhanced through image processing software and can be brought back to their original status. Different tools available in the software such as brush, sprayer and rubber will serve as useful tools in the hands of a skilled computer artist. Though it is desirable to master the processing skill in order to obtain professional results of retouching, basic familiarity of the software will also help the operator to some extent in face-lifting the illustrations.

**Multiple Storage System :** In addition to the computer's ability of image processing, the multimedia capability of the modern P.Cs can be used for public presentations. The animation of sequential pictures and audio effect including musical sounds are some special features of the multimedia computers. Apart from the huge data storage ability in the form of text, the data may be stored in the form of drawings, photos, sounds, animations or even video clips. The retrieval of these different forms is also very fast and simple, if the technique is properly understood and applied.

**Is P.C. a substitute for human brain ?** Due to its stunning capacity of speed and huge data storage ability, the computer is accepted as a super machine of

this century. Its calculating ability and task performing process are hundreds of times faster than the human brain and hands. When it is properly programmed, a computer can be a powerful tool and also more prompt and punctual than a human servant. Due to its super power, the computer has created an impression in the common man's mind that this instrument may supercede the human brain and that even a day might come when the computer will boss over the humans. But, there is no room for this misconception and it should be realized that after all the computers are man-made machines and their performance is programmed by human brains only. As the computers do not have 'Intelligence' of their own, it is clear that these super machines are dumb instruments, which will only act as tools in the hands of humans.

Some programmers have made some attempts to enable the computer to transliterate the text of an inscription, written in some ancient language, into contemporary scripts. But, this process is still in the stage of experiment and very far from reality. Clearly legible texts of one language can be automatically converted into scripts (OCR) of another language, which is transcription. But, it is still a dream to convert an illegible image of an ancient writing to a perfect script, either of the same language or the other. Some attempts have been made to differentiate the wanted characters and the unwanted marks of an inscription in the name of Noise removal software. But, it will be almost an impossible task for the computer to differentiate a line formed in the later period and the original line of the writing. An epigraphist with proper palaeographical knowledge only can differentiate between these two. Computer may be a powerful tool in the hands of a skilled epigraphist and it can never be a substitute either for an epigraphist or a historian.

In short, digitization is useful not only for image manipulation and enhancement but also for saving lot of space of storage of voluminous manuscripts. Digitization requires very less space than the conventional storage system of microfilming. The digitized data can be copied and stored in several places, which will be helpful during the hazards of fire and other accidents. Digitized data can be referred to with less effort independently without handling the original manuscript physically. Digitized data can be easily transported electronically, which saves valuable time and money.

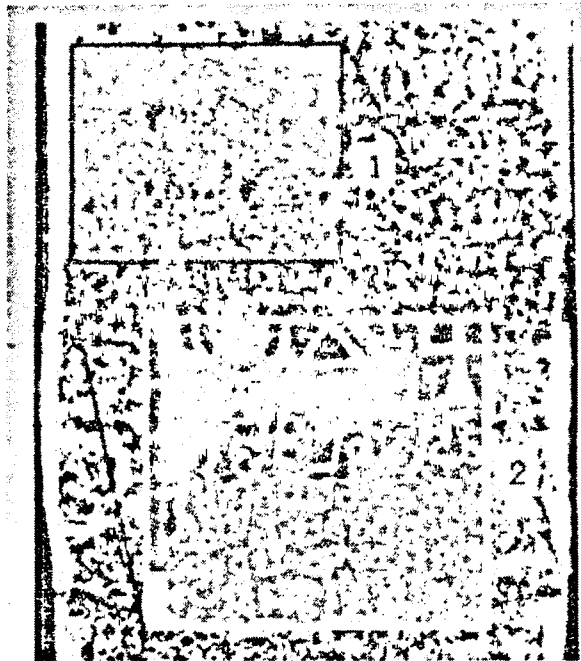
Many traditional scholars find contentment in editing a text and publishing it

through the contemporary language and script, without considering the antique value of the manuscript itself. The manuscript is considered as a container of the text in it. But as an antiquity, the container is also as important as the content and hence, the physical manuscript should also be preserved for posterity. Digitization helps a lot in preserving at least the exact visual image of the manuscript.

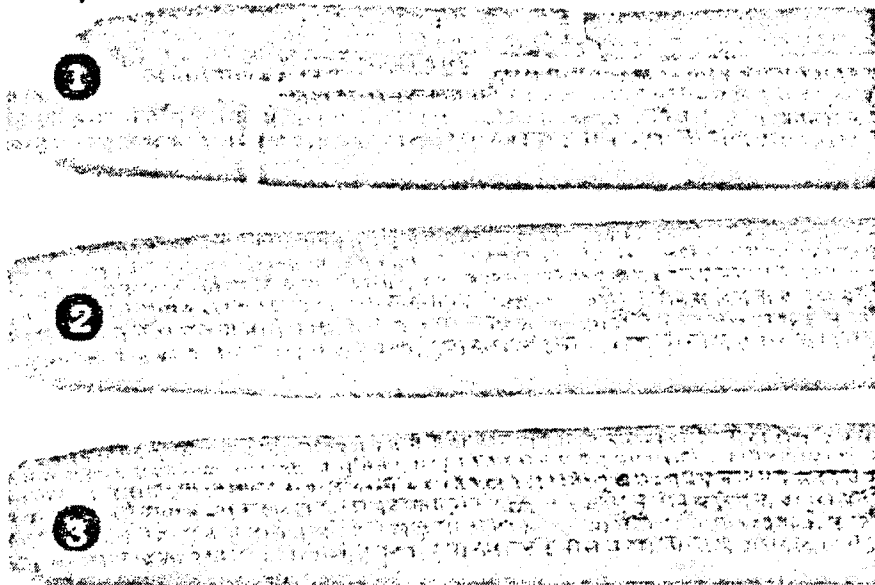
Some software used to illustrate some experiments in this paper are Adobe Photoshop 7 and Coral Photo Paint 9.

#### Notes and References:

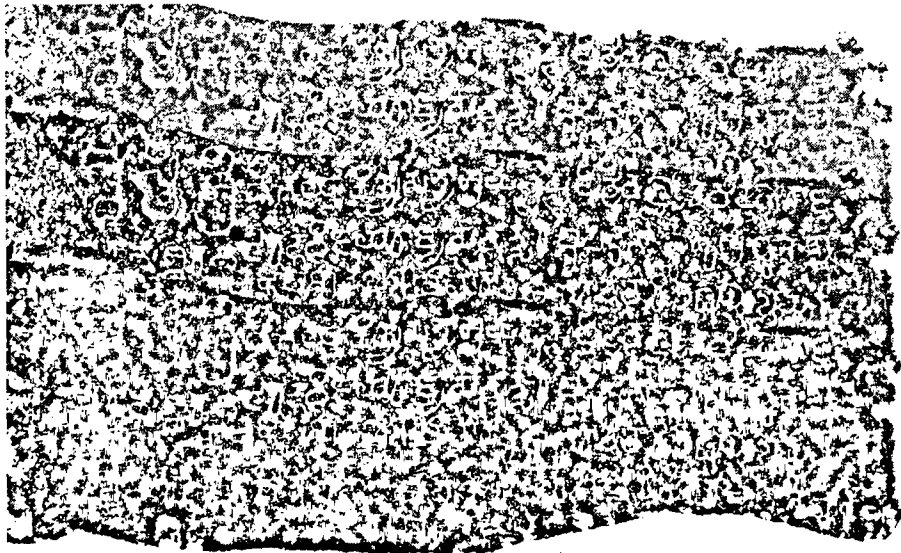
1. *ed.* With the help of the colour copier machine, the negative portion of a copper - plate can be changed to positive and vice-verse and the same can be transformed to a computer for preservation and for easy decipherment. This will also help the epigraphist to decipher the estampage even when not held against light.



Pie. I. 1. Original paper copy  
2 . Magnified view of the enhanced image



Pie. II. 1. Torn pieces of Palm leaf manuscript  
2 . Joined image  
3. Retouched and enhanced image



Pie. III. Different shades of the same copy of the inscription

## NOTES ON A COPPER-PLATE OF VEṅKAṬARĀJA

D. Sankaranarayanan

A set of five copper-plates is reported to have been found in the temple of Veṅkaṭāchalapati at Avaramkāḍu village near Ambāsamudaram in Tirunelveli District, Tamilnadu. This place is located on the northern bank of the river Kaḍanā which takes a northern turn on the eastern side of the temple.

All the plates are held together by a ring with a seal bearing an emblem of the Vijayanagar dynasty. The seal contains a boar with a sword above, moon etc.; it weighs 6 ggs. The length and width of the plates is 27cm by 22.5cms.

The language employed is Sanskrit and Kannaḍa while the script is Nandināgarī and Kannaḍa. The charter belongs to the reign period of Veṅkaṭapatirāya who succeeded Śrīraṅgarāya. The record is dated in chronogram *triṇētra - ksh mā - bāṇa - śītāmśu*) corresponding to the Śaka year 1513 equivalent to 1591 A.D. The other details of date are Vikṛiti, Māgha śu 12, Mṛigaśīrsha. It records the grant of Pallakkal village as *sarvamānya* to the deity Prasanna - Veṅkaṭēśvara along with the usual privileges. The gift has been intended for the benefit of the *upāsikas* who perform 16 types of *upachāras* and to those who do service in the temple. The charter was composed by Kṛishṇakavi, son of Kāmakoṭi and grandson of Sabhāpati. It was written by Śrīvīraṅāchārya, son of Gaṇapati.

The charter begins with an invocation to god Rāma and to the worship of Vishṇu who had taken the Varāha incarnation in order to protect the people. It then gives the mythical and purāṇic genealogy of the donor king. The chandra- *vaṁśd* begins with the Moon-god born from the milky ocean and who helped the *chakōra* birds and the *devas* with nectar. It commences with the birth of Budha from Moon (*chandra*). Budha's son is Purūravas, whose son is Āyush. Āyush had a son Nahusha, whose son was Yayāthi; Yayāthi's son is Puru. In the lunar race was born Bharatha and Santanu-mahārāja, whose fourth descendent was Vijaya (Arjuna). To Arjuna was born Abhimanyu. Later on Parīkshit ruled the kingdom and his eighth descendent was Nanda. Chalikka is the ninth descendent from Nanda. The seventh descendant of Chalikka was Śrīpathiruchi and to him was born the Māyāpuri king. His fourth descendant was Tātapiṅṅama-araśaṅ. Sōmidēva was born to him, and to him Rāghavadēva. Piṅṅamarāja was born

to Rāghavadēva. Then came the Āravīḍu family. Then Bukkarāja ruled. He was followed by Sāḷuva ruler Narasiṃha. Bukka ruled with all fame and with the help of 70,000 armymen. He married Ballāmbikā. He was followed by Rāmarāja, whose queen was Lakkāmbikā. Śrīraṅgarāja was born to them and he married Timmalāmbikā. Tirumalairāya, Rāmarāya and Veṅkaṭādri were the sons of Śrīraṅgarāja.

After Rāmarāja, Tirumala-mahārāyar got crowned. One of his sons, Śrīraṅgarāyar ruled first, following whom Veṅkaṭapatirāya came to rule. He had four wives Veṅkaṭāmbāl, Vararāghavaṃbāl, Peddamāmbāl and Kṛishṇamāmbāl. The king is described with a number of epithets like *Āravīṭipura-hāra-nāyaka*, *santyōbavaragarīḍāṃka*, *siddhānta - kshiti - rakshaka*, *vēṃga - Tribhuvanamalla-saṅkhyā-kshiti - kālārjuna*, *raṇamukharāma*, etc. He was glorified by the kings of Kāmbōja, Kaliṅga and Karahāṭa. He ruled the country according to the edicts of law. He held the *karnāṭa-simhasana*. He controlled the land from Sētu to Himādri.

King was known as *kōnērināma - bhūpāla*. He was dedicated to his guru Parāṅkuśa, a devotee of Vishṇu. In the Tiruvaḍi-rājya, he got raised the *prākāra* wall, painted Dēvarāja-sabhā and a *śilā-stambha*, a *ratna-maṇḍapa* and laid broad streets, etc.

The inscription registers the grant of the village Pallakal in Mulli-nāḍu included in Tiruvaḍi-rājya as *sarvamānya*. The boundaries of the place are specified. They are identifiable. Among them Tiruvālīśvaram, Brahmadēśam, etc., are famous and can be identified with their namesakes. The gift is intended for the worship, food offerings, festival, etc., to the deity Prasanna Veṅkaṭeśa.

## A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM BĀGH

Jai Prakash

The stone inscription edited below for the first time with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, is at present in the possession of the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Bhopal circle, Bhopal. The stone inscription was found in the debris of the Cave No. II on May 5, 1991 at Bāgh<sup>2</sup> in Dhar District in Mandhya Pradesh. My thanks are due to Shri G.T.Shende, the then Superintending Archaeologist in charge, Bhopal circle, Bhopal for not only permitting me to copy the inscription but also supplying me with an excellent photograph of the same. The stone measures 28 cm in length, 14 cm. in breadth and 4 cm in thickness. The inscription consists of seven lines. The average size of the letters is 11 cm.

In this inscription we find that the tops of the letters are triangular with the apex of the triangle downwards or triangular with the apex of the triangle placed uppermost. It is called nail-headed characters. Also we have 'box headed' tops of the letters in the shape of mostly rectangles (filled). Thus the present inscription contains a mixture of three types (i) triangular top with the apex of the triangle downwards, (ii) triangular top with the apex of the triangle placed uppermost and (iii) box headed top. Triangular top with the apex of the triangle downwards can be seen, for instance in *ha* of *hetum* after *prabhavā* in line 1, *ma* of *ima* in line 3, *sa* of *sē* in line 4 and *sa* of *savva* in line 5. Pointed-head or arrow-headed or triangular tops can be seen, for example in *ta* of *hetum* after *tesam* in line 1, *ma* of *samana* in line 3 and *ra* of *ayira* in line 4, etc., Here we find that most of the characters belong to the *bhaikshukī* script which was the writing usually employed by Buddhist *bhikshus* or monks - for which reason it came to be known as *Bhaikshukī* or that of the *bhikshus*.

'Box headed' tops of the letters can be seen, for instance in *dha* of *dhammā*, *pa* of *prabhavā* in line 1, *avachat* in line 2, *s* of *mahās* in line 3, *a* of *abhisam*, *ka* of *kata*, *ma* of *maṇi* in line 5 and *dukkha* of *dukkha samudaya* in line 6.

The language is Pāli greatly influenced by Sanskrit. The inscription bears no date. Palaeographically it may be assigned to about the 7th Century A.D.

As regards orthography, the use of *anusvāra* for the final in *tesaṃ*, *hetuṃ* (l.1), *tēsaṃ*, *evaṃ*(l.2), and the doubling of *m* in *dhammā* (l.1) *t* in *chattāri* (ll.3,5, and 7) *ch* in *sachchāṇi* (ll.4 and 7) and *v* in *savva* (l.5) may be noted. No punctuation mark is found used in the inscription.

The inscription opens with *gāthā* of the chain of causation or Buddhist creed or Buddhist formula in the *Āryā* metre, viz. *Ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā hetuṃ tesaṃ tathāgato avachat (or avadat) tesaṃ cha yo nirodho evaṃ - vādī mahāssamaṇa* [:11].

“The sentient being (i.e. the Buddha) spoke of the cause of the conditions arising from a preceding cause. The great ascetic (i.e., the Buddha) also spoke about their destruction.” The ‘Gāthā of the chain of causation’, as pointed out long ago by T.W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, has a bearing on the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* or *Nidāna-sūtra* which ‘explains the origination and cessation of what are called here “*dhammā hetu prabhavā*”<sup>3</sup>. The Sanskrit version of this stanza is extensively found on Buddhist votive gifts such as images, tablets, plaques, etc., throughout the Buddhist world.<sup>4</sup> The earliest appearance of this stanza (*ye dharmmā*) is seen on a stone inscription (4th c. A.D.) found at Sārnāth<sup>5</sup>, Vāraṇāsi Dist. in U.P.

The above Buddhist creed or formula is followed in the inscription by the four great truths (*chattāri ayira sachchāṇi*) of the Buddhists, viz. *dukkha ayira savva, dukkha samudaya, dukkha nirodho and dukkhanirodhagāmiṇi paṭipada* which means suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the path leading to the cessation of suffering. The ‘four great truths’ are four thesis upon which the whole doctrine of the Buddha is based. It is interesting to note here that the four great truths (*chattāri ayira sachchāṇi*) of the Buddhists are found for the first time in this inscription from Madhya Pradesh and for the second time in this inscription from North India. The first epigraphical reference to the four great truths is provided by a Buddhist inscription<sup>6</sup> (2nd or 3rd Century A.D.) from Sārnāth, Varanasi District of Uttar Pradesh.

Although Āl-Berunī seems to confine the use of the Bhaikshukī script to the monks of Uddandapurā, identified with modern Bihar in the Patna District, the discovery of the Kara inscription<sup>7</sup> in the Allahabad District of U.P., a Buddhist inscription<sup>8</sup> in the Malda District of West Bengal and the present one in the Dhar District of Madhya Pradesh appears to suggest a wider distribution.



Text<sup>9</sup>

1. *Yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā tēsaṃ hēturaṃ tathā-*
2. *gatō avachat-tēsaṃ cha yō nirōdhō ēvaṃ vādī*
3. *mhāssamaṇa [rābhari \*] chattāri ima...kkrama*
4. *ayira sachchāṇi [pāṇa māsā\*] sē i abhiṇa vasachchi ku-*
5. *tta abhisambuddhāṇi kata maṇi chattāri dukkha ayira savva*
6. *dukkha samudaya dukkha nirōdhō dukkhanirōdho-gāmiṇi paṭipa[da\*]*
7. *ayīra sachchā[ṇi\*] imaṇi bhikkhuvē chattāri vaira sachchāṇi .*



A Buddhist Inscription from Bāgh

**Notes and References :**

1. The stone inscription was found by Sri. D.S. Sood, the then Senior Conservation Assistant, Indore and Sri. Mukut Bahadur, the then foreman, Bāgh caves.
2. For the history of the Bagh Caves and the archaeological remains found at that place, see the *Bagh Caves* (1982) by Marshall, Garde, Vogel, Havell and Cousins.
3. *The Sacred Books of the East*, XIII (Oxford, 1881)p.146
4. The latest finds of this kind are from Udayagiri, (Jajpur dist. Orissa) excavations, where many votive stupas, plaques, sculptures and clay seals inscribed with the Buddhist creed have been discovered. See *A.R.Ep.*, 1998-99 and 1999-2000.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX pp.291-293.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol.IX. p.292.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol.XXII pp.37-39.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol.XXVIII pp.224-226.
9. From estampages and photograph.

## TĪTTĀṆḌATĀṆAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF CHADAIYAVARMAṆ VĪRAPĀṆḌYA

M.D. Sampath and N. Pankaja

TĪttāṇḍatāṇapuram in Tiruvadanaī Taluk of Ramanathapuram District has yielded seven inscriptions in all. All of them are from a Śiva temple of this village. The record<sup>1</sup> engraved on the southern base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of this temple is of great interest from the point of view of the economic history of the region and period in question.

This record in Tamil language and script belongs to the reign of Pāṇḍya king Chaḍaiyavarmaṇ Vīrapāṇḍya. It refers to his conquest of Īlam, Koṅgu and Śōṇāḍu, to the defeat of Vallāṇ and to his having performed the anointment of heroes and that of victors at Tillaimānagar (i.e., Chidambaram).

The epigraph in question furnishes the regnal year 15, though it is faintly engraved. The other details of date viz., Tulā, śu trayōdaśī, Wednesday, Rēvatī in the above year corresponds to 1269 A.D., October 9, Wednesday. The king of this record may be identified with his namesake who ascended the throne in 1254 A.D.

The purport of the inscription is to record an agreement made by the *Añjuvaṇṇam*, *Maṇigrāmam*, etc., residing in the village undertaking to levy taxes on the commodities sold or purchased to meet the expenses of temple construction here. It further states that the brick *maṇḍapa*, where the deity Āvuḍaiya - nāyaṇār was installed in the temple of Sarvatīrtham-uḍaiya - nāyaṇār having gone into disrepair, Villiyālvāṇ Tiruvambalamuḍaiyāṇ of Araisūr removed it and raised a stone structure in its place. Vaḍugālvār, the daughter-in-law (*marumagaḷār*) of Śivanēri - uḍaiyār Akaḷaṅka - nāḍālvār and the daughter of Vijayālaya - muttaraiyar also caused the *maṇḍapa* to be built called Tenṇaṇaruḷāl- Tiruchchātṭiṇāṇ. In order to meet the required expenditure, one Perumāḷ Rājarājadēva *alias* Tenṇavadaraiyaṇ of Śirudūr in Iraṇiyamuṭṭa - nāḍu, an agent of the Ālvār, is said to have convened a meeting in the hall of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam - uḍaiya - periyānāchchiyār, with members from eighteen provinces (*vishayas*), *Añjuvaṇṇam*, *Maṇigrāmam*, Tirumalaimātākkaḷ *alias* Tiruvambalam - uḍaiyār of Araisūr, the *Sāmanta-paṇḍaśāli*, the *Aiśar* among the *Āriyas*, the residents of Kuḍuttu - Mukamaḷagiyāṇ - perunteruvu, the *Paṭṭāriyar*,

the *Tōyavattirachchettigal*, the *Valaṅṅiyar* of southern Śrīlāṅka (*teṅ - ilaṅgai*), the *Kaikkōlas*, the *Tūsuvar*, the *Vāṅiyar* and the *Niṅḍakaraiyār*, assembled and took a decision that on all articles of merchandise that are measured, spread and folded, and on perishable products that are to be discarded, a tax in kind of  $4 \frac{1}{2}$  *nālī* of rice and a cess of one *Kāsu* per *achchu* (of the sales made) shall be levied.

This record is important and related to merchant guilds *Maṅigrāmam* and *Aṅjuvaṅṅam*. The *Maṅigrāmam* is a famous merchant guild which flourished in Tamilnāḍu from the Pallava period. In course of time this guild assumed great importance and became an organised group with extension of activities to various places. It not only flourished in Tamilnāḍu but also in Kēraḷa till about the fourteenth century or so. There is reference to this organisation from the Pallava period. The Tamil inscription from Takua-pa, Southern Thailand, which has been discussed in detail by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri<sup>2</sup>, mentions this guild along with *Sēnāmugattār*. The other terms *sēṅai* or *sēṅaiyar* are found mentioned in the inscriptions from Tillaisthānam in Thanjavur District and Vālikaṇḍapuram in Tiruchchirappalli District<sup>3</sup>. Rarely the expression *Sēnāmugam* figures in the Tamil records. The record from Nāgapaṭṭiṅam makes a reference to this. This and other merchant groups also figure in some Javanese inscriptions of ninth century A.D.

The Takua - pa record <sup>4</sup> has been assigned not only on the basis of palaeography but also on the evidence of the title *Avanināraṅaṅ* held by Nandivarman III to 9th Century A.D. The name of the tank mentioned in this record is *Avanināraṅam*. From among the merchant groups known during this period, *aṅjuvaṅṅam* (*haṅjumān*) is another significant group.

In the early and middle Chōḷa periods *Maṅigrāmam* was considered as the centre of trade activities. This group functioned from Kāvērippūmpaṭṭaṅam in the tenth century A.D. Its migration had resulted in the expansion of its activities and interaction with several groups. The gradual increase in commerce can be witnessed from their activities recorded in the inscriptions from tenth to fourteenth centuries A.D. Koḍumbāḷur was an important town (*nagaram*) of considerable magnitude. This merchant guild functioned not only from the major *nagaram* centre Koḍumbāḷur in-Uṅṅattūr-kūṅṅam, but also from Selam<sup>5</sup> in Sela-nāḍu, Vālikaṇḍapuram<sup>6</sup> in Vaṅṅ-nāḍu, Ādittapuram in Poygai-nāḍu, Sundarapāṇḍyanagarm (near the present Kuttālam) in Kuṅṅumarai - nāḍu,

Uṛaiyūr in Uṛaiyūr - kūṛṅgam, Mēnelvēli in Mudiyaḷuḍi - nāḍu. It had established trade connection with other organisational areas. The *Maṇigrāmam* group of Koḍumbālūr is the same as Vaṇika - grāma of this place known in the late Chōḷa and medieval Pāṇḍya periods. In the records of Chaḍayavarmaṅ Śrīvallabha (c. 13th Century A.D), Chadaiyavarmaṅ Virapāṇḍya I dated 1268 A.D. and Māṛavarmaṅ Kulaśēkhara I dated 1305 A.D. the group *Māṇigrāmam* is quoted as *Vaṇikkirāmam*<sup>8</sup>. This name indicates a group or community (*Kuḷuviṅ - pēyar*) by Nachchiṅārkkīṅiyar in his commentary on *Tolkāppiyam* (*Peyariyal - Sūtra 11*). This term explains the origin of its inception as a group or *śrēṇi* of merchants (*vaṇigar*). Such trade guilds are known to have made their beginning in small centres or villages as compact bodies and later spread to town (*nagaram*) centres due to the activities of articles traded. The *Maṇigrāmam* or *Vaṇikkirāmam* of Koḍumbālūr is another organisation which worked with other groups like Chittiramēḷi - periyāṅṅṅār, Tiśai - āyirattaiṅṅūṅruvar and the *nagarattār* while taking decision to fix the *paṅṅṅappagudi* on articles of merchandise. It is a major organisation like Vaḷaṅṅiyar and Ayyapolḷi groups which enrolled members from merchants of different religions and caste. It is a trade organisation which made its beginning in the inland towns like Uṛaiyūr, Tiruvellarai, Koḍumbālūr, Selam, Tillaiśhānam and later expanded its activities to coastal centres such as Kāvērippūmpaṅṅam, Tittāṅṅatāṅapuram. Since there was growth in external trade, these inland centres maintained this status in trade activities. Their association with merchants of the west coast are found mentioned in a number of copper-plates like the Kōṅṅayam plates of Sthāṅu - Ravi<sup>9</sup> and Vīrarāghava<sup>10</sup>, Cochin plates of Bhāskara - Ravi<sup>11</sup> and inscription from Rāmaṅṅali<sup>12</sup> in Chirakkal Taluk of Malabar District.

This organisation was in the hands of Hindus in the west coast in the early 9th century. The Rāmaṅṅali record<sup>13</sup> dated Kali year 4029 (929 A.D) states that the *Maṇigrāmattār* of Iḷaṅṅopaṅṅam was in-charge of the endowment made over to the temple of Narasiṅga-ṅṅagar. As per some of the copper-plate charters, along with merchants of Hindu religion, the Christian merchants also enjoyed some status and privileges similar to those that had been enjoyed by the organisation of Hindu origin or patronage.

The *Maṇigrāmam* and the *Aṅṅjuvaṅṅam* organisations transacted together on many occasions and particularly while collecting the taxes due to a local chieftain (*patip-padavāram*). If we examine the association of these guilds with

another big organisation viz., *Aiñūrruvar* or *padineṇṇ- vishaiyattār*, it may be inferred that a bigger organisation had control over smaller groups. The way in which a number of merchant groups like *āriyar*, *sāmanta- paṇḍasāli*, *aiśar*, *Paṭṭāriyar*, *tōyavattirachchettigal*, *Tēṇṇilaṅgai*, *Valañjiyar*, *Kaikkōḷar*, *tūśuvar*, *Vāṇiyar*, *nīṇḍakaraiyār*, etc. are quoted after *Añjuvaṇṇam-maṇikkirāmattār* leads us to conclude that the *maṇikkirāmattār* was the chief body. It is not purely a localised organisation whose activities and members were restricted to one type of merchants. This group came to be called Koḍumbāḷur Vaṇikkirāmam because it was Kuḍumbāḷūr which acted as the centre of this organisation. Later it spread to various centres like Kōvilpaṭṭi<sup>14</sup>, Vālikaṇḍapuram<sup>15</sup>, Tiruvellarai<sup>16</sup> Salem<sup>17</sup>, Kuttālam<sup>18</sup> (Courtallam) and to places in Kēraḷa such as Tāḷakkāḍ<sup>19</sup>, Jamātpalli near Kollam,<sup>20</sup> Kōṭṭayam,<sup>21</sup> Cochin,<sup>22</sup> Rāmaṇṭali,<sup>23</sup> etc. *Padineṇṇvishaiyattār* are different from *maṇikkirāmattār* as evidenced from their wider usages in different contexts of the different periods. The merchant groups who assembled in the temple of Āvuḍaiya-nāyaṇār represent the merchants of bigger and smaller organisations as well as individual traders. The group includes *Tēṇṇilaṅgai-valañjiyar* (the *Valañjiyar* South Śrī Laṅka), *sāmanta-paṇḍasāli*, (the shop keepers of subordinate status), the *kaikkōḷar* (the weavers), the *āriyar* (*vaiśyar*), the *paṭṭāriyar* (the chief among the *Vaiśyas*) the *Tōyavattirachchettī* (the cloth merchants), the *tūśuvar* (garment cleaners) *Vāṇiyar* (oil merchants) and the *aiśar* (meaning not clear). The resolution was arrived at in the presence of the above groups who were the members of a bigger organisation.

*Añjuvaṇṇam* is another bigger organisation which is enumerated along with other groups such as *maṇigrāmam*, *padineṇṇvishayam*, etc. in taking decisions to collect taxes on articles of trade. These independent bodies have their own *locus standi* and status as recorded by a number of epigraphs. This particular organisation can be interpreted in terms of its set up, community, profession, area, religion, etc. The *añjuvaṇṇam* group has been interpreted by several scholars as an organisation of foreign merchants, who were jews, Christians, Muslims and several others as mentioned in the records from Kollam, Kōṭṭayam, etc., in Kēraḷa. Venkayya<sup>24</sup> has considered this group to be a semi-independent body, on which certain privileges have been conferred during the period of Bhāskaravarman.

Similar to the record from Tittāṇḍatānapuram, the Kōṭṭayam plates of the above king mention the existence of *añjuvaṇṇam* along with *Maṇikkirāmam*, as having been given the right of collecting taxes. It is generally explained as

referring to a word called *Añjumān*, an association of foreigners. In all likelihood, Tittāṇḍatāṇapuram is a coastal town, where the foreign merchants formed themselves into a guild. We know from the literary and foreign sources that a few Arab colonies had been established in some of the port towns or ports of the east coast like Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam, Toṇḍi, Koṛkai, etc., as well as the Malabar coast.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his work on *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, mentions a chief called *Maliku-Islam, Jamall-ud-dīn*, the ruler of Kis. Toṇḍi was an important seaport, near Tittāṇḍatāṇapuram, where a Muhammadan colony seems to have been formed.

The close relationship of *añjuvaṇṇam* with *Maṇikkirāmam* and *Aṛunūṛruvar* is clear from the Kōṭṭayam plates of Sthāṇu-Ravi. The merchants of *añjuvaṇṇam* who come from Mātōṭṭam *alias* Rāmakulavalli-paṭṭaṇamu claims to have raised a *perumpalli*, known as Anyūṭṭuvaperumpalli (i.e., Ainūṛruvarperumpalli)<sup>25</sup> at Viśākhapaṭṭaṇam *alias* Kulōttuṅgachōḍa-paṭṭaṇamu in the reign period of Eastern Gaṅga ruler Anantavarman in Śaka 1012 (1090 A.D.). The *palli* to which the privileges were given by the king need not necessarily be a muslim centre or temple. The imprecatory passages referring to the killing of *brāhmaṇas* and cows clearly indicates that the grant made may not be intended for a mosque but for a Hindu or Buddhist *palli* or temple. *Añjuvaṇṇam* seems to mean the *pañchamavarṇa* also. If so, it may be taken to mean the Muslims and it is quite possible that a colony of Muslims might have existed in the seaside town of Tittāṇḍatāṇapuram and Toṇḍi, a port town, located within a few kilometres distance. In this way the mercantile organisations *Añjuvaṇṇam* and *Maṇikkirāmam* functioned effectively and indulged in coastal and inland trades as stated in the inscriptions from Tittāṇḍatāṇapuram, the text of which is given below:

#### Text

1. Svasti śrī Kōṛchadaipaṇmar-āṇa Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Īlamuñ-Koṅguñ-Śōṇāḍuñ-koṇḍu Vallāṇai veṇṇu Tillai-Māṇagaril vīṛṛirundaruḷi vīrābīshēka vijaiyābīshēkamum paṇṇiy-aruḷiya śrī Vīrapāṇḍiyadēvaṛku yāṇḍu[11] vadu Tulānāyaṛru Pūrvapakshattu trayōdaśiyum Budaṇkilāmayum perṛa Irēvatinaḷ muṇbu uḍaiyār

## Sarvadaṇḍa-

2. m-uḍaiya-nāyaṇār Tirumalai śeyvitta Tirumalai-  
mātākkal Araśūr-uḍaiyāṇ Villiyālvāṇ Tiruvambalam-  
uḍaiyāṇ iṇ-ṇāyanār kōyil Āvuḍaiya- nāyaṇār  
eḷundaruli irukkīra tirumaṇḍapaṇ-cheṅgalu-  
maṇṇumā jīrṇittu irukkaiyil idu vāṅgit-  
tirukkaṛṇali śeygaiyil idu muḍikkai kāraṇam-  
āga Śivaneyiy-uḍaiyār Akalaṅka-nāḍālvār(ma) <sup>1</sup>
3. marumagalār Vijaiyālaya-Muttaraiyar magalār  
Vaḍugālvār=āṇa Tenṇaṇ-arulāl-tiruch=  
chārttiṇār-eṇṇum tirunāmattāl śeygiṇa  
tirumaṇḍapattukku taḍiy-āga ālvārku kāriyaṇ-  
cheyvārgalil Iraṇiyamuṭṭa-nāṭṭuch=Chirudūruḍaiyāṇ  
Perumāl Māradēvaṇ-āṇa Tenṇavadaraiyaṇ  
tiruppaṇikkus=śēsham-āga iṇṇāyāṇar tiruv-ellai-vattat-
4. tu ivvūril irukkīraṇṇam maṇiggirāmattōru  
(ttāru) padineṇ(ṇeṇ)vishaiyattōrum it-Tirumalai  
mātākkal-āṇa Araśuḍaiyār-āṇa Tiruvambalam-uḍaiyārum  
ivū(vvū)ril irukkīra Aṇjuvaṇṇam Maṇiggirāmattōmum  
āriyaril sāmanta-panḍasāliyum aiśavarum kuḍuttu  
Mugamaḷagiyāṇ-peruṇteruvil kuḍimakkalum-patt(ar)-ā -
5. riyarum tōyavattirarchhetṭigalum tenṇilaṅgai  
Valaṅjiyarum kaikkōḷarum tūśuvarum vāṇiyarum  
nīṇḍakaraiyārum-kūḍi ināyaṇār kōyil  
Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam-uḍaiya Periyānāchchiyār-  
kōyil tirumuṇbē niṇaivara-  
niṇaiṇḍu kuṇaivara-kūḍi irundu nichchayittu  
udakam-panṇinapaḍi iṇṇāyanār tiruvellai-vattat-



6. ttukkuḷ parimāṟum-avaiyirruḷ alappaṇa virippaṇa  
 maḍippaṇa alugal śarakk=ullittavaiyirruḷ  
 ivvaṇaivōmum vaittuk=kuḍuttapaḍi achchu  
 oṇṇuḷḷu ḷtalai piṟattalai kūṭṭi nellu  
 nāliyum ariśi uriyum maru virukum-avaiyirruḷ  
 achchukku oru kāśu kollak=kaḍavad-āgavum  
 ippaḍi chandr-ādittavarai chellak=kaḍavad-  
 āgap=paḍiṇṇ-
7. rā ... nāḷil nāṅgaḷ vaittuk=kuḍuttapaḍiy -  
 Ādichaṇḍēśvaradēvakkaṇmigaḷ kalliluñ=  
 chembilum veṭṭik=koḷga+<sup>28</sup>

#### Notes and References :

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27, No. 598; *Ibid.*, 1914, No.18
2. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Takua-pa (Siam) Tamil Inscription', *JOR.*, Vol. VI. 1932, pp 299-310, 'Takua-pa and its Tamil Inscription., *JMBRAS.*, Vol. XXII, 1949, pp 25-30., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p.11.
3. *A.R. Ep.*, 1943-44, NO. 247.; *Ibid.*, 1964-65, No. 308.
4. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*
5. *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-29, No.52.; *SII.*, Vol. IV, p.15
6. *Ibid.*, 1943-44, No. 261
7. *Ibid.*, 1917, No. 439
8. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, Nos. 288,286, 283.; *Ibid.*, 1993-94, No.44
9. *T.A.S.*, Vol. II, p.67
10. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 295
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 68
12. *AREp.*, 1926, No. 474
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, Nos. 286 and 288

15. *Ibid.*, 308
16. *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 519
17. *SII.*, Vol. IV, p. 15
18. *AREp.*, 1917, No. 439
19. *Ibid.*, 1927, No.358
20. *Ibid.*, 1901, No. 4
21. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.IV, p. 295
22. *Ibid.*, Vol.III, p.68
23. *AREp.*, 1926, No.474
24. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.V, p.294
25. *SII.*, Vol.X, No. 651.; *Ibid.*, Vol.XXVI, Nos. 103 and 101
26. From impression
27. *ma* is redundant
28. The symbol used here signifies the expression *mēlpāḍi*.